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FEATURE: POSTGRADUATE STUDIES/ POSTGRADUATE PEDAGOGY

GUEST EDITORS: ALISON LEE AND BILL GREEN

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Introduction: postgraduate studies/ postgraduate pedagogy?

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In recent years, the nature and quality of postgraduate studies in higher education has become a matter of increasing interest and concern. This has been partly produced out of the collapse of the binary system in the mid eighties and the subsequent restructuring and re-positioning of the higher education sector, following the interventions and decisions of the then Minister for Education in the Federal Labor Government, in direct relation to new and changing economic imperatives. What has emerged on the scene is a greatly expanded number of universities, within an across the board re-assessment and re-organisation of the academic-institutional agenda to take more explicitly and formally into account notions of accountability, efficiency, performativity, professionalisation and vocationalism. More broadly, the shift to a 'post-industrial', knowledge and information-based economy has meant increasing emphasis on educational credentials and the formation of a multi-skilled, flexible, 'informed' workforce and citizenry. More recently, however, there have been signs of a shift in national priorities and preoccupations, away from a more or less exclusive emphasis on economic issues and imperatives towards matters of culture, citizenship and social identity, and a new understanding of the relationship between culture and economy.

Within this broad re-organisation, the question of postgraduate education looms large. In recent years there has been a considerable upsurge in activity and, as Zuber-Skerritt and Ryan (1994) point out, "intense debate" around the question of postgraduate study. In Australia and overseas, there is now a substantial body of research of various kinds into postgraduate education. In the context of increasing government pressure for universities to be both more 'productive' and more accountable, however, much of this attention is focused on policy issues and questions, and on the organisation and administration of the postgraduate research degree, addressing concerns such as "completion rates; completion percentages; the quality of programs, supervision and students; and the costs and benefits of postgraduate education" (Holdaway, 1994). In accord with the scrutiny of educational practices and programs elsewhere, in schools and related sites (eg TAFE), universities have been encouraged to rationalise their undergraduate programs and the like, and alongside this has come increasingly a call to re-evaluate similarly postgraduate programs, with reference particularly to research-oriented higher degree studies. Within this latter, the PhD program in particular has been the subject of debate, with, as well as issues already gestured at here, growing interest in matters of 'composition' and higher-order literacy, and of course thorny questions about 'relevance'. The scene is set for new and innovative forms of imagining and thinking about how best the intellectual and learning resources of the nation can be harnessed in the service of genuinely significant social productivity.

To date, however, as we've suggested, much of this debate and its attendant forms of research have concentrated more on matters of administration and procedure, protocol and policy, finance and governance, within what might be described as a new functionalist agenda organised increasingly around notions of competency, contractualism and control (Marginson, 1995). Along similar lines, more practice-oriented research conducted to date has also focused largely on

collecting information about postgraduate research students' experiences that can inform guidelines about good supervisory practices (eg Parry and Hayden 1994; Powles, 1993), as well as on across-Faculty understandings and practices regarding postgraduate research supervision and study (eg Whittle, 1994), with the Zuber-Skerritt and Ryan 1994 collection on 'quality' in postgraduate education being a significant and representative text in this regard. The indications are that such orientations and regimes in research are likely to be further institutionalised if rational 'science' models of research and supervision are adopted uncritically as normative across the academic-institutional spectrum, as seems to be the trend, in accordance with new bureaucratic logics of funding and accountability. Furthermore, it seems that at least some of the currently available or popular staff development models and practices focussed on supervision, although ostensibly quite distinct from this orientation, nonetheless often still fall into its general compass, sometimes rather awkwardly working with 'technologies' of human relations and group dynamics that unfortunately can be full of sound and fury, so to speak, with little marked gain or effect. What may need to be taken more into calculation in this regard, then, are those aspects of postgraduate research and education, and academic staff development and training, that are *not* so amenable to these kinds of investigation and assessment, or—more actively—are effectively thus de-valued or glossed over, or refused as having marked significance, at the individual candidature, institutional and national-systemic levels of operation. Alternative lines and forms of research are therefore needed as a matter of some urgency, addressing precisely these omissions and absences, and geared therefore to the possible reconceptualisation of postgraduate study, specifically at the PhD level.

This Special Issue presents a range of views, arguments and proposals in this regard. It has been consciously set up with reference to Bob Connell's much-read and much-discussed account of PhD supervision, published in this journal's predecessor in 1985. His was then a relatively lonely voice, and it could be claimed that it remains so even now, a decade later. In particular, his point that supervision needed to be taken much more seriously as 'teaching' seems to us absolutely crucial, and yet it names what is still a complex and curious phenomenon: the fact that teaching as such remains a marginalised and de-valued activity in the Academy, notwithstanding recent emphases through CAUT and other agencies on improving the quality and effectiveness of university teaching. This is so, it could be argued, even in those circumstances where the teaching activity is ostensibly valued, because often this is still oriented at least implicitly towards what we describe in our paper in this volume as a 'metaphysical' view of research. That, in fact, is what we see as an important matter for reconceptualisation and debate at this time: the discursive opposition between 'research' and 'teaching'. This in part, we suggest, might be most appropriately engaged by a systematic reevaluation and re-assessment of the concept of 'pedagogy', specific to the university context in this instance, and conceived explicitly as subsuming the opposition referred to here.

Relatedly, account needs to be taken of the trend towards a re-emphasis, worldwide, on increased specialisation in the university sector. As Burton Clark indicates (1994), this takes the form of the establishment and consolidation of separate 'research universities' and 'teaching universities'. For us in Australia, this means in effect a move back towards a reconstituted binary system—with indications all around us that this is already happening by default, if not (yet) as a formal matter of policy. The question that needs to be explored in this regard is not so much the fact effectively of this renewed division of labour (although history tells us that it is always also a 'dividing practice' in terms of privilege and power) as it is addressed to the substantive issue of whether this is to be seen as regressive or progressive. That is, restoring the academic-institutional order of things may not be in the best interests ultimately of the new university (or the new society) that is arguably emerging at this present time, poised as we are on a new century and another millennium.

Furthermore, as Clark also indicates, and as taken up to some extent in this volume by Shannon, the reworking of the nature and relations of 'teaching' and 'research', whether inside particular institutions or across the system as a whole, may well require rethinking the idea of Graduate Schools. Yet can it be simply assumed that Graduate Schools as presently constituted and conceived represent anything more than a continuation of the traditional idea of the modern(ist) university? That may of course not be such a bad thing. But it certainly needs to be debated openly and rigorously, and there doesn't seem to be much sign of this happening at the moment. Perhaps it is an imperative at this time to rethink the theory and practice of Graduate Schools, taking into account new understandings and problematics of 'research' and 'teaching', and also of pedagogy and disciplinarity?

A further matter that is becoming more and more of an agenda item is the appearance on the Australian scene of new kinds of doctoral research and accreditation. This development is fuelled and generated on the one hand by the emergence of different kinds of universities, following the restructuring of the higher education sector, and on the other by what might be described as an increasing *secularisation* of university work. By this latter, we mean the increased emphasis on professional studies of one kind or another, and what might be called the vocationalising of higher education in this country. That is, the seemingly inexorable push evident in other sectors towards vocational education is impacting similarly on universities, traditionally oriented more towards knowledge and inquiry in its own right, as an end in itself. Hence attention is turning to the particular issues and problems, as well as possibilities, associated with *professional doctorates*, as they can be called, to be distinguished from what Hodge in this volume describes as *disciplinary doctorates*. Something of this distinction has been discussed elsewhere in terms of "the debate about the training-based PhD as opposed to the knowledge-based PhD" (Burgess, 1994: 3). However, this does not seem adequate in accounting for the likelihood that professional doctorates in areas such as education, engineering, law, nursing and architecture might well represent new forms of research, and new alignments of research and praxis, and hence constitute a significant alternative to disciplinary work in this regard. Marie Brennan and Terry Evans usefully raise questions of this kind here, as does Bob Hodge from a somewhat different angle of attack.

The papers in this collection address a range of the concerns sketched out briefly here. They fall into three broad groups. The first group we might call texts *for* pedagogy. These papers address a range of issues concerning teaching practices at the postgraduate research degree level. They are indicative of a process of demystification and increasing professionalisation of this aspect of the university's work, aimed at making public what has until very recently been essentially privatised and personalised. As new kinds of students—mature age, part-time, often instrumentally oriented, and so on—undertake postgraduate research study, they place new demands on the institution, rendering problematic what Yeatman identifies here as the "tacit culture of academic research and writing" characterising the "patrimonial-liberal" model of supervision pedagogy. What she pro-

vides in her paper, then, is an alternative, an account of what she describes as a new 'contractualist' model of supervision, and she accordingly outlines a strategy for realising this in practice.

Leder's paper provides a useful map of the field, including in this a historical overview which begins the important task of situating the PhD in its institutional history, while also outlining the issues involved in what might be called the craft knowledge-in-practice of supervisors and supervision—'technical skills', in a quite specific sense, based partly on experience and partly in reviewing what other people have said about them. She points out that there is "remarkable consensus" among those who write about such matters, a point that is at some odds with prevailing informal beliefs about the specificity of each and every supervisor-supervisee relationship and with the 'heroic' model of postgraduate research and education more generally. From a different angle, the papers by Tony Shannon and Sue Johnston look to the enabling and constraining conditions associated with enhancing the quality of postgraduate supervision and the practice of research and teaching at this level. This too needs to be regarded as the proper province of *pedagogy*—in this case, relating to 'teaching the teachers', as it were.

The second group of papers address some of the emerging issues of the 'postmodern' university. These papers are addressed, beyond the immediacy of praxis, viewed in the first instance in terms of relationships between supervisors and students, to a consideration of the institutionalised conditions of possibility of that relationship. In this respect, the links back to Shannon's paper, in particular, are very clear. These papers lay out some ways of productive (re)thinking of the changing conditions of postgraduate education within the emerging 'new order' of higher education more generally. Marie Brennan's paper considers issues of professional doctorates, focusing in the first instance on the EdD, as the first and arguably the currently most developed of these new forms of research credentialling, and provides some important lessons for further developments in the fields of law, nursing and business, pointing to important issues of professionalism, new forms of research and pedagogy, and the prospect of challenging new partnerships with industry, bureaucracies and other agencies. Terry Evans similarly focuses on the emerging 'open universities', the increasing emphasis on distance education and open learning modes of operation, and the impact and significance of new technologies. Along the same lines, Peter Taylor points to the current privileging of technical and technological issues and rhetoric over educational perspectives and practices in university restructuring and reform. As he indicates, it is the 'teachers' themselves, the academics in the actual field, who are all too often last in line as points of authority and expertise when it comes to seeking advice about what's needed and what's possible. Another way of seeing this, perhaps, is in terms of the priority and privileging of policy over pedagogy.

Our final group of papers seeks to introduce into discussion and debate new theoretical perspectives, languages and initiatives, and offer distinctive and what might well appear to some as idiosyncratic and even 'monstrous' accounts of the matter at hand. That may, indeed, be their principal value: making unfamiliar or strange what seems at first glance something essentially familiar. That is, these papers draw on contemporary theorising to 'make strange' the present, in order to begin to provide a vocabulary for questioning the apparent naturalness and givenness of contemporary practices in postgraduate education. Although they arise more from the humanities side of the Academy than the sciences per se, this doesn't mean that they don't have relevance and implication for theorising and understanding postgraduate pedagogy more generally. At the very least, they raise issues that warrant consideration within the general research economy of the university. Drawing on contemporary feminist theorising of the human/technology interface and clearly referring back to previous papers on 'open learning' contexts and initiatives, Erica McWilliam and Patrick Palmer explore more closely issues raised for postgraduate pedagogy by the shift to 'open' pedagogical events, asking how might changes in communication systems be experienced by teachers and learners, and what might be the effects of the interface of corporeality

and technology at work in the teleconference, the vis-a-vis seminar, the e-mail network, the on-line delivery? They raise important albeit much neglected questions of the *body* and of embodiment in and for postgraduate pedagogy, and thus point to the ways in which, as feminist scholars and critics have argued, academic-intellectual work is characterised by unproblematised notions of 'mind' and rationality.

A curious feature of postgraduate research is a seemingly paradoxical relationship between, on the one hand, widespread dissatisfaction with the PhD experience and an intense and continuing attachment to existing structures and processes. A similar tension exists in the way in which the PhD functions as reproduction/production of (inter)disciplinary knowledge institutional contexts. This final group of papers begins to address some of these questions, and their implications for the very concept of 'research', and for rethinking pedagogy. Hence Bob Hodge writes of "the meticulous peripherality of research" in the course of presenting an avowedly provocative account of the different kinds of doctoral work characteristic of what he calls the 'New Humanities'. Our paper explores questions of pedagogy and disciplinarity in postgraduate contexts, with particular reference to higher-level research work, and seeks to provide ways of thinking more systematically about the nexus between knowledge and identity in higher-educational practice—a dimension arguably all too often lost or muted in accounts of university research and research training. Finally, Terry Threadgold reviews a recent publication from the Humanities Research Centre at ANU, addressed specifically to questions of 'graduate pedagogy' in the context of issues arising from the contemporary confluence of feminism and psychoanalysis. In so doing, she sounds a timely warning about the kinds of theory and theorising that a field such as this seems to attract. In various ways, her paper returns therefore to some of the concerns expressed in both Yeatman's and Leder's papers about the riskiness involved in the characteristically intense and complex relationship of supervisor and doctoral candidate, 'master' and 'apprentice', while reminding us that the question of gender remains crucial to understanding academic work, research practice and supervision, and university education more generally.

Our hope is that the volume as a whole contributes to the quality and rigour of discussion in this increasingly contentious area of postgraduate studies, education and pedagogy. There seems little doubt that universities are currently in a state of crisis, as befits the moment of intense change and complexity we are all living through. Much remains to be done, of course, and in that regard, this whole volume is best conceived as an initial gesture towards a practical and theoretical project that has now become both urgent and compelling.

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Higher degree research supervision: a question of balance

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Introduction

What might be some reasons for pursuit of higher education?

One: *A love of learning.*

Two: *The wish for mastery of a skill.*

Three: *For economic betterment.* (Mamet, 1993, p. 33)

Substantial modifications have been made in recent years to Australia's higher educational system. A unified higher education scheme has replaced the binary system which had evolved over time. Amalgamation of existing institutions has led to the formation of fewer, larger, multi-campus universities. Market forces now often act as a powerful influence for the introduction of new courses and research activities. The proportion of Australians completing secondary school, and the demand for tertiary places—both undergraduate and postgraduate—have increased dramatically. For example, the number of students enrolled in PhD studies increased from 7,035 in 1983 (Castles, 1990) to 13,623 in 1992 (Castles, 1995). The rise has been particularly striking for females. Their enrolment almost tripled over that period: from 1,897 in 1990 to 5,123 in 1992 (compared with 5,138 and 8,500 for males in 1983 and 1992 respectively). Thus supervision resources are being increasingly stretched. At the same time, Marginson (1995, p. 67) argued, "rising needs for education coincide with declining returns from education, and this is one of the sources of claims about declining standards". To date, there has been considerable effort to preserve the high standards of doctoral work long associated with Australian universities.

Despite the undoubted period of turbulence in the tertiary sector, the requirements for satisfactory completion of a doctoral dissertation¹ (as well as those for a masters-by-research degree) have remained largely unchanged, in Australia, as well as in many other countries². The notion that a doctorate constitutes a distinguished achievement in the acquisition of knowledge continues to be an integral part of the program. The high status commonly accorded to the doctorate, and to research, has also been maintained. It is difficult to find an Australian university which does not include 'a strong commitment to the conduct of high quality research' in its management plan, an endeavour frequently assisted by the research efforts of postgraduate students. Long before criteria such as the percentage of staff with a doctorate, the percentage of staff supervising research postgraduate students, various categories of research endeavours, and completion rates of PhD students came to be listed among the 'performance indicators' used to judge and rank institutions, Schweitzer (1965, p. 11) wrote:

Educational authorities came to recognize the desirability for the university professor to be a research investigator as well as a teacher. Original work became a part of university training. The performance of original research became a requirement for almost all doctor's degrees.

Emphasis on original work, and on a substantial or significant contribution to knowledge, are recurring themes in the regulations governing PhD examinations in Australia and elsewhere. For example:

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at Monash signifies that the holder has submitted a thesis that the examiners have declared to be a significant contribution to knowledge, and that demonstrates the candidate's capacity to carry out independent research (Higher Degrees and Scholarships Section, Monash University, 1991, p. 5).

Recommendation for the degree [PhD] will be made only after the acceptance of a dissertation, which must be a contribution to knowledge and the result of independent work, expressed in satisfactory form (Stanford University, quoted in Boyer, 1973, p. 17).

The need for comparability of local degrees with those from overseas institutions has also been made quite explicit:

Examiners are invited to judge a thesis at the highest contemporary standard for European and North American Universities ... The candidate must make a substantial contribution to learning (The Australian National University, quoted in Montgomery, 1980, p. 15).

From conception to birth

"Oh, hell." I failed. Flunk me out of it. It's garbage. Everything I do. "The ideas contained in this work express the author's feelings." That's right. I know I'm stupid.... I know what I am, Professor. You don't have to tell me (Mamet, 1993, pp. 14-15).

Just what is involved in not merely starting a PhD but completing a significant and original piece of research and reporting the findings in a well presented and scholarly manner?

In the apprenticeship-like quality of many supervisor-student relationships the supervisor's research preferences and prejudices can constrain the scope, perspectives, methodology and directions of a student's work. According to Thorley and Gregory (1995), students who are dissatisfied with the limits imposed in this way are quite likely to opt out of the process. Much has also been written in the American context about the hurdles to be overcome by students if they are to move from A.B.D. (All But Dissertation) to PhD graduate. Vivid phrases used by Madsen (1983, pp 1-6) to describe those who fail to complete the doctorate they started include: 'too soon adieu', 'too much enthusiasm, too little focus', 'too hard to please', 'too casual', 'too compulsive', 'too long in transit', 'too much independence', and 'too little appreciation of the scholarly tradition'. In other words, he argued, successful completion of the thesis requires students to remain at university until their thesis is submitted, to become autonomous learners yet heed advice, read widely without losing the focus of the research question chosen, limit the scope of the project, write early enough and in sufficient quantity, and be prepared to polish and refine that writing - but not indefinitely. These steps assume the support and guidance of a supervisor.

The process

I don't want to fix you. I would like to tell you what I think, because that is my job, conventional as it is, and flawed as I may be. (Mamet, 1993, p. 54)

Despite the increasing diversity of research questions asked in doctoral theses, theoretical frameworks selected and methodologies used, there is considerable consensus about the supervisor's role (see, e.g., Connell, 1985; Landvogt and Forgasz, 1994; Mauch and Birch, 1989). Help is needed in: defining the topic, 'designing' the project, gathering material, writing up, working through drafts to a final product, selecting examiners, and encouraging dissemination of the completed work through conference papers, journal articles or a book. Induction into the wider research community can also be facilitated through inclusion in the supervisor's established networks. Successful transition from conception to birth of a thesis requires a carefully balanced partnership between research student and supervisor, with rights and responsibilities on both sides beyond those commonly listed in university handbooks. An ideal association based on mutual respect between supervisor and candidate might arguably contain the elements summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: The supervision process

THE SUPERVISOR'S ROLE

- Offer guidance with the research topic and program. Given the continuing knowledge explosion, this is increasingly challenging. Research has become a huge, multi-purpose enterprise.
- Offer guidance on ethics considerations and requirements, where appropriate.
- Provide information about the size, scope, and standard of a PhD. Despite the apparent uniformity of standards across universities and disciplines, there are considerable variations in acceptable research procedures and methods of reporting.
- Facilitate access to, and if necessary funding for, essential resources (Email, photocopying, relevant sources—books as well as colleagues...). The increasingly complex technologies available place taxing demands on both supervisor and student.
- Provide support: personal at times of stress or success, with scholarship or part-time research position applications, opportunities for work, references.
- From the outset, encourage drafts of work as it develops. Provide constructive feedback, positive as well as critical. Use the now mandatory annual progress report as an early warning of unsatisfactory progress should this be necessary.
- Encourage attendance and presentations at conferences and use these occasions to provide introductions to others in the field.
- Be honest about the thesis being ready/not ready for submission.
- Be thoughtful about the selection of examiners.

Some American universities use the descriptor *mentor* rather than *research adviser* (Mauch and Birch, 1989). And indeed, the relationship between supervisor and candidate formed over the extended period of the supervision process contains many of the elements also described as part of the mentoring process. Jacobi (1991) compared definitions of mentoring in three different fields: higher education, management, and psychology. Commonly agreed functions included: support and encouragement, guidance, facilitating access to resources and opportunities, providing information, protection, sponsorship, stimulating the acquisition of knowledge, and (intentionally or not) being a role model. The essence of the mentor/supervision process has been described as one

which requires intense devotion ... concentration and absorption to the exclusion of other things. Generally it involves an intensive, long-term, one-to-one relationship of a sensei (teacher). Above all, it

requires persistence—hard work, self discipline, diligence, energy, effort, competence and expertness (Torrance, 1979, p. ix).

Many higher degree students indicate that they are reasonably satisfied with the quality and effectiveness of the supervision they receive. However, surveys of students' views about postgraduate research supervision (e.g., van der Heide, 1994; Johnston and Broda, 1994; Montgomery, 1980; Sloan, 1993) also indicate that in reality the relationship often falls short of the ideal portrayed in Table 1 and is considerably more complex.

The process revisited

My limited experience as a supervisor has taught me that it [supervision] is a more difficult art than undertaking investigation on one's own behalf.... It is a profoundly personal affair, probably interpreted in as many ways as there are supervisors; ranging from the professor who calls his unfortunate students from their beds for a 3 am. lab consultation through those who demand a written report every week ..., to the supervisor whom C.P. Snow described in "The Search" who put his head in the lab door each week, said "Things going well?", didn't listen to the answer, and retired (Neales, 1967, quoted in Ibrahim, McEwen and Pitblado, 1980, p. 18).

What issues are commonly named by students as presenting difficulties? Representative grievances, identified in three studies, are summarised in Table 2.

The obstacles and experiences of marginalisation identified in the surveys summarised in Table 2 are exacerbated for part-time research students who have to juggle their studies with pressing demands of other duties. Supervisors in faculties such as education and social work, which attract many mature-age students often with well acknowledged expertise in their own field, face the additional challenge of balancing the needs of research novices with the expectations of those used to being treated as competent professionals.

The greater difficulties apparently being experienced by some females are also noteworthy. Female higher degree students, it seems, are more likely than their male counterparts to feel overlooked, neglected, and unsupported by staff—particularly in informal settings.

Discrepancies in male and female staffing ratios in most universities, especially at the senior levels, are well known. In many science and engineering departments, in particular, the opportunity to work with a female supervisor remains relatively low. Jacobi (1991, p 511) concluded that cross-sex or cross-race mentorships often experienced problems 'ranging from mild to severe'. Schroeder and Mynatt (1993, p 568) found that

women with female major professors perceive their interactions more positively than do those with male professors. Specifically, support was found for the hypotheses of more concern for student welfare and for higher quality interactions when the major professor was female.

It is inappropriate to conclude simplistically that same-sex student-supervisor relationships are necessarily preferable to mixed-sex ones. Yet in some cases it may be more problematic for students to obtain, from a supervisor of the opposite sex, the (emotional) support needed at times of stress and the yearned for collegiality.

Contemporary literature (e.g., Garner, 1995; Mamet, 1993) has vividly documented the subtle sexual or power-related issues that can emerge when there is a lengthy relationship between two individuals in an academic setting. What safeguards should be taken to minimise misunderstandings between student and supervisor and equalise, as much as possible, the power able to be exercised by either? What messages, real or imagined, are conveyed by closing or keeping open an office when a student comes for a consultation?

"I leave it up to the student," he said. "If I shut the door, it's a statement of my power. It may seem intimidating.... But if the student shut the door and I opened it, it would be saying, 'This is a fraught situation, a fraught relationship'" (Garner, 1995, p. 154).

Should Carol's transformation from a timid student³ to an assertive

Table 2: Selected students' perspectives

| Ibrahim et al (1980) | van der Heide (1994) | Johnston and Broda (1994) |
|---|---|---|
| Excessively high standard demanded by the supervisor, given the time limits for doing a PhD | Few students felt part of the faculty | Inadequate preparation for the independent and autonomous work now expected |
| Perception that funds attracted for higher degree students are not spent on them | Difficulties with selecting a topic and research methodology | Inconsistent 'rhythm of work' (p. 13) |
| Being used to supplement publication record of senior academics | Female students have more difficulty in finding a supervisor | Sense of isolation, particularly for those engaged in postgraduate research in education |
| Being used as cheap teaching resource in undergraduate courses | Males were generally more satisfied than females with the supervision process | Uncertainty about acceptable access to other staff |
| Supervisors were perceived to be inactive in initiating or maintaining a relationship with their own and other students | Insufficient help in solving problems encountered | Tensions in relationship with supervisor - guidance v. prescription; too much direct v. insufficient support |
| Insufficient help in framing the research question (arts/humanities students) | Insufficient effort by supervisors to foster interactions | 'Sink or swim' approach adopted in some disciplines |
| Insufficient contact with supervisor (arts students) | Had difficulties in resolving 'problems between my supervisor and me' | Status within the faculty - a perception that postgraduate students 'are there under sufferance ... they are a bit of burden' (p. 10) |
| Insufficient knowledge by supervisor of student's topic | | Difficulties with changes in power relationships with supervisor and other academic staff |

accuser⁴, so skilfully and believably depicted by Mamet (1993), be dismissed as mere fiction or be used as a warning to academics to remain reserved in dealings with students, and particularly with those of the opposite sex? Does it depict the only or optimum strategy for challenging the pervasive and continuing male dominance embedded in universities? Does it challenge students and (university) staff to reflect on the costs to others of power wielded without responsibility? Might a more sensitive, less self-centred figure have fostered a better relationship with his student and have prevented the developments harmful to both?

Students should not need to fear sexual harassment in the still male-dominated university environment. Supervisors must not take advantage of their more powerful positions. Work done by students must be owned by them. Contributions to joint projects must be properly acknowledged. There should be no pressure, whether explicit or implicit, to extract personal favours. But students can also attempt to exercise power improperly. False reports of inappropriate behaviours or demands for unacceptable intimacies have grave repercussions for the staff member against whom they are made. Yet the fear of being misunderstood or misrepresented should not be used by a supervisor as a justification for creating a dysfunctional distance between supervisor and student of (most commonly) the opposite sex.

Much has been written by those concerned with schooling about the impact of the social context in which teaching and learning occur. Supervising higher degrees similarly does not occur in a vacuum. It is naive to ignore institutional customs and hierarchies which mould the power structures in the supervision process. It is inappropriate to abuse them. Nor is it possible to ignore societal expectations and values against which the words and actions of supervisors as well as students

are measured. It is all too easy to lose perspective at times of stress or when the work does not progress satisfactorily. Supervisors and students have a shared responsibility not to abuse their power.

Concluding comments

Somewhat cynically, it can be argued that the emphasis on closer monitoring of the progress and completion rates of higher degree students has ensured that the supervision process is attracting more intense attention from administrators, staff and students. More optimistically, we might hypothesise that the greater scrutiny has been fuelled by increased sensitivity towards students' needs, and recognition of the competing and complex demands on their supervisors.

Supervision issues including and beyond those previously discussed (e.g., Connell, 1985) have been surveyed in this paper. The growing number of students, part-time as well as full-time, embarking on doctoral studies is placing considerable pressures on human resources available for supervision, with some inexperienced personnel being drafted prematurely. The increasingly complex demands of technology and the continuously enlarging knowledge base are further challenges to be faced by supervisors as they advise their students about locating research data bases, about research design and methodologies, and on appropriate standards for a doctoral thesis.

Lack of emotional support and insufficient social interactions between supervisors and students are commonly cited areas of discontent by students. Inevitable tensions and competing expectations are created by perceptions of the supervision process as a period of apprenticeship, an exercise in mentoring, and the opportunity to serve as—or be guided by—a role model. As in any relationship between humans, a satisfactory resolution of difficulties encountered requires not merely institutional support and appropriate guidelines but also, most importantly, a willingness by each participant to communicate and discuss issues of concern. Without this attitude, there is a dissipation of efforts more appropriately spent on the research endeavour.

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Footnotes

1. The convention of some American universities to differentiate between a masters thesis and a doctoral dissertation is not maintained in this paper. Instead, the terms 'thesis' and 'dissertation' are used interchangeably.
2. "The first university doctorates were probably the Doctor of Civil Law and the Doctor of Canon Law awarded by Bologna in the twelfth century for the completion of its courses of study in law" (Schweitzer, 1965, p 6). "The modern PhD", according to Sloan (1993, p 40), "developed out of the 19th century German Universities' innovation, the 'research thesis', which was the culmination of a period of at least *six years of specialised study under the guidance of a professor*" [emphasis in the original]. In Great Britain, the first PhD was introduced at Oxford University in 1917 (Simpson, 1983), after considerable debate. By the late 1920s, "the PhD had arrived at all British universities: symbol of the modern era of organised training in research—conceived and nurtured in Germany, imported and commercialised by America and finally introduced into Britain in order to wean the latter's students away from the former's universities" (Simpson, 1983, p 159).
3. Carol: I don't *understand*. I don't understand what anything means ... and I walk around, from morning 'til night: with this one thought in my head. I'm *stupid* (Mamet, 1993, p 12).
4. Some meetings later, Carol reads from her notebook samples of behaviour she considers offensive and humiliating, and which she has shared with the committee deciding whether to grant tenure to John, her lecturer.

Making supervision relationships accountable: graduate student logs

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Introduction

Generally speaking, in the humanities and social sciences, the graduate student supervision relationship has been left to a traditional apprenticeship model, where the established 'master' inducts the new apprentice into the 'mysteries' of the craft. The academic apprentice has been left to learn by two methods: observing how the master *does* research, and, more broadly, being an academic; and, learning from his own beginner's experience of doing sustained academic research, where the master is expected to give feedback to the apprentice's ideas as these are delivered in both oral and written form. This is a highly personalised relationship. The transmission of the craft occurs through the apprentice producing work which gives witness to how he has been inducted into the craft by the master. The quality of this witness depends on what is an ineffable and fundamentally religious conception of the apprentice's insight into how the supervisor exemplifies the academic craft of scholarship and research. It is the *genius* of the apprentice which is responsible for how he takes up into his own creative powers the exemplary virtues and skills of the master.

The traditional mode of graduate student supervision has been governed by what Weber (1948, 295-297) terms "charismatic authority":

'Charismatic authority'...shall refer to a rule over men, whether predominantly external or predominantly internal, to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary quality of the specific person... The legitimacy of their rule rests on the belief in and the devotion to the extraordinary, which is valued because it goes beyond the normal human qualities... The legitimacy of charismatic rule thus rests upon the belief in magical powers, revelations and hero worship. The source of these beliefs is the 'proving' of the charismatic quality through... victories and other successes, that is, through the welfare of the governed... Charismatic rule is not managed according to general norms, either traditional or rational, but, in principle, according to concrete revelations and inspirations, and in this sense, charismatic authority is 'irrational' (Weber, 1948, pp 295-296).

The supervisee selects the supervisor on the basis of his *charisma*—that is, his extraordinary qualities as a scholar-researcher. In this case, the nature of the relationship if it is to be a successful one requires that the belief in the charismatic quality of the individual works in both directions. In order for the charisma of the supervisor to prove to be worth believing in, the work of the supervisee has to be of a quality as to testify to the value of the supervisor's influence. In short, if the relationship is to be counted a success, the supervisee has to demonstrate by his own charismatic scholarly quality that he is worthy to be supervised by this supervisor. In this sense, his is a scholarly discipleship. The heroic quality of the supervisor is echoed in and attested to by the heroic quality of the supervisee, especially once the latter has passed the final test, the submission and—in university systems influenced by the German model—the public defence of his thesis in a way that is found to be acceptable by his examiners.

I have used the masculine personal pronoun to characterise both terms of this relationship because it has been one that fitted universities in their elite and masculinist phases of history when PhD candidates were a tiny few and represented a select élite of aspirant academics.

The charismatic authority of the research apprenticeship was expressed further in a paternalistic personalism whereby the supervisor extended the hospitality of his home (and the domestic services of his wife) to his chosen disciples. They in turn were tacitly expected to be a living testimony to the scholarly genius of the supervisor in how they went about developing as academics: his model and style were to be theirs¹.

I have suggested also that this has been the traditional model of supervision in the humanities and social sciences, and, no doubt, in the natural sciences. 'Traditional' here has two connotations. Firstly, the model which has prevailed until now, and which has been accepted custom and practice. Secondly, as Weber points out, charismatic authority is never adequate to itself. It always requires to be supplemented by, or contextualised within, a traditionalism, that is, a customary set of norms accepted *because* they represent the way things always have been done. When charisma subsides, customary routine takes over. In either case, charismatic or traditional authority, the norms by which the relationship is governed are, from the standpoint of rational modes of accountability, *implicit* rather than explicit.

In a context of the development of a mass higher education system where PhD candidature has become much more frequent, and, in addition, an increasing requirement of a number of professions (not just the academic one), the traditional model of graduate student supervision can no longer work. It is simply inadequate to the demands of a situation where many supervisees are barely socialised into the demands and rigours of an academic scholarly and research culture. It is especially inadequate to the needs of many new PhD aspirants who, by historical-cultural positioning, have not been invited to imagine themselves as subjects of *genius*. These include all those who are marginalised by the dominant academic scholarly culture: women, and men or women who come from non-dominant class, ethnic or race positions. When PhD candidature was infrequent, the rare ones of these could distinguish themselves as an exception to the rule of their particular gender, class, ethnic or class category, and show that by their highly exceptional qualities, they deserved to be admitted as a disciple. Even then, it was rare that their minority status did not continue to qualify their own belief as the belief of others in their *genius*. Now, however, there is a high proportion of PhD candidates who do not fit the old mould, and whose numbers belie any exceptionalist approach to them.

Add to this one more development, and we have to hand sufficient cause for dis-establishing the traditional model of supervision. This is the development of increased governmental pressure on universities to show that the costs spent on educating and training postgraduate research students are effectively and efficiently spent—that is, that when supervision resources are allocated to research students, these students normally proceed to successfully complete PhD theses within or close to the time allocated for the process. Thus, if increased numbers of PhD students, many of them from the wrong side of traditional academic tracks, are to be effectively supervised, universities are likely to find that reliance on the traditional model of graduate supervision involves a very 'hit-and-miss' method. Good supervisors, and their track records in bringing successfully through a large number of PhD candidates, are in this context no substitute for a more systematic and managed approach to graduate supervision pedagogy.

Any such approach will require the supervision relationship to become rationally accountable within explicitly stated norms, procedures and guidelines which specify the terms of PhD candidature. This type of accountability has been increasingly required by university higher degree committees over the last ten years, and, in the same measure, these committees have produced increasingly explicit statements of reciprocal expectations between supervisors and supervisees. These statements have their place, but as soon as they become at all specific, they threaten to bureaucratise the supervision relationship. This relationship can become rationally accountable, but the critical question is: to whom primarily should it become rationally accountable, and how?

Since the supervision relationship is and remains a relationship of professional supervision-induction, it has to be of a kind as to develop the hallmarks of professionalism: a capacity for autonomous judgment, and the ability to use discretion wisely and well in contexts of ongoing professional conversation between the professionals concerned. This being the case, it is not appropriate to bureaucratise the relationship. If it is to become rationally accountable, that accountability has to be reconcilable with professionalism. Historically, the collegium has managed reasonably well to mediate relationships between more and less senior/established professionals, but it has been singularly unsuccessful in managing relationships between professionals and non-professionals. In the case of graduate student supervision, the student remains a non-professional until he/she passes the PhD examination, even while she/he is in process of being inducted into the professional collegium. How then to structure the relationship of graduate supervision in ways which make it rationally accountable to the non-professional of this relationship but which do not simultaneously require it to contravene professionalism? The answer will lie in some kind of dialogical pragmatics where the communication mechanism concerned is that of 'mutual adjustment' (see Majone, 1991)².

Elsewhere (Yeatman, 1994 and Yeatman, n.d.), I have argued that new contractualist technologies of managing individualised relationships are of a kind as to provide the structure that is needed. These are infra-legal mechanisms of contractual relationship which, *within* the relationship concerned, embed ways of making both parties accountable to each other for their respective parts within a shared project. They do this through the combination of several devices: (1) making next steps or goals and timelines explicit for *both* parties; (2) providing a process whereby the explicit setting of next steps or goals and timelines has to be dialogued on each occasion of meeting together; (3) providing a paper trail of these decisions, which in turn; (4) allows for a process of explicit review as to whether goals and timelines have been met. These are not the only devices which such contractualist relationships make possible, but they are the ones to which I wish to draw attention in my example of graduate supervision logs.

An example of new contractualist management of the supervision relationship: graduate student logs

This technology was invented in a situation where I was co-supervising graduate students in the department I left in order to take up my current position. Co-supervision with a colleague was occurring frequently over the last six months of my being in this department because I was in process of transferring student supervision to this colleague. This was a Women's Studies department where a relatively large number of our small group of graduate students lacked an orientation to, or confidence within, a research culture. In a number of co-supervision settings, my colleague and I found ourselves experimenting with new technologies of supervision, of which one has become the supervision log (for further description, see Yeatman, 1994c).

With the corporatising of university effort, and the effects of devolution, graduate students come to represent a valuable resource for a department. In the New Zealand and Australian weighted student unit (WSU) calculus—a formula which ties proportions of govern-

ment funding to specific levels and areas of study—graduate students count for more than undergraduates. It is accordingly in a department's interest to work to attract as many graduate students as it can manage to service. It is also in a department's interest to provide good ('quality') service to its graduate students, both to hold onto them and to gain a reputation for good completion rates in a context where there is increasing scrutiny of this aspect of academic performance.

Described simply, this log involves the graduate student (the supervisee) writing up in no more than two pages what was transacted in the supervision meeting. This writing is to be descriptive and in connected sentence/paragraph structure. It is to end with a response to 'where to from here?', namely a specification of the next task to be completed by the student, a timeline for this completion, and a date for the next meeting. The log is to be handed in to the supervisor—and a copy kept by the student—as soon as possible after the supervision meeting has been concluded. It is the supervisor's responsibility to contact the student, as soon as possible after receiving the log, to advise her/him of any inaccuracies or issues of interpretation that, if not corrected, are likely to negatively affect work towards the next product.

It is a deceptively simple instrument. Look at all the things it accomplishes and presupposes. What it accomplishes are the following: (1) a piece of focused writing by the student; (2) which accumulates as a series of such writings; (3) the provision of structure for the next task both by way of content and timeline in a way that has to be explicitly negotiated by both supervisee and supervisor; (4) a timeline for the next supervision meeting which in order to be determined has to realistically allow for the supervisor to read whatever piece of work the supervisee is completing as the task. In this way it binds in the supervisor, as well, to what has become effectively a reciprocal contract of services. One of the important things to insist upon, at the point of negotiating timelines for the completion of tasks as well as the next supervision meeting, is realism in assessing what it is possible to achieve in a certain amount of time. Each party can become more practised in such realistic assessment by making it a point of explicit discussion as to when it turns out that their expectations have exceeded their capacities³. Note also that the requirement of the supervisor that she/he respond as soon as possible with any correction of the log that may be of significance for the next stage of the student's work represents a strong expectation that she/he read the log as soon as she/he can manage after receiving it. Finally, (5) the technology of the log ensures that the timing of supervision meetings is organic to the process of the production of *this* thesis. Timelines for meetings are set in relation to task-outcomes rather than there being any mechanical, rule-bound assumption that they should follow a particular frequency.

As to what the log presupposes, there are several points worth emphasising. In order to get the log up as an agreed-upon technology at the outset, the supervisor firstly will have to invite the student to participate in an explicit discussion about reciprocal expectations of the supervision relationship. Secondly, the supervisor will have to formally propose the reciprocal adoption of this technology for the relationship, and thus explicitly ask the student whether she/he is willing to adopt, or perhaps just trial, this instrument with a view, down the track, to evaluating whether it seems to be something which usefully facilitates this as a good, working relationship. Thirdly, in order to specify a task for the next meeting, the supervisor will need to start making explicit the various stages and steps in the production of a research thesis. This converts what may be a rich terrain of tacit professional knowledge into explicit proposals and advice. It also begins to break down the formidable goal of a completed PhD thesis into a process of bite-size steps of arriving at the end goal.

So far, my experience is that this technology works, and that it works in ways which enable both parties to the relationship to feel that they are achieving something in an accumulative manner⁴. Of course the log is also laying a record or paper trail of the relationship which may be an important resource in the event of its breakdown. The log is invaluable in the early stages of a graduate research thesis project when a great deal of structure is needed to get the process going, and the topic focused.

This contractualist technology responsabilises both parties to the supervision relationship in a way that is quite different from the old patrimonial-liberal apprenticeship form of graduate supervision. In this older model, a more personalised and protective induction of the supervisee by the supervisor into the tacit culture of academic research and writing proceeds. Explicit feedback from the supervisor tends to be reserved for written comments on the student's work. This is fine once there are substantial written products (draft chapters) from the student, but is of little avail in the early stages of thesis production when most students have considerable difficulty in arriving at a reasonably tightly focused thesis topic. The contractualist model of supervision, in contrast to the older model, understates the personalised aspects of the relationship by keeping its task- and outcomes-focused. Since an outcome—the submission of a passable research thesis—is the *raison d'être* of the relationship, this seems appropriate.

Built into the supervision log is the requirement of any successful research thesis production: namely, that the *student* drive the process, with the facilitation and advice of the supervisor. It is the student who writes the log, and who therefore takes initiative in how this record gets written. This also means that, if she/he needs to, the student clarifies before a supervision meeting is concluded just what are the supervisor's expectations of the next task.

In this context, I have found it easy to experiment with other kinds of individualising contractualist technologies. I had already integrated into my practice of concluding supervision meetings something like the questions: Have you got what you came for? Is there anything else we need to discuss before we conclude the meeting?⁵ It was a relatively natural next step to ask students, as the first point of discussing a written piece of work they had given to me as supervisors: What do you think you achieved in this? What do you think you did not achieve so well? So far I have found students' own diagnosis of what they have achieved, as well as what they have *not* achieved, to match my own. However, there is a critical difference between using the student's, as distinct from the supervisor's, diagnosis as the point of departure for discussion and advice. The former technology develops the student's own capacities for judgment, and his/her strategic anticipation of an audience's responses to his/her rhetorics of argumentation. It does not misdirect the student's energies within an economy of adaptation to the supervisor's opinions, values and quirks.

Conclusion

The graduate supervision log is an example of using new contractualist technologies of management to make the supervision relationship rationally accountable in ways which are likely to facilitate successful graduate student completion of the task. These will need to be complemented by explicit skilling of graduate students in all the competencies and knowledges that go into the successful production of a PhD thesis.

The supervision log appears to have the virtue of explicitly tabling the supervision relationship itself for scrutiny as a component in the successful production of a PhD thesis. Since it is tabled, it becomes visible in such a way that it can be *managed* by both parties in this new contractualist manner. While the personalised aspects of the older form of apprenticeship relationship may continue to subsist, they become subordinated to and disciplined within the task-oriented contractualist form of the supervision relationship. Thus, there may well be a passionate attachment of reciprocal admiration and identification which inheres in this relationship, but it is left to run its private course alongside the publicly admissible and manageable components of the explicitly contractualised relationship. These allow both parties a safety of role and task specification which permits them time and space to determine whether, post-thesis completion, they want to make of this relationship a collegial and/or personal friendship.

This kind of infra-legal contractualism allows for structure and reciprocal accountability in the relationship, as well as laying a paper trail for its conduct. It is of particular importance in relationships which require complex forms of dialogue across unequal partners.

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Footnotes

1. Needless to say, the son of genius, in order to establish his own name, has to rebel against being subsumed under the authority of his supervisor-father. To some extent, this rebellion can be masked as long as the public scholarly reputation of the father is so considerable as to make it worth the son's while to continue to claim to have benefited from his supervisor's influence.
2. The professional collegium is often taken as the prototype of 'mutual adjustment', but is in fact only one kind of mutual adjustment. Mutual adjustment uses dialogical mechanisms of social coordination or organisation such as information sharing, consultation, persuasion, and what Majone (1992) calls partisan debate.
3. In my experience this regularly happens. The student tends to over-estimate what she/he can achieve within a given time interval, and then to over-estimate the availability of the supervisor to read something that comes in later than agreed, leaving little interval between its arrival and the meeting. Asking the student to diagnose why these mis-estimations have occurred—the second of course following fairly automatically upon the first—smokes out some important issues of the pragmatics of researching and writing a thesis. Without such planning and the strategy to which it conduces, especially but not only in the case of part-time candidature, it is very difficult to research and write a thesis. It can be left to a kind of 'drift' which demoralises both supervisee and supervisor. Thus, I regard the seemingly banal issue of realism around tasks and timelines as a critical issue in managing the pragmatics of advanced-level postgraduate research and writing.
4. I have little experience as yet of using logs in advanced stages of thesis production. I would not be surprised if their usefulness tends to diminish at these stages. It may, however, still be important to maintain the form of the log as a continuing record.
5. In my adoption of practices such as this, I have learnt a great deal from the democratically oriented psycho-therapies with which I have been associated both as client and colleague for some time. I am thinking especially but not only of the work of Michael White and David Epston. In his most recent book, White (1995) writes frequently about the new contractualist values of accountability, and transparency, in the relationship of therapist to client. For example, he states: "I also routinely encourage persons to evaluate the [therapeutic] interview to determine what parts of it were relevant to them, which parts were not so, and what they found helpful and what they didn't. As persons respond to this, those viable points of entry for re-authoring processes become abundantly clear. For example, I can enquire about why a particular comment was helpful, explore any realisations that might have accompanied this, and encourage persons to speculate about the possible real effects that might be associated with such a realisation—how this might contribute to the shape of their life, etc." (White, 1995, 69-70).

Research degree supervision: 'more mentor than master'

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Introduction

One can say a lot about research degree supervision, and indeed whole books have been written about it. The aspects touched on here are issues of pragmatic concern in my dual roles as a dean of graduate studies and professor of applied mathematics in a relatively new university—University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). While my own background is scientific, what strikes me most in my pan-university role are the similarities of the problems across fields of study rather than the differences.

A widespread problem is “inadequate supervision; a lack of communication between supervisor and student; the student’s misperception of standards, requirements, and of the supervisor’s role and functions” (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992). One has to assume that there is some institutional and individual commitment to trying to solve such problems where they exist. Thus if there is no workload recognition for the supervisory role, then it may not be done well or it may be avoided except by the very dedicated. I have therefore decided to concentrate mainly on some practical aspects of alleviating the problem, though I recognise there may not seem to be agreement: courses for supervisors, the mentoring aspect of supervision, and various institutional structures, including graduate schools, and, even more fundamentally, what a research degree is and what it is for.

The synonyms for ‘supervision’ in Roget’s Thesaurus range from ‘director’ and ‘manager’ to ‘agitator’ and ‘demagogue’. A moment’s reflection on our supervisory activities and those of our colleagues may make us feel that this is as close to an adequate definition as we can get. This is because there is a danger in trying to formalise the role of supervisor and the relationship with the candidate that we might destroy that intangible quality which makes for good supervision. Like ‘intelligence’, we think we know it when we see it even if we cannot define it. It is intangible because, even for the same supervisor, it varies, not only from topic to topic, but even more importantly with each student one guides. It is this interpersonal relationship, which can be so fragile, with its imbalance of institutional power and intellectual authority in its embryonic stages, and which defies ‘how to do it’ kits. Yet safety nets, of varying strength, are needed particularly in newer universities and emerging fields of study where the pool of experienced supervisors is limited and changing supervisor in midstream may not be feasible.

Without guidelines and a framework for operation, however, candidates can be at the whim of academic idiosyncrasies. Furthermore, we now work in an era of position descriptions, performance indicators, work plans and strategic plans.

Obviously not all active researchers make good supervisors, though they may be more likely to attract good students. On the other hand, it would be very rare for a person inactive in research to be even a barely adequate supervisor in mathematics and sciences. “How can a faculty that is not abreast of recent trends offer the best educational experience to the interested student?” (Merrill, 1992). The people and the personalities, the project and its purpose, can disguise the dynamics of the research degree candidature.

Research

This brings us to the inter-dependent questions about the nature of research and the scope of the research degree, particularly the doctorate.

As for a definition of research:

[R]esearch involves critical and creative activities undertaken on a systematic basis, according to rigorous disciplinary conventions and methods of enquiry, to increase the stock of human knowledge. Such extension of knowledge may arise either directly by new discoveries, or otherwise through the development of innovative ideas, theoretical refinements or constructive critiques and syntheses which extend existing knowledge and/or new applications (Fell, 1992).

The view of research in a given field is intimately related to its place in a research degree.

For example, research in mathematics is inextricably linked with the solution of a problem or the application of a technique so that research methodology courses are meaningless. Research in the experimental sciences is usually a team process, so that estimating the contributions of individual members can be problematic. Research in the social sciences is often fashioned by paradigms with seemingly shifting boundaries.

Research degree expectations are also shaped differently across disciplines, from the apprentice model of the sciences through the collegial style of mathematics to the view in some of the social sciences of the PhD as a mid-career peak achieved after many years of isolated labour (an approach not favoured by ‘bean counters’, incidentally, who want bodies in and out in three years!).

Generally, the PhD rules talk about contributions to the field which are ‘original’ and ‘substantial’. Does this only mean immersing the neophyte researcher into the culture of a field through depth in a narrow sub-field or by acquiring knowledge of research issues and techniques across a number of related subjects which are then applied and integrated in a dissertation? From reading reports of examiners of research degrees from all nine faculties of UTS, I believe there is more than a little confusion among supervisors, candidates and examiners.

During 1992, *Academe*, the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, carried several articles and many letters addressed to the question of what is a PhD. The controversy was sparked by the claim that the North American PhD was too research-oriented to be the best or the most relevant way to prepare graduate students for a career of teaching undergraduates.

Those who supported the PhD as a preparation for teaching in higher education argued, with less logic than they hopefully used in their PhD theses, that they learnt a lot about undergraduate teaching from their part time work during candidacy, and that if they made mistakes these were compensated by their enthusiasm and energy.

At the other extreme were those such as Pulling (1992) who argued for that distinctively US innovation: the Doctor of Arts. It was initiated in the early 1970s to develop the skills of those who wanted to teach at the undergraduate level. Practical experience, pedagogy and a project or dissertation which linked a discipline with teaching were its ingredients. It is currently offered in about 30 institutions but suffers from that ‘equal but different’ label which invariably seems to flounder.

Likewise, the questioning of the commercial value and intellectual worth of doctoral degrees in Australia has given rise to professional doctorates, which often aim to bring the candidate to the cutting edge of research on a broad range of issues rather than focus on a single problem. As these develop further in the next few years, we may well see a re-defining of the role of a research degree.

Towards a mentor model

As Moses (1985) writes:

Studies of supervisors have shown that the ambiguity inherent in postgraduate studies worries many supervisors, because they are unsure of their role. From the role of teacher in the early undergraduate days, where the staff member clearly was the expert and the student the learner, the balance shifts during the years of undergraduate and postgraduate study, until the relationship is more symmetrical and the staff member is more mentor than master.

Not that there is general agreement about mentoring as a facet of supervision, and still fewer agree about what mentoring involves. Yet it is clear that some supervisors attract candidates because they are skilled researchers who adopt a mentoring role.

If good supervision is not easy to pigeon-hole, then how much more difficult is that aspect of it which goes under the name of 'mentoring'. There are two types of mentoring involved in research degree supervision: the more obvious one between supervisors and students, but the no less important one between experienced supervisors and those academics who wish to acquire the appropriate skills in perhaps a co-supervisory role. This is not to belittle the latter task, but rather to recognise that one becomes a capable supervisor by supervising. "All three of my exemplary profs were 'mentoring' if we mean by mentoring the providing of 'models' of professional behaviour" (Booth, 1994).

Thus, mentoring is a process of socialisation into a sense of the significant issues in a discipline. Yet mentoring is a personal thing, and its success depends as much on the personalities of those involved as it does on the appropriate experience of the mentor. The mentoring process should be a dynamic bilateral interaction between colleagues. The mentor has to stimulate, to goad, to encourage at different stages of the enterprise.

In scientific fields, the mentor relationships are "essential in producing in young scientists a sense for a good question or a key problem, a style of doing research or theorising, a critical stance, and a way of teaching their own future intellectual progeny" (Cole, 1979).

It is through the mentor relationship, then, that elite science—seen as an entity unto itself distinct from everyday or 'normal' science—propagates itself. By this view, a great scientific discovery is the product not of individual genius alone but of a scientific knowledge and technique; indeed, these may be the least of it. In a long chapter in Scientific Elite devoted to 'Masters and Apprentices', Harriet Zuckerman notes that it wasn't knowledge or skills that apprentices acquired from their masters so much as a 'style of thinking', as one laureate in chemistry told her. It was problem-finding as much as problem-solving. Those future Nobel laureates were being socialised, to use sociology's vocabulary, into a sense of the significant, or important, or right problem (Kanigel, 1986).

However mentoring is viewed, it transcends the research and has meaning if one accepts the distinct teaching role of research degree supervision. Its *raison d'être* is captured by Ker's evaluation of John Henry Newman:

...The stress Newman lays on the personal interaction between student and teacher and on the university as an intellectual community is one that should strongly appeal to a culture which speaks so much about the need for both community and the personal element, precisely because of the lack of either in modern industrialised society, which is both atomised and depersonalised. The 'holistic' view that modern medicine, for example, takes of human beings is the same kind of educational theory that the Idea of a University puts forward: just as the psychological state of the physically sick person may be highly relevant to his or her recovery, quite apart from surgery and drugs, so too, the Idea insists, the whole mind needs to be educated through active participation in a community of intellectual formation, not just the memory through passive attendance on impersonal lectures. Such a content for learning is so vital for Newman that he is prepared if necessary to abandon the basic formalities of academic instruction in favour of an association,

however informal, of actual individual minds personally interacting (Ker, 1990).

To the mentoring role, many academics add the responsibility of helping those candidates who want such help onto the next step of their careers, be it a post-doctoral fellowship, an academic appointment or any other career. This is no easy role, and moreover, it's one which some academics eschew on the basis that it's not their job to interfere in such a way. Clearly, to be successful in this phase of the apprenticeship the supervisor needs to be an effective networker (Gaffney, 1995). A formal scheme to assist in this is currently being trialed in the USA by the Association of American Colleges and the Council of Graduate Schools (Harding, 1995). Help with career establishment or development is an extension of a concern by the mentor for a nurturing of 'ownership', both intellectual and emotional, of the intellectual property, and the attendant issues of publishing. This is a complex and currently messy area, with attendant claims on copyright from universities and publishers which do nothing to reassure the novice researcher who is trying to come to terms with institutional and disciplinary variations in conventions about numbers of co-authors and the order in which their names appear. The mere mention of these issues is a reminder of how complex mentoring is in practice because not even the rules of the game are static, let alone those of DEET or one's own university. (On a lighter note, a fifteen author letter in *The New England Journal of Medicine* drew attention to the proliferation of authors in science by citing a sixteen author article in the same journal! (Benish et al, 1985).)

Mentoring contexts

The mentoring which took place in the German universities reformed by von Humboldt integrated advanced teaching and research.

In the famous nineteenth-century laboratories and seminars of German universities that developed from the 1830s onwards, a close integration of research, teaching and study became operationally defined... a heavily idealised three-sided nexus was formed in which the three fundamental activities of research, teaching and study were extensively blended. On a good day in the German laboratory of old, you could not tell one from another! The world of the research-dominated university had found its operational base in a mentor-apprentice, teacher-student relationship founded on linked engagement in research activity (Clark, 1994).

The mentor can encourage others to tap into this international network by corresponding with researchers. Initially, this can be done by writing for offprints or commenting about publications. Most authors welcome any interest shown in their work, and some will then become 'academic pen-pals', so to speak, something made easier with ready access to electronic mail.

Given the large number of relatively new universities in Australia and the fairly large number of emerging fields, Balint et al (1994) offer a very useful case study of mentoring in an amalgamated institution. The context is broader than that of research degree supervision but still germane to the current discussion, because the profiles of the age distributions of research degree candidates are often bimodal: one part with a median age of about twenty-five and the other part with a median age of about forty. These two groups, of comparable size at UTS, bring very different expectations and experiences to the supervisor-student relationship. The younger might accept Schrodinger's advice, but the older almost certainly would not: "I am very busy, and so many research students want to come and study with me, and they ask for advice what to do. I'll tell you what I say to these students! First year do nothing but mathematics, second year nothing but mathematics, in the third year you can come and talk with me" (Moore, 1994).

Nowhere are these differences more noticeable than in the issue of writing. Habits have to be abandoned or reshaped to the conventions of the discipline, a task which varies with age and background. We have to ask and keep asking: what is this thesis/chapter/paragraph/sentence all about? But how do we help them? Are their difficulties in articulating their ideas due to lack of knowledge or ways of experienc-

ing that knowledge, or to alienating structures in the language? Keller (1992) goes further by pointing out that

until we can articulate an adequate response to the question of how 'nature' interacts with 'culture' in the production of scientific knowledge, until we find an adequate way of integrating the impact of multiple social and political forces, psychological predispositions, experimental constraints and cognitive demands on the growth of science, working scientists will continue to find their more traditional mind-sets not only more comfortable, but far more adequate.

Does this mean that I am ill at ease in my other life of mathematics? No, far from it, but I do believe that if we see ourselves as mentors when we supervise research degree students, then we need to recognise the forces of current fashion and the limitations they may impose on long term career development, themes well crystallised recently by Moyal (1995). As for language, I am the least equipped to deal with it, as I often feel like Alice in talking to Humpty Dumpty! (Carroll, 1960).

Courses for supervisors

Can mentoring be taught? I suspect not, though doubtless one can learn from shared good practice as well as knowledge about the various forms it might take. In so far as one accepts mentoring as part of supervision, it is just one part.

A variety of procedures are emerging in many Australian universities to guide the supervisory process in general. One of these is the development of codes of practice based on AVCC guidelines. These typically address such issues as the background of the supervisors, frequency of meetings between supervisors and candidates, responsibilities of the institution, the principal and co-supervisors and the candidates, rights and duties of candidates, and appeal mechanisms. The fleshing out of such bare bones is very much a function of local conditions and traditions.

A thorny issue is recognition of supervision as part of the work load of an academic, and then giving credit for it when teaching duties are allocated. Supervision clearly involves research, but I would claim that it also involves teaching: teaching of a special sort. Like other teaching, it is sometimes approached in the same way the supervisor was supervised (or diametrically opposed to it, depending on the experience). Like other teaching, one can learn to be a better supervisor from 'best practice' and from awareness of the pitfalls. Among the latter in mathematics and the sciences can be confusing the role of research student with research assistant, or the assumption that because one sees the students every day in the laboratory they are therefore being 'supervised'.

The management of supervision and the management of supervisors themselves are separate processes which have administrative and pedagogical sides. How does one know if supervision is effective on a week to week basis? What are the different forms of co-supervision, and what makes some seem to work better than others, and under what conditions? How can students complain about poor supervision?

Some universities run residential and other courses for research degree supervisors. These typically involve facilitators from a number of disciplines and sometimes other universities so that there is a range of inputs and sometimes conflicting perspectives, which leads to healthy debate. The issues discussed include time management, the writing process, and dealing with the difficulties which occur at the different stages of candidature. Workshops, problem solving sessions, group work and mini-lectures provide variety to the format as participants become more aware of the range of issues. There is always the feeling of 'preaching to the converted', however, or at least to those who are already sensitive to the issues.

Not unexpectedly, the most fruitful periods are often those informal opportunities for networking across disciplinary boundaries in a relaxed but generally stimulating environment. As well as cross fertilising ideas and sharing problems, a very important output can be cross-faculty supervision of projects. Some universities have also developed induction programs for research degree candidates. Some of these are intensive two or three day affairs; others are highly structured semester-long courses; others still are series of short courses.

University criteria for maintaining some form of 'registration' as a supervisor often include attendance at such workshops every few years, along with such issues as current research activities and output as well as a record of successful research degree supervision.

To some supervisors these procedures may seem to be trying to do it all by numbers, but arguments in their favour relate to the large numbers of new candidates each year in some universities, with many from other universities. They enable candidates to know about their rights, the resources available to them, planning of their programs, and by meeting other postgraduate students they can have that critical mass needed to achieve genuine peer support even if they are not all from the one field of study. Induction programs for new staff also usually feature at least one session which deals with postgraduate issues. Staff who are new to university work often need considerable on-going guidance to balance their variety of duties and the range of expectations—both their own and those of others.

Supervision: contexts and issues

These are some of many issues of university-wide concern which require interaction and co-operation. Quite a few universities have appointed Deans/Directors of Graduate Studies with pan-university responsibility for quality assurance of graduate education, especially research degrees. These can provide a vision for graduate education through (i) policy development, (ii) acting as a catalyst for new programs (increasingly off-campus and even offshore), and (iii) unifying postgraduate student activities. To be seen to add value, they need to act in partnership with other units within a university.

While each Faculty claims to be different, there are many common elements. This is nowhere more obvious than in thesis examiners' reports: time and time again, the same points are made across all disciplines about what is, after all, the final product. Examiners look for clarity in aims, coherence in approach, critical depth, perspective and originality. They are annoyed by poor spelling, language which obscures, literature reviews which are mere descriptive lists, unsubstantiated claims, and unwarranted or unrecognised assumptions. That said, though, one feels at times that one needs to examine the examiner if one is not to make a mockery of mentoring! The research degree examination process in Australia generally needs a thorough re-examination! It would not itself pass if submitted for examination...

Other issues include increased retention and progression rates, decreased completion times, strategies to maintain quality of supervision, provision of infrastructure support, as well as welfare and equity issues. The last named reminds me that many staff and some students react negatively to the elitism and gender bias which they claim is implicit in the concept of mentoring. To the extent that the phenomenon of mentoring exists, one might argue that one should improve the process (Speizer, 1981) and widen the access (Krain, 1983) to capitalise on its positive features. The mentoring suggested here is labelled as 'grooming-mentoring' by some in contrast to 'network-mentoring'. The latter "is characterised by a series of contacts between two or more people in which each plays the role of mentor and protégé at different times and to different times and to different degrees" (Haring-Hidore, 1987). There is also 'peer-mentoring' which can overcome, to some extent, the traditions of a discipline or an institution.

Gender inequities go further: timelines and deadlines may not cater for the commitments of women with children: mentoring may introduce a measure of flexibility. In some areas, too, women have assembled knowledge "in unorthodox ways, outside the university system, but its intrinsic value cannot be denigrated" (Parry, 1995). The PhD by publication may be a partial solution here, though it also requires some supervision if it is to have parity of esteem with traditional PhDs.

To close on this note is to finish with a whimper. It would be nice, for a mathematician to conclude with a solution, though often, as here, all we can do is enunciate a different problem.

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Professional development for postgraduate supervision

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Introduction

The quality of postgraduate supervision continues to be an issue for all parties involved in the process¹. For universities which are increasingly more aware of their accountability to external groups, attrition rates and completion rates of postgraduate students are becoming statistics of vital concern (Burgess, 1994; NBEET, 1989). With the gradual introduction of fees for postgraduate study, students—now often paying clients—are becoming more vocal about the quality of their experience within postgraduate programs, and horror stories sometimes surface about problems associated with postgraduate research. In the newer universities, the move towards greater involvement in postgraduate programs has meant that more and more of their academic staff are being called upon to assume the roles of supervisors of postgraduate students—something which they have often had limited experience in the past. Particularly in these newer universities, the rush to induct new supervisors into the role has been associated with conscious efforts to establish a research climate in which supervisors and postgraduate students receive adequate support and are provided with a lively intellectual environment for their work.

In order to support both this growing involvement in postgraduate supervision within newer universities and the established involvement in those institutions which have a long tradition of postgraduate research, there has been a range of standard professional development responses. In some institutions, inexperienced supervisors are teamed up with their experienced colleagues as associate- or co-supervisors, in the hope that they will learn about supervision through informal mentoring or modelling processes. In most universities, there are attempts at workshops or seminars related to postgraduate supervision. Sometimes these are 'in-house' affairs while, in other cases, input from outside speakers is invited. Topics for discussion at these programs include such aspects of supervision as the skills of providing feedback to students, supporting postgraduate writing, developing a supportive climate for postgraduate students, research skills, resources available for students and supervisors, departmental or university policies and procedures, ethical issues, and working with international postgraduate students (Moses, 1992; Zuber-Skerritt, 1992a). In some cases, workshops have been preceded by formal data collection to provide attendees with information such as student completion rates and student perceptions of supervision to act as a stimulus for discussion (Powles, 1988). Some workshops have also used a 'train the trainer' approach, with participants expected to take responsibility for disseminating the ideas and for the professional development of colleagues back in their respective departments (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992b). Although many events involve activities for postgraduate supervisors and students separately, some forums are attended by postgraduate students and supervisors together. Postgraduate student associations have also joined the scene, organising orientation and other support activities for students, and sometimes including input from supervisors.

In general, where these activities to improve postgraduate supervision are part of the institutional procedures, they take place as 'one-off' or infrequent events. They are based on the assumption that, once introduced to the knowledge and skills of postgraduate supervision, academics will go away and incorporate new practices into their

repertoire, with the aim of enhanced quality duly achieved. After relatively intensive exposure to the concepts, the participants are expected to become better supervisors, and sometimes they are even expected to support the development of enhanced supervisory practices among their colleagues. The assumption underlying many of these approaches is that the process of supervision can be learned by reading, listening and talking about the theories and practices of others. Even with workshops modelled on an action learning approach, the time allocated for bringing supervisors together is short and the site is usually remote from that in which the actual supervision takes place. That is, supervisors from different contexts are brought together for a workshop program which allows little time for implementing new skills or ideas and reflecting on the results of changing one's own practice. To a large extent, all of these professional development approaches assume a traditional mode of transmission of knowledge. Rarely are they part of a more long-term strategy which takes account of the nature of supervision and what this suggests about how its practice might best be improved.

Action research as an alternative approach

Action research is one alternative approach to professional development which has been commonly used in school settings, and which has been acclaimed as bringing about significant changes in teaching practice (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988). In its most technical form, action research is an iterative process of analysing practice, formulating changes to that practice, implementing these changes, monitoring their effects, and reformulating further changes on the basis of evaluation and reflection (Grundy, 1982). Some advocates of action research stress its collaborative nature, arguing that its value lies in the exchange of perspectives on practice and the critical analysis of assumptions underlying practice that occur in a group whose members challenge and extend each other's thinking (McCutcheon & Jung, 1990). A further feature of action research, argued by some to be its most important, is its focus on social justice (McTaggart, 1991). For these proponents of action research, there must be a critical examination of inequitable power relationships underlying existing practices and a move towards achieving more equitable relationships.

The promise of action research to provide an alternative and more enduring change to supervisory practices within postgraduate supervision led to the development of a submission for funding to the Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching (CAUT) in 1993. The submission spelt out the advantages of action research as providing a collaborative approach to the issue of postgraduate supervision, with the opportunity for postgraduate students and supervisors in one faculty to form a group which would explore issues of supervision and work towards improving their practices. The project arose in one of the newer universities in which there was an identified concern among the faculty about the expanding postgraduate enrolments and the relative inexperience of the majority of postgraduate supervisors. The submission set out the four aims of the project as:

- forming a collaborative group of supervisors and students involved in postgraduate research programs in one faculty;

- undertaking a collaborative process in which members of the group investigate aspects of postgraduate student learning, implement strategies to improve learning, monitor the effects of those strategies and discuss their experiences within the group setting;
- producing written material and video segments which would be used to enhance postgraduate student learning throughout the faculty and in other settings; and
- documenting the collaborative process used by the group, together with its strengths and weaknesses, so that other groups could use the process to improve postgraduate student learning.

The arguments for this approach, as opposed to other more traditional means of improving postgraduate supervision, were that it involved both students and supervisors working collaboratively over an extended period of time, and that the process used would allow an exploration of some of the issues of power relationships in postgraduate supervision. In addition, it was envisaged that the outcome of the project would be a deeper understanding among the participants of the nature of postgraduate supervision, which could then be shared with other groups.

The project, which became known as Collaborative Action in Postgraduate Supervision (CAPS), was launched within the faculty in April 1994 with a meeting to which all postgraduate supervisors and students were invited. The acting dean of the faculty had written a letter to all staff encouraging their involvement in the project. The first meeting was attended by five supervisors and eleven students, with a number of others unable to attend the meeting but indicating an interest in joining the project. This first meeting provided an opportunity to explain the action research process and the way in which the project would proceed, with some time to begin to discuss the issues related to postgraduate supervision which interested those who attended the meeting. The aim was for the group to decide on a number of issues which individuals would explore through gathering information about that issue from their own experiences, using the meetings to discuss their findings and search for a deeper understanding of that issue. The use of journals was suggested to provide an avenue for recording ideas and observations, as well as for reflecting on progress and developing understandings. The use of videos of actual supervisory meetings was also foreshadowed as a focus for discussions at group meetings. At this first meeting, dates were negotiated for a series of regular meetings for the group, and it was envisaged that these would play a key role in melding the group and providing a forum for discussion and for sharing of the experiences of postgraduate supervision which the members were exploring.

The process evolves

After only a few of the scheduled meetings were held, it became obvious that the action research process, which relied on regular contact among the group members, was not going to work as the primary way of achieving the project's aims of exploring, sharing and enhancing supervisory practices. Meetings were very poorly attended and a stable group did not develop, as different people attended the meetings on each occasion. Supervisors apparently were unwilling or unable to commit time to the project, and only a few attended on an irregular basis. Those students who attended usually came along with a specific problem which they aired at the meeting, with an expectation that the team co-ordinating the project would resolve the problem for them. Those students who perceived that they had no problems currently associated with their postgraduate experience seemed to feel no need to take part in such a project.

Furthermore, there was little recognition on the part of the students that they could play a role in changing practices and procedures associated with postgraduate supervision. The supervisors who attended the meetings were keen to discuss supervision in general, mainly with a view to changing the practices of others, but they were less willing to open their own practices to any form of scrutiny or discussion. There was an overwhelming view coming from the stu-

dents and supervisors in the faculty that all available time needed to be directed to the actual task of doing the research and writing the thesis. It was considered to be too much of a diversion or interruption to focus time and effort on exploring the process of supervision, unless serious problems with the process arose. It appeared to be a case of 'If things are going smoothly, don't think about them'. When problems arose, there was a search for a quick-fix solution, preferably carried out by someone else. This quick-fix solution replaced a search for a deeper understanding of why the problem was occurring and how all parties could work together for its resolution. Students and supervisors appeared to feel powerless to change the underlying factors affecting the practice of supervision within the faculty.

The lack of success with the action research approach envisaged for the project led the project team to rethink the direction the project was taking. The project officer employed to support the project began to work individually with those supervisors and students in the faculty who were still interested in some involvement in the project but who were not necessarily able to attend meetings. The project officer then encouraged and assisted these individuals to record their experiences and growing understandings of postgraduate supervision through the writing of narratives. The process of writing these narratives collaboratively with the project officer meant that the project participants each explored issues of interest to them and reached a deeper understanding of those issues. Rather than using the support, probing and challenging of group interaction, the process relied on the project officer to take that role with each person on a more individual basis. Excerpts from the narratives were shared at group meetings, which continued for those interested in attending. Written materials, including these excerpts, were also circulated to all involved in the project. The excerpts provided examples of real experiences described through the words of real supervisors and students. For this reason, they created interest, provoked discussion and stimulated participants to consider their own experience in relation to the narratives.

The next stage of the project involved seeking volunteers from the faculty to participate in videotaping sessions. Some of these were of real supervisory sessions and others were of role plays based on real supervisory sessions. The participants themselves developed the ideas for the videotapes which were organised by the project officer. Again, the video segments provided material for discussion at group meetings and were also used at a workshop conducted for the faculty at the end of the year. Although a different format and medium from the narratives, the video material did provide some frank and personalised perspectives about supervision, and when it was shown to groups of either supervisors or students, it provoked lively discussion.

Discussion

The move by the project team from an action research approach to an alternative process for the project may appear to have been somewhat premature. Indeed, perhaps more efforts should have been made to explain the intended process and to build the necessary support and trust, as well as commitment to the project, necessary for the action research process to continue. There was some indication that the lack of success with the action research approach may have been the result of inadequate preparation of the group participating in the project, some of whom commented later that they had felt that things moved too quickly in the early stages without the development of sufficient trust among the group members. However, as with all funded projects, deadlines imposed by external agencies brought a sense of urgency and some pressure to keep the project moving towards the achievement of its pre-specified goals.

The major difficulties with the action research approach to the project appeared to arise from the time constraints that both supervisors and students were experiencing and the associated low priority of time they were able to give to attending meetings, which were originally seen as an important part of the project. Time to focus specifically on the process of supervision was considered to be just too much of a luxury by supervisors and students alike, whose efforts were directed towards completing a research project and writing a thesis.

This could be compared with the resistance one would expect from a highly motivated mathematics class whose lecturer appeared to be spending a proportion of the class time on discussion of student learning approaches, instead on covering the mathematics students perceived they needed for their exams. Although this would be considered a commendable diversion by some, it is unlikely that the majority of students and lecturing staff would see it as a worthwhile use of their time.

What then is needed for a process such as action research to succeed in such a context? It is likely that the time required for promoting the process and gathering commitment to it is quite lengthy, and that specific strategies need to be undertaken to achieve this as a preliminary stage to such a project. Action research should arise from a ground-swell of support that it is a useful process to explore an issue which participants have agreed upon as a priority for exploration and concomitant change of practice. That is, there must be an agreement that an issue exists and that action research is a good way of addressing it. There must also be some recognition that action research is not a quick-fix solution but, rather, a process which helps people work together to explore and find their own solutions through collaborative understanding. This means that a prerequisite for action research is a willingness to commit time not only to the solutions but, most importantly, to the process of exploration and investigation.

Is the formal time commitment required of an action research approach too much to expect from postgraduate students or, more particularly, from academics who are experiencing a range of demands for their time of which postgraduate supervision comprises a small component? For staff in the newer universities, pressures to develop a research profile and to become involved in postgraduate supervision have come at the same time as a number of other demands and cost-cutting measures, which have led to a dramatic intensification of academics' work. The experience of this project suggests that a requirement to attend regular meetings which focused on a process of sharing and exploring postgraduate supervision was too much to ask of these supervisors and students.

Notwithstanding these difficulties in the use of action research for developing the quality of postgraduate supervision, there is still a need to pursue some strategies for professional development of both supervisors and students. Action research is not the only means of providing some meaningful development of supervisors and students. The project, although deviating from its original stated processes, did proceed towards outcomes as specified in the submission. The move away from an action research approach could be interpreted as a willingness on the part of the project team to be flexible in its approach, to reflect on its processes, and to modify those processes according to the context of the project and the expressed needs of the participants. Comments from those involved suggested that the process was very worthwhile, and that the move to developing and then sharing more individual narratives of experience was an effective alternative to action research.

Students who participated in the project made comments which suggested that their participation had been a learning experience and that, through the discussions, they now had new understanding of and a feeling of control over the process in which they were engaged. Supervision had become a topic of lively conversation:

I learnt that when one becomes a postgraduate student there are many more choices—the quality of the work, the time put into it, the direction taken, even the ability to change a supervisor if necessary. For me, the more active the introduction to that change from undergraduate to postgraduate, the more active initiation into the new style, the more talking taking place, the more cooperative learning you do in discussing your fears and your problems [the better].

There is a feeling of having more control about what happens in supervision. Previously I knew what research was, but I didn't have the confidence to put that and the supervision information together.

I have an increased enthusiasm for helping other students in super-

vision. Now I approach people about supervision and talk about it.

Some students particularly commented that the narratives had demonstrated that what they were saying was being valued. The narrative approach also allowed a wider involvement by students who felt unable to commit time to attending meetings:

I saw students really feeling that what they said was worthwhile, when they were listened to as they expressed their views and then their seeing a written record of what they had said, knowing it would be included in a report. The writing made people see that what they were saying was valued.

I felt disappointed when I thought I wouldn't have enough time to be more involved and so wasn't as involved as I would have liked. Through the change in the project to include a greater level of individual contribution, I felt as though I could share, through my narrative, with other people.

Supervisors involved in the project also commented that it had encouraged more openness, and that it had started up a conversation about supervision which had not been present before the project. They observed how the conversation had facilitated a sharing, which meant a deeper understanding of the process of supervision:

There is a greater openness around about some of the difficulties in supervision and, therefore, it makes it easier to deal with them. It reduces the isolation.

It opened my understanding of how vastly different students are in their demands throughout supervision. My awareness has been increased in terms of the difficulties that supervisors encounter in relating to a variety of expectations from students.

I could see outcomes for both supervisors and students. Things were made clear for both parties that perhaps they had known, but were clarified by other people. You could see people's 'lights' turning on. I could see people thinking, 'Oh yes, that's what it's like for me'.

Conclusions

The experience of this project suggests a number of features of professional development activities which have the potential to bring about changed supervisory practices and relationships. The first of these relates to the need for some form of a collaborative approach involving both supervisors and postgraduate students. Postgraduate supervision can be a very isolating experience for both supervisors and students. It is an experience which often takes place in the privacy of an academic's office, and involves only the supervisor and student meeting together. For many supervisors, approaches to supervision are based on their own experience of being supervised as postgraduate students, because they have had few, if any, opportunities to observe other approaches. In this respect, it is a far more private and less observed form of teaching than other classroom-based forms of teaching in which academics are engaged. For this reason alone, it is imperative for supervisors to come together in some way on a regular basis, sharing their experiences, problems and successes of their supervisory roles.

The involvement of students is also necessary for supervisors to begin to understand what the experience is like from the students' perspectives, and to gain some appreciation of the diversity and complexity of student needs and preferences. Furthermore, there is a need for students to be involved in the process of professional development in a meaningful and equitable way. This requires more than token involvement, which often takes place through inviting students as observers to discussions or expecting one or two students to represent the views of all students through a short input to a formal program. There is a need to employ processes in which more equitable power relationships between supervisors and students can be developed. Many writers have referred to postgraduate research as the means of inducting new academics into the profession, and few supervisors would argue that the end result of doctoral studies is the development of a more collegial relationship between postgraduate

student and supervisor. Postgraduate supervision deserves to be explored using approaches which encourage the development of these collegial relationships and the acceptance of responsibility from both supervisors and students that students too have an important role to play in the supervisory relationship established. While there is general recognition that postgraduate students have a major responsibility for the research project on which they are working, there is less recognition that they should be allowed to develop a similar share of the responsibility for the supervisory relationship.

Another feature which should characterise professional development related to postgraduate supervision is the need to focus on the actual experiences of the participants. Like all forms of practical endeavour, there is a very tenuous link between knowing something about the theory of supervision and being able to translate that into effective practice. As in other forms of practical endeavour, changes in practice are most likely to occur when there has been a carefully supported and structured series of activities which allow practitioners to reflect on their own practice, to consider particular issues of importance to their practice, and to share their experiences with a supportive group of colleagues who can challenge assumptions which underlie that practice and together develop alternative ways of approaching that practice. In other words, there is a need to theorise the practice and use that understanding to develop alternatives. Collaboration among a group is important here to develop the level of trust which is needed for troublesome issues to be explored and for challenges to be made to what are sometimes entrenched ways of thinking about those issues. Noddings and Witherell (1991) have highlighted the depth of understanding which can come from sharing narratives:

We learn by both hearing and telling stories. Telling our own stories can be cathartic and liberating. But it is more than that. We discover as we tell and come closer to wisdom (Noddings and Witherell, 1991, p. 279).

The features which have been described here do not lend themselves to one-off workshops, or even to short-term residential events. Instead, they require a recognition that changes to supervisory practices will not take place quickly. The collaborative group which is needed to support such changes will take time to form. There is a need for the group to meet on a regular basis over a sufficiently long period of time for issues which relate directly to practice to be shared and monitored. Furthermore, special processes are needed to encourage the sharing and articulation of specific issues related to practice. Bringing a group of students and supervisors together will not automatically guarantee that the discussion will focus on personal concerns and the details of individual practice. If students and supervisors are not initially willing to devote time to forming such a group and becoming involved in such processes, other ways of focusing on practice and sharing understandings need to be used.

The change in direction of this project away from action research and towards a collaborative process which relied on the project officer encouraging and supporting the writing and sharing of individual narratives can be seen as a means of achieving the criteria outlined above. The evolution which occurred in the project should not be seen as a failed attempt at action research but, rather, as a recognition that action research is not the only professional development approach which meets the criteria. Nor should it be seen as a criticism of the supervisors or students who belonged to this faculty. The original conception of the project based on action research, like many projects for which funding submissions have to be written long in advance of their execution, did not take sufficient account of the initial priorities and commitment of those who were envisaged as participants in the project. The pressures felt by the students and supervisors in this faculty were not atypical of those in most institutions, and the project evolved into a process which took more account of this situation. The writing and sharing of narratives appeared to those involved as a less formalised and less intrusive process which eased them more gradually into the exploration of their own experience of supervision and into the exploration of the experiences of others. The role of the project officer who acted as a conduit among the participants in the project

replaced to some extent the initial emphasis on formal meetings of a stable group of participants. Although relying more on the project officer, the process itself became more flexible for the other participants involved.

The act of recording conversation in narrative form gave a written record of each individual's thinking and concerns of the moment, forcing them to revisit their ideas on a number of occasions and search for a deeper meaning. The writing of the narratives over a period of time meant that changes in practice could be recorded and explored, while a number of participants also took specific action to change the experience in which they were engaged. In this way, the outcomes were very similar to those which one would expect from an action research process. Perhaps the name of the process is unimportant as long as the principles of collaboration among students and supervisors, a focus on specific practices, and sustained effort over a worthwhile period of time characterise the approach.

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Footnote

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Education Doctorates: reconstructing professional partnerships around research?

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Background to the EdD

The existence of a professional doctorate in Australia, as elsewhere, is relatively new (Holdaway, 1994; Burgess, 1994). The Higher Education Council in 1990 recommended the introduction of “doctoral programs more suited to professional settings in fields such as engineering, accounting, law, education and nursing” (Higher Education Council, 1990, p 28). Such a recommendation clearly continued the federally-led emphasis on vocational education and on the service role of universities in the production of useful knowledge to provide Australia with economic advantage in a global economy.

The first Education Doctorates (EdDs) were introduced in Australia in 1990 and most universities in the country now offer professional doctorates or plan to, not just in education but in other professional fields. These doctorates have elicited two main kinds of reactions, both of which tend to be accommodative at best or, more often, dismissive. One is to see them as a necessary pragmatic reaction to the pressure for increased credentials among professional groups, thereby enabling the university to live up to its ‘service’ function for professional groups and attract student numbers for funding faculty continuation in times of competitive pressure. A second reaction treats them as second-class degrees, a compromise which allows for the necessary expansion in higher degrees but does not compete with the central function of the PhD as an induction into research and the academy generally.

There are also two main approaches in those universities which offer the award: one treats it mainly as a continuation of masters’ coursework studies, somewhat on the lines of an American doctorate with pre-set content units and a smaller dissertation or thesis. The second aims to develop the degree still as a research degree but one which offers a more structured approach to the development of major research projects. Usually, in this case the final product is a portfolio of research-oriented work, including a dissertation

Both the reactions to the EdD and the approaches to its practice embody quite divergent views about the nature of universities, knowledge production and the place of the intellectual. In particular they reveal the habituated dualisms between vocational and academic education, between theory and practice, and between knowledge workers in universities and in other institutions. In this paper I argue that professional doctorates such as the EdD offer a means for reconstructing relations between academic and other sites of knowledge and practice by demanding a reconfiguration of university research relations with professionals in the field. In turn, I suggest that this change of relations is only made possible by altering the ways in which universities have conceptualised and taught research. In developing this argument, I focus on the Education Doctorate as a particular instance of professional doctorate work which reflects a range of issues facing universities and their teaching of research generally at the current time.

Students of the EdD

If the reconstruction of research relations is to occur, it will be closely tied to the location and characteristics of the students of the first years of doctorates such as the EdD. In the field of education studies, entry to doctoral level work has mainly not been through the traditional route of an Honours degree because the undergraduate qualifications

have been focussed on preparation for teaching, usually constrained by requirements for professional registration. Most postgraduate students in education are considerably older than their counterparts in the sciences, since the majority practice teaching for some time before taking up further study. Without many Honours degree candidates, it is only rarely that doctoral candidates in education can attract a scholarship for full-time study, a factor which keeps full-time, on-campus research student numbers low. (This is also true for other professional groups such as nursing.) Students will often come to doctoral-level work through a coursework masters. Part-time, off-campus study is thus a more likely doctoral study avenue for those in the field.

For many students in the EdD, working in the education sector at a time when it is highly politicised and the subject of much ‘workplace reform’, the EdD offers an opportunity to think through the practice of professionalism on site. In a largely feminised occupational field, gender issues are likely to have salience, especially as restructuring has tended both to reduce the numbers and the percentages of women in senior positions while at the same time valorising workplace practices that ostensibly support EEO. A number of students report that the perspective offered by the dual positioning as worker and researcher attached to a university offers a perspective that enables them to be more critical as well as more strategic in the development of the job, even for some to the extent of ‘surviving’. Students’ own work positions clearly offer different opportunities for research-oriented work. A senior manager, policy officer or a school principal are likely to have different constraints on the kind of research work they are likely to be able to engage in, from the teacher or local educational adviser or training officer. Each kind of position is under different kinds of scrutiny and offers opportunities for workplace reconstruction. What needs to be remembered by those in the universities is that the students are likely to be experienced in their field, and also under pressure for changing that world, both of which have implications for the kind of research training explored in the EdD.

The characteristics of the student population for doctoral work—older, professionally experienced in a field undergoing massive politically-directed change, with a majority of women who are not necessarily aiming for academic work as the goal of the doctorate—raise important issues for teaching research and the kinds of projects which might be undertaken. The existence of the EdD and its students brings to the fore questions about the purposes of doctoral work: questions which have also been raised with some urgency by the expansion of PhD students in the education discipline, at a time when education faculties have experienced large scale cuts¹.

Doctoral work has until very recently been treated mainly as an induction or preparation for those intending to be academics or researchers. The Education Doctorate, however, implies a strong place for the researcher as a contribution to the development of professional workers *in the field*. This may provide possibilities for different directions in the field more generally, including a different focus for PhD exit-points. If doctoral level students do not necessarily see themselves as apprentices for university positions, then the kinds of research undertaken and supervisor-student relations are likely to be able to alter.

Research partnerships in the field of education

Relations between those in an academic field and those located elsewhere in the field are never static. Pressures to change these relations in particular directions have a dominant emphasis at the present time on narrow versions of training, largely based on a transmission model of passing on packaged information. Even though this model has been challenged significantly, the organisational context for developing these relations around knowledge have been restructured almost entirely. In order to explore the directions of these changes and the possibility of seeing the Education Doctorate as one contribution towards the reconstruction of knowledge relations, some historical background is necessary.

For much of this century, state education departments had a strong capacity for research in curriculum, policy and planning. During that time there were opportunities for exchange of roles between university/college staff and those in departments, for membership on research projects' steering committees, for example, and many reasons for professional exchange around research between those in departments and those in universities. Thus, in the field of education, there were a considerable number of people actively engaged in a wide variety of research, much of which was not oriented towards awards. This period peaked in the 1970s with large-scale research projects sponsored in education departments.

Since the mid 1980s, however, constant restructuring has resulted in the atrophying of this research capacity, and with the demise of formerly large curriculum, policy and planning divisions in state departments. This has significantly limited both the production and the use of research within the largest 'partner' of university-based research in education, the state education departments. The termination at the federal level of the Curriculum Development Centre and the Commonwealth Schools Commission in the late 1980s has further limited the range of interactions around research. Ministerialisation of educational policy directives has also tended to reduce the need for research as either a precursor or an accompaniment to major initiatives. In many state departments, there is now not even the capacity to predict staffing needs or plan adequately for new demographic shifts and their implications for schooling, let alone conduct major research projects in curriculum.

Since much of the restructuring was accomplished under the rhetoric of corporate managerialism and its particular emphases on efficiency and productivity, the research now sponsored tends to focus mainly on short-term outcomes, often oriented to implementation studies or development of materials under directions set by state or federal instrumentalities². Cuts to money available for inservice activities for teachers have also restricted the opportunities for university-based researchers to interact with teachers. Moves to centralise control of school curriculum have not only taken up teachers' time; they have emphasised the role of teacher as implementer of new central initiatives, thereby removing much of the incentive for teachers to develop their own curriculum and look for new materials and ideas outside their own area³. With this shift has been a concomitant reduction of support organised to assist teacher research in curriculum.

At the same time as this downturn in formal and informal research activity, there has been a growing number of those in teaching and non-school based education jobs undertaking postgraduate award courses, mainly at Masters level. The conjunction of the changes in workplace conditions in both schooling and university sectors at the same time as this expansion of postgraduate study offers possibilities for significant partnership work. These possibilities, however, are considerably constrained by the dominant training approach and funding limitations. There seems to be a growing tendency to restructure the relationship between students and staff in coursework postgraduate areas to downgrade research dimensions, and to focus more on the packaging of materials to meet short-term changes in the field.

It is into this context that the EdD has been introduced. Because it has primarily been designed for part-time study by full-time workers in the various sectors of education, the changes occurring in the field necessarily shape the nature of the work undertaken. The presence of

the EdD offers a different kind of research-oriented relationship between those in universities and those in other parts of a highly professionalised sector⁴. There is a danger that if these possibilities are not taken up then the redefinition of research, necessarily occurring as the 'information revolution' becomes more obvious, will not be strongly enough influenced by those who are active practitioners of research. The professional doctorate therefore offers both a widening pool of people who are actively engaged in research work and also resources and contexts which allow for a wider range of issues to be taken into account when engaging in such re-formation of the processes of knowledge production.

Democratising professional authority

The classic approach to defining a profession has always included a gatekeeping role in relation to entry, usually via qualifications. This has positioned universities in particular as having a stake in a certain kind of élitism, based around setting norms for the production of knowledge. The restructuring of professions around workplace reform, enterprise bargaining and corporate management has the potential to narrow even further the relationship between universities and their postgraduate students. Despite much of the rhetoric of professionalism that marks the debate on the future of teaching and the education sector in general, the experience of many through these changes has been of a reduction in control of work and a continuous need to adjust to new demands of government. This moves the focus away from responsibility to 'clients' towards management imperatives, and defines knowledge as what management can measure or persuade government to be necessary. In such conditions, which tend to affect university staff as much as their students' workplaces, there is a need for outside perspectives relatively independent of the priorities of the site, and a capacity to problematise the practices of the power-knowledge relations of professionals and their credentialling systems.

Anna Yeatman (1994, p 38) points out that for policy makers and other intellectual professionals the "requirements of their practice environments impose first loyalties to something other than 'knowledge'", loyalties which are usually given—not necessarily unproblematically—to the state or to a specific profession. The engagement in research will, almost certainly, create a crisis of competing loyalties for both the student and for the university. If the university is to resolve its own crisis about its role in knowledge production, the only option is not to identify immediately and in an instrumental way with the priorities of its 'clients' (whether these be 'industry', government or management of a public sector department, or individuals or groups of professionals). There is the possibility of creating research partnership work which denies neither the loyalty of those in universities nor the priorities of those in other parts of the sector, but which is also able to problematise those loyalties for all concerned. This requires a level of mutuality across the partnership 'divide', something which is presently largely unattainable because of the hierarchical relationships established around research supervision and the tendency to treat doctoral work as induction to the status quo.

Developing shared knowledge about practitioner research

When starting up the EdD at both Deakin and CQU, the dearth of material for advanced research work by practitioners was immediately apparent. There is a significant body of literature on action research and some important debates among feminist and postcolonial scholars on committed research and everyday life as problematic (Smith, 1990). Yet even these are generally written from the perspective/position of the academic researcher external to the situation. Apart from these materials, there is little that explores the issues for research methodology from the position of an ongoing participant who is a great deal more active than an 'observer' of a situation by dint of participating as a worker. Workplace-related research, which is the basis of both kinds of EdDs I referred to at the outset, raises important methodological and ethical questions, most of which are not covered by the various

literatures called upon to explain and justify the dominant methodological stances.

This situation poses issues for the supervisor and university system as much as for the student. The student is put into the position of developing an as yet embryonic methodological literature while still coming to grips with advanced research debates more generally. The supervisor who is skilled at university-based research and its issues may not have understood the dimensions of participant research, or only from the perspective of one methodology such as action research. The supervisor may thus not be in a position to advise the student adequately on the pitfalls arising from particular approaches to research. It may not be possible for a student, for example a senior officer in a department, to undertake action research and make it public, or initiatives chosen for study may change so quickly given the political context that they are not suitable foci for research.

In turn, this is likely to affect the ways we understand and justify particular methodologies, and also favour certain methods rather than others. The approach to the literature search, for example, may need to focus less on received knowledge already in the refereed system and more on the only partially articulated knowledge of other practitioners in the field, and emphasise the development of new kinds of knowledge. Supervisors will have to work alongside their students to develop the criteria for what might count as 'worthwhile' knowledge in such instances—and then convince examiners and university research committees of possible changes consequently required to judge these different approaches to the generation, reporting and situating of knowledge production. The danger here is that universities will merely replace one pantheon of methodological frameworks with another—reified as 'practitioner research'—which may then be used to continue the expert-practitioner hierarchy *without* problematising the nature of knowledge and the interests at stake in its construction.

With the profound changes to tenure, and to the practice of career paths more generally in education, it is likely that only a minority of students will be able to carry out longitudinal-type studies as their doctoral work, for example. Some may be in a position to foresee an overall 'project' at the start of their candidature, and connect all the parts of their structured research tasks to the development of an 'oeuvre' leading to a dissertation. Others may have to pursue theme-related multi-site studies, in order to generate a substantial body of scholarly work. Still others may have to engage in more theoretical explorations because specific reporting of workplace initiatives may contravene work contracts or ethical professional practice, especially where such accounts may be critical.

Those in universities will have to come to terms with the implications of the changed conditions for their postgraduate students and their implications for research methodology, including the ethics of different kinds of professional research. The criterion of research as investigative work made *public* in particular offers a number of challenges not currently covered by the ethical guidelines or habitual understandings of how truth or epistemological issues more broadly can be approached. This suggests that in order to do this quickly enough, we may need to pool our understandings, both in terms of cross-university cooperation and by the use of cooperative methods of supervision. More importantly, staff in the universities will have to learn more from their students, requiring a much more equal relationship, recognising the different expertise and interests of both parties in the supervisor-student relationship (Brennan and Walker, 1994). Perhaps the term 'supervisor' itself may need to be superseded as the appropriate descriptor for this research relationship.

When the dominant model for postgraduate research induction—enshrined in AVCC documents, institutional rules, application forms and entrenched set of practices between individual supervisors and students—is heavily biased towards induction into received institutional and scholarly approaches, it is not an easy task to offer significant alternatives which are systemic rather than isolated individualised efforts. The Education Doctorate and other professional doctorates do provide an important focus for such an effort. I am suggesting here that active engagement with the nature and politics of professionalism offer opportunities as well as constraints for re-establishing relation-

ships around research in education that have important implications for both our students and our own pedagogical practice around educational research.

Conclusion

The place and definition of research must always remain contested. Students, while caught between the need to perform within older norms of what counts as good research and the need to be at the forefront of methodological and substantive material, can provide an important impetus for working through the emerging challenges to research. Certainly in the present context of struggles over control of universities, over research work within them and over the 'service' role of the universities, there is a danger of 'instrumental capture', as research outputs and student numbers become central to productivity measures and management accountability. This may be increased by calls for 'relevance' from professional students as well as from other parts of the sector, such as DEET or governments. However, the existence of the professional doctorate also provides significant opportunities for developing new approaches to research and new partnerships between universities and the rest of society. The push for democratising knowledge is one dimension of the current context which can best be addressed by working through research issues *across* what have come to be boundaries—and sometimes even barriers—between research in universities and that conducted elsewhere.

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Footnotes

1. I note here that education staff have been disproportionately affected by the construction of the Unified National System, since so many teachers colleges were targeted as the 'junior' partners in amalgamations, and arguments about lack of demand for teachers have provided a rationale for cutting numbers significantly.
2. The issues associated with conducting research under such conditions are not able to be explored in this particular paper. Some of them can be seen in McTaggart and Blackmore (1990).
3. The significant exceptions are the on-going DEET-funded National Schools Network and Innovative Links projects. Their presence on the scene helps keep alive something of the tradition I am concerned with here, while both renewing it and breaking new ground in this respect. See Yeatman and Sachs (1995).
4. It should however be noted that a number of university staff themselves are enrolled in EdDs, an option they find assists them to address the pressure for higher qualifications, conducting research and the realities of work in a Faculty which is often undergoing massive reorganisation and large teaching loads.

Postgraduate research supervision in the emerging 'open' universities

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Introduction

It is probably a recurring phenomenon that educators see themselves as being in the vortex of change. Periods of stability seem never to occur; there is always the imperative to respond to change, develop policy, modify practices *and* keep up-to-date. It may be that this is a particular feature of education in that, by its nature, it is concerned with preparing people for participation in a developing social world. However, within all the rhetorical and actual crises of change which educators confront, there always exist those seams of conservatism—and even pockets of outright resistance—which give educationists their reputations for being closeted in institutional structures, practices and values of the past. Of course, the symbols of the past are there for all to see, not just in the sandstone monuments of the first Australian universities, but also in the newest universities' emulation of archaic, élitist, European symbols, such as graduation titles, ceremonies and dress. But the signs of change are also there, not just in the student demographics, but also in the courses and means of study. The 'open' educational discussions and debates of contemporary tertiary education—TAFE and universities—which are constructing new discourses around 'open learning', 'flexible learning', 'minimal campus attendance courses' etc, occasionally connect with social equity ideas, alongside those of efficiency and effectiveness drawn from economic rationalism. The contradictions abound, and postgraduate study and supervision are becoming increasingly enmeshed in them as forms of educational 'openness' invade the élite of university learning and teaching.

University education has expanded into the lives of increasing numbers of young Australians; however, its impact on the lives of older Australians is proving to be even more significant. This is not only through the numbers of 'mature age' persons studying for their first degrees, but also through the numbers of people who 'return' to university to study further courses. This is being lauded from all directions as a sign that Australia is positioning itself to be a 'clever country', able to export its intellectual products and services rather than its coal and woodchips. Universities have been keen to move with this trend and the expansion in postgraduate courses has been a prime indicator. Generally funding levels are higher for postgraduate courses, and research degrees in particular, so the incentives are more than those of increased numbers of students.

The degree to which supervision of research is becoming an aspect of university teachers' work is increasing with the expansion in both coursework and research higher degrees. Although supervision is clearly the dominant 'pedagogy' for research higher degrees, most coursework Masters degrees have a small research component in the form of a 'minor thesis', 'research paper' or dissertation which also calls for supervisory pedagogical skills on the part of the teachers responsible. However, the contexts and means through which postgraduate supervision is being practised in contemporary universities reflects not only the different and diverse needs of part-time — often off-campus — students but also the emerging computer and communications technologies. In these and other ways, as will be argued later, all universities, whether they appreciate it or declare it, are becoming more 'open' universities. Postgraduate research supervision seems ripe for consideration, therefore.

Supervising postgraduate research in 'open' universities

Given the gradual shift towards increasing numbers of part-time postgraduate research students, there are consequent shifting issues of supervision for staff to consider. Some are to do with the contexts and the students, some are to do with researching as learning, and others are to do with the supervision and support provided by institutions.

Despite the selection filters which apply to postgraduate research students entering universities, the broadening of the part-time student enrolment means that a greater diversity of student needs, interests and contexts now prevails. This is especially the case where the forms of entry and forms of supervision are opened to allow students with a broader range of qualifications (often requiring professional experience) and a broader range of social, economic and geographical circumstances. This is something which forms of open and distance education have to account for in their practices (Evans, 1994). In postgraduate research, supervisors may no longer find themselves supervising young students, who are fully committed to their research as they eke out their scholarships until graduation. It is more likely they will be dealing with students as old or older than themselves, who juggle work and family commitments alongside their research, and may well earn more than their supervisors!. The shift in perspective required of supervisors is quite significant and means dealing with students more as colleagues, than as 'students'. The power and authority relations are different and arguably more equal. For example, with younger students supervisors typically ensure their students keep on schedule and on task, knowing that the three-year scholarship is finite; for part-time students, the schedule is doubled and recognition has to be given both to the important responsibilities people have to their families and work, and that, if they have managed their lives well enough to qualify to enter their doctoral programs, they probably know best how to do so for their postgraduate research.

This is not to suggest that supervisors now have an easier time, or can abrogate their responsibilities. Rather, the care which supervisors need to exercise in understanding their students and their students' contexts needs to be more subtle and sensitive. Helping students keep on task remains important, as is enabling them to achieve their goals. However, often it may be necessary to assist students to take a pause in their studies in order to deal with work and family commitments, because this is in the overall best interest of the student (as a person) even if the university's completion rates are consequently worsened.

Understanding students' contexts is not just a matter of the practicalities of supervision, it is also a matter of recognising and addressing the autonomy of the students as researcher-learners. The research problems which they address for their studies are likely to be of personal and/or professional significance to them. Empowering or enabling students to make sound choices in their research, in order that they may achieve their personal and/or professional goals, is a perspective which has been addressed more broadly in the literature of professional education (for example, the work of Schon (1983; 1987), adult education (for example, the work of Boud and colleagues eg Boud, 1981; Boud, Keogh & Walker, 1985; Boud & Walker, 1991) and open and distance education (see for example, the work of Morgan, 1993, Evans and Nation, 1992, and Nation, 1991)). It seems, however,

that the literature has rarely addressed these matters in terms of the supervision of part-time, off-campus students. Morgan has discussed the theoretical underpinnings of using project-based work, something which is becoming more prevalent in professional courses offered through open and distance education (Morgan, 1984; Morgan, 1987). Project-based work can be seen as analogous to some of the supervisory and learning features of postgraduate research. It encompasses some of the elements of negotiated curricula and outcomes, learner autonomy and personal and professional relevance which have parallels with postgraduate research. Although the degree of negotiation is likely to be different across disciplines, it is possible to argue that postgraduate research students exercise a good deal of autonomy in shaping their research topics, methodologies and outcomes. Given the points made previously about the different backgrounds, interests and authority of part-time students, such students are likely to be more assertive about exercising their autonomy.

Emerging supervisory practices

The burgeoning numbers of part-time, professional postgraduate students in Australian universities presents an invitation to develop new ways of structuring research degrees and also new ways of supervising and supporting the research conducted. Clearly, there are the previously mentioned personal and professional contexts which need to be taken into account in terms of managing supervision, but there are also possibilities of turning these aspects into advantages. A simple example of each may help.

As most part-time students need and wish to study at home for a major part of their work, this creates problems in terms of providing personal, contiguous supervision. It also creates difficulties in terms of access to the library, laboratory and to the 'postgraduate community' on campus. However, every full-time student on-campus presents their own problems for the university. They need desk space to work, some need laboratory and computing facilities, and most make substantial demands on the library. The development of computer communication facilities can provide part-time, off-campus students with opportunities to email, participate in 'conference' discussions with their peers and colleagues, interrogate library catalogues and databases, and retrieve documents. Such computer-based approaches can create a 'virtual' community of postgraduate students where the walls between departments, disciplines and faculties are invisible. Supervision supported by email communication allows both supervisor and student to be more independent in terms of their physical and temporal spaces. Such approaches are qualitatively different from the traditional supervision experience; however, there is sufficient research in computer-based uses in open and distance education (Mason & Kaye, 1989) to suggest that, rather than these approaches being a 'second best' means of supervising and supporting postgraduate research, they may represent a better means, and one into which on-campus students might well be integrated².

The second example relates to making a virtue out of the professional and work contexts of the students. The workplace of the students is often the site of the research, or is related to the research. This means that some of the resources required for the research are provided by and through the employer, rather than the university. The cost savings can, therefore, be diverted into mediating the supervision process and supporting the student at work (perhaps in the ways outlined in the previous example). The task is to blend the requirements of the degree with the needs or requirements of the workplace. The advantages in terms of relating research, theory and practice together are substantial. It is here that new forms of research degree might well be required. Instead of the traditional PhD thesis, other forms of research product might well be counted towards the degree, together with a smaller thesis. Several universities are considering or have implemented doctoral degrees which involve forms of coursework, somewhat akin to the North American approaches. However, if there is one big lesson which distance education has taught the education community over the past two or three decades, it is that quality course material development is expensive and only becomes feasible if there are sufficient

numbers. Likewise, another lesson from the distance education literature has come from the critiques both of 'Fordist' assumptions which flow from mass educational practices and of the 'instructional industrialism' which arises (Campion, 1992; Campion, 1991; Evans & Nation, 1989a; Evans & Nation, 1989b; Evans & Nation, 1992).

Coursework doctoral degrees in Australia have mostly (entirely?) been on-campus part-time courses. Yet as we have seen, the major need is for courses which relate to the needs and contexts of professional people and this usually means that forms of regular on-campus study are impractical for most. (Summer schools and other occasional on-campus encounters are usually less of a problem, and have some distinct advantages). So the advantages of offering research degree courses off-campus are obvious; however, the relatively small numbers of students (in comparison with undergraduate courses) and the diversity of the research interests makes it unlikely that developing good quality course materials will be viable. This problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the research field in any discipline is arguably where the 'cutting-edge' changes occur, and so any course materials would need to be in a form where they can be revised readily; again, this reduces the viability.

The task becomes one not of developing coursework components, but rather to structure research degrees in ways which enable the students to complete a 'portfolio' of research tasks which relate to and contribute to their thesis (which consequently is smaller than for the traditional PhD)³. In some instances, these research tasks could be directly related to research being conducted in the workplace as part of the employee's responsibilities. The supervisor would need to negotiate with the parties concerned to ensure that the university's, the student's and the employer's interests were met. Issues concerning ethics, commercial confidentiality and public interest may need to be negotiated appropriately. However, the potential for useful research and good university-industry partnerships is evident.

Opening universities?

Postgraduate research can be seen to be 'opening-up' many possibilities for the future of Australian universities. What is often argued as the fundamental distinction between universities and other educational institutions is their involvement in research. However, the expansion in numbers of universities, and the demands for accountability of public expenditure, means that universities' entitlement to research funding is being challenged. Postgraduate research, especially of the kind which is related to professional and industrial contexts, holds out the prospect of universities sustaining their case for research funds. Not only can they argue that they are contributing to research and research training which is proving to be professionally and industrially beneficial, but they are also likely to develop a sympathetic and 'well-placed' alumni lobby group from their postgraduate students. As universities become more 'open' to the possibilities, they are moving with a flow which has historical and international comparisons.

For nearly two decades, Australian governments have formally eschewed the establishment of an Australian Open University, despite the fact that many 'developed' and 'developing' nations have made the opposite decision. The principal reasons for avoiding establishing an Australian Open University were concerned with the high establishment costs, the likelihood of interstate disputes over the selection of a location, and the negative consequences for the many institutions (mostly regional) which relied on forms of distance education to remain viable. (Open universities' educational practices are principally those of distance education).

Since the turn of the twentieth century, Australia's social and economic development has been linked to forms of distance education (Bolton, 1986; Evans & Nation, 1993a). Despite the absence of an open university, distance education in Australian education—not just higher education, all forms of formal and non-formal education and training—has become increasingly prevalent in the past two decades. Johnson makes the point in terms of higher education:

In 1975 there were just over 17,000 external students in Australian higher education (8891 in universities and 8366 in CAEs), a little over 6 per cent of the total enrolment of some 270,000. They were eclipsed as a proportion by part-time students at 28.6 per cent in universities, 31.9 per cent in CAEs. By 1982 the numbers and proportions in the two sectors had risen to 15,497 (9.3 per cent) in universities and 24,801 (14.7 per cent) in CAEs—almost a doubling of numbers in universities and trebling in CAEs in eight years, while total enrolment had risen only to some 334,000, an increase of about 25 per cent. External studies or distance education was the fastest growing mode of study in higher education (Johnson, 1996, in press).

The establishment of the Distance Education Centres (DECs) within the Unified National System was intended as a concentration or 'rationalisation' of distance education infrastructure in Australia. However, in the 'non-DECs' there was an increasing adoption of forms of education more akin to distance education than to 'traditional' classroom education. In order to avoid attracting the attention or wrath of the DECs and DEET, the nomenclature was changed. 'Distance education' and its derivations, 'off-campus', 'extension studies' or 'external studies' were unmentioned. Instead, 'flexible learning', 'mixed-mode', 'open campus' and similar terms were used to represent institutional practices which were closer to forms of distance education than the classroom.

Within two years, the foundation upon which the designation of the DECs had been built began to crack and crumble. Since 1993. Australian universities are no longer divided into DECs and non-DECs: it is open slather again.

In some ways, the 'flexible learning', 'mixed-mode', 'open campus' and other such practices can be seen as a basis for the emergence of forms of open education in Australian higher education. Once traditional teaching practices are loosened and more socially and educationally diverse learner-centred practices are constructed, the door of the academy is likely to continue to swing open still further until postgraduate research is exposed. Add to this the external pressures for courses and means of teaching and learning which suit the needs of industry and the professions, together with the ratcheting strains to find non-government sources of funds, and one can see universities becoming more 'open' in other respects as well. The title 'Doctor' becomes a marketable commodity and, hence, opening-up new ways of obtaining a doctorate becomes a challenge. The 'traditionalist' cries of 'declining standards' are drowned by the 'rationalist' chorus of 'professional (market) relevance'.

Of course, another influential venture which occurred during this period was the rise of the Open Learning Agency (OLA) and, to a lesser extent, the Professional and Graduate Education (PAGE) consortia. OLA commenced as a parasitic (literally) organisation living principally on host DECs, rather than on non-DECs (with one exception). Although OLA's rhetoric could well be seen as more congruent with some of the non-DECs' rhetoric of the time, the reality was that it was a vehicle for the DECs, especially Monash, to extend their distance education influence still further (King, 1993). Nowadays, OLA's hosts have become more numerous and diverse; however, the organic consequences of sustaining this parasite and PAGE are unclear.

Certainly, one feature of the rise and fall of the DEC designation, the non-DECs' renaming of their practices, and the growth of OLA, is not indicative of the decline of distance education, but rather the opposite: the repositioning of (all) universities as more than classroom-based teaching organisations. The universities' claims under the 1993 and 1994 Quality Reviews, and the CAUT grant applications over a similar period, emphasise how many, if not all universities, and particularly some sections within them, are looking to develop their teaching along lines which sound more and more like distance education. Distance education institutions have generally sought to use communication technologies—post, audio and video broadcasting or taping, telephone and facsimile, and computer communications—to 'deliver' their courses and to improve the interactivity of their educational practices. Nowadays, every university seems to have a toehold on an educational future with computer and communications technologies.

'Diversity', 'choice' and 'flexibility' are the watchwords; no 'Quality' university can be without them. From young first-year undergraduates through to final year PhDs, a 'Quality' university offers diverse curricula and flexible approaches to teaching, learning and supervision.

In this sense, all Australian universities are (becoming) 'open' universities. However, as Harris demonstrated with the Open University of the United Kingdom, the openness in (declared) open universities is limited by forms of closure (Harris, 1987). Some of these forms of closure derive from the traditions of university life which pervade even these new forms of university, while others are to do with the educational technologies and administrative structures which are deployed. Hence, the shift in Australian universities towards openness can be expected to be gradual, constrained and possibly outweighed or countered by drifts toward closure in other respects. (Maybe one could hypothesise that closure in terms of a reduction in academic staff autonomy outweighs forms of openness for students. However, this is not to say that it is the case, nor that one is necessarily a corollary of the other).

A few years ago, Nation and I argued that we were witnessing a form of convergence between distance education and mainstream education brought about through the (re)construction of (new) educational technologies (Evans & Nation, 1993b). Others before had seen distance education shifting from the 'margins to the mainstream' (Campion, 1988; Smith, 1987); we were arguing that a reformation was occurring which saw both forms of education 'converging'. A weakness with the convergence argument, however, is that it implies zooming into a point, whereas the current practices seem to show educational institutions venturing into an open educational space. There is a diversity within the open educational space which needs to be recognised and which convergence (implicitly) denies; indeed, divergence is more the descriptor. Universities are becoming larger and more diverse, part of the enlargement is of a virtual kind as educational spaces become less confined by institutional walls and, as has always been the case for distance education, delimited only by means of communication, language, culture and time (and imagination?).

Openness vs excellence

The principles underpinning most open universities internationally, and OLA and some of the DECs in Australia, is that their foundation or first year courses should be 'open entry' or have some relatively 'open' pathways into them. As 'open university' postgraduate courses have become available, they have usually had the same 'closed entry' requirements as similar courses at other universities. However, in the case of research degrees, often the open universities have reverted to traditional competitive approaches, especially in terms of full-time students and scholarship holders. Therefore, in the area of postgraduate research, the DECs and non-DECs in Australia followed a similar path. As mentioned previously, the pressures to open-up new forms of postgraduate education which serve the needs and interests of a broader range of students have been quite strong. The 'professional' faculties have perhaps faced less pressure the most. Not only have the members of the various professions become more highly qualified over the years, but the demands to have postgraduate qualifications on/ from those who teach in the faculties, and from those who occupy senior positions in the professions, have increased likewise. For example, now MEds and MBAs are plentiful, while EdDs and DBAs are emerging as the new growth area.

The traditional approach to doctoral degrees in Australia—derived from the British colonial heritage—is that they are entirely research degrees. In other parts of the world, for example North America, the traditional doctorate has been one of coursework and research. In Australia, the 'traditional doctoral students' were generally on-campus, full-time, and had recently graduated with Honours. Of course, a probe beneath the surface of such traditions shows that some universities award doctorates, especially to their staff, in ways which accommodate the 'learners' needs. Indeed, such traditional approaches

include forms of RPL (Recognition of Prior Learning—or really RPR: Recognition of Prior Research!) which would do an ‘open’ TAFE proud! In addition, for some years, traditional and more ‘open’ universities have been dealing with increasing numbers of part-time students, especially in the Humanities, Social Sciences and Education faculties. As the requirements for attendance have been loosened, the PhD has become a *de facto* open-campus course, even at those universities that would declare themselves to be teaching on-campus.

With the higher DEET funding given to research students, opening the academies to part-time research students who prefer to do most of their work at home or in the workplace has a considerable benefit. However, the provision of appropriate supervision and support for postgraduate students becomes an important concern if the quality of postgraduate research is to be sustained and enhanced, and the potential for an accumulation of weak or unsatisfactory theses is to be avoided.

Bourdieu’s study of French universities reminds us that the academies are structures for the reproduction of power and for the identification and selection of the élite (Bourdieu, 1988). Harris makes an interesting connection between this work, and also Bourdieu’s critique of taste (Bourdieu, 1986), and the ‘active learning’ approaches in higher education, especially those approaches which use the ‘technical fixes’ of the learning package for independent learning. Harris argues that

...academic institutions need a public professional or collegiate view of themselves which stresses calm, rational debate, objectivity, and a disinterested commitment to effective pedagogy, quality and openness(es). Yet they also need a ‘backstage’ less public organisation with a more political structure of authority, managerial controls (of various kinds), a system of power and its distribution (Harris, 1994, p 200).

The development of ‘open’ approaches to higher education, especially in postgraduate study, lays bare the tensions between the élitist traditions and open pretensions. Lasch’s stinging critique of contemporary American and transnational élites might lead one to the conclusion that, in fact, the new ‘open’ approaches are nothing more than a contemporary form of meritocracy producing a new élite which has less social and community concern than the previous élite order (Lasch, 1995). However, the tensions still exist between those with an affection for their view of traditional approaches to postgraduate education and those who are wedded to opening the academies to new forms of postgraduate student, together with the financial and other benefits which accrue.

Conclusion

The increasing openness of universities to students’ needs and contexts, especially for those continuing their studies part-time, is gradually affecting the postgraduate research supervision in those universities. There are significant opportunities for new kinds of good quality research degree which are conducted off-campus, with supervision mediated using forms of communication technology. However, it is important to develop supervision practices which relate to the emerging contexts of students and educational institutions, and to see these practices as framed by dialogue reflecting the professional and personal autonomy of the student.

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Footnotes

1. I speak from experience here. My first PhD graduate is 17 years older than me, and all my current doctoral students range from around my age up to twenty years older than me. Although I am on Level E, one of my students earns more than I do and most are on salaries equivalent to Level C. Without exception, the balancing of work and family commitments with their research is their most enduring problem.

2. The Graduate School of Education at Deakin University is developing just such forms of computer-based support for its postgraduate students. It has assisted in the development of the University’s new *Interchange* system

through a specific project on the EdD program which provides the sorts of services discussed here.

3. This challenge has been met by the Doctor of Education course at Deakin University. Although there are some supporting 'course materials', the course is structured around a sequence of related research tasks which are typically completed in the professional context of the student. The final examination is of a portfolio of such projects and a thesis. See Brennan & Walker, (1994) for an explanation of the evolution of this course.

Postgraduate education and open learning: anticipating a new order?

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Introduction: an emerging new order?

Traditionally the postgraduate experience has been seen as being the most intensive, personal and individual experience of education. By its very nature it has had a significant element of 'learner control', with much of the teaching involving mentoring rather than instructing. In an important sense it has been the ideal-typical form of higher education, which is characteristically most 'open', where openness is characterised in terms of Richard Johnson's (1990, p 4) widely used definition:

Open learning is an approach rather than a system or technique; it is based on the needs of individual learners, not the interest of the teacher or the institution; it gives students as much control as possible over what and when and where and how they learn; it commonly uses the delivery methods of distance education and the facilities of educational technology; it changes the role of teacher from a source of knowledge to a manager of learning and a facilitator.

However, while postgraduate education might be seen as inherently 'open' in terms of student control and the role of teacher, it is clear that it is under pressure to become even more so, particularly in terms of delivery, as a result of the articulation of information and communication technologies with the more traditional practices of distance education.

The recent reports of the Senate Employment, Education and Training References (EETR) Committee (1995) on the Inquiry into the Development of Open Learning in Australia highlight increased expectations of open learning practices for education and pressure for all sectors of education to adopt those practices. These expectations are being supported "by its practitioners in ways that have bordered on missionary zeal" (Tait, 1994, p 27). While not a practitioner, Senator John Tierney, writing in the Introduction to Part 2 of the Senate EETR Committee report, observed that:

To an extent, open learning is symbolic of an emerging new order in education and training [my emphasis]. We can take it to 'stand for' all those features of flexibility, efficiency, effectiveness, service, national interest and so on which characterise the present debate (Senate EETR Committee, 1995, p 4).

He seems to be arguing that any pressure for reform is pressure for a 'new order' symbolised by open learning. Given the central role of government in developing the policy framework for the development of education and training in Australia, it seems reasonable to characterise this political pressure as overarching and all pervasive. In this paper I want to share some speculations about possible forms of postgraduate education, and roles and pedagogical relationships possible within those forms, as they evolve under such re-forming pressures. I do so from the perspective of someone who has developed open learning approaches for both on and off-campus students, and who is working in the area of academic staff development. In this role I am both supervising members of academic staff undertaking postgraduate studies and raising issues such as those discussed here within the wider university community.

Before turning to the issue of re-form, let me state a caveat for the discussion by making it clear that pressure for reform is not being directed towards (or away from) postgraduate education exclusively.

Rather, it is a general pressure for the learning environment of all students, including those involved in postgraduate studies, to become more 'open'.

One way to make sense of the rapidly expanding literature, and the inconsistent use of the term 'open learning' within it, is to locate the advocates and discussants within groups whose membership is characterised in terms of organisational role. Those roles are, in some senses, incidental to the distinctions offered below, but they are useful signals of the focus of their views. I refer to three roles, namely: educational managers; educational technologists and courseware designers; and teachers. This listing is *not* intended to signal or imply any hierarchical relationship between them. The categories reflect my reading of the voices that are heard, or not heard, in 'open learning' literature. I will distinguish each in terms of the focus of their discussions and the forms of open learning which they appear to be advocating. I will also comment on the nature of the pedagogical relationships between postgraduate students and academics which are likely to evolve and /or be sustained in the new order.

Educational management: the growth imperative

Those involved in management of education tend to focus on issues of efficiency, effectiveness, service, national interest, and see open learning in terms of administrative and delivery systems. Most of the submissions dealt with by the Senate Committee's report were derived from members of this group. Given their current role within the industry, it is understandable that occupants of this role would tend to seek both to influence and accommodate their political masters. What is of most concern here is the imperative to equate 'open' with 'distance', through the articulation of information and communication technologies with the more traditional practices of distance education, and the related foci on the development of 'educational products' rather than 'educational programs' and of 'postal' rather than 'educational' systems. Effective managers have quickly recognised that technological delivery systems may not be 'revenue neutral', because the front-end cost of this articulation requires large numbers of students to make that investment cost-effective. However, once a product is prepared the per-unit cost of delivery decreases with increasing numbers of students. The achievement of large numbers of students is relatively easy in the undergraduate area, but much less so in the postgraduate area. On the other hand, open learning modes offer an opportunity to 'grow the market' for postgraduate courses. What we have here is a scenario that lends itself to mass education and entrepreneurship.

According to Latchem and Pritchard¹ (1994), the 'unique Australian' response to this scenario has involved the establishment of Open Learning Australia (OLA):

OLA is not an open university, setting its own curriculum and awarding its own degrees. It is a private company which acts as a brokerage agency, co-ordinating, marketing and promoting open learning offerings. This brokerage model means that students are effectively clients of the company rather than enrolled students of a particular university (Latchem and Pritchard, 1994, p 20).

The picture they paint of higher education is 'client focused', where 'universities' compete to provide courseware for 'the brokerage com-

pany'. This is consistent with related changes in the view of academic managers of universities as organisations. No academic could have failed to see the rapid emergence of a 'newspeak' which focuses on 'strategic and corporate interests', 'the global pedagogic market', and 'commercialisation'. The language, and the arguments which it informs, seems to ignore educational issues. Indeed, the motivation of the academic managers seems entirely focused on 'the bottom line'. While the impact of these aspects of the new order on the role and independence of universities warrants careful analysis, this paper is not the place for such an analysis. To reflect this commercial focus, I will use the term 'cli/dent' to represent the fusion of the concepts of client and student. I will also refer to teachers as mentors when I am using the term to refer to this element of an academic's job description.

A recent review of the OLA, discussed by Healy (1995) in *The Australian*, strongly endorsed the OLA initiative. Further into the same edition of *The Australian*, David Myers, a senior academic, argued that "[t]he best thing to happen educationally in Australia is open learning" because it "will replace boring 19th century lectures" (Myers, 1995, p 27). Presumably Myers was referring to the lectures given by others, not by him. In the context of the operation of OLA, however, it seems that not only might 'boring' lectures be replaced, but so too might some lecturers, whether they are 'boring' or not. The reasoning for such a possibility runs like this. If OLA expands its operations, as both the Senate Committee and the evaluation recommend, then the actual pool of academics required to develop the teaching programs for any particular subject area will be reduced, because the broadcast technology makes it possible for their work to be available to all potential cli/dents. Indeed, Latchem and Pritchard describe a system that is remarkably independent of academic support once the 'course unit materials' have been developed. This argument is very similar to one advanced by Janice Newson (1994, p 39), in which she concludes that

it has been an historical pattern that the adoption of new technologies has been associated with the elimination of long established, once believed to be unassailable, professions and occupations and their replacement with new ones.

But will the growth imperative have any lasting impact on postgraduate education? The answer is possibly affirmative, for a number of reasons. First, there is a rapidly changing view of the nature of postgraduate education. The move to re-form higher education (in the 'national interest'), into a system of mass education focused on the delivery of employment-related services to cli/dents whose prior learning has to be recognised, is a significant theme in the pressure for reform. Until recently, the effects of this move have been most visible in the undergraduate areas where participation rates have increased dramatically since the late 1980s. What we are now seeing is a blurring of the under- versus postgraduate distinctions, particularly in course-work programs. Increasingly the distinction is being represented in quantitative terms, with a Masters degree being seen as equivalent to a fifth year of higher education, rather than in qualitative terms. By this logic, references to qualitative distinctions are framed as a vestige of an ivory tower elitism.

Second, the move to mass education is seen as having particular institutional and 'market' consequences, as argued by Shattock (1995). His discussion points to increasing accountability requirements, such as quality audits, and bureaucratic intervention from governments as the size of their financial contribution to higher education goes up. That is, the move to mass education has meant that in real terms those contributions have increased, even though they have decreased on a per-student basis. The pressure to respond to government initiatives and priorities has also contributed to a homogenisation of expectations of universities—"neither governments, funding agencies nor students distinguish between one university or another" (Shattock, 1995, pp 158-159). Shattock (1995, pp 159) warns that this is leading to "the tendency to homogenise and bureaucratise that most critical of areas, the interface between university teachers and their students". Thus, in addition to the blurring of the distinction between under- and postgraduate qualifications, there is a blurring between institutions.

Third, the Federal Government has already established a postgraduate studies consortium—Professional Graduate Education Consortium (PAGE)—based at Wollongong University. Thus, the issue is not whether this growth imperative will have an impact, but how large that impact will be and at what disciplines it will be targeted. Sian Powell and Emma Moody (1995, p. 1) provide some hints on a possible scenario in their discussion of the then recently released Karpin taskforce report:

Mr Crean announced \$1 million in seed funding over the next two years to develop course materials to suit the needs of small business managers who wanted tuition via Open Learning ...

I suspect that quite a few faculties, and not just in Business/Administration, are desperately trying to re-form themselves as open learning deliverers of postgraduate work, in order to make their offerings less attractive as a target.

A fourth reason relates to the possible consequences of the competition between universities and 'brokers' as suppliers of higher education. I have suggested that such a competition is likely to reduce the number of academics available to undertake the supervision of research cli/dents within any one institution. Under those circumstances, we might see increased pressure to reduce the number of universities funded to offer postgraduate studies in any particular discipline. This is already the case in high-cost programs such as medicine and law. That is, the argument might be mounted that, rather than dilute the 'talent', it should be concentrated so as to achieve the critical mass needed to ensure both a vibrant scholastic environment and a viable pool of supervisors.

What of the roles of postgraduate cli/dents and academics? Managers' increasing interests in 'rates of progression', along with moves to quantify academic workloads in terms of either EFTSU or time allowances for supervision based on degree type, signal the end of an era in which enrolment in a research degree provided an entree to an "intensive, personal and individual experience of education", relatively untrammelled by more worldly concerns. For example, where in the past students tended to become part of the university community through their postgraduate studies, it is clear that cli/dents expect to remain within their existing communities, and have the educational 'product' delivered to them. However, they also expect to be able to access their university-based mentors (perhaps we should think of this as 'after sales service'). For mentors, this will require a significant change in their working hours, as cli/dents are not likely to be engaged in their studies at the very time that mentors have traditionally been available 'for consultation'. 'After hours' access will be expected, particularly where cli/dents are expected to make a financial contribution for the educational service.

It is clear that these new forms, accessed through open learning modes, will provide postgraduate cli/dents with more choice in terms of when and where they undertake their studies. What is also clear is that they will have less choice about what they study—'national interest' will be more important here. On the other hand, those who seek more personalised interactions will have less choice in terms of where and with whom those interactions will take place. It seems that some, including the Karpin taskforce, would want these interactions to be available on a full-fee paying basis. For academics, there will be some new employment opportunities, as hinted at by the earlier quote from Newson. There will be an increasing demand for those who have skills in authoring 'instructional materials' for the technologically enhanced postal system. For others, there will be significant opportunities for brokerage roles in the areas of negotiating for service provision at both course delivery and cli/dent advisement levels. There will also be opportunities to work in high-powered (scholastically speaking) communities. The down-side is that there will be fewer overall opportunities for employment, but this may be compensated for through the provision of larger remuneration packages for those who are able to position themselves to take advantage those opportunities.

Technologists: world wide wishfulness

Those whose work in the area of educational technology focus on issues of technological mediation. Associated with this group are those who are involved in the design of open learning resources ('courseware'). There seems to be an exponential growth in journals that publish articles related to these issues. Alternatively, there may be an exponential growth in subscriptions by information service centres—the name that seems to be used for re-formed libraries. Whatever the cause, the majority of papers published in these journals tends to address issues of technological mediation and courseware design as technologies separate from the actual learning they are used to support. That separation includes a tendency to ignore aspects of context such as the discipline area and the related enthusiasm of the lecturers and cli/dents for that technology. This enthusiasm for the "disembodiment" of pedagogy (McWilliam, 1995) is commented on by both Newson (1994) and Tait (1994). The subtext seems to be that for the reform to succeed, there is a need to capture the pedagogical practices of the best lecturers, and then use technology to replicate those practices. Clearly even the 'best' practitioners might well have a limited academic career in terms of their pedagogical skills.

Courseware designers pay considerable attention to the form of course content while technologists focus on issues related to its transmission and manipulation. On the other hand, the latter seem relatively unconcerned with issues of cost-effectiveness or particular administrative systems, and this may frustrate some educational managers. While their undergraduate education applications tend to focus on interactive multimedia, that is, interaction with very high quality information storage devices, postgraduate applications seem more focused on the use of technology to network and possibly interact with other cli/dents and their mentors. Their work gives the impression of a vision of postgraduate education predicated on accessing the World Wide Web (WWW) or more local networking technologies. In turn, the WWW as a technological system facilitates the locating of as much information as possible in forms which are accessible from as many sites as possible.

Within these environments, cli/dents will have very significant roles as consumers of educational services through increased options in terms of the providers of those services. Their capacity to use technology to locate sites which provide the information they need, together with the opportunity to interact with individuals beyond their course-designated mentors, will allow them considerable opportunities to take control of their own learning. On the other hand, the opportunity to choose service providers and navigate the Web requires new capacities. While the young may have few apprehensions about that challenge, it is not at all clear that those who are currently making most use of the OLA, according to the recent review referred to previously, are similarly confident. Indeed, the demands for open learning participation of the type referred to in discussions of postgraduate education may make considerably more demands on students in terms of both skills and access to technology than is the case for students serviced by OLA. The last statement applies equally to academics in terms of their contributions to courseware development or mentoring.

Teachers: invisible in the process?

Finally, I turn to those who are involved in the actual delivery of open education—the teachers—who in their contributions to discussions of open learning tend to focus on learners' perceptions of and responses to open learning delivery practices. I note here that both the term and the discussion itself tend to ignore the teacher and pedagogy. This invisibility is not a new phenomenon—Lusted (1986), for example, commented on it in his response to the question 'why pedagogy' a decade ago. While critics argue that teaching is overly teacher-centred, this group of discussants of open learning can be seen as overly cli/dent-centred. Where discussions have identified concerns with open learning, such as in the Senate Committee report, those concerns have tended to focus on the lack of access to the necessary technology and loss of opportunities for face-to-face interaction.

What seems to be missing is any sustained attention to the experiences and concerns of either undergraduate or postgraduate teachers. Those who are researching open learning practices tend to be representative of what Tait, in the earlier quote, referred to as the "missionaries". Again, this is no new phenomenon—there is a long tradition of the 'colonists' speaking on behalf of themselves and those who they have 'colonised'. This raises a central concern: the failure to address the issue of reform itself as a process, as well as those whose practices are central to that process. Historical perspectives on attempts to achieve educational reform indicate very clearly that those attempts have tended to fail, and suggest that they will continue to do so until they "confront the cultural and pedagogical traditions and beliefs that underlie current practices and organizational arrangements" (Goodman, 1995, 2).

Where teaching has been studied, the reports tend to focus on the need to re-develop pedagogical skills and strategies. Those reports fail to acknowledge that pedagogy has moral and ethical dimensions in addition to these technical ones. They also ignore issues of teaching discipline, and cli/dent expectations. In my role in academic staff development, I am being asked to provide the skills development required so that those who I work with will be better able to perform in the new order. The view of learning implicit in that expectation is deeply flawed. That is, it implies that the practice of education involves only the exercise of particular sets of skills. It ignores the relationship between practice and context at both the inter- and intra-personal levels. Thus, it ignores the issues that Goodman raises. Myopically, it ignores the values that motivate teachers. Education, even in open learning modes, cannot be value-free in its practice. It is in the exercise of these dimensions that teachers may exert their power, and appropriately resist being re-formed (Newson, 1994; Radnofsky, 1994). However, if teachers do resist, their very arguments are likely to be seen as justifications for the dismantling of their cultures and traditions, as exemplified in the current writing of Peter Coaldrake. On the other hand, if they embrace the new order, they risk losing the very cultures and traditions that drew them to teaching.

Conclusion

What I am arguing is that, while increased 'openness' may achieve some elements of the reform agenda, it is clear that it is unlikely to lead to fundamental reform for a number of reasons, principal amongst which is the failure of its advocates to address the actual process of reform. John Goodlad (1992, p. 238) captures a sense of this failure thus:

Top-down, politically driven education reform movements are addressed primarily to restructuring the educational system. They have little to say about educating. Grassroots reform efforts, on the other hand, have little to say about restructuring.

Attention to that issue would lead to a focus on the congruence between "cultural and pedagogical traditions" and the new demands associated with open learning. However, those at 'the grassroots' need to identify and analyse their "pedagogical traditions". To simply declare that such traditions exist is unlikely to deflect or accommodate the concerns of the 'politicians'. We must research postgraduate pedagogy as a set of practices and develop ways of advocating for them which are responsive to those concerns.

Authors like Goodlad, Goodman, and Radnofsky are writing about reform in the context of the primary and secondary sectors of education. While their work needs to be given much more attention by those who are analysing and advocating reform in the higher education sector, the possibilities of a 'new order' symbolised by open learning adds a sense of urgency to that analysis and advocacy. As discussed earlier, open learning offers the possibility of a qualitatively different 'new order' to the current one (see also Newson, 1994). This paper has identified some of those possibilities. The urgency arises in the context of the massive financial investment in the technological infrastructure currently under way in Australia. Once that investment has been made, academics may find that they have a reduced capacity to influence the direction or the pace of reform. We need more discussion of postgradu-

ate pedagogy, certainly, but there is a more urgent need to locate those discussions within a context which acknowledges, and responds to, current political and management agendas, and technological and courseware design potentials.

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Footnote

1. Tony Pritchard was identified in that paper as the Executive Director of Open Learning Australia.

Teaching tech(no)bodies: open learning and postgraduate pedagogy

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Introduction

The actual practices of postgraduate pedagogy have been, until quite recently, somewhat mysterious and intimate phenomena. As an historical set of relations between the experienced and the neophyte scholar, they have been characterised as a process of academic overstimulations and scholastic seductions in which the precocious ‘few’ are called to emulate the flattering self-image that is generated by a scholar as ‘master’ (Le Doeuff, 1977, p. 9). Traditionally conducted behind closed doors in spaces remote from undergraduate teaching, the intensity of the interpersonal relations of much postgraduate pedagogy is presumed but uninterrogated. It has not been in the interests of academics generally or their postgraduate charges to show and tell what systems of encouragements or discouragements may have been at work in the daily mentoring of ‘pure’ research and thesis-writing. This is not to presume transgression, but to understand that such pedagogy is dangerously untranslatable as rational inquiry made public.

In the past decade or so, this picture of postgraduate pedagogy has been radically shaken up. The press for fast credentials, the ‘shelter effect’ resulting from greater economic uncertainty and job insecurity, the declining status of undergraduate degrees, the vocationalist shift in the tertiary sector, the call for greater access for minority groups, the ‘marketing’ of university courses and ‘coursework’ postgraduate programs—all have contributed to burgeoning diverse populations of postgraduate students. Furthermore, there has been a determination on the part of governments funding tertiary education to insist that universities abandon any gesture towards the mystification of pedagogy, to ‘fess up’ to whimsy and élitism (and harassment), where it may exist, by means of the mechanisms of overt codes of ethics, quality assurance and quality control.

Postgraduate pedagogy, therefore, is now a wide and disparate set of processes involving more university teaching bodies and more student bodies engaging in less cloistered settings over smaller amounts of time. For the overwhelming bulk of students, the dominant “dual transference relationship” (Le Doeuff, 1977 p.9) is never experienced. They only engage in fast track, ‘knock ‘em down’ coursework practices in which the imperative has been increasingly to excise the bodies of teachers and students from educational settings through flexible ‘open’ systems of delivery.

Teachers and students as ‘no/bodies’

In describing teachers and students as ‘bodies’, we are conscious that the reader may regard this descriptor as impoverished or demeaning of persons engaged in pedagogical work. However, we think that it is important to insist on this descriptor as it is being re-claimed in the new area of social theorising called ‘embodiment’ theory. In this work, authors speak of a “lived body” (Leder, 1990) or a “mindful body” (Shilling, 1993) in ways that constitute a departure from the traditional Western ‘mind/body’ distinction. The ‘self’ is understood to be an integrated being in which capability is not ascribed to a decorporatised mind but to the body as a lived structure and locus of experience (Leder, 1990:5). This is an important conceptual shift for understanding how new forms of pedagogy are being experienced or ‘lived out’ when they demand the absence, removal or semi-disappearance of the anatomical bodies of teachers and students from the university seminar

room or staffroom.

As academics, we have been caught with our theoretical pants down when it comes both to accommodating and resisting imperatives coming from technology that disrupt traditional pedagogical forms. Research in open learning is ill-equipped to deal with these issues because of an epistemological framework which still focuses on the mental as separate from, and privileged over, the corporeal. Overwhelmingly driven by Cartesian models of learning and of information processing, studies which examine ‘the marriage of minds’ have failed to understand pedagogy as ‘embodied’ (Shapiro, 1994), ie, that some body is teaching some body (Ungar, 1986). Thus the desire to teach and to learn have been rendered as merely cerebral. Desire is collapsed into motivation, pleasure becomes performance indicators, eros is rendered excellence, and so on. However, given the new work being done to theorise the body, including its relation to pedagogy (Matthews, 1994) and to technology (Sofia, 1995, 1993; Goodall, 1994; Fox, 1993; Haraway, 1991), the tools are now available for generating fresh analyses of pedagogical practices.

Clearly the move to the disembodied campus has already begun. We note the issues raised by the recent move at the University of Maine to create a “video campus without teachers or buildings” where students “would no longer need to attend lectures, but could tune into their chosen subjects on TV screens either from home or other campuses, and then ‘interact’ with a teacher hundreds of kilometres away” (*The Australian*, 19/4/95, p 26). While this has “prompted outrage” among academics in the USA, its effects are noteworthy for two reasons. First, it is indicative of the press of technology to revolutionise pedagogical events. Second, while academics quite rightly see the threat to their professional work in such developments, there is no indication that their response included cogent pedagogical arguments about the implications of this complete excision of teaching and learning bodies from the campus site.

Increasingly, material bodies are deemed to be stumbling blocks in terms of the temporal and spatial dimensions of university campuses. Without them, the pedagogical process becomes faster, potentially cheaper, and more accessible. Furthermore, keeping bodies away from each other has the added benefit of militating against charges of abusive pedagogy as overt sexual misconduct. In pedagogical terms, the ‘virtual’ space created by technology is also a virtuous space (Angel, 1995), devoid of bodies that could distract the mind.

We want, in this paper, to explore more closely some issues raised for postgraduate teachers by the shift to ‘open’ pedagogical events. How might this shift be experienced? What might be the effects of the blurring of the interface of corporeality and technology at work in the teleconference, the vis-a-vis seminar, the e-mail network, the on-line delivery? If the teacher’s material body is no longer the ‘sight/site of authoritative display’ (Angel, 1994, p 63), what are the dangers and opportunities inherent in becoming a teaching tech(no)body?

Teachers as bodies of knowledge

Ulmer (1989, p 4) offers a starting point for examining such a question in arguing that “to inquire into the future of academic discourse in the age of a new technology we must include the possibility of a change not only in technology, but also in the ideology of the subject and the forms of institutional practice”. With the advent

of new communication technologies into the university we need to rethink the subjectivities of teacher and student, and also the pedagogical relationships possible between them. Landow (1992) has likewise discussed the subjectivities of teacher and student, referring to the “virtual presence of teachers” (Landow, 1992, p 125) in technologically mediated interactions.

One effect of this ‘virtual’ engagement may well be the shock of recognition that, as postgraduate teachers, we have broken with a tradition in which “some body...teaches some body” (Ungar, 1986). Deutscher (1994, pp 36-37) speaks of traditional (embodied) pedagogy in these terms:

Pedagogy is the site of the densest cluster of intersubjective incorporations. The teacher appropriates the body of the student in the occupation of the position of the subject supposed to know...and the student appropriates the body of the teacher in taking up an invested position in relation to the discipline - incorporating the teacher's...internalisation of certain conventions of method, content, style and technique...all of which [constitutes] the animation of the text by the teacher's body.

For the teacher who has invested much in this mentoring tradition, there may be a sense of the loss of intensity in pedagogical encounters because of a loss of bodily engagement. Powerful university teachers are likely to be well-rehearsed in terms of the bodily performance necessary to “occupy[ing] the symbolic position of subject supposed to know” (Deutscher, 1994). That is, they can enact the pleasure and seductiveness of knowing in their posture, stance, utterance, gaze, gesture as well as the written and spoken texts they generate as ‘subject content’ (McWilliam, 1995). Furthermore, when engaging with the bodies of learners, they can sometimes experience what Deutscher (1994, p 36) calls “the elating sensation of a physical carnation of one’s body as teacher... the overt pleasure produced by the possibility of one’s own performance as empowered subject of knowledge, the seductive effect of instantaneity between teaching and learning body”. They may also have confronted, from time to time, the limits of the corporeal body as well as their own ‘bodies’ of disciplinary knowledge. Barthes (1978, p. 45) writes of this recognition of bodily limits as a crucial one for academics:

I can do everything with my language but not with my body. What I hide by my language, my body utters. I can deliberately mould my message, not my voice. By my voice, whatever it says, that other will recognise that ‘something is wrong with me’... My body is a stubborn child, my language is a very civilised adult.

Nevertheless, the “animation of the teacher’s body” through pedagogical events can endow it with special abilities. This animation, in turn, animates both the body of the student and the text. Deutscher (1994, p 36) is almost stating the obvious in her observation that:

Even where the teacher's role is understood on the most rigid model of purity of transmission, the pedagogical relationship between student, teacher and text is very different to the relationship between teacher and text—the teacher adds something, animating the text. To be taught the Ethics or the Critique of Pure Reason by an inspired teacher is not the same thing as to go to the library and labour one's way through Kant and Spinoza....

For the highly successful mass lecturer or thesis supervisor, the fact that she/he is no longer standing and delivering to students who are literally there out front may be experienced as disembodiment, as the loss of the means by which she/he intro(duces) students into a discipline. She/he may experience as threatened or real the loss of the pleasure of pedagogical work in terms of its mutually erotic (as distinct from an overtly sexual), performances. If ‘techno-paranoia’ is part of the cultural baggage which is being brought to the new pedagogical demands of open learning, this does not augur well for pleasurable new pedagogical experiences on the part of the teacher. When teleconferencing students complain, as they do when telephone lines are unclear, that the teacher is ‘breaking up’ or ‘fading’, the teacher who never ‘cracks up’ in terms of a lecturing or tutoring performance,

may experience a profound sense of loss of control over the work in which she/he was once so practised.

Much work needs to be done to explore the lived experience of the changing pedagogical work of teachers, and the extent to which this matters to all the participants in the pedagogical event. If, as Bill Green argues (1993), postmodernity demands the *transmutation* of pedagogy in a new era of ‘disorganised schooling’, the conventional pedagogical practices in the university lecture hall, seminar room and supervisor’s private office are quite rightly under attack. If the postgraduate area continues to grow exponentially and if, pedagogically speaking, the *postmodern lecture* is an oxymoron, what new forms should be advocated?

Teachers as tech(no)bodies?

As postgraduate mentors, many academics have experienced the act of teaching as “not only very personal, [but] also very physical” (Ungar, 1986, p 82). We now confront the challenge of understanding what is happening to our teaching bodies in the face of the disembodied campus. There is as little to be gained from demonising technology in this process as there is from glorifying it. Fortunately, recent feminist work done to theorise the human/technology interface has provided tools for analysis which does not proceed from either of these assumptions.

Zoë Sofia (1993), for example, examines technology as ambivalent, rather than neutral. She explains:

[O]ur pleasurable and seemingly life-enhancing technologies can also have nasty histories and devastating side effects; the ‘greater good’ of the life force may be served by criticism that bears this in mind, even as it is open to the possibilities for enjoyment technologies afford (Sofia, 1993, p 4).

Sofia (1995) goes on to show how women in particular can act potently with regard to technology. Her work is useful for teachers in that she explains how the specificities of various kinds of technologies engage with questions of context, erotic meanings and organ symbolism, with human-technology-world relations and their limit cases. Her work allows feminists to “de-homogenise” overgeneralised notions of technology with possibilities for enabling practice through engaging creatively with current technological configurations. Sofia gives us a basis on which to rethink pedagogy/technology and the way the two interact.

In her recent article “Of Spanners and Cyborgs: De-homogenising feminist thinking on technology” (1995), Sofia defines technologies as “social processes of making and doing” in which power may be expressed through its potential to harness materials, exercise skill and force, and alter patterns of perception and social organisation” (Sofia, 1995, p 147). She extends this definition, drawing on Heidegger (1962), to show that no tool is inseparable from the context in which it is used, but that the tool can be biased towards men’s use, ie, a spanner is designed for upper body strength. She shows that it is not sufficient for women to have access only to the spanner, but also to have access to the toolbox (ensembles of equipment) and the workshop (domains of equipmentality). This point has implications for both teachers and students unfamiliar with the new communication technologies available in tertiary education, in that any pedagogy designed for its use has to account for training, familiarisation, use, and responsiveness. Through these processes the bodies higher education is attempting to erase/excise from its lecture rooms can be recreated or, indeed, ‘adapted’ for different pedagogical events.

The anatomical body remains the means by which we experience the world, but the way we currently deal with it is to relegate it to the margins of our activities, ie, we place it at the end of a number of communication technologies where we expect it to teach and learn in the same way as if it were still in the lecture room. But our teaching ‘bodies’ and learning ‘bodies’ are capable of transmutation as the distinctions between the corporeal body of student and teacher and the technology itself become blurred. Effectively, in this increasing technologising of pedagogy in tertiary education, we may become *cyborgs*, ie, creatures with no bodies or all bodies. A cyborg, a human-

technology fusion, is a fantastic body that is not collapsible onto anatomy, gender or sexuality but is a body that is all and everything. The cyborg possesses, in the words of Sofia, (1995, p 153) “a polymorphously perverse fantasy body that can possess combinations of organs not found in nature”.

Sofia's (1995) discussion of the cyborg is particularly useful to educationists. By milking the 'cyborg' as a metaphor for what teachers and learners can become at the nature/technology interface, we can open new possibilities for pedagogy and its critique in tertiary education. This is particularly so in relation to the use of communication technology in open and distant learning, two modes currently being promoted in universities as a panacea for overcrowded lecture theatres, insufficient places for tertiary students, and 'advantages' of new ways of teaching to ameliorate the above problems. Just as the 'Terminator' of the science fiction film can peel back the skin to reveal the technological prosthesis beneath it, so postgraduate learning and teaching bodies may be re-made, with all the danger and opportunity that this transmutation implies.

Because the cyborg is a limit case of the “leaky boundaries” of the anatomical body, it offers ways of giving new meanings to the application and use of technologies in education. For example, if the cyborg is an anatomical body talking to other anatomical bodies through as simple a technology as the telephone, then the 'faults' of the technology become located on the anatomical body. But apart from the 'faults', this putting of 'oneself', ie, of putting the anatomical body into the machine, represents the powerful possibilities of inhabiting and using technologies of our own devising for our own purposes and pleasures. Sofia offers some examples of how this might be done; one example of particular usefulness at present is the virus which can invade undetected, proliferate, and take over—a very transgressive, pleasurable example of women using technologies within technologies. This can be achieved because of the coexistence of the biological body and technology, a transmutation which is not liable to binary formulations. Writing on the internet can achieve the same possibilities because there is no body to the internet address; the body *is* the internet address, a body which is totally de-anthropomorphised to an address. The 'self' becomes machine and interacts with machines.

Conclusion

Issues of scholarly identity and the teaching and learning self clearly press forward when discussing the cyborg and education. What is a lecturer and what is a student in this interchange? Who is the teacher and who the student? Where do our boundaries lie? What difference does this make to knowledge production?

It is the problematic idea that, in the pedagogical event, the teacher or her cyborg 'delivers the goods' to the students that remains the 'modernist' Achilles heel of tertiary course design. The fact that so many lecterns (like so many alternative learning 'packages') are *fixed*, bolted to their foundations, on guard against challenges to their authority, says a great deal about the grounding of tertiary pedagogy in modernist assumptions about the conflation of knowledge with information, and this, in turn, with data. Lyotard argued over a decade ago that the age of the professor 'standing and delivering' had come to an end, because:

[A] professor is no more competent than memory bank networks in transmitting established knowledge, no more competent than interdisciplinary teams in imagining new moves or new games (Lyotard, 1979, p. 53).

It is not a matter of the teacher no longer “professing desire” to teach (Ungar, 1986), but of understanding the potentialities and pitfalls of the radical shake-up of postgraduate pedagogy including the use of new communication technology. We need to explore how 'lived bodies' are situated productively within and through technological systems, and the capacity of academic teaching bodies to be more malleable and permeable (as well as pleased) at the human/technology interface.

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Monstrous knowledge: Doing PhDs in the new humanities

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Introduction

There has been a revolution that has affected almost every academic field of studies in what used to be called the 'humanities' and 'social sciences'. Arguably its effects have been felt even in the 'hard' sciences as well. Without for the moment getting hung up by definitions, I will call this revolution the 'postmodern turn' (Hodge, 1995). In discipline after discipline, it raises issues of epistemology and the processes of intellectual and textual production, in a way that is cumulatively so radical that the previous practices of disciplinary knowledge can no longer be assumed as given by those aspiring to profess them at any level. This has important consequences for the set of practices that cluster around the PhD, as the gateway to the highest level of accreditation that is applied to actual or prospective University teachers.

I want to ask two distinct but overlapping questions. What could or should doctoral theses be like in a period of intellectual crisis, instability, contestation or revolution? And more specifically, what might a doctoral thesis be like in the 'New' or 'Postmodern' Humanities? I ask these questions as matters of some urgency, because some theses currently being written or examined run the risk of being judged by completely inappropriate criteria: as failing to be good 'Old Humanities' theses, when they should be looked at to see if they are good 'New Humanities' works.

I have supervised or examined a range of theses in recent years which fall problematically into the initially vague category of 'New Humanities', for one or more reasons which are always fundamental to their reason for existence, yet cause difficulties in the light of many current rules and practices governing doctorates. That is, the more 'excellent' such theses appear to me to be, the more they risk rejection in terms of the criteria that have previously been applied. Typically (from the point of view of these criteria) they are over-ambitious, they lack unity, they lack objectivity, they are 'creative', they are difficult to assign to a single disciplinary pigeon-hole, they are excessively concerned with their own conditions of production, and they are strenuously, complexly written (or, sometimes, refuse to be merely written, but reach out for some other mode of presentation). It is clear that this is a serious situation for any practice of judgement, especially one that carries such heavy consequences as the validation or not of a person as a 'doctor', *doctus*—one who has been taught up to the highest level for which standards are in force, and is now authorised to teach.

PhDs and the system of disciplinarity

The PhD is the highest degree in the linear system of qualifications through which students progress in the education system in Australia, as in other Western countries. As such it forms a boundary to that system. Beyond it, there are some other qualifications such as the DLitt, but those are outside any idea of a 'normal' progression. The PhD has the awesome responsibility to make a final, irrevocable assessment of a person's relation to the dominant system of knowledge, and at this point the only judgement it is able to make is a simple 'yes' or 'no'. A doctorate is not classed. It may have to be revised or rewritten, and examiners may be more or less unanimous or enthusiastic about it, but all that disappears into a matter of the presence or absence of the three letters, 'PhD'.

The single term applies to theses in all disciplines, including sciences as well as social sciences and humanities, proclaiming an abstract unity of all knowledge, 'sophia', which seemingly is loved equally in different ways by all people who receive their doctorate. Until recently in the Australian University system, that unity was carefully parcelled out into various 'disciplines', so that people graduated with a PhD 'in' Sociology, History, etc., relatively autonomous fields or provinces in a single, hierarchically organized system of knowledges. This is the system of what can be called disciplinary doctorates.

The central characteristic of the 'New Humanities' is that it refuses this system of disciplinarity. It deconstructs its taken-for-grantedness, the unquestioned sense that the boundaries around the existing disciplines are inherent features of knowledge. It also inspects the disciplinary processes themselves, to see the work that they do in constructing and forming human subjects, and constructing also the objects of knowledge that define their institutional existence as authorised knowers.

Disciplines from this point of view are institutions of discourse in Foucault's terms. He described disciplines as "a system of control in the production of discourse, fixing its limits through the action of an identity taking the form of a permanent reactivation of the rules" (Foucault, 1976, p 224). Disciplines in this sense are defined by objects, methods, theories and propositions, tools and techniques, which are restrictive in some respects but also endlessly productive. "For a discipline to exist, there must be the possibility of formulating—and doing so *ad infinitum*—fresh propositions" (Foucault, 1976, p. 223). They also give as well as withhold power, by controlling who may and may not speak on a topic, what must or must not be said, and how a topic must be spoken of for knowledge about it to count.

PhDs were the final moment in academia's construction of authorised speakers, 'experts', 'authorities', with a power, however, that was given to these individuals by the unitary system of knowledge, organized by disciplines. At stake is discursive power: from the point of view of aspiring PhD candidates, their prospective access to this privileged speaking position; but from the point of view of the system, the danger of admitting the anarchy of multiple and uncoordinated voices into a system that is ultimately monologic.

We can see this duality at work in the different constructions of what a PhD is from these two points of view. It is difficult to demonstrate how the disciplinary PhD is seen by students who are approaching or undertaking their doctoral studies, partly because these views are often unspeakable, with no proper form or forum in which they can be articulated. The 'idea of a PhD' has an independent existence in the minds of these students, owing more to paranoia than to Plato, outside all regulations, an image of an impossible standard of scholarly rigour, circulating amongst graduates and intensified by the alienating conditions under which doctorates in the humanities are mostly produced. Oppressively central to this idea of the doctorate is some notion of 'originality', seen as an obligation to change the whole field of knowledge in some undefined way, which is always at risk of being overtaken by some other work, perhaps as yet unpublished, or even worse, known to everyone else other than the candidate, a fact which will be pointed out by a cold, supercilious and omniscient examiner as the reason why all that the candidate had thought and written over the

previous three or four or probably more years has suddenly been rendered without value.

The idealism and paranoid excess in this idea of a PhD is not supported by regulations for PhDs in Australian Universities, as published in their handbooks. Instead they all stress formal matters such as entry requirements, the correct form of presentation of theses, and the examination process. They all specifically mention that the thesis must be a *supervised* piece of research. They are much more guarded in their claims for what the thesis must be in terms of the contentious concept of 'originality'.

The regulations of Sydney University, as befits one of the most prestigious of the 'sandstone' Universities, convey most explicitly the sense of what a PhD is really all about from this point of view:

It is the policy of the Academic Board that a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy carry out all phases of the work completely under the control of the University at places determined by the University in the interests of the successful fulfilment of the aim of giving the candidate training in research (1991, p. 460).

Other university regulations insist on the fact that this degree must be supervised. It is not fully independent work, but the final stage in the formation of an independent researcher. The University of Sydney is more explicit than most in insisting that the process must be "completely under the control of the University", a submission to a discipline that is located in place (and also in time—unlike undergraduates, the University of Sydney doctoral student must work continuously over semester breaks, with only four weeks leave allowed each year.)

The University of Sydney describes the qualities to be found in the thesis as follows:

On completing the course of advanced study and research, a candidate shall present a thesis embodying the results of the work undertaken, which shall be a substantially original contribution to the subject (1991, p. 360).

The two terms, 'advanced study' and 'research', are nearly ubiquitous in these regulations, normally in tandem as here. The generic term 'study' connects the practices firmly backwards (so that the PhD is familiarly what was done before, at Honours and undergraduate levels, but is now 'advanced', higher in some unspecified way). It is then 'research' which comes in to define what is the distinctive or categorical difference that marks off the PhD from earlier levels of study.

'Research' is the defining term for the core activity of doctoral work. The word comes via the French 'rechercher' from the latin 're-circare'—to circle around repeatedly. It still retains a sense of painstaking effortful work which covers ground rather than going unerringly to the heart of any matter. It is often followed by a preposition—'research in or into or on' a field or topic—as though it is not meant to get too directly to any goal or any discovery. We can say we 'seek' truths or 'discover' facts, but we don't say that we 'research' truth or facts. 'Research' is a meticulously peripheral activity, a process whose value is independent from the value of what it produces.

Given the key role of the concept of 'research' in the definition of PhDs, it is unsurprising to find that the requirements for 'originality' are relatively weak. In the Sydney University regulations, there is the ambiguous qualifier "substantially original contribution to the subject". Some regulations (eg Bond University) refer only to "significant contributions". Macquarie University expands on what it means by 'originality':

The thesis must form a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the subject, and afford evidence of originality shown either by the discovery of new facts or by the exercise of independent critical power (1994, p 344).

Even this formulation shows what is at issue: the *demonstration* (evidence) of a capacity in a candidate, rather than a value to be found in what is 'discovered'.

All this is consistent with a role for the PhD as primarily a process for producing a kind of human subject, a mind that is 'doctus' (docile—the words are etymologically related), safe enough to be allowed to

be let loose on the dangerous not-so-young who study at University levels. It is the culmination of the disciplinary process that underpins disciplinary knowledge. Throughout the candidature the student has been carefully 'supervised', to use the word that is found in all the regulations (not encouraged, enabled, challenged, respected), and is at last allowed to wander around ('research') in the forest of knowledge unsupervised. He or she has been 'doctored', to use a pun that I have heard many students repeat with a wry laugh about their graduation ceremonies.

We can see from this why 'originality' is so equivocal a defining term in these regulations. Sometimes it seems only to require the candidate to use first-hand sources, not to have particularly original ideas, certainly not ones that break new ground or threaten in any way the existing edifice of knowledge, and especially not the primacy of the division into provinces and 'disciplines'. The PhD in these regulations is simply the next stage in a career of study, a further qualification that allows the person to take up a position in academia. Industrious conformity is the prerequisite, with conceptual power or disciplinary innovation neither mentioned nor desired.

Breeding monsters

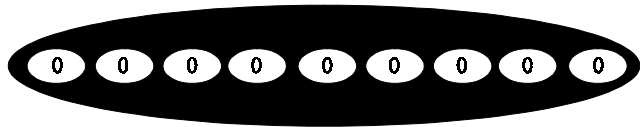
I have talked above of a 'revolution' in the humanities and social sciences, uneasily aware that such terms are liable to be used with rhetorical overstatement. It has been above all the work of Thomas Kuhn (1970), the philosopher of science, who has given the term precision as well as currency to describe a characteristically decisive kind of event in the evolution of what he called paradigms in the sciences. He proposes a pattern of development whereby a 'normal' science reaches a point of 'crisis' in which its hold on a community is dissolved, to be followed by a 'revolution' in which a new paradigm competes successfully with its rivals to win the absolute victory that guarantees a new period of 'normal' science. Whether or not a 'paradigm' is the same as a discipline and includes the set of knowledges of non-scientific disciplines, I believe that the same broad pattern can be found in the evolution of the humanities and social sciences. The emergence of the 'New Humanities' is a textbook instance of a Kuhnian revolution. It is an event on the same scale as what Foucault (1970) called an "epistemic rupture", in which there is a radical change in underlying codes, principles and modalities of order across sets of disciplines.

However, there is something misleadingly unitary, conscious and purposive about the term 'revolution' as it applies to work done by lowly but ambitious PhD students, wrestling as they have to with the ambiguous value of 'originality', gambling that the trouble they are making for disciplinary knowledge will be validated by the present as well as the future. Foucault's description of the conditions of disciplinary knowledge apply closely to the situation of the 'New Humanities' doctoral student:

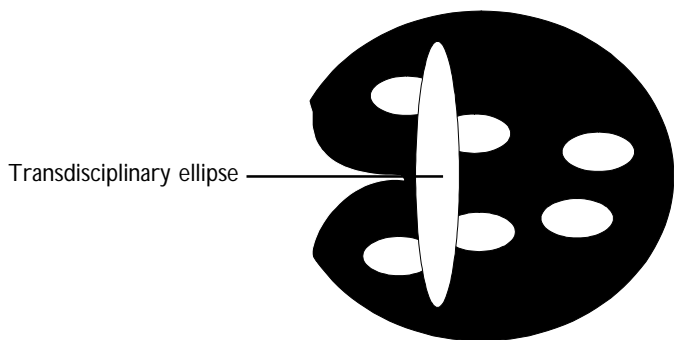
Within its own limits, every discipline recognises true and false propositions, but it repulses a whole teratology [ie the study of monsters] of learning. The exterior of a science is both more, and less, populated than one might think: certainly there is immediate experience, imaginary themes bearing on and continually accompanying immemorial beliefs; but perhaps there are no errors in the strict sense of the term, for error can only emerge and be identified within a well-defined process; there are monsters on the prowl, however, whose forms alter with the history of knowledge. In short, a proposition must fulfil some onerous and complex conditions before it can be admitted within a discipline; before it can be pronounced true or false it must be, as Monsieur Canguilhem might say, 'within the true' (Foucault, 1976, p 224).

We can represent the ideal image of a disciplinary organization of knowledge as a set of ellipses of light, with an intense focus at the centre, with darkness (in which monsters live and breed) all around outside the borders. In this scheme, the unexpected can in the first place be looked for in the boundaries between the disciplines. In a stable disciplinary order this will be interdisciplinarity, the precise space on the border between two disciplines. In such cases, interdisciplinarity

is a way of confirming the existing structure of knowledge, because it fills and hence reinforces the space between disciplines. In this stable state, interdisciplinarity is always provisional and opportunistic, a circumscribed raid on the darkness of extradisciplinary space in order to bring back monsters whose origins outside disciplinarity can then be forgotten.



The lozenge of disciplinarity



The folded three-dimensional space of teratogenesis

If this two-dimensional disk is subjected to pressures, much like what happens when the earth folds on itself, then the whole map of disciplinary knowledge changes. What seemed separated by dark space is superimposed, overlapping to form a stable contingent new discipline, or (in terms of the former disciplinary structure) a *transdisciplinary* formation. Transdisciplinary formations differ from interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary linkages because they are not situated on the rarefaction surrounding and buffering two fundamentally distinct disciplines, but are a new potentially explosive density near some arbitrary margin that destabilizes the basic core-plus-periphery structure of the prior disciplines.

An even more radical deformation of the previous disciplinary structure comes from the fact that, in the folding, it is not only the white space of another discipline that is incorporated into (or incorporates) the base discipline. Bits of darkness are also introjected, fraught with their fertile monsters. Transdisciplinary formations in times of stress and crisis are doubly impure, not only mingling discipline with discipline in a promiscuous mix, but also mixing disciplinarity with non-disciplinarity, with the disturbing weight of “immediate experience”, “imaginary themes” and “immemorial beliefs” that are the Other, the shadow of disciplinary (privileged, expert) thought.

If PhD candidates wished to propose a thesis that was so original that it would disturb the existing assumptions of the discipline, the easiest way would be to try to incorporate precisely what those disciplinary structures attempt to exclude. The most monstrous of the denizens of this extradisciplinary outer darkness are those things that people know or believe without benefit of (in opposition to the claims to expert status of) disciplinary experts—and what experts themselves know or believe in spite of, and outside, the hard-won knowledges that have made them what they are.

If I did not fear Socrates’ fate, accused of corrupting the young and condemned to death by an overdose of hemlock, I would risk offering

some practical advice (along with the further advice not to take it) on how to come up with the transformative kind of doctoral work that might be regarded as truly ‘original’, and what the ‘New Humanities’ most needs in this revolutionary phase of its development. Such as:

- *Be open to the monstrous*—take especially seriously those problems, beliefs and experiences that are annulled by (‘quaint’, ‘naive’, ‘outrageous’, unthinkable in terms of) a dominant discipline, whether they are intractably personal or contaminated by the disreputable demotic or popular, by passion or anger or delight, by the desire to change the world or to dream a new one.
- *Be transdisciplinary*—follow the curves of a folded disciplinary space, seeing what disciplines are necessarily super-imposed in the common space of your problematic, what the new centre of gravity is that is formed by the intrusion of this density of layered disciplinarity, what is the emergent structure of the transdisciplinary formation.
- *Detect the Shadow*—work with the old prohibitions as well as the new knowledges incorporated into the ‘field of the true’ and made visible by the juxtaposition of disciplines; especially the proper monster, the unspeakable, the forbidden Other of a given discipline.

Or to put it another way, I am saying that every ‘original’ doctoral thesis will have to interrogate the set of disciplinary imperatives that make its propositions both *necessary* and *impossible*, as the precondition for addressing that topic. That is, every candidate must take on an aspect of Foucault’s (1976, p. 231) double program for discourse analysis: ‘critical’ discourse analysis that reverses the exclusions, displacements and rarefactions which have constituted the relevant disciplinary knowledges, and ‘genealogical’ discourse analysis, which recognises the operations of *chance*, *discontinuity* and *materiality* in the core of the disciplines, as in the monsters of extradisciplinary.

The work that has contributed most to the exciting and productive crises of the humanities has typically shown these qualities. Feminism brought the experience first of women and then of men within the ‘field of the true’, challenging and contesting the disciplinary boundaries that got in the way, slowly and cumulatively exposing the ‘shadows’, the ideological limitations of discipline after discipline. Anthropology brought the existence of Europeans’ experience of colonised others within the field of the ‘true’, in a strenuously contained form that was burst open when the voices and experiences of those who had been excluded and contained gained legitimacy and force. English in its time challenged the privileged position of the classics by incorporating the pleasures of new kinds of text into ‘the true’, while limiting the scope of the kinds of pleasure and kinds of text that it could admit. ‘Communications’ and ‘Cultural Studies’ are more recent developments, either as bubbles within existing disciplines or as emerging fields of ‘the true’, chaotically overlapping with outgrowths of other disciplines often labelled ‘critical’ (‘critical ethnography’, ‘critical sociology’ etc.).

This is the context in which people must produce doctoral theses in ‘the New Humanities’: an unstable patch-work of premises and fields, an incoherent and shifting map whose present status is not agreed on, much less its future. For those who are too aware of this chaotic instability it may create excessive anxiety, but the price of trying to ignore it is to be cut off from the most important ideas in academia today.

The Postmodern turn

I have suggested that the new episteme organizing the emerging humanities and social science disciplines can be called ‘postmodernism’. The term has often been criticised for being vague, inconsistent and faintly disreputable (see eg Frow [1993], who asked polemically “What was Postmodernism?”), so it would not be appropriate to enter here into a debate about what postmodernism is. For present purposes, I distinguish what I am calling the postmodern episteme from what critics such as Baudrillard (1984) have identified as ‘postmodernity’, a (or the) phenomenon of post-contemporary,

post-industrial life, a cultural form that marks the end of the possibility for culture as previously understood, in which history, rationality and sense have disappeared in a euphoric celebration of ephemerality. I am concerned instead with the kind of postmodernism which has grown out of the poststructuralist tradition, as in Lyotard's (1984) analysis of what he called "the Postmodern condition", in a work he subtitled "a report on knowledge".

Lyotard's survey of the state of contemporary knowledges points to the kind of understanding of the state of disciplinarity outlined above. Crucial to his analysis of the new episteme is what he sees as its 'linguistic turn', the tendency to see all disciplines and even many of their objects as forms of language, forms of discourse. This orientation is undoubtedly a distinctive characteristic of these approaches, and it has become one of the markers of a postmodern orthodoxy in certain academic circles. However, I feel that it would be dangerous and limiting to incorporate this aspect into any definition of postmodern thought, or the 'New Humanities' as a strategy of research. Most of the major figures in the construction of Postmodern thought, such as Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard or Said, have denied the criticism that their works lead to an apolitical theoretical practice. They have all wrestled productively with the contradictions between an approach which seems to insist that concepts such as truth, justice, origin, agency and materiality are discursive effects, and a concern with areas of struggle and conflict where such relativism is disabling. Rather than the pure position on the primacy of discourse being the marker of postmodern thought, I see *awareness of the problem of discourse* as the better indicator.

I am using 'postmodernism' above all to emphasise the sense it gives of an open-ended receptivity to the unpredictably new, in particular its responsiveness to new themes and new ways of thinking, writing and producing knowledge. There are four ways in which Postmodernism in this sense has enhanced the possibilities for 'doing research'/'writing a PhD' in the Humanities. They are not tightly connected, so it is possible to be selectively 'postmodern', but together they make up a formidable potential for intellectual productivity.

- As a *strategy*—using the new technologies of the electronic media, as part of the basic literacy that is the entry condition into the New Humanities. These increase the scope of the texts that can be accessed (through data bases, CD-ROM, image scanners, sound-input, etc) and processed (through user-friendly software analytic packages), the communities that can be constructed (via email, the Internet) and the quality of the texts that can be produced (multimedia and desktop publishing packages, increasingly sophisticated standard word processing packages, complete with spell-checks and other compositional aids). Postmodern postgraduates have prosthetic ears and eyes. They are exposed to information saturation, informal as well as formal discourse, via sound and image as well through the written word. They are plugged in to a global community, dependent now on computer technicians and other buffs to catch up on the latest program or option, instead of being self-contained, highly literate individual scholars relying only on a secretary to type the final thesis.
- As a *style*—drawing on a long tradition of experimental avant-gardism, with its breaks with the modernist values of realism, transparency of text, linear logic, purity of genres, given philosophical weight and substance through theorists like Derrida and his reflections on writing, which for him designates "not only the physical gestures of literal pictographic or ideographic inscription, but also the totality of what makes it possible and also, beyond the signifying face, the signified face itself. And thus we say 'writing' for all that gives rise to an inscription in general. [Thus] the entire field covered by the cybernetic program will be the field of writing" (Derrida, 1976, p. 9).
- As an *orientation*—able to affirm different kinds of order, accepting discontinuities, contradictions, without having to find or impose subsuming orders or over-arching unity and coherence, in kinds of text, kinds of logic, forms of community, in notions of

individual, identity and consciousness; alerted to complex processes of meaning and textuality pervading social life.

- As a *politics*—anarchist, populist, libertarian, an oppositional strategy against imperialist discourses of power and authority, recognising the validity of heterogeneous voices, roles and subjectivities.

Problems arise, however, in seeing these qualities as simply added on to the repertoire of modernist theses, especially when from the point of view of modernist examiners postmodern virtues can seem like vices. The following table compares qualities of modernist and postmodern theses, with a further column giving their negative value from a modernist perspective—descriptors that a hostile examiner could use even for a high quality 'postmodern' thesis.

The contexts of change

But revolutions, even benign intellectual ones, don't happen automatically, for a good reason: they aren't meant to happen. As I have argued, the regulations surrounding PhDs are not intended to encourage radical doctorates. Funding and other policies have a similar effect. Funding support comes through government (APRA) scholarships for a three-year period, primarily awarded on the basis of class of Honours, with the bulk of APRAs going to the small number of elite research universities, which are organized primarily along conservative disciplinary lines. APRA students tend to be conservative. For instance, 78% continued their higher degrees at the same institution they graduated from, compared to 50% for all research postgraduates (Witham, 1992). It is a system geared to selecting the brightest students in a cohort, channelling them through a disciplinary program before they have built up enough acquaintance with monsters to challenge the principle of disciplinarity. However, the system in Australia is currently much less monolithic than this picture suggests. There have been a series of decentering movements that together have disrupted the intent of the system and created propitious conditions for an efflorescence of New Humanities (innovative, transdisciplinary, critical) doctorates:

- On the international scene, 'New Humanities/Postmodernism' represents 'the leading edge' across the humanities and social sciences, disseminated more rapidly than used to be the case to a marginalized academic system such as Australia's. The brightest students know that they want it, and the colonial cringe if nothing else requires traditional universities to try to catch up.
- Peripheral institutions in the Australian system—'new' universities (1960-1986) and former CAEs (the post-1987 Universities)—were free to colonise the 'New Humanities' form of curriculum without competition from the prestigious traditional (pre-1960) Universities. The post-Dawkins expansion of the University sector saw significant expansion and reconceptualising in which the 'New Humanities' played a significant role, as one of the few areas where the post-1987 institutions were competitive in producing high quality research.
- The Dawkins reforms also created pressure on many staff at the newer universities, to upgrade their qualifications in order to become a 'real' teacher at a 'real' university. In 1993, for instance, 25.4% of academic staff at post-1987 Universities had doctorates, compared to 50.9% at "older established Universities" (Gallagher and Conn, 1995). This gives a pool of 9620 academic staff at the Dawkins universities with a perceived need to upgrade. This is a considerable number, given that only 1767 students in total commenced doctoral studies in 1990 (Witham, 1992). There were also staff at traditional universities who, for one reason or other, had stepped off the academic assembly line and were now being denied the promotion that their intellectual calibre and academic commitment would have entitled them to. These two groups together form a significant body of potential doctoral candidates who have the strengths of mature-age undergraduates in pushing the curriculum into new areas—a breadth of marginalised expe-

| Modernism | Postmodernism (+) | Postmodernism (-) |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| piece of research | piece of writing | no content |
| research v writing | research as writing | too subjective |
| disciplinary | transdisciplinary | undisciplined |
| transparent style | opaque, difficult | too hard to understand |
| focussed topic | dispersed theme | much too ambitious |
| self-effacing | self-reflexive | self-indulgent |
| summarizes argument | strings quotes | unoriginal, pastiche |
| descriptive | creative/critical | not really a thesis |
| proves | performs | what is it saying? |
| clear print text | multimedia, experimental form | breaks rules for thesis |
| coherent world | fragmented world | not a clear picture |
| typical case | aberrant example, limit case | idiosyncratic, can't generalise |
| 'research'-oriented | theory-driven | vague and jargon-ridden |

rience, time for considerable reflection on the received (disciplinary) curriculum and its ills, a set of monsters waiting to come into the light.

Putting these considerations together, we have a picture in which it is likely that a reasonably high proportion of doctorates in the humanities and social sciences commenced or completed over the next five years will be broadly in the 'New Humanities' areas. Many of these will be undertaken by first class Honours students immediately after graduation, supported by APRAs at disciplinary universities, where the controls on substantial originality will remain tight. However, a significant number will be situated on some margin: highly motivated but marginal (mature, academically experienced, part-time) students, following marginal (transdisciplinary, applied, unique) courses of study at marginal (low status, and/or regional) institutions.

I believe that the overall quality of work produced especially by this latter category of student will be exceptional for this degree, more original than pre-1990 doctorates, more critical, more significant in national and international terms, to use the criteria applied by bodies such as the ARC. My sense is that already as a result of these factors there has been a quantum leap in the 'quality' of doctoral work now being undertaken in the humanities and social sciences, owing to the energising and catalytic effect of the 'New Humanities'.

I have no hard evidence for that belief, I should hasten to add, outside the thirty seven doctoral theses that I have supervised or examined over the past five years. For some time hard evidence will be hard to find, since judgements of quality, especially at this level, are so contentious. One indicator would be the number of doctorates which are already almost publishable as books that the writer wanted to write, and that readers will want to read: books or texts that matter, which rewrite the old fixed rules of the PhD genre so often that the original template disappears under the impenetrable palimpsest.

It is not clear how long the 'New Humanities' will be able to retain its sense of being subversive or revolutionary, its openness to change, its commitment to openness, or how many times the activity of deconstructing the genre of the PhD will be challenging and productive for every candidate. It is not clear either whether the practices in the non-sciences, already substantially different from what prevails in the sciences, will have systemic effects across the board. However, the greatest safeguard against change in the premises underlying the current system of doctorates is their taken-for-granted status, and it is hard to see how that can survive the cumulative and respectful erosive assault of the 'New Humanities' postmodern critique, if it is embodied

in thesis after thesis which takes for granted different assumptions of what a PhD is and why it is still a worthwhile thing to do.

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Theorising postgraduate pedagogy

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Introduction

In all the clamour of recent and growing concern about postgraduate studies in higher education, there has been a persistent and perhaps surprising lacuna: the question of pedagogy. Much has been made of the importance of 'research' in the burgeoning political economy of the university and the nation—moreover, of research *and* training, as a new unholy alliance, or even research *as* training—and new emphases are evident everywhere on matters of accountability, performativity, and instrumental rationality. More and more, there is debate about completion rates, supervisor-student relationships, financial assistance and other forms of support, infrastructural provision, ethics, examination protocols and procedures, and the like. Arguably, however, this remains firmly within a familiar frame and is entirely consistent with a pervasive and longstanding institutional and metaphysical logic, in accordance with which 'research' and 'knowledge' continue to be privileged over 'teaching' and 'learning', and within which 'education' as such is devalued, or realised rather as an (un)necessary supplement to the real work of the Academy.

That, to reiterate, is emphatically 'research' rather than 'teaching'. As in other educational and schooling sectors, teaching as such is curiously positioned in a subordinate, service role—the superordinate figures vis-a-vis the 'teacher' being the 'administrator' and/or the 'researcher'. Moreover, this is always a highly gendered set of relations and positions: males statistically outnumber females with regard to this division of labour and privilege—the more so, higher up the institutional hierarchy; and it can be argued, further, that the structure of knowledge and disciplinarity is characteristically *masculinist*. But at the same time, 'teaching' is necessary not just to the continued viability of universities in increasingly difficult economic times but also to postgraduate work, at least in the sense that regulations throughout the university system require formal supervision. 'Supervision', however, would appear to be something other than 'teaching'; or rather, it is to be understood more in terms of 'research' than as 'teaching'. More broadly, a pervasive binary logic (re-)emerges, with 'pedagogy' hereby set against 'disciplinarity' and systematically subordinate to it, as we argue in this paper. This is, of course, to enter into the (un)familiar territory of feminist and poststructuralist critiques of Reason and the Academy (Hekman, 1990; Luke and Gore, 1992).

Over a decade ago now, Connell (1985a: 38) argued that "[s]upervising a research higher degree is the most advanced level of teaching in our education system". Moreover, as he indicated, "it is certainly one of the most complex and problematic" forms of teaching, and yet, curiously, "[t]his complexity is not often enough acknowledged". As he further suggested, many academics simply "don't see supervision as *teaching*", or perhaps at least as teaching in the usual sense. Connell was adamant, however, that this constituted a major problem vis-a-vis the quality and effectiveness of postgraduate education:

[Supervision] has to be seen as a form of teaching. Like other forms, it raises questions about curriculum, method, teacher/student interaction, and educational environment.

Connell's call to action in this regard was a timely and useful intervention. Ten years on, however, we are left with the suspicion that nothing much has changed. This is notwithstanding an increasing emphasis on supervision and related issues, within a general upsurge of interest in and concern about postgraduate studies, and widespread recognition that "[p]ostgraduate education is right at the forefront of

the changes to higher education in Australia" (Marginson, 1995, p. 33).

Like much else in this respect, these changes and heightened forms of attention seem more often than not driven by policy interests and imperatives. In that sense, the burgeoning research activity on questions of postgraduate modes of educational activity and delivery, practice and provision, is more policy-oriented and informed than influenced by, let alone generative of, theory. By and large, the available work in this area is inadequately theorised, or rather, it tends to be radically undertheorised. One of the first requirements then would appear to be bringing into the debate a more explicit, specifically theoretical stance—a matter, that is, of drawing theory as such into postgraduate education, as a key site of both praxis and inquiry. On the face of it, of course, such an ambition seems audacious, at the very least. It presupposes and indeed privileges a particular understanding of theory, and perhaps does less than justice to the work currently available and underway. That may be so. Nonetheless, in what follows, we explore some issues and arguments in this regard, specifically concerned with relations among pedagogy and disciplinarity, research and teaching. Our aim in doing so is to begin to provide some different perspectives on what is certainly a matter of some growing moment in the university sector today.

From 'teaching' to 'pedagogy'

One of the problems with Connell's account is, perhaps paradoxically, its very homeliness, its comfortable familiarity. He persistently refers to 'teaching' and stays right away from any high-falutin' reference to 'pedagogy'. This makes his article both accessible and disarming: a matter of experienced plain speaking about the commonsense of educational practice, with specific regard to PhD supervision. Yet it is clear that more is at issue here than commonsense, or a commonly recognisable practice. Recent accounts from Lusted (1986) and Simon (1992) provide helpful elaborations on this point. For Lusted, 'pedagogy' as a specific concept is "desperately undertheorised":

Within education and even among teachers, where the term should have more purchase, pedagogy is under-defined, often referring to no more than a teaching style, a matter of personality and temperament, the mechanics of securing classroom control to encourage learning, a cosmetic bandage on the hard body of classroom contact (Lusted, 1986, p. 2).

The situation is exacerbated in the university sector ("among elite realms of thought", as he puts it), where 'pedagogy' if it is attended to at all is simply "taken as coterminous with teaching, merely describing a central activity in an education system" (Lusted, 1986, p. 2). As with 'administration' (ideally, that is, perhaps), 'teaching' is understood largely as instrumental and certainly as subordinate to the work of knowledge production. Simon (1992: 55) similarly describes pedagogy as a term fraught with difficulty: "One can hardly use the term in conversation in schools and living rooms without sounding like a pretentious academic". Yet, as he argues, it has a definite use-value, as at once a 'provocation' and "an attempt to rupture everyday talk about classroom practice and introduce suppressed or forgotten issues back into the conversation" (Simon, 1992, p. 55).

What such accounts do is throw the conceptual-institutional field wherein these complexly intricately notions of 'teaching' and 'pedagogy' circulate and resonate into sharper relief. What is 'teaching' in higher research degree contexts? What does it look like? What does it

consist of? What is 'good' and what is 'bad' teaching? When and where does teaching happen, under what conditions? More abstractly perhaps, how and why might 'teaching' in this instance be best located within a more comprehensive understanding of 'pedagogy'? Lusted argues for the significance and importance of the concept of pedagogy thus:

Why is pedagogy important? It is important since, as a concept, it draws attention to the process through which knowledge is produced. Pedagogy addresses the 'how' questions involved not only in the transmission of knowledge but also in its production. Indeed, it enables us to question the validity of separating these activities so easily by asking under what conditions and through what means we 'come to know' (Lusted, 1986, pp. 2-3).

This is not simply a matter of 'com[ing] to know', however, since it is also a matter of 'coming to be', that is, of becoming and being a certain authorised form of research(er) identity. Furthermore, to speak of 'process' in this regard cannot be mistakenly associated simply with psychology, which is perhaps an unfortunate implication of Lusted's account here, but of institutional practice; or rather, the intricacy of psychological and institutional processes—the interrelation and interaction of subjectivity and circumstances. Further, as he writes:

to bring pedagogy in from the cold and onto the central stage of cultural production is to open up for questioning areas of enquiry generally repressed by conventional assumptions, as prevalent in critical as in dominant practices, about theory production and teaching, and about the nature of knowledge and learning (Lusted, 1986, p. 3).

What is particularly striking about the account that Lusted offers is his refusal of the simple manufacturing, transmission model of theory production and pedagogic practice alike, and his emphasis on the importance of the practices and relations that necessarily shape and inform them both, within what is more often than not a common institutional context. A particular form of integration and identification is thus implied among 'research', 'teaching' and 'study' as academic-institutional activities (Clark, 1994). Simon similarly expands and clarifies the concept of pedagogy: "... talk about pedagogy is simultaneously talk about the details of what students and teachers might do together *and* the cultural politics such practices support". Hence, as he indicates, "to propose a pedagogy is to propose a political vision" (Simon, 1992, p. 57).

In Connell's case, there is little explicit recognition given to supervision being either theoretical or political. That does not mean that it is not for him in this instance, or generally; rather, that it is not acknowledged or treated as such here, the most likely reason being that this is a limited practical exercise in pedagogical advice. But it seems also likely that it is related to his rhetorical preference for 'teaching' over 'pedagogy' as an organising term of reference. As for the elements of teaching he mentions in the passage cited above: 'curriculum', 'method', 'teacher/student interaction' and 'educational environment', he is most illuminating in accounting for "the 'supervising' relationship", as he calls it, although he does touch on various aspects of these others. For instance, he notes that can be "no fixed formula for PhD supervision, no fixed course of events", and accordingly, "[t]he 'curriculum' cannot be planned in the way it is for undergraduate courses" (Connell, 1985a, p. 39). This is of course partly a feature characteristic of the kind of postgraduate education institutionalised in Australia, modelled on the UK system¹: a largely one-to-one, intense, highly privatised relationship between a student and a supervisor.

Of course, even under these circumstances it is *not* the case that there is no curriculum per se, but rather that it is tacit and informal, and as Connell (1985a, p. 38) notes himself, characteristically caught up in a certain mystique of 'research' such that "the student is supposed to absorb the necessary know-how by a sort of intellectual osmosis between great minds". Where and how this 'osmosis' occurs is another point worth considering. For example, Connell indicates the importance of regular meetings, with diligent and careful record-keeping on the part of the supervisor (and presumably the student), suggesting that

'keeping in touch' is a key obligation in supervisory work—hence the implication and effect of the term 'super-vision' itself, with its intimations of a perhaps impossibly idealised panoptic power. In the usual scheme of things, this may well be not just the principal form of official contact but also the only form.

That does not mean that 'supervision', understood as a distinctive pedagogic relationship, is exhausted in such meetings. On the contrary, in on-campus situations (historically by far the most common realisation of postgraduate study) other opportunities arise in the normal course of institutionalised academic work for exchanges and demonstrations that are significant in this regard. Simon's account of his work in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto provides a useful picture of what this means for him (and presumably for North American postgraduate education generally):

in my institution the work of doing education is accomplished in settings such as a course and its manifestation as a series of weekly classroom meetings, individual discussions with students in faculty offices, thesis committee meetings, computer conferencing programs (within which students and faculty discuss various topics), and informal discussions among students (and sometimes faculty) in hallways, the cafeteria, and the local pub (Simon, 1992, p. 88).

What Simon omits from this account but certainly is an important feature of the culture of prestigious and successful institutions like OISE is the *seminar*, whether that be built into the internal schedule and work requirements of faculty and students—presented either as an opportunity to share research in progress, or to display one's wares—or whether it be formed out of and around presentations and performances by visiting academics and intellectuals. The seminar is a powerful means whereby what counts as academic-intellectual work is represented and authorised. This does not just involve the presentation itself, whether a virtuoso performance or simply the spectacle of intellection, thought thinking itself, but crucially also the exchange afterwards, in the manner in which individuals of varying authority and expertise engage with the presenter or with each other and the manner in which the presenter responds to and transacts with others in the session. It is for students a matter often of watching and learning how to be, how to interact and intervene, how to introduce and develop a commentary however attenuated it might need to be in the circumstances, how to work with difference and disputation, how to speak and when, even how to hold one's body or deploy certain mannerisms and gestures ('impatience', for instance). Such occasions are always highly regulated, even when they are supposed to be open to everyone and ostensibly non-authoritarian. According to Simon, all such encounters

contain 'compulsions to behave' that are revealed either when they are refused or challenged or when someone is deemed unworthy to participate because she or he is unable to elicit practices consistent with the required form (Simon, 1992, p. 88).

Much necessarily remains unspoken, more or less invisible in its normativity. Yet the penalty for transgression is severe—for some at least, and perhaps even for the majority of acolytes and disciples. For others, a more subtle process is at work, of identification and assessment, whereby the student body is made subject to distinction and an élite effectively if often silently isolated and constructed as such in the midst of everyone. This is surely the implication of Bernstein's (1975, p. 97) now classic observation that "the ultimate mystery of a subject is revealed very late in the educational life", in doctoral and post-doctoral contexts, especially when it is further noted that for him that "ultimate mystery" involves 'chaos' and 'disorder', and radical difference rather than a reassuring identity, at the very heart of the discipline in question and indeed of disciplinarity itself. How such discriminations are made, and the nature of the interplay between sanction and penalty, remains a fascinating matter for further research.

It is here, though, that something of the 'cultural politics' that Simon refers to, as a indispensable part of pedagogic practice, becomes apparent. What is at issue however is not simply the implication of postgraduate education in what might be called the 'force field' of the

social, structured as it is by race, class and gender at the very least, but also, crucially, the power-knowledge formations and institutional practices of disciplinarity more generally, both *locally* in the restricted disciplinary field at hand and more *globally* in academic-intellectual culture at large. Recognising that the pedagogic relation in postgraduate studies is an exemplary power relation, in this expanded sense, enables analysis and commentary to move beyond the more instrumental, pragmatic implications of 'teaching' as a term of reference, and to draw into account the politics of disciplinarity itself, within larger formations of culture and economy. This is arguably all the more imperative when the efficiency of the university system is increasingly a matter of explicit governmental concern.

Disciplinarity and the university

What is the relationship between pedagogy and disciplinarity vis-à-vis postgraduate studies? How organic is this relationship to the idea of the university but also its fate and fortunes in what are arguably postmodern times? What these questions imply in part is that once the centrality of pedagogy is granted, even if this is in the ironical form of an 'absent presence', account needs to be made of the role and significance of education in and for the discourse of disciplinarity itself. Questions such as these emerge as of particular significance once a historical perspective is taken and a new form of educational history is mobilised. That is the basis of striking recent work by Hoskin (1993), addressed specifically to what he describes as an "unexpected reversal", that is, that "education, far from being subordinate, is superordinate" within modern disciplinary economies and hence the project of the university, and further, that

an understanding of education and its power is the only way to understand the genesis of disciplinarity and the subsequent apparently inexorable growth of disciplinarity's power (Hoskin, 1993, p. 272).

Whereas traditionally education has been little regarded and indeed more often than not marginalised within the mainstream university, partly because its disciplinary status has always been at the very least problematical, what Hoskin suggests is that attending to the means whereby the disciplinary complex of the university is maintained and renewed is profoundly illuminating, to say nothing of being a matter of some disturbance to the conventional scheme of things in the university sector. In a brilliant, audacious analysis, he seeks to bring an exemplary set of 'little practices'—writing, grading, examining—together with three emergent pedagogical ('teaching') sites: the seminar, the laboratory and the classroom. Hoskin demonstrates that the genesis of contemporary disciplinarity lies in the emergence of this set of practices in these sites and that their uneven but structurally significant integration is realised in the period stretching from the latter part of the eighteenth century to its consolidation in the nineteenth century, the great age of the modern university.

Central to this process is the complex institutionalisation of a new form of 'learning how to learn', whereby, in place of older practices of emulation of masters, subjects characteristically become actively involved in their own learning. This coincided with but also, importantly, was instrumental in the emergence of a new formation of power and subjectivity, "the modern power of discipline, particularly of disciplinary knowledge" (Hoskin, 1993, p. 273). This new subject, the subject of *research*, "the newly disciplined but also self-disciplining human subject" (Hoskin, 1993, p. 275) is installed as the subject par excellence of the university. It is thus the research-oriented university—for whom the seminar, the laboratory and the classroom are crucial curriculum and cultural technologies—that is best able to exploit and direct the new order of disciplinary power, as much from the bottom up and contingently as a matter of specific forms of calculation and policy. Hence it becomes critically responsible for the social valorisation of a distinctive formation of knowledge and identity. As such, universities become central to the self-determining project of modern society.

Clark (1994) draws attention to what he sees as a distinctive "research-teaching-study nexus in national systems of higher educa-

tion", as central to the modern idea of the university. The modern university, following Humboldt, was organised around the centrality of research, and the positive subordination of teaching and 'study', or learning, to research:

While Humboldtian doctrine overall was multi-sided and lent itself to a variety of interpretations that related to broad issues of enlightenment and character, the particular idea of education by means of research ... became an ideology with an elective affinity for the emerging interests of new disciplinarians deeply committed to research activity as a mode of teaching and a means of learning (Clark, 1994, p. 11).

The formation of disciplines was thus thoroughly intricately with an increasing complexification and elaboration of the forms and relations of 'research', 'teaching' and 'study'. Originally characterised by the "binding together of teaching and learning by means of research", this meant that there was an increasing articulation between the emergent structure of disciplinarity and the modern idea of the university. With the post-Enlightenment knowledge explosion and the movement across two centuries towards mass (higher) education, however, the nexus itself has come under strain and indeed has been radically challenged as an organising principle. Where once it was indeed arguably the case that the purposes of the university were best served by organising teaching and learning around research, increasingly that has become at best a partial solution to the problems of transformations within the institution more broadly. Partly that is resolved by a new consolidation of what Clark describes as "the historic nexus" in the specialisation world-wide of research in a relatively small cluster of élite, specifically research-oriented universities. This goes hand-in-hand, of course, with a similarly motivated specialisation of teaching in other institutions. In essence, it is a case of 'business as usual', certainly for élite institutions, and the restoration in and for new times of a system whereby power, knowledge and social identity are complexly conjoined, in accordance with new principles of integration and efficiency.

But what is most relevant here is that a certain relation between 'research' and 'teaching' and between 'research' and 'learning', along the classical lines of Clark's previously referred-to formulation, is renewed, albeit in now specialised places and situations. In short, the 'élite' university is the 'real' university. This has particular implications for postgraduate studies. Traditionally research was seen as both an exemplary mode of teaching and a powerful means of learning. The research group became the site of teaching and learning par excellence, in a close and intensely productive relationship. Clark describes this thus:

Within the research group, instruction took place. This was not the instruction of the lecture hall nor of the didactic classroom but the instruction of actual research activity. What better way to instruct the process of inquiry and discovery than to carry out research before the students' very eyes? What better way to learn research than by doing it? (Clark, 1994, p. 11).

Following Hoskin, this might be realised as well and as much in the seminar as the laboratory, and for the Humanities especially, in particular classroom realisations of postgraduate education, such as the advanced-level tutorial. In the rarefied spaces of higher research degree supervision and study, teaching and learning alike are organised around and entirely deferent to a certain metaphysics of 'research'. What this relies on, though, is relatively small numbers of students, or a student body restricted enough in size to be in more or less immediate contact with actively researching faculty.

This mystique or myth increasingly becomes strained, however, as new demands are placed upon the (post)modern university. On the one hand there is the inevitable tendency towards specialisation and diversity. On the other, and over-riding this, is an increasing tendency towards hierarchy among universities and, in Australia, arguably a move more or less by default to a renewed binary system of higher education. With increased numbers and indeed the shift towards massification, what emerges is what has been called a representation

problem: how to maintain and renew productive research relations, practices and identities in a now typically abstracted, mediated disciplinary and curriculum space? How to represent what previously was immediately at hand, visible and concrete? What (con)texts are needed? What selections need to be made, and not just of (con)texts but of students as well?

Under these circumstances, academics have to grapple in new ways with relations—tensions and contradictions—between ‘research’ and ‘teaching’, particularly undergraduate teaching. In postgraduate study, the role of supervision as teaching remains profoundly ambiguous, to the extent that supervision is often not even calculated into official workloads and is hence afforded the status either of apprenticeship research training or ‘personal’ scholarly interest. Thus, although ‘teaching’ and ‘research’ may rhetorically be seen as integrated, in actuality this can only be the case in specialised postgraduate contexts, and moreover, these increasingly of a certain kind—that is, avowedly élite in composition. Here, moreover, ‘teaching’ is entirely subordinate to ‘research’. The assumption is therefore that those on the record as capable and authorised researchers are necessarily best suited to teach, and that, further, teaching is effectively immanent to research.

Moreover, although there is clearly a certain degree of technical teaching skill or acumen involved here, it is more particularly a certain quality or ‘aura’ attached to or associated with the person of the academic, the figure of the researcher, that becomes the determining marker of distinction. By implication, the researcher is cast in the universal image of the general intellectual: (s)he is invested with a magical trans-technical, generic competence, even though (s)he may well be equipped with only a relatively limited and restricted area of experience and expertise. By definition (s)he becomes identified with and as the Subject of Knowledge, or the One-Who-Is-Supposed-To-Know.

Several possibilities open themselves at this point. One is for the researcher (as supervisor) to insist on working within the restricted ambit of his or her own research interests and concerns. Another is to enter into other projects with perhaps more or less only a family resemblance to one’s own area, yet within a common disciplinary space. A third is to see academic culture more broadly as the field of reference, which is usually to work with and from an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary focus. In each case it is both the supervisor’s general intellect, appropriately licensed, that authorises him or her to enter into the tutelary relationship in question here, and his or her specific assemblage of knowledge and expertise. It is rare for a supervisor to be sufficiently free-floating simply to be able to play a representative role in this regard, although it is perhaps unfortunately not all that uncommon for this to happen, especially when the academic in question is senior and/or particularly experienced. Within many new universities, this situation becomes exacerbated due to their (often) small size and geographical isolation, the small numbers of appropriately qualified academics, the relatively junior status of many of them—as well as the tendency for these universities to be at the forefront of new and interdisciplinary programs of study and research.

However all such activity is necessarily disciplined and disciplining in one way or another, both generally and specifically, and all exchanges between supervisor and student, marked and unmarked, are significant and formative in this regard. Crucially, this must also necessarily be seen within a positive *reproduction* perspective—the need to secure intergenerational continuity amid a more general discontinuity, whereby identity is maintained and renewed not simply over time but across bodies (literal, symbolic), notwithstanding the play of *différance*, or difference-deferral. Furthermore, the transmission process is fraught with hazard and uncertainty, and must therefore be carefully policed. And it is here that a crucial contradiction and tension at the heart of postgraduate pedagogy emerges: the injunction to be ‘creative’ and ‘original’, and to contribute decisively and distinctively to the current stock of knowledge, and yet the impossibility of doing so without proper authorisation and enunciative authority. This latter, paradoxically, can only be realised *after* the event, as it were—when the degree is formally awarded and the dissertation accepted

into the Archive. This is a dialectical tension of being and becoming, and of the lived experience of duration and temporality. The supervisor’s role in this regard is largely symbolic, although it is nonetheless crucial and critical: (s)he must be attentive to the time of pedagogy, and be self-consciously at once *inside* and *outside* what Lusted (1986) describes as its radically transformative process. At issue is the formation of identity: at once different and yet the self-same—truly an impossible subjectivity, formed in the very nexus of power, knowledge and desire.

Debating pedagogies

As we noted at the beginning of this paper, pedagogy has been an obvious missing category in considerations of postgraduate supervision. We have signalled something of the complexity of this category, and of its necessary articulation with issues of disciplinarity and subject formation. In a further exploration of issues of subjectivity, such as we have begun at the end of the previous section, we would further argue that Hoskin’s (1994) work demonstrating the conditions of emergence of contemporary disciplinarity needs to be supplemented with a richer consideration of the formation of subjectivity through pedagogical practices. On the one hand, this involves drawing explicitly on *theory*—or rather, those forms of textual/interpretive theory available through poststructuralism, feminism and psychoanalysis that will enable exploration of power, knowledge and desire, of the body, gender and sexuality and textuality. On the other, we have referred to postgraduate education as a key site of *praxis*. As writers of this text, our own specific and joint histories are pertinent here. In our own training, as postgraduate students, and as ourselves at one time related as ‘supervisor’ and ‘supervisee’ within the context of a Humanities program in a ‘seventies’ university, we have clearly participated in what might be termed the moment of ‘theory’, in the sense referred to above. Yet our current institutional positioning within Education, administratively one of the social sciences, pragmatically involved in professional training, persistently requires us to attend to questions of the empirical, to the embodied and politicised practices of ‘teaching’ and of ‘learning’ in their institutional specificity. In concluding, then, we signal some beginnings that might productively lead to further inquiry.

Perhaps one of the most important recent accounts of postgraduate pedagogy in this regard is that of Frow (1988). Drawing upon Foucault and Lacan to consider graduate work and, more or less explicitly, supervision in literary studies, his concern as he indicates is with those “mediating processes” (“institutions”, “authorized persons”) “by which knowledges are both reproduced and transformed” (Frow, 1988, p. 307). Working explicitly within a (post)structuralist and reproductionist framework, he provides a striking account of “the training of graduate students” and “[t]he ritual of the PhD”, as “[i]n its usual form ... a passage from an undergraduate community to postgraduate loneliness; a breaking down of ego; and the acquisition of a specialized lore through a difficult and intense relation to a supervisor” (Frow, 1988, pp 318-319). As he puts it:

The ordeal of candidature is a mad process in its assignment of a structural role to insecurity. It challenges the candidate’s sense of worth, provoking a trauma of loss as one of its central knowledge-producing mechanisms, one which is often cruelly prolonged or repeated.

Further, typically: “this process is individualized: the absence of any theorization of its institutional dimensions works to isolate the candidate by denying him or a her a procedural rationale for the trauma” (Frow, 1988, p. 319). *Why is it so? Must it be like this?* Questions such as these we can certainly identify with ourselves, as former postgraduate students, as well as more abstractly, from our current positioning on the other side of this educational life. What is more, we believe that both for many students now undergoing candidature and for many former students as well, there are particular resonances in this passage, and indeed in Frow’s account more generally.

There is no opportunity here to do justice to the richness of this account, nor to indicate the full extent of its problematic productivity.

What we want to do, rather, is suggest a certain reading of it, with specific regard to its (con)textual complexity. What needs to be noted, then, is that Frow's account is intensely *theoretical*, as well as being a significant contribution towards an adequate *theorisation* of postgraduate pedagogy. His principal texts of reference are drawn from psychoanalysis and literature, and what he presents is a certain textualisation of 'teaching', 'interpretation' and 'discipleship' within the context of what he calls "specialized postgraduate study". As he stresses, his interest is above all else in a *structural* understanding of academic practice in this regard, that is, as a concern with "the effect of particular disciplinary conditions of possibility" for the production of knowledge and, implicitly, the formation of identity, especially as realised in and through the training of 'disciples'.

In this regard, an account by Giblett (1992), directly and specifically in 'dialogue' with Frow's, is significant. Giblett, as he notes, was a former graduate student under Frow's supervision. In seeking to dispute what he reads as a monologic narrative of postgraduate studies, Giblett's paper takes up this notion of a (missed) dialogue: "Perhaps a non-Socratic dialogue between a supervisor and a graduate student would have been preferable in a collaborative and joint-authored paper. *In a sense, this article aims to provide the other side of the dialogue left out of Frow's paper*" (Giblett, 1992, p. 148; our emphasis).

It is, however, a strange and at best a strained 'dialogue', and clearly the two 'interlocutors' in this instance speak past each other, each missing the other and presumably re-enacting previous missed opportunities in this regard. For us, the papers together form a particularly symptomatic text, and the repetition here is, as it were, a 'structural' one, built into the very discourse of the dominant, received model of postgraduate studies. Our concern therefore is here simply to draw attention to the impossibility of such a 'dialogue' in postgraduate pedagogy generally, and yet the necessity to work towards overcoming that impossibility—an interminable process, admittedly, but a matter of ethical and procedural obligation all the same. What emerges, furthermore, is the ineluctability of difference, and the necessary inequality of powers: power and difference are necessary principles of the pedagogic relation.

And yet, at the same time, there is a significant pathos here, because what a text such as Frow's effectively denies and glosses over—notwithstanding its undeniable (literal and symbolic) value—is the relevance of the lived, experiential relations of postgraduate research and training not simply in such accounts but in the larger project of understanding and theorising postgraduate pedagogy. Similarly, Giblett's account arguably remains within a 'theoretician' framework, notwithstanding that it is itself ostensibly a 'story from the field', so to speak. One way of putting this is to say that it needs to be considered within an explicit 'theory/practice' problematic, although that should not be seen naively, in the terms of an all too familiar, thoroughly naturalised binary logic. Rather, it is to raise the difficult question of the status and significance of the *empirical* in matters such as this. Clearly that is something needing careful consideration here, and indeed it might well form a useful basis for the systematic elaboration of a research programme. For our purposes here, what matters is what might be described as, firstly, the repressed status of the empirical in Frow's text, and second, in Giblett's the seemingly irrepressible return of the repressed!

That hypothesis can be further usefully engaged by way of a necessarily brief reference to another text which is explicitly addressed to the question of supervision: Salmon's (1992) account of her own experience in this regard and that of ten of her graduate students. On the face of it, this would appear to meet all the requirements of an empirical investigation into postgraduate pedagogy. It has also the apparent virtue of being a text *for* pedagogy, with the added feature that it is specifically oriented in this regard towards the 'learner' (cf Clark's 'study' principle): "This book is written for those contemplating doctoral work, or have already embarked on doctoral projects" (Salmon, 1992, p. 1). As she notes, further, thus echoing other such interventions: "Becoming a PhD student means entering a peculiarly

complex and private situation: it is a world about which few people have spoken". Once again, we cannot hope to do justice to what is, indeed, a useful and even timely, if not unproblematical, contribution to the literature. Perhaps perversely, then, what we shall do is, in fact, read it *as* 'literature'—that is, as if it were (simply) a 'text', an attempt to represent and therefore construct a certain 'fictional' account of advanced-level teaching-learning experience. What might such a move yield in this context?

Two things, initially: one is the return of the figure of the Teacher, and moreover of teaching itself—as set against the figure of the Researcher—and the other is the acknowledgement that this figure is here explicitly feminised, both literally and symbolically. At issue what Connell in another context has described as the joint 'disciplinary' and 'developmental' dimensions of teachers' work (Connell, 1985b). In that case, he was referring to school teaching, but his argument can readily be extended to take in academic teachers' work vis-a-vis supervision (Evans and Green, 1995). This figure of the feminised teacher in turn throws into relief the masculinism of the Frow-Giblett dialogue, to the extent that it stands as a particular normative representation of the supervisor-student relation as that of 'master-disciple' (Frow, 1988, p. 321).

This becomes all the more significant set against the way in which a distinctive discursive economy is constructed in Salmon's account, polarising 'discipline' and 'creativity', 'structure' and 'freedom', 'apprenticeship' and 'authorship', and 'training' and 'education'. What emerges from this account is, in fact, a highly partial view of postgraduate pedagogy and higher educational practice, one which privileges 'learning' and 'becoming' over 'teaching' and 'being, and which puts the emphasis firmly on notions of 'process', 'discovery' and 'personal knowledge' (in the various senses of this latter formulation). It is not at all incidental, moreover, that this account is contextualised in Education and Psychology, and within a particular orientation in social scientific research; nor that the preferred pedagogic stance or 'style' here coincides in various ways and is congruent with a certain construction of 'the feminine'. The result is a powerful but incomplete and ultimately flawed representation of postgraduate pedagogy—yet one which, at the very least, offers an alternative vision of supervisory practice and academic-disciplinary work. Organised as it is around the primacy of pedagogy and the need to address and be appropriately sensitive and responsive to the 'otherness' of the Candidate, the student-researcher, the Subject of Study, an account such as this offers insight into the complex dynamics of postgraduate studies. Read alongside and against other accounts, real possibilities emerge for the (re)generation of theory *and* practice in higher education.

In conclusion, then: How is pedagogy to be best understood, in all its complexity and necessity, within the symbolic-disciplinary economy of the Academy? What stories (and counter-stories) need to be told? What spaces are there for different practices and voices in postgraduate contexts, including research in and for postgraduate studies and pedagogy? What new imaginings are necessary for teaching *and* research in and for the emerging postmodern university? These are questions clearly needing urgent and rigorous attention now, in this last fraught, crisis-ridden decade of the twentieth century, in Australia as elsewhere.

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Footnote

1. Brian Simon (1985) provides an illuminating account of why there has traditionally been, as he puts it, "no pedagogy in England", an argument which is likely to be useful in assessing the historical situation of advanced-level graduate studies in Australia, especially PhD work.

Pedagogy, psychoanalysis, feminism:

Review of Jane Gallop Seminar Papers, Ed., Jill Julius Matthews, The Humanities Research Centre, The ANU Canberra, 1994.

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Insofar as the question of postgraduate pedagogy has been addressed at all in Australian universities, it has been addressed in terms of contractual obligations between supervisor and supervisee (and by implication, between those two parties and the university as institution), and in terms of an increased panopticism, the need to discipline (control) the student's labours to categorise and improve levels of research output: so many words in such and such a genre in six months, so many more in twelve—and so on. There is a similar perceived need to quantify, categorise and give economic value to the kinds of staff time and energy that might be devoted to the project of supervision—appointments every three weeks of an hour or more, the need for academic staff loads to take account of this, the need again to behave in ways which increase student output or perhaps 'throughput'. That is, the need to keep them moving on the assembly line of knowledge production, because there are others waiting, and because successful 'throughput' means money for the institution. Postgraduate students are worth more in EFTSU dollars than undergraduates, and that matters as undergraduate loads are reduced by the technology of DEET and government intervention into higher education: but it matters only for the period allocated normatively for the successful completion of a higher degree. After that, the EFTSU dollar is lost and so is the economic value of that postgraduate student.

This kind of quality-speak, this 'commodification' and 'marketization' of public discourse as Fairclough called it in 1993, has been typical of the post-Dawkins era in Australian higher education. It has been both 'productive', in Foucault's or Hunter's (1994) sense of producing the things of which it speaks—greater surveillance and control, and a recognition of the need to think seriously about what postgraduate pedagogy is or should be—and at the same time amazingly negligent. What it neglects includes many things of importance: the fact that postgraduate supervision and research is part of a process of the *making*, not just the transmission of knowledge, the fact that that knowledge has both symbolic and cultural as well as economic value (to use Bourdieu's [1991] formulation), the fact that any making of knowledge that goes on involves people, people who have bodies, sexed bodies, and that that process is never free of desire or power, nor of class, race and gender struggles and inequalities. And even all of this does not yet address the question of just how "professional vision" (Goodwin, 1994), associated with disciplinary knowledges, is actually to be taught, or contested, in these fraught, collaborative and sometimes hostile encounters.

Knowledge cannot be produced without the making of texts and texts always carry the marks, the traces of the labouring subjects who produce them. That labour involves "work on and with signs, a collaborative (even if hostile) labour of reading and writing" (Grosz, 1995, p. 20). This feminist and semiotic formulation is one that should be central to our attempts to understand what we do when we engage in postgraduate pedagogy. Feminist psychoanalysis has been challenging for a long time now the public face of the 'marketization' discourse, insisting that relations which that discourse would relegate to the private sphere (the somewhere else of domestic or feminised space) actually permeate our educational and indeed governmental institutions as well, and that a feminist (or indeed any pedagogy) cannot ignore the sexuality, the unconscious desires, the will to power and the making of the relations of ruling (Smith, 1990) and thus of the

relations of sexual, class and racial difference, that are made on a daily basis in these very public spaces. What the marketization discourse never allows to be spoken is the fact—not the imaginary, but the fact—of these differences in supervisory relations.

Some time ago, John Frow (1988) bravely attempted to put some of these issues on the agenda, only to be challenged some time later (Giblett, 1992) for the things he had not said, had not managed to move beyond. His failure is itself instructive. What Frow attempted to do was to construct a transference model of postgraduate pedagogy. Giblett (1992) challenged the blindness to gender in Frow's construction, pointing out that he had effectively gendered the supervisory role as masculine, assuming that 'erotic' questions (of relations with male students, sexual harassment and so on) would be a problem for female supervisors occupying that 'masculine' role, but never addressing the question of his own sexuality in relation to male and female students. Giblett's critique was based in the fact that Frow had maintained a transmission model (from male knower to male apprentice) of pedagogy, ignoring the possibility of a counter-transference situation in which the student would know "that she/he knows but also for the analyst/supervisor to know that she/he does not know" (Giblett, 1992, p 139). Frow set out to use psychoanalysis to make a radical intervention into questions of postgraduate pedagogy, but actually allowed himself to be positioned by an Oedipal scenario—which reduced his story of the supervisory relationship to one of the "oppressive rituals of the patriarchal family" (Giblett, 1992, p 144). This failure is instructive because of what it tells us about the persistence of that Oedipal narrative as a way of life in Australian universities.

In some ways, the attempt to open up these issues for discussion in the Gallop Seminar Papers founders around the same set of questions: the ubiquity of the Freudian family narrative as both the reality of institutional existence and the only alternative discourse we have for interrogating these relationships—the only major theoretical discourse which gives woman any place at all, even if it is still a place in *his* story. Is there no other position for women in higher education to occupy than that of the desexualised mother or the dangerous seductress? And what of relations between women in those public spaces? How do we theorise and deal with that? On the one hand, as Jessica Benjamin, among others, has argued convincingly: "The social separation of public and private spheres ... is patently linked to the split between the father of autonomy and the mother of dependency" (Benjamin, 1980, p 185); and John Frow is caught up still in that problematic. On the other, there is the question of a different model of the mother and of mother-daughter relationships, and of different kinds of performances of the relations of ruling among women in the academy:

What if your mother refuses her gaze, turns her attention elsewhere? Does not serve as your mirror, your nurturance, your ground of continuity of being or of the semiotic, fertile source of aesthetic meaning un governed by the Father's Law? If she is no longer outside, but inside, power? If she wields power not as care, nurturance, preservative love, but as assertion, need, desire of her own? Or if she is off playing, with other women or men? Or in her own head? Can daughters stand to be cut off, outside the dyadic circuit? (Flax, 1993, p. 67).

They are good questions, questions that are central to the dynamics of current postgraduate pedagogy in Australian universities, and questions that the essays written for the Gallop Seminar addressed, perhaps without resolutions, but at least in public and as a matter of institutional concern.

This collection of essays, written on and around the work of Jane Gallop and delivered at a seminar at the Humanities Research Centre in Canberra in June 1993, is a remarkably disparate collection, in which the textual traces of a number of tensions and elisions remain both legible and current. There is an uneasy alliance between the work of Australian feminists and their US counterparts, perhaps focussing around psychoanalysis as theoretical position or metaphor, there is a question of race insofar as psychoanalysis and indeed Gallop herself seem unable to deal with that question, and there is the issue of feminist pedagogy which Gallop's own paper, "The Teacher's Breasts", puts on the agenda—only, it must be said, to have it largely repressed or ignored as an issue in what follows.

Gallop's paper is a critique of a version of feminist pedagogy, a personal, nurturing, maternal pedagogy, which, if we are to believe Gallop, finds masculinity a problem in its classrooms, typically gendering the student as female and ignoring "the effects of gender in our pedagogical practice" (p. 12). This is the one breast pedagogy—"the maternal breast", "good-girl" pedagogy—as opposed to a two-breasted, sexed pedagogy—"bad-girl" pedagogy—which might ask some rather different questions of itself. While I find this good/bad binary facile and historically unfounded (Miller, 1992), there are some interesting questions here. As Gallop points out, the male student poses a sexual question: he does not fit the sexual harassment case (sexual advancement by male professors towards female students), and he cannot be "subsumed into the maternal desexualised erotic" of the feminist pedagogy she addresses. I will take the three responses to Gallop in turn.

Moirra Gatens re-reads Gallop's paper as the epitome itself of the psychoanalytic narrative - the family romance according to Freud—and therefore reads the disruptive male presence rather differently. What he disrupts, in Gatens' reading, is the functioning of the authoritative discourse of psychoanalysis itself, demonstrating that this is a very limited model for rethinking ethical relations between men and women. Vicki Kirby takes a different tack, telling of the experience of hearing Gallop give this paper in the presence of the woman whose work is the object of it, a woman who had just had a double mastectomy, and whose own justifications of her 'maternal' pedagogy, in that context, made 'unspeakable' the questions that Gallop was trying to address.

Kirby, like Gatens, rewrites Gallop, but this time in terms of the relationship between women and authority, and of the inadequacy of the maternal model to account for this relationship. She is right, of course, but I think it has to be said that the maternal has never been divorced from power, from the pleasures of power, any more than teaching has, and Kirby's account of Keyssar's performance of "the tyranny of the maternal" suggests a rich field for further research. Be that as it may, Kirby's most important point is that any kind of selfless feminist pedagogy is *impossible*, that knowledge is always involved with the "passion for power in learning" (p. 21), and that the exclusion of the "male student" in Gallop's paper must be replaced by the healthy discussion in feminist classrooms of even male authors who pathologise women. It is interesting to watch the way that a 'one-breasted' feminism becomes not only maternal but also anti-intellectual in Kirby's paper.

Meaghan Morris is the one to tackle the question of contexts, Australian and American contexts, directly, and the one to question Gallop's mode of 'symptomatic reading' as an adequate way of dealing with the complex institutional issues of power and pedagogy that her paper raises. There is some interesting discussion here around the question of the constitution of sexual harassment as an exclusively heterosexual scene, particularly in the context of Helen Garner's book *The First Stone* (something Morris does not mention). Perhaps more importantly, Morris takes up explicitly the "progressively infantilized

representation" of the graduate student in the Australian context of late (p. 24), suggesting that this is not and cannot be the same phenomenon as the "heavily transference relationships common in US graduate schools". There are good contextual reasons for this in the absence in Australia of the funds to sustain that kind of US graduate teaching corps and its disciples. The question of power relationships in graduate pedagogy, while explicitly not limited to sex or to the explanatory powers of the family narrative, is never far from the surface in this response.

Morris' other major trajectory is the business of 'symptomatic reading' and the different histories that produce feminist reading practices in the US and Australia. Her very pertinent and useful conclusion is that Australian feminism began by "pondering the difference" between New Criticism and Western European readings of Formalism (p. 29), a distinction she believes US French feminism has rarely noticed. Gallop's work is of course implicated in this criticism. Morris' careful historical account produces good reasons why, in trying to deal with the intrinsic/extrinsic (text/context) problematic addressed in Gallop's work, US "French feminism" has concentrated on *experience* while Australian French Feminism has been more strongly inflected by the concept of *intertextuality* (p. 29). For Morris, and I think she is right, the US New Critical intrinsic versus extrinsic model is probably one of the least well equipped models for helping us to think about institutional politics, power and feminist pedagogy. And it remains far too literary in its preoccupations. Morris' final call is for a much more complex account of the heterogeneity of our experience of academic life than anything the Freudian romance can offer. I am reminded here of a very recent comment by Elizabeth Grosz, speaking of Teresa de Lauretis' attempts to rewrite psychoanalysis to include Lesbianism. The limits of psychoanalysis for thinking this issue are similar to its limits in the area of feminist pedagogy, institutions and power. I think we have to ask, with Grosz, whether attempts to make psychoanalysis do this kind of work only "serve to prolong the agonies of this dying discourse, giving it hope for remission, when in fact it should be buried?" (Grosz, 1995, p. 159).

The two final papers in the collection pick up a number of threads from the Morris response to Gallop, Susan Sheridan developing the history of the difference of feminist literary studies in Australia and Anne Freedman taking up the textual questions, pointing to the disappearance of genre as an analytical category in feminist literary theory, specifically in relation to feminist accounts of autobiography, and arguing that this loss of understanding of rhetoric and textuality has serious implications for work on ethics, gender, aesthetics and politics, and thus for feminist pedagogies. The issues she raises are central to the issues being debated around pedagogy in this collection: "How to 'get' the ear of the other might be one question a text has to address: where the other is, and what structures it is inserted in as its ear is got, is a problem that the text cannot control, but that control is certainly a rhetorical desire" (p. 177). Rhetorical desire, the traces of corporeality in the text, making texts to do feminist work, and understanding how they do it are crucial issues for feminist pedagogy.

These are questions that are taken up in other papers in the collection in radically different ways. Penelope Deutscher attempts to rethink the intersubjective relations of pedagogy through Le Doeuff and Irigaray, suggesting "the notion of participation in a 'collectivity' as an alternative to the cannibalism of the other" (p. 44). Esther Faye explores the construction of the adolescent and of desire in discourses about pedagogy, and contrasts the textual traces of the desires of the educational experts with the desires and fantasies of a woman remembering her own unsatisfactory adolescent education. Maria Angel looks at the body in scenarios of authorisation and demonstration. Kay Torney's paper is on motherhood and western obstetrics. Zoe Sofoulis' paper returns explicitly to the psychoanalytic narrative, this time in the context of the world of the electronic arts and feminist interventions into this world, explicitly not arguing for the subversive nature of feminist art forms per se, but suggesting that what is most subversive about the artworks she discusses is "the fact that they exist as collaborative efforts", thus making possible a passing reference back to

Deutscher.

The other two papers in the collection both come back to the critique of psychoanalysis, specifically in relation to race, and, insofar as it is entrenched within that tradition, to a trenchant criticism of Gallop's own theoretical positioning. Rosanne Kennedy's is a complex and carefully argued paper which makes clear the way in which the heterosexual family metaphors of psychoanalysis, as used by white feminists, depend on the repression of black men and women and on the exclusion of the interracial nuclear family. Kennedy is clear that she is making an explicit intervention into American feminism (p. 107), and explores the ways in which the work of both bell hooks and Spivak unsettle and question Gallop's own feminist project, producing Gallop's anxiety about "the other woman". Kennedy reads feminist psychoanalytic theory as a hegemonic text which continues, despite its own best efforts, "to reproduce dominant cultural discourses and their master narratives" (p. 113). To justify these criticisms, she too engages in some clever history writing, looking at the relationship between French and American feminism around 1980, but she continues to use psychoanalysis metaphorically to take us back to the problem Gallop had raised at the beginning of the book: "white feminist anxiety about race stems from the inability to recognise oneself as having the phallus, of occupying a site of domination" (p. 127)—the problem of feminisms and power, of pedagogies and authority.

It is these same issues that Peng Cheah takes up in a rather different register. Again he takes Gallop's work as exemplary of the "dominant feminist paradigm" of psychoanalytic feminism, exploring the question of whether a psychoanalytic cultural critique, which begins by placing the body outside history, can be adequate to "cultural critique in a neo-colonial globe" (p. 132). Again (see Grosz above) we are asked to consider whether this renders Lacanian theory "unworkable". I will not pursue the details of his argument here, but I do want to take up one crucial point. Peng's "tedious question" (p. 138) is important. He argues that, following Gallop, the most influential model for feminist political agency today is that of body-inscription and the body-image. His insistent question is this: "is such a model of agency responsible to woman-in-difference in a neo-colonial globe?" (p. 138). He wants in fact to undo the undoing of Cartesianism that has been so central to feminism, arguing that to admit that our bodies, "as they exist in nature, might have been constructed against our political will", would "threaten the autonomous will of the Lacanian feminist cultural critic" (p. 138). He is critical—and I think rightly—of the limits of discussions of sexual preference and cross-dressing, pointing to the need to consider embodiment at the level of food-production, consumption and exploitation, and suggesting that oppression occurs "in the very crafting of the materiality of our bodies". He uses the work of Franz Fanon, and later of Derrida, to arrive at the claim that there is a responsibility to remember "the trace of the other in us", and "the irreducible violence of our recognition of difference as identity" (p. 141).

There is much here then to unsettle many recent versions of feminist pedagogy and theory, and not just the personal US variety with which Gallop began. The issues of power and authority in relation to knowledge, teaching and learning that are raised at the outset of this collection are anything but answered. The questions of sexuality and the eroticism, of the one-breasted, double-breasted or phallic (does the breast equal the penis, as Zoe Sofoulis argues?) versions of the teacher or the classroom economy are, by the conclusion of this book, deeply embedded in a series of still more profound tensions and anxieties. Many of these questions need much more debate and some serious empirical, as well as metaphoric and textual, research if we are to make them connect with some of the current gendered anxieties around postgraduate supervision that are surfacing in the Humanities in this country at the present time. This collection, problematic and oddly positioned around the figure of one feminist critic as it is, nevertheless puts many of these important and timely questions on the future feminist and pedagogic agenda.

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Restructuring employment: the case of female academics

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Abstract

The Structural Efficiency Principle (SEP) developed in the National Wage Case of 1988 was introduced to reduce labour costs, increase productivity and efficiency and create a more flexible workforce. Since its introduction, SEP was the impetus behind award restructuring and enterprise bargaining. In Australia, it has been widely recognised that these processes will impact differently on women and that special strategies need to be adopted to ensure that they are not disadvantaged. This article addresses how universities fared in giving academic women better working conditions through award restructuring. In a research project that studied the implementation of award restructuring in two universities (Murdoch and Edith Cowan) from 1991 to 1993, Jan Currie interviewed a wide range of staff including academics, administrators, Vice-Chancellors and union and employer officials. It appears that award restructuring benefited some women, particularly those at the lower level. A career ladder has been opened to more women. However, at the same time it has become much more competitive to climb the ladder. More women are obtaining tenure than in the past and more are being promoted. The gains that have been made in these two Western Australian universities show the importance of having women involved in union/employer negotiations. To achieve the desired ends, women must be aware of equal opportunity strategies and be willing to take risks in ensuring that some of these strategies become more embedded within university procedures.

It is difficult to disentangle how much the restructuring of Australia's economy and other government initiatives have affected workplace practices which happened to coincide with award restructuring. This is especially true of universities which entered into award restructuring negotiations at the same time that many of the White Paper (Dawkins 1988) initiatives were affecting the way universities operated. The amalgamations of universities and colleges of advanced education that resulted in the creation of a unified national system, and the introduction of the relative funding model were initiatives that have had a major impact on universities. The Labor Government's underlying philosophy of economic rationalism and its push for micro-economic reforms has not bypassed universities. Universities have been forced to adopt more user-pay strategies, commercialise their services (e.g. marketing courses overseas) and forge research links with industry. Into the thick of these dramatic changes, the unions and employers introduced award restructuring. This was the beginning of the movement from a centralised to a decentralised industrial relations system which has run into major obstacles with enterprise bargaining.

In reviewing the literature on award restructuring and enterprise bargaining, considerable scepticism has been expressed concerning the benefits to workers and, in particular, to female workers. This article investigates, through case studies conducted at Edith Cowan University and Murdoch University, whether award restructuring has achieved improvements in the working lives of female academics. The award restructuring process for universities began in 1989 and is still

continuing in 1995. For this study, the local negotiations from September 1991 to September 1993 were monitored.

Through the presentation of segments of interviews and responses to surveys on the implementation of award restructuring, this article examines how academic women benefited from the award restructuring process, mainly in the areas of tenure of Level A staff, promotion and staff development. (As I was writing this article, other aspects of award restructuring were still being negotiated and general staff had not yet completed their restructuring.) This article speculates on why academic women benefited and looks specifically at the role of women unionists in the consultative process. It also points to some dangers lurking in the current enterprise bargaining negotiations.

Case study background

The two universities, Murdoch and Edith Cowan, differ substantially in both their philosophies and structures: Murdoch is a pre-1987 university and Edith Cowan is a post-1987 university. Murdoch University began teaching with its undergraduate program in 1975 and was seen to offer an 'alternative' type of tertiary education from that of the traditional university. Its first Vice-Chancellor, Professor Stephen Griew, said '*...there was no excuse for a new university to make the same mistakes as the older universities which had been handicapped by tradition*' (Bolton 1985, p. 23). He predicted that all members of the university, including students, would have a say in its administration and he stated that he would encourage participatory decision-making rather than control by senior administrators.

Murdoch University was established as a university from its inception. On the other hand, Edith Cowan University, recently converted from a college of education to a university, is an amalgamation of four, previously autonomous, teachers' colleges. Moses (1989) noted that Australian colleges tend to be more hierarchical and universities tend to be more collegial. Responses given by staff in interviews conducted at Edith Cowan tend to bear out these observations. In discussing promotion during the former Director's time, one staff member commented that: '*...there was often intervention by the Director*'. Another stated, '*...the Director said whom he didn't like*'. It was also described as '*...a straight-out case of jobs for the boys—or should I say jobs for certain boys*'.

Since these staff were interviewed, a new Vice-Chancellor has been appointed who is recognised as being more responsive to staff participation within the university and more sympathetic to affirmative action. Both the universities, however, have been affected by the push towards corporate managerialism which is altering the notions of collegiality that may have existed to varying degrees in these universities prior to the 1990s (Miller, 1995 and Currie and Woock, 1995).

Methods

To get the views of the administration of both universities regarding award restructuring in 1993, I interviewed on each campus the Vice-Chancellors, Personnel Officers and University Industrial Officers and at the national level, the Australian Higher Education Industrial Association's (AHEIA's) Chief Industrial Officer. To gain the per-

spectives of the union and academic staff members, I interviewed the Industrial Officers at the state level and National level of the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) and the Presidents of the Academic Staff Associations in 1991 and again in 1993, and individual staff members (12 at Edith Cowan and 10 at Murdoch) in 1991 (most were females in Level A positions but a handful were in more senior positions and some were males). I also talked with the Equity Officers in 1991, who could be seen as being located somewhere between the administration and staff in their perspectives.

In 1993 I surveyed a cross-section of 24 women from the four universities in Western Australia. The purpose of that survey was to gauge how much female academics knew about the implementation of award restructuring on their campuses and how satisfied they were with the process. Several open-ended questions focused on promotion procedures and affirmative action. Although key individuals have been interviewed who would have been knowledgeable about award restructuring, the size of the total group surveyed (24) and interviewed (36) is small and is not representative of the views of all academics, administrators or union officials but the research provides useful pointers to a range of views and highlights the way women, in particular, saw the process benefiting them.

Benefits for women in industrial relations changes?

The National Wages Cases (NWC) of 1988 and 1989 introduced various measures aimed at improving the efficiency of industry and providing workers with access to more varied, fulfilling and better paid jobs. The Structural Efficiency Principle (SEP) developed in the NWC of 1988 was introduced to reduce labour costs and increase productivity and efficiency (Mulligan and Baldock 1994).

Since its introduction, SEP can be said to be the impetus behind award restructuring and enterprise bargaining. Roxon (1991) asserts that the central aim of the Structural Efficiency Principle is micro-economic reform and to attract the employers: the procedure promises increased flexibility, a rationalisation of respondents to awards and elusive productivity and efficiency gains" (p. 4). McCreadie in 1989 foreshadowed the movement toward enterprise bargaining and warned of the dangers for women:

While the commission has endorsed the Australian Council of Trade Unions' (ACTU's) argument for a co-ordinated reshaping of the award system and rejected the employers' more decentralised company-by-company approach, fears persist that the enterprise bargaining begun under the second tier will be further entrenched. Due to inferior industrial muscle, women will find it harder to extract the benefits of restructuring and may even be forced to trade off real conditions." (McCreadie, 1989, p. 14)

Rosewarne (1988) made similar predictions and noted how the wage system has become structured around a particular conception of productivity and pointed out how the "Arbitration Commission has ignored the need to define more precisely what is actually meant by the notion of productivity" (p. 72).

In universities the notion of productivity has become a bigger obstacle in the current enterprise bargaining negotiations. It is paradoxical that the author of the Green Paper, *Transforming Industrial Relations in New South Wales* (Niland, 1989) who advocated enterprise bargaining to increase 'flexibility' in the system is now finding it difficult to negotiate such an agreement within his own university. The idea of developing a 'flexible' workforce and the minimum rates award have already led to differential salary levels between departments and to some individual academics obtaining higher salary packages.

As in other industries, women in universities are more likely to be in part-time positions at the bottom of the hierarchy and not as likely to be in areas where they get market-loadings or can negotiate salary packages (Castleman et al., 1995). Their traditionally inferior position in the workforce (low status, lower paid, non-permanent) means that they are more vulnerable to moves by employers to streamline their

workplaces in their attempts to become more competitive internationally.

Flexibility in the workforce gives employers greater capacity to shed labour. The decision of the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (20 April 1995) on the Academic Dismissal and Redundancy Award will allow this greater flexibility for Vice-Chancellors. This has already happened at the University of Melbourne where 59 staff in education were targeted for redundancies. The Melbourne strategy reflects the situation in the United States where writers (Slaughter 1993; Gumpert 1993; Kerlin and Dunlop 1993) have found that retrenchments have affected female academics in greater numbers than males. According to these authors, the schools of nursing and education in the United States are usually the first ones attacked for retrenchments.

It has been pointed out repeatedly by the ACTU and the Labor Government that centralised systems offer more protection for women employees. Senator Peter Cook (Minister for Industrial Relations in 1990) remarked that "women's award based earnings, which are centrally fixed, are around about 85% of those for men. By contrast, their over-award earnings, which are set at the enterprise level, are not much more than 50% of those for men (1990 p. 4). It has been widely recognised that award restructuring which began the move away from a centralised wage system could impact more severely on females than on their male colleagues (Beaton 1989; Bolton 1989; Hall 1989; Baldock 1990; Robertson 1992) and that special strategies need to be adopted to ensure that they are not disadvantaged by the process (see as examples Windsor 1991; Cox & Leonard 1991; Short 1993). Some writers believe that the potential for women is in the reassessment of institutionalised barriers and prohibitive structures which have locked many of them into inferior positions within the workforce (Roxon 1991). However, the literature indicates a variety of assessments as to whether award restructuring can remove the barriers and lead to benefits for women.

Sue McCreadie, for example, begins an article on 'Awarding Women' with this comment: 'For many feminist critics, award restructuring, like the industry restructuring which spawned it, is a boy's game, tailor-made for the metal industry and imposed on the rest of us' (McCreadie 1989, p. 12). Despite these observations, she suggests that it can create a framework for reforming work organisation and if women are drawn into the consultative mechanisms then it can make a difference. She says that it is crucial to involve women workers and shop stewards to shift the balance of power in the workplace from management to workers and from men to women workers, especially in those areas where there are more women in the lower levels of an industry.

Val Pratt, Director of the Affirmative Action Agency in 1990, expressed similar concerns that the award may be to the detriment of women. She stated that, 'fears run counter to enthusiastic claims by the union movement that award restructuring will offer female employees new opportunities for promotion, career paths, training and higher wages' (reported by Neals 1990, p. 7).

Baldock (1990), in a review article titled 'Award Restructuring for Women, Tool of Change or Stagnation?', is pessimistic about the process. The works reviewed in Baldock's article suggest that trends in the restructuring of work are making a mockery of the notion of a career path. Increased casualisation, more part-time workers who are not deemed to be in need of training, suggest a move to a workforce consisting of core and peripheral workers. This has left most women in the peripheral areas of the work force. Mulligan and Baldock (1994) also noted in their study of home care workers that a large number of women workers, mostly in the periphery, have never even had an award.

Other studies (Brown and Gardner 1991; Runciman 1989) suggest similar problems with implementing award restructuring and changing discriminatory practices against women. In examining the Queensland public sector, Brown and Gardner (1991) concluded that '*The bottlenecks of the old systems are not easily eliminated in the new*' (1991, p. 9). In the retail trade, Runciman (1989) notes that award

restructuring has resulted in increased cost-cutting measures and the employment of a greater number of juniors in the workforce.

Hall (1989) and Burton (1990) identify the pitfalls of award restructuring as well as the areas where changes can be made that may benefit women. Burton quotes a colleague as saying: *'award restructuring is ... a crisis for equal opportunities. What we have is a dangerous opportunity to break down barriers and open up careers — or to see the blinds cover the missed window of opportunities for a long time'* (p. 1).

She goes on to say that *'with award restructuring, employment structures can be reviewed and redesigned comprehensively. Equally simply, there is a danger that new structures can incorporate restrictions from the old and impose new barriers and constraints'* (Burton 1990, p. 1).

As award restructuring has varied in its implementation so too has enterprise bargaining and workplace agreements, partially because of the different legislation at the State and Federal level. Lewis and Thomas (1994) review this legislation which has led in some states to bargaining at the individual level. The Federal 1992 and 1993 Enterprise Bargaining agreements provided a framework for the employers and unions to be involved at the enterprise level. The Industrial Relations/Employee Relations/Workplace Agreements Acts in New South Wales (1991), Victoria (1992) and Western Australia (1993) vary from the Federal Acts in providing greater scope for individual contracts and less union involvement. Lewis (1992) reported that the Victorian legislation "endeavours to place unions on the fringes of the industrial system and eradicates automatic access to an 'industrial empire' like the Commission" (p. 11).

New Zealand introduced legislation that went the furthest towards deregulation. Lewis and Thomas (1994) state that "Of all the Australian states, the reforms introduced into Victoria most resemble those of New Zealand" (p. 116). However, an important difference remains that employees in Victoria (as opposed to those in New Zealand) may still have access to award coverage via the Federal system.

A 1993 study of NSW enterprise agreements shows that the new system of industrial regulation delivers less to women (Gale, 1994). The Department of Industrial Relations study revealed that "Only 58% of 'female' agreements delivered wage rises at all, compared with 86% of 'male' agreements. In addition 46% of the 'female' enterprise agreements removed penalty rates without any compensatory salary rises while this was true of only 27% of 'male' agreements (Gale, p 16).

The evidence from New Zealand's experience of enterprise bargaining indicates that although women may have benefited in terms of flexible working hours and leave arrangements, they have not done as well as men in negotiating wages, overtime and penalty rates, especially in the service sector (Harbridge and Robinson 1993) where individual contracts are more prevalent. Several writers (Bennett and Quinlan 1992; Murphy 1994) predicted that enterprise bargaining in Australian universities may lead not only to variations between universities but also within the same university, reflecting faculty differences or gender segmentation.

Hall (1989) made a firm connection between award restructuring and equal employment opportunities in her article which could be extended to enterprise bargaining negotiations:

It is no fortunate accident that getting award restructuring right requires getting it right for women. The requirements for a more skilled and flexible workforce go to some of the major employment issues for women—access to and recognition of training, access to career paths, removal of unnecessary rigidities in employment, and evaluation of work in terms of the demands of the job and the merits of the workers are crucial for equal employment opportunities, award restructuring and productivity improvements. (Hall 1989, p. 15)

To what extent did the academic unions and university administrators connect award restructuring and equal employment opportunities? Did the employers feel that it was important to 'get award restructuring right for women'? This is one of the questions I posed to a number of academics, administrators and union officers.

Potential of using affirmative action

Award restructuring generally

When interviewed in 1991, the Equity Officers at both institutions were uncertain how much affirmative action could be applied within award restructuring but they felt that it should have a role. The former Equity Officer at Edith Cowan had difficulty getting notions such as affirmative action raised within the university.

This is the place that time forgot. Nothing has happened here for decades in the way of equal opportunity.

Another issue she identified was that *'There is no forum for affirmative action within the university.'* She also suggested that because the university does not operate in an industrial context, it is more difficult to raise certain issues. *'We operate on the basis of personalities. Decisions are made in an ad hoc manner.'*

In contrast, Murdoch has been seen as a place where affirmative action has taken root and is more integrated within the policies of the university. However, the university has been slow to appoint women into senior positions and has often had only the token woman on important decision-making committees. In fact Edith Cowan has a higher number of tenured female staff (28%) than Murdoch (18%) according to DEET (1993). Murdoch's Equity Officer described the situation in this way:

I believe that this place is seen as a hotbed of radical feminists and that scares the hell out of the men. They, therefore, do not want any more women on staff who are going to cause them trouble. It is a reactionary movement. Probably the administration doesn't even see gender imbalance in the top positions as a problem.

When interviewing 22 academics in 1991 about the potential for using affirmative action, some of the same scepticism emerged. As one academic from Edith Cowan said *'Affirmative action is a joke. The university produces a fancy document but doesn't get anything done.'*

Despite this kind of negative impression of affirmative action held by some within the universities, most academics I interviewed (14 females and 1 male or 68% of the group) felt it could be applied within the award restructuring process. These were some typical responses:

Of course, affirmative action for academics was well and truly part of the award restructuring process. For example, industrial officers in FAUSA were women and the whole underpinning of award restructuring is a product of the efforts of these women to promote affirmative action, such as giving women a career structure and allowing for promotion. (Female Academic, Murdoch)

I think there should be affirmative action for women but also and more importantly for ethnic members and Aboriginals. (Female Academic, ECU)

Besides the few (3 males and 1 female or 18% of the group) who said they really did not know enough about affirmative action to judge, there was also a small group (2 males and 1 female or 14% of the group) who agreed with affirmative action but then questioned the kind of policy that might be implemented.

I am not against it but policy needs to be interpreted in a much more satisfactory manner. I feel it disadvantages people in my position. We are taking the rap for older academics! In saying this, I know that women are disadvantaged—I'm not saying they're not. The decisions made have tended to disadvantage junior untenured men. The drive to increase the crude overall numbers of women doesn't help me. I have a PhD but the job market for the last four years has been bad. I'm the wrong age (considered too young) and the wrong gender to get a job. (Male Academic, ECU)

I'm all for equity and equality but I'm not sure about the category 'all things being equal you should appoint a female'. As a woman, I'd rather compete equally and gain on my own merit. (Female Academic, Murdoch)

The employers' industrial officer in Melbourne assured me that it was *"...the employers' position that affirmative action can be applied*

and the employers would hope it would be taken into account on all issues, not just applied in the tenuring of level A academics." One of the industrial officers at Edith Cowan University mentioned that the administration was working with the union to reach an agreement on setting a quota for the promotion of women and felt that there were other aspects of policy that could have affirmative action guidelines written into them. Overall there was a positive feeling towards incorporating affirmative action procedures into policies but also an awareness, as mentioned by Edith Cowan's union official, that "...affirmative action gets watered down at the edges as it moves through the system."

Tenuring of Level As

Only female academics discussed using affirmative action for the tenuring of academics, mainly at Level A. They all (9 females) were in favour of using some sort of equity measures but they often qualified their answers, with good reasons.

Regarding affirmative action in confirming tenure—I have mixed feelings about the reduction of contract positions and the increase in the percentage of tenure. Contract people bring new energy and enthusiasm into the institution. Those who have been around a long time have given up, can't cope. They give in to the internal culture of this institution, the constant monitoring by the Vice-Chancellor wears them down. (Female Academic, ECU)

They also distinguished between affirmative action and equal opportunity and they tended to prefer the latter, not wanting quotas and preferring to be judged on merit.

At Level A, there would be a case for clearly defining the criteria and putting more emphasis on teaching. But I probably would go more for EO than for AA. I would then throw it open, define the criteria carefully and then allow the procedures to work. Of course, you could define the criteria to benefit the women and you could give the women training, assertiveness training for presentations and preparation of CVs. (Female Academic, Murdoch)

I think that increased tenure at Level A is good but I think that tenure should be done on the basis of the proportion of females to male, I'm not happy with more women getting tenure, or with all the positions going to women. I support equity as opposed to affirmative action. (Female Academic, Murdoch)

No one suggested some of the more radical strategies such as women-only tenuring rounds or having only one basic criterion, teaching, for this level of tenuring. There have been attempts at other universities to try some of these strategies. The most publicised was the attempt by the University of Southern Queensland (USQ) to have a women-only tenuring round. The aim of this was to right past inequities. Their union began with a resolution to seek an affirmative action agreement within the award structure.

No sooner had these moves toward a female-only tenure round been publicised than the backlash began. And the reaction came, not only from within USQ but from other campuses as well. A lengthy letter was published in the *Campus Review* from a male physicist at the University of Tasmania which concluded: 'Rather than accomplishing their stated goals such policies breed resentment and foster the suspicion that promotions made under them were given for reasons other than merit. Such policies also punish all the members of one sex for the past actions of a few of their members' (July 29-Aug 4, 1993, p. 8). Only two weeks after the initial publication of the initiative, it was reported that USQ had shelved the idea because the Vice-Chancellor had received legal advice from the Australian Higher Education Industrial Association that a women-only tenuring round would attract the operation of anti-discrimination legislation at a State and Federal level (*The Australian* Aug 4, 1993, p. 13).

The Academic Staff Association at USQ reacted with a stop-work meeting and the threat of industrial action. The staff also got support for their action from the former Minister for the Status of Women, Senator Margaret Reynolds, who had recently visited the campus.

There is a culture of the old boys' network which still operates and the only way to break down that culture is to discriminate in favour of the old girls if you like. Until we take some creative steps as have been taken in other parts of the world, this culture will prevail and it will be an ongoing battle for women to reach the upper echelons of decision-making or, in this case, academia. (The Australian August 18 1993, p. 29)

The union finally negotiated a compromise with the Vice-Chancellor on the qualifying period to apply for tenure which may benefit women who have had breaks in their academic service. The eligibility requirements for female staff applying for tenure were relaxed to a minimum of four semesters of academic service that did not necessarily have to be continuous.

Outcomes of award restructuring for women academics

Matheson (1993) asserts that award restructuring in Australian higher education institutions has provided women academics with many benefits. The first area noted is in creating a career structure for academics at all levels. She recommends that Level A staff should be eligible to apply for promotion even if they are in a non-continuing position and that applicants should be allowed to nominate weightings in each of the four areas specified, which usually include research, teaching, university administration and professional/community contributions. The second area is the agreement that 30% of Level A staff should be in continuing employment. Some universities (eg Macquarie and Flinders) have adopted an approach in which all Level A appointments are 'convertible' five year minimum appointments, reviewed during the fourth year to determine whether the position will continue. If it is deemed to be continuing, the individual has the right to apply for tenure. The third area is in the participation of women on the negotiating teams. The article concludes with the comment:

I ask whether it is just coincidence that universities like Macquarie (where three union women negotiated opposite three management men) and James Cook (where the union team of four had three women on it and the management team none) have seen some of the quickest and most thorough implementation of the award restructuring agreement? (Matheson 1993, p. 12)

These three areas of tenure, promotion and female negotiators that Matheson mentioned will be looked at and in addition, staff development. In each of these, women have made gains.

Granting of tenure

The Department of Employment, Education and Training (1993) reported that university-tenured positions for women Australia-wide were just 14% in 1991. It was expected that the award restructuring process might make an improvement in this figure through the tenuring of Level As. This turned out to be the case for 3 out of the 4 universities in Western Australia which had begun their tenuring process.

When granting tenure to Level A staff in 1992, Murdoch University tenured 15 women (or 48%) out of a total of 31 staff at Level A. In 1993 University of Western Australia had even better results (11 women out of 16 staff or 69% became either tenured immediately or were designated tenurable within a two year period). Edith Cowan University has not had an official tenuring of Level A round according to the award restructuring procedures but has had two rounds of tenuring of staff at different levels and of these 9 out of 19 or 47% were women. Two comments from Murdoch staff members attest to the difference this makes in their careers:

The prospect of getting tenure is quite mind blowing. It takes a lot of the uncertainty away. It really is totally changing my life. (Murdoch Female Associate Lecturer)

Award restructuring has improved my potential salary by \$10,000 once my PhD is in and awarded. This is something to work for. There is the possibility of tenure at the junior level and a career path. (Murdoch Female Associate Lecturer)

There appears to be quite a difference between the pre-1987 and the post-1987 universities in their reaching agreement on the tenuring process and actually implementing it (according to documentation gathered by the National Tertiary Education Union in 1994). Only one pre-1987 university (ANU) out of 19 has not negotiated or implemented a tenuring agreement. Out of the post-1987 universities, only 4 out of 17 had reached agreement and only 3 (Queensland University of Technology, Canberra and University of Central Queensland) had implemented it. Another four had already reached the Award ratio of 30% tenured at Level A.

Promotion

The promotion procedures have been altered at Murdoch to include weightings which allow areas, such as service in the community and industry experience, to be counted as valid evidence in promotion applications. Staff can also weight teaching more than research although an acceptable standard in each area would have to be achieved to gain promotion. Staff who are untenured are also eligible to apply for promotion if they are in the second period of a renewable contract of three or more years. The results of the 1993 round of promotions showed that although three times as many males (40) as females (13) applied for promotion, females (8 or 61%) were more likely to be promoted than males (19 or 48%) and it appears that greater account was taken of teaching and administration. This indicates an improvement in the chances for female academics to gain promotion at Murdoch University although the numbers are still fairly small.

The Award Restructuring Implementation Committee (ARIC) at Edith Cowan took longer to negotiate their promotion procedures but managed to implement an historic affirmative action process for 1994. This was the first round of internal promotions based on merit for all staff (from Level A to D) in the university's history and it made a significant move to redress the fact that there were very few women above lecturer level and reserved some positions (a minimum of 2 out of 5 for each faculty) for the promotion of women.

In a small (24) survey of female academics in September 1993 who were from the four WA universities and ranged from Level A to Level D, the majority responded that they were dissatisfied with the promotion procedures. In response to this question 'How do you view the promotion system?', these were a few of their comments.

Still biased towards counting papers. I am beginning to think that is unlikely to change until certain professors retire.

There has been an attempt to shift the system to a more equitable balance between research/teaching and administration. But I need proof that the shift is real and that promotions are being made on the basis of teaching and administration in fact and not just in theory.

Not sufficiently supportive of excellence in teaching and insufficiently sensitive to different types of research.

With scepticism born of experience.

As a huge hurdle. That promotions are 'sponsored' unevenly across staff; males are actively encouraged while women are assumed to be satisfied.'

Staff development

Another positive move towards equality for women has been through the Staff Development Fund which includes in its guidelines a provision for targeting programs for women to increase the goals of equity within the institution. Both Murdoch and Edith Cowan have used this guideline to the advantage of women. At Murdoch a program to give female academics at Level A, a semester's leave to work on their PhD, has enabled ten women to have a concentrated period of time to further progress on their dissertations. Several women have completed their PhDs during their semester's leave. Edith Cowan also funded staff for time release to engage in further studies. In 1992, 9 staff of whom 5 were women in the School of Nursing were granted time release of 3 hours each week for two semesters and in 1993 a total of 44 staff, 33 of whom were women were granted between 3 and 9 hours per week

time release for a semester. Also, a very successful, Women in Leadership Program (funded by National Staff Development Funds from 1992 to 1995) at Edith Cowan has assisted women in *Finding a Voice, Building Strategies* and *Creating an Environment* to change a culture that was previously hostile to them (Widdess, 1994). Conferences were held in each year to investigate ways of increasing female participation in the university's decision making structures and speakers were brought to campus with the aim of empowering women within universities. This program has provided a focus within the university to consider new management practices and a strong women's network has emerged from the process which has permitted more input into policy formulation (Howard, 1994).

Award restructuring implementation committees

At both Murdoch and Edith Cowan, there were at least two women involved on the union side in the negotiations to implement award restructuring. There were no women on the management side of Murdoch and just one at Edith Cowan. According to a comment by one of the union's Industrial Officers in Western Australia, '*...the women tend to be more single-minded in their negotiations and appear so reasonable in their demands that they have been able to achieve more than the men, who tend to treat it more as a game where they run the risk of wanting to be seen as good fellows rather than keeping their eyes on the goal*'.

Leveratt (1993) tells of a woman who negotiated for James Cook University and demonstrates the importance of having women who had experience of inequity on the committee. Marie-France Mack had been teaching French Literature at James Cook for over twenty years and as a result of award restructuring was granted tenure and promoted to Lecturer Level B in 1993. When discussions ensued on the Award Restructuring Implementation Committee about situations that were discriminatory, the administration could not ignore arguments about discrimination at James Cook because Marie-France Mack was there to give evidence of what she experienced and to argue for the needed changes.

Concluding comments

It appears that award restructuring in Murdoch and Edith Cowan universities has benefited some women, particularly those at the lower level. A career ladder has been opened to more women. However, at the same time it has become much more competitive to climb the ladder. Women now have a foot on the career ladder but the climb to the top appears to be getting ever more hazardous, notwithstanding some benefits arising from award restructuring. More women are obtaining tenure than in the past and more are being promoted. Programs have targeted women for staff development enabling them to pursue higher studies during paid leave from the university. These have all been positive benefits for women gained through award restructuring.

At the same time, however, the overall culture of universities is changing in both the older and newer universities and it is changing for both male and female academics, not only as a result of award restructuring, but due to the push toward corporate managerialism and leaner, more efficient institutions. The restructuring which has emerged from the ideology of economic rationalism imposed on universities by the Labor Government in 1988 has meant, among other things, higher teaching loads, retrenchments in some areas, devolution of budgeting with the concomitant development of a layer of middle management and a more powerful senior executive that has become more engaged in strategic planning, the commercialisation and internationalisation of university services and a greater reliance on a user-pays philosophy.

With this corporate-type culture has come a greater emphasis on quality and accountability which is resulting in a more competitive academic environment. Older universities have been nudged into considering teaching to be slightly more important than it was in the past. It is evident that the culture of promotions and recruitment into universities is slow to change and research publications still appear to be paramount for promotion within the university. The added criterion

of having a research profile for the newer universities has meant that it may become more difficult for women to advance within these universities than it has been in the past. Many women academics interviewed felt that they put more energy into teaching than their male colleagues.

It would seem that if the cultures of universities are going to be more conducive to women's advancement, then women must become more actively involved in policy-making within their own institutions. The gains that have been made in these two Western Australian universities show the importance of women's involvement in the award restructuring negotiations. At the same time, to achieve the desired ends, women must be aware of equal opportunity strategies and be willing to take risks in ensuring that some of these strategies become more embedded within university procedures.

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Career aspirations of pre-service graduates in a university faculty of education: a descriptive report

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Abstract

This descriptive report is drawn from a survey of 341 graduates from a three year Bachelor of Teaching, four year Bachelor of Education and a one year Graduate Diploma of Education in a large metropolitan Faculty of Education. The survey covered background details, including paid employment whilst studying in the course; career aspirations; the extent to which the course was preparation for teaching or other employment; and the graduates' plans for future studies. The description includes the nature of the differences between the Bachelor of Education and Bachelor of Teaching graduates combined, and those taking the Graduate Diploma of Education as well as a comparison of the graduates from the three strands of the courses viz early childhood, primary and secondary.

Introduction

This study reports the aspirations of 1994 graduates from a four-year Bachelor of Education (BEd) or a one-year, Graduate Diploma of Education (Grad Dip) following a three-year degree in a discipline relevant to teaching. In the BEd, early childhood and primary students undertake their professional and general discipline studies concurrently and school experience is an integral course component throughout the course; whilst secondary students do two years of discipline studies, followed by two years of professional studies. In the Grad Dip, students have already engaged in three years of general discipline studies, so the focus of the end-on fourth year is professional studies and school experience. As with the BEd, the Grad Dip graduates have the opportunity to select different patterns of studies that combine to form three major course strands - early childhood, primary and secondary. In addition, at the time of the survey, there were also some students enrolled in a three-year Bachelor of Teaching (BTeach) course that was in the process of being phased out. For the purposes of this study, these students are combined with the four-year BEd graduates.

Little is known about the career aspirations of graduates from these various courses and strands. In contrast to the advocacy, not many years ago, for teachers to be given opportunities for work experience in areas other than teaching (Hook, 1980), there is a growing concern among teacher educators that student teachers are currently engaged in outside paid employment to an extent that it is detrimental to their responsibilities in full-time study (Berthelsen, 1995).

What are the work commitments of final year student teachers? What are their career aspirations? Have these changed since their entrance to the course? Are they interested in pursuing employment outside of teaching? To what extent has their course prepared them for such options? Are they interested in further study? These were some of the questions which instigated the present investigation. There was interest in determining the nature of any differences between BEd and Grad Dip students, and between graduates from the early childhood, primary and secondary course strands, in their responses to such questions.

Survey instrument

A Graduate Aspirations Survey instrument (Appendix A) was developed. This consisted of 22 questions that fell into four categories - graduate background details; career aspirations; preparation for employment; and further study. In the first section, graduates were asked to identify the course and strand in which they were enrolled and whether or not they entered directly from Year 12. They indicated whether they had dependent children or not and whether they were single, married or living with a partner. They were asked whether they were currently in paid employment and, if so, the number of jobs they held, the weekly hours worked, and the nature of this employment. They also identified whether they were male or female and recalled if, at the time of entry to their present course, they had seen teaching as their long term career goal.

In the Career Aspirations section of the survey, graduates indicated whether or not their present hopes were to teach and, if so, whether their preferred employment was as a full-time, contract, permanent part-time or supply teacher. They were asked to designate the levels for which they would apply - early childhood, primary and secondary. If applying for a secondary school position, graduates listed their two discipline teaching areas and primary teaching applicants listed their preferences for upper, middle and lower school or for specialisations in music, physical education or LOTE. They identified the system/s for which they were applying - State, Independent, Church or Other and whether or not they were prepared to teach anywhere in the State. Graduates not prepared to teach anywhere in Queensland were asked to list the factors that influenced this decision. They were asked if they were considering interstate or overseas teaching positions. They also listed what they perceived to be their employment options outside of teaching. Finally, graduates noted whether or not their present aspirations were similar to those they held on entry to their course and, if not, how these had changed and what had caused such changes.

In the Preparation for Employment section, graduates were asked to judge both the extent to which their course had prepared them for teaching and for employment outside of teaching - none, a little, some or a lot. They also advised whether or not they had actively started searching for employment other than teaching.

In the final section concerned with Further Study, graduates noted whether or not they planned to study next year. If they were, they were asked to indicate whether this would be on a full-time or part-time basis and to record the title or provide a description of their proposed course.

Graduates completed the survey instrument in November during the last week of their university classes. Thus, they were as close as possible to meeting all their requirements for graduation.

Respondents

All respondents were final year teacher education students from a Faculty of Education in a large university. Almost all were about to graduate. The graduate sample included 218 Bachelor of Education (BEd) students, 94 enrolled in an end-on Graduate Diploma of Educa-

tion (Grad Dip) and 29 graduates of the Bachelor of Teaching (BTeach) course. Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents by course strand.

For the purpose of data analysis, respondents were divided into two

| | Early Childhood | Primary | Secondary | Totals |
|----------|-----------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| BEd | 42 | 63 | 113 | 218 |
| Grad Dip | 30 | 31 | 33 | 94 |
| BTeach | 29 | - | - | 29 |
| Totals | 101 | 94 | 146 | 341 |

groups - those undertaking an initial degree of concurrent professional and discipline studies and Grad Dip students enrolled in a final year of professional studies. The latter had all entered their present course after completion of a university degree. A little more than half (51%) of the former group had entered their present course directly from Year 12.

Within both graduate groups, women predominate. Thus, 72% of Grad Dips and 87% of BEd students were female. This predominance is even more marked within certain strands. Thus, only 1% of the early childhood graduates were male. In the primary strand, 15% of the graduates were men, while almost one in every four (24%) of the secondary strand graduates were male.

Grad Dip students were much more likely to be married or living with a partner than were BEd students. This was the situation for almost half (44%) of the Grad Dip respondents, whereas only one graduate in every five (21%) from the BEd course was married or living with a partner. There was also some difference between strand graduates in this regard, with primary graduates (35%) more likely than either secondary graduates (23%) or early childhood graduates (27%) to be married or to be living in a permanent relationship.

Relatively few of the graduate respondents had dependent children - 14% of the Grad Dip group and only 6% of the BEd group. These figures reflect the relatively low incidence of being either married or having a partner reported by BEd students. There was little difference between strand graduates on relative numbers with dependent children. Thus 12% of the primary group, 9% of secondaries and only 5% of early childhood graduates reported having dependent children.

Survey findings

For the purpose of convenience, the following discussion of the major findings is broken down into a number of sub-headings.

Paid employment. A majority of students were engaged in paid employment at the same time as they were trying to meet the university and practising school responsibilities of the final year of their teacher preparation course. This was the case for 2 out of every 3 students (66%) enrolled in the BEd and for almost half (45%) of Grad Dip students. Strand enrolment made little difference to the need for student teachers to engage in paid employment. Thus, 58% of early childhood, 63% of primary and 60% of secondary teacher education students reported that they were employed in outside work.

A wide range of jobs were nominated as areas of employment by these students. A number of early childhood students were employed in course-related occupational areas such as child care, but jobs such as waitering and sales assistant were also frequently mentioned. Several of the primary and secondary student teachers also listed areas of employment closely related to their discipline strengths, such as child care, gymnastics or swimming coach, and part-time teachers of dance, music and drama. Others were employed in areas such as sales, hospitality, office work, cleaning and waiting at tables.

Most students held down one or two jobs, although a small number reported employment in three or four different positions. The average number of hours worked each week varied from 1 to 40, but relatively few students fell at the extremes of this range. BEd students, on average, worked 16 hours (SD = 7.9) per week, while Grad Dip

students, on average, worked 11 hours (SD = 6.8) each week. These course differences disappeared when the mean hours/week worked were examined by course strand. Early childhood students reported working, on average, 16 hours per week, secondary students 15 hours and primary students 14 hours each week.

Long term career goals. More than 4 out of every 5 students viewed teaching as their long term career goal at the time of entry to their university studies. There was no difference between courses with 84% of BEd students and 82% of Grad Dips listing teaching as their long term career goal. There was also little difference in course strands with primary students (89%) having the strongest commitment to teaching at the time of entry to their course, followed by early childhood students (82%) and secondary student teachers (81%). However, within the Grad Dip course, primary graduates (97%) expressed a much greater long term commitment to teaching than did either the secondaries (76%) or the early childhood graduates (73%). These strand differences in commitment did not occur within the BEd.

Hopes to teach. At the point of exit from their programs, 98% of Grad Dips and 92% of BEd graduates expressed a hope to teach immediately. Hopes to teach were also high when examined from the perspective of the course strands with 98% of primaries, 94% of early childhood students and 90% of secondaries saying that they wish to teach. Overall, only 1 student in every 16 was not applying for a teaching position immediately after completion of their present course.

Preferred employment status. There was little difference between courses in the preferred employment status of graduates seeking a teaching position. There was a strong preference for full-time employment as a teacher with 88% of BEd students and 85% of Grad Dips seeking permanence in their appointment. Next most popular (with 10% of Grad Dips and 4% of BEds) was a permanent part-time position, followed by supply teaching (5% of BEd students and 2% of Grad Dips) and teaching contracts (only 3% of students in each group). Thus, the recent, apparently widespread practice in many of the Department of Education Regions of offering graduates contract positions is not in accord with the very strong preference of graduates for permanent positions in teaching, particularly on a full-time basis.

Examination of the data on preferred employment status by course strand reinforces the finding that most graduates would prefer a full-time teaching position. This was the case for 91% of early childhood graduates, 87% of primary students and 85% of secondaries. Relatively few graduates were interested in permanent part-time, supply or contract teaching positions. Thus, only 5% of secondary graduates, 3% of primary students and no early childhood graduates had a preference for employment on a teaching contract. Overall, in both courses, for every 100 graduates seeking employment as a teacher, 87 opted for full-time positions, 6 for permanent part-time teaching, 4 for supply teaching, and only 3 for a teaching contract.

Preferred Teaching Levels. There was an expected tendency within both courses for graduates from the different strands to apply for a teaching situation directly related to their strand specialisation. However, there was also some movement of graduate preferences across the early childhood, primary and secondary levels. Thus, while almost all early childhood strand graduates applied for positions in teaching contexts such as pre-schools, kindergartens and child care centres, a number (37%) also applied for positions in the lower primary school reflecting that their course strand prepares them for teaching children from birth to 8 years. Two early childhood students also applied for specialist teaching positions in the primary school in the areas of music and LOTE, while one Grad Dip student also applied for a position as a secondary teacher of geography and economics.

With one exception, all primary graduates applied for positions in a primary school, either as general classroom teachers or specialist teachers of music, PE or LOTE. The exception applied for a physical education specialist position in a secondary school. However, 15% of primary graduates also sought positions in early childhood teaching settings.

Almost all secondary strand graduates applied for appointment to secondary schools as classroom teachers in two discipline areas. Three secondary graduates indicated they were also applying for positions at

the early childhood level, while a small number (11%) also applied for primary school positions as specialist teachers of LOTE, music or PE, or as general classroom teachers.

System preference. Most graduates applied for teaching positions in more than one system. Overall, in both courses, more than 8 out of every 10 graduates applied for a position with the State Department; 6 out of every 10 also applied for a position within the Independent System; and 4 out of every 10 sought positions with the Church System. Other systems, such as Private Child Care Centres, TAFE, International Schools and Business Colleges were an option for 17% of the graduates.

There was little difference between the courses, with both BEd and Grad Dip students following the above pattern of system preferences. However, when the data were examined by course strands, two trends emerged. The first was that, in both courses, secondary graduates were more likely than others to apply for a wider range of systems. The second was that primary graduates (97%) and secondaries (93%) were much more likely than early childhood graduates (56%) to apply for a position with the State Department. The latter were more likely to apply for a position in the Independent System (72%) or another system such as Private Child Care or the Creche & Kindergarten sector (37%). Overall, primary graduates (6%) and secondary graduates (10%) were much less likely than early childhood graduates (37%) to apply for a position outside the school system.

Geographical preference. Overall, only a little more than half of the graduates (55%) said that they were prepared to teach anywhere in the State. Primary graduates (71% in Grad Dip and 57% in BEd) were generally more prepared than their counterparts to teach anywhere, although this willingness was shared by secondary graduates (75%) in the BEd. However, secondary Grad Dip students (42%) were much less willing to do so, and only 1 in 3 (33%) of early childhood graduates indicated they were prepared to teach anywhere in Queensland.

A variety of factors were listed by graduates as affecting their being prepared to teach anywhere in the State. Many of these related to family commitments - partner's work situation, children's education, parents' age and location of family home. Other factors included imminent marriage plans, financial considerations, quality of city life, recreational and sporting interests, and commitment to a current relationship. A few graduates indicated they would be prepared to teach in the country in the future when their personal circumstances changed.

Overseas/interstate teaching. Fewer than half of Grad Dips (45%) and BEd (40%) students had considered applying for teaching positions either interstate or overseas. Primary graduates (51%) appeared to be somewhat more likely to consider these options than either secondary students (38%) or early childhood graduates (37%).

Employment options outside teaching. As reported earlier, many graduates were working for a considerable number of hours each week in outside paid employment. As there were so few teaching positions available in the State, pre-service courses had also changed in an attempt to produce graduates with more generic knowledge and skills relevant to a wider range of career possibilities. Despite these changes in context, however, almost all graduates aspired to obtain a teaching position immediately.

When given an opportunity to list other career options they perceived as possibilities, if they were to be unsuccessful in their quest for a teaching post, 1 in every 4 graduates (26%) said they had no other career options. There was little difference between courses, with 27% of BEd graduates and 23% of Grad Dips stating they had no options other than teaching. Strand differences were more marked with early childhood graduates (36%) more likely to see their career choice confined to teaching than either secondary (23%) or primary graduates (20%). It would be interesting to know if these views of graduates are related in any way to the state of the teaching labour market. Thus, at the time of the survey, job prospects in areas such as secondary mathematics and science and LOTE were good, while there was an over supply in most other areas. However, this issue was not explored in the present study.

Graduates who perceived they did have career options other than

teaching listed a wide range of career positions. Many of these were teaching related, for example, child care worker, nanny, tutor, coach, corporate training officer and gym instructor. Thus, it appears that some early childhood graduates saw working in child care as employment "outside teaching", while others saw working in such centres as "teaching". Other graduates saw a possible future in the health and welfare area - nurse, counsellor, youth leader, social worker and community health worker. Positions within the hospitality, tourism and recreation industries were also frequently mentioned. Other career options more frequently perceived by graduates included sales assistant; office worker including secretarial, receptionist and administrative positions; police officer; public service; laboratory technician; banking; management positions; and establishing own business.

Changes in aspirations. Length of time since course commencement may be a factor affecting graduates' perceptions of change in their career aspirations. Thus, 81% of Grad Dips reported there had been no change in their aspirations in the year since they commenced their course. Only 60% of BEd graduates said there had been no change in their career aspirations since their course commencement four years ago. Given a longer time period, it may be that graduates' career aspirations are more prone to change.

Graduates from the early childhood strand (76%) were most likely to maintain their initial career aspirations. Secondary student teachers (68%) and primary graduates (64%) were somewhat less likely to hold aspirations at the time of graduation which are congruent with those they held on entry to their course. Overall, almost one third (30%) of students surveyed reported changes to the aspirations they held at the commencement of their course.

A wide range of reasons were given by graduates for these changes to their career aspirations. Change resulted from both positive and negative experiences. Thus, one graduate noted, "Confidence has increased and career opportunities and options have widened." Another noted, "A total change of beliefs and aspirations from when I started the course at the young age of 17. My whole outlook on life has changed and I do not think I wish to teach in the formal sense in an educational institution anymore." Another found her original commitment strengthened and commented, "A few of our lecturers are inspirational and, as a result of becoming more knowledgeable through studying, I am more interested in the profession. Opportunity as advocate for children - they're so great!"

However, negative influences also caused career aspiration changes. One graduate noted, "I have been put off teaching by the job prospects and the amount of work teachers actually have to do and the little respect and money you get especially in Child Care where you don't even get good holidays." Lack of job opportunities was frequently mentioned as a factor in changed aspirations. As one graduate stated, "I only thought of being a teacher, but lack of full-time teaching appointments makes me aware I can do more with my degree." Course experiences, including practice teaching, were another influence causing change. Thus, a secondary Grad Dip student commented, "Knowing how much extra work / obligations / calls on teachers outside of teaching has shattered a lot of illusions. It's a job poorly rewarded money-wise for the work, responsibility and dedication required, and one year of teacher training outside the context of school (prac is not realistic) is not enough preparation for the real thing."

Adequacy of course as preparation for teaching. Grad Dip students (61%) were generally happier than BEd graduates (42%) that their course had prepared them "a lot" for teaching. This result is surprising given the frequent questioning of the adequacy of a one-year course of professional preparation in the end-on model. The complete data are presented in Table 2. Overall, 97% of Grad Dips and 92% of BEd graduates reported that their course had prepared them for teaching "to some extent" or "a lot".

Primary graduates in both courses were generally more satisfied with their courses. Overall, 58% of primary graduates stated their course had done "a lot" to prepare them for teaching. Relatively fewer early childhood (46%) and secondary graduates (40%) rated their courses at this level.

Adequacy of course as preparation for employment outside

| | None % | A little % | Some % | A lot % |
|-----------|--------|------------|--------|---------|
| Grad Dip | 0 | 3 | 36 | 61 |
| BEd | 1 | 7 | 50 | 42 |
| ECE | 0 | 9 | 45 | 46 |
| Primary | 0 | 3 | 39 | 58 |
| Secondary | 2 | 6 | 52 | 40 |
| Total | 1 | 6 | 46 | 47 |

teaching. Course developer hopes that the newer teacher education programs would produce graduates able to compete for places in a range of employment options outside of teaching were not generally shared by the graduates themselves. Thus, more than half (52%) of graduates believed their courses had prepared them “not at all” or only “a little” for employment outside teaching (Table 3).

As might be expected with the heavy professional emphasis in the

| | None % | A little % | Some % | A lot % |
|-----------|--------|------------|--------|---------|
| Grad Dip | 18 | 45 | 29 | 8 |
| BEd | 11 | 36 | 42 | 11 |
| ECE | 21 | 43 | 30 | 6 |
| Primary | 14 | 42 | 35 | 9 |
| Secondary | 8 | 33 | 45 | 14 |
| Total | 13 | 39 | 38 | 10 |

one-year program, Grad Dips (63%), in particular, reported that their course did “little” or “nothing” to prepare them for employment other than teaching. A little less than half (47%) of the BEd graduates saw their course doing little or nothing to prepare them for employment outside teaching.

Within the course strands, secondary graduates (59%) were most likely to perceive that their course had prepared them “a lot” or “to some extent” for employment outside teaching. Fewer primary graduates (44%) saw their courses having these outcomes, and even fewer early childhood graduates (36%) shared these perceptions of their courses. Thus, almost 2 of every 3 early childhood graduates reported their course did “little” or “nothing” to prepare them for employment in an area other than teaching.

Actively searching for employment outside teaching. The number of graduates who were actively searching for employment outside teaching reflect the data presented above on their beliefs about course adequacy as a preparation for employment other than teaching. Only a little more than one-quarter (26%) of Grad Dips and one-third (38%) of BEd graduates indicated they were actively seeking positions outside teaching.

Again, it was the secondary graduates (43%) who were more likely than either their primary (28%) or early childhood (28%) counterparts to be actively pursuing employment options outside teaching. However, even here, more than half (57%) of graduating secondary student teachers had done nothing to seek employment outside teaching. It may be, of course, that many graduates are not inclined actively to seek employment outside teaching until after the first round of teaching offers has been made and they find out they have missed out on a position. It needs to be remembered also that many graduates are

already in paid, part-time employment and this is likely to be a factor determining numbers seeking employment outside teaching.

Further study next year. Further study was not in the immediate plans of most teacher graduates. While secondary (20%) and primary graduates (14%) indicated they were more likely to undertake further study next year than did early childhood students (9%), fewer than 1 in 5 students (15%) overall said they planned to continue their studies immediately. A small number of graduates (3%) were unsure about immediate study plans, with some indicating that a decision in this area was related to whether they were successful in their pursuit of employment or not. One student echoed the view of a number of graduates for her lack of motivation to undertake further study when she stated, “Four years of university with little prospect of a teaching job is enough to put anyone off study.”

Both full-time and part-time courses were popular with the small number of graduates who said they were interested in continuing with their studies next year. A number listed an interest in the MEd, others nominated a Grad Dip in a specific area, while others expressed interest in undertaking another Bachelors degree in areas such as Business, LOTE and Justice Studies.

Summary and conclusions

In this type of survey, it is impossible to do justice to the aspirations of individual graduates. This important caveat needs to be kept in mind in the following discussion of the general trends that are evident in the data.

Most graduates are engaged in outside paid employment, as well as in their full-time university courses. Many find employment in teacher-related positions as instructors, tutors or as workers in areas such as child care. Others find employment in areas of the workforce closely related to their discipline strengths. Some work as casuals in non-professional types of employment. Whatever the nature of the employment, the average graduate spends around 15 hours each week in outside, paid work. This usually exceeds the hours of scheduled, class contact time at the university.

At the time of entry to their courses, most graduates saw teaching as their long-term career goal. Even greater numbers expressed a hope to teach at the point of graduation. Thus, the findings suggest that most graduates enter their teacher education program with a strong commitment to teach in that they view teaching as their long-term career goal and even greater numbers of graduates express a desire to teach immediately after graduation. The dominant preference is for a permanent, full-time position in teaching and there is little interest in either supply teaching or in contract positions. Thus, the growing tendency of State Departments to offer graduates contract positions is not in line with graduates’ own aspirations about teaching. Most graduates apply for teaching positions in a number of educational systems, the most popular being the State Department of Education, followed by the Independent System and Denominational schools. There is only an even chance that a graduate will be prepared to teach anywhere in Queensland and family commitments is the most frequently cited reason given for this lack of willingness or ability to teach in more remote areas. There is even less chance that a graduate will be interested in teaching interstate or overseas.

Many graduates see teaching as their only career option. Initial career aspirations tend to be maintained, although both negative and positive experiences were mentioned by some as powerful forces causing change to aspects of these aspirations. Such factors included particular university and practising school experiences during their course, a critical shortage of teaching positions available at the point of graduation, and a growing awareness of the heavy responsibilities, work-load and dedication required of teachers in today’s classrooms and schools.

Primary graduates, in particular, are generally happy with their preservice course as a preparation for teaching. Grad.Dip students are considerably more satisfied than their B.Ed counterparts with the adequacy of their course as a preparation for teaching. Perhaps this reflects the heavy emphasis on professional studies and experience in

the one-year, end-on programs. More than half of the graduates see their course doing little or nothing to prepare them for employment outside teaching. Few plan to continue to study next year. Those who do, express interest in enrolment in a second degree, a Masters program, or a Graduate Diploma in a particular specialisation.

More BEd graduates than Grad Dip students are likely to be engaged in paid employment and also for more hours each week. However, the latter are more likely than BEd graduates to maintain their initial career aspirations, to be happy with their course for its adequacy in preparing them to teach, and to believe that their course did little to prepare them for employment other than teaching.

There is little difference between early childhood, primary and secondary graduates in the types of outside employment pursued, the number of jobs held, or the average hours worked each week. Most early childhood graduates are likely to apply for teaching positions in early childhood settings, such as pre-schools, kindergartens or the lower classes of primary schools. They are more likely than their primary and secondary counterparts to apply for positions in the Independent System and to see their career options confined solely to teaching. They are also more likely to maintain their initial career aspirations, although relatively fewer early childhood graduates are prepared to teach anywhere in the State. They are also much less likely than primary and secondary graduates to see their courses contributing much to employment options outside teaching and they express less interest in undertaking further study next year.

Graduates in the primary strand, especially those in the Grad Dip, are most likely at the point of entry to their course to view teaching as their long-term career goal. Most apply for positions in primary schools as general classroom teachers or as specialist teachers of music, LOTE and physical education, although a number also apply for teaching posts in early childhood settings. While they are matched by BEd secondaries, primary graduates are more likely than other graduates to be prepared to teach anywhere in the State. They also express a greater interest in teaching interstate and overseas and are more satisfied with their courses as a preparation for teaching.

Most secondary graduates apply for positions as teachers of selected disciplinary areas in secondary schools, though a small number also apply for specialist positions in primary schools. Secondary students are more likely than other graduates to apply for a wide range of educational systems and to perceive that their courses have prepared them for employment in areas other than teaching.

The network of family and social relationships and the outside work and university study contexts in which student teachers find themselves appear to be important factors influencing the formation, maintenance, or change in many facets of their career aspirations. Students enter their pre-service courses with a strong commitment to teaching and exit from their programs with high aspirations to teach immediately. However, their aspirations about teaching are also frequently changed and shaped in new directions by factors such as the lack of career opportunities in teaching, a growing awareness of the onerous and complex responsibilities within the profession, and both positive and negative experiences encountered within their university classes and practising schools. It is important to continue to map the nature of graduate aspirations and their perceptions of the changing complexity of forces which influence them. Universities have both a moral and educative responsibility to take such an interest in their own graduates.

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Appendix A

Graduate Aspirations Survey

Thank you for completing this survey. Your responses will help in future course planning.

Instructions: Place a X in the appropriate boxes or write response

A. BACKGROUND DETAILS

Q1. Course:

1. B.Ed. 2. Grad.Dip.Ed. 3. B.Teach

Strand:

1. Early Childhood 2. Primary 3. Secondary

Q2. Entrance to course.

Did you enter Directly from Year 1 Other

Q3. Sex Male Female

Q4. 1. Single 2. Married/Partner 3. Dependent child/children

Q5. Present Paid Employment. (If no go to Q6.)

No. of Jobs _____ Hours/week _____ Type of employment _____

Q6. When you entered your present course did you perceive teaching as your long term career goal.

Yes No

B. CAREER ASPIRATIONS

Q7. At this point of completion of your current course, do you hope to teach?

1. Yes 2. No (If No, go to Q14)

Q8. Preferred employment status (Place X in one box only)

1. Full-time 3. Permanent part-time

2. Contract 4. Supply

Q9. What levels are you applying to teach at?

1. E.C.E. 2. Primary 2.1 Upper Middle Lower

2.2 Music PE LOTE

3. Secondary (Please list discipline areas)

3.1 _____ 3.2 _____

Q10. In which system/s?

1. State Department 3. Church (Denominational)

2. Independent 4. Other (please specify) _____

Q11. Are you prepared to teach anywhere in the State?

Yes No

Q12. If no, what factors influence this decision?

Q13. Are you considering interstate or overseas teaching positions?

1. Interstate 2. Overseas 3. No

Q14. List your employment options outside of teaching?

Q15. Are the above aspirations similar to those you had on entry to your course?

1. Yes (If Yes, go to Q18) 2. No

Q16. How have they changed?

Q17. What has caused these changes to your aspirations?

C. PREPARATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Q18. To what extent has the course prepared you for teaching?

1. None 2. A Little 3. Some 4. A Lot

Q19. To what extent has the course prepared you for employment outside of teaching?

1. None 2. A Little 3. Some 4. A Lot

Q20. Have you actively started searching for employment other than teaching?

1. Yes 2. No

D. FURTHER STUDY

Q21. Do you plan to undertake further study next year?

1. Yes 2. No

Q22. If yes, please provide details:

1. Full-time 2. Part-time

Course Title / Description: _____

Thank you for completing this survey.

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Size versus performance in research

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Abstract

Argument continues to rage about the question of whether big research groups and departments perform better than smaller groups, with obvious implications of the extent to which the national resources for research should flow to big groups, big departments and big universities.

Yet for such an apparently simple question, it appears very difficult to get any consensus. Data and analysis are disputed, and interpretations hotly contested.

A recent NBEET-commissioned report provides some answers. It indicates that in the sciences and engineering there is a threshold effect, varying in group size from 5-12, below which there are considerable inefficiencies. However beyond this size, other than in exceptional cases, there are no economies of scale.

It also raises the issue that it is group productivity, rather than per capita productivity, which is critical in the social dynamics of research (though of course not in practice). Different measures of performance are required for research groups, and universities, with different objectives.

At regular intervals there is an outburst of debate, usually marked by some acrimony, among the research community about the effects of size on research performance and output. The most recent occasion was the publication by Adey and Larkins (1994) of an evaluation of publication records of selected universities for the period 1990-92, in which it was claimed that for the fields of physics, chemistry and biological sciences, "quite clearly, a broad relationship between size of department and total publications is established".

This research was stimulated by an earlier study by Lowe (1993) based on 1990 data only, which found that "large research groups, large departments and large universities are not particularly productive by any quantitative measure of output or impact". Adey and Larkins claimed the longer time-span of their study was the principal reason for reaching an opposite conclusion.

Their findings were immediately challenged by academic staff of Wollongong University, who recalculated the data to show that "small science departments are similarly productive to large science departments" (Anon, 1994).

Why is it that the issue generates so much heat? Why does there seem to be so little consensus? And why are the data produced by one group so readily open to question and dispute? Is there no reliable evidence or analysis on which the relationships of performance to size can be based?

It was in order to address these issues that NBEET commissioned a study of the effects of resource concentration on research performance (NBEET 1993).

The policy context of resource concentration

In most industrial countries around the world, there has been a growing emphasis on the need to construct more explicit and deliberate policies for science. There are various reasons for this including the escalating costs of many areas of research, growing constraints on government spending, and political demands for greater accountabil-

ity for all areas of public expenditure. The ultimate aim of these science policies has been to ensure that the limited resources which are available are used as effectively as possible. From this stems an interest in research performance, especially of groups of scientists, be they constituted in university departments, laboratories or institutes.

Evaluations of research performance, whether informal or formal, inevitably conclude that some scientific groups are more productive than others. This immediately raises the question of what accounts for performance differences. A wide range of possible determinants of group research performance have been proposed. These include the size of the groups, whether the research is closely linked to teaching, and the type of funding. However, as we shall see, the evidence that these are important determinants of research performance is extremely limited and, where it exists, is often very ambiguous.

A prominent feature of research support policy in many, though not all countries over the last twenty years has been the espousal and implementation of resource allocation processes that provide 'selectivity and concentration'.

Implicit in these policies has been the assumption that 'bigger is better'; in other words, that scientific research benefits from economies of scale. This approach has been most pronounced in the UK and to some extent other Anglo-Saxon derivative countries, but it has been the subject of consideration and experiment in many other countries as well.

In the UK, starting in 1984, the University Finance Committee (UFC) initiated a series of departmental rankings, which were shaped by a widespread view of the need to build departments of international standing, and attain a 'minimum economic size'. General assertions of critical mass, including access to equipment, technical staff and a budget to find new initiatives were used to justify a minimum size for science departments in the range 15-30, depending on discipline.

A generally similar line of argument, though a different mechanism for implementation, has emerged in Australian research and higher education policy in recent years. Thus, the White Paper on Higher Education (Dawkins, 1987) stated:

The application of research findings into processes of direct social or economic benefit is also crucial to the Government's objectives and must be increased. None of these areas of research can be effective if limited resources are spread thinly. Concentration and selectivity in research are needed if funding is to be fully effective. (Dawkins, 1988, p. 90)

In contrast to the British approach, these documents emphasise that it is the universities themselves, rather than the government paymasters, that should implement a policy of selectivity and concentration. This approach was reinforced by a series of reports, the general thrust of which is captured in the statement:

In Australia as elsewhere throughout the developed world, the changing nature of research is creating pressures to concentrate resources for research and be more selective in resource distribution...it is necessary to ensure that the most able and effective researchers are funded in such a way that makes best use of their creativity. (ASTEC, 1989, p. 11-12)

We note again the emphasis on concentrating resources with the best researchers, rather than institutional approaches to concentration as applied in the UK. The implementation of selectivity and concentration policies in Australia thus far have not involved any process of explicit ranking of institutions or their organisational units.

The general rationale for resource concentration is aptly captured by Ziman (1987):

A "critical mass" of people and instruments is thus needed, whether for a team undertaking a single large project or in a research group carrying out a programme of coordinated projects in the same field. The actual aggregate of resources required for viable research varies considerably from field to field, but even where all that individual researchers need is access to a library or a computer, advantages are seen in bringing them together into specialised groups. The intellectual environment in such a "centre of excellence" is more stimulating both for mature scientists and for graduate students requiring a thorough training in research skills. (Ibid., p. 11)

However, there have been substantial criticisms of the assumptions of and justifications for the policy of concentration. Thus, Becher and Kogan have argued that:

Firstly, the logic of concentration equates all research with the 'big science' model when much is, and should remain, modest in scope; secondly in an area of commercial relevance concentration would be a liability because firms in competition will prefer to tap different sources of expertise to preserve confidentiality; and third the great diversity of types of research activity should be recognised and inappropriate policies of wholesale concentration should not be pursued. (Becher and Kogan, 1987, pp. 8-9)

Lowe (1991) has been more scathing in his comments, identifying four problems with the 'widespread superstition' that the achievement of critical mass is necessary for high quality research:

The first two arise from the fact that the concentration of resources has negative effects as well as positive ones. Putting the best researchers in charge of centres turns them into research managers...

Secondly, it is necessary to take account of what economists call opportunity costs....The third problem is that the establishment of centres or specialised research institutes create units which tend to be self-perpetuating, thereby reducing the capacity of the research funding system to respond flexibly to changing priorities....Finally, it is in the nature of the process for establishing such centres that they tend to perpetuate the traditional division of academic research into the established disciplines. (Lowe, 1991, p. 187)

What then, is the evidence available on which to base a judgement of the relationship between size and performance?

Previous studies of the relationships between resource concentration and research performance

Despite widespread views that there was little hard data on the effects of concentration on performance (eg. Lazenby, 1992), we were able to identify more than 30 relevant studies since the early 1960s, the majority of which focussed on the relationship between group size and productivity. Unfortunately,

The results of this body of work can best be characterised as ambiguous and contradictory. The majority verdict is that research output is linearly related to size with no significant economies of scale apparent. Others have argued that the relationship between output and size is more complicated - for example, that there are economies of scale up to a certain group size after which diseconomies set in. One possible reason for the divergence is that different studies have focused on different units of analysis - research groups, departments or entire institutions. (NBEET, 1993, p. xi)

The possible reasons for the wide variations between the findings of these studies are numerous, but appear to be principally a consequence of four factors:

- different organisational units, eg. departments, research centres, laboratories, research institutions, research groups;
- different measures of group or unit size, depending variably on the inclusion of students, visiting fellows, technical and support staff, and the assessment of full-time equivalents;
- different measures of production (output) and productivity; and
- confusion between individual and group productivity.

In addition, it is apparent that many other variables, themselves variously related to size, affect research productivity. It would be necessary to identify these variables, and construct methodologies which allow them to be held constant, in order to isolate effects related only to size.

It was in order to attempt to improve on the understanding of the relationships between resource concentration and research performance that a series of analyses and experiments were conducted in the UK and Australia.

The British data

These data are based on a five-year research program at the Science Policy Research Unit, University of Sussex, UK. The department has been primarily selected as the unit of analysis, given the policy climate of the focus of the UFC.

An empirical study examined the effects of size and of teaching on the published output of physics, chemistry and earth sciences departments. Simple analyses based on concentration ratios and linear regression seemed to indicate that 'productivity', measured in terms of journal articles per member of staff, does increase slightly with the size of the department in physics and chemistry, although not in earth sciences. However, even in these first two fields the effect is very small, with size explaining only a few per cent of the variation in output. Furthermore, if research students are included along with academic faculty and post-doctoral fellows in the calculation of department size, the correlation between productivity and size disappears. Furthermore the exclusion of Oxford and Cambridge University departments from the data sets eliminated any correlation between productivity and size.

Interviews with researchers in mathematics, physics, chemical engineering and biochemistry departments revealed they consider links with teaching to have a minor influence on research performance, and the effects of department size to be even less important.

Critical mass effects are regarded as important at the level of the subfield-based group rather than the department. It was considered that a researcher needs to be a member of a group of four to six staff (together with perhaps three or four research assistants and PhD students) working together in the same subfield if they are to be able to compete internationally. There are few direct economies of scale from research per se, apart perhaps from in fields like biochemistry where equipment may be shared across subfield-based groups.

A detailed statistical analysis of size effects in the published output and citation impact of British university departments revealed that the UFC rankings are highly correlated with department size but not with size-adjusted 'productivity' measures such as publications per staff or citations per paper.

For physics and chemical engineering no correlation was found between size-adjusted publication productivity indicators and size - in other words, there is no evidence of economies of scale in these two fields in relation to published output. There are moderate correlations in biochemistry suggesting that there are some benefits to be derived in this field from being located in a larger department, perhaps linked to the sharing of equipment between subfield groups. There were also small but significant correlations for mathematics which may indicate mathematicians are less closely bound into subfield groups and interact more with other colleagues.

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A detailed comparison of the characteristics and performance of British and American research groups in a tightly defined sub-field of condensed matter physics, superfluid-helium-three, provided some evidence that the type of funding mechanism may have had an impact on the relative performance of research groups.

In Britain, the decision to concentrate resources on program grants for three groups meant that UK groups tended to be larger and more experienced and to employ more technicians than their US equivalents. However, the smaller and less experienced US teams funded by shorter-term project grants seem to have been more innovative and their research earned more citations. There is no evidence from this case-study that longer-term program grants gave British researchers any appreciable advantage. However, this policy apparently had the unintended effect of 'freezing' the chosen groups, preventing the inflow of young researchers and new ideas.

The Australian data

Given the limitations of analysis based on departments, the research group was chosen as the unit of aggregation for examination in Australia. A consequent severe methodological limitation, once it was decided that it was only appropriate to compare the research productivity of groups in the same or closely-related fields, was that in Australia, the population of eligible groups was too small to allow any statistically valid conclusions to be drawn.

The measure of productivity used was one based on a weighting by both type of output and ranking of journals in which papers were published. (NBEET, 1993; Harris 1989, Pettit, 1992). This is comparable to the performance indicators proposed for use by NBEET.

An assessment of the research productivity, in terms of both output and impact, of a range of Australian research groups from five disparate disciplinary areas was unable to provide evidence of a relationship between group size and productivity mainly because of the small sample size available in the Australian context (ie there are only a relatively limited number of quality research groups in any single disciplinary research field).

A second 'experiment' sought to examine the effect of research group size on productivity by comparing the performance of researchers in a full-time research position with that achieved by matching groups in a teaching and research environment.

In selecting research groups with significant 'research only' personnel it was decided to include a number of Special Research Centres (SRCs), given their unique position within the Australian University system as 'beacons' of research concentration and excellence. The SRCs that were to be included were chosen from those that were instituted in 1988, and those of the original SRCs begun in 1982 that were re-funded in 1991. "Matching" groups active in the same or closely-related research fields as those of the SRCs, and with a strong ARC record (ie of successful grant applications), were identified.

The principal findings were:

- wide variability exists in the productivity of all research groups;
- the research output of the SRCs is more than three times that of comparator research groups;
- however, in terms of productivity per head, the larger SRCs output is little more than half that of the comparator groups;

- the SRC's published many more papers comparatively, in high impact journals;
- the number of authors per paper is similar for the SRCs and the comparator groups, indicating that the larger SRCs operate not as a corporate entity where intellectual output is concerned, but as a series of semi-autonomous, cross-linked, groups.

Interviews with Australian scientists using the same instrument as in the UK revealed a broad similarity, but with a much greater emphasis on the importance of critical mass, though opinions varied on what constitutes a 'critical mass', and how such a concentration affects performance.

The following quotes indicate the range of responses:

A critical mass exists in our discipline, but has not been reached in any one location. (Electronics Engineer, Research group).

When a critical mass is present a different type of research is undertaken. (Biochemist, Research Group).

Probably a group of 5 or 6 is appropriate in this area. Critical mass has a downside for lesser/newer academics - in the long term they do not benefit. (Biochemist, Research Group).

Groups are at their most productive, in specific research terms, when they are sized 6-7 and work all hours. However, to tackle the big problems, and compete with the major international groups, you need infrastructure and a breadth of capability based on 4-5 such teams. (Engineer, SRC).

The 'critical mass' effect is not necessarily a size issue, but a structure and coherence thing. To be effective, people at different levels are needed - one researcher with 50 postgraduate students does not work. (Physicist, SRC).

In addition, the SRC Directors, and other commentators, presented strong evidence of the way in which the attendant scale and continuity of funding could provide the basis not just for a higher level of research activity, but for research of a different kind, research problems which were more strategically targeted, with a higher risk, but the promise of a greater achievement. Indeed, it would appear that the SRC directors generally had a different conception of risk - less a problem of the unknown than the conscious adoption of a long-odds bet, pitting their capability against a challenge of great magnitude.

Directors adopting these high risk strategies (successfully) were able to point directly to a range of qualitative, but nonetheless objective, measures of high international scientific recognition for their achievements; measures such as invitations to provide the plenary address at international conferences, recruitment of their staff by overseas centres, invitations to review and assess competing international centres, invitations to join national and international committees of advice, and unsolicited visits by foreign experts.

Conclusions

The basis for the 'standard' argument for critical mass in research is that a minimum level of resources, particularly in the form of equipment, or library, together with a minimum level of intellectual interaction, is necessary to be able to perform research in a competitive way. This common sense argument, however, provides little guidance in the actual process of concentration, and the pursuit of economies of scale. Neither is it necessarily valid.

With regard to equipment, there is a range of relatively modestly-priced equipment which universities of a substantial size, with government funding support, can provide to research groups. At the top end of big science, the establishment of international centres is, paradoxically, reducing the importance of 'local' group support. It is in the intervening price range where access to equipment **may** be a determinant of being able to participate in a particular research field. But even here, the instrumentation requirements may have become so specialised that sharing in a large group is not practical.

With regard to intellectual interchange, we have observed that in a number of diverse fields, ranging from physics to history, researchers

consider themselves members of international groups of like-minded academics, who are working on the same problems. The dramatic growth in the use of electronic mail between academics is an indication of the importance of this ready means of communication, and of the way in which it is reducing the need to establish local interaction.

The overwhelming evidence of this and other studies is that, in the natural sciences, the mode of research group size is 3-5 academic staff, possibly 2-3 postdoctoral researchers, some postgraduate students and technical/professional staff. Below this threshold, research performance is reduced. This modality does not preclude, however, strong research performance from groups of a smaller size, and in some fields, talented individuals.

A 'unit' of this size, totalling from about 5-12, apparently represents a natural maximum for effective communication. Indeed, the general picture emerging from the operation of larger units, such as research centres, is that once size exceeds this norm by any substantial level, fission will occur to re-establish the desired interaction patterns.

For fields of science where researchers follow this pattern of forming themselves into sub-field based groups of 5-12, there is little evidence that research benefits directly from economies of scale, beyond this threshold effect, either in terms of output or impact assessed through journal citation impact. However, in fields where researchers are not tightly integrated into sub-field groups, as in mathematics and the social sciences, there may be some very modest economies of scale.

Size alone, therefore is never a sufficient condition, and sometimes not even a necessary condition, of effective research performance. The only exception is at the very bottom end of the scale, where it is clearly impractical for a single researcher in a small physics department in a remote teaching-oriented university to participate in particle physics.

It is apparent that large, well-funded and well-led research groups produce more publications, of higher impact, and receive much higher international recognition than do smaller groups, when group output is the basis of comparison. At the same time, productivity per head is higher for small groups.

The issue, which does not appear to have been examined previously, is whether productivity based on group output or per head output is the most appropriate measure for the performance of a research group. Strict comparability, and opposition to resource concentration policies, favours the latter.

However, there appears to be some evidence to suggest that the traditional economic assessment of labour productivity may be less appropriate when applied to research, than a group-based analysis. Scientists themselves, when asked to identify their competitors, refer to groups:

*Its the Brussels team that are our big competition
[...]s group are the ones we have to watch.*

Frequently, group achievements are signified by the name of the highly visible leader alone:

*[...] has established herself as one of the top ten plant biologists.
Over 9 years [...] has built a world class operation.*

In research, the competition is primarily for intellectual achievement and recognition. This competition does not depend directly, or at least as much, on the ratio of outputs to inputs, which is the basis of economic productivity. Rather it is the ability to marshal resources including intellectual capability to achieve 'significant advances' ahead of the competition that counts. In this case, group productivity may be a more important than individual productivity.

There is also evidence to suggest that scientific recognition is based on group output, and the ability to capture significant attention based on quality and quantity of output:

[...]s group made a really big impact when they produced 9 top papers in good journals in one year.

It is the ability to produce a substantial volume of sustained high quality publications in leading journals on which scientific recognition is based; not on a higher output per researcher.

These findings confirm the operation of a 'Matthew effect' - "to him who hath shall be given" (Merton, 1973). The researcher who can command the larger resources can produce the higher output which is the basis for commanding further resources. While ample resources do not alone automatically produce high output, researchers who cannot command such resources in general cannot compete with those who do.

It must also be noted that productivity may not measure all the benefits of a policy of resource concentration. Other advantages may be:

- the value of public and political visibility through a major targeted program;
- easing the problem of increasing costs of administering a competitive research grants project-oriented scheme;
- the importance of threshold size to establish a gatekeeper presence in a research field; and
- the importance of threshold size to be fully plugged into, and accepted as a member of, the international leading-edge research club.

Policy implications

A number of policy implications follow:

1. The evidence that the threshold effect supports the implicit policy of science research funding agencies to favour proposals from teams of researchers, rather than individuals.
2. There is no support for a policy of increasing resource concentration for the purposes of increasing unit research productivity. Hence policy questions such as 'what proportion of ARC funds should be devoted to concentrated forms of support, such as research centres' cannot be resolved by reference to an algorithm of the returns from resource concentration. Rather, a detailed assessment of the precise advantages of resource concentration in the particular context need to be made. However, it may be appropriate for other objectives, including achieving top international recognition for fields of research in Australia.
3. Assessment of a policy of resource concentration needs to be carried out in the context of the what might be called the different tiers of government support for research in universities, and the relative importance of and balance between these tiers.

The first of these tiers is concerned with the maintenance of the levels of scholarship and linkages with the international research community, necessary to underpin quality higher education. The resources required at an individual level are generally modest, though collectively, for the whole "Unified National System", they amount to many millions of dollars. Support has been traditionally provided through the universities.

The second tier can be considered to be the support of committed, cumulative research programs, of an internationally recognisable quality, with objectives of scientific or technological advance, or application to particular purposes. This activity, largely supported by the ARC, has a different relationship to economic outcome than the first category, and needs to be assessed accordingly to these different standards. It also requires a higher level of funding per researcher.

The third tier is directed to achieving international leadership in selected research fields, or the development of new technologies of particular promise. These ambitions are much more exposed to the forces of global competition, and hence need to be resourced and managed in a way that provides the basis for international competitiveness.

There would appear to be a strong case for a much clearer differentiation in policy of the objectives of these three tiers of

research activity and support. One advance might be to establish and publicise the level of funding for each of these categories. There is also a need for an improved understanding of the form and extent of synergy between the three types of research activities.

4. The findings of this report cast some doubt on the use of performance indicators to evaluate research. While they may be appropriate, for example, for comparisons of discipline performance over a significant time period, (Bourke, 1994) the evidence of this study suggests that the scales may be too compressed to adequately distinguish between good quality, international standard research, and leading edge, world-ranked research.

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The forgotten workforce: female general staff in higher education

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Abstract

General staff have been a neglected part of the higher education workforce. The literature and data on academic staff has vastly overshadowed that on general staff. General staff issues are often overlooked by university managers. Yet general staff are an important and varied category of the higher education workforce. It is also a feminised workforce which perhaps partly explains its lack of visibility and some of the problems encountered there.

Recent data from 10 universities' payroll systems show that although females constitute a majority of general staff, they are disproportionately located in lower level positions. General staff are more likely than their academic counterparts to hold permanent positions. However, women are somewhat more likely than men to be in non-permanent jobs. The relationships between gender and level and tenure of position hold even when age and length of service are controlled.

Interviews with 50 managers of operational and academic departments identified some important issues for female general staff and shed light on the processes which reproduce gender disadvantage in this sector of the higher education workforce.

General staff in Australian universities

In contrast to the long-standing interest in female academic staff in Australian universities, there has been very little investigation of female general staff. While each higher education institution must monitor the employment profile of its total workforce for the purposes of compiling its annual report to the Affirmative Action Agency, the figures for general staff are apparently not invested with significance judging by the dearth of comment about them either by scholars or by official bodies.

A small number of papers have reported the contributions and discontents of general staff women in Australian universities and have highlighted the low level of interest in and the undervaluing of general staff women (for example, Crawford and Tonkinson, 1988; Butler and Schulz, 1995). The work on Australian general staff women carried out by Wieneke includes quantitative assessments of the position of female general staff across the industry. Wieneke's 1992 study analysed available DEET statistics, information from a 1990 EEO Survey of New South Wales universities and information from 1990 Affirmative Action Reports supplied by the institutions. The profile she sketched showed that while women constituted a majority (58%) of all general staff in the higher education sector (p. 11), they were highly concentrated in clerical, administrative and administrative support roles but were poorly represented among supervisors (p. 16).

Men averaged substantially higher salary levels than women (p. 23). General staff women earned between 77% and 83% of male salaries (p. 7). Women working in administrative and clerical positions were underrepresented in senior ranks even though the majority of employees in this area were female. General staff women had, on average, better qualifications than their male counterparts (p. 81). Few differences were apparent in the proportions of male and female general staff engaged as permanent, fixed-term or casual employees (p. 19) although women were more likely to be in part time employment than

men (p. 18). Wieneke elsewhere observed that affirmative action policy has implemented very few strategies which aim to encourage women to move into more senior jobs. Amalgamation of higher education institutions may have exacerbated these gender divisions (Wieneke, 1991:43).

Our research explores these issues further and looks at the location of women in the general staff workforce and the factors which shape the employment outcomes for these women. Data was provided to the researchers¹ by 10 universities in Victoria and South Australia on all employees paid during a designated pay period in August 1993. A separate analysis of general staff was carried out. This analysis allowed a further categorisation by the kind of job held (e.g. administrative or technical positions). Analysis of gender patterns was performed controlling for such variables as age, length of service and time fraction worked.

Interviews with department heads complement the information from studies which canvass the experience of female employees. They provide a rich source of information about the employment milieu in which general staff work and the elements of that work setting which affect women's employment outcomes. These interviews provided insights about the barriers women encounter, especially in securing more senior positions in the university workforce.

Women in the general staff profile

Women make up nearly two thirds (62.0%) of the total general staff workforce in the universities surveyed. They are, however, disproportionately located in the lower classification levels as the following table indicates. They also have a much lower average level of appointment than their male colleagues.

Figure 1 shows the decline in the percentage of female staff as the seniority level increased. Seniority is indicated by the ten HEW (Higher Education Worker) classifications.

Figure 2 shows the stark differences in the distribution of male and female employees across the classification levels. The profile of female employees is heavily skewed to the lower ranks while the male profile is much more evenly spread. We can further note that the proportion of male employees in senior positions is almost twice as high as the proportion of women. 38% of all men are employed at HEW6 and above (the 'senior' or 'career' classifications) in contrast to 21% of all women.

These relationships can be found in all job categories (administrative, technical and professional) within the general staff workforce. Table 2 below shows seniority figures for these categories.

Taking other factors into account

It is not uncommon for gender differences to be attributed to a legacy of past gender bias which is being overcome by more recent practices. Yet when we control for such factors as age, the gender differences remain. Among those under 40, 29.2% of men but only 17.1% of women hold senior positions (HEW 6 and above). For those 40 and older, 49.7% of men hold senior positions in contrast to 27.7% of women.

It may be the case, of course, that age is not the only control variable or the most appropriate. Women may embark upon their careers at a

Table 1 - Level of appointment by gender - general staff

| HEW Level * | Males | Females | % Female |
|-------------|-------|---------|----------|
| 2 | 431 | 729 | 62.8 |
| 3 | 630 | 1730 | 73.3 |
| 4 | 419 | 1163 | 73.5 |
| 5 | 629 | 774 | 55.2 |
| 6 | 434 | 532 | 55.1 |
| 7 | 410 | 332 | 44.7 |
| 8 | 244 | 196 | 44.5 |
| 9 | 100 | 72 | 41.9 |
| 10 | 135 | 61 | 31.1 |
| All levels | 3432 | 5589 | 62 |

* The HEW 1 classification has been omitted from this analysis because it largely applies to employees in blue collar occupations covered by separate awards. It does not constitute an integral part of the career hierarchy for general staff in administrative, technical and professional jobs.

Figure 1 General staff classifications by gender

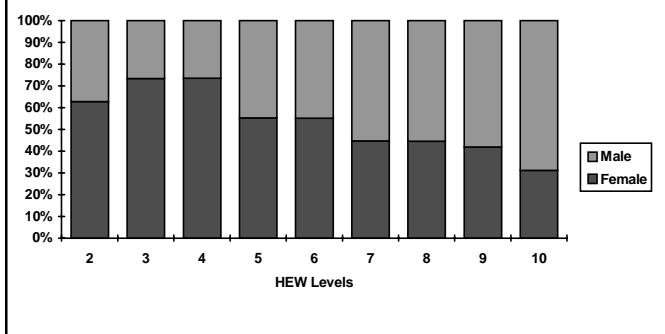


Table 2 - Per cent of general staff in higher levels by classification by gender

| Classification | % of men at HEW 6 and above | % of women at HEW 6 and above |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Administrative | 48.5 | 19.2 |
| Professional | 83.9 | 63.7 |
| Technical | 30.6 | 12.9 |
| All classifications | 43.3 n=2833 | 21 n=1116 |

Figure 2 Classification profiles of male and female general staff

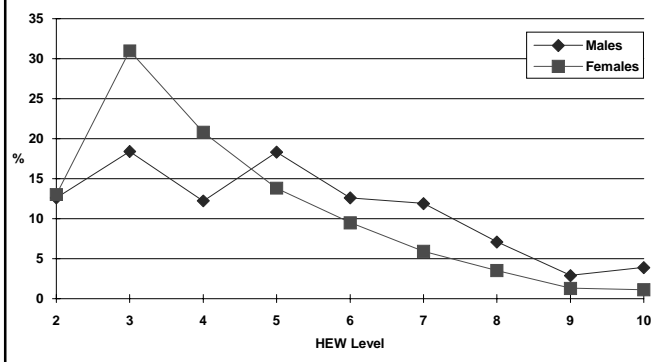


Figure 3 Percent of male and female staff at HEW6 and above by length of service

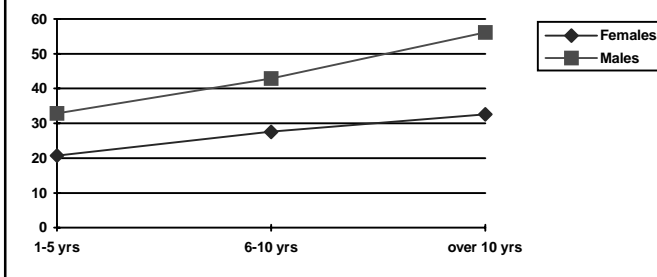
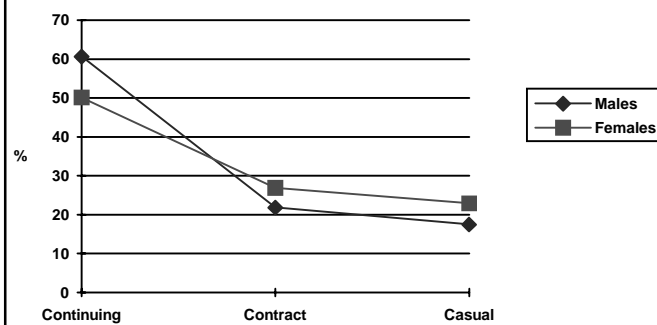


Figure 4 Tenure of appointment by gender General Staff



later age after the early stages of childbearing. However, the gender disparity in seniority is also marked when the length of service with the university is used as the control variable. Not only are men with 1-5 years of service more likely than women to be in senior positions, but the gender gap widens with length of service so that among those with over 10 years of service, 56.1% of men but only 32.6% of women are in senior positions. Figure 3 shows these relationships.

This suggests that employment practices within higher education may well exacerbate the men's advantages. Women would appear to have a much more difficult time gaining promotion through the hierarchy, even after long periods of employment with the university.

While these figures indicate a pervasive association between gender and HEW level, the relationships between gender and tenure for general staff are much weaker. Figure 4 shows the tenure profiles of male and female staff. This indicates that a majority of general staff hold continuing appointments. It also indicates that the proportion of female staff with permanent positions is lower than that for male staff while the proportion with contract and casual positions is greater.

The relationships within the global figures are, however, rather complex. Comparing male and female general staff who are under 40 years old, there are no notable differences in the level of permanency.

Forty-five percent of women and 46% of men under 40 hold permanent positions. However, for those over 40 years old, the disparities increase dramatically. Of those 40 years old and above, only 58% of women held continuing positions in contrast to 78% of men. Some might interpret this as a hopeful sign that younger women are doing well *vis-à-vis* their male colleagues, but it just as pointedly raises the question why older women lag so far behind their male counterparts. This could be attributed to a later entry of women into the workforce or the higher education sector of it. When we examine length of service data, these disparities remain though they are much smaller. For men and women with over 10 years service with the university, 94% of men and 88% of women hold permanent positions.

General staff at junior levels (HEW2-5) show relatively small gender differences in permanency (62% of males and 57% of females hold permanent positions). However, when we examine the permanency rates for male and female senior staff the gap widens. Of those at HEW6 and above, 81% of males hold permanent positions in contrast to 70% of females.

These findings depict a general staff workforce in which permanency is relatively widespread (at least in comparison with academic staff). This is probably due in large part to a greater range of alternative deployment options for general staff. The result is that gender differences in permanency are not great for general staff (except in senior positions). However, gender differences in level of appointment are significant and enduring.

Exploring gender dynamics in the general workforce

In exploring these issues, the research sought information about the views and experiences of a randomly-chosen sample of departmental managers in the universities which supplied the quantitative data. The 50 interviewees included 36 heads of academic units (departments or faculties) and 14 heads of corporate or operational units (such as libraries, computer services or registrars' departments). All of these managers had general staff employed in their units. As a rule, in the corporate units only general staff were employed.

From these interviews, several key factors in general staff employment were identified. Many of these factors affect all general staff but, given the female-concentrated nature of this workforce, they have especially serious implications for female staff. The factors are

- Lack of career paths for general staff
- Lack of staff development opportunities
- Flatter management structures which reduce promotion possibilities
- Bias in promotion decisions
- Masculine organisational culture and few women in higher jobs
- Lack of recognition of general staff and little systematic attention given to affirmative action, especially for general staff.

Lack of career paths

Seven managers pointed to the lack of career paths that general staff could pursue.

Commenting on the career structure of general staff in his area a dean thought it was

Pretty abysmal. That's accentuated by the fact that each division basically 'manages' their own administrative staff, there's no overall network. When you're dealing with (as in our division) less than a handful of admin staff, there's virtually nowhere for them to go within the division. Because the staff development is not really co-ordinated, perhaps I'm being over critical here, because staff development for general staff is not co-ordinated at overall institutional level, there's no real consideration whether 'Susan's' next position might be the secretary for the deputy director. If that position comes up and is

advertised and internal people are eligible to apply and sometimes get those positions - there's really no overall staff development plan.

One academic head highlighted the lack of recognition inherent in the system and its negative consequences for female staff.

...the classic model is that you get very dedicated women...who work in administration in academic departments which are not large enough for them to have a real career path. There's been a whole process of devolution of responsibility in this university from the central administration to departments. The responsibilities that those people, and as I say traditionally they have been women for all the reasons we know, have grown. Yet it's extremely difficult to get recognition of the fact that they are now doing a major administrative job because there was a tendency to say they're just departmental administrators. Yet a department such as this is larger than a lot of faculties in other places and yet we're running it with three administrative staff, two administrative assistants in the old terminology and one administrative officer, who I've had to battle very hard to get to be an administrative officer. The problem with that is that many of the classification schemes which are used are not appropriate for universities and this goes right across the board. University bureaucracies are not like other bureaucracies at a departmental level because of the fact that we diffuse the administration out on to academics, they do some of it as well. We don't have a hierarchical structure. So, for instance, the problem that I've had with our senior administrator is that, when I've made the case, as I have done repeatedly, for her to be promoted, people say but she doesn't have enough people responsible to her. I say no, that's because we run a very tight operation and other departments of either smaller or similar size have twice as many administrators, so why should this count against her if we're managing to do it here meaner and leaner. But if you look at it on the nice structured diagram, in terms of the position, how many people are important and so on. That's a battle that's ongoing. I have it all the time. Similarly I have the problem with technical staff. If you look in many, many successful university departments ... somewhere in there there is one or more women who have actually dedicated their lives to making the place run. The men come and go but it's the women who are actually driving the place along in terms of its continuity and its responsibilities.

A senior head with some thirty years of experience described a pattern of female general staff serving high profile academic males as almost a university tradition.

The bright career women who came into the universities 20 or 30 years ago, were women who today would be HEW7s or whatever, on their way up the administrative scale but these women just...selected their professor and devoted their lives to running the department for him.

He continued that these women have now left.

The people who have come in behind are those who don't have that ambition. So they're incapable of running what are increasingly complex departments. So we have this crisis of management within our departments. ... We've still got women...[with] limited ambition, who really don't want to be bothered with preparing themselves for other things, or even to expand their horizons within the job they are currently doing.

This tendency to blame the female general staff for their job position was not unique as noted below.

Several managers commented on the difficulty of getting administrative general staff within academic departments reclassified. They pointed to the inflexibility of the system of reclassification for administrative and technical staff.

I feel as head if I wanted to reward somebody, for instance if I've got a secretarial staff that's doing a lot more than she officially should do under her job spec, I would like to reward that. But unless I go and get it reclassified and I put in a good case for all that sort of stuff, that's where the system lets me down. (Head, academic department.)

An academic head spoke of his plans to restructure administrative positions in his department to reflect the broad responsibilities needing to be undertaken. However, his was an area with a large overseas operation which produced a significant amount of 'soft' money and the budgetary discretion to do so.

Lack of staff development

Although we did not ask questions about staff development programs for women general staff, a number of managers pointed to the weakness of their university in this area. A female corporate head spoke about the need for more staff development for lower level administrative staff.

Staff development's been something very important for me, not just personally but in terms of my staff. When I first came here we had no equipment. Staff had never been on any staff development. Our staff development branch runs a range of very useful courses that can be applied and can enhance the skills, things like communication, timing, management, dealing with stress, dealing with difficult situations, assertiveness training.

There are a range of one day, two day, week long courses. I think it's terribly important to enhance the self esteem, well in my case, the women staff who I've got, to enable them to do staff development. But I'm now very frustrated because there's very little left for them to do. I've sent them on the courses that I thought they ought to go to that they wanted to go to. I'd always get the timetable of classes and say I think this, this and this might appeal, are you interested. I never said, you will go to a course. They always come back just so much enthused. It's been an enriching experience and it's had enormous benefits for them personally and also for the office. But now I'm frustrated because there are lots of things I'd like to have the opportunity to encourage them to do but it's much harder for me, there's nothing being offered in house. So I guess what I'm seriously half looking at is saying to them, if you really want to do something in office management through a TAFE, I'll pay for it through the budget, my own office budget. But I don't think I should have to. I think that should be an EEO strategy, that there should be a bag of money set aside to encourage staff, but with the concurrence of the head of section so that I could be given the opportunity of matching funding....

Turning her attention to the discussion of the staff development needs of women middle managers like herself, this corporate head continued.

I think there's probably got to be a lot more encouragement. There are some outstanding women in middle management in higher education institutions who are simply not given opportunities in terms of professional and staff development because my experience is that the staff and professional development is not really taken very seriously. In my case for example, in order to enhance my own professional development I looked outside what was offered here and I undertook a postgraduate diploma in my own time. I completed a Master's in my own time and...I'm just embarking on a PhD. I find it would be wonderful if I had the opportunity to get staff development, professional development leave for example. I'm doing all that in my own time.

She also noted the 'lack of institutional perks' as she paid all her own fees.

Another manager said,

My view is that for many years technical and administrative staff in the university have been badly treated. Not perhaps compared with the harder parts of industry but there is a theory that the universities are not terribly developing. They don't practice what they preach in terms of staff development. It's a two class society.

Some of the managers tended to blame lower level general staff for being inflexible and wedded to their particular job. One commented that inflexibility was caused by staff 'owning' their job and refusing to move on. In fact a number of corporate heads made a similar point at some time during the interview

A head of department commented

I was told this morning of someone whose original job was to key in certain information into a database, now that that data base is going, they don't want to do anything else. The person's got a degree, intellectually someone's put a stamp of approval on her but it's a concern. It's not an isolated concern.

To the extent that such lack of career orientation may be found (and it is clearly not universal), it is a staff development issue. Lack of career aspirations on the part of female employees may well be influenced by perceptions that their employment context is not a welcoming one.

Flatter management structures and lack of promotion opportunities

There was some evidence of the thinning out of middle range positions and the pursuit of 'flat structures', which narrows possibilities of advancement from lower levels.

A corporate head in an amalgamated and restructured university spoke of a closing off of opportunity.

The university was sort of infatuated with flat structures. They said there'll be my position and then there would be about four administrative officers [at HEW5] underneath me and that's what happened. So I don't agree with that because it doesn't give people the chance to act in other positions and when I'm away. I often go overseas...and during that time we have never actually placed anyone in my position as an acting person....Now my level is [a HEW10] or something, and the structure I proposed was that there would be person at [HEW7] and then [HEW5 and HEW6] etc, What they did - left me at [HEW10] and created these four [HEW5s], there was too much of a gap between me and the others...But at the moment it's probably not the most satisfactory situation because it relies on people's goodwill to keep the office going while I'm away.

Bias in promotion decisions

Women general staff who do seek promotion may find that they are being judged on characteristics which are irrelevant to the position or on criteria of a stereotypical masculinity. Comments on the dynamics of interview panels were revealing in this context.

[It was] a top position in the university and I thought that the woman [applicant] was streets ahead of the other candidate but the comment was just made... 'it's a hard job' and that was just saying we want a man in this job, it's a hard job...That gives the game away...On another case I did challenge a person who said that it was a potential cause of concern that she'd moved jobs and I point out that this was a pattern in women's careers. (Head, corporate department)

Five interviewees suggested that female candidates were not 'aggressive enough'.

The low level of women in senior corporate positions, despite their high level in the general staff workforce, is alarming. Only 5.9% of women are at levels HEW 8-10 while 13.9% of men are located at those senior levels. This scarcity of senior female staff does not encourage women who aspire to promotion in these universities. Although this study did not focus upon women general staff in senior positions, there is some evidence that when and if women do achieve these positions they are met by a rather unwelcoming and overwhelming male culture.

Only three women were interviewed as heads of corporate areas. While this small group can in no way be seen as representative, it is worth noting that all three spoke of the difficulties they had experienced working at that level. All three spoke of the masculinist character of senior levels of university administration and in this context. One remarked,

I have a pet theory about why men end up in senior appointments in this place. It's because the whole place is run by men.

Barriers to women were noted, despite university regulations which prescribe an equal opportunity environment. Despite the guarantee of female representation on selection panels, one of the female heads complained of feeling like a token.

I think there's a very definite gender bias in things like selection panels. There's an assumption that you are very new to this and even if you have been in the institution for a number of years, that you haven't had the experience or expertise. There's an assumption that you haven't got any practical or theoretical experience in asking appropriate and probing questions, that you don't bring any life experience that will be relevant to selecting appropriate personnel. There's an assumption that because you've only had x number of years in a particular institution there's nothing before that, it's a blank, you're a completely blank person, but you perhaps raised children and that was all.

Another female head commented that at senior levels selection panels are loaded with senior men and that 'seniority determines the weight of the voice'. She believes that such panels tend to select men. She also commented that she had seen no evidence of head hunting for women applicants and that 'EEO is given the same weighting as a smoke free zone'.

All of these women noted the hollowness of affirmative action achievements. One commented on staffing policies.

It's just that our staffing policies, implementation of equity and staffing policies is not a standard that I knew in the public service quite honestly.

All three made distinctions between male and female managerial styles. One argued that only when more women are in top positions will women's skills and qualities be more highly valued. She noted,

I think my experience would be that [a female manager in the area] has selected people who are better with people out of that process. The person who held that job before she did would probably have put more emphasis on financial skills - accounting type people.

All recounted stories of how they personally had missed out on opportunities, been frozen out or not taken seriously because they were women. A more focussed study of senior women in university administration may well confirm such findings. In any case, it seems that the US scheme one woman head spoke of, the National Identification Program, which earmarked and worked with senior women administrators, could be a good model to investigate, both for middle management and senior women. These programs should operate across universities to provide the scope for development that is needed.

Lack of recognition of general staff; lack of affirmative action awareness

Two other factors appear to contribute to the low status of general staff women. One is the tendency of managers, especially in academic units, to overlook the general staff in responding to questions about gender issues. Half of the managers responded only in terms of academic staff although the questions explicitly sought information about all staff. This 'blind spot' mirrors the neglect of general staff in the higher education system as a whole.

There seems to be some evidence that general staff women, a major group of women working in universities, are almost invisible in relation to special programs aimed to improve women's position in the workforce. The majority of the responses about affirmative action initiatives were couched in terms of female academics and their students. This suggests that Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity are seen as being less relevant to general staff women, perhaps because they are a majority of the overall general staff workforce. This is a misperception because their participation in higher levels and in permanent positions lags behind that of men.

In fact, the level of knowledge about affirmative action among those interviewed was disappointing. Only about a quarter of the interviewees showed a good grasp of affirmative action principles as well as familiarity with their universities' affirmative action programs. Several frankly conceded their lack of knowledge in this area.

Women themselves would know more than I would [about what would be effective in increasing the proportion of women in continuing and higher level positions]...You need a policy to prevent discrimination on interview panels. [In answer to what affirmative action initiatives

the university has]: There's a whole policy which I couldn't recite chapter and verse...People who chair selection panels have attended courses, we all have booklets, things like that. (Head librarian in present position for five years).

[What affirmative action initiatives has your university devised to increase the number of women in continuing and higher level positions?] I don't know, you'd have to ask personnel, they'd be the best people to ask. Some of them would be there and I probably wouldn't even notice them...If they were all being listed I'd say, oh yeah, I know all that, but I can't think of any. I know we're an equal opportunity employer, whether they go further than that I don't know. (Corporate Head in current position two years.)

Directions for action

Among the heads of department interviewed there were a number of good ideas about what needs to be done. Some of the strategies mentioned were improved job design and job rotation to overcome the lack of career opportunities, especially in academic units which tend to be isolated. Others mentioned shadowing and mentoring schemes (including such initiatives as the National Identification Project cited above) to encourage women into senior administrative and management positions. There must be, however, more coordinated strategies which have support at senior management levels. There is a clear need for universities to pursue energetically the career development of women in junior, middle and senior levels. Rotation of staff through positions and functions, the use of acting positions, job 'shadowing' and mentoring all need to be addressed. The staffing establishment of administrative areas needs to be examined in the light of the need to enable progress from the lower grades.

The evidence strongly indicates that higher education institutions have to attend to this neglected (and often forgotten) group of employees. It is indeed ironic, if not shameful, that universities, which are devoted to the advancement of knowledge and claim leadership in social and intellectual matters, should have within their midst a group of workers who are often treated in an almost feudal manner and to whose education and career development little attention seems to have been devoted. The hidden curriculum effect of this means that today's university students, the leaders of Australia tomorrow, are being told implicitly that women administrative staff are unimportant and not particularly valuable. The question must be asked whether universities should be allowed to continue in such a way.

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Footnote

1. The study was supported by an ARC Collaborative grant in conjunction with the NTEU. The other members of the research team were Wendy Bastalich and Patrick Wright. Linda Gale of the NTEU was a collaborator in the research. A full account of the research is reported in *Limited Access: Women's Disadvantage in Higher Education Employment*, South Melbourne, NTEU, 1995.

International education and innovative approaches to university teaching

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Introduction

This paper considers ways in which innovative approaches to university teaching may be able to be developed in the light of international education. It argues that international education is not only an important source of national income or an exotic dimension of the work of Australian universities. It is also a learning process with valuable implications for all Australian university students. In this paper we signal some possible implications of international education for the pedagogic practices of Australian universities. Without attempting to provide authoritative answers or to prescribe detailed outcomes, we offer practical examples of how experience of international education can lead to innovations in the Australian tertiary education system and suggest specific areas in which it would be valuable to undertake extensive research. Our goal is to make Australian university teachers more aware of the positive implications of international education for their teaching practices and approaches to the choice and design of curricula.

The Federal Government has recently announced new policies for international education, partly in response to failures in the area of English Language Colleges. The new emphasis is on the need for greater regulation of the industry, but also on a shift towards a wider interpretation of international education.¹ International education now includes agreements with overseas governments concerning curriculum content, standard setting and research, mobility of scholars in the Asia Pacific region (along the lines of the Erasmus Programme in Europe) and greater business links with Asia. The government is also moving towards international education inputs into the curricula of Australian universities as part of a strategy to integrate Australia more closely with the Asia-Pacific Region. International education also now means educating Australian students overseas. The aim is not only that they learn about their neighbours, but that they go to study in their countries. The University of New South Wales, for example, plans to have 10% of its domestic students studying overseas within ten years. It is likely that as the market for exporting Australian education becomes more competitive and less financially rewarding, the benefits of international education will be seen more and more in terms of benefits to Australian students. This is already the view taken by the University of Western Sydney (Nepean).

What would really internationalising Australian universities mean? One interpretation lays almost all the weight on the need to focus on the Asia-Pacific region and to Asianise the curricula in all faculties. This, however, assumes a regionalist reading of contemporary economic developments, and is not entirely consistent with the implication of the latest electronic media which, at least in some circumstances, tend to neutralise geography. A more careful analysis reveals an ambiguity in government policy statements between international education and global education. International education often seems to mean inter-national education. Global education implies portable education for activity in a globalising economy; it also involves notions such as training Australian students for global citizenship. Current government policy seems to be to pursue international education with an eye on global education as a longer term trend. What is

clear, however, is that Australian universities are acquiring considerable experience of international education, both in the sense of educating international students offshore, and in the sense of educating such students here. The University of Wollongong already has 12% international students from 45 countries.

Clearly there are tensions between the need to design programs which meet the requirements of one target country with a single dominant culture (e.g. courses for Korean managers) and are not portable, and the need for programs which can be offered to multiple culture cohorts. Hence Australian universities may need to develop a two track approach to changing our universities into international universities. One track would emphasise international education for international students from specific countries. The other track would emphasise planetary portable education. In practice, the two tracks are likely to influence each other's articulations. This means, we suggest, that any set of strategies for internationalising our universities will need to be flexible and polycentric.

In this paper we suggest that experience of international education has practical implications even in the short term for what we teach, how we teach, whom we teach, and when we teach. In the longer term, we suggest that Australian universities may need to move towards a pedagogy which is: (1) intercultural pervasional; (2) grid multi-referential; and (3) planetary portable, as opposed to monocultural, single grid referential, and localist.

Since we take a strong view of the importance of international education, it may be useful to begin with a non-controversial example. Many Australian universities now recognise the need to establish special support courses in English language for their international students. Such courses, once in place however, suggest wider applications. Indeed they often become models for similar courses for Australian students. Such a simple example prepares the reader for the less obvious suggestion that as we discover what international students need, we often find that these needs are those of many Australian students. Moreover, such discoveries may be relevant to the staff development needs of Australian university teaching staff. Specifically, they may highlight areas in which retraining and reskilling is called for.

We now turn to some more complex possible implications for innovative teaching practices. It is not suggested that Australians should change their teaching practices merely to please foreigners. We do argue, however, that taking account of the conflicting needs and expectations of international students exposes and problematises the monocultural assumptions of our allegedly multicultural society and the monocultural prejudices of our teaching practices in particular.

Changing modes of delivery

In a globalising world university teaching practices need to change to allow more flexible modes of delivery, a need underlined by considerations of international benchmarks and overseas accreditation. Pressure to make such changes is likely to increase as Australia becomes more involved with the Asia-Pacific region, and more familiar with the need to take account of expectations of overseas student

groups and universities. Often such changes are dictated by common sense. For example: are lectures the best way to convey material to students whose spoken English is less than excellent? Or should we rely more on printed materials? Should we, as a matter of course, provide video tapes of lectures, especially since videos allow students to go through a lecture at their own pace and several times if necessary? If so, then there may be flow-ons for Australian students, not just international students, since many students passing through tertiary institutions now have limited English language skills which reduce their ability to benefit from more traditional modes of educational delivery. Moreover, the languages of delivery may need to change. Experience with international education suggests that more emphasis may need to be placed on international codes and iconographies in Australian educational delivery especially if, in the longer term, students have access to oral instruction in their language of greatest competence.

New technologies often make such changes more feasible. It is well established that international students can benefit from television delivered teaching and from other distance education modes such as printed course packages. Experience with both modes, however, suggest changes which could also improve the teaching of Australian students. For example, history teaching can be made much easier for international students if diagrams are used to display major historical and geographic data. Such diagrams are not single language dependent and can be adapted for television and video cassettes. Such diagrammatic history teaching could be developed for international students and then used to teach Australian students.² Other subject-specific problems brought to the surface in dealings with international students also suggest innovations in teaching practices relevant to the needs of Australian students.

Consider the example of the blackboard tutorial used in mathematical education.³ The blackboard tutorial addresses the fact that many international students perform poorly in the traditional tutorial system because they try to avoid the loss of face involved in admitting that you cannot do something. The traditional university tutorial continues the 'watch the teacher' model of the traditional mathematics lecture. It does not address the need to learn mathematics by doing it or adequately assist students having problems. The traditional mathematics tutorial is often performed with the tutor standing in front of the room and setting the student problems to solve. When a student has a problem, he or she puts a hand up and asks for help. This traditional tutorial is ineffective as a way of helping weaker students since they frequently do not present for help.

To overcome the problem of students being unwilling to ask for help, the blackboard tutorial resorts to special mathematical tutorial rooms in which (1) all the walls have blackboards on them; and (2) there are no chairs or desks. As the students enter the tutorial room they are given a set of problems to work on at the blackboard. Students can work in pairs or groups, as they wish. They can also move around the room looking at what other students are doing and interact with each other. During the tutorial the tutor moves around the room providing assistance as required. In contrast to the traditional mathematics tutorial the work of all students is visible to the tutor and it is obvious when a student needs help. Ideally this means that shy students get as much help as more forward ones; there should also be as much help for female students as for male students. This example shows how international education can highlight learning problems in ways which lead to innovative teaching practices of benefit to all students.

Group teaching

International education experience also suggests that group teaching needs to be taken more seriously. Most Australian university teachers were educated in cultures dominated by the Anglo-Saxon model of isolated individual learning. Experience with international education, however, suggests the need to consider both culture specific and cross-cultural styles of group teaching. For example, the syndicate method used by the Australian Management College, Mount Eliza, whereby students criticise each other's work, has proved exceptionally

successful with both Asian and Australian students, and also has now been successfully exported to Beijing. It illustrates how changing to cope with international students may lead to changing our teaching strategies with Australian students with positive results. These results, in turn, may affect the commercial viability of our offshore delivery of international education.

Related teaching innovations may be able to be suggested in disciplines as diverse as engineering, town planning, medicine and health care, architecture, law, and history. The details will differ with the discipline. Nonetheless, the common discovery may be that we can isolate the cultural sources of learning difficulties and change our delivery modes so that such cultural sources do not influence performance to the same extent.

Generic skills

Experience with international education also bears upon the problem of how to teach generic skills, while attending to context-related knowledge. In a globalising environment generic skills such as criticising an argument or weighing evidence become even more important. On the other hand, context-free solutions (Moscow architecture all over Eastern Europe) may not be adequate. International education highlights this problem because international students characteristically want to relate the generic skills they are learning to contexts which their teachers know less well than they do. Learning to apply such skills to non-Australian examples widens the cultural range of Australian university leavers and may also lead to more flexible styles of analysis and so modify the pedagogic culture of Australian universities.

International education also suggests, however, that there are teaching contexts in which it may be important to make the generic skills more context free. Here innovations may be required that are directly relevant to the needs of Australian students. For example, there may need to be a renewed emphasis on teaching through questions (cf. the medieval interpretation of Aristotle's categories as a set of questions to be asked in trying to understand anything), because questions allow students with different home cultures to make culturally different responses to the same structural challenges. In so far as students identify different structural challenges when presented with the same questions, greater refinements in presentation will be required. In the longer term a more systematic response might be to reorganise curricula around a form of cognitive theory, despite the limitations of the existing models (Piaget, de Bono, Lonergan). But historically new levels of diversity will have to be dealt with before such sophisticated meta-method is available in an accessible form.

On the other hand, it would seem both prudent and practical at this point to research the ethnic backgrounds of all our students (40% of students at the University of Wollongong are from families in which English is not the language commonly spoken at home), and relate such research to inquiries into which students prefer which teaching and delivery styles. Given such research, new approaches to interactive learning suggest themselves. Interactive multimedia opens up the possibility of catering for different cognitive styles of different students. Advances in both mathematics teaching and Humanities teaching may be able to be made in this way. For example, many students brought up on television may be able to be assisted to master difficult literary texts if contemporary visual materials e.g. videos on contemporary art history are used. In effect, the student transfers the cognitive game learnt in a friendly medium to texts written in a more remote medium. But this assumes that an attempt has been made to determine which media are friendly for which students.

Curricula

Changes to curricula can also be suggested in the light of international education. Here the issues are much wider than the need to modify export curricula to maximise sales to international markets. International education indicates that Australian university teachers need to address questions of (1) quality and (2) competency in terms of 'best international practice'. In the longer term pressure to produce

courses characterised by professionalism and quality as judged by international benchmarks is likely to promote a more comparative international academic culture among both staff and students. But, even in the short term, there are contexts in which international education may lead to new instances of 'best practice'.

Thus international experience helps to problematise inherited notions of ideal pedagogic order. It suggests that it is useful to alter the order of presentation of curricula for different audiences. For example, there may be advantages in teaching advanced axiomatic mathematics before more basic mathematics for some audiences, or in adopting teaching arrangements whereby lectures and tutorials do not cover the same material or proceed in traditional synchrony with each. This seems exceedingly obvious until we notice how most faculties in Australian universities employ the same models of ideal pedagogic order for all audiences. The exceptions (mathematics, philosophy) are interesting because they suggest that areas where students have cognitive difficulties with the material to be mastered may also be areas of relevant experimentation. In the same way we might ask: do the cognitive difficulties experienced by international students have implications for Australian students? Our hypothesis or proposal for a research program is yes.

International education also suggests the need to include more international examples in the curricula of many Australian degree programmes. In a globalising world Australian engineers arguably should be familiar with problems which occur in different parts of the world, not only in their own country. For example, they should learn how to build buildings in countries where the water table level is very high, or where a different variety of materials is available and not only how to build in their country of origin. Once again an apparently small change is more subversive than it seems because it implies that localist geography may need to cease to dominate our curricula. Instead, learning potential may need to dictate the choice of examples, with long-term consequences for the geographic and cultural knowledges of Australian students, whatever faculty they are enrolled in.

In so far as international education implies a new openness to cultural pluralism, Australian universities may need to move from single reference grid education to multi-reference grid education. Specifically, we may need to teach our courses differently so that students from diverse cultures can select their preferred language and culture paths through courses. Law students, for example, increasingly need to learn about legal systems other than their own. International students may prefer to opt for their home legal system for the purpose of case studies. Allowing them to do so may make it possible for Australian law students to work on materials from several legal systems even within the one course. This, in turn, could redirect legal education towards meta-analyses applicable across different legal systems, an approach at odds with the mental habits and training of those educated in the more inward looking common law tradition.

Clearly such considerations involve hard choices. The present push to educate for the Asia-Pacific region could be in tension with the push for planetary education. Both pushes, however, tend to undermine nationalist pressures to Australianise the content of all courses or attempts to privilege what is uniquely Australian. This, in turn, implies the need to confront the task of developing a distinctive, but post nationalist Australian identity or set of identities. Clearly it is important to remain sober in the face of premature celebrations of cultural diversity. Consistent with such a balanced perspective, international education can suggest new approaches to the problem of how to teach students who have acquired bad learning habits in their home culture institutions. For example, international experience suggests that learning programs can be developed to weaken original acculturation patterns and to instill new learning techniques not culturally favoured in the students' home culture. Thai students, for example, can be trained not to transfer the practices of a gift culture to more objectivistic Western learning contexts. Once again untraining techniques developed for international students may also be applicable to the untraining of Australian students.

Teaching locations

The relevance of international education for where we teach has to do with both offshore delivery and staff exchanges and sabbaticals. Until recently Australian university teachers mainly visited English speaking academic locations. French Africa and the Luso-Hispanic world were less popular, and some English speaking countries such as the Philippines were distinctly neglected. Henceforth academic staff exchanges will hopefully acquire a more linguistically diverse character. Australian university staff will almost certainly visit Asia more, and Asians will come here in much greater numbers. International education can promote such changes directly by encouraging Australian university teachers to teach off shore. In so far as university teachers are exposed to foreign university locations in non-English speaking cultures and gain a greater sensitivity to cultural differentials and different cognitive styles, such sensitivity often flows back into their teaching of Australian students and their curricula design. For example, a teacher of comparative literature who visited Korea discovered that Korean artists needed to be included in the comparisons he was trying to make in his course for Australian students. Such changes may seem minor, but their effects are incremental.

Communication skills

Experience with international education also highlights the need to give all Australian students testable English language communication skills, especially oral communication skills. Without entering into current debates about how much emphasis to place on Asian versus European languages, it is important to remember that many Asian students understand English but not the local language of 80% of their fellow Asians. It is also clear that people speak all over the planet to each other in English (Germans to Japanese, Chinese to Japanese, Arabs to Indonesians). This is not to argue against expert training in German, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean or Indonesian. It is to make two points: (1) only English is currently globally portable; and (2) good English helps even when a student has a good knowledge of the local language since many of those she or he deals with in government and business will speak English excellently. Currently many Australian trade representatives create a poor impression in Asian countries because they do not seem to Asian observers to speak impressive English. To appreciate this point consider how a French businesswoman would appear in Africa if her French grammar was incorrect. Allowing for the fact that different types of English and different genres will be appropriate for different cohorts, all Australian students would benefit from better English language skills.

This holds even for students whose written English needs may be more modest. Experience with information technology and engineering students suggests that the need for greater oral communication skills is not confined to international students. Many Australian students in these areas currently communicate well with machines but not with people. Yet communication with people plays a major role in their subsequent careers, and will play a yet greater role if their subsequent careers take them to Asia. In the context of a globalising economy greater attention needs to be paid to communication and analytic skills for all students, especially oral communication skills. To this end, the introduction of debating as an integral feature of many undergraduate programs should be considered. Such training could be used to join together students from many cultures and faculties and to train students in skills helpful in negotiating cultural, language and disciplinary divides.

Computer aided learning

International education also has implications for the use of computer aided learning. Computer-aided learning makes it possible to factor in cultural differences, especially differences in cognitive styles and learning paces, into modes of educational delivery. Students from rote learning cultures such as Taiwan and Japan, for example, can be programmed differently from students from more analytically oriented educational cultures. In the same way allowances can be made for students whose home culture favours teaching examples before

concepts or vice versa. Once again international education encourages innovations to deal with learning difficulties experienced by international students but these innovations may then be applied to the less manifest learning difficulties of Australian students.

Assessment

International education could also lead to changes in the way we assess students. Here cultural psychological factors and language differences are crucial. Examinations may be counter-indicated for students from some cultures which over-emphasise rote learning, while in some areas essays may need to be written in the international students' best language. It is now standard practice in some European universities for students to write in English, French, Italian, German or Spanish as they prefer. In Australia it should be possible to allow the use of a language other than English in courses with strong cohorts from one Asian country e.g. Indonesia. Similarly, it is highly desirable for oral assessment to become more common in Australian universities, as it is in many European countries. And once again this change in pedagogy holds for Australian as well as international students. Likewise, the traditional emphasis on 'correct' i.e. standard English may have to be waived in favour of a much greater emphasis on argumentation, even if the language of presentation is non-standard, albeit discriminating and effective.

Changing Australian university teachers

Problems encountered in teaching international students also have implications for training Australian university teachers. Indeed, they suggest there is need to train Australian university teachers to teach international students. At a bare minimum, Australian academics need to be taught to consider cultural differentials both when presenting information and when choosing modes of educational delivery. For example, the use of diagrams may be counter-indicated for some cultures, but preferential for others, an effect which may be magnified by gender roles since in many cultures girls express less enthusiasm for diagrams than boys. Such sensitivity to cultural differentials has implications for the ways we teach Australian students from non-Anglo Celtic backgrounds, whether from European or Asian backgrounds.

It is not enough for Australian academics to make multicultural gestures. They need to become more sensitive to hidden cultural factors which bear upon their educational practices. For example, practices which disadvantage students from cultures in which it is impolite to question the teacher or improper for a female student to be assertive. Hidden cultural differences also impact upon the use of colours in teaching. Red and black, for example, have very different meanings in African and Chinese cultures. Australian university teachers also need to become more sensitive to cultural factors that go to the context in which education occurs. For example, they need to become more sensitive to the food taboos of international students, to clothing styles which are immodest for specific audiences, to seating arrangements which are culturally offensive to particular cultures, and to timings of examinations or meetings which are culturally or religiously inappropriate (e.g. Ramadan) — and so on. Here again small changes involve larger principles. For example, Australian universities are only beginning to become aware of the need to provide toilet and ablution facilities for Islamic students who need to wash before prayer five times a day. The need for different toilets for students whose culture requires that they do not sit on the toilet seat may seem a luxury. In fact, however, it is indicative of how far we still have to go if we are to change the cultural milieu of Australian universities from one characterised by monocultural chauvinism to a university culture able to cope with growing intercultural pervasion as many different cultures appear within single geographic cultures.

International education also suggests that more Australian university teachers need to know major languages such as Chinese, Japanese, German, French and Russian. Indeed, steps could be taken to require university teachers to pass reading exams in one such language before confirmation of their appointment. Ideally it should become as odd for

Australian university teachers not to read at least one Asian language as it is for Asian university teachers not to read at least one European language.

Changing Australian students' attitudes

There is a related need to change the attitudes of Australian university students. It is generally conceded that Australian students benefit from meeting international students both in class and outside class situations if they acquire a greater sense of cultural and religious diversity, and so become better equipped to deal with the heterogeneous world in which they will have to live. But Australian students do not always generalise what they have learnt from such experiences. They may become sensitised to Japanese or Chinese or Indonesian 'differences', but still not acquire portable skills of cultural adaptation. This suggests the need for more research into current Australian student attitudes, a suggestion reinforced by recent Japanese comments on the racism of Australians, and the design of training programs to change the attitudes of Australian university students away from racist and monocultural stereotyping. In the longer term there is a need for all Australian university students to become minimally planetary literate. This implies that there is a need to teach all Australian students basic geography: where the major countries of the world are, what languages their peoples speak etc. Likewise, a case can be made for making video courses on world history available to all students as a way of helping them to acquire basic planetary literacy. There are related implications for internationally sensitive value education, which should form an important part of courses in ethics in Australian universities. Here once again moving away from monocultural chauvinism is linked to reforming practices. For example, chaplaincy provision for the needs of non-Christian students is currently underdeveloped in Australian universities, despite gestural inclusions and the establishment of meditation spaces in some universities.

Role modelling

International education also suggests the need for more culture-sensitive role modelling in Australian universities. Here problems encountered with the reticence of Indonesian and Malaysian students may lead to wider benefits. The challenge is not only to help such students to be more self-assertive, but to allow them to make this change without surrendering their ethnic or religious identities. If role modelling could be successfully developed for female Islamic international students, there could be significant feedbacks into role modelling for Australian female students.

Postgraduate education

International education could also have implications for Australian postgraduate education. In so far as international students need more course work, their presence may favour a shift towards some US style PhDs and a greater use of course work for Australian students. Similarly, the supervision of postgraduate students may need to be modified in Australian universities to take account of cultural differences. For example, a male student may have problems with receiving directions from a female supervisor or certain ethnic combinations may be counter-indicated at particular times (e.g. Armenian, Azeris). Less obviously, international education may provide clues as to how to teach postgraduates to identify topics likely to yield significant research outcomes. In the context of international education the present intuitive way we identify research topics may need to give way to a more theory-informed approach which international students can be taught explicitly, without first needing to duplicate specifically Australian cultural data and culturally formed guesses. Paradoxically the challenges of international education suggest that pre-modern learning techniques may deserve re-examination. If Australian universities are to become multiversities and Australian university education is to become less mono-cultural and localist, the cross-cultural argumentation skills of traditional Judaism and Islam may have lessons for us.

In the longer term more will certainly be required than the current practice of offering international students geographically localist postgraduate education plus tender loving care, and other palliatives. Indeed, postgraduate education for both Australian and international students may need to be remodelled on a more explicit theoretical basis. Here it would be useful to research practices employed by medieval European universities and, more recently, by Buddhist universities.

Conclusion

Our view that international education can facilitate teaching innovations of benefit to Australian students generally is not utopian. Obviously not every desirable change may be possible, let alone affordable.⁴ Nonetheless, many of the changes we have suggested are achievable in stages through specific small scale changes of style, manners and comportment. Such changes could be promoted within Australian universities as part of a new international academic ethos. Given that changes will be slow in some areas, but fast in others, each significant change that is achieved is likely to lead on to others. To argue this is not to subscribe to a facile cosmopolitanism which ignores the specificities of Australian geography and history. Nor is it to support a version of geographic Romanticism, least of all the version which talks about 'Asia' without knowing the exact histories of particular 'Asian' countries or the details of their current attempts to position themselves in the world economy.⁵ It is to acknowledge that Australian university education will have to change if it is to cope with a complex, fast changing, but also challenging international environment.

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1. 'International Education in Australia through the 1990s'. Statement by the Hon. Kim Beazley, Minister for Employment, Education and Training, September 1992.
2. Wayne Hudson is the leader of a team working on the development of an intensive training course along these lines at Griffith University.
3. 'Board games for maths tutorials chalking up marks', *Campus Review Weekly*, 24-30 September, p.3.
4. Cf. W. Hudson, 'Educational Policy and Geographic Romanticism' in *Asian Studies Review*, vol.15, no.1, July 1991, pp.70-76.
5. AVCC 'Foundations for the "Clever Country"', March 1991, recommends 'that universities put more emphasis into improving teaching practices ...' (Recommendation 3).

Challenge to corporatist vision Les Terry: *Teaching for Justice in the age of the Good Universities Guide*

This is a passionate book. It wears its values and commitments defiantly on its sleeve, aware that the world may judge the style to be hopelessly outmoded. As such, it is welcome. It offers a challenge to prevailing trends in higher education - developments associated with 'the corporatist vision' of universities - the kind of challenge that many demoralised academics would like to mount, but can't find the heart or energy for.

It is also an ambitious book, grappling with large, fundamental issues about social justice and the nature of teaching and learning. It attempts to place the everyday experiences of teachers and students in the context of competing ideologies which are currently doing battle over the nature and role of universities in the society. Inevitably, it succumbs to some of the dangers of such ambition and passion: over-simplification of the issues, demonising of the enemy and a somewhat cavalier attitude to empirical evidence. However, since one of its principal objectives is obviously to alert readers to the urgency of the issues, its success must be judged by its capacity to stimulate thinking and debate.

My criticisms should be taken as a contribution to the debate - and testimony to the success of *Teaching for Justice* in these terms. While reading it, I was engaged in a spirited dialogue with the author, Les Terry, a response I am sure he would welcome. His commitment to acceptance of 'difference' is evident throughout the book, starting with the Preface by Anna Yeatman, which puts an oppositional position in exploring some of the possible benefits of the 'corporatist approach' consistently attacked by Terry. His openness to difference is by no means complete, but then, is it ever so, and if it were, what would happen to passionate commitment?

Before engaging in the debate, let me first canvass the other strengths of this book. It gains much credibility and authenticity in being grounded in the life of a particular institution. Terry conducted the research as a participant-observer in his own university and his investigation was closely linked with his activities as a teacher and active member of a department. Thus, three meetings of this department provided material for the study. As part of regular staff meetings, members were asked to discuss issues of social justice in relation to teaching. Terry states that he was a participant in these discussions - there was apparently no concern about the research 'contaminating' the data.

The advantage of this procedure is that the report of discussions has the feel of gritty reality about it. Academics everywhere will respond to some of the problems raised in these meetings: 'What are we expected to do when a third year student is not literate?' and 'How can (the students') resistance to reading be overcome?' They know that, beneath all the rhetoric of quality assurance, these are the kind of difficulties that have to be encountered and resolved.

The research also involved extensive discussions with groups of staff and students and interviews with individuals. Many responses are quoted directly in the book, and this has the effect of incorporating a

range of individual voices, particularly as some disagreements and differences of emphasis emerge. At times, I would have welcomed more analysis of these perspectives; the constant reference to 'discourses' sets up an expectation of deconstructive readings which are not always provided. However, the emphasis on everyday detail is welcome and gives the study a solidity that a more theoretical treatment might have lacked. Terry does refer to a number of studies, such as those of Habermas and Connell, in establishing a theoretical framework for his account, but there is something of a gap between these sections and the presentation of the case studies.

The descriptions of innovative teaching practices are interesting and useful in providing 'good practice' models or simply ideas for other teachers. Terry argues that the most effective forms of professional development for academic teachers are collegial and involve the exchange of ideas and experiences with colleagues. This emphasis is in line with current thinking in the academic staff development area (though I am not sure that he is aware of this).

The two major aspects of Terry's argument that need to be contested are his monolithic view of 'corporatism' and his connection between certain teaching practices and the redress of disadvantage. On the first, his view of the enemy seems to me too simple and one-sided. I say this as one who shares his fears about the destructive impact of market-driven ways of thinking on the university sector. However, I believe that if these colonising cultures are to be resisted, we must understand them. There is too little analysis of the complex forces involved in recent developments, too much reliance on a 'them and us' opposition and too much weight put on the phrase, 'in the age of the *Good Universities Guide*'. This phrase recurs frequently through the book and it always offered a shorthand for a whole set of values and concepts. One understands the need to develop such a shorthand and it could work if there were an analysis of the *Good Universities Guide* early in the study. But this is never offered.

I am not sure what a reader unacquainted with the *Guide* would make of some of Terry's claims. For one who *is* acquainted with it, there are also problems. What exactly does he find so objectionable in the book? It certainly relies on performance indicators and some of them (most?) are dubious. But it presents its material in the name of consumer power. It can be argued that it is attempting to empower potential students by providing information to assist their choices. I object as much as Terry to the concept of students as customers or consumers, but I recognise, with regret, the possibility that it took this conceptual shift to force the higher education system to pay attention to the perspectives of students. My concern is not this has happened but that the metaphor embodies a dangerously distorted view of the relationship between teacher and student. We do not teach in order to make a profit. This is a fundamental difference between educational institutions and businesses. We teach so that people may learn and grow and develop, and this must be based on concern for the student as an individual thinker, not as someone whose money we want. However, the issues and the ideological strands in this area are more complex than Terry suggests.

Another aspect of the over-simplification is his lumping together of all those concerned with the market, accountability, quality, efficiency, etc. as economic rationalists and corporatists. It is important to remember that the Federal Coalition opposed the establishment of the quality audit system. As true believers in the free market, they argued that, if unconstrained, the market would assure the quality of Australian universities and that the Government's system was centralist, bureaucratic and oppressive (a form of socialist control, indeed). There may still be common elements in the two approaches - and analysis of discourse is very useful in investigating this - but there are also significant differences which must be acknowledged and understood.

If the 'them' of the equation needs more careful analysis, the 'us' is also more complex than Terry suggests. It is not just some Vice-

Chancellors and their minions who have been smitten by the market; many academics in faculties and departments have embraced the new models. This is particularly so in some disciplines, and one wonders what meetings of departments in Business or Computing at West University might have to say about the issues. One of the problems in Terry's study is that he seems to have concentrated on staff in humanities and social sciences, which may have created a misleading impression of a single, coherent position. Certainly he records differences, but they tend to be within the framework of united opposition to the corporatists.

My final objection to this part of Terry's case does not need much elaboration, since Anna Yeatman has argued the point well in the *Preface*. It seems to many observers, even some who share Terry's concerns, that some good things have happened in Australian universities in the last few years. There is a new attention to teaching, a focus on student learning, and a commitment to raising the status of teaching activities in the old universities, where several surveys had confirmed the almost universal perception that career advancement was based on achievements in research, not teaching. As one who has been closely involved with the quality audits in my own university, I agree with Terry's criticisms of the system. And yet, I must concede that the exercise does seem to have brought about a shift in the culture which promises some benefits - though how lasting and how deep the shift is remains to be seen. The challenge is to sort out the real change from the window-dressing and to find ways to sustain it.

The second major line of argument in *Teaching for Justice* is that teaching practices must be changed significantly to meet the needs and expectations of disadvantaged groups. This is necessary to achieve 'curricular justice'. Terry makes the important point that a concern with social justice in universities must move beyond ensuring the participation of certain disadvantaged groups, to address the nature of their educational experiences and their chances of success. Central to his thesis is a link between innovative teaching practices of various kinds (new forms of small-group discussion, creative assessment exercises, starting with the students' own experiences, etc.) and the redress of disadvantage. This should be regarded as an interesting hypothesis for further empirical investigation. At the moment, there is little evidence to support it.

To take one example: Terry seems to believe that the lecture form is not appropriate, is indeed alienating, for disadvantaged groups, including women (since it is patriarchal).

I don't know of any studies which demonstrate this, and Terry's own data from interviews with students is equivocal. Given the current success of women, who are out-performing men in almost all areas of study, one can argue that the present methods don't seem to be giving them too much trouble. There may be very good reasons for scrapping the lecture - although I think this is debatable - but the suggestion that the form privileges already advantaged groups is simply not proven. It would be a fascinating topic for research.

The same problem emerges in relation to all of the teaching practices commended in the book. They are based on sound educational principles - indeed, they could be regarded as part of a new orthodoxy in education. But, if they are likely to enhance learning, they will do so for all students, including the privileged. Terry acknowledges this at one point, but doesn't let the point challenge his argument. What underlies this issue is a fundamental, apparently intractable problem for the left - that, in every educational system, socio-economically privileged groups seem to gain far more than their share of the prizes. It is very likely that the children of the affluent will adapt to any form of teaching to achieve success, and the present inequalities will be maintained. What Terry does not demonstrate is that any of the methods he advocates will close the gap, offering particular and disproportionate advantages to the groups which have been marginalised in our education system.

Where he does come close to grappling with this problem is in his discussion of staff-student ratios and funding policies. He argues that disadvantaged students need more intensive teaching and more individual attention than advantaged students and therefore are entitled to

more of the funding pie. It is a radical and noble position, but the chances of it being embraced by any of those likely to be dividing the pie in the near future seem very remote.

Finally, I have objections to two points of detail. The first is the author's decision to name the institution *West University*, when it is very obvious that he is writing about VUT. It is not of great importance, but it is an irritation, particularly when one strikes a reference to an official VUT document in a sentence in which it has been referred to as *West*. The second is his broad, passing swipe at academic development units, and here I must declare a personal interest, since I spent some years working in one. I assume that Terry is not familiar with these units as they have operated for many years in other institutions. I can assure him that they would applaud his arguments about effective teaching and learning and echo his concerns about the simplistic use of evaluation instruments. They would also support his claims about the effectiveness of collegial discussion groups in improving teaching practice, they would suggest that academic developers can play a useful role in informing participants about relevant literature and in providing a structure for such activities, so that there is a chance of their continuing when the enthusiastic instigators move on.

Teaching for Justice in the age of the Good Universities Guide opens up a number of important issues and questions for Australian universities. I hope it stimulates both debate and resistance in the sector, which has been, with some honourable exceptions, disappointingly quiescent in the developments of recent years.

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What to do about academic freedom?

Academic Freedom, by Conrad Russell, London, Routledge, 1993, 130 pp

There are many articles and books about academic freedom, but there remain many worthwhile ways to approach the topic to show its relevance or otherwise for contemporary universities. There are historical studies showing how academic leaders preferred a tame interpretation of academic freedom in order to ensure professional prerogatives (Furner 1975). Comparative sociological analyses of educational systems in different countries can provide insights into the shaping of academic work by state and other interests (Archer 1979). Studies of professions as power systems can provide insights into the way academics have claimed privileges for their occupation (Collins 1979). Studies of the relations of intellectuals to the state and capitalism can provide insights into academic strategies (Derber et al. 1990; Gouldner 1979). Yet another approach is to look at the 'university-industrial complex,' assessing the effect of the incorporation of academia into the economic system (Newson and Buchbinder 1989) or, more specifically, the military-industrial complex (Feldman 1989). Perhaps academic freedom is irrelevant because most academics are absorbed in their specialist careers, with little interest in public debates (Jacoby 1987). There is also a rich source of material on the 'new social movements' since the 1960s, not the least of which was the student movement; their implications for social engagement by academics remain to be fully explored. Yet another approach would be to examine the concept of 'academic freedom' using all the usual tools of postmodernism.

Conrad Russell's book on academic freedom deals with none of this. It is a very traditional treatment, replete with male pronouns, which could have been written in the 1950s. Russell sees the problem in simple terms: the state versus the universities, specifically the British state, which wants to expand access, cut costs and control academic life, versus British universities which want to pursue knowledge for its own sake. He argues for academic freedom on the grounds that academics know best how to do certain things, such as decide how long a degree should take, whether students should be allowed to take outside work while doing a degree, what research should be funded, what appointments should be made, and how many students should be admitted. He allows that the government should have certain powers, such as whether universities should exist at all and how much money they should receive in total.

The orientation of the book is quite compatible with Russell's personal circumstances. As noted on the cover, he is professor of British history at King's College, University of London and a member of the House of Lords. As a professor, he defends the traditional idea of universities as places of pure scholarship, with appropriate professional autonomy. As a member of the House of Lords, he appreciates the need for the government to economise.

Within its constraints, the book is well argued and well written. It is just the thing for traditionalists who want a defence of universities in the face of a British state intent on expanding access while cutting costs. But it does not begin to tackle the many challenges facing academics and intellectual endeavour in a society with numerous groups seeking to mould universities to their ends. There are no cases described of suppression of intellectual dissent; there is no analysis of the implications of massive funding of directed research by government and industry; there is no assessment of the impact of increasing

managerialism in universities; there is no clear conceptual distinction between academic freedom as institutional autonomy and academic freedom as freedom of academics to speak out (a distinction that is often difficult for university administrators to grasp); and there is no mention of any form of social action except voting.

Because Russell deals only with the arguments about academic freedom from the narrow perspective of finding a suitable balance between universities and the state, he has no solution to the problem of a government that rides roughshod over traditional academic values. All he can suggest, in a pessimistic epilogue, is for universities to become independent of government by becoming private, thus retaining the independence that he believes is necessary for an institution to be called a university. He does not think this is promising - commenting that Britain could probably support only two private universities of high quality - but sees no alternative. If he had a broader vision of the complex politics of higher education, he might have realised that there could be common cause with other groups in society. But this is not likely when it is assumed that universities should be ivory towers.

Amazingly, Russell gives no references to any other work dealing specifically with academic freedom. (Some useful studies are Arblaster (1974) and Kaplan and Schrecker (1983).) There are some 60 citations in the book, of which the most frequent are 23 to the *House of Lords Official Report*, 6 to the *Independent*, 5 to J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, 5 to *History of the University of Oxford*, and 3 to the *Autobiography* of Bertrand Russell, the author's father. Conrad Russell seems of the school of thought that when writing for a public audience, becoming versed in scholarly literature relevant to the subject is unnecessary.

But at least he has written for a public audience. The book undoubtedly will have some useful effect in certain circles. How many academics who are so proficient with the latest theories can claim to have done the same?

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More on Orr

Jane Edwards' letter on the Orr case (*AUR* 1/1995, p.80) should not be allowed to pass unchallenged.

The Orr case was a *cause celebre* that preoccupied academic debate in the decade from 40 to 30 years ago. Interest in it has recently been rekindled by the publication of Pybus' account (*Gross Moral Turpitude*, Heinemann Australia, 1993). That book was the subject of a review-essay in *AUR* (2/1993, pp. 45-48) by Jeffrey Minson, who rather than reviewing the book as such, used it as an opportunity to discuss a tangential agenda (albeit an interesting and important one) of his own.

It was this essay that John McManners used as the occasion for a brief methodological point and pertinent reminiscence (*AUR* 2/1994, p. 64).

Perhaps it is now no longer remembered who McManners was then and what part he played in the events of that time. Just to clarify matters, he held the chair of History at the University of Tasmania from 1956 to 1959 (and thus was a first-hand witness to much that transpired); subsequently, from 1960 to 1966, he was professor of History at the University of Sydney (and thus a colleague of Alan Stout, who spearheaded the resulting boycott of the University of Tasmania).

To my mind, McManners' letter acutely and succinctly gets to the heart of the matter. But even if one does not agree with this assessment, his letter surely merits respect for its historical importance. No amount of reading of Pybus' book could possibly affect either of these points in the slightest.

Instead, it has drawn an ill-mannered and irrelevant response from Ms Edwards (*AUR* 1/95, p 80). Her letter has three principal points: it draws attention to Pybus' book, it states that McManners (whose name she three times misspells!) oversimplifies the issues, and it claims some (unspecified) connection with the case for Edwards herself.

I too would urge those interested to read Pybus' book, though not for its supposed merits (a privately circulated 9-page critique may be had by writing to me). And yes, of course there were other issues; but McManners has identified the central one, moreover the one most relevant to *AUR*'s terms of reference. He rightly and deliberately *avoids* (where incidentally Pybus does not) those issues that "[continue] to cause suffering".

But it is quite wrong for a claim of personal involvement to be made if the author of that claim lacks the courage to make it explicit. "Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent."

Michael A. B. Deakin

Monash University

In reply

In response to Michael Deakin's comments, I would simply refer readers again to Cassandra Pybus' book *Gross Moral Turpitude* where McManners' points are dealt with in detail.

I am sorry that Dr Deakin feels that my letter was 'ill-mannered and irrelevant'. Others who have read the letter assure me that it was neither, and I am content to accept their judgement.

Jane Edwards

University of Melbourne

Editorial Note: No further correspondence will be entered into on this matter.

