INTERROGATING WHAT IS MALE PRIVILEGE IN THE ACADEMY

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

In order to explain gendered inequality among university teachers, recent research has shifted its focus away from women-centered analysis to approaches that focus on men and their privileged location in the academy. Drawing on similar perspectives, this research is premised on the argument that women-focused approaches are significantly limited in their ability to redress issues that have traditionally disadvantaged women. Male privilege include men's over-representation in academic positions, especially in the more privileged disciplines such as science and engineering, as well as in higher management and in decision making. Female-centered approaches to gender have often given a lop-sided and an incomplete picture of the operations of gendered hierarchies in university settings.

This research argues that a more appropriate and strategic alternative is achieved by focusing on the mechanics of gender inequality construction, its maintenance and re-circulation in academic life through gendered relations of power. Working within a social constructionist theoretical framework, this study performs an analysis of women's under-representation in the academy through an interrogation of the over-represented, privileged position of the male academic. The contexts chosen for the research are academic institutions in Australia and Sri Lanka. This study examines male privilege in the academy using key secondary sources of staff statistics in higher education in the two countries and through life history-interviews with 27 male and 10 female academics for qualitative information. In analyzing these interviews and secondary statistics, the thesis advances arguments about the relationality of masculine privilege and feminine disadvantage in the academy and identifies the key features of gendered and contextual multiplicity of those constructions.

Broadly the findings reveal that male privilege manifests in academic ranks and progression and is gender relationally constructed within key academic activities. Further it reveals that pre-career experiences in terms of gender as well as class significantly shape academic career aspirations in a context of gendered privilege or the lack of it. The incidence of gender relationality within academic activities is evident specifically in academic career mentoring, research and micro politics. The incidence of privilege in this research is very strongly related to the everyday life of domesticity. Relatively limited gendered patterns are visible around teaching duties and service to university within this particular sample.

The socially constructed nature of the privilege-disadvantage duality also significantly represents itself as multiple, varied and fragmented in the lives of academics in both Sri Lankan and Australian academic settings.

The multiplicity of academic masculinities and femininities is influenced within this study by social class status, ethnicity, race or caste identities as well as by discipline orientations. Multiple academic configurations are strongly evident in research, performance evaluation and micro politics, whilst it is weakly manifest in teaching, service to university and domesticity. Within these latter categories, more similarities between contexts are evident. The research findings broadly indicate that the primary academic activities as well as everyday life are significantly encumbered with male privilege while it also provides some evidence for the multiple, varied and fragmented nature of those gendered realities.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
ARC	Australian Research Council
BC	Before Christ
CENWOR	Center for Women's Research
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EO	Equal Opportunity
EOP	Equal Opportunity Policies
ERA	Excellence in Research for Australia
EU	European Union
FUTA	Federation of University Teachers Associations
G.C.E A/L	General Certificate Examination Advance Level
G.C.E O/L	General Certificate Examination Ordinary Level
GO8	Group of Eight Universities, Australia
HDI	Human Development Index
HETC	Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NCAS	National Centre for Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences
NCGP	National Competitive Grants Program
NTEU	National Tertiary Education Union

OLTC	Online Learning and Teaching Committee
PG	Post-Graduate
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PPLS	Paid Parental Leave Scheme
RAE	Research Assessment Evaluation
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
UG	Under-Graduate
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UK AUT	United Kingdom's Association of University Teachers
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

*'This is my opportunity to tell the story of **Gender Inequality in Academic Life**. It is my own story too coming from my heart, my experiences.'*

Gender inequality has been an issue of social and academic interest since times that extend beyond memory. It has resulted from the attempt to categorize and regularize biological men and women as masculine and feminine, arranging them in a hierarchy valuing the male much higher than the female. This situation is constantly at odds with cohesive social development efforts and is questioned and critiqued with much distrust and suspense especially by those subordinated and victimised by this system of ordering.

The discourse surrounding female academics, with their comparatively slow academic progression records, reveals a range of issues arising from this inequality. This interpretation has, however, predominantly been ratified through feminist perspectives of gender that centre upon women, female understandings and their experiences of disadvantage. Such a focus leaves the experiences and positioning of male academics within those contexts of disadvantage and inequality largely unattended and unanalysed, thus with an implied theoretical irrelevance to the stories and positions of women's disadvantage. These prevailing customary approaches attribute the constructions of under-representation fundamentally to the women-female perspective and to the 'acclaimed lack' of women's capabilities within those interrogations. This research, therefore, endeavours to address this deficient and incomplete analysis, adopting a critical feminist lens to interrogate male privilege and to examine the extent to which male privilege constructs, configures and orders women's disadvantage and similarly their under-representation in the academy.

Further, the attempts to conceptualize gender have historically been dominated by the belief that male and female are two oppositional, binary physiological states that are also dual in social terms. These social roles have been concluded on similar essentialist ultimata that fail to conform to or maintain those classical binaries in reality or practically. Today, research has evolved beyond those understandings, developing from those traditional realms of thinking to more enlightened and realistic ones embedded in post-structuralist, post-modern frames. It is now argued that, not only are these attempts at a categorical binary gender construction unreal and practically inconsistent, they are regularly subjected to challenge,

diluting calculated, measured attempts to draw verifiably solid, concrete conclusions or to capture the 'essence' or essential 'truth' underlying their very slippery nature (see Butler, 1990).

Hence this research springs from the effort to acknowledge and capture the absence of any essentialised truth about a core gendered essence, choosing particularly to look at the way academic life is constructed and unravels. Rather, it is an attempt to focus and channel an intelligent understanding based on an interrogation of the social constructedness of the gender binary story with its uncountable social means and structures.

Notably, some early studies have pointed to how gender construction generally has removed women's possibility of reaching concentrated effort and focus building as a result of the assignment of an affective social role, in contrast to the instrumental role normatively assigned to men (see Parsons, 1951 edited by Turner, 1991).One of the key intents of this research is to re-examine this claim. Thus, it also spreads to an examination of the hierarchical construction of gender privilege and disadvantage through the structural male normative practices surrounding academic institutions, as well as the everyday social caring arrangements and obligations that sustain them.

Elements in my own personal life trajectory as the author of this thesis have also contributed to and invoked interest in the core topic: *Interrogating male privilege in the academy*.

Point one

I entered marriage after years of continuous academic pursuit through primary and high school education to four complete years of tertiary education. Being a researcher and later in a tenured faculty position in Sri Lanka placed demands upon me as an academic and while also being a young mother this felt extremely taxing and challenging. For a good fifteen years of my academic life, the change from my previous experience was profound and stressful. I had to remove myself from the stable and peaceful non-attached state bestowed by my single status, to one subject to profound demands on my emotionality, on my emotional self and caring skills in an ever-changeable position. An uncountable number of times on a daily basis I had to revert myself constantly back and forth from an emotional self into an instrumental one, with the concentrated focus and attention that are fundamental to academic life.

Point two

Further, within the academic institution itself, the constant demand on a split between these two selves is visible and experienced. Having regularly been subject to a domestic caring responsibility I witnessed fellow academics, most often female, scurrying out to take their children to doctors, to school meetings, to tuition or other such caring necessity including even when the gas had run out at home! For instance, one of my good friends mentioned to me that while we were in the middle of an academic meeting, that she received over thirteen missed calls from her maid who needed her advice to decide what fish to cook for dinner that evening! By contrast, I noted that male academics had no such cares and were in fact free from such concerns. When male colleagues left Sri Lanka for Ph.D. studies, not a single one of them was encumbered by their young families to settle and support in a new country as I was, even though, unlike them, I was not on a full living allowance. These men clearly assumed that theirs was a rightful situation, whereas I continued to feel so guilty for being away from home the whole time.

Point three

In my Sri Lankan university, Faculty Board meetings are held in the big Faculty Board room. The furniture has been arranged in such a manner that two aisles of seats face each other, with a front and a back row in each. There are two possible trends usually observed in these seating arrangements through my gender sensitive eyes. The first is that the women usually sit on the right hand aisles of the Board room, which are located on entry through the door, while the men cross over to the other side and sit on the left. The second possibility is that more men would sit on left aisle, with some men occupying the front aisles of both the men's as well as the women's sides of the room. For; women to occupy the front row of the men's left aisle is an extremely rare occurrence. It is evident that the regular vocal females of the Faculty Board are just a few who are usually the same people, seated in the front row seats of the right aisles, rarely on the left. The most vocal people, however, are predominantly the male academic colleagues. It has been observed that there is more readiness to listen to, and a subtle acceptance of, the male voices irrespective of their academic ranks, whilst reciprocal equality of listening to more junior women's voices with fewer credentials, or even to senior women, has been mostly less apparent.

Hence, at the onset of this academic contemplation about the way gendered reality operates within the academy constructing gender inequality, a few points are specifically noted. An intuitive understanding is engaged, removed from those traditional feminist perspectives which have been pointed towards

male blame. Rather, the interest here is to plunge deep into the constructions of the masculinity and femininity stories which dwell in the in-depth realities underlying gendered academic advancement. This analysis is performed within a framework that is more sympathetic and open to an understanding of the constructions of male privilege as relational to the disadvantage of women. It strives to capture elements of gendered inequality both broadly and deeply as situations springing from the blind construction and desire for continuity of social hierarchies based on small and specific forms of difference for individuals within a frame of gender which disregards appreciation of intelligent human uniqueness[1].

This personal note is therefore concluded with the idea of whether an understanding of gendered reality requires a more sympathetic approach within feminism, one that is basically devoid of reactionary and separatist gender goals but that entails compassionate contemplation. However, it should be strongly emphasized that with such deliberation this author does neither suggest in any way nor deny the greatest disadvantage and injustice bestowed upon generations of women, nor do I fail to acknowledge their operations through the narrow structures and practices of patriarchy and gender.

A study of multiple themes, contexts and discourses

This study, then, builds upon previous scholarship as well as personal experience to interrogate the multiple realities experienced by academic men and women in the two very different contexts of Australia and Sri Lanka. The analysis of male privilege is concerned with the following key themes:

- The manifestation of male privilege in the academy;
- Practices constructing relational male privilege and female disadvantage;
- Multiplicity and inconsistencies in these gender constructions.

These themes have been analysed linking them through the following key questions guiding the goals of this study:

How is male privilege manifested in the academy?

Does male privilege act or influence to disadvantage the position of women academics and, if so, how does this dynamic fashion gender relational outcomes?

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[1] Human uniqueness has been interpreted in so many ways. Here, the cultural difference has received dominant attention in this regard. We can draw much from those ideas to support the complementary reality of sex difference (see Kim and Marcus, 1999: 785-800).

Are all academic men privileged while women are disadvantaged within these academic contexts? Why? Why not?

What key similarities and differences are visible between the two academic contexts generally, and specifically in relation to gender?

As a means of addressing the power dynamics of a gender relational nature, this study employs academic as well as socio-cultural discourses in interrogating male privilege in the academy. Hence, the research conducts an analysis based on a social-constructionist epistemology fashioned by critical feminist inquiry and post structuralist theory. This study uses qualitative analysis, as well as employing secondary quantitative statistical data in order to articulate the aspects of gender inequality in higher education at a macro-national level. The interweaving of the relational gender inequality is then analysed to narrow these issues to the more micro-level of everyday academic life in the two research sites. Further details on the choice of approach and the methods undertaken can be found in the methodology chapter of the thesis.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis interrogating **What is male privilege in the academy?** is organized into six chapters. It should be noted that Chapters Three and Five consist of two parts each.

This is the Introduction to the thesis. Here I have introduced very briefly the topic of my research and explained why an interrogation of male privilege in the academy is important to addressing the problem of gender inequality within it, as well as to me personally.

Chapter One consists of a critical exploration of what is already known about women's disadvantaged position in the academy, emphasizing the need to provide an explicit interrogation of male privilege within the frameworks of this inquiry.

Chapter Two provides insights on how this investigation of male privilege in the academy has been conducted, explaining how it was planned theoretically and implemented in detail, and showing what theoretical and conceptual tools have been adopted and why.

Chapter Three sets the scene for the analysis of gender relational privilege and disadvantage. It discusses the contexts of the two research sites, focusing in the first part of the chapter on the social features and significant issues of relevance implicit within academic life in both contexts. In the second part it demonstrates the male privilege among faculty, as manifest in some key areas of national statistics.

In Chapter Four I discuss the findings of my research analysis, especially focusing on the gender relational nature of male privilege and female disadvantage in the academy. Here I consider the gender relational operations of opportunity and lack within the academic institution[2], as well as within the family and social environments, in shaping academic aspiration.

Chapter Five then discusses the complexities of these strikingly gendered effects and analyses the many-layered multiplicities in the academic lives of men and women, mainly considering two aspects. The first part focuses on the multiplicity evident in academic masculinities and femininities, whilst the second part explores multiplicity contextually in terms of the important general differences in academic life within the two countries.

In Chapter Six the conclusions of the thesis are drawn by shifting the focus of gender inequality in the academy into a frame of relational male privilege and female disadvantage, establishing the construction of gender reality within academic life. Then I finally close this enduring task by making concise suggestions for improving the existing status of inequality from a gender relational perspective, and proposing some specific research areas for the future.

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[2]These are explored particularly within the academic activities of teaching, research, service and mentoring, as well as in micro politics.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0   Introduction

The thesis is primarily concerned with gaining insights into the way in which experiences of work are gender relational in the academy. It endeavours to map out academic life within a context of gendered privilege and disadvantage in selected Australian and Sri Lankan universities. The current chapter critically explores what is already known about women's disadvantaged position in the academy, considering the epistemological stances adopted within such analyses and subsequently emphasises the need for an explicit interrogation of male privilege within the frameworks of this inquiry. In this way the gaps in existing understandings are identified, premised on the key issues of gendered disadvantage in the academy which have been raised through the research process and in the thesis.

Hence this chapter discusses the academic literature with regard to gendered academic life. It begins with a brief statement of women's position in the workplace and considers some of the key arguments focusing on women's position of disadvantage in the academy, inviting the reader to a broader framework of gender relational privilege and disadvantage. The research problem is identified through the careful analysis of literature dealing with academic activities such as recruitment, promotion, research, teaching and service to university, mentoring, micro-politics and work-life balance.

1.1   Gendered Academic Life

This first section broadly demarcates the key issues relevant to women's position in the academy, before highlighting the gendered roles and realities experienced by women within a context of privilege and disadvantage.

Women workers in the academy have been shown to experience discrimination and disadvantage in the workplace. A large body of literature supporting this statement is available particularly from the United Kingdom, Australia, the USA, Scandinavian countries, Canada and New Zealand, while there has been some limited investigation conducted in low income developing countries (Morley, 2005: 209; Gunawardena et al, 2005, 2006). Furthermore, there is an ample body of literature that provides evidence to show that in these very areas of the academy where women are disadvantaged, male academics enjoy positions of privilege and advantage in terms of cultural traditions, representation at decision making levels, and opportunities for career advancement (Hearn, 2001: 71-73; Currie and

Thiele, 2001: 90, 98, 103-5; Miller, 1994: 30). The reports on women's representation in Commonwealth universities, for example, are a regular source of evidence for their disadvantage and the over-representation of men in the academic and administrative hierarchies of universities (Lund, 1998; Singh, 2002; Singh, 2008: 5).

There are a number of forms of women's disadvantage discussed in the literature. These include the following: segregation at lower levels of academic hierarchy; being employed on a temporary basis as contract or casual staff (Castleman et al, 1995: 20; Shakleton, Simonis and Riodian, 2005: 573; Husu and Morley, 2000: 221-228); practices of inclusion and exclusion in work performance (Brooks, 1997: 9-17); gender differences in respect of human capital issues such as the possession of higher academic qualifications, high rates of separation or divorce or being burdened by older children's needs, many of which inhibit women's progression (Probert, 2005: 50). Some scholars refer to institutionalised discriminatory practices evident in academic tenure, promotion and research evaluation policies (Park, 1996: 46-48). More broadly, academic culture and the gendered politics of scholarship in terms of traditional academic hierarchies and practices of knowledge and knowledge production are shown to privilege male scholars and the areas in which they work over women scholars (Pearson, 2004; Fleischman, 1998: 975-1016; Joanna de Groot, 1997: 130-142). Implicitly these discussions also tell the story of the situation of male privilege in the academy.

1.1.1 Gendered Privilege-Disadvantage Context in the Academy

Interestingly the discourses of women's under-representation also articulate and mirror male privilege in the academy within those very contexts. Gendered privilege and disadvantage within the present analyses are identified as located in the hierarchical devaluing and valuing of certain academic tasks as against others, premised on gendered norms and practices.

Dictionary meanings of the word 'privilege' entail the concept of 'restricted right or benefit: an advantage, benefit or right' that is not available to everyone or 'rights and advantages enjoyed by an elite, a group of people or a minority as a result of wealth or social status'. Privilege is also called the 'granting of special treatment or honour to "special" people by society'[3]. The meanings attached to the word privilege also suggest an implicit relationality embedded in the way 'privilege' is constructed and materialized in that, together with the positive advantage, they also represent a negative, unfavorable

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[3]COSMO English Dictionary (1987) and Oxford English Dictionary At http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/...ac-_04/03/2014

influence which constitutes a notion of relative disadvantage. In the context of gender this is the disadvantage experienced by women that very often affects and hinders or pulls down their personal advancement, while preventing the adequate recognition of their contributions.

In order to demonstrate the ways in which gender privilege specifically operates in the academy, initially this chapter includes a detailed examination of the literature on specific practices of recruitment and promotion. Later sections will examine gendered practices and professional experiences in the areas of research, teaching and service, mentoring, micro-politics and work-life balance.

Recruitment

Gendered advantage and disadvantage in recruitment and appointment can be broadly classified into studies with two primary focuses:(1) the construction and maintenance of male normativity, which construct the feminine as a lack and devalue the 'female'; and, (2)the apparently male biased practices present in the selection and appointment of academic positions.

With regard to male normativity within the practices of recruitment, Eveline (1996: 67, 69) shows how what is 'feminine' is devalued explicitly within discourses that culturally construct the feminine broadly as a 'lack' especially in terms 'of women's desire for professional advancement' and getting into male dominated jobs. This discourse of 'lack of desire', particularly in the context of work, projects women as lacking in mental and cultural affinity for the work, as well as lacking in serious commitment and other qualities required for senior personnel. This is shown by Eveline in her study of female academics applying for higher administrative positions in Australia (Eveline,1996: 67-71). These discursive constructions work as overt strategic mechanisms which prejudice selection committees against the recruitment of women or against assisting their entry into senior positions, because they are women. This situation of prejudice simultaneously represents the silent articulation of advantage and privilege implicitly supporting men's advancement, in that they are frequently considered more 'naturally' suited for recruitment into senior positions, thus reinforcing male normativity (Van den Brink, 2012: 9; Valian, 1998: 54; Schiebinger, 1999:33; also see Castelman et al., 1995 and Cornell, 1992). Similarly, with regard to male normativity, Holton (1988) presents a further idea, which refers to the push for women 'to act like men', and to be professionally successful by emulating the requirements associated with stereotyped male career paths. Despite the increasing rhetoric of work/life balance, the persistence of these notions of 'masculine normativity' continues to be noted by Knights and Richard (2003).

Another aspect of the influence of male normative standards within selection committees for education leadership has been explicitly analysed. For example, Grummel et al. (2009) use concepts such as 'homo-sociability, local-logics and authenticity' to demonstrate how assessors in selection boards often tends to select candidates with known familiar qualities, similar experiences and circumstances. Such practices help normalise masculine leadership qualities and ensure the reproduction or re-circulation of socially homogeneous male candidates and of other dominant groups (Grummel et al., 2009: 330). Interestingly, however, Knights and Richard (2003), who investigate academic appointment and promotion based on a system of meritocracy, argue that meritocratic evaluations designed to secure equal opportunity regardless of sex, ethnicity, religion or disability may in fact have precisely the opposite effect. These authors declare that meritocracy does not discriminate only on the basis of talent and effort, but is also indeed gendered, as an outcome of generations of masculine ways of thinking and intervening in the organization of social and political life (Knights and Richard, 2003: 213).

Another finding regarding male normativity in recruitment that discourages women relates to the use of 'gender neutral' language in job advertisements. Such language, despite its goal to be inclusive, is shown to produce a lack of interest in women considering applying for such jobs. Studies point out that this is because the language content indirectly betrays the gendered nature of the organization itself to women, through its gender neutral representation, which may diminish their desire to apply (Gaucher et al., 2011: 109-11; Eveline, 1996: 69) and makes them feel they are unlikely to succeed even before they apply.

In the mid-nineties, specific studies of casual female and academic staff were conducted in a number of Australian universities. Castleman et al. show that women academics' distribution in the academic work force was skewed towards non-permanent and junior appointments (Castleman et al., 1995: 22). Further, this study provides evidence that, while women made up nearly half of the academics appointed on a sessional (hourly paid) and limited contract basis, they accounted for only 26.5 per cent of those with continuing (tenured) appointments (Castleman et al., 1995: 21-22; see Chalmers and Waddoup, 2007 for more recent views). Similar observations are made in Park's (1996) very comprehensive analysis scrutinising academic tenure and promotions policies. Park contends that 'restrictions in tenure and promotions have given rise to a "revolving door"' phenomenon, where 'adjunct and junior female faculty have been rotated through entry level positions without serious consideration for tenure' (Park, 1996: 46). By contrast, men were the beneficiaries of these gendered practices (also see Gottschalk and McEachern, 2010: 43-49).

Another relevant process of professional male normative gendering is observed in studies on the division of labour evident in corporations through the institutionalization of roles carrying characteristic images of the kinds of people that should occupy them. There is a clear tendency to gender stereotype certain roles as feminine ('soft jobs', which are usually service-oriented, under-paid and carried out by women) and others as masculine ('harder jobs', being better paid, technically inclined work typically done by men). Studies have observed that the 'gendering of jobs' in this fashion leads to the filling of positions with specific people who are biologically male or female (Park, 1996: 47). Such practices reinforce the gendered assumptions regarding work, depicting 'work done by men' as involving greater complexity and difficulty than 'work done by women', thereby creating space for justifying higher status and rewards usually accorded men (Park, 1996: 47) through male normativity.

Such practices of gender stereotyping in recruitment lead to gendered pay differentials privileging the male and constructing gender inequality. This occurs through the practice of employer discretion determining the level of pay at appointment. The tendency for men to be appointed at higher levels and therefore to be more highly paid has been observed by Knight and Richards (2003: 229-231). They also suggest the possibility that 'initial sex differences in hiring and *wages* continue the production of gender inequity throughout the *professional* life cycle, through everyday workplace operations' (Knight and Richards,2003:214-215emphasis added). Other studies also point out the gendered practice of salary negotiation at appointment, showing men's greater tendency to negotiate higher starting salaries than women, which yields a marked cumulative advantage and return for the future (Babcock and Laschever 2003:5; also see Probert et al., 1998).

A further aspect of male normativity in gendered recruitment is seen in relation to particular academic disciplines. Studies concerned with the mechanisms of gendered advantage and disadvantage in recruitment to faculty positions contend that women's under-representation in science disciplines occurs due to widespread perception that science is atypical for the female sex thereby promoting a male norm. Under-representation results from subtle sex bias practices in recruitment and promotion, rather than from women's choice not to work in these fields (Roos and Atta, 2009:19-20). These observations clearly articulate the apparent advantage and high preference for men in academic and teaching positions in science disciplines, which are overrepresented by, and more receptive of, male applicants.

Promotion

Feminist researchers have been constantly concerned with gendered academic progression which contributes to men's and women's unequal distribution in academic hierarchies, a situation which continues to remain largely unchallenged. Current academic promotion and tenure criteria have been observed internationally as increasingly difficult to meet for most women, thus promoting male normative masculine privilege. Husu and de Cheveigné's(2010) recent report into the situation of female academics at the highest levels in Scandinavian universities, especially as heads of research centers and as recipients of major grant funds, provides strong evidence (Husu and de Cheveigné, 2010:43-61). It has also been regularly noted that there are considerably fewer women in senior academic positions than men (Probert 2005: 51; also see Dever, 2006). Similar evidence was produced in early studies by Bagilhole (1993), Vasil, (1996), and Park (1996). Here the gendered nature of promotion practices is discussed, and two key approaches are taken for explanation, namely male normativity and practices associated with traditional male bias.

Traditional responses to gendered disadvantage in promotion criteria focused on problematising the positions of women and showing criteria heavily skewed to privilege the male, rather than criteria for which women themselves could be valued (Park, 1996:74). Early scholars observed that in academic performance evaluation, promotion applications and processes clearly perpetuated practices of male normativity, thus, privileging the male. In a research study conducted in the US, Park (1996) points out that 'although usually candidates for tenure and promotions are evaluated based on three criteria, teaching, research and service, these activities are not equally weighed or recognised' (Park, 1996:48).

She stresses that professional tenure is rarely denied based on insufficient service or teaching and that, 'though all staff are expected to do some teaching, the decisive factor in tenure is research and, further, that excellent research counterbalances any deficiencies in teaching and service' (Park, 1996:48). At the same time 'candidates who have excellent teaching records but poor research are not given similar consideration and are frequently denied promotion' (Park, 1996:48). This is extremely significant since a gendered norm has been clearly established, that teaching equals women (Winchester et al., 2006: 511) whereas research equals men (Krefting, 2003 :264 also see Toutkoushian, 1999). Thus, the explicit valuing of research reflects the consistent privileging of the male norm over the 'female' in academic tenure and promotion practice.

Another aspect of male normativity has been noted in discourse and practice elevating so-called 'hard' over 'soft' academic pursuits. These perceptions are argued to be seeking to 'protect' masculine sciences from feminization[4]. In this regard the likelihood of promotion panels to privilege male 'hard' disciplinary scholarship over feminine 'soft' disciplines has been commented upon by Knights and Richards (2003: 222-25; also see Osborn et al., 2000:21-22). However, some other studies concerned with changing patterns of male dominance in disciplines also point out that, while men still continue to dominate the top university positions in science and technology, women have made breakthroughs in traditionally male subjects such as Law and Medicine (Hearn, 2001:71-73).

Other arguments by scholars considering the lived experiences of women academics weaken the relevance of this point (Husu and de Cheveigné, 2010), so the interpretation of contemporary practices that marginalise women, such as the hard/soft binary in disciplines, is clearly in need of deconstruction. Nevertheless, studies also show that promotion and appointment panels are unlikely to engage in such deconstruction because these panels are predominantly made up of male senior academics (Deans, Research Deans, Heads of School and so on), whose success may often have been achieved by conforming to the 'male stream', 'main stream' or 'hard' aspects of their disciplines' (Knight and Richards, 2003: 223).

Recent research has produced additional insights into male normativity within the academic promotion process. Within Western universities a compulsion to embrace the neoliberal 'marketisation' of education has been observed (Blackmore and Sachs, 2000:9). Within these neoliberal commercial contexts, the implementation of policy formulations pertaining to gender equal appointment and promotions is observed to demonstrate a continuous mismatch. Basically, neoliberal ideology promotes masculinised cultures extolling values and practices which are highly competitive, rather than valuing collegial, reward–oriented striving. This is especially seen in relation to 'maximal publication output, and competitive grant success; developments that lead to a number of disadvantages for women and advantages for men' (Blackmore and Sachs, 2000:9-10). These arguments note male academics generally have a higher ability to thrive in such competitive environments than their women colleagues, mainly due to the 'gendered conception of merit which values a fulltime, uninterrupted career trajectory and research successes'. This conception continues to underpin current promotion systems which are embedded in masculine normativity that disadvantages women (Probert, 2005: 50-51; Wilson et al.,

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[4]The dichotomy is regarded in the following terms: 'hard' sciences are 'pure sciences' such as Chemistry, plus Engineering and other physical sciences that employ positivist approaches, non social subject matter, and empirical tools and methods of inquiry, whereas the 'soft sciences' or social sciences make the 'social' their subject matter and include social beliefs and practices, using critical reflection and interpretation as the means ofinquiry (based on Harding, 1986: 21, 34). This division, however, has subsequently been vehemently debated.

2010:537). Although male privilege is implicit within these cited analyses, they do not focus explicitly on the hierarchical construction of gendered relationality in prevalent criteria for promotion.

These studies have also attempted to explain positive male bias in promotion by focusing on gendered application practices. Some argue that women are less likely to apply for promotion than men, who are reported to engage more vigorously (Probert, 2005:13) and to be more ready to apply (Castleman et al., 1995). Additionally, a large number of studies also point out that women generally tend to do less well than men within the promotion process, and argue that this reflects a systemic indirect discrimination against women that is implicit in the privilege of male academics (Burton, 1997; Currie and Thiele, 2001). Contrary to such views, however, Probert(2004, 2005) insists that women are more likely to be successful than men when they do apply, despite that women tend to place more weight on teaching than men while men place more weight on research in promotion. Probert's study also points to the growth of different types of universities, some of which have introduced promotion criteria where staff have some discretion in how to weight their contribution to academic activities (Probert, 2005:57-58). Similarly, a positive picture of promotions for academic women has been painted by Winchester and her colleagues, who argue that the diversity of women's experiences in pursuing an academic career is reflected and recognized in recent promotion policies in Australia[5], though these views are constantly being contested and challenged (Winchester et al., 2006:505-522).

Research

The studies focusing on research have discussed the decisive nature of 'research excellence' in relation to academic progression, including changes in this traditional practice during recent times (Hearn and Husu, 2011:103-113; Husu and Koskinen, 2010:127-130). In particular, the gendered aspects involved in research have been concerned with male bias in relation to time allocation for research, as well as support and the satisfaction that each experiences in undertaking research, leadership in publication, and assessment of research outputs.

As noted above, there is a great deal of scholarly discussion on the decisive nature of research output, especially for academic tenure and promotion (Hearn and Husu, 2011;Leahey, 2008; Knight and Richards, 2003; Daly and Townsend, 1994; Krefting, 2003;Dever and Morrison, 2009). This situation is exemplified in statements that note that if a candidate's research is deemed inadequate, a strong

[5]Winchester et al., reviewed 34 of 38 Australian universities and collected interview data from key staff members (gate keepers) in 17 universities to compare policy with implementationWinchester et al., 2006: 505-510

contribution to teaching or service to university would be unlikely to compensate for that (Park, 1996: 48). Further, it is held that 'sufficient success and excellent research counterbalance almost all other deficiencies in a faculty member's academic record' (ibid.). However, some more recent studies (Probert, 2005; Winchester et al., 2006) present contrary views, arguing that research bias in promotion evaluations has been successfully altered during recent times in many Australian universities through 'explicit recognition of teaching quality, if not service contributions' (Probert, 2005:13).

The above views make explicit that men can and do generally engage more in research than do women in academia, for many reasons both within and outside the academy, and are therefore directly advantaged by gendered bias as a result of the higher research productivity generally found among men (Krefting, 2003:264). In a 2005 study Probert notes that, while both sexes described experiencing material obstacles to undertaking research, women demonstrated lack of sufficient time as their highest obstacle (52 per cent) whereas men perceived being constrained by financial support as their major problem (35 per cent) (Probert, 2005:13-14). Further, a number of other studies by Krefting (2003), Knights and Richards (2003), Asmar (1999) and Brooks (1997), confirm these findings and importantly point out the other side of this reality, that men are less constrained for time possibly in terms of caring obligations and domesticity and therefore relatively more free to devote time to their academic work and career building (See Probert, 2005. These findings are also confirmed by the UK Association of University Teachers [AUT] regarding men's comparative success in the Research Assessment Exercise (Knights and Richards, 2003:220 and is discussed further below. However, many women academics also experience greater time poverty due to the demanding administrative duties that are allocated to them, as well as to the way they perform their duties, including devoting greater attention to student welfare and pastoral care as will be discussed further below.

Thus, in the context of leadership in research and publication, studies have found that men are definitely advantaged over women academics in many ways. Further studies (Husu and Koskinen, 2010; Asmar, 1999; Leibenluft et al., 1993) show that women are less likely than men to be currently involved in research and less likely to be either first or co-authors in research publications. When it comes to research funding, it has been noted that women were less likely than men to have been principal investigators on peer-reviewed grants (ARC, 1996) and this is confirmed in recent studies particularly within Europe and Scandinavia (Husu and Koskinen, 2010). Such findings clearly indicate that it is men who often benefit in these situations because of gendered realities rather than skill.

Another aspect of this gendered privilege has been observed with regard to satisfaction in research related experiences. A 1996 Australian national report on Ph.D.s and early career academics by

Bazeley et al. indicates that gender had an important effect on the post Ph.D. progress of the graduates, with men reporting higher rates of satisfaction with regard to the departmental environment during Ph.D. candidature. This was figured in terms of less social isolation or feelings of discrimination, provision of departmental conferences or visits by overseas researchers, and opportunities for research skills development during candidature. The study also reports that men were more likely to be co-authors or principal authors than were women. Further, Asmar (1999), who studied expected research levels of early career academics compared to their actual involvement in research, reports that while both men (70.8 per cent) and women (85.1 per cent) reported feeling strong research expectations in their current positions, women reported difficulties in meeting these expectations. Half (50 percent) of the females, the majority of whom represented social science disciplines, reported doing 'some' research or 'none', and being somewhat less passionate about it. In contrast, a higher percentage of men in this study, who came from science based disciplines, reported being 'encouraged' to do research (75.4 per cent) and men were extensively involved and perceived to be passionately absorbed in it (Asmar, 1999: 261-263; also see Todd et al., 2008 for a similar argument). Probert (2005, 2004) in Australia contests this view on research experience and argues that women do not perceive themselves less supported in research than men. However, in contrast, recent research in Europe shows that women are still only a few among leading researchers, particularly in industrial and governmental technological research (Husu and Koskinen, 2010: 127-129; Hearn and Husu, 2011:103-106), whilst also noting poor levels of employment of women in technological and engineering research in the business enterprise sector in the EU-27 in 2006 (European Union, 2009).

Studies concerned with research assessment practices and outputs have claimed that these are difficult to assess based on quality rather than on quantity. There are conflicting views as to the degree to which fair assessment practices can be developed in this regard. Probert (2005) argues that there are gender differences in research output and that this is difficult to assess in any reliable way. Park, however, has earlier argued that 'within creative strategies evaluations could be done, what is necessary is motivation and imagination' (Park, 1996: 50), and Dever and Morrison(2009)more recently present a similar view regarding how research evaluations may be conducted creatively.

Teaching and knowledge production

Within teaching, a gendered hierarchy has become evident in specific practices, notably the valuing of certain kinds of knowledge and courses over others. Workloads are differentiated by time spent on teaching and heavier student welfare duties, and these have been closely tied to 'female' teaching duties, which are frequently unrecognised and rarely rewarded.

With regard to the ranking of teaching, Park (1996) has observed that graduate courses are valued over undergraduate courses, and if teaching is tied to research then it is valued much more highly whereas it is valued less if it is related to service. Parks has shown that the responsibility for undergraduate teaching has fallen disproportionately on women, and she makes the point that teaching at undergraduate levels often includes more students, and higher numbers of courses to teach. She also notes that faculty staff who are engaged in research are frequently given course reductions or sabbatical leave as rewards, which further demarcates this valuation dichotomy.

A further, strongly contrasting gendered explanation can be seen in the different levels of emotion work performed by and expected of female and male academics in their teaching roles. Letherby and Shiels (2001:128) point out that students are more inclined to make demands on women academics for nurturing, whereas their expectations of men are often restricted to academic advice (see Poole and Bornholt, 1998; Bornholt et al., 1999). Men's relatively lower involvement in pastoral care has been explained as their ability to more easily distance themselves from emotional labour (Letherby and Shiels, 2001:128; Knights and Richards, 2003:222), which also marks their privilege construction. A similar trend of valuing the masculine over the feminine has been identified in relation to student mentoring. It has been shown that some faculty members spend hours advising and mentoring students, while others are unapproachable or unavailable even during their scheduled office hours (Park, 1996). This aspect of pastoral care has been similarly gender differentiated, representing the more caring and devoted attention to student needs as weak, hence 'feminine'. In discussing relative workloads and productivity, Probert (2004, 2005), too finds that women spend more time than men on student welfare and pastoral care. This commitment to teaching and to the emotion work it involves is seen as disadvantaging women in relation to promotional prospects (Currie and Thiele 2001; Castleman et al., 1995). Undergraduate teaching in particular is devalued as a feminine activity, and the undermining by promotion panels of the performance of teaching and service in this way, disregards their highly variable and complex nature (Park, 1996).

A further powerful realization of male normativity is embedded in prevailing understandings of knowledge and knowledge forms as gendered. While some forms of knowledge are regarded as masculine and privileged, others are branded feminine and under-valued. In this regard men's involvement as managers in the creation and organisation of knowledge is seen as set in a very determined way, reflecting institutional as well as societal assumptions as to what counts as knowledge (Hearn, 2001:75-76). Existing dominant masculine managerial structures conform to and reaffirm dominant ideologies, which has led to the continued valuing of men's connection to knowledge, while devaluing women's connections with it (Hearn, 2001:75-76). Studies confirm that academic knowledge

is gendered and that its most powerful forms have been based on and are consistent with male experience and interest (Martin, 1994; Morley, 1999). Across disciplines, positivist, empirical methods are widely favoured and sustained by the assumptions of established truth claims. Qualitative research, by contrast, and notably that conducted on the experience of women, has been commonly devalued and criticised for lack of methodological sophistication and failure to account for variables other than gender in explaining women's status (Krefting, 2003:263).

Service

The gendered privilege embedded in practices of service to university[6] has been addressed largely by way of men's over-representation in decision-making and management (Hearn, 2001; Pritchard, 1996; Acker, 1998, 2000), and the failure to recognise lower levels of service within promotion evaluations (Winchester et al, 2006; Parks, 1996). This is a situation that disadvantages women more than men as they engage more actively in local and departmental levels of service within the university.

There are few descriptive studies that interrogate how service is shaped at general levels in everyday academic life, in terms of representation on university, faculty and departmental committees, and how this reality may be gendered. Largely, the focus of studies has been on gendered representation at management and senior levels in universities (Hearn, 2001; Pritchard, 1996; Acker, 1998, 2000; Winchester et al., 2006; Parks, 1996). In Australia, Winchester et al. (2006) in their study of promotion criteria weightings find that there is clear emphasis on research and teaching in seven universities out of 18 they studied in Australia. In this study only two universities nominated at least 30 percent to service. However, this study does not mention service as a category in its considerations of promotion categorizations and how they are evaluated. Thus, it stands as evidence for the general absence of scholarly scrutiny of the service role in the academy (Winchester et al, 2006:510-11). Further, it is also true that the same gendered expectations of women we see in relation to pastoral care are at work here. Women are more likely to be asked to, and choose to, undertake service that involves improving relationships as opposed to managing and allocating resources, yet the latter are valued more highly, thus perpetuating the value of men's work.

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[6] The terminology used henceforth to refer to service to university will be 'service'. In some universities service to the discipline (outside the University, such as contributions to professional associations or the editing of journals) and service to the community, also count as service.

Mentoring and networking

In relation to both formal and informal mentoring at universities there is evidence that the experiences of academic staff are correspondingly gendered, with benefits inclined towards men. Mentoring is significant for the support and guidance it provides, and critical for progress and confidence building in an academic career, especially among female staff (August and Waltman, 2004). Further, the significance of opportunities for professional networking has profound impact on academic career advancement. A few studies have noted how this operates in practice. In the Nigerian academy, for example, it is shown that access to local important networks among lecturers, administrators, spouses and friends as important sources of contact and information is critical for career advancement, and that this is more accessible and beneficial to male academics and less accessible to women (Odejide et al., 2006:559). Other studies reveal that professional and publishing networks are less accessible to women, which also implies that men have higher opportunity of being part of well established professional networks that have been conceptualised within homo-sociality (Brooks, 1997:124).

Studies also point to different sources of mentoring and show that people are likely to receive mentoring from a number of people (Darwin, 2004). The variety in mentorships includes formal and informal processes. Formal mentorships are organizational and institutional, with mentors assigned under formal mentoring programmes. Informal mentorships refer to mentoring activity shaped through more personal relations and networking initiatives and collaborations. Formal mentorships have been found to be short-term when compared to informal mentorships, and research studies note that protégés from organisational mentorships receive less career support from their mentors than protégés from informal mentoring relationships (Allen and Eby, 2004:130-131).

A lack of mentoring can result in slow progress. However, perceptions of the usefulness of mentoring in an academic career are debated and varied. On the one hand formal mentoring programs for women are seen as a means of overcoming the advantages available to men in informal male networking practices (Dever and Morrisons, 2009:49 also see Groombridge and Worden, 2003). Thus, it is important to understand what women-specific networking programs can achieve and what their limitations may be. Many universities in Australia, the UK, USA, Canada and Europe have established EO/EEO offices and women's networking groups, such as the University of Adelaide's Academic Women's Forum. These groups often have a small budget to run promotions workshops and publishing strategy workshops, to open up discussion over issues of concern to female staff, and to assist Early Career and new appointees who are often given a mentor from such a group. For example, in 2012 the

University of Adelaide initiated a very lucrative grant program specifically for women whose careers had been interrupted by family responsibilities (Dunstone and Williamson, 2012).

However, views contrary to the usefulness of mentoring are also cited in a few studies. For example, Brooks in an analysis of female academics (1997), identified respondents in the UK referring to many problematic aspects of mentoring, namely favouritism, patronage and imitation. Further, in some contexts the lack of formal programmes is speculated to be a possible result of the discouraging of nepotism (Odejide et al., 2006:559; also see Wallace, 2001; Allen and Eby, 2004:129). This could be further explained by some responses in the US found by Brooks (1997), indicating that even if female students do very well in examinations. Professors tend to pick male students as research assistants (Brooks, 1997:121). Nevertheless, it is important to note that there is no evidence to support a generalised lack of preference for formal mentoring, the problem is rather that there are too few organisations which offer it or provide an appropriate culture for it to thrive.The gendered disadvantage and male bias in mentoring opportunities has continued to be an issue. In the professional field of health care, male protégés report receiving greater career related mentoring than do females, even though both report receiving satisfactory psychosocial[7] mentoring (Allen and Eby, 2004:132). Similarly, in the general academic arena, Allen and Eby(2004) observe that 'being in a large majority, men are inducted into the [academic] profession under the tutelage of male mentors' (Allen and Eby, 2004:132),and those men are seen to have more natural access to mentoring support systems than women as men hold the senior positions, and this sponsorship correspondingly enhances male academics' self-esteem, self-confidence and advancement in their careers (Bagilhole, 1993:437). With regards to the contribution towards the development of the academic skills and qualities required for success within an academic profession, it has been pointed out that male colleagues' greater access to the benefits of role models and mentors gives them larger advantage in terms of support and encouragement, as well as ensuring they are better placed for promotion opportunities and research experience opportunities (Bagihole, 1993: 438). The findings in this regard by Brooks (1997) also show that in male-dominated disciplines mentoring particularly benefitted males while excluding the females (Brooks ,1997: 51-52).

The above section has explored the research evidence for the implicit male privilege within women's disadvantage in some of the key academic activities. The discussion now moves on to a reflection on how, despite numerous efforts and reformative actions in response to the situation of gendered

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[7]Psycho social functions are those aspects of the mentoring relationship that enhance the protégé's sense of competence and self image such as friendship, social support, role modeling, counseling acceptance and confirmation (Allen and Eby, 2004:130, 132)

inequality in academic life, affirmative action has been relatively ineffective and slow in bringing about desired change or increasing women's participation in concrete ways.

1.2   Continued or Changing Patterns in the Academy?

1.2.1   Policy

During the 1990s a number of changes in Australian workplace/employment policy in general and in higher education policy in particular were implemented by the Australian Government to address women's disadvantaged position in the work place, most significantly through the implementation of family policies[8]. These policies introduced a host of flexible work conditions with flexible work-time arrangements such as expanded ordinary hours, annualized hours, job-sharing, career breaks and part-time work, but the question of which workers have power to choose these flexible conditions while combining work and family effectively has been a critical concern (Strachan and Burgess, 2001:66-68). These questions are especially relevant in the context of neoliberal marketization in the twenty first century, which does not generally support such policy arrangements or values (Baird and Williamson, 2010), and thus there is a situation of paradox.

1.2.2.   Implementation

Despite these commercially motivated impediments, recent research studies increasingly suggest a change in the traditional patterns of gendered advantage and disadvantage in the academy. In this regard, Probert (2005) states that gender equity reforms and their substantial impact are not to be ignored. Nevertheless she argues that most of the factors that are widely used to explain women's continuous concentration in the lower levels of the academic hierarchy have some real historical basis and there remains a remarkable persistence of unequal outcomes for men and women in factors that contribute to career progress. A similar view is held by Winchester et al. (2005) who recognize the positive impact of policy initiatives in improving the situation for women in higher education, while also observing that the number of women in higher levels still remains low and that the rate of progress in women's representation at senior levels has changed only incrementally since the 1990s. On this point, Asmar too (1999:255) agrees with the above, but notes that women also appear to lag behind men in full-time positions, tenure and senior status, tend neither to lead research teams nor to apply for or hold large research grants, and are seen as less productive in publication rates. Dever (2006) also notes the significant changes in the Australian higher education sector in recent decades which have seen

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[8]See Chapter Three for a detailed account of equality policies in general, and specifically education related policies.

increasing numbers of women entering academic employment. However, she too points out that women remain under-represented in senior academic ranks and that men still outnumber women at all levels of academic staff above the relatively low level of Lecturer B. The positive change perception thus continues to be challenged by the same, much earlier, arguments that, assertions with regard to the high efficacy of affirmative action are a myth. Park (1996: 46) shows this considering the relatively few women in academia at the highest echelons who still seem to experience lower pay, as well as less prestigious and less secure positions.

Similar views prevail in Sri Lanka. Gunawardena and others (2006: 562) suggest that, although there appears to be numerical parity in higher education as a cumulative result of the long term commitment to liberal democratic policies and free education since 1945, the quantitative changes indicated are not reflected in qualitative change. Specifically, statistical data pertaining to Sri Lankan higher education in 2008 by Singh show that in that year the number of women represented in higher academic levels across the whole country was just 46 female Professors (24.5%) compared to 142 male Professors (75.4%), 409 (37.6%) female Associate Professors and Senior Lecturers compared to 679 (62.4%) males, with a total of 534 (23.1%) senior academic women and 995 (43%) senior academic men (Singh, 2008: 31). Thus, even within this quantitative category, the idea of parity is made glaringly questionable and doubtful.

Implicit in all the above writings on positive improvement is the recurring denial, albeit to various degrees, that there is any real, considerable or tangible change, rather than merely a marginal increment. Some researchers point out that the social justice strategies to address women's positions of disadvantage require a more fundamental change in the distribution of caring work within the family (Bacchi, 1996:83). A parallel to this is visible in recent Scandinavian findings, such that, even in Sweden, where EEO policies have been in place for many years, startling new research shows the continuing stark gender gap at the highest levels of research excellence, that is, as gate keepers on major funding boards or as directors on boards (Husu and Koskinen, 2010:131-133). Further in this regard, family policies formulated within a concept of equality of treatment based on sameness rather than difference addressed women as the same as men. Thus, recent neoliberal policies of marketization, where equality is offered based on male terms and norms, reinforces women's disadvantage in employment (Strachan and Burgess, 2001:65-67; also see Baird and Williamson, 2011). This situation becomes further evident in Singh's descriptive statistical analysis of the entire Commonwealth region on women's representation above lecturer level in higher education, over a period of ten years from 1997 to 2006 (Singh, 2008: 47; see below Chapter Three).

1.3 Framing gendered work: Limited scope of traditional frames

The early conceptions of women's poor participation in employment focused on the binary opposites of 'sex' differences involving women's (and men's) biology. These theories of gender difference mostly focus upon notions of 'women's lack', that is, the subordinate or the less worthy elements of character or personality traits that made women an 'inefficient' category for work. Such theoretical approaches differentiate between the masculine in contrast to the feminine. Analyses are produced in conformity with the hierarchical ordering of men, masculinity, masculine normativity and gender neutrality as superior, while attempting to theorise the feminine as a 'lack' or 'absence' focused on macro-level universal explanations of gendered work. Such understandings have subsequently been challenged through a host of approaches ranging from liberal feminism to post-modernist feminism, which have reacted against a 'women blame theory' and sought to deconstruct any notion of inherent femaleness. For example Eveline (1996:67-69) shows how such analyses portray female under-representation in the academy as arising from women's lack – 'of skills, motivation, desire and capability for high-level professional work and scholarly work'. These difference-based explanations lack insights into the ways that gendered inequality is constructed in biology and social interaction and through socialisation into gender roles. These include women's reproductive role, as well as the female institutional role and concerned with the social inclusion of women (Boserup, 1970; Raju and Bagchi, 1993), which were subsequently noted within liberal feminism. These initial attempts used concepts of gender role, sex-based division of labour, sex-stereotyping of jobs and segregation (Hakim, 1979: 19; Bacchi, 1996 :83; Welby and Baggily, 1990: 59-81) to produce understandings of women's disadvantage within the work place.

Achieving equality in work within a liberal framework of 'inclusion' is also difficultand this can be explained in two main ways. First, such a framework clearly inhibits the possibilities of **any genuine achievement of gender equality** due to its characteristic preoccupation with limiting women's work performances to their stereotypical female roles and duties, while retaining the sex based differentiation and the hierarchy. This simultaneously overlooks the enabling or valuing of other work possibilities or the existence of alternative constructions of work-life. Secondly, the idea that we should be doing things the 'male' way, with unquestioned conformity to male normativity as the best way of operating, supports 'male ways of doing work' and consequently leads to the de-valuing of other ways or, specifically, women's practices of work. In other words, a liberal ideology of 'worker' reinforces the idea of a 'male' worker as the standard; hence it implicitly undermines and devalues the 'female' worker as a sub-standard secondary alternative, while seeing and treating female workers as deviations from the standard norm. Researchers such as Pocock (1996) argue that:

within liberalist frameworks, the success of workers is attributed to individual skills, abilities, potential and assurance of fair representation of women alongside men. Hence this approach fails to take into account other structural and material factors as well as the socially constructed nature of gender while strongly implying a kind of biological essentialism that severely constrains a person's progression, particularly in the case of women. (Pocock, 1996: 68-70)

These second wave approaches represent a view that moves away from the woman-blaming approach to one that focuses on more general, macro-level structural constraints in relation to socio-cultural, economic and political issues(Cockburn, 1995; Ramsay, 1995; also see Ritzer, 2000). Structuralist theories of Marxist feminism, though useful in understanding how gender intersects with and influences class inequalities in society, are too narrowly focused on universalist explanations of economic exploitation that do not account for other important differences among individuals in terms of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, or caste, and therefore obliterate the significance of individual subjectivities and the multiple nature of social reality. In the 1980s gendered work understandings were mainly still concerned with women as a universal category, with their disadvantaged position as its centre. Consequently, these macro theories of liberal and structural feminism fail to capture the complexities of men's positions of masculine privilege and advantage, being embedded in notions of binary opposites that make those macro understandings incomplete and less practical.

Subsequent scrutiny within similar arguments has turned on those processes at work which make it less conducive for women to participate. They focus on the work cultures and norms that are sensitive to women's gendered constructions and roles, from a more hetero-normative work culture other than and beyond masculine normativity. These studies (Eveline, 1996: 67-70; Acker, 1990,1998,2000; Baird and Williamson, 2011) have been concerned with understanding gendered social structures of power and oppression, domination and subordination, between men and women, perceived as constructed in relation to each other but framed in two constantly distinct categories of men's work and women's work (also see Game and Pringle, 1983: 15).

This, more recent research reflects and encourages social constructionist views on gender and work, inspired by a combination of perspectives from psychoanalysis to post modernist interrogation. Here the focus is on challenging traditional discursive production of gender or de-constructing gendered work patterns (Simpson, 2004; Pocock, 2005) and producing alternative deconstructionist discourses of gender equality in the work place. Early feminist post-structuralists opened up the arguments that gender differences are not about inherent essence but are created through discursive constructions and

relations of power. They emphasise that people are marginalised not because they are inherently different but due to the social structuring effects of power (Jackson and Scott, 1996: 11-12).These scholars look *more closely* at 'the structure of the discursive gendered social order as a whole, closely focusing on processes that construct gender differences and render gender construction invisible' (Lober, 1998:29-30).Nevertheless, more recent analyses of gendered work (Pringle, Olsson and Walker, 2004: 1)have also been initially premised on women's disadvantaged positions (also see Sinclair, 1998, for similar views), and the systemic processes embedded within them which result from the most fundamental values and practices in organisations (Acker, 2000:625-632; Parks, 1996; Asmar, 1999).

A further and more positive shift in research on gender and work beginning in the early 1990s, also rooted in psychoanalysis and post-structuralism, is the study of work masculinities (Hearn and Collinson 1994; Connell, 1995, 2005). This characterizes a very important move towards the problematizing of masculinities and men's construction of masculine identities, rather than solely or primarily concentrating on femininities and women's disadvantage in relation to the constantly privileged position of masculinities at work (Simpson, 2004: 362-366). Recent analyses have focused on the discursive production and maintenance of masculinities, with a view to deconstructing the categories of corporate academic masculinities. For example, studies concerned with the knowledge economy discuss the 'embodiment' of 'knowledgeable–bodies' within tertiary education (Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001: 35-37). It is argued that 'these bodies [are] being *inscribed with characteristics such as* observant, active, hard working and under control *to meet their organisational ideal'* (Prichard, 2000: 147; emphasis added). It has also been noted that this ideology of the 'standard body' is very much akin to the normative male body, clearly privileging the male and in turn contributing to set apart the female body as a deviation from the standard bodily requirement (Prichard, 2000:150), hence devalued.

This brief account scrutinising the way gendered work has been conceptualised, shows that, as a result of the shifts in the way work issues have been understood with an almost exclusive focus on problematising women's disadvantage, there have been limitations for addressing the core issue of equality for women at work. What is now needed is an understanding of gendered advantage, with a focus on the lived experiences of constructions of male privilege, which will create new possibilities for improving women's participation in the labour force in general and in the academy in particular. Hence, the analytical lens of the current research primarily focuses on men's experiences in conjunction with those of a small group of women, in order to better understand gendered privilege in the academy.

1.4 Significance of Relationality and Context

1.4.1 Whya lens of male privilege?

As a response to the limitations discussed above, the need for the scrutiny of academic male privilege in previous research is addressed here. The few explicit instances of its representation strongly show why an interrogation of male privilege as distinct from women's disadvantage in the academy is now required to point to the interrelated, intertwined construction of privilege and disadvantage which acts as a primary determinant of women's position in society. Joan Eveline's contributions are particularly significant in this regard as a pioneering researcher on this topic. The following quotations from her work are included as a point of departure in initiating this focus on male privilege:

> [W]hen I began writing about the politics of advantage a few years ago, it was because it began to strike me as decidedly odd that Australian discourses of gender equality were accustomed to justifying their policies by way of discourses of women's disadvantage. Initially my concern was purely strategic. What would happen to initiatives like equal opportunity and affirmative action, I asked, if there was to be a stress on 'men's advantage' as a rhetorical figure of speech? It would mean, of course changing a title from something like: '*women's disadvantage* in Higher Education employment' to '*men's advantage* in Higher Education Employment' (Eveline, 1996: 69).

> The 'women's disadvantage' discourse leaves male advantage in the **background so that it remains '**primarily normalized and tacitly familiar**'** (Eveline, 1994: 148 emphasis added)

The need for shifting the focus from women's disadvantage to a much needed articulation of men's advantage is argued by Eveline, primarily as a way of challenging the normalisation of male privilege which is often disturbingly un-addressed in the background. As an example, she contends that equality policies which subscribe to a 'charity model' of redistributing rights to the disadvantaged are effectively based on non-interference with those who have advantage, and with the biased means through which advantage is achieved (Eveline, 1994: 148). Hence, reversing the articulation to male advantage is now strategically required. Similarly Pocock (1996: 8) also notes in her analysis of women's under-representation in Australian unionism that 'we have focussed in the past too much upon the experience of women in our analysis of unions, and too little upon the experience and practice of men in their institutions'. She points out that the dense fabric and mechanics of male opposition to women are only rarely chronicled or investigated, and the focus must now be shifted to that of privilege to pursue most effective action against properly diagnosed problems of the continued gendered power play within the

work place. Further, she remarks on male resistance in relation to the mechanisms through which male privilege is practised.

> The explanations based on women's lack place their 'femaleness' at the forefront, and pose this characteristic 'femaleness' as a negative that requires remediation. On the other hand it keeps the masculinity of the existing practices and structures, and their potential to resist feminine presence, out of view.
> (Pocock, 1996: 154)

Pocockshows that there is a tendency within a patriarchal system and in masculinised institutions, for men's actions to work together to protect their interests, hence the significance of focusing on the mechanics of male resistance (Pocock, 1996: 240).On this point, regarding the need for a shift in focus, Morley (2005) states that:

> I am not suggesting that we close down hard won spaces for women and replace them with concerns about men (Kabeer, 1994)... My concern is that gender sensitisation programmes might not be enough to dismantle and challenge deeply entrenched patriarchal practices. **We need a theory of male privilege *rather than female disadvantage.***(Morley, 2005: 215; emphasis added)

Some other studies by Collinson and Hearn (1994: 11) also support the need to focus on male privilege, on the grounds of possibility of sabotage by men at various hierarchical levels (and sometimes by women too) when constructing programmes in the context of equal opportunity policies. Further studies by Hearn (1998) advocating for changing women's positions and gendered cultures in universities emphasise the necessity of changing men and men's cultures and positions at the same time. The transformation of women's positions and power within universities has to be conducted through critical studies of men and management, notes Hearn. He also points out that such analysis should emphasise how women's positions in universities might be assisted 'by a critical study of men and management in universities while demonstrating whether, *and if so how,* this critical analysis of men is also about women and the culture of universities' (Hearn, 1998: 296, emphasis added).In this study Hearn broadly states that the positions of men and their relations to management have clearly affected women's positions in university management. He recommends that two issues now need to be importantly addressed by both men and women (Hearn, 1998: 301). Firstly, men's cultures in universities need to be open to explicit discussion, critique and change; and, secondly, there needs to be a move to address the dominance of certain male cultures, especially those which are antagonistic to women and also

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harmful to scientific development. Hearn's analysis makes implicit reference to the gendered relationality of university management, whilst noting the possible theoretical, personal and political pros and cons of the approach he advocates. The analysis also points out the significance of understanding different men's relationships to Equal Opportunity Policies (by age, class, ethnicity, race, disability, and sexuality).

The concern to centralize male privilege does not suggest that we close down all the avenues where the focus is mainly **upon** women, but that we include and bring male privilege under the microscope, to provide a more complete **and** all encompassing analysis. Thus attention should focus on the core, the nucleus of the problem, the long invisible relationality on which the reality of gendered privilege and disadvantage is premised.

1.4.2   Privilege /Disadvantage Relationality

> [We know] that reversing the articulation, from 'women's disadvantage' to 'men's advantage' does not reverse the situation. But it does allow us to view the same situation with more insight, because it provokes an awareness of the mutual constitution of men's advantage/women's disadvantage both as representation and in material terms (Eveline, 1996: 69).

In this way Eveline (1996: 68-69) very significantly points out the mutual constitution of men's advantage and women's disadvantage both conceptually and materially.

Early studies on gender relations engaged with this reality too, though they produced and interpreted it through different conceptualisations. Similar views are represented within the concepts of 'gender hierarchy' introduced by Holter (1979) and Cornell (1989), and 'gender structure' by Harding (1989), who refers to a number of social structures and practices which privilege the masculine and relationally devalue the feminine. Scholars such as Connell (1995:68) have articulated similar processes regarding the way masculinities are constructed in relation to femininities:

> But the concept is also inherently relational. 'Masculinity' does not exist except in contrast with 'femininity'. A culture which does not treat women and men as bearers of polarised character types, at least in principle, does not have a concept of masculinity in the sense of modern European/American culture. (Connell, 1995: 68; 2005)

Connell repeatedly stresses this point about masculinity and femininity being relative constructions (1995: 68-85). She says that in relational approaches, the patterning of social relations is referred to as 'structure', and the relational approach is summarized in her analysis of gender as a social structure. She provides a four-fold conceptual model of the structure of gender relations which includes power relations, production relations (division of labour), cathexis (emotional relations), and symbolic structure (Connell, 2000:26).

In her earlier studies of historical research, Connell (1995: 68) observes that before the eighteenth century men and women within the European culture were regarded as 'bearers of polarized character types', in the sense of woman being incomplete and having less faculty of reason than man. Connell's references to relationality embedded in this polarized construction of 'difference', as well as her more recent analysis of 'gender structures', are consistent with Eveline's 'privileging of masculine and relational devaluing of feminine' (Eveline, 1996:68).

Further Connell also points to the way women's difference has been represented as demonstrating a lack, inferiority or incompleteness in relation to the same characteristics as men, while any qualitative difference in characteristics is basically denied. This aspect of relationality is also shown by Connell (1995, 2005: 71) to be prevalent in other definitions of masculinity such as essentialist, positivist, normative and semiotic, and she refers to the principles of connection among them. In her analysis of early theorists she argues that they distinguish between two opposing gendered constitutions rooted in the human psyche (cited in Connell, 1995: 12). These represent an idea of implicit superiority attached to a detached, rational, public self (equivalent to 'masculinity'), as against a more emotional, irrational, private self (implicit in 'femininity'), which needs to be repressed in its achievement of a masculine, superior self. This historical representation of masculinity and femininity as binary opposites, with an implicit superiority of 'persona' over a suggested weaker and irrational 'anima', echoes the inverse relationality of privileging and devaluing which provides the theme of the present study (Connell, 1995: 12-13).

The relationality of gendered work has thus provided a foundation for gender analysis since the early 1980s. Game and Pringle (1983), for example, show how relationships between gender, the labour process and technological change have been premised on the relative social construction(s) of masculinity and femininity. These authors refer to the 'non fixed nature' of sexual division of labour, despite the fact that capitalist societies are intent on maintaining the distinction between men's and women's work that contributes towards the ongoing perpetuation of masculine dominance.

Despite the fact that jobs are always allocated as male or female with either direct reference to biology or on the basis of supposed biological differences in characteristics and abilities, there is nothing static or fixed about the sexual division of labour. The content of men's work and women's work is subject to change. Changes in definitions of men's work and women's work always take place in relation to each other. There is nothing inherent in jobs that make them either appropriately female or male. If anything remains fixed, it is the distinction between men's work and women's work (Game and Pringle, 1983: 15) .

This idea of a mutual construction or relationality between genders points fruitfully towards the possibility of more relevant understandings of gender bias in the academy. A theory of 'male privilege' needs therefore to represent and reflect this relationality of profitable, gainful, positive influence and the special benefits that accrue to it, which may generally facilitate the advancement of the male sex caused through related socio-cultural or politico-economic organisational processes. On the other hand, it should also accommodate and reflect resulting positions of disadvantage and the lowering of relative status for women who would otherwise stand parallel with those who are privileged as a result of social mechanics.

The framework of analysis of male privilege/advantage in the present study is therefore guided by the concept of the relational and hierarchical nature of privileging the masculine and devaluing the feminine in everyday academic representations. The theories adopted within the present research encompass a host of conceptualisations and explanations which reflect this gendered reality of relationality.

1.5 Theories of Male Privilege

This section explores the theorisation of male privilege in more detail and considers several key analyses and interrogations focusing on different aspects. A review of research on men and women's positions at work provides analyses of the privileged position of the male in society in general, and specifically in the work place. These conceptualisations are located within two broad sets of ideas for the purposes of this study.

The first of these relates to discourses of masculinities and femininities in everyday life, and in the ways these are legitimated and operationalised through practices, for example through gender stereotyping, labeling, gendered identity constructions and gendered division of labour. Such practices contribute towards the valuing of the male and the devaluing of the female, and impact significantly on both men's

and women's work lives, particularly on the lives of women. The second set of ideas focus on processes and practices in the formal work place and refer to understandings and conceptualisations related to gendered organisational structure, and organisational sexism. These concepts help illuminate both the overt and the covert forms of institutional practice which include the gendered resistance that constructs male privilege within the broad framework of gender relationality, especially as it takes form in the academy.

The over-representation of male academics in relation to the under-representation of women also requires theory which adequately recognizes and reflects the complex interweaving of everyday life with academic life so delicately and subtly. Hence explanations should be able to capture the impact of overarching gender ideologies of domesticity and daily life as they are constructed on gendered emotions of love and care. The analysis, therefore, should be one sensitive to the reality that failure to conform to pre-existing constructions and expectations involve high emotional risks for both men and women, arising from gendered values and ideologies strongly internalised through socialisation. For example, such challenges or risks for men are premised based on a historically developed idea of instrumental, rational masculinity, whilst the risks for women are likely to be 'given' in relation to an emotional femininity.

Thus this analysis seeks to argue that men's and women's survival, respect, dignity and rewards in society are discursively constructed through different social arrangements and meaning making processes that influence how diversely people internalise, act upon and perform sometimes prescriptive ideological conceptions of gender. Further, in the context of the academy, understandings would also have to adequately reflect the academic's ability to perform an 'academic-self', while engaging in 'doing gender' on an everyday basis within and outside the academy. In this regard, it should be noted that women may often find themselves confronted with the duality inherent in the paradox of both having to challenge and at the same time maintain and preserve the feminine gender ideals, whereas for men it would appear that there is less that requires challenging in the conventions of masculine gender within an academic career than there is for women.

1.5.1 Routes of Gendered Privilege

Domestic division of labour in every day practice

Earlier studies such as Walby's (1990) and Lerner's (1986)have shown how men's domination over women and their privilege in society has been sanctioned through various different normative practices

and social arrangements: 'Patriarchy is real and the dominance of male is sanctioned through the social structure of gender relations that frequently subordinate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1990: 20). Many aspects of masculine privilege accrue through their seemingly 'natural' fit with the public world, especially with that of paid work, whereas women continue to be associated to a large extent with the private domestic sphere and 'emotional' responsibilities. These historically embedded patriarchal social relations of gender create possibilities for privilege and advantage to men, which, as corollary, are relationally denied women. Extensive theorisations have been put forward to question the endorsement of male privilege through a patriarchy-based gendered division of labour routed particularly in 'emotional' domesticity. Practices and ideology which focus on domesticity give rise to a kind of gendered power imbalance, which in turn intersects with participation in public work forms a main area of concern in the current research, as it does in that of others engaging specifically with the context of male privilege in everyday academic life(Husu, 2005; Brooks, 1997; Acker, 1990).

The nature of these gendered arrangements that tie in very complex ways with the deep emotions of attachment (or detachment) and care requires careful scrutiny. Key issues reflected in the findings of this study have led to progressive understanding, notably in regard to several key ideas such as that of a sexual rights based social contract (Pateman, 1988),the concept of 'love labouring' (Lynch, 2007, 2009, 2010), and the notion of an obligation to care for the men and children within domesticity (Weiland, 2011).These are very importantly considered in conjunction with a further set of conceptualisations that refer to reason (Lloyd, 1984), wisdom and attachment-detachment located within the Buddhist philosophical explanations (The Sangha, 2006, McRae, 2012). The endeavour here is to capture the pervasive emotional element projected in domestic arrangements, evident in the interview responses. The often reported gendered conflict between work and life is addressed through an examination of the continued and inevitable idealisation of the 'academic' worker as 'care-less', with the ability to clearly separate emotional thoughts and feelings from a rational form of thought that does not recognize or get distracted by 'affective relationality' (drawn from Lynch, 2007, 2009, 2010).

In relation to women and their work participation historically, Cockburn explicitly points to the enduring correlation between women and their reproductive domestic role:

> The way women do or do not fit into the schema of paid employment and organizational life
> is seen primarily as a correlate of their marital status and, more important still, whether they
> do or do not have children. This is what women are to most men (and to most women);
> people who have domestic ties. (Cockburn, 1991: 76)

The ways in which women's positions in the work place are influenced by gendered domestic division of labour or their domestic role has been extensively analysed and reflected upon. The related question of the advantage that such arrangements bring to men's participation in public life has also received some, though less, attention. These studies have focused on what has been called a 'sexual contract'. Pateman (1988: 1) refers to a modern social contract based implicitly on a 'sexual contract' that establishes a 'male sex right' or a 'patriarchal social order'. Through such a contract, men's freedom in the public sphere– a male sex right–is constructed at the expense of women's subjugation in the private sphere (Pateman, 1988: 11) whilst she works equally or more powerfully in the public sphere as well. Pocock extends this analysis of the sexual contract theory to focus on the way it defines and determines women's political engagement:

> Sexual contract theory suggests that, just as the sexual contract underwrites the employment contract (where workers are men and women are women and the difference disadvantages women), it also underwrites the terms of political engagement. (Pocock,1996:78)

Accordingly, the sexual contract is an assurance of the continuity of male advantage and the relational subjugation of the female, in the private (domestic) but also extended to the public sphere, securing an advantage for men's public work participation and involvement. Consequently, the underlying power differentials that determine the terms of possible political engagement for men and women severely compromise the chances of women for success in securing equal rights in the public domain. On this point Cockburn (1991: 77)observes that the practice through which women become the defined principal carers of households and children, together with women's less independent positions economically, are generally of far reaching advantage to men. Sustaining of this system of 'male independence' lies at the heart of the 'sexual contract'. Quoting McClelland (1989:171), she observes that,

> that distinctly masculine form and meaning of 'independence' in which a man would be able
> to attain or preserve a state(situation or position) in which he would be able to maintain
> dependents within the home...for a man is predicated on women's lack of it (Cockburn,
> 1991: 79).

This predicament becomes obvious because through such arrangements men are freed from the private sphere of domesticity, being primarily channeled towards obligations of work and public participation. This situation has been observed in other studies which have, for instance, noted a lack of explicit requirements made in Equal Opportunity policies to offer appropriate facilities for fathers to take up a

caring role. Further, it is women more than men who quote the significance of social support and assistance both within and outside the academy for managing their academic careers (Husu 2005: 185).

Such explanations of the operations of sexual contract contribute to an understanding of the processes that make male privilege possible and highlight the ways dependence and subjugation are constructed for females through structural and institutionalized practices. It should particularly be noted that there is positive promise (privilege) implicit in 'a contract' for those who conform to the terms therein, as well as possible penalties implied for those who may breach or challenge the conditions prescribed within such contract. This kind of gender based division of labour creates and legitimises a kind of acceptance amongst people regarding the allocation of rights and duties, which to a large extent shapes societal gender-related expectations with regard to social roles. This study will address these issues in terms of the penalties and rewards to female and male academics, explaining the extent to which academics' attitudes regarding issues of work-life balance are shaped by the sexual contract in ways which may have significant influence over their career outcomes. The sexual contract theory is a useful framework within the scope of this research, which helps us explore how the relationality of males and females extends beyond the private into the public sphere, revealing the inter-connectedness between work and life domains that is understood to burden women and to be difficult to cast aside, having thus the potential to act as a vicious cycle.

One of the key ways in which care obligations are constructed within the broad scope of the sexual contract, as expressed in field responses relating to academic achievement, draws on the assumption of gendered parental obligation. This is strongly indicated in the prioritisation and justification of women's responsibility for child care and parenting. Primarily there is a tendency within theorisations of parental obligation to gender the care responsibility by treating it with the unquestioned assumption that mothers are the persons best suited to care for children. Discourse on parental obligation is almost exclusively preoccupied with female and mothers' experiences, rather than with male or fathers' involvement (Wieland, 2011:251). Thus, implicit in this presumptive discursive construction is a gendered project configuring care responsibility as a feminine arena.

Another example of this discursive practice is inherent in explanations that emphasise the biological link between parents and children as the primary motivation for parenting (Wieland, 2011:259).In this view, it is believed that parents are in the best position to care, and harm could be caused by attempting to compromise this wellbeing, 'because children deserve to be cared for by parents more than by any other person, hence an obligation to care exists' (Wieland, 2011:259).When the biological connectedness of parents is stressed in this way, it becomes naturalised and carries an implicit

assumption that females 'naturally bear' more responsibility to care than the male parent because women physically birth the children. Thus it is taken for granted that through the processes of bearing and rearing babies, mothers naturally develop a higher sense of sensitivity to children's needs and requirements may be because the society expects and approves such behavior in women.

A further and particularly useful conceptualization of gender differentiated care labour is that by Lynch (2010), which reflects the interconnection of academic work and the family sphere. This explanation takes into account the ways in which men are offered the ability to engage in abstract labour within the academy in 'care-less' positions, and how this opportunity is facilitated through women's 'care-full love labouring' positions in domesticity (54-55). In these terms Lynch describes how the relationality and the centrality of care labour are absent from any understanding of public and scholarly work (2007:550-570).With particular reference to what they call 'love labour', Lynch and colleagues define primary care relationships as those that involve high amounts of emotional, mental, cognitive skills and physical work, and they place considerable emphasis on the salience of their public good. They particularly note the significance for such 'love labour' to be rewarded, and to be distributed evenly among men and women. Without this, men's privilege in such arrangements is clearly evident because their positions have been constructed to enable them to be 'care commanders', while in general women are relationally positioned as deprived of the ability to control and command care (Lynch et al., 2009 :563).

Lynch et al., also make the point that such love labouring incurs material net burdens on carers due to loss in earnings, as caring roles are likely to demand taking time off waged work to do the love labouring, while it simultaneously enables recipients and non-carers, who are frequently men, to pursue materially beneficial activities such as paid work and leisure (Lynch et al., 2009:563-564). Thus men and women who are care 'commanders' rather than care's 'foot soldiers' are best positioned to take advantage of the career and status gains within the dominant individualised capital economic system.

This analysis emphasises the prevailing idealisation of the care-free academic embedded deep within the Cartesian view of scholarly work as a rational form of thinking, separate from emotional thought and feeling and grounded in the positivist separation of fact and value, which disregards or ignores affective relationality. As such, it not only permeates the scholarly activity of the academy, but also informs its managerial and institutional processes.

> There is a highly individualised entrepreneurialism at the heart of the new academy, with its
> intensified practices of surveillance and unrelenting measurements of performance
> institutionalised and normalised in everyday practice. (Lynch, 2010:54)

This allows a particular 'care-less' form of competitive individualism to evolve and flourish, constructed upon expectations that set up very specific standards of leadership at all levels in the academy, those that only care-less workers can fully satisfy (Lynch, 2010:57). Drawing on conceptualizations from a previous study of gendered order of caring (Lynch et al., 2009), Lynch shows how new managerial practices are accorded moral status and legitimised in higher education (Lynch, 2010:58). The senior managerial positions are perceived and defined as care-free zones which represent the pinnacle of masculinised citizenship, premised on dominance and care-less-ness (Lynch 2010:58). Thus, regardless of their age or status, or their capabilities for satisfying performativity demands, it is much more difficult for those women and men who assume care responsibilities to fit in to these kinds of 'shapes'. There is a powerful and embedded exclusionary device that operates to exclude them, while facilitating and legitimising the inclusion of most men to authority positions (Lynch, 2010:57-58).

In the context of this research into male privilege, the relationality of work-life seen through the concepts of 'love labour' and the care-less 'rational worker' put forward by Lynch and her colleagues (2007, 2009, 2010) illuminates significant elements of academic life and success more fully and deeply, considering, as it does, constructions from both within and outside the scope of academic activity.

A synonymous analogy that points towards subconscious subjectivities embedded within these notions of gendered emotionality and academic advantage and disadvantage experiences of women and men is conducted. This is located within a context of ideas that consider attached detached self and gendered notions of wisdom and rationality. Here Lynch's notion of love laboring(2010);has been drawn on as evidence of attached emotionality with regards to work-life balance, this is highlighted by an explicit reference made to feelings and experiences of guilt anxiety reports of women referred to in previous research especially by Asmar,1999: 216 (also see Probert, 2005).

Further, the ideas of reason and emotion (Lloyd, 1984) and wisdom (Sangha, 2006) demonstrate the exercise of the pervasive symbolic construction of femininity as removed from reason or rationality. In her book *Man of Reason* Genevieve Lloyd shows that;

> Our trust in a Reason that knows no sex has...been largely self-deceiving. To bring to the
> surface the implicit maleness of our ideals...does have important implications for our
> contemporary understanding of gender difference. It means...that there are not only practical
> reasons, but also conceptual ones, for the conflicts many women experience between
> Reason and femininity (Lloyd,1984: x).

The dilemma of gendering the reason analogy highlighted above has been confronted in this studywith a discourse that is absent of gender bias; one that considers the attached detached self and wisdom situated particularly within the Buddhist philosophical thought. This idea does not locate their argument within a gendered self; but more so as individualities that do not identify with a particular category of gender. Within such, the path to wisdom, reason or freedom of thought is located within freedom from emotion and / or desire and sustained focus attention that enables detachment (of the self) from emotion or desire through mindful awareness of living in the present moment (also see The Sangha, 2006). This analysis makes substantive reference to these and similar conceptualisations that parallels for example notions of care-lessness and care-less form of competitive individualism advanced by Lynch (2010) in examining women's relative disadvantage in academic pursuit.

1.5.2   Male Privilege and Masculinity

A further idea which challenges assumptions of 'fixed' gender stereotypes and division of labour has been presented within the widely increasing recent scholarship on masculinities. In this regard contributions by Connell are widely recognized. She refers to gender as configurations of practice structured in social relations between men and women and makes the point that 'masculinities exist in contrast to femininities, not as an isolated object but as an aspect of a larger structure within which masculinities are located' (Connell 1995:68). She refrains from defining masculinity as an objective, natural character type, behavioural average or a norm; rather, she focuses on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives. Masculinity is thus analysed as a place in that total network configuring gender relations as ongoing everyday social practice. 'Masculinity' and 'femininity' are explained as 'gender projects' that are 'processes of configuring practice through time which transform their starting point through gender structures' (Connell, 1995:72).

Therefore, the point is that one can assume that these structures are actually transformed during the course of time through everyday practice, as fluid, flexible categories. Such recent postmodern analyses embedded in the idea of non fixed 'gender projects' and processes, or as 'particular performances', open up possibilities to challenge the ideologies connected with masculinities and femininities that are otherwise regarded as fixed, and to transform and reconfigure gender practice through alternative discourses.

Hegemonic masculinity

In the present analysis the concept of hegemonic masculinity is useful to emphasise and explore the multiplicity and variability of masculinities prevalent in the academy. The privileges accrued to men through patriarchy and the male dominance sanctioned through structured gender relations can be made explicit by reference to different concepts of masculinity. A focus on the gender relations among different categories of men is important in creating an understanding of multiple masculinities and the privilege or disadvantage embedded within them. Recent social research clearly shows that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere, and therefore we need to speak of multiple 'masculinities' not of masculinity as an essentialised and singular concept (Connell, 1995: 75-81). Therefore, the idea of the different possibilities of this multiplicity is worthy of note here.

Drawing on the insights of Connell, in a continuum of masculinities, the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is understood not as fixed character type which is always and everywhere the same (Connell, 1995: 76-77) but one that is susceptible to significant variation. Hence, it is the masculinity that occupies *the hegemonic position* in any given pattern of gender relations, a position that is always contestable. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as:

> …the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women … Nevertheless, hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual. (Connell, 1995:77)

> Different masculinities do not sit side by side like dishes on a smorgasbord. There are definite social relations between them. Especially there are relations of hierarchy for some masculinities are dominant while others are subordinated or marginalised. (Connell, 2000: 10)

Established notions of hegemonic masculinity focus on several key points for analysis. The first is the need to correspond to cultural ideals of institutional power, whether individually or collectively. Hegemonic masculinity is also understood 'to been entrenched' in patriarchal notions of the subordination of the feminine, as the most desired or honoured form of masculinity that tends to be present in social situations. However, it may not always be the most common nor the most comfortable form of masculinity, and may involve a lot of stress and strain on men.

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The hegemonic forms of masculinity derived from bourgeois masculinities are argued by Connell (2005: 348) to possess many local variations found within different localities. Nevertheless, they often have key features in common, such as association with authority, social conservatism, compulsory heterosexuality, integration with a family division of labour, being strongly marked and characterised by symbolic gender differences and emotional distance between men and women. Recent developments which explore the conceptualization of masculinities in the global capitalist economy within a global gender order refer to 'transnational business masculinities' (Connell and Wood, 2005:359). These focus on the increasingly intense and stressful global labour processes such as creating multiple linkages among managers which subject them to mutual scrutiny and self-conscious management of their bodies, emotions and finances. These processes are characterised by an increasing detachment from older loyalties to nation, business organization, or family and marital partners (Connell and Wood, 2005:359, Elias and Beasley, 2009: 286). This element of increased concentration on the vigorous, emotionally laborious processes of masculinity construction through detachment and distancing is of great relevance to understanding the abstract forms of scholarly masculinities present within the academy.

Another useful, explicitly gender relational conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity in the context of its operation in the academy has been adapted by Connell from Gramsci (Connell, 1987). 'Hegemony here "does not mean total cultural dominance, or the obliteration" of alternatives, rather, it means "the ascendancy for men achieved through a balance of forces within a state of *gendered* play where other patterns and groups are subordinated rather than eliminated"'(Connell, 1987:184 emphasis added) through a network of relationships. The emphasis here is on the way hegemonic masculinity survives by embodying a successful collective strategy in relation to women and other groups, without the risk of total elimination through a mix of strategies (Connell, 1987:186). Connell quotes Gramsci's contention that use of hegemony includes a dynamic 'continuous process of formation and superseding of the unstable equilibrium', and points out that:

> "Hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain equilibrium is required to be formed" – *meaning,* that the leading *privileged* group should make sacrifices, *however without disturbing the essential power vested in the hegemony*. (Connell, 1987: 211 Emphasis added)

She further points out very correctly that such equilibrium is necessary for the participants otherwise there is a risk of loss of hegemonic power and privileges that are so dependent upon these *gendered*

support structures of subordination (Emphasis added. also see Bagilhole, 2002:23 on accommodating masculinities that conceptualize this interdependence).However, to take account of the operations of such equilibrium which is operationally useful while yet maintaining a degree of deliberation and purposefulness, indicates a measure of uneasiness within a sense of gendered power play is worthy of note here.

Multiple masculinities

The concept of multiple masculinities is another important area of focus within the current analysis of male privilege and its socially constructed nature relevant to the academy. Here a few commonly used ideas relating to subordinate and marginalised masculinities are considered. In conceptualizing hegemonic masculinity, Connell defines subordinated masculinity as the 'dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men that is commonly seen in contemporary Western European and American culture *as well as in non-western cultures that do not formally recognise homosexuality'* (1995: 78 Emphasis added). Marginalised masculinities are mainly masculinity types constructed relative to the authorisation of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group. Accordingly, this transpires through the interplay of gender with other structures such as ethnicity, class, race, caste, country (locality), body-ability, and others [such as language user group]. However, as noted above, 'marginalised masculinities' are not fixed character types *or individualities* but are configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships (Connell, 2005:81).

Similarly Cheng's (1999) examination of multiple masculinities and femininities refers to the limitations involved in essentialist understandings of these as two separate binary opposites that correspond strictly on a one on one basis to the behaviours of men and women. Cheng goes on to argue that in reality there are many forms of masculinities (as well as femininities) and these are actually performed by both men and women interchangeably, without necessarily conforming to essentialist gendered standards or explanations, without essentially being privileged or being central in all situations equally (Cheng, 1999: 2).

The aspect of multiplicity is highlighted further in studies concerned with men in non-traditional female jobs (Simpson, 2004: 352), which provide evidence that some men indeed do engage in 'non masculine' or 'feminine' behaviour, and may feel comfortable in them. These men in nontraditional 'female jobs' are also seen to be simultaneously performing discourses of the hegemonic masculinity that they internalise while engaging in day-to-day constructions and reconstructions of masculinities. Within the current

investigation, it is noted that, while the context of multiple masculinities in the academy is acknowledged and explored, it is especially important to investigate aspects of the undifferentiated privilege of position for men as against women in academic activities. This is aimed to be captured using concepts similar to that of patriarchal dividend.

Patriarchal dividend

Connell's (2005: 79) concept of the 'patriarchal dividend' is particularly useful in considering male privilege and advantage in everyday academic contexts. This concept refers specifically to the benefits accrued to men through unequal shares in the general products of social labour (2000: 25). Connell says that:

> Although normative definitions of masculinity may not be met by many men, and the number
> of men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small, yet the
> majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the
> advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women (Connell, 2005:79)

This concept shows how a masculine 'dividend' is a shared benefit to all men, irrespective of their proportionally unequal investments in masculine hegemony, or being necessarily powerfully hegemonic in order to be entitled to such (masculine) privilege. Similar views have been expressed in previous research pointing to an undifferentiated privilege granted to all members of the fraternity, whose membership is *maintained as not-optional*. This constructed inevitability and its resultant privilege to men and disadvantage to women, have been referred to by Cockburn (1991):

> Although men may strive to change their personal lives so as to be more equal to women,
> being male they continue to be seen as members of the patriarchy and bond to share
> willingly or unwillingly the benefits it affords men (1991: 8).

She points out that, if these men choose to work alongside women to end patriarchy, then they have an interest in doing so because such an effort would contribute to disempower the man at the top, while mutilating the male at the bottom. The notion of patriarchal dividend has been used here to emphasise a possible opposite effect of dividend (i.e. loss) accruing to all women (who are non-members of the fraternity) as well as to those members who stand in direct opposition to the position of privilege enjoyed by all men, and who are then at the risk of being regarded as the enemy, hence strategically suppressed.

1.5.3 Privilege constructed in the academic organization

Cultural stereotyping of academic activity

Theorizations concerning gendered privilege constructions adopt concepts of sexual stereotyping and gendered division of labour in the work place. In academic contexts, these interrogate the way specific academic tasks are gendered as feminine and masculine, constructing a gendered hierarchy which systematically encourages the men while discouraging and undermining the feminine. The detrimental effect of gender stereotyping on women is shown in studies focusing on women's poor pursuance of science education and careers (Harding, 1986) and of the skilled technical work regarded by men as their domain of control in which masculine protection strategies are maintained for the retention of such work within the male terrain (Ramsay, 1995: 93), This division of skills reflects the cultural gender stereotyping of science as tough, rigorous, rational, impersonal, competitive and unemotional, so that, as these qualities are inextricably intertwined with male identity, they show' scientific' and 'masculine' to be mutually reinforcing cultural constructs (Harding, 1986: 63).

Another example of gender stereotyping in the academic context discussed by Castleman et al. (1995) is the privileging of research, a demonstrably masculine pursuit, over teaching, which is considered a 'feminine' job. Research is constructed as an academic activity with stereotypically male connotations, being a very competitive activity demanding single mindedness and consequently not suited to or compatible with distracting domestic life and child care responsibilities. Conformity to stereotypes or to gender differentiation of academic tasks has been described as being maintained through strategic means which effect the internalization of relative moral ethics by both men and women: a masculine ethic is based on an 'ethics of justice', which refers to an abstract rational hierarchy of rights and duties; a feminine 'ethics of care' is established in relation to women's responsibilities that stem from compassion, care and connection with others (Parks, 1996: 58). Finally, other, more extreme, means for regulating women's behaviour have been identified in attempts to ensure conformity to feminine cultural qualities or stereotypes through violence perpetrated towards academic staff and students (Odejide: 2001).

Beyond the academy, research studies concerned with masculinities and the persistence of the dominance of men in management emphasize similar issues. They have focused on the way managerial function is constructed on a 'masculine ethic' which assumes that only men (and not women) possess the requisite qualities to be competent managers. It has been suggested that what is needed in a manager or in managing is:

> ...a tough-minded approach to problems, analytical abilities to abstract and plan, a capacity
> to subordinate personal concerns in order to accomplish the task and a cognitive superiority
> in problem solving. (Collinson and Hearn, 1996:12; also see Moss-Kanter, 1977: 24; and
> 1993).

Collinson and Hearn's(1996) study refers to an invisible social contract which is implicit in the cultural gender stereotyping associated with division of labour that constructs male advantage in managerial careers in the public domain as based on the support of women as wives and secretaries (Collinson and Hearn, 1996:13). Meanwhile, the construction of women as having less control over their emotions and not possessing the requisite toughness discredits the capability and suitability of women as managers.

Clearly, the gendered division of labour has been observed to arise through the institutionalisation of organisational roles, however allegedly 'sex-neutral' co-operations and bureaucracies such as Universities have declared themselves to be (Park, 1996:47).

Sexism and the gendered organisation

The perception of 'sex-neutral' structures has resulted in a historical denial of seeing the university as a gendered institution. This denial, together with feminist writing that largely fails to address this reality and reflects the assumption that organizational structures are gender neutral, has been part of a serious obstacle to change (Acker, 1990: 130).

Research into the sexism embedded within the academic organization – especially in the structures, norms and policies of universities – has been shown to be crucial in addressing the crux of gendered privilege. The concept of gendered organisation used by Acker (1990: 139-158) emphasizes the need for a systemic theory of gender and organization that captures the *reinvention* of cultural images of gender. Currently these are created through superficially gender neutral and disembodied asexual structures and organizational processes that remain embedded within masculine images. These processes represent part of the strategic control in industrial capitalist societies embedded in a system of explicit gender difference. They contribute towards the maintenance and continuity of the gendered organisation through the privileging of male bodies and masculinities on the one hand, and the marginalising of female bodies and femininities on the other.

> To say an organisation, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and
> disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are

patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. It is an integral part of the ongoing processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender. (Acker, 1990: 146)

Acker's (1990:146-147) model focuses on at least five interacting processes that produce gendered social structures:

> 1)the construction of divisions along gender lines; 2)the construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose those divisions; 3)a set of processes that produce gendered social structures, including interactions between men and women, women and women, and men and men, involving all patterns of dominance and submission; 4)processes that help produce gendered components of individual identity; and 5)gendered constitutive elements of the organizational logic or underlying practices and assumptions that construct work organizations (such as work rules, labour contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations that include job evaluation strategies. (Acker, 1990: 146)

This model has been usefully interrogated by Parks (1996), focusing on gender roles and the hierarchies within university tenure and promotion policies that constitute and represent masculine principles. Husu's (2005) work then couples this with the model of gender discrimination present within Acker's (1992) subsequent model of gendered processes (252-255), as well as with organizational sexuality and organizational culture (Husu, 2005:166-168). This integrated model of gendered organisation has been central to the analysis that follows in Chapters Three, Four, and Five of this thesis.

Another significant aspect of the present analysis is provided by Vasil's (1996) conception of self-efficacy beliefs in social process skills and career achievement as a critical factor affecting academics' chances for seniority in the academic locus. In this study, self-efficacy beliefs are:

> people's perceptions of confidence in their ability to perform successfully a given behaviour which is derived and shaped through social experience. Whether a task is attempted, how much effort is expended, and persistence in performance are influenced by self-efficacy beliefs. (Vasil 1996: 104)

Vasil (1996: 111)points out that self-efficacy beliefs for social process skills are gendered with significantly stronger beliefs among male academics than their female counterparts in the performance of the academic tasks associated with these skills. Relevant skills include self-promotion and strategies for effecting it, negotiating applying for career promotion, and evaluating a colleague for promotion in the academy. It is here shown that confidence in situations that involve dealing with the politics of an academic career, or 'playing the system', is visibly gendered to the advantage of the male (ibid., 111-112). This conceptualization of self-efficacy skills and the associated confidence is especially useful in understanding the context of gendered opportunity and work-life balance presented in Chapter Four.

Mechanics of maintenance– micro-politics and resistance

Feminist research that examines the non-tangible, subtle forms of gender politics constitutes a vital aspect of gendered work relations between academic males and females, as revealed in a large volume of literature (Brooks, 1997; Morley, 2006, 2003; Gunawardena et al, 2005;Krefting, 2003;Dwandre, 2002;Husu 2002;Onsongo, 2000;Bagilhole, 2002; Gloria et al., 2001; Wilson et al., 2010; O'Brien, 2011).

The materiality of gender micro-politics has been captured within a wide range of terminology such as discrimination and/or harassment (Husu, 2002; Brooks, 1997), male resistance (Cockburn, 1996), 'chilly climate' (Dwandre, 2002), glass ceiling and micro-politics (Morley, 1999, 2003, 2006), and male hegemony (Bagilhole, 2002;Thornton, 1989), to mention a few. For the purposes of the current research, conceptualisations of micro-politics mainly draw on two specific explanations that focus on: a)the subtle, pervasive nature of micro-politics, and b)forms of resistance.

In relation to the first of these, micro-politics has been defined as the 'hidden transcripts' of gendered discrimination and gendered power relayed in everyday transactions and relationships that occur in conventional academic and organizational exchanges. Then, to understand the idea of resistance, studies have adopted the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a form of 'accommodating masculinity', which is 'not totally' and *explicitly* dominant but 'secures ascendency' through 'collective masculine strategies' to achieve the subordination of other groups in the context (Bagilhole, 2002).Hence the current analysis draws on the ideas of 'hidden transcripts of micro-politics' and 'masculine hegemony and privilege' to highlight the collective masculine strategies of resistance (overt as well as covert) within academic institutions and in everyday life which maintain masculine control and dominance over women.

Overt forms

The resistant behaviour of men towards women's ascendency in the work place has been widely referred to in literature as a strong consolidation of male power and privilege (Morley, 1999, 2006; Bagilhole, 2002). In some cases direct overt forms of resistance to women's persons can result in the devaluing that takes effect immediately as a form of 'injury' inflicted, as the kind of violence effected in non-physical, psychological modes which are direct and personal.

Overt practices of exclusion have been shown to include different forms of violence and masculinist practices that effectively control women (Brooks, 1997:48). These include: the negative labelling of outspoken women; constant patronising and belittling attitudes; verbal derogatory comments (Cockburn, 1991:67; Kaplan, 1985:19-22); physical and sexual harassment (Morley, 2002:214-215, 2006:215; Brooks, 1997:49-50;Odekunle O and Odekunle K, 2006:552-561);subjecting women to sexual humour assessed in terms of their bodies, shapes and appearance (Kaplan, 1985:19-22); and outright hostility (Pocock, 1996; Cockburn, 1991:67). Attempts to remove women from academic positions and the prospects of promotion have also been identified(Brooks, 1997:48), as well as the gender differentiated distribution and division of academic spaces, equipment and facilities (Husu, 2005: 177). Whilst the continuation of these overt practices is now being questioned as a result of organisational and policy changes since the 1990s, the present study probes in detail the extent to which respondents still experience such practices.

Covert forms

In contrast to overt performance of resistance, the covert forms entail indirect and more subtle institutional and everyday practices of masculine control exerted over women. Morley (2006) states that 'discriminations occur via informal networks, coalitions, and exclusions as well as through formal arrangements in classrooms and boardrooms' *through symbolic and material constructions that regulate women's behaviour* (2006:543 my italics).

These covert performances of resistance have been clearly identified as operating very powerfully at management level within institutions. Amanda Sinclair (1994: 46) for example, demonstrates that 'when bodies appear on management agendas it is often the female bodies that stand for problems as objects of sexual harassment, requiring maternity leave or exhibiting other forms of lack therefore resisted (Also see Sinclair, 2005). Similar early views by Hartmann (1979: 232) establish the operations of patriarchy

as a set of social networks which have a material base and in which the hierarchical relations between men and the solidarity among them ensure their power through their effective control of women. Walby (1986) also writes on practices of resistance to women's intrusion into male social space, and states that 'the joint patriarchal strategies of exclusion and segregation are followed by employers *who are predominantly men* to look after men's interests' (244, my italics).In her study of union leadership in Australia, Pocock's (1996) study of *Challenging male advantage in Australian unions* outlines nine aspects of male resistance represented, which broadly constitute the propagation of myths around women's deficit and separate organizing systems, which effectively lead to masculine privilege (Pocock, 1996:155-56). The routes to such advantage have been identified in deeply entrenched habits of leadership style and language, as well as in the conceding of position without power, unchanging terms of political engagement and homo-social reproduction, and especially in seniority and the power of incumbency(Pocock, 1996:245).

Further, more general, investigation of male resistance is conducted by Cockburn (1991:2), who refers to a hidden, sexual-contract-based male 'sex right', which is perceived to assure the so-called 'brothers' in a society equal access to women and rights over them. Cockburn argues that when practical mechanisms assisting the retention of male control are challenged, new devices are devised, and in this way cultures actively create environments for male advantage where women do not flourish. These exclusionary practices are not explicit and often become oblique (Cockburn, 1991:67).

The above theoretical frameworks take into consideration explanations of male privilege across the whole spectrum of human behaviour, both within and outside organizations. These considerations include thought processes and practices that matter in everyday life, such as notions of femininities and masculinities, ideologies of gender stereotypes and gendered division of labour, as well as privilege explained through organisational and institutional practices, processes and structures conceptualised under gendered organization or organizational sexisms. Other studies have explained male advantage under a more general theory of gendered discrimination (Husu, 2002). The present study of male privilege in the academy grounds its explanations in a theory that takes into consideration aspects both of everyday life and of the organizational practices of the academy.

1.6 Gaps

There are several gaps that this study seeks to address with regard to theoretical and methodological claims made in the literature.

Theoretically several important gaps are identified. First, research studies which focus on the issue of women's under-representation in the academy largely problematise the women's disadvantage (Gunawardena, 2005; Simeon, 1987; Morley, 2006; Brooks, 1997; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006) and thus do not foreground male privilege. In current feminist debates, the need for a theory of male privilege that interrogates the over-representation of men in the academy is a research priority over continued emphasis on female disadvantage. This is now critical in order to dismantle the deeply entrenched patriarchy in higher education (Dever, 2006; Morley, 2006: 215;Probert, 2005: 53;Eveline, 1996: 67). Hence, this study strives primarily to theorize women's disadvantage in this context by framing it around the relational privileged position of the male and masculinities within the academy. Thus the study will contribute to the limited number of intellectual inquiries on masculine privilege and gender equality in higher education.

Secondly, in relation to academies in the low income Commonwealth countries, it has been noted in previous research works that, although there is some gender equity exploration in these contexts, the nature of gendered changes in higher education has not been systematically mapped out, nor has this been a field of research interest. The qualitative experiences of women and men in these countries, especially with regard to higher education, largely remain unresearched and under-theorized. Hence there is a significant gap in this area of knowledge, which this research seeks to address (Morley, 2006: 209-210). Also extremely significantly the literature indicates a notable absence of scholarly interrogation comparing academic experiences of men and women across the contrasting socio-cultural and economic contexts of developed and developing countries, although comparisons among so-called 'first world' economically affluent contexts, whether Western or otherwise, is quite common (see, for example, Brooks, 1997;Husu&Morley, 2000;Valian, 1998).This study of academic male privilege will therefore contribute to scholarship through its cross-cultural focus by providing an analysis that seeks to bring together the experiences of the economically privileged and underprivileged nations in one investigation, sharing some of the common goals in addressing certain structural gender issues in the relevant societies. Research comparing and addressing why and how academic masculinities, as configured in different socio-cultural settings, end up being dominant and privileged in two contrasting cultural contexts in the Commonwealth countries of Sri Lanka and Australia, is unique to this study.

Thirdly, the existing conceptual frameworks of inquiry for the interrogation of male privilege are perceived as limited and inadequate, in that they are largely restricted to frameworks of explanation based on male resistance, gender stereotypes, gendered organisation and gendered discrimination. This study seeks to develop those frameworks explaining male privilege and add elements which also focus on socially constructed notions of wisdom, rationality and a detached self.

Finally, a methodological gap has been identified based on assertions emerging in some of the literature with regard to the credibility of qualitative methods for an understanding of social phenomena. There is currently a need to respond to notions that argue that qualitative analysis is writing that is based on speculative, unsubstantiated and irrelevant data (Probert, 2005: 54) and that such analysis needs to be quantitatively tested, clarified and made subject to the same kind of rigorous scrutiny as in the hard sciences. The present research has been conducted using a qualitative life histories method, in conjunction with some quantitative statistical analysis, to illuminate elements within the primary data. This constitutes strong, credible and transferable methodological practice for studying gender issues in higher education. This process is explained and validated in detail in the next chapter on methodology.

Conclusion

Explanations of women's under-representation in the academy in recent times strongly emphasize the interrogation of gendered advantage and disadvantage in the university (Dever, 2006; Morley, 2006). Early studies too have long emphasised the need to turn towards the privileged position of the male academic in illuminating this situation for more positive outcomes (Eveline, 1994, 1996). Hence, this study addresses this need by investigating the way gendered advantage is constructed and operationalised in the academy. Furthermore, it explores how male privilege relates to the often disadvantaged position of academic women through a study of the academy in two very different contexts, Australia and Sri Lanka. The two sites share some similarities historically in being colonised by the British, but have experienced considerable differences with regard to their developing social, economic and cultural values and assumptions. The following chapter examines in detail how the research was conducted, and it includes the theoretical perspective chosen to inform the study and the methods employed to implement it.

2 THE METHODOLOGY

2.0   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide insights in to how this investigation of male privilege in the academy has been conducted. Attention is focused on explaining how this acquisition of knowledge was planned out theoretically and implemented. It seeks to explain what theoretical and conceptual tools have been adopted in this research and why. The second section describes the theoretical frameworks which guide the thesis. The academic life histories or interviews flows from these theoretical bases of the thesis which adopts a social constructionist view. The research interrogates the everyday life experiences of academics based on a qualitative mode of inquiry that combined analyses of 37 life histories (27 M + 10 F) and limited secondary statistical data pertaining to gendered realities of academic life in Sri Lanka and Australia. This chapter on research design therefore outlines and discusses the broad framework of theory and practice in which the research is located and informed by. These are considered under a broad theme of epistemological contemplations.

The interrogation of male privilege comprises three significant parts and data (information) sources. The first includes the critical review of the discourses constructed about topics concerned with male and female academics' experience within higher education. The second part consists of a demonstration of male privilege in the academy using available published statistical data on academic staff in Sri Lanka and Australia. The third includes the discourse analysis of the primary data source based on academic life histories.

2.1 Epistemological Contemplations

The epistemological considerations broadly focus on two key aspects in the research process. The first concerns the theoretical perspective that informs the methodology of the current research in the context of its purpose and in achieving the desired outcomes. Secondly, the methods employed in establishing the knowledge the research project seeks to establish in this pursuit and the rationale for the choice of such.

2.1.1 Social Constructionism

This research aims to demonstrate that gendered academic reality is constructed through academic as well as socio cultural discourse. These discourses privilege the male academic constructed through institutionalised social processes and practices. Therefore the research draws on an analysis based on a social-constructionist epistemology fashioned by critical feminist inquiry and post structuralist theory. It seeks to show that meanings of academics' lived realities are constructed through social and conventional means. These conventions are the social institutions *or institutionalised practices* which precede us and institutions in which we are already embedded in, either being inhabited by them or by *consciously* inhabiting them (Crotty, 1998:52-53 emphasis added).

Constructionism means:

> There is no objective truth waiting for us to discover it. Truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world. There is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed. In this understanding of knowledge, it is clear that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon. (Crotty, 1998:09)

Culture bestows on us lenses through which we view the world. Hence according to social constructionism our thoughts as well as emotions are structured for us through these social institutionalised practices (ibid: 54). This approach argues that gender is thus a relational social construct that involves both men and women (the two biologically distinct sex groups) in the making of gendered realities. Social constructionism refuses any account of ultimate objective truth that awaits to be unraveled by us but it is a meaning that comes into existence through our engagement with the realities of the world. This meaning is understood as one constructed by different people in different ways *depending on their relative interpretations of social situations/life* (Crotty, 1998: 8-9 emphasis added).

The social constructionist paradigm is therefore, chosen to unravel the lived reality of male privilege in the academy due to several reasons. Primarily, this theoretical lens is relevant to the purpose of the current research in that it focuses on and calls into question gendered relations of dominance and power categories in the academy. Feminists working in a social constructionist framework argue that the difference between genders is not an inherent essence but created through relations of power. Further, these emphasise that people are not marginalised because they are different but due to the social structuring effects of power (Jackson and Scott, 1996: 11-12). Beasley (2005: 125) states that the social

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constructionist framework 'rather than assuming that *gender related* identity categories have a set essence or character, also outline the changing historical forms of these identities and their links to wider social and material processes'. Similarly, Lober (1998) takes a social constructionist approach to look *more closely* at the structure of the gendered social order as a whole, closely focusing on processes that create gender differences and render gender construction invisible. Gender is a social institution built into all major social organizations of society and determines the distribution of power, privileges and economic resources (Lober, 1998:29-30).

Working within a social constructionist tradition the study argues and demonstrates that gendered academic realities are politically constructed and that male privilege is constructed through politicised discursive formations within academic institutions. The choice of the theoretical perspective in the proposed study also springs from a commitment to contribute towards initiating change to existing patterns of gendered inequality in higher education through understandings based on privilege-disadvantage mutuality inspired alternative and privileging social construction possibilities. In this study therefore focus on the relational social construction of male privilege is not only to understand but to contribute towards transcending the less privileged position of the academic women.

2.1.2 Critical Feminist Theory

Critical feminist theory enables the incorporation of understandings and reflections about women's position in social and political life which is lacking in the main stream theories which largely entail a dominantly male position. Beasley (1999:04) argues that feminist theory involves a critique of misogyny, the assumption of male superiority and male centrality and challenges women's subordinated position in everyday social and political life. In practice, women are described and defined as the opposite of men – and *in relation* to men, where man represents the norm and woman is defined negatively in relation to the male norm (Beasley 1999:07). Further, the contemporary post modernist feminist thought attends to this characteristic formulation within main stream understandings in which concepts are organised into gendered dualisms or oppositional pairs which are hierarchical. In these situations value is assigned unequally along gender lines, with one side, the masculine being represented as more positive and therefore normative while disadvantaging the feminine. It is this bias of sexual difference that shapes everyday social life and is challenged within feminism.

2.1.3   Post-structuralism

A post- structuralist perspective is influenced not only by critical feminist theory but also by diverse theorists such as Marx, Althusser, Lacan, Freud, Derrida and Foucault. The major characteristic of post structuralism is the focus on textual and linguistic constitutiveness that construct the notions of reality (Lupton, 1997:8). Post structuralist theorising is central to understanding how discourse and subjectivity operate. Lupton in her usage of this theory understanding the project of the self and the gendered practices also emphasises the importance of acknowledging 'the emotional and unconscious dimensions of human experience as the extra discursive that is constitute reality' (Lupton, 1997:9). The subjectivity within the current analysis is viewed as the site of disunity and conflict while conforming to the Foucauldian emphasis of selfhood as a product of the social and cultural processes and discourse as a central means of the production and the maintenance of the subjectivity.

Foucault's conceptualization of power-knowledge is primarily drawn upon within the present analysis to demonstrate the constructed nature of knowledge within a context of patriarchal power/discourses. Feminists have drawn extensively upon Foucault's post structuralist arguments which reject a fixed core essence and advance a subjectivity constructed through discourse. Also research studies point out that Foucault's philosophical critique of the rational subject resonates strongly with the feminist critique of rationality as an essentially masculine construct. His approach holds that this notion of a rational self reflective subject is constructed based on the displacement or derogation of its 'other' (McNay, 1992:12) and is pregnant with gendered connotations.

The interrogation of male privilege is therefore conducted within a post structuralist critical feminist theoretical framework. A post-structuralist approach challenges the traditional epistemologies of knowledge production and argues for a different form of knowledge production which is primarily concerned with the deconstruction of power relations. Within the current research of male privilege in the academy this approach is utilized to understand the relays of gendered power, its production and manifestation in everyday academic life.

The design of this research is informed by three key post-structuralist strategies. First the constructions of meanings of reality are understood in relation to other themes in the text and treating these as significant and meaningful constituents of the whole. Second is the exploration of the omitted, repressed or hidden themes. Third is analysing the social and political context of the texts deconstructing the

hidden messages and themes that lay behind the obvious upfront message (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005:264).

Foucault's use of the conceptualization of knowledge is relevant within this thesis which regards truth or knowledge as an invention by the ruling class. He examines the concept of knowledge in relation to power and domination in his work 'Discipline and Punish' (1972).Through an analysis of epistemic contexts within which bodies of knowledge become intelligible and authoritative he demonstrates that certain structures of knowledge are deemed credible and serious statements are hence empowered to 'speak'. Within *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), he called these statements bodies/fields of knowledge 'discursive formations'. He was interested in the way knowledge about the world was produced, maintained and perpetuated (Rouse, 1993:92-95). Foucault's concept of power is utilized within the present exploration to understand the way those empowered construct bodies of knowledge and in doing so, exercise their power within discursive formations or fields.

2.1.4 Discourse

In making sense of the gendered power dynamics and social construction of male privilege in universities this research draws heavily on Foucault's concept of discourse. Discourse is a concept with numerous overlapping and even conflicting definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary stand points (McDonell, 1986). Within social theory (especially within Foucault's work) discourse has been used to refer to different ways of structuring knowledge and social practice. There are three explanations of discourse identified by Waitt (2010:218-220) in Foucauldian discourse: a) All meaningful statements or texts that have effects on the world; b) a group of statements that appear to have a common theme that provides them with an unified effect; c) the rules and structures that underpin and govern the unified, coherent and forceful statements that are produced. Discourses are thus manifest in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms, and they do not just reflect or represent social entities and social relations, but constitute or construct them (Fairclough, 1992:3). It is these social effects of discourse that will be of concern within this thesis.

Thus, Foucault's idea of discourse entails the production and circulation of knowledge. He is interested in how knowledge systems convince people about what exists- or the existent social patterns in life (in the world), the (meanings) given to them, and determine what they say (attitudes) and what they do (practices).The rules of knowledge production outline clear distinctions about what can be said and the degree of validity of what is 'said' (Waitt, 2010:219). Discourse analysis therefore facilitates asking

questions about the way in which distinct social realities become 'naturalised', and remains alert to the ways by which knowledge systems create social categories. Significantly for the present study it seeks to uncover the social mechanisms that maintain structures and rules of 'validity' over statements on different categories and categorizations.

2.1.5   A Lens of Male Privilege

The central concern of this research is the interrogation of male privilege and men's overrepresentation in the academy as a way of 'knowing' the under representation and disadvantaged position of academic women within the academy. Foundational work on male privilege such as that done by Joan Eveline (1994) amongst others who have written extensively on the matter of male advantage has established that the extensive research into women's disadvantage undertaken in both theoretical and applied social contexts has largely failed to recognise, name and interrogate male advantage. Eveline does acknowledge that specific practices which advantage men have been the target of a significant amount of feminist activism and reforms (Eveline, 1994: 129). However, this omission makes such efforts incomplete and invariably limits feminist theorising and the development of effective gender equality strategies. As expressed by Eveline:

> Theories of patriarchy and feminisms of difference have shown the status accorded to 'maleness' as both the product and the pivot of chronic, political, social and economic privilege. But the conceptual and ideological dimensions of the advantage-disadvantage dualism have not been interrogated in theoretical debates. Nor has there been a stress on 'men's advantage' as a rhetorical figure of speech. This omission blinkers feminist theories and hampers feminist strategies. (Eveline, 1994:129)

The above statement emphasises the often overlooked, absent and silenced position of the reality of male privilege in theoretical debates and inquiries into the issue of women's underrepresentation in the academy. Although male privilege inherently concerns the disadvantage of women who stand in immediate opposite to men, and men are the direct beneficiaries of it, the traditional processes of knowledge production has no legitimised means of calling the silent position of advantage or normativity in to question. Similar views about this positioning of male privilege in research have been advanced by Collinson and Hearn (1996) with regards to the historical and contemporary domination of men in management within organizations and the silence maintained in theorizing the reality of male advantage and domination in management:

Most managers in most organizations in most countries are men. Yet the conditions, processes and consequences of men's historical and contemporary domination of management have received little scrutiny. There has been a strange silence, which we believe reflects an embedded and taken-for-granted association, even conflation, of men with organizational power, authority and prestige….possibly…because of this pervasive association between men, power and authority in organizations, the literature on management *and organizational theory* has consistently failed to question its gendered nature *and male advantage.*(Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 1, 4 emphasis added)

Thus studies have been concerned with and noted that the mechanisms of the male 'norm' in organizations have been taken for granted, neglected and not put under microscopic analysis. This undisputed acceptance of male advantage within organisations and also within academic inquiry is noted as otherwise 'tacit' confirmation of its power and hegemony (Collinson and Hearn, 1996: 5).

There are only a few limited examples within the field of critical feminist studies which make academic male privilege in academic organizations their explicit subject of inquiry (Probert, 2005, Eveline, 1996, Kerri, 1996). The limited efforts to explicitly interrogate male advantage/privilege in a context of feminist studies have sought to establish discursive recognition of a relational dynamic of male privilege and women's disadvantage in the academic work places; specifically within the context of EOP Equal Opportunity Policies in Australia (Eveline, 1994: 131-134) and in the context of industrial relations (Pocock, 1996, Cockburn, 1996).More recent studies have also focused on interrogating the success of women who do get to make it to the top in academia as well as in management (Dever, 2008, Hearn, 2001, Brooks, 2006).Though the focus implicit in these studies is the question of why the majority of women cannot make it to the top, these studies limit their analysis to an interrogation of female experience rather than involving the experiences of or the male responses that constitute the privileged end of this reality.

2.1.6   A Qualitative Mode of Inquiry

Choice of a research approach in any study is determined by the purpose of the research conducted and the question that it seeks to answer. It also depends on the most effective and convincing means through which we could generate social meanings that support the propositions we seek to establish through our research. Sometimes one singular approach would suffice the purpose to be achieved. However, in others we would have to draw on both quantitative as well as qualitative methods to serve the purpose of finding answers to a particular research question. Another way of dealing with this choice

of an approach is determined by the kind of distinctive epistemologies one seeks to adopt in making sense of the reality under study. The distinctions of epistemologies on the one hand would be concerned with objectivist/positivist kind of knowing or constructionist/subjectivist meaning making on the other. The current research largely commits itself to a qualitative constructionist epistemology for producing knowledge and justifications with regards to male privilege in the academy. Within this dominant qualitative analysis some definite secondary published statistical data and quantitative analytical measures are adopted to prepare a context and factual evidence as a backup for the argument of male privilege in the academy.

Crotty (1998:15) observes that it is problematic to adopt positivist/objectivist and constructionist/subjectivist epistemology at the same time because of conflicting perspectives of knowledge. This research therefore adopts an approach which is explicitly qualitative, to the extent that data is based on qualitative life histories and the mode of analysis of the primary data gathered is predominantly based upon discourse analysis. The statistical data is used as empirical data to demonstrate evidence of male privilege women's disadvantage relationality. These statistical data are interpreted within a frame of discourse analysis for the social meanings embedded in them and also to understand gendered practices of statistical data collection and presentation relevant to academic staff in the two research sites.

2.1.7   A comparison of Academic Experience

One of the aims of this research is to identify the similar and different academic experiences of academics in the two countries as a further measure of enhancing the social constructionist nature of academic life realities. The research design is influenced by arguments which suggest that comparison is an important feature of research design, seen as something that aids theory building, and enhances the solidity of research findings (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000:2). Further, there is also discussion about the importance of understanding the effects of a particular feature that gets controlled in comparative situations in which the two groups may differ in respect of one key variable so that the effect or significance of that variable may be understood (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003:50-51) in the construction of gendered academic identities. In the proposed comparative study the socio-economic settings in the two countries featuring one as economically affluent and western while the other as economically less affluent and Asian, is envisaged to bring out understandings of the influence of cultural context on constructing/experiencing academic self as men and women. This research however, does not perform a one on one comparison of experiences of privilege or disadvantage between the two contexts, more over

it is an effort to analyse gendered lived realities with regards to the main research themes of academic life, and construction within the two socio-economic contexts.

2.1.8   Undoing (Deconstructing) Silence

In an analysis that questions male privilege in the academy the study attempts explicitly to make sense of women's continued underrepresentation in the academy moving away from the conventional analysis problematising the victim to one that questions male privilege. However, the focal point is an interrogation of the male academics' experiences. Freire's arguments formed out of concern for the silenced position of the oppressed around a concept of the 'Third World' in that it is not a location based conceptualization but one essentially political and social in character. If change is to be effected with regards to this social and political construction of the oppressed it can only be achieved through conscientisation and through dialogue. But this proves difficult because the oppressed are not critically aware of their situation to intervene or to take charge because the oppressed belong to 'the culture of silence' the muted masses with no voice who are excluded from the possibility of actively engaging in critiquing and prohibited from making 'their being' felt in any real sense within the dominant discourses (Freire, 1972:30).

Additionally, in the culture of silence within the cultural myths or rules constructed by the dominators, the oppressed are made to internalize the image of the oppressed as modes of being and abiding by their rules. Freire also points out that the oppressed don't want to really be free because, the cultural myths they internalise strongly convince them of their natural inferiority (Freire, 1972 :41, 44). On this Crotty (1998) observes that the oppressed come to see themselves as the oppressor see them, and needs to see themselves as inadequate, incompetent, incapable and undeserving and many more.

Within the academic context so many structural mechanisms are formulated for monitoring academic performances of academic activities which are put in place by the powered elites who are frequently men. Within those structures the demand to abide by them is massive. It is therefore significant to find to what extent these mechanisms address the issues of those academics living on the margins. Whether genuine allowances are made to accommodate these alternative discourses and whether the oppressed make reflective evaluations of their own realities form core aspects of this analysis. Therefore this research is sensitive to the presence of alternative discourses and silenced voices in the analysis being aware of how these are reflected in academic discourse of everyday academic life. It has been observed that 'the ability on the part of the oppressed to reflectively be critical of their own situation and

participate in the dialogue and liberation act with commitment count much towards overcoming the oppression' (Freire, 1972 :41, 44).

2.1.9   Gender Disaggregated Data and Grey Literature,

The qualitative model takes into account the standards for statistical data collection in higher education in the two countries and the way it has been performed. It critically analyses whether and if so how gender disaggregated data has been conducted, the standards and guidelines maintained in the collection of such and how these standards have shifted over time in the two countries. It also draws attention to what international standards (such as ILO and UN recommendations) they consider in the collection and presentation of gender disaggregated data on academic staff.

The availability of statistical data on academic life with regards to Sri Lanka has been largely erratic, inconsistently available and non gender disaggregated until recently. For example, in conducting an analysis focused on gendered representation of academic staff within the last decade it was an incomplete data source. The officially compiled statistics by University Grants Commission (UGC) in Sri Lanka had not reported separately on male and females until 2006. As further explained in Chapter Three, these statistical reports missed out reporting in some years. This situation of unavailability of gender disaggregated statistics was an important concern that shaped understanding of gendered meanings in everyday academic life in this research. As a means of addressing these gaps the researcher relied on data based on personal communications and statistics available from other unpublished sources such as reports, institutional reports and working papers on higher education in Sri Lanka. The lack of published data is also observed by Morley (2003) as a reflection of power relations and gendered and racialised gate keeping practices embedded in publication and research awards (Morley, 2003:110).

Grey Literature is the term used for documents and ephemeral material issued in limited amounts outside the formal channels of publication and distribution. Examples of grey literature include scientific and technical reports, government documents, theses and patent documents (University of Toronto, 2014).In this research grey literature include some statistical data sources as well as research reports mainly arising from working groups of large scale higher educational projects and single studies in Sri Lanka. The issues relating to inclusion of gender disaggregated data, practices surrounding publication and compilation of statistical data was examined to illuminate understandings of discursive practices that maintain (or challenge) the gendered constructions of academics' life.

2.2 Research Process

The research approach shares a similar approach to methods found in recent research studies on academic life and higher education in social sciences (Dever, 2008, Gunawardena et al, 2005, Morley, 1999, Brooks, 1997, Castleman et al, 1995). Qualitative methods allow us to capture meanings, ideas and attitudes behind the practices of academics. Academic life histories are chosen as the primary method of data collection to illicit rich qualitative data concerning academic life constructions. By selecting partial life history methods the researcher focused on bringing into this analysis significant aspects of pre-career, primary socialization and social background related experiences that shaped academics' career constructions and aspirations. The strategy of recruitment of interviewees was largely conducted through a purposive sampling strategy. These were shaped by the aim of the research, a need to determine a balance of academics from all academic disciplines as well as resources available to the researcher. The way in which the research was conducted is discussed in detail in following sections.

2.2.1 Operationalization of Male Privilege

The lens of male privilege was chosen for making sense of the disadvantaged position of female academics focusing on two key areas where this privilege is played out. These are the academic organization and outside the academy in everyday life. The reason for considering academic activities and organizational structures was lead by the continued reports of implicit male privilege in the areas of leadership and research (Hearn, 2001, 1999, 1998; Grummel et al., 2009; Morley, 2006; Ramsey, 2001, Brooks, 1997, Cockburn, 1991). On the other hand explicit discourse on women's disadvantage in the key academic activities of research, service to the University and in teaching provides ample ground for exploring these dualities (Parks,1996; Eveline,1996; Morley, 2006; Gunawardena et al., 2003, 2005, Probert, 2005, Knight and Richard, 2003)   for exploring these dualities. Gendered academic life situations in everyday academic life are considered to make a significant impact on academic's progression; particularly the micro-politics and academic masculinities and femininities. Outside the academy, discourses on the influence of work-life balance on academic accomplishments is considered relevant in understanding how male privilege is shaped by domestic division of labour. Other significant considerations are family backgrounds of academics' and particular social life influences or opportunities that shape academic career aspirations. Thus male privilege provides the lens and the primary focal point for this research. The experiences of female academics in parallel situations are used to compare the different gendered discourses that shape and construct relational male privilege.

2.2.2 Critical Review of the Literature

The study began searching for literature on gendered experiences of academics in higher education at a general level. This was conducted through a search of different data bases of Academic One file, Academic Search Premier, Men's Studies bibliography, the University of Adelaide library catalogue and the digital theses collection available through the library. The researcher being an international student first familiarized herself with the use of library resources with the help of the research librarian for the discipline. Three main kinds of literature were looked at; journal articles, books and theses published after 1997. The time period of the sources referred to was determined with publications within the past 10 years considering the research began in July 2008. However, landmark publications published before 1997 were also included.

Initial search efforts combined a variety of keywords such as 'male privilege + academy', 'male academics', 'male+ faculty' but retrieved a very limited number of articles relevant to male academic's experiences in the academy. The results showed a few theses and journal articles which included discourses on masculinities among primary school teachers, and constructions of masculinities among school boys in Australia. The search terms were altered to phrases that included 'men+women+academy', 'women's under representation in the academy' and to include articles on women academics' experiences. The results were much better than the previous search. It is also significant that in a discussion of male privilege in the academy discourses on the reversed position by women constitute a valid part as the implicit reality is the opposite privileged position of the male. Many of these discourses were useful sources of information on implicit male privilege in the academy. This also was extremely valid when developing understandings about how privilege and disadvantage in the academy are relationally constructed. However, still the problem was in these articles (except for a limited few) there was no explicit interrogation of male academics' experiences. The title search for 'male privilege in the academy' retrieved almost no titles. Many of the articles indicated implicit male privilege in the academy and the studies focused on the disadvantaged position of the female academic or contrasting discourses on women in leadership positions and women managers.

For a study that interrogates 'male privilege' this threatened to pose a serious limitation. To address this limitation the researcher conducted a broader literature search on masculinities in the workplace as well as in general was made. This generated some key textual sources of information with regards to constructions of male privilege particularly in the work place. Similarly searches conducted generating results for gendered experiences and male privilege in the academy in Asia and 'third world academic' proved even harder and less successful. Research studies conducted in higher education that

interrogate academics' experiences in general are extremely scarce in this region let alone studies that focus on gendered experiences of academics. This situation was discussed earlier on in this chapter. In addressing this limitation the researcher relied on some specific works on South Asia in general, and in some countries of the British Commonwealth for gathering information and for discourse together with a limited number of unpublished reports and few published documents and books about the Higher Education sector in Sri Lanka.

The next step was to group these discourses under the key themes the research sought to explore. These were grouped under the main headings of theories and concepts of privilege in general, male privilege or masculine privilege in the work place. Subsequently discourses of male privilege in the key academic activities of research, teaching, service to university, mentoring, micro-politics and domestic division of labour were grouped in a similar fashion.

In conducting the critical review of literature the method focused on understanding each journal article in terms of what issues of academic experiences were addressed in the article. Whose experiences are they discussing? Whose experiences are not addressed? Does the conceptualisation of the issue discuss make implicit or explicit reference to male privilege? What are the primary data sources? These questions formed the frame of analysis for more general articles that problematised women's position in the academy. On the other hand in the analysis of the discourses on male privilege and masculinities it was attempted to frame the review asking what aspects of masculinities are discussed. What concepts or theories of male privilege are discussed or what are explicit or implicit references made to male privilege and how these are explained? What work masculinities are discussed? What is explicit/implicit of male privilege? How women's experiences of disadvantage are framed in these articles or documents? Following the literature review the next key concern was conducting the analysis of secondary statistical data pertaining to university academic staff in Sri Lanka and Australia.

2.2.3 Statistical Data Analysis

As an effective means of demonstrating gendered privilege-disadvantage relationality while considering the political character of knowledge construction, this research sought statistical data from published sources on higher education in the two countries as empirical evidence. The use of quantitative data is guided by the perception that the understandings of the world can be enhanced through the use of statistical data. In the present research secondary statistical data are used as an objective means to demonstrate privilege and disadvantage vice versa as a mutual constitution through the use of statistics.

These are used to show that women have not attained the same seniority as male academics and to map differences and similarities between the two research locations. On the other hand qualitative discourse analysis is performed questioning the gaps in secondary statistical data pertaining to university academic staff that seems to exist. The gendered patterns that emerge are discussed in chapter three of the thesis.

Descriptive statistical analysis in the form of tables and graphs are used to demonstrate male privilege in representation in higher education in the two countries. The key dimensions of this analysis included representation of male and female academics as a proportion of the total, number of male and female academics in each different rank, gender disaggregated representation across disciplines, number of men and women in leadership positions in each country and in which universities, The nature of their employment was investigated: whether the academics are employed on permanent, fulltime, part time, temporary or casual basis, and the rate of any apparent increase over a 10-15 year period has been shown. The statistical data pertaining to research awards, scholarships or grant funds for academics through UGC, NCAS (National Centre for Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences), National Science Foundation in Sri Lanka and Australian Research Council Awards in Australia. The statistics are presented to demonstrate the relationality of privilege and disadvantage in the academy through measuring and counting the number of male and female academics represented. The second component of the analysis of the male privilege discourse is the setting on which the latter qualitative discourse analysis would be premised.

2.2.4 Academic Life Histories

The choice of life histories method for collection of information for the proposed study was inspired by the methods used in pioneering studies conducted on masculinities such as Connell's in 1995. Connell (2005: 9-91) refers to life histories as being one of the oldest methods in social sciences, which allows rich documentation of personal experience, ideology and subjectivity as well as rich evidence about impersonal and collective processes such as social structures, social movements and institutions. It focuses the unification of practice through time, and the life history method always concerns the making of social life through time.

This method is most suited to 'knowing' what patterns the ideologies and academic practices that men and women take up in conducting their own work/career life and in relation to practices of male privilege. Firstly, the life histories were conducted by inviting the interviewees to share their personal life histories and experiences which contributed to constructing their academic realities and shaped their career

aspirations. These life histories are termed partial because they referred only to personal histories or specific events in the past or socialization experiences that was seen by interviewees to have been influential in shaping academic aspirations or an academic career. Life histories allowed the researcher to probe into circumstances associated with socialization experiences and significant factors in interviewee's family backgrounds. Secondly, it allowed the interviewer space to raise questions and clarifications regarding unclear points and asking for examples and further explanations. Thirdly, this method also allowed understandings of the constructions of male privilege as a gradual process, in an orderly manner, over a period of time and to develop an easy and stable grasp of the way it is constructed. Fourthly this method of interviewing allowed the interviewer to capture the academics' attitudes regarding the topics discussed.

2.2.5 Participants

For the purpose of the present research academics are defined as men or women who are engaged in a university career designated as lecturer on a permanent or fulltime basis in the age category of 30-65 years, carrying out a combination of duties including teaching, research, academic administration and other services of benefits to the university system. Participants had to have a minimum of five years academic work experience. The age group is selected due to the need to consider how different stories of career experiences are constructed by academics in different ranks, ages, disciplines, ethnicities and marital status. The number of years of academic experience provides adequate time to evaluate and frame one's own academic career experiences.

FIGURE 2.1

Distribution of Respondents by Gender and Country

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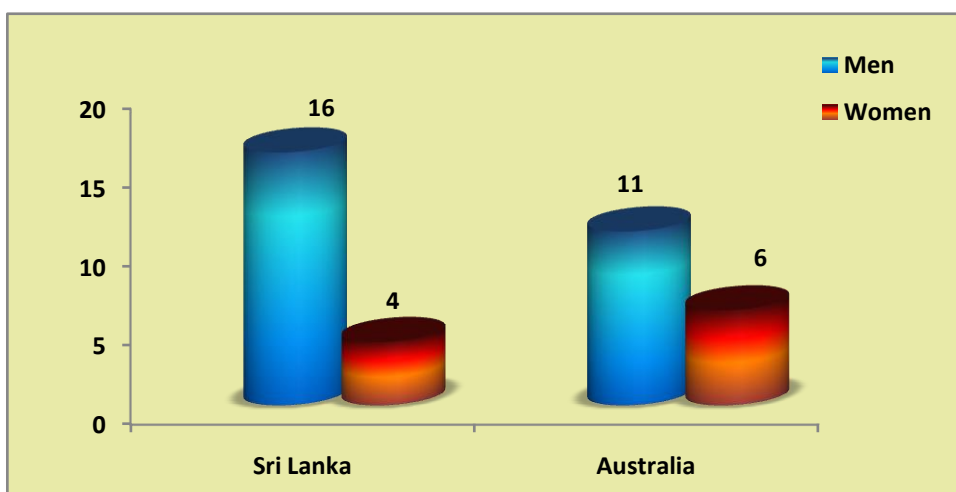
The total number of academic participants in the two countries was 37. It is composed of 27 male academics and 10 female academics. In the Australian sample, there are 11 males and 6 females whereas in Sri Lanka there are 16 men and 4 women. The sample included more men than women to ensure and remain within the primary focus of male privilege constructions and associated (advantage) experiences. The fewer female experiences were hence used to supplement and demonstrate the relational nature of those gender privilege-disadvantage constructions.

FIGURE 2.2

Distribution of Respondents by Academic Rank
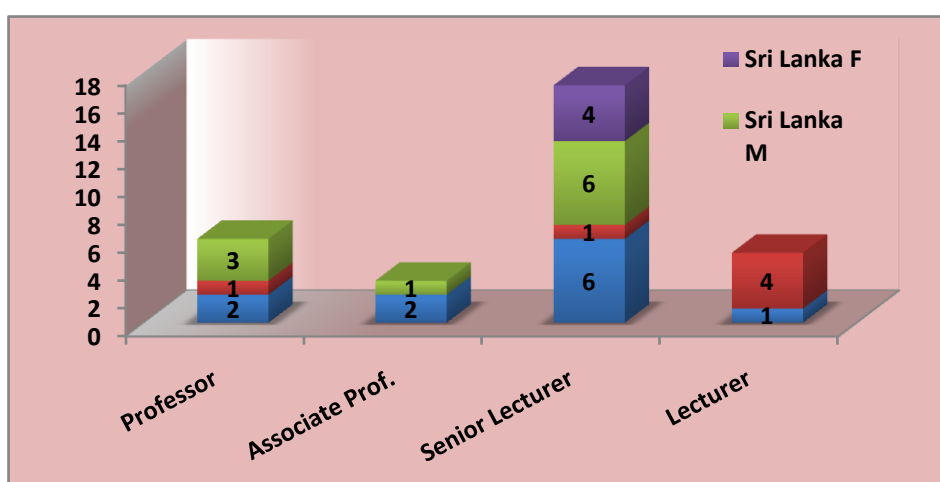
Among the total of male academics there are Professors and Senior Professors, Associate Professors, Senior Lecturers (Grades I), Senior Lecturers (Grades II), Lecturers. Among female academics 1 professor, 1 Senior lecturer (Au), 4 Senior Lecturer (Grade II), 2 lecturer B and 2 Lecturer A.

TABLE 2.1

Gender and Country and Discipline Distribution of Research Participants

Country	Male	Female	Humanities		Science & Engineering	
			M	F	M	F
Australia	11	6	9 (3[1])	4	2	2
Sri Lanka	16	4	7 (2[2])	0	9	4

[1]Law   [2]Management

The male academics are distributed among disciplines of Humanities ten, Health and Medicine one, Law three, Science eight, Engineering two, Management two, Education one and IT one. Female academics are Health science one, Humanities three, Education one, IT one and Science four. In the entire male sample three Sri Lankan academics did not have a Ph.D. at the time the interviews were conducted. Among female staff only one academic from Australia did not have a Ph.D. and was in the process of completing her Ph.D. when the interviews were conducted in 2010.

FIGURE 2.3

Marital Status of Respondents
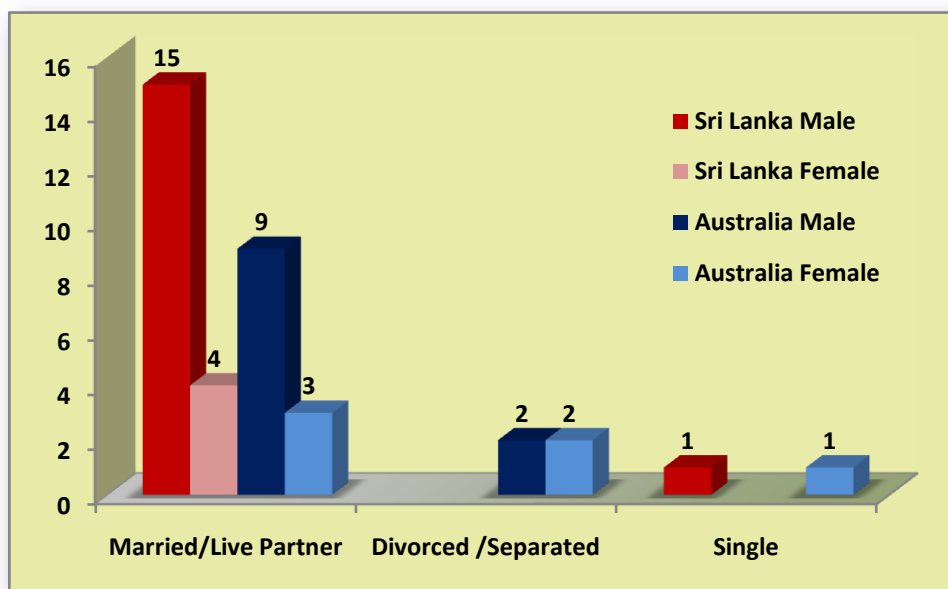
The domestic circumstances among Australian interviewees were diverse. Among Australian men nine out of eleven were married, one was divorced and one separated. Among the Australian women only two remained married during the time of interviewing all others, except two, had children, generally one or two. Two of the women were divorced, one lived with a partner and one was single.

One married woman said she remained childless by choice and the single woman did not have children. Among the male Australian interviewees, ten of the eleven men had children. Nine of the Australian men nine were married and lived with their families. The divorced man lived alone and the separated man lived with his children four days each week. Three of the six females in Australia lived with their husband or partner and children.

FIGURE 2.4

Respondents and Children
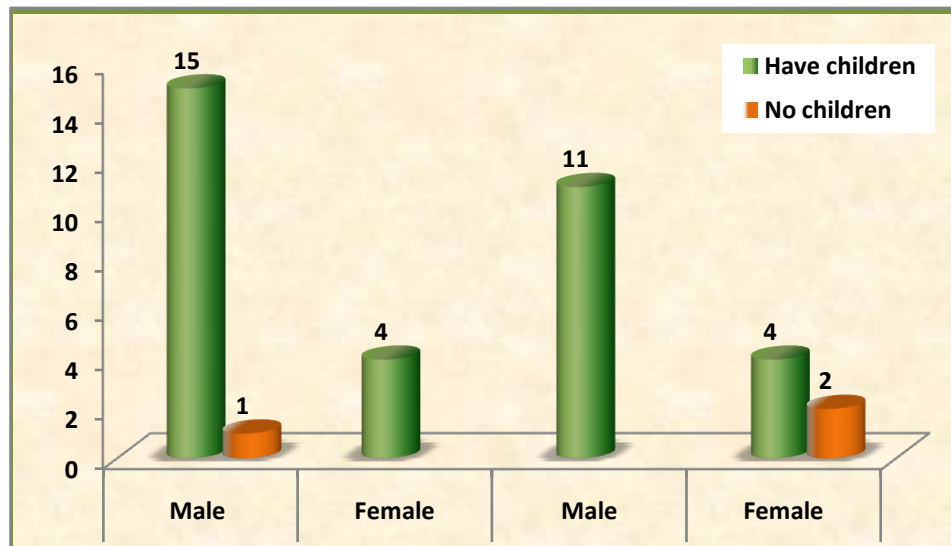
Two women lived by themselves and one lived with her adult children. Fifteen of the Sri Lankan were married with only one being single. All four Sri Lankan females were married and had one child each. All fifteen married men had children and eleven had more than one child. Therefore except for the single male, all other Sri Lankan interviewees lived in married relationship with at least one or more children.

FIGURE 2.5

Respondents' Spouses' Employment Status
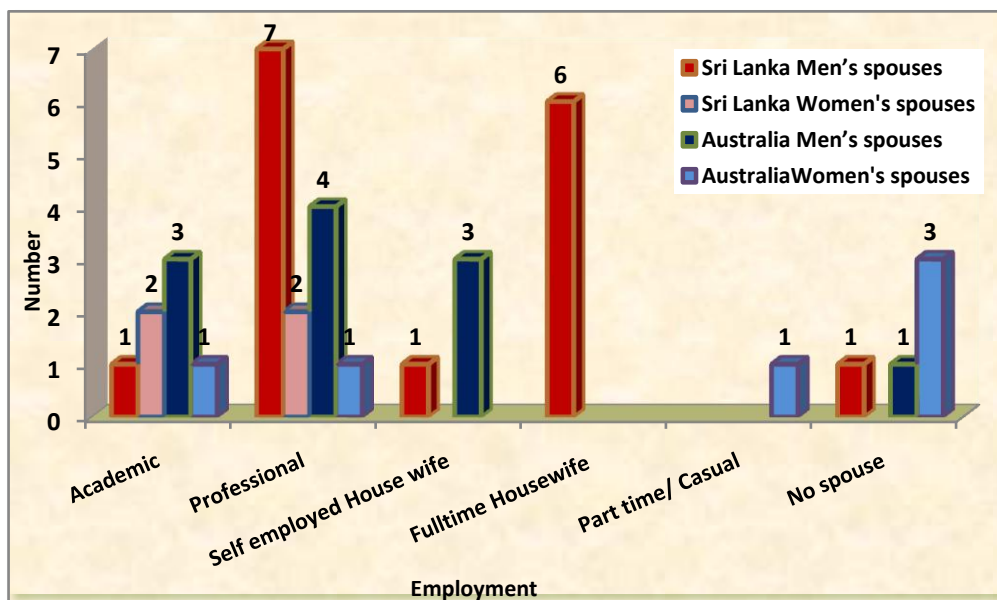
Ten of the twenty-seven males in the sample ten had almost fulltime housewives[9] with only two of the wives being engaged in small scale businesses such as dressmaking and selling of items from home. Another was a Ph.D. student. Out of all ten females in the sample, only one female reported a husband engaged in part time work. Looking at the demographic patterns among the interviewees, more men than women lived in conventional marital situations. When comparisons are made between countries, more Australian women lived in alternative cohabitation situations than did their counterpart academic men. In between countries although there was no great difference between Australian and Sri Lankan academics in their cohabitation styles a clear majority of them lived in conventional marriages. Between the females in the two countries however, more Australian women tended either to live in alternative cohabitation situations, be divorced, separated or remained single than did Sri Lankan female academics. According to this sample generally male academics tended to have more children in their families than did female academics.

2.2.6 Sample

The originally planned sample size was a total of 35-40 male and female academics selected in the two countries. The sample size is adequate to establish a substantiated result, (Source for life histories). Sandelowski (1995) points out, that "determining adequate sample size in qualitative research is ultimately a matter of judgement and experience" meaning that the researcher's ability to evaluate the quality of the information collected in the light of the research paradigm, research objectives, method, unit of sampling and the analytical strategy employed[10]. The sample size of the study was also inspired by other similar studies based on life histories (Connell, 1995, 2005, Plummer, 1983) and maintaining that the sample is also adequate to ensure representation of a wide range of the perceptions and opinions important for a thorough understanding of male privilege in the academy.

The participants were recruited with a purposive sample accessed through advertisements and official channels of higher educational institutions and management. Subsequently snow ball sampling was adopted in a limited further number of cases to compensate for the low response rates of participants. A few key participants were accessed through personal contacts and interest groups based on a purposeful decision to include their participation to enrich the diversity that it could establish within the study. Thus the sample was primarily purposive in nature which included academics from a wide variety

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[9]Here the housewife is meant to be a woman, a stay at home mum who is not formally attached to any organisation for work purposes, either someone completely free from wage earning or engaged in informal income generation activities from home.
10 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH GUIDELINES PROJECT BY D, C., & B, C. (2006, July)in Robert Wood Johnson Foundation At http://www.qualres.org/HomeSamp-3702.html ac... 3.30pm 23.12.2008.

of discipline areas such as Science, Humanities, Law, Engineering, Medicine, Law, IT and Agricultural science. These included both male and female academics.

Due to the research purpose of understanding male privilege in the academy through an analysis of relationality the research originally decided to include eight female participants and thirty two male participants. However, at the completion of data collection only twenty seven male academics and ten female academics could be included. Response rate of Australian male academics was poor with only four male and ten female academics responding to the advertisement. The researcher however was able to largely compensate for the lack of response of male academics in Australia by carrying out a large majority of interviews in Sri Lanka distributed in a variety of discipline areas represented in multiple academic ranks.

Researchers point out that the reasons for a sample size is clearly related to the research questions of a qualitative research. Theoretically sampling stops when the researcher decides the study has reached the point of saturation. The idea of saturation has its source with Everett Hughes who advised his students to keep interviewing until they do not hear anything new (Ezzy, 2002:75). On the other hand researchers also point out that this advice has implications for the sample size and Strauss (1987) in this regard observes that there will always be new issues to be pursued and that the data collection has to end at some point. In the present research addressing male privilege in the academy, therefore, the saturation point was decided when respondent data was answering the research questions with similar patterns and responses.

2.2.7 Recruitment of Participants

Research universities were selected for the proposed research due to the focus of the research being on academic career constructed around duties of teaching, research and services. Another reason for the selection is due to the heavily gendered nature and high level of segregation of men and women in research universities (Hearn, 2001: 71-73). The research intensive universities tend to be the most prestigious of academic institutions with intense competition for academic positions. There is also a dominance of men within top universities in terms of both disciplines and university management. This dominance of men, while constituting male privilege through the male normativity within such institutions made then more challenging, disadvantageous and sexist places for female academics. For example in the prestigious British universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the proportion of women holding university posts in all periods is observed to be far below the national average, while in fact women academics

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were not admitted to Oxford until the 1930s and to Cambridge only in the 1940s (Brooks, 1997:13). The higher the status of the university, the higher the concentration of male academics. Scholars have also noted that the academic areas of science and technology remain exclusively male dominated (Hearn, 2001:72). Hence there is a necessity to explore how female academics survive male bastions of the academy.

The ethics approval was initially applied for and the consent forms were used for this purpose, and are attached to the appendices of the thesis. The first step of recruitment involved obtaining permission from the management of the relevant universities in two Sri Lankan and five Australian universities which were located in different states. A letter of request was sent giving information about the project and researcher's affiliations signed by the principal supervisor and counter signed by the researcher. In Australia the letters were emailed to and posted directly to the Vice Chancellors.

In Sri Lanka a similar letter was posted to the Chairman of the University Grants Commission (UGC). In Australia, the request was responded to between two weeks to five months. In some cases responses only came after repeated inquiries made through email. In Sri Lanka no responses were received to the letter of request sent. However, when the researcher telephoned the Chairman's office, the secretary informed her verbally that the permissions needed to be requested from the relevant Vice Chancellors in the universities concerned and that it 'was no issue concerning this office'. The letters of requests were then sent to the Vice Chancellors of the universities both by post as well as through emails and were followed up with the telephone calls. The process of obtaining permission was supported at the highest level. One Vice Chancellor was kind enough to write to the researcher in person granting support to conduct data collection at this University.

At the second university the Vice Chancellor required more clarifications regarding the project and requested to be furnished with a summary of interviews and the researcher negotiated this request, consenting to provide a copy of the final conclusions for the particular university. The next stage involved contacting the academics themselves. A request was sent to each separate dean's office in faculties with a scanned copy of the permission from the Vice Chancellor, a copy of the information sheet and a self introduction of the researcher to be circulated to academic staff with contact details of the researcher. The response level was relatively satisfactory with a few responses in some and none in others. More women academics consented to participate and about six potential participants were declined due to excess numbers or to not being within the required recruitment criteria. The limited number of responses received from male academics was an issue that needed addressing. Inquiries were made personally by the researcher dropping into different departments and faculties and sending

around inquiries by 'word to mouth' in universities located in different states through more personal networks (See Appendix 1). These strategies proved very helpful especially in Australia.

With regards to the requests made through the deans' offices seeking to recruit participants proved extremely impracticable. One reason was the email circulation of official academic correspondence being an unconventional practice and the communications being usually conducted through letters or personal contacts. The researcher received only a single response from a dean of a faculty who promised to circulate the email around his faculty. But no responses were received through email from Sri Lanka. Having obtained official permission from the Vice chancellors in Sri Lanka, the researcher awaited the visit to the field there to personally visit the universities and departments to generate participants. The fact that the researcher was a Sri Lankan and an academic was quite helpful in this regard.

2.2.8   Conducting Primary Data Collection

The data collection began in mid December 2009 with three pilot interviews conducted in Australia. The academic life histories took the form of interviews conducted in both countries in locations specified by or negotiated with the participants. The interviews were conducted in the respective academic departments and offices in both countries. Only one interview was conducted at a different venue which was also within the university premises. This was due to the busy schedule of this particular male academic as well as the time limitations imposed by the researcher's schedule as well. There were two noted instances with male academics in the Australian sample where the interviewees could allow only thirty or forty minutes for the interview and the researcher had to manage the interview within that time. In these situations the researcher made a prior analysis of the most significant key themes to be addressed, considering the personal circumstances of the interviewee including rank and positions held. These two interviews focused upon experiences around research, publications, teaching experiences and on work-life balance.

Before each interview was conducted the participants were all sent another set of the information and the letter of consent. In some situations where the interviewees required the questions beforehand they were informed about the broad themes. The interviews were guided by a semi structured interview guide (Appendix 1) with the broad themes and the specific areas that needed probing. The interviews were based on open ended questions which were formulated to address the broad themes. This proved to be a most appropriate mode of interviewing participants about their academic lives and bringing out

information connected with experiences of male privilege. The open-ended questions allowed the flexibility to settle down to the conversation about academic life more naturally and at their own space. The fact that the interviews began with a relatively neutral opening question of 'how did you become an academic?' allowed a narrative. The interview guide was refined extensively after the first three pilot interviews with regards to key themes and organising the flow of the questions[11]. However, the questions were sometimes addressed in a different order if the researcher felt that it was evident that a participant had more to say or experiences related more to a particular theme than the others. With regards to certain themes, some respondents had little experience to share with the interviewer. Probing questions were posed with extreme care and caution. The researcher was concerned to make the interviewees feel comfortable and at ease and being a little unfamiliar to Australian sensitivities was careful with probing questions.

The interviews began with a recapitulation of the research aims and signing of consent forms. The researcher then introduced herself to participants as an international student and an academic in Sri Lanka. The academics were invited to share a narrative story about their academic life and career beginning with formations of aspirations shaped through specific childhood or socialization experiences and social background. Through the exploration of these experiences the researcher was keen to learn whether male and female discourses on socialization were shaped differently allowing more privileged social conditions for the male. These experiences were followed by inquiries on the commencement of an academic career, negotiations and social conditions available for making career choices and mentors. Here too the researcher attempted to learn about any privileges or disadvantages observed to have shaped the reality for them. Interviewees were invited to speak about their different academic activities and their attitudes regarding them, the structures available for promotions. They were also asked whether gender played any significant part in their everyday academic lives. In examining experiences of balancing home and an academic career the researcher aimed to find out whether there was a difference between male and female involvement in domestic work and how this might have shaped the career experiences.

The life histories method uncovered sufficient information about how the informants went about constructing their academic career experiences, inviting and encouraging participants to express their opinions honestly and freely about their work-life experiences, their failures and achievements. Some academics in both countries admitted that it was the first time they had revealed certain experiences to another person. Life histories method enabled the researcher to a very large extent to discern

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[11]Out of the initial three interviews only one could be retained within the sample due to two academics not belonging to tenured academic or fulltime positions.

academics' personal views and attitudes to work associated practices and events, to a very large extent.

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed with the consent of the participant. This gave the researcher, a non native speaker of English, the benefit of paying total attention to the interviewee unhindered addressing language difficulties and complications associated with navigating through foreign accents, and culture idiosyncrasies. Paying full attention to the on-going interview assisted in the smooth conveying of participants' experiences and opinions. The recording the interviews ensured acquiring a complete record of all that was said in the interview rather than relying on the interviewer's memory (Tylor and Bogdan, 1998:112).The interviewer also maintained a journal throughout the field research to record topics discussed, and to make observations made with regards to the setting and non-verbal expression (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995: 78 cited in Tylor and Bogdan, 1998: 115).

2.2.9   Analysis during Data Collection

The researcher began thinking about issues and interests raised in interview data during data collection. The integration of data gathering and data analysis constituted an integral part of the research process which shaped the researcher's understandings about male privilege in the academy, and how 'academic subjects' constructed their meanings in academic life. Some qualitative researchers point out that 'if data analysis begins only after the data have been collected, the researcher will have missed many valuable opportunities that can be taken only at the same time as they are collecting their data which is more common for methods that are grounded theory based' (Ezzy, 2002:4). The practice of conducting data analysis and data collection simultaneously build the strengths of qualitative methods as it allows for building theory and interpretations from the perspective of its participant interviewees in a more fundamental way than if the analysis awaited until after the data collection has been finished.

Thus, in the current research the researcher was concerned to achieve a deeper understanding of male privilege, which is commonly attributed to masculine normativity or men's commitment to their academic work. The data analysis was performed concurrent with data collection in three ways. One way was through meetings held with supervisors where the progress of the interviews was reported and emerging themes and patterns were shared and comments received. This process proved an effective way of building up the research method by introducing new questions to accommodate emerging new themes. The very first three interviews shaped the researcher's understandings and conceptualisations of male privilege. This lead to the researcher adding a theme on multiple masculinities, which was later

broadened to include multiple femininities. The other emerging theme was experiences about the embodiment of an academic self and what meanings academics gave to their construction of academic commitment and what they did to maintain a strong academic commitment. Further questions with regards to work styles and time management practices were added to the existing list of questions. Some questions were framed differently to generate more focused and concrete responses with interviewees being asked to give examples of exact events.

The researcher was also improving and refining her interview skills which made her realise how to phrase sensitive questions with regards to interviewees' personal lives and the domestic division of labour. The order of these questions in the interview required careful thought. Further questions about academics' socialization experiences were added to find out how career choice was shaped by gender ideologies, mentoring and experiences around recruitment into academic career.

In addition to the analysis during the interview stage, the large scale analysis was conducted after the completion of all interview transcriptions. This was mainly due to researcher's English language skills and interviewees' accents resulting in a delay in the time allocated for transcribing. There were difficulties in capturing the meanings of some very specific remarks, slang words and phrases that the researcher felt vital for a more complete understanding of the interviewee's attitudes and values.

While conducting data collection the researcher was also engaged in transcribing of interviews. Some of the interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriber. This strategy was adopted to address the above issue involving accents and it did not in any way inhibit the understanding of emerging themes for the researcher, but constituted a verification of the interpretations. The process of transcribing allowed the researcher to discern patterns of the most regular, significant themes in the interviews and to become familiar with those themes.

A third mechanism of the data analysis was by making records in a journal, while the interviews were being conducted. Here all the significant observations and incidents during an interview were recorded. In this document a key attempt was to grasp the attitudes and values of the respondent academics in two main ways. One was to make observations of the academics' attitudes towards a project that questioned gendered practices in academia. The other aspect was regarding the attitudes towards the researcher. Maintaining a journal in this research was mainly to capture the meanings made through intangible, nonverbal gestures and expressions which corresponded to the values and attitudes academics' held regarding some themes of inquiry. During the process of interviews, the researcher was gradually being

exposed to different facets or discourses of masculinities. These were results of different meaning-making processes employed by those academics in sharing aspects of academic life. These patterns were suggestive of fluid and multiple constructions of masculinity rather than the single unitary formation the researcher had anticipated at the onset of data collection. Similarly, the experiences of female academics in both research locations revealed similar tendencies of multiplicity. Therefore themes such as multiple masculinities, multiple femininities and micro-politics were the key concepts which emerged through journal records, during the preliminary analysis and data collection stage.

2.2.10 Critical Discourse Analysis of Life Histories

Central to the proposed study is textual discourse analysis which is primarily concerned with the way language is used, what it is used for and the social context in which it is used. The term 'discourse' captures its broader focus and the general framework or perspective within which the ideas are formulated (Punch, 2005: 226):

> Discourse embraces all aspects of a communication, apart from its content, its author
> meaning 'who says it', 'its authority' (on what grounds), its audience (to whom), its objective
> (in order to achieve what) (Worral, 1990: 8).

> Discourse encompasses ideas, statements or knowledge dominant at a particular point of
> time among particular sets of people….and which are held in relation to other sets of
> people….implicit in the use of such knowledge is the application of power……discourse
> involves all forms of communication, including talk and conversation. In the latter however it
> is not restricted to verbalized propositions but include ways of seeing, categorising and
> reacting to the social world in everyday practice. (Worral cited in Jupp, 1996: 300)

The interview transcripts were analysed systematically through a lens of textual discourse in keeping with the epistemological stance of the proposed study. The 'activity of language use' as a process was investigated focusing the way male or female academics applied language/communication in constructing, maintaining, perpetuating or challenging the lived realities of academic privilege in academic life (Tylor, 2001: 5-10).

This discourse analysis aimed to make apparent the meanings the academics gave to their behaviour in performing their academic careers. It sought to understand the choices they made as men and women

and the sources of their motivation. Knowing the meanings people attach to things, situations or what they do can explain a great deal about how or why they do what they do.

The discourse analysis paid principal attention to the following key issues associated with the social construction of male privilege within the academe:

-How certain bodies of knowledge that naturalized male privilege and male normativity within the academe became authoritative or constructed themselves as authoritative.

-How this male supremacy within the academy is produced and held or maintained and perpetuated.

-How the discursive formations within higher education institutes structure institutional practices and structure subjectivities of men and women that create male hegemony.

-How patriarchal power systems within the academy become evident and shape everyday reality.

Specifically the primary data from life histories was analysed looking at their academic-career practices focusing on how meanings of academic life were fashioned in terms of their experiences and attitudes demonstrated within those. The experiences include the general flow of incidents, which they referred toand noted in their stories of academic life under its different aspects. The attitudes demonstrate aspects of feelings academics associated with these experiences, how they regarded those experiences and navigated or responded to them. The practices involve the regular activities academics engaged in both in the academic world as well as their everyday social world as a means/vehicle through which their attitudes, norms were transformed in everyday life contributing either to the furtherance of traditional gender patterns or for deconstructing them. Similarly, certain institutional processes were analysed to identify their discourses and discursive formations and how these institutionalised processes are held and maintained within power structures and were naturalised? How these contribute to the perpetuation of masculine hegemony among academic staff were issues raised within this analysis.

2.2.11 Qualitative Research Rigour

The research that social scientists conduct is undertaken so that such knowledge will have social benefits that people will be able to use positively in their everyday lives. Further, feminist research is political in

nature and seeks to influence policy with their findings to bring about more equality between men and women through the adoption of alternative views and practices that contribute to a more just society. Within such goals, research rigor becomes a key consideration.

A main consideration for research rigour is minimizing methodological challenges that may be brought to undermine the findings of one's research through reference to procedural flaws and (in)-adequacies. In qualitative research two areas often critiqued when questioning findings are their representativeness and replicability (Ezzy, 2002). However, within qualitative research it has been argued that these terms are not relevant and they are replaced by generalizability and rigour. Social scientists maintain that while there are no systematic scoring guidelines for evaluating qualitative research (Popay et al., 1998; Parker Oliver, 2011:359-360), there are frameworks for the evaluation of qualitative research rigor.

These include a solid research design connected to a theoretical framework that justifies the research approach, a clear delineation of the theory in terms of its relationship to the research, the research design is well articulated and sufficiently detailed, well defined data collection protocols and tools and laying out the sampling strategy and reasons for adopting it clearly. Finally, laying out the data analysis clearly for audit, how coding was done and how coding connects to the theoretical framework and supporting with data for evidence such as quotes and observations (Finlay, 2006; Lincoln and Guba, 1985) are all mechanics indicating research rigor.

In the current research the research rigour has been addressed in two significant ways. One is that the representativeness of the experience of reality around male privilege that has been addressed through taking multiple academic experiences of both men as well as women into consideration. It also included experiences from a range of disciplines, different levels of academic ranks as well as exploring how these experiences figure in different or rather oppositional socio- cultural settings. Although these findings are not generalisable in a statistical sense, these represent a large body of the main themes generally discussed in the literature with regards to gendered academic situations and are generalisable within the sample of this study. The reliability of the findings are established/maintained through the techniques adopted for collecting data, working through accepted methodologies and the steps followed. These steps are clearly laid out in the discussion of methodology in an attempt to make the research process employed as revealing and transparent as possible and the process that generated findings of this study open for assessment.

The methods of data collection and analysis employed in the current study allowed a thorough understanding of issues relevant to male privilege and to capture rich and relevant data about the construction and maintenance of meanings, which would otherwise have been impossible to uncover. The method of academic life histories allowed free exploration of relevant experiences to academic career constructions present in socialization experiences. The semi structured interview schedule made possible the exploration of a wider range of relevant issues, to be flexible and open to emerging new ideas and adapting to situations and needs while staying within the scope of the research. These strategies contributed towards increased research rigour in building understandings around theorizations of male privilege. For example, originally the theme on multiple masculinities was included in research questions. But as the interviews progressed multiplicity was a constant reality in the meaning-making process and constituted a very relevant dimension of the situation around academic privilege.

In the current research one of the main components of this argument, includes statistical data analysis with regards to the representation of academics in the two countries. This strategy was used to demonstrate the situation, magnitude and the ongoing perpetuation of the privilege-disadvantage relationality in the academic lives of females and males. These as well as the empirical data emerging from academic life are other strong mechanisms that enhanced research rigour. The depth of the information pursued about academic as well as everyday life aspects, the richness of data obtained in relation to each of the themes generated, provide further evidence of research rigour that increased the relevance of findings with regards to the everyday reality of academic life.

Further the information generated through this project will include a large amount of data that seek to contribute to policy making on academic staff in higher education. Qualitative researchers show that their research aims to provide information that will perform 'the enlightenment function' for policy makers and advisors through rigorous well researched qualitative reports. This type of research provides a better understanding of the processes operating in these areas and supports a more informed social policy (Ezzy, 2002:36). Specifically the research information in the current study is relevant to and responds to the policy implementation level questions such as whether the goals of policies are being achieved or not? Is there a change in relation to the existing problem? How are the existing organizations and communities responding to the problem? (Guba, 1984; Rist, 1994). The nuances of the actual situation are brought to attention with specific examples from the everyday life experiences of the academics regarding gendered practices in the academy. The empirical data generated speak about the reality constructed around, research, service and teaching that contribute to the eventuality of male privilege and the disadvantage of the female academics. Some examples also point to what works for male academics

and what works for women academics too and their positive and negative responses to these everyday academic practices.

2.2.12 Ethical Considerations

The ethical considerations were first addressed by obtaining formal ethical approval from the University of Adelaide Human Ethics committee in 2009 (H013 2009) approving the inclusion of participation of human subjects in this research. Further, participants were given an information sheet containing details of the project to read. Then they were asked of any queries that they would have about the project. Ensuring that thorough understanding was established about the research participants were then asked to read and sign two copies of the consent forms and one was handed back to them before the interview began. Participants were asked about their preference regarding the interview being audio recorded. The researcher was careful to frame the research without too much emphasis on the term male privilege as it may have create bias at the onset of the interview before the questions had begun. They were also informed about dissemination of the finding and that, summaries of the conclusions would be sent to the participants with thesis submission.

Ethics also involved considering the political and social consequences of the research for participants. In this regard the researcher was very keen and felt responsible to conduct interviews sensitively. Particular care was taken not to disturb people with the issues raised regarding their experiences. Whenever an issue of sensitive nature was raised the researcher made an effort in all such situations to check with the respondents whether they were agreeable to responding to questions on a particular theme. In the current research this was particularly relevant when dealing with aspects of personal life, the work-life balance, the domestic division of labour and micro-politics in the academy. Grafanaki (1996) notes that qualitative research often promotes reflexivity, self awareness and empowerment among the parties involved (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2006:42). Similarly within the data collection experiences some participants remarked positively about having the chance to talk about their academic life and to reflect upon themselves. Some female academics remarked about feeling optimistic about having a forum to express some very gender sensitive concerns and a place to 'tell their stories' about their academic lives.

Another means involved maintaining the confidentiality of participants' identities. As Blumer puts it: identities, locations of individuals and places are concealed in published results, data collected are held in anonymized form, and all data are kept securely confidential' (1982:225).In the present research as a

measure of maintaining ethical considerations the interviewees were assured anonymity and confidentiality. Therefore in the use of quotes no names are mentioned and pseudonyms were utilized for people and places. Any information that made such identification possible was removed. Further, if any participant requested particular segments of details to be taken out of the conversation, this was done in the transcribing stage by the researcher skipping over personal and identifiable data without recording. Further clarifications on unclear points were conducted through email to ensure the meanings conveyed by some respondents.

2.2.13 Reflexive Presence of the Researcher

> Because the researcher and the research cannot be meaningfully separated, the researcher's influence on the research process was taken into account and transparent interpretative strategies were utilized. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 19)

The starting point of Foucauldian discourse analysis is looking, reading and listening to the texts, through 'fresh' eyes and ears notes Waitt (2010:223-225). Foucault points out that:

> All preconceptions must be held in suspense. They must not be rejected definitively, of course, but the tranquility with which they are accepted must be disturbed; we must show that they do not come about by themselves, but are always the result of a construction the rules of which must be known and the justifications of which must be scrutinized. (Foucault, 1972:25)

However, it is acknowledged by Foucault that deferring the pre-existing categories is an impractical and unattainable task as all knowledge is socially constituted. There is no practical way of totally suspending pre-existing knowledge. Rather the researcher needs to become self critically aware of the ideas that inform their understanding of the researched topic. Waitt (2010) shows three ways this could be achieved. First is to deploy the techniques of reflexivity outlined by Robyn Dowling (2010). As a critically reflexive researcher, it is imperative discussing why you selected particular topic or context and your initial ideas about the topic (partiality). A critically reflexive researcher needs to locate their lived experiences and embodied knowledge to be reported within the topic. The researcher needs to be aware how these ideas might change while carrying out the project thus making it impossible for the researcher to fully locate oneself in the research project. It is vital to ask how the research process has made different aspects of your subject position irrelevant/relevant or visible/invisible? Thirdly it is significant to keep careful and transparent documentation of your interpretation process by illustrating

how discourses identified in the project arose from the selected texts. A vital question to ask is how the discourses are illustrative of the producer's understanding of the world and not the researchers? (Waitt, 2010:224-225).

Qualitative research should be reflexive (Grbich, 2004) in that the researcher should constantly take stock of their actions and their role in the research process and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their "data" (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2006). The focus on the researcher her/himself is premised on the assumption that reflection of the self (looking and re-looking) is essential in the understanding of the self and the identifying the discourses which have impacted on the lenses through which the researcher views the worlds and participants (Grbich, 2004:71).

Reflexive discourse analysis was incorporated taking into consideration the implications for the analysis of data and documenting findings of the identity of the researcher as a female university academic from a developing country. The researcher is a woman in her middle age. By nationality a Sinhalese Sri Lankan with a middleclass upbringing and experience in both village-country environment and urban city life styles. She is also an academic working in one of the universities in Sri Lanka. She is a sociologist holdingtwo Degrees, a Bachelor in Arts (Honours) in Sociology and M.Phil. Degree in Arts (Gender Research) from one of the main Sri Lankan universities.

The selection of the topic of research was largely shaped through the researcher's exposure as a junior researcher in a team of researchers looking at gendered realities in Higher Education. This group constituted part of the main International Research Body on Commonwealth Higher Education in five economically less affluent countries of Sri Lanka, Tanzania, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana. While this research was largely concerned with access to higher education of female high school students, part of it was concerned with staff development programmes and policy aspects. The researcher was assigned the task of interviewing a selected group of academics regarding their experiences pertaining to access. This experience largely shaped the researcher's interest in the topic and inspired her to look at the gendered experiences of academics more broadly especially due to her own observations made in the interviews conducted regarding mid academic career mobility patterns among female academics.

The researcher's own experiences as a married academic woman, with young children and the challenge of meeting the demands of an academic career and maintaining work-life balance was a crucial motivating factor for the research. The researcher was aware of the situations of numerous other female academic colleagues, often sharing with them discussions of strategic ways of coping effectively

with work-life balance. Further, working within the researcher's experience of everyday academic life practices had made her notice the concept of 'male club' which at times made her feel disadvantaged as a woman academic. She had pondered effective means of challenging these situations. The researcher had also observed similar situations that other women faced. On the other hand she was also aware of a small group of strong academic women gradually making it to the top. Thus, the researcher's pre-existing understandings of gendered experiences in higher education largely enriched the current research. She was familiar with the international context to some extent and the main sources of literature in Sri Lanka. Her own understandings of the reality around work-life balance, had not received detailed attention in the previous Commonwealth research project. It had been a noted consideration though not addressed at length within that study. However, during the literature review the researcher's knowledge was further shaped in depth regarding the situation of work-life balance.

Though the researcher had no previous research experience in interviewing outside of Sri Lanka, she was able to conduct the interviews skillfully easily establishing a rapport with all participants in the study. A number of the Australian academics interviewed commented positively on the interviewing style of researcher. The researcher's experiences and personal situation were influential in enriching the inquiry and contributed to the study, further adding to research rigour.

During the long process of research conducted in the two countries with two very different systems of cultural values, the researcher started consciously experiencing changes relative to the structuring of the argument when her location changed. Principally a noticeable change was experienced with regards to convictions when writing about domesticity and work-life balance. The argument structured on domesticity seemed to change when the researcher was back in her own country. During this time the researcher was also working part-time, and attending to all the roles and duties of a full time mother-cum-wife. She was also actively involved in the community and social role. The analysis conducted and the reading of life histories during this time was skewed by an empathetic affiliation and strong inclination towards the domesticity depicted within the Sri Lankan female interviews as well as the discursive production and re-circulation of gendered norms of domesticity strongly embedded in male interviews.

The analysis was skewed by a strong inclination not to argue against or challenge this status quo of the lived reality of Sri Lankan women academics' life. This conviction was heavily impacted by the researcher's long stay in Sri Lanka over eleven months living in an active family context. The convictions were so strong that researcher felt the inclination to advocate a work-life balance, which

gave more priority to domestic and family life, even if that meant slower progression up the academic career ladder.

On the other hand, such a resolve started to change yet again following the researcher's return to the Australian academic environment where there is more systematised active support for individualised academic achievement and where alternative forms of family living are more accepted as a choice. The researcher now reverted to being a fulltime research student with a temporary status of a single woman, surrounded by many other females like her all pursuing the Ph.D. goal. Her previous convictions that relegated academic progression to a secondary position were questioned yet again. Similar sentiments are explicit in literary writings by academics who identify themselves within so called "Third world" settings. Drawing on Sara Suleri's work (1987) 'meatless days', reveals being confronted with and difficulty in conforming to or picking out a singular standard within our intimate exposure to different ways of being through cultures. Further it becomes challenging when having to select between these different social meaning making traditions that locate 'what is good oppositional' to one another yet also holds true for both (Suleri, 1987: 18-20).

2.2.14 Limitations

The severe dearth of research studies focusing on academics' experiences in higher education in Sri Lanka, and studies on masculinities and male privilege was a serious constraint from the research point of view. This gap was addressed by resorting to published works on the region of South Asia. The researcher also referred to unpublished reports and studies or grey literature in supplementing information about Sri Lankan academic life.

Further in recruiting participants for the research the planned number of male interviewees could not be achieved in Australia. The researcher was hampered by having limited personal contacts in Australia. She also had to spend a considerable part (approximately 18 months) of the candidature writing up outside Australia, due to a severe lack of financial support. The possibility of adding more interviews to the sample and spending more concentrated time writing up was thus constrained by socio-economic circumstances, as well as by more practical reasons.

Research studies also have paid attention to the significance of the researcher's nationality that shapes information that would be gathered when research is conducted in 'foreign' contexts. In her study of national archives and libraries Durba Ghosh (2005) notes how national narratives and identities remain

strong features in the production of histories referring to particularly in the ways histories are fashioned by spaces and conventions of the author. She contends that in spite of efforts to downplay the importance of the nation and look at such historical projects transnationally, national identities regulate access formally and informally, and influence and structure the information that you are able to retrieve. Doing research on archives which are 'foreign' she observes that it is particularly fraught and confrontational when historians researching colonial histories, drawing largely from documents housed in archives within colonised nations, seek to write different histories from those committed to maintaining the archives would want them to write (Ghosh, 2005:27-29). Similarly, the current research also included instances where the national identity of the researcher was evidently impacting and limiting access to information that could have been gathered in some occasions.

In this regard the cultural background of the researcher had an impact during the transcribing stage causing a delay in the process. It would have been easier if the transcription had been able to keep abreast of the interviews. Also during the interviews the cultural barrier was influential at times, when the researcher did not have the best grasp of how language was used. The use of slang words, and particular phrases about academics' experiences were difficult.

Access to the library was limited during the period writing up outside Australia and the lack of access to specific text books and readers caused another delay for the researcher's effective development of the research and compilation of the bibliography. Within Sri Lanka most resources pertaining to gender studies were unavailable and where they were available it was practically impossible for the researcher to access specialist libraries as and when the need arose due to certain conditions of access governing them. Hence, effective access to library resources could be resumed only when research work recommenced back in Australia. Though the library remote services in the University of Adelaide tried their best to resolve this difficult situation, but was practically impossible for them to improve it in any significant way.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodological approach followed in achieving the objective of producing knowledge and interrogating and demonstrating gendered relationality in the academy. The philosophical process that underpins the research process is social constructionism. This is informed by post- structuralism and critical feminism addressed through a lens of male privilege.

Conceptualizations and operationalization of predominantly qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, a focus on comparative contexts and experience, questioning the silence and adoption of grey literature sources were discussed. The implementation of the research process including literature reviews, the collection and analysis of field data, ethical considerations, rigor and limitations were considered in the second half of the chapter.

3 UNDERSTANDING AUSTRALIAN AND SRI LANKAN ACADEMIES

PART 1: Setting up the sites of investigation

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the contexts of the two research sites focusing on the social features and significant issues of relevance implicit within the current analysis of academic life. It subsequently demonstrates the male privilege manifest in some key areas of national statistics pertaining to university academics. Hence, this chapter is setting the scene for the analysis of gender relational privilege and disadvantage in the academy, providing details of social contexts in the first part of the chapter. This is followed by a very concise analysis of academic staff statistics in Australia and Sri Lanka in an attempt to make specific qualitative insights into their collection and reporting.

The unfolding of research findings on gendered privilege in the academy presented in subsequent chapters four and five leads on from this setting. This discussion therefore commences with an account of the social context of Sri Lanka as relevant to the construction of gender in academic life.

3.1   Sri Lankan Social Context

3.1.1   Demographics

The behaviour and thinking of people in any society are largely shaped by their particular histories, environmental factors and socio-cultural systems of meaning-making practice. An understanding of these elements helps develop insights into the practices and perhaps the philosophical and ideological contemplations of people who live in different locations around the world.

Geographically, Sri Lanka is an island of 65,610 square kilometers, located in the Indian subcontinent. Demographically, with a population of 20.2 million (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2013:12), Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious country. The ethnic composition comprises as the following table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

Ethnic and Religious Composition of Sri Lanka

Ethnic Category	Percentage	Religious Category	Percentage
Sinhalese	73.94	Buddhists	69.3
Sri Lankan Tamils[12]	12.7	Hindus	15.5
Hill Country Tamils	5.5	Islam	7.5
Muslims	7.1	Christian	6.9
Others (Burgher etc)	1.5	Others	0.8

Sri Lanka, as Ceylon, gained independence from the British in 1948 and became a republic in 1972. In terms of political representation, the parliament is dominated by the majority Sinhalese people holding 180 seats (80%), with the Tamils holding 28 seats (12%) and the Muslims with 18 seats (8%).There are only thirteen women parliamentarians amounting to 5.7percent of the total (Kuruppu, 2006: 15).Presently Sri Lanka is emerging from 35 years of civil war (from 1975-2009) based on ethnic issues between Sinhalese and Tamils.

The significance of the language medium of instruction in tertiary level education has often been cited as a key determinant of academic life and related opportunities in Sri Lanka. In this context, English language competence has historically received a higher level of recognition and a degree of power in employment, whereas Sinhalese and Tamil language skills have been regarded as secondary (Gunawardena, 1990: 53-65; Conrick and Howard, 2007). Thus there are three main languages spoken in Sri Lanka namely Sinhala, Tamil and English. However, in the public sector education system, Sinhalese and Tamil media predominate at primary and secondary levels.[13]At tertiary level, language use varies according to academic discipline. Thus Pure Science oriented faculties generally use the English medium in their teaching, while in Social Sciences and Arts, teaching in native language media of Tamil and Sinhala predominate (Also see Executive Summary of World Bank South Asia Region, 2009).

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[12]Sri Lankan Tamils are considered the descendants of Tamils in North and East of the country. Hill country Tamils are the estate labourers who are descendants of the migrants from Tamil Nadu to work in plantations which totals up to 18.5 percent of the total Sri Lankan population.

[13]However, recently there have been heavy emphases on the necessity for medium of instruction in English especially at secondary level. Mainly private sector educational institutions and International Schools are pursuing this objective catering to the educational needs of their clients.

In addition to these factors, the educational and related aspirations of Sri Lankans are also significantly shaped by colonisation and associated incidents and values.

3.1.2   History and colonization

The country has a long recorded and written history, with The *Mahavamsa* "The great Chronicle"written in Pali language covering a period from the 543 B.C , from the coming of Vijaya to the reign of King Mahasena (334 – 361 BC; 6th Century BC to 4th Century AD). A companion volume, the Culavamsa or Choolavansha ("lesser chronicle"), covers the period from the 4th century to the British takeover of Sri Lanka in 1815.Especially during the period from the twelfth century till about the fifteenth century, the historyis characterised by constant deals and raids from across the sea predominantly from the Tamil rulers of neighbouring India(De Silva, 2003:17-60; Spencer, 1990).Subsequently western explorers and traders forayed into Sri Lanka until the early nineteenth century. These invasions have been significant in shaping the social life and culture of Sri Lankans, especially the educational and civil life experience. For example, the late twentieth century ethnic crisis and civil war in Sri Lanka between 1975 and 2009 have often been cited as being rooted within the British Colonial administration introduced to Sri Lanka (Peebles, 2006;Samarakkody, 1983).

3.1.3   Westernization and modernization

The Portuguese colonised Sri Lanka in 1505 until Dutch nationals took over in 1656. Dutch rule was influential in initiating many changes especially in the establishment of formal school education (De Silva, 2003:118; De Silva, 2006).In 1795 a British fleet arrived and captured the island from the Dutch. This last British colonial power in Sri Lanka brought the entire country under their command in 1815 until independence was granted in February 1948 (De Silva, 2003:133-356).

Being exposed to colonisation and the western ideologies of modernization during a period of 450 years has been profound, with a very significant and far reaching impact on Sri Lankan society, culture and people. Both positive as well as negative impacts upon the main stream Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim multi-cultural environment can be noted (Bandarage, 1983: 1-86). A major influence was the practice of religious conversion to Catholicism, carried out by the Portuguese. This wasthe first major influence on religion following the introduction of Buddhism into the country in the third century BC. Then, under the Dutch rule, there was forceful conversion to Protestant Christianity, through educational institutions in particular. However, these religious expansions, coupled with the opening up of formal Christian

educational institutions at primary and secondary school levels and later university education under the British,are regarded positively by a large number of scholars as well as by the general public (Hettige, 1982; Jayawardena, 2000). The introduction of a formal system of education helped promote equality of opportunity for education and life chances of social mobility to the average Sri Lankan that had been traditionally unavailable within the feudal social organisation.

Further, the introduction to Sri Lankan social life of Roman and Dutch Law alongside the existing personal laws of Tamils and Sinhalese *Thesawalamei*[14] and *Kandyan*laws[15] (USAID, 2003) is of paramount importance. A singular judicial system of English Common Law applying equally to all was introduced; however in its actual operationalization, this system co-existed with the local personal systems of *Thesawalamei*, *Muslim*[16] and *Kandyan*law.

Further changes were brought into the system of economy, developing a traditional paddy farming agriculture based upon a self-sufficient economic system to a cash crop economy of tea, coffee and spices exported to the West (an international market). This changehas also been regarded as significant, as well as speculated upon from a multitude of stand points in relation to the resulting economic benefits and social disadvantages (Peebles, 2006,Samarakkody, 1983).

The British rule introduced a new system of administration based upon the ColebrookeReport*(1831-32)*in the desireofending the existent administrative divisions along ethnic and cultural lines' possibly in a genuine effort to bring about equality for all Sri Lankans. However, this initiative is frequently observed to have ushered in both negative influences in Sri Lankan political life (De Silva, 2003:133-356) and positives with regard to general social mobility (Jayawardena, 2000). This is especially in keeping with the dominant social development discourses in Sri Lanka (OUSL, 2007; also see Bandarage, 1983: 1-86, 322-352 for an alternative perspective on this). The outcomes of the negative changes are observed by historians and scholars (De Silva, 2003:133-356) as formulating the basis for the present day ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka, though such views have also been contradicted by ethnic minority group representations. Further, the opening up of administrative service to include local citizens in civil service led to a new emphasis on English medium education. This element of education contributed towards the rising of anelite class of Westernised Sri Lankans who subsequently became a driving force in the struggle for independence in the twentieth century (De Silva, 2003: 248-253;also see more views on language in Parakrama, 1995).

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[14] Traditional customary law applicable to Tamil nationals in Sri Lanka.
[15] Customary law applicable to descendents of the central hills in Sri Lanka.
[16] Traditional customary law applicable to Muslim nationals in Sri Lanka.

3.1.4   Social structural features

The impact of social processes and dynamics on higher education in South Asian research makes note of the influence of social stratification systems. Gunawardena (1990: 53-65) has observed class cultures and privileges as significant constituents in gender positioning and support in facilitating women's entry into elite organizations. The following provides the background of similar social aspects relevant to the present analysis.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is important to social position, especially in terms of educational and economic opportunities in contemporary Sri Lanka and this is reflected within the research findings. 'The characteristics that mark a person's ethnic heritage *as understood in the local context* are primarily socio-cultural factors such as language and religion' *(*Jayawardena, 1986: 09, emphasis added).They are not divisions based on biological or physical features such as skin colour, which may be more shared than different. Although particular religious practices in Sri Lanka entail multi-religious or syncretic features that draw upon other religious practices and beliefs, in everyday life, for the purposes of political gain these ethnic/religious identity features have historically more often been manipulated by separatist elements.

The twentieth century ethnic crisis and civil war in Sri Lanka dates back to 1975. Officially the civil war lasted 35 years and the acclaimed Tamil liberation movement of the LTTE was militarily defeated in May 2009 by the Sri Lankan government. The civil war caused lasting damage to all Sri Lankans. The relatively higher privileges, status and greater political power enjoyed by the majority Sri Lankan Sinhalese political representatives in the south, particularly after 2009, reflect on-going ethnic inequality in Sri Lankan society. This situation of continuing inequality has been brought out and made visible in the findings of this research.

Caste

Hierarchies circumventing caste and notions of country or locality are also relevant to this study, the caste system being a key aspect of the social organization of the historical feudal 'Ceylon' during pre-colonial times. Although formally abolished by the British in 1815, caste endures. Even within the western democratic ideologies of the twenty-first century, it still has a place of influence in people's everyday lives. The Sri Lankan caste system is mainly two fold. The Sinhalese Caste system

comprises two significant parts, low country caste hierachy and central highlands hierarchy. Among the Tamil community too there are two such distinguishable systems (Silva, 2009).

Within the ancient *rajakariya* (feudal) system people were assigned to different caste groupings based on a division of labour. People who performed menial tasks such as washing, cleaning and other labour work belonged to lower castes. Other people engaged in farming, cattle raising and peasant work represented middle level service castes. The top of the hierarchy comprised the King's officials, administrators and ministers, who formed the pinnacle next to the King and enjoyed most privilege (Silva, 2003; Yalman, 1969). However, today the performance element of the caste system is almost non-existent whilst the groupings denote a nominal state of presence.

Low country and highlands division

The hierarchical division between low country and highlands (up-country) is also a historical one, though it may be a bit more recent. The Sinhalese divide themselves into two groups, the 'Up Country people' or 'Kandyan' and the 'Low Country people' based on locality of residence and descent traced through names[17].Although these barriers have broken down today, they cannot be totally overlooked in contemporary everyday life and their relevance has been noted in the construction of academic life experience within this research.Another special social system of hierarchy that shows significant impact on gendered and academic lifein Sri Lanka is class.

Class

The class phenomenon in Sri Lanka emerged as a result of the cash crop economy, together with British colonial administrative posts and the formal education system. In post colonial Sri Lanka (especially around the 1940s to 1950s), the upper class derived their position of power by serving the land-owning bourgeoisie performing administrative roles and as wealthy merchants in new industries. In the 1970s further changes to the class system followed, from land reform policies that introduced changes to private ownership of land, and the free market reforms of 1977. Subsequently, the civil war that lasted many decades introduced many changes to the class structure (Jayawardena, 1986: 28-113). Further in terms of household income distribution,recent statistics show that the richest 20

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[17]The Kandyans inhabit the highlands of the south-central region. The Kandyans were the more conservative of the two groups and descendants of the Kandyan Kingdom, which held out against foreign domination for over 300 years until they came under British rule in 1815 (Nyrop et al. 1971: 79, 80, Yalman, 1967: 14,). The Low Country people on the other hand have been subject to foreign rule since 1505 until Sri Lanka gained independence in 1948. Until recently, the Kandyansattitude of aristocratic superiority toward the Low Country Sinhalese precluded marriage between them.

percent receive 54 percent of the total income, whilst 60 percent receive a middle proportion of 41.4 percent, and the poorest 20 percent of the population receive only a 4.5 percent of the total income (Census and Statistics, 2010: 09) which demonstrate that Sri Lanka is an unequal society.

Today Sri Lanka is predominantly a class society along with other forms of stratification such as caste or locality playing a lesser role in determining this hierarchy.

The twenty first century upper class consists of industrialists and businessman, senior executives and government ministers who form the wealthiest group. The upper middle class consists of bourgeois and educated professionals who belong to educated backgrounds, educated in reputed public or private schools, and university educated lawyers, doctors, academics, military officers, senior civil servants and managers. The lower middle class consists of white-collar workers, resident in less prestigious suburbs and constituting the largest class group in Sri Lanka. Finally, the poor or the working class include people engaged in menial labour jobs, living in slums and shanty towns in cities or in under-developed rural areas with poor educational facilities and narrow opportunities for quality education. However, the class phenomenon in Sri Lanka is complex and cannot be neatly categorised with clear-cut boundaries (Jayawardena, 2000)

Women's position in Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan researchers and scholars suggest that Sri Lankan women enjoy a more favourable social position than their sisters in other South Asian nations, experiencing less pressure around dowry and social ostracism (Gunawardena,2005;Kiribamune,1990; Samarakkody,1983)and this may be substantiated to a large extent. For example their educational achievements are the highest in the region with literacy levels equal to those of women in developed countries.The female literacy rate in 2010 was reported as 90.8 percent, while the male rate was 93.2 percent(Census and Statistics, 2011). Also since 1998, the compulsory regulations providing education for a minimum of ten years has been to a large extent influential in bringing about gender equity in primary education, with 73 percent of children attending school in 2004 (Gunawardena, 2005: 67).

Within such a positive picture, however, a generally inequitable education distribution can be seen at senior secondary level with a dropout rate of 30 percent, and with marginal access to science education for those in poor estate and rural sectors and in poor urban neighbor hoods (Jayaweera, 2000:3).

Further, in university education the situation of general deprivation of access to education is notably even worse, with only 3.1 percent of the 20-24 year cohort enrolled in 2004 (UGC, 2004).[18]

Nevertheless within this bleak general picture, women's undergraduate enrolments indicate a positive in terms of gender, having increased from 53.8 percent in 2001/2 (Gunawardena, 2005:80) to 57.6 percent in 2008/9 (UGC, 2000:17). However, university admissions continue to be segregated along gender lines, with women students amounting to around 70 percent in the Arts stream with only around 11 percent in Engineering (Gunawardena, 2005:81), though they may be represented more generously in medicine and other natural science related disciplines.

Turning to the labour market, in 2006 women's active economic participation was only 36 per cent, amounting to about a third in the country's economically active labour force (Department of Census and Statistics, 2006:01). On the other hand,in 2011 the general statistics pertaining to key areas of labour force participation produced by the state Department of Census and Statistics(2011:table 3.1) project a view that women's participation in all three industrial sectorsis favourable, with men outnumbering women only in the service sector, by 10.7 percent.

TABLE 3.2

Distribution of Employed Populations by Main Industry and Sex, Sri Lanka, 1st Quarter, 2011

Sector	Male	Female	Total
Total	100%	100 %	100%
Public Agriculture	29.3	38.0	32.3
Private Industry	25.0	25.1	25.1
Services	45.6	36.9	42.7

Source:, Department of census and statistics Sri Lanka quarterly report, First quarter 2011,
Table 7. At http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/2011Q1%20report.pdf...23/10/2011

According to the above, men and women participate equally in the private industry sector, which includes manufacturing, construction, quarrying, and electricity, gas and water supply industries. But

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[18]Of the students who sit for the final school examinations, the General Certificate Examination Advanced Level (GCE A/L), only 15-17 percent are admitted to university (UGC, 2009:17-18).

with little information provided regarding different levels of employment and the types of duties discharged by men and women, the picture is still very vague. Similarly, 'services' in the above are trade, hotels and restaurants, transport, storage and communication, real estate, renting and business, public administration, defence, education, healthcare, social work, and other social and personal service activities, where male participation exceeds female participation by 11.3 percent (Department of Census and Statistics, 2011).Table 3.1 also suggests that women's participation in the agricultural sector is higher than that of males, which could be seen as positive for women. However, generally women's participation in agriculture is largely as low-paid casual labourers. With no information on the gendered division of labour within these different industries, such conclusions become less trustworthy and may even be misleading and deceptive.

3.1.5   Household and domestic life

The findings with regard to the manifestation and relationality of male privilege in the academy continuously represent privilege embedded in the domestic sphere, which shapes academic life in many significant ways. Gendered privilege is also influenced and shaped largely by complex social structures and how they intersect with each other.

A very influential factor on the outcomes of academic progression which emerged is also evident in the ways in which the politics of domestic life are arranged in the cultural settings studied. Sri Lanka has a more gracious and sociable notion of home life, particularly among the middle classes, when compared to contemporary notions in busy western societies. Within middle-class Sri Lankan society, women are almost exclusively the home-makers and men are strictly expected to play their role as breadwinner outside the home. In the Sri Lankan culture, the notion of generous hospitality still plays a remarkably high role. This generosity, however, has placed huge demands on women as the key facilitators of this practice.

Within Sri Lankan culture, there exists a complexnotion of 'private space' which often overlaps with collective community and public space. Compared to the western perspective of private (individual) as distinct from public, Sri Lankan 'private' denotes very limited or no individual personal space, but relates more to a group and family space. Within this cultural traditional framework of values and practices therefore, personal space is not recognised and may even be stigmatised. Further, individualism in women is often frowned upon. People may ask very personal questions of each other, sometimes in extremely public settings. This can operate to make people conform to accepted social

patterns in relation to the home and the gender division of labour. Sri Lankan culture frequently constructs women as the persons solely responsible for managing kinship ties and rituals around family, and as the ambassadors of peace and goodwill of the community and the whole society (see Samarakkody, 1983: 45-55 for a historical view). Social customs around birth, puberty, marriage and death are highly elaborate and strongly tied up with the feminine role which requires a tremendous amount of involvement and commitment.

Furthermore, there are no specialised institutionalised systems of care for looking after elders or children available in Sri Lanka other than by family and relatives. Moreover, keeping elderly relatives or parents in elder care institutions or children in day care is largely frowned upon, discouraged and stigmatised as intrusions of alien values that go against the traditions of what is seen as authentic Sri Lankan culture. Further, with regards to housekeeping support, a limited number of middle and upper class people do have the support of hired help but this practiceis rapidly withering away, as nearly 75percent of Sri Lankans cannot afford it and potential servants are increasingly unwilling to perform such work due to issues of social identity (Dias, 1990: 220-230). Considering the importance of hired help in the middle class social life of Sri Lanka and especially in the context of academic life and gender, it is necessary to discuss the intricacies involved.

Hiring domestic labour

The practice of hiring domestic labour in Sri Lanka is rooted in its traditional history of the feudal *rajakariya* system. The past practice of lower caste females visiting high caste land-owning households and making their household labour available in exchange for food and other necessities has been foundational to this practice. However, with the advent of increased access to educational opportunity,as well as an open economic system and the abolition of the *rajakariya*system*,* this practicehas become institutionalised with females being hired for wages for specific domestic duties. They may or may not live in but provide their services largely on a regular basis.[19]These domestic helpers represent the most disadvantaged of Sri Lankan women. The practice of hiring domestic labour to assist in many household tasks is frequent among middle and upper class employed and non-employed women.

However, some major constraints of this practice are also observed. These domestic labour providers are largely uneducated and not professionally trained in fulfilling their duties. These deficiencies

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[19]This section is written based on the personal knowledge and experience of the researcher as domestic helpers within Sri Lanka have not been researched(although the labour of migrant Sri Lankan domestic aides is researched heavily).

necessitate on the job training with constant supervision and monitoring on an almost daily basis. Further, many of these helpers provide irregular, fragmented and erratic service. Many have an extremely poor commitment to service contracts and may not be trustworthy.[20] Moreover there are no formalised legal practices to deal with such irregularities, which make the hiring of domestic help in Sri Lanka extremely complex, warranting further research on this issue beyond this study. Nevertheless, in the light of the heavy work-life demands of female academics, the practice of hiring domestic help is seen as positive.(Dias, 1990: 220-222; Fernando, 1983).

A further paradox is observed when there are conflicting remedies for meeting the performance of gender role requirements and gendered expectations in marital unions that delegate domestic duties in their entirety to another female completely outside the marital union. This practice is sometimes interpreted apprehensively within the cultural traditions and can be regarded 'gravely' within the context of patriarchal domesticity as a failure on the part of the female to perform her femininity.

Divorce

A manifestation of the greater importance of the family and the community vis-à-vis the individual can be found in Sri Lankan divorce statistics and in social attitudes to marital breakdown. The divorce rate in Sri Lanka has been remarkably low until quite recently. At a rate of 1.3 per 1000, it is the second lowest divorce rate in the world, barely above the Indian rates (Anonymous, 2010).The low divorce rate also indicates that divorce is considered socially unacceptable within the Sri Lankan culture, especially for women, and that divorcees are highly stigmatised (Bulumulle, 2004: 126-128; Kiribamune, 1994; Deraniyagala, 1992). Thus both men and women are highly committed to maintaining a marriage even through serious difficulties. Another reason maybe, the limited legislation around marriage that still allows only fault-based divorce. Further, there is no social security support available to single parents. Thus the cultural stigma as well as the structural limitations are strong factors that impel women (and some men) to remain within even extremely unhappy marriages. However, with the increased involvement of women in educational pursuits as well as exposure to different cultural values and life styles, these rigid sentiments surrounding marriage have started to be challenged. This is reflected in the recent increase in divorce rates Sri Lanka, particularly among the middle and upper middle classes. However when the two research sites of this study are compared, there is a remarkable difference with Sri Lanka having much lower divorce rates than Australia. Thus the phenomenon of divorced women raising their children, largely

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[20]These claims are drawn fromthe personal knowledge and experience of the researcher.

alone, which is quite common in Australia, has been much less prominently practiced and nearly non-existent in Sri Lanka in the past.

3.2   Australian social context

Australia, a continent of 7,682m square kilometres, is the second research site. It began as a settler society with 98percent of its population of23,672,131[21] being of European or Asian descent, with the Indigenous Aboriginal peoples forming a small minority. It is a multi-cultural society with people from many different cultural and religious backgrounds adhering to a number of different religious faiths such as Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam, while some 18 percent declare a belonging to 'no religion'. The official language, English, is widely spoken in a context of a number of other European, Indigenous and Asian languages.[22]

3.2.1   Historical context

Some socio-cultural features embedded within the historical context of Australia especially with regard to its racial constitution, life styles and values are significant in shaping the academic context. The history of Australia includes two important aspects, that of the predecessor Indigenous populations who inhabited the land for at least 70,000 years before the arrival of the first western inhabitants[23]and the history of the settlers which began with the establishment of a penal colony in January 1788. The number of free settlers, chiefly from the British Isles, grew from the 1790s and in 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia was established as an independent nation. However, Aboriginal peoples constitute an important part of the history of Australia and the reflection of Aboriginal status in social life in the context of gendered privilege as well as in everyday academic life is significant in this research. The ancestors of Aboriginal people are believed to have arrived possibly some 70,000 years ago and to be the original inhabitants of the continent. Further researchers with Indigenous origins/descent state that recent archaeological finds suggest that there would have lived about 350000-750000 Aboriginal people on the continent when the Europeans first contacted it (Blainey, 1975).

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[21]POPULATION CLOCK on 06 Nov 2014In Australian Bureau of Statistics At
http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/0/1647509ef7e25faaca2568a900154b63?OpenDocument...ac_06.11/201 4
4.41pm (Canberra time).
[22]AUSTRALIA'S POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH(2013, 12 18) in *3412.0 - Migration, Australia, 2011-12 and 2012-13*. At: http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/3412.0Chapter12011-12%20and%202012-13...ac_16/11/2014

[23]The author acknowledges that theidentity of the primary inhabitants Australia to have been partly formed with populations who were deported to the island from England as *convicts* but will henceforth (concurrently) use the term 'first western/European inhabitants' to refer to this category.

The establishment of a British penal colony and the spread of settlers across the continent made significant changes to Indigenous nomadic life styles. These include the British taking over most of the lands, forcing Aboriginal peoples out of their territories, and large numbers of Aboriginal people being killed by the colonizers or dying from introduced diseases. Consequently, today the Aboriginal people form a highly disadvantaged minority within Australian society and reflections of some of these historical changes can be observed to result in negative outcomes around their academic experiences as well in many other ways (Flood, 2004, 2006; Blainey, 1975).

3.2.2 Social structural features

Colour and race

One of the significant features to be understood in social life within the context of this research is colour- or race-associated social dynamics in Australia. The notion of colour in Australia privileges the white Anglo-Celtic over all other racial categories. Thus, Whiteness being the normative, the upper class white person is the most privileged in Australian society. Researches concerning notions of racism in Australia confirm that the white Anglo-Celtic Australian is the dominant group among all others. Race groups are mainly differentiated on the bases of their physical differences such as skin colour and origin/descent, where White skin is regarded as superior to other coloured people within this hierarchy. This system of differentiation based on physical attributes is seen as the 'old system' of racism by some (Hall, 2000).

Further a new system of racism is now defined in terms of its reference to cultural stereotypes and cultural traits of racial groups that surround notions of 'self' and 'other'. Hall (2000) explains this situation as 'overt notions of racism' being replaced by 'covert racism' that manifests 'cultural intolerance' (Hall, 2000: 222-224). Within this new system in contemporary Australia, intolerance towards specific cultural groups such as Asian Australians, Muslims and Indigenous Aboriginal people has been noted by many researchers (Hamilton,1990;Rizvi,1996:176-177).

Further, critical race theorists notice a situation called 'normalcy of racism' within which the privilege of Whiteness as the normative dominates (Forrest and Dunn, 2006, Dunn et al, 2003). For instance, Australians with a British, Anglo-Celtic background are recognized as enjoying a relatively privileged position (Forrest and Dunn, 2006b). Further, a greater level of sensitivity regarding racial reality, its presence and influence on people's lives on an everyday basis is also noted (Dunn et al., 2003; Huggins et al., 1991).

Despite numerous efforts in terms of policy (refer to p.13 section 3.2.4 below) which been made in Australia, studies do point out that Australian cultural identity still tends largely to over-look the social diversity of the overall population, and that the national imagery still remains predominantly white (Forrest and Dunn, 2006b).This therefore suggests that there is a continual influence of the White Australia policy established in 1901 and dismantled more than half a century later in the early 1960s, on Australian society even today. Thus, it is essential to note these notions of racism and especially the influence they still have on Aboriginal people and their lives as perhaps the most disadvantaged group, in numerous significant ways (Pritchard Hughes, 1997:17).

Class

Class arrangements and regularities too play a prominent role in shaping Australian academic experience. Although Australians sometimes see themselves as living in a classless society, in practice, class formation based around a four-tier structure is visible. To understand its specific dynamics here, McGregor's (1997) categorisation is considered.

The underclass is the lowest class with incomes at or below the poverty line being primarily made up of long term welfare recipients, the unemployed, homeless and the poverty stricken (McGregor, 1997:261). The working class consists of skilled and unskilled blue-collar workers who may be working (and) in labour jobs (McGregor, 1997: 181-182). A bigger group is of middle class people who fall into three categories: those who may have similar incomes to the working class but hold the established values and life styles of the middle class (lower middle class); those who may be engaged in professional non-manual jobs with higher income than the previous group (the central middle class);and those who identify with the central middle class or who have central middle class income but identify with an upper class by way of values and life style (McGregor, 1997: 181-182).The final class in this structure is the upper class 'which is made up of business people who have created great wealth and [are] very high salaried professionals' (McGregor, 1997: 181-182).

The concept of class in the Australian society is seen as valid in the context of recent statistics on household wealth and wealth distribution in Australia that further demonstrate these great differences between people at the top and bottom of Australian society in materialistic terms. Furthermore, a 2009-2010 report in this regard demonstrates that the wealthiest 20 percent of households have increased their average net worth by 15 percent since 2005-2006 (ABS, 2011). And the fact that these wealthy houses share an average net worth of $2.2 million per household and account for around two-thirds of total household wealth in Australia provides further evidence. Also, in contrast, the poorest 20

percent of households have had only a four percent increase, and they share an average net worth of $32,000 per household, which accounts for a mere one percent of total household wealth. On the other hand, the average wealth of an Australian household in 2011-2012 is reported as $728,000 (ABS, August 2013)[24] which is also reportedly on the increase. These evidences substantiate that there is very strong class inequality in Australian society and there is a widening gap between the rich and the poor which is on the increase and could be expected to impact significantly upon the discourse and access to academic employment.

The link between education and class is inextricable, as education is determined by income and a determinate of income. Thus, in a relatively young country such as Australia, the upper class is considered the best educated and skilled, or best privileged in deriving the benefits of education, and thus these groups have the highest chances for the best jobs. Access to education and the type of education one has access to are also mainly influenced by one's social class. Therefore, it becomes apparent that belonging to a lower class in Australia may largely constrain the opportunity for quality education (as is the case elsewhere) and impose limits on chances and access to the best occupations for the economically disadvantaged. This in turn may largely influence one's access to power in a multitude of contexts, since the common practice and construction of political or other forms of power is shrouded by materiality for a majority of people. In such a context or trajectory of events, the upper class members will usually possess more privilege and access to power (Meagher and Wilson, 2008: 226; also see Good in and Le Grand, 1985).

Rural-urban divide

Another feature of the Australian social structure that isa significant determinant of access to education and facilities, especially among Aboriginal people,is the rural urban divide. As one of the most urbanised countries in the world which has over 69 percent of the population living in major cities, it is also one of the lowest population densities outside the major cities (ABS census, 2010). Twenty percent of the population of Australia lives in inner regional areas and 9 percent in outer regions, while 2.3 percent live in remote or very remote areas where access to everyday facilities is difficult. By contrast, city dwellers have easy access to quality services, and a large variety to pick from (ABS census, 2010). Incidentally, the Aboriginal people are more concentrated in the most remote areas than non-Aboriginal Australians, and as little as one percent of them live in major Australian cities. For all Australians, however, this situation of rural-city divide has a big influence in

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[24]6554.0 - HOUSEHOLD WEALTH AND WEALTH DISTRIBUTION, AUSTRALIA, 2011–12In Australian Bureau of Statistics Athttp://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbyCatalogue/E40C458995B5A2B4CA25738D00155600...ac_27.0 1.2014

shaping educational levels, aspirations and expectations for children especially as in cities there is abundant access to quality educational choices for these inhabitants (ABS 2010 census).[25] It therefore requires further interrogation as to how these different social aspects of class, racism and rural-city divide shape gendered outcomes for Australian women.

Women's position in general life and in the labour market

When compared with Sri Lanka, generally women in Australia have more equality, especially with regard to educational attainment and workforce participation in general. This is despite the fact that Sri Lanka has a higher educational attainment than the rest of South Asia. In this regard, Australian women and girls' participation in education and in the work force have shown an increase during the twentieth century. Further, Australia also has a higher average literacy level of 99 percent for both men and women (UN report, 2011), and a higher female life expectancy of 84.7 years for new-born girls, and 80.5 years for new-born boys in 2007-2009 (ABS, 2013).[26]Australia is ranked number one by the World Economic Forum in relation to female education measures (WEF, 2009 cited in Murray et al., 2011: 24). Records also show that women account for 55.7 per cent of all higher education students (DEEWR, 2010) and 47.6 per cent of all vocational education and training enrolments (Murray et al., 2010: 60).These sources also point to a decline in male participation in higher education from 76 percent about two and a half decades ago between 1986-1996, and it stabilised at 72 percent in 2006(ABS, 2008).[27]

Although women's pursuit of university education above seems to have reached beyond parity at undergraduate or higher degree level,[28] at the level of research degrees, such as Masters and Ph.D., this situation changes drastically, with women's participation amounting to 27.2 percent as against 47.6 percent for males enrolled in Ph.D.s (Department of Higher Education Australia, 2012). Further only a few women do actually attain success in equal employment opportunities within higher education, and reaching higher levels in teaching positions at universities (Hughes, 1997; Braid et al., 2011; Murray et al., 2011). Furthermore, women's university education and positive achievements at undergraduate level do not always lead them to better-paid jobs nor to better outcomes in life. On the

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[25]FAMILIES IN REGIONAL, RURAL AND REMOTE AUSTRALIAFACTS SHEET 2011 (MARCH) In Australian Government Institute of Family Studies At http://aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/factssheets/2011/fs201103.html#ftn3...ac_16.12.2011
[26]4102.0 - AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL TRENDS, NOV 2013 In Australian Social Trends Nov 2013 At http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/4102.0...ac_27/01/2014
[27]LABOUR MARKET FORCE PARTICIPATION In Australian Social Trends 2008 At http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0Chapter7002008...ac_29.11.2013
[28]PH.D. BY RESEARCH AND BY COURSE WORK In Academic Staff by State ,Education Provider and the Highest Qualification and Gender 2012 At http://www.innovation.gov.au/highereducation/HigherEducationStatistics/StatisticsPublications/Pages/Library%20Card/2012StaffHighestQualification.aspx...ac_29.11.2013

contrary, often men who work in blue-collar work trades such as plumbing or electrical work, with much less investment in high educational skills, earn relatively more.

Thus, when looking at the experiences of the two contexts in terms of labour force participation; Australian women have a higher involvement in the formal work-force than do Sri Lankan women. As Table 3.3 shows, 55.9percent of all females are in the labour force, alongside 68.4percent of men. These 2012 statistics demonstrate a detailed gender picture of the Australian labour force.

TABLE 3.3

Labour Market Profile Australia as at 2012 January

Category	Male	Female
Employment to population ratio %	68.4%	55.9%
Employed persons who work part-time %	16.4%	45.8%
Part-time who are under employed %	32.1%	21.6%
Not in the labour force '000	2569.9	3862.5
Monthly hours worked (Million hours)	995.7	626.5

Source(s): http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@nsf/Lookup/6105.0manin+features2Jan%202012...ac_03/02/2012

Also see http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/6105.0main+features2Apr%202012...ac_28/01/2014

Recently an increase in Australian women's labour force participation has been observed. Murray et al. (2010: 33-36) report that from 1997/1999 to 2010 the overall female labour force participation rose from 43 percent to 58.4 percent (ABS, 2010). However these statistics indicate women's less secure position in the workforce than men's and this situation requires careful analysis. For example, out of a total of just over 30 percent of the total part-time workforce in 2010, 69.5 percent were women (Murray et al. 2010).

Further, the Australian labour market is highly gender-segregated. An analysis based on industry sectors shows relatively little change in male-female compositions within industries (Murray et al., 2010: 38-39). For example, the so-called pink-collar industries of health, education, community services and to a lesser extent, accommodation services, are heavily female dominated. The traditional male dominated industries of construction, electricity, manufacturing, mining and agriculture are continuing to be male dominated, while attracting higher privileges and status. The labour market

statistics of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) report that the majority of the public sector work force is female while leadership is predominantly male (ABS, 2012). Gender segregation of the labour market remains in terms of rewards and status; the privileges are tilted more towards male jobs and related masculine industrial skills and labour, while the traditional devaluing of what is considered feminine and the domain of female labour input such as health, education and social work is continued (Murray et al., 2010; Hughes, 1997).

Further, the issue of a glass ceiling, especially amongst the better educated, and the resultant gendered wage gaps, is also a very significant concern (Li and Miller, 2012: 03). This situation of gender inequality is experienced more by tertiary educated women as compared to their counterparts without post-secondary qualifications (Kee, 2006). It has also been raised that the personalization of employment relationships which leave job/work conditions open to negotiation clearly disadvantages some demographic groups more than others, and thisincludes women.This is seen as contributing towards the gender gap within the Australian labour market (Kulik and Olekalns, 2012:1387). These are some of the noted areas of concern in the general work place.

Furthermore, in addition to the public sphere of labour, it is also important to consider gender configurations within the private domain that largely impinge on the activities and power relations in the public domain.

3.2.3 Family and household

The domestic arrangements in relation to the gender order in Australia are unique and quite different from those in Sri Lanka. This difference also corresponds to the findings of this research and is cited as evidence of greater flexibility in life style and more mobility for women when compared to Sri Lanka. Australian society has experienced great social changes resulting from modernisation long before these were experienced in Sri Lanka. This was seen from the 1950s with economic and technological change and the move of more and more married women and mothers into the labour market. Hence the household pattern of the 1950s, where men were breadwinners and most women looked after their families at home, has increasingly been transformed (Bulbeck, 1997).With the increased female participation in education and in the work force during the twentieth century (Murray et el., 2010), in recent times, Australian women increasingly resort to taking a few years or even only a few months out of the paid workforce for maternity and childrearing, and continue their labour force

participation, whether on a full-time or part-time basis (ABS, 2012)[29]. Domestic work, child rearing and caring for older children is largely done by the mothers before and after work and also on weekends (Bittman and Pixley, 1997). While a number of well-paid working women may have a cleaner in their house for a few hours a week, many take care of most of the domestic burdens almost single handed, with only the chance of some assistance from their husband/partner and children (Bittman and Pixley, 1997; also see der Lippe et al, 2013: 1592-1594 for more recent trends and arguments). Often young children are cared for out of the home but the parents continue to be constrained by the need to take children to child-care before work and collect them before the centers close. The stresses involved in negotiating traffic and time schedules have been observed by researchers in this regard (Pocock, 2006). Given these constraints and pressures, the home life in Australia is also stressful for women with much of the responsibility for hospitality remaining on their shoulders.

It is noted that the notions of gender-based labour in Australia are relatively more egalitarian in practice than in Sri Lanka, particularly around the sharing of domestic duties(see Jayaweera et al., 2008). Earlier in Australia, Bittman and Pixley (1997) had maintained that there had been little change in gendered domestic responsibilities (also see Sanson and Wise, 2001)[30] but, on the other hand, Weston and others (2001:18) state that 'the changing pattern of family formation resembles a move away from the male breadwinner-female home maker model with a more common situation of couples conforming to a share-breadwinner model'. With an increasing number of women engaging in educational pursuits, freedom and autonomy has prompted women towards having fewer or no children. Couples often place more emphasis on the need to delay having children until the female partner completes her education and establishes herself in work. Some women also decide to remain childless (Maher and Dever, 2004;Ruth and Weston, 2002). With the increased participation of women in the labour force fathers in families have been called upon to play a more active role in domestic life.

Another significant factor affecting the different levels of social mobility and labour force participation between Australian and Sri Lankan is there being a wide range of co-habitation styles and values governing gendered roles and family life. During the twentieth century there have been some notable changes within the family institution in Australia, as opposed to Sri Lanka, and one of these is that children move out of the parental home to take up an independent adult life usually before they

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[29]AUSTRALIAN LABOUR MARKET STATISTICS APR 2012 In Australian Bureau of Statistics At
http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/6105.0main+features2Apr%202012...ac_28/01/2014
[30] Further research studies by Dempsey (2000) suggest that fathers may contribute more in the area of child care than previously. However,
Murray and others (2010) report that since the domestic time-use surveys began in the 14 years to 2006, in Australia men's contribution to non paid domestic work increased only by 8 minutes a day (2010: 77-79).

embark on marriage. This appears to have started in the 1960s, increasing in the 1980s with the opportunities for full employment opportunity and financial independence (Weston et al., 2001: 13; McDonald, 1995). However, recently it has been observed that the young people who moved out of home returned and remained in the family home longer (AIFS Young Adult Survey, 1998; 1981). This change is triggered by well paid, low skilled jobs not being as readily available to school leavers as they used to be once (Weston et al., 2001: 14). This prolonged dependence on parents, impacts upon those in taxing occupations, such as academia.

Further, the Australian culture's absence of stigmatization of single unmarried motherhood and the possibility of having children outside marriage, the notions of sexual freedom, sexual relations and cohabitation with one's partner before marriage, while common in Australia (ABS, 2000), are almost totally absent in Sri Lanka. These flexibilities in life-style in Australia and the social support that accompanies them has made it comparatively more conducive to women's labour force participation than in Sri Lanka.

Divorce

A measure of the individualism in Australian society and strength of welfare facilities is reflected in the divorce rate. The rising rate of divorce is significant in terms of the social dynamics of family life in Australia. In the twentieth century and beyond, divorce trends have risen noticeably facilitated by radical changes in the divorce legislation namely the Family Law Act of 1975. This new legislation allowed divorce based on only one ground– irretrievable breakdown, measured by at least 12 months separation. This legislation, as well as increased state social security payments and allowances, and the rise in the work-force participation of mothers, led to higher living standards for sole parents and their children, thereby allowing many more unhappily married people in strained unions to proceed with divorce (Westonet al. 2001: 18-20). Thus divorce is no longer stigmatised in Australian society and a significant number of Australian women are raising children alone with occasional assistance from their former partner. However, a decline in the divorce rate has recently been noted, from 2.8percent in 1999 to 2.2percentin 2008.[31] The flexibility and social security around divorce and strained marital relations have exposed women to alternative life styles and forms of homemaking, especially encouraging them towards professional prospects such as academic work.

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[31]FAMILIES THEN AND NOW: 1980-2010 by Alan Hayes, Ruth Weston, LixiaQu and Matthew Gray In Australian Institute of Family studies At http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/factssheets/fs2010conf/fs2010conf.html...ac_1/02/2014

3.2.4   Equality policies and reforms

Thus, a key progressive feature of contemporary Australian society is a raft of legislation passed in Australia over the last forty years to limit, if not eliminate, discrimination against people on a variety of grounds. At the Federal level, the most significant of these have been the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975, the Sex Discrimination Act of 1984, and the Age Discrimination Act of 2004. In 1986, the Federal government passed legislation to promote Affirmative Action for Women in Employment. In a number of cases, these laws were preceded by legislation passed at State level. Thus in 1966 South Australia passed legislation, which prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race and country of origin.[32]Observably, changing laws reflect changing public opinion and also work to influence behaviours and public opinion, but as some critics have pointed out in relation to the position of women in the work force, legislation such as the Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 has not led to 'full equality for women' (Gaze, 2010). Nevertheless in Australia, there is strong social and political support for promoting women's greater equality in the work-force.

Since the 1990s Australian government family policy developments have provided significant diversification in family policies and programmes. The major developments include a large increase in welfare benefits such as the following: a wide range of child care payments and a substantial expansion of child care places; increase in the value of social security payments for children; the proliferation of community service programmes to meet a range of family needs; the introduction of maternity benefit payments (Mitchell, 1997: 1);a government-funded Paid Parental Leave Scheme proposed in May 2010 and implemented in January 2011 (Baird and Whitehouse, 2012: 184). The long-term impact of these family policies has strongly facilitated women's active participation in the labour market. The significance of Equal Opportunity policies in assisting women working in male dominated organizations, upon entering their careers and in progressing to senior levels has been noted (Mitchell, 1997:1-10).

3.3   Academic contexts in both countries

Having established some of the relevant aspects of the social contexts of both countries, the following section refers to their academic contexts in detail, considering the historical beginnings of tertiary education in the two research locations. The discussion focuses on the conditions of academic

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[32] HISTORY OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA by The Equal Opportunity Commission of the Government of South Australia Athttp://www.eoc.sa.gov.au/eo-you/discrmination-laws/south-australian-laws/history-equal-opportunity-south-australia...ac_01/02/2014

appointment, gender equity policies as relevant to and operating in the academic contextsin both countries, and begins by looking at the conditions within the Sri Lankan academic context.

3.3.1   Sri Lanka

The commencement of Sri Lankan tertiary education has been recorded as a group of six western educated people forming the Ceylon University Association in 1906, and the subsequent establishment of a University college affiliated to the University of London in 1913. The University College Colombo was formally declared open in January 1921 and was promoted to a fully-fledged independent University in 1942 as the University of Ceylon, with two main campuses in Peradeniya and Colombo. Today the university system in Sri Lanka has matured to comprise 15 national universities including an Open and Distance Learning University established in 1980 (Singh, 2008: 57).[33]

With a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.658, Sri Lanka has a very high standing amongst South Asian countries. The HDI of the South Asian region has increased from 0.315 in 1980 to 0.516 today; thus Sri Lanka exceeds this regional average.[34]A relatively higher standard of quality of life in Sri Lanka can be seen when compared with the rest of the region, which is particularly evident in the substantive educational achievements at primary and secondary levels within a system of free education. The equal access to education is a cumulative result of long-term post independence liberal democratic policies such as the free education policies from kindergarten to tertiary level for the best performing students initiated in1943by the then Education Minister C. W. W. Kannangara, and the introduction of a host of ancillary services for the economically less privileged (Jayawardena, 1985; Gunawardena et. al, 2006: 562).[35] These free health and education policies have been instrumental in maintaining high standards of educational attainment for both males and females in Sri Lanka, with a recent female literacy rate of 90.8 percent and a male rate of 93.2 percent (Census and Statistics, 2011).However, corruption and other factors constantly work against this positive vision of the forefathers of education in Sri Lanka.

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[33] Refer Annexure1for a list of all Sri Lankan universities
[34]SRI LANKA COUNTRY PROFILE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS in UNDP International Human Development Indicators 2013 At http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/LKA.html...accessed 1/10/2013
[35]These services include free books, uniforms and meals to school children and a scholarship system that supports the high performers from grade five onwards.

Educational welfare policies

There have been two main policy initiatives significant for educational equality in the tertiary system. The Free Education Policy from 1943, referred to above, and the affirmative action of the district quota system in university admissions effected from 1974 to assist geographically disadvantaged students in the underprivileged rural schools to qualify for free tertiary level education in National Universities (Gunawardena, 2005: 08-09). The free education policy in particular has contributed to a great extent towards favourable educational and social opportunity for women, especially in comparison with other countries in South Asia (Gunawardena et al., 2006, Malhotra and OngTsui, 1996, Caldwell et al, 1989).

In Sri Lanka, women represent a majority of the university population at undergraduate level and they have achieved gender equality in primary and secondary school education today *in terms of enrolment and success* (Gunawardena, 2010: 01-11, emphasis added). However, it is extremely significant that the high representation of women in education has not infiltrated into their participation in the labour market. This remains unequal, with a number of barriers yet to be overcome for them to join the labour force. Also, more women are employed in the informal sector (Gunawardena, 2010: 01; Jayaweera, Gunawardena and Edirisinghe, 2008: 3-16; Wickramasinghe and Jayatillake, 2006) without defined or fair wage structures. Such employmentis quite discriminatory against women.

Recent research studies focusing on gender and the labour market have pointed out women's marginal representation in decision making positions in both public (10-25 percent) and private (6.1 percent) enterprises, even amongst professions 'deemed' feminine.Women are also disadvantaged by vertical, horizontal and sectoral segregation(Jayaweera, Gunawardena and Edirisinghe, 2008: 3-5).Furthermore, studies concerned with postgraduate training engagement amongst doctors and medical professionals show that female enrolment and progression in postgraduate degrees is heavily minimised by their childcare duties and family responsibilities (Perera, Abeynayake and Velumayilum, 2006).

On the other hand, the granting of maternity leave to females for childbirth and feeding after childbirth are provisions that have been made available to female workers in all sectors legally since the early

1940s.[36] However,this provision is reported to be diligently applied within the State Sector, but only conditionally in the private sector (Jayaweera, Gunawardena and Edirisinghe, 2008: 71-72).

Clearly, comparative assessment of the social policies in Australia and Sri Lanka demonstrates that action against discrimination based upon gender or ethnic identity has largely not been supported with the relevant legislation in Sri Lanka. Apart from the Official Language Act included in the 1978 Constitution (Chapter IV, articles 18-19) to designate both Tamil and Sinhala as national official languages, there has been no significant practical application of legislation in terms of the routine discriminations observed in everyday life. Thus there are remarkable differences and gaps between Australia and Sri Lanka in equality policies and legislation relating to family life, gender and ethnicity-based discrimination. As a specific focus in this context, this discussion takes into account the processes and practices pertaining to academic life and appointment into higher education service.

Appointment criteria for academic staff

Appointment to academic positions in Sri Lanka is organized on a progressive ranking system based on academic merit from Probationary Lecturer to Senior Professor. Normally a lecturer would be initially recruited on a temporary basis as an assistant lecturer and may subsequently be absorbed into a permanent academic career as a 'Lecturer probationary' for a tenured/permanent position, and it is this procedure which is usually practiced within the conventional university system. The following table gives details and classification of ranks with their required qualifications. When compared with the Australian system of academic performance evaluation, the emphasis upon research in Sri Lanka is evident and increases only from the level of Associate Professor rank and above.

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[36]MATERNITY BENEFITS ORDINANCE 1 AND 2 In The Employers Federation of Ceylon At
http://www.employers.lk/maternity-benefits-ordinance-i...ac_04/10/2013

TABLE 3.4

Classification of Criteria for Appointment of Academic Staff in Sri Lanka

(Through Open Advertisement)

Academic Level	Required Academic Qualifications	Equivalent Qualifications	Specifications of Professional Experience
Level B-04 Lecturer (Probationary)	1. A Degree with specialization (4 years) in the relevant subject with First or Second Class (Upper Division) Honours and at least 01 year experience in teaching /research/professional work/postgraduate studies **Or** 2. A degree with specialization in relevant subject with Second Class (Lower Division) Honours and at least 1 year experience in teaching/research/professional work/post graduate studies **Or** 3. A degree with specialization in the relevant subject without Honours or any other degree with at least Second Class Honours, and (b) A Postgraduate Degree of at least 02 academic years duration in the relevant academic subject with a research component by way of thesis/ dissertation	Such academic or professional qualifications or professional experience as may be approved by the University Grants Commission upon the recommendation of the higher educational institution concerned.	One year of experience in teaching NOTE. An applicant who is eligible under 2 and 3 could be considered for appointment only if applicants qualified under 1 are either not available or evaluated and considered as unsatisfactory by the selection committee.
Lecturer B-04 (a)	Same qualifications as above and acquired academic qualifications to be promoted to Senior Lecturer Gr II, has completed 03 years of permanent academic service and less than 5 years. The academic qualifications should be acquired before the lapse of 8 years of academic service.		Academic contribution made in the area of academic administration and teaching
Senior Lecturer Gr II B-03	Possess the academic qualifications required for Lecturer probationary **AND**A Masters Degree in the relevant field obtained after a full course of study of at least 02 academic years (or an equivalent part-time course of study) with a research component by way of thesis/ dissertation or a Doctoral Degree. In the case of science a Masters degree in the relevant field with fulltime research of at least 2 years or a Doctoral degree.	**Or** Such professional qualifications and experience as may be approved by the University Grants Commission upon the recommendation of the Higher Education Institution concerned.	**And**At least 06 years experience in one or more of i) teaching at University level ii)Professional experience iii) Research in a recognized institution iv) Postgraduate studies to acquire the qualifications stipulated at (2)

	In the case of Faculties of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Law, management and Business Studies a Masters Degree of one year duration in the relevant field may be accepted when combined with an evaluated research record in conformity with current guidelines.		above
Senior Lecturer GrI B-03 (a)	1.Qualifications required for lecturer probationary and 2.A Masters Degree in the relevant field obtained after a fulltime course of study of at least two academic years (or an equivalent part-time course of study) with a research component by way of thesis/dissertation or a Doctoral Degree. In the case of Science/applied science, the required qualifications shall be a Masters degree in the relevant field with fulltime research of at least 2 years or a Doctoral degree. In the case of Faculties of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Law and Management, Business Studies, a Masters Degree of one year duration in the relevant field may be accepted when combined with an evaluated research record in conformity with current guidelines	**Or** such professional qualifications and experience as may be approved by the University Grants Commission upon the recommendation of the Higher Education Institution concerned	**And** at least 12 years experience of which not less than six years should have been after obtaining qualifications stipulated in 2 in one or more of, i) teaching at University level ii)Professional experience iii) Research in a recognized institution iv)Postgraduate studies
Associate Professor U-AC 4 B-02	Internal Applicants-A Senior Lecturer Grade I/II in the relevant subject and at least minimum marks laid in the marking scheme for Associate Professorship External applicants- Candidates with the minimum academic qualifications required for a post of Senior Lecturer by open advertisement in the relevant field of study in post 4 or 6 of Commission Circular No 721 **And**at least the minimum marks laid in the Marking Scheme for Associate Professorship	Internal-External minimum marks Teaching and academic development-Internal applicants marks required 10-External applicants marks required 05 Research and Creative work-Internal 25 External-35 Dissemination of knowledge and contribution to university and National development Internal-10 External-05 Required Minimum mark 70 for both categories	Contribution made to areas of i)Teaching and Academic development ii) Research and creative work iii) Dissemination of knowledge and University and national Development
Professor U-AC 5(II)/(B-01)	Internal Promotion-A Senior Lecturer/Associate Professor may be considered for promotion to the grade of Professor if he/she has obtained at least the required minimum mark as specified in the marking scheme For Advertised posts	Merit/Carder(Advertised minimum marks Teaching and academic development- Merit 20-Cardre 25 Research and Creative work-Merit 50 Carder- 55 Dissemination of knowledge	Contribution made to areas of i)Teaching and Academic development ii) Research and creative work

		and contribution to university and National development Merit-10 Carder-15 Required Minimum mark Merit 105 Carder- 115 for both categories	iii) Dissemination of knowledge and University and national Development
Senior Professor B-01(a)	Recruited through normal promotion. A professor who has completed eight (08) years of service may apply for the post of Senior Professor	Minimum required Teaching & Academic-20 Research- 45 Dissemination of knowledge and contribution to university & national development-15 Total minimum-90	An applicant should submit a self assessment of his/her contribution to following fields after becoming Professor a. Teaching and academic development b. Research and creative work c. Dissemination of knowledge d. University and national development

Sources: UGC Circular 723 published in 1997

UGC Circular 916 published in 2009

UGC Circular 924 published in 2010(Copies are attached as Annexure 2, 3 and 4)

Table 3.4 above present the standards specified for recruitment to permanent academic positions at all academic levels. Temporary and contract based academic staff hiring is also based on similar qualifications and requirements. The current trend is for more permanent academic staff to be recruited to the humanities and social science disciplines while in the natural science based disciplines more temporary academics are hired on a contract or casual basis.[37]

A comparison of the criteria for academic recruitment in Table 3.3 shows that the marking scheme on which the promotion scheme is based considers criteria such as academic qualifications, number of years of experience in academic or academic related activities as well as contribution to national development. For recruitment to lecturer probationary level, normally an honours degree with a first or second class is required. To be confirmed in a lecturer probationary position, a term of three year consecutive service and a post graduate qualification would be essential. For promotion in to Senior Lecturer grade, a two year research masters and academic experience, particularly in teaching or research is necessary. Research achievement is emphasised more for promotions to Associate

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[37]This is based on the researchers' personal experiences of 16 years and observations as an academic staff member in a National University.

Professor and above levels with slightly less emphasis on teaching and academic development, dissemination of knowledge and university and national development. However, significantly, a scrutiny of the evaluation criteria shows that in the assessment scheme, points allotted for teaching related duties are lower than for journal articles. Hence, within this system of evaluation, research and publications earn unlimited points and are valued much more highly than any other academic activity (UGC, 1997, 2009, 2010). Unlike in Australia, a doctoral degree is not a primary prerequisite for entry into tenured academic positions and to temporary and contract positions. Generally, the emphasis on research expertise at all levels is lesser in Sri Lanka than in the Australian system.

Academic life conditions of academics

Three specific aspects pertaining to the work conditions of academics create the context of the academic life in Sri Lanka considered below. The facilities available to academics and the higher education itself has been one of the most significant areas brought up during recent debates and concerns more at a national level.

Facilities

The academic work conditions and general facilities available to Sri Lankan academics have been revealed and emphasised by the token strike that broke out in 2011, which culminated in continued national trade union action for over three months by Sri Lankan academics in all fifteen universities in Sri Lanka.

Sri Lankan academics are currently the lowest paid in the university system of South Asia.The poor remuneration of Sri Lankan academics has been revealed in a recent comparative analysis of academic remuneration rates within the sub-continent of South Asia (FUTA, 2011). University academics are under-paid relative to their colleagues in the rest of the world as well as to similar executive grades in other state sector institutions in Sri Lanka (Hennayake, 2011a; FUTA, 2011). This situation largely discourages the best and the brightest of the graduates from entering into a university academic profession. Furthermore, retaining the qualified academics within such difficult conditions has also been an serious challenge (FUTA, 2011;Hennayake, 2011a, 2011b; Abeysekera, 2012). The necessity of enhancing work conditions for quality academic output has been noted (Thiruvarangan, 2011). Within the Sri Lankan context, academics like other professionals are burdened with the everyday life issues of arranging proper child-care, needing convenient accommodation facilities and effective transportation just as any other working person. Consequently, within this highly competitive

social environment with its loosely structured settings and standards, the goal of producing world class graduates is largely unrealizable.

In terms of academic life, it may be said that the lack of facilities and funds for research and dissemination of knowledge is a feature of the university system in Sri Lanka. Funding allocation for higher education in the national budget is as low as 1.9% of the total budget (Central Bank Report, 2012: 75-76). It has been pointed out that universities lack the resources essential for teaching the students (Hennayake, 2011a). The fact that library resources such as web-based resources and new books, journals and recent research reports of world class international organizations are scarce makes academic research and teaching difficult for Sri Lankan academics in all disciplines (Hennayake, 2011a).

Academic staff privileges include paid study leave with travel funds for post graduate studies, and sabbatical leave entitlement of 10 months to one year every seven years after achieving the position of senior lecturer(UGC, 1989, 2008,2010, 2013). However, the financial support available for research is minimal with little provision for academics to disseminate their research findings by way of conference participation and publication in reputable journals. The more prestigious universities have more opportunities for foreign scholarships and research funding than do other smaller, more recent ones with less established reputations. Experience also reveals a division amongst disciplines, with Natural Science disciplines having greater access to resources and being better financed than Arts and Social Science disciplines.[38]Further, in terms of skills and qualifications it has been observed that there is an acute demand for academics with foreign earned post-graduate credentials, in preference to qualifications earned locally This situation is applicable to all discipline areas, although more so to the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (ThiliniNisansala, 2010).

Brain drain

The poor facilities for academic work in Sri Lanka have a deterrent effect among the best qualified graduates when seeking university academic positions. They prefer applying for employment abroad or migrate in search of better employment prospects. There is a clear rise in the incidence of a 'brain drain' from Sri Lanka, and university teachers may fail to return after higher education abroad (Thilini Nisansala, 2010).Factors associated with academic and research cultures as well as the political environment of the country contribute to this situation. (Thiruvarangan, 2011).

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[38]This is based upon the researcher's experiences as an academic as well as rising out of the common sources of knowledge and discussion within higher education in Sri Lanka. Also refer Gunawardena et. al., 2005 and 2006 and Morley, 2006 for similar comments and ideas.

Ragging

A particular feature of university life in Sri Lanka relates to student activism, which is mainly led by male students with a handful of females. This means that the student counselor and other administrative roles in Sri Lanka must involve some disciplinary elements, especially the assigning of unruly, masculine behaviours of members of the student body to male academics for disciplinary action. Ragging in Sri Lanka dates back some 40 to 50 years, beginning as an innocent amusement of students getting to know each other and establishing team spirit. Today it has become a primitive, violent exercise of personal or group social frustration in which established students inflict pain and discomfort on fresher students (Gunatillake, 2011). In the present context it is also seen as an exertion of power and domination by social groups who are otherwise disadvantaged in the larger society, for example some groups of rural students. Ragging in Sri Lanka prevails in all universities in some form or other. It is now explicitly and traditionally embedded in conventional university environments, exclusively at the under graduate level.

Ragging takes several forms and prevails during the first few weeks or even months of the undergraduate year. Traditionally it is practiced by ordering the students to adhere to a demure, in some cases homogeneous, form of dress, and to exhibit submissiveness and subordination. These patterns are to be adhered to by both male and female students and deviants are severely punished. Forms of ragging extend from mild jokes and being shown to be foolish and silly, to verbal harassment or abuse, which may include saying, reading or listening to filthy songs, or to talk or abusive remarks made about oneself.

This is frequently carried out amidst a large group of peers. An even more troubling form of ragging is that which involves physical violence, including the imposition of severe hard exercises or behaviour that involves nudity and sexual harassment, especially for boys. While sexual assaults on female students do occur, they are reported minimally. The day-scholars are largely protected from severe ragging but student residents in hostels who are from more distant and remote areas often fall prey to violent ragging.

The impact of ragging has been adverse on many occasions with reported incidents of mental, physical and emotional problems to students and their well-being (Buddhadasa, 2007). The culmination of this violence has resulted in death on a number of occasions. After prolonged incidents and damage caused to a large number of students' undergraduate education, even resulting in the deaths of some, an act was passed in 1997 in the Sri Lankan parliament entitled Prohibiting Ragging

and Other Forms of Violence in Educational Institutions. This was implemented as Act No 2 of 1998 (Fonseka, 2009). However, subsequent to the implementation of this Act, at least two further student deaths have occurred due to ragging (Gunatilake, 2011). Hence it is re-iterated that the impact of ragging on especially the female academic staff, works to their disadvantage as they would often not be considered suitable for positions of student counselor within the Sri Lankan context.

3.3.2 Australia

The history of the Australian tertiary education began in 1850 with the establishment of the University of Sydney. In 2007, Australian higher education consisted of 39 Universities with 37 public and two private universities. The system is dominated by eight universities known as the Group of Eight (Go8).[39]The Go8 is a coalition of leading research intensive Australian universities, offering a comprehensive general and professional education. These are largely the oldest universities established in the nineteenth century or before World War II, and located in large metropolitan cities. These universities gain the lion's share of research funds provided by the Australian Research Council and other national funding bodies.[40]These 'sand-stone' universities often have beautiful old buildings and are seen as more prestigious than most of the newer Australian universities (also see Larkin and Neumann, 2012: 5-6; Williams, 2010).

Appointment criteria for academic staff

Academic appointments and promotions in Australia are based on academic positions ordered on a progressive system of academic levels and merit from A-E, starting from the junior position of Associate Lecturer (Level A) to the highest academic position of Professor (Level E). The academic criteria required to qualify at each level focus on all three areas of academic activity, namely teaching, research and service to the university. The level of performance required in these three areas is varied, depending upon the level of seniority of the academic position. The research emphasis becomes greater at higher levels as Table 3.5 makes evident.

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[39]The Group of Eight or GO8 universities are Australian National University (1946), University of New South Wales (1949),Monash University (1958) , University of Adelaide (1874), University of Sydney (1850), University of Melbourne (1853), University of Queensland (1909) and University of Western Australia (1911
[40] WELCOME TO THE GROUP OF EIGHT in Group of Eight Australia At http://www.go8.edu.au/home...ac_04.07.2012

TABLE 3.5

Typical Classification Criteria for Appointment of Academic Staff in Australia from the University of Adelaide Website)

Academic Level	Required Academic Qualifications	Equivalent Qualifications	Specifications of Professional Experience
Level A Associate Lecturer	Four years of tertiary study in a relevant discipline. An honours degree with a post graduate diploma	OR will have equivalent qualifications	Teaching and research experience. Scholarly individual professional expertise.
Level B Lecturer	A doctoral or a Masters qualification	Equivalent accreditation and standing	Experience in teaching, research, creative achievements, professional achievements and technical achievement outside tertiary education
Level C Senior Lecturer	Advanced qualifications, A doctoral degree	Equivalent qualifications to doctoral degree	Requirement of demonstrated scholarly and professional achievement and recognition in the academic area
Level D Associate Professor	A doctoral degree	Equivalent accreditation and standing	A record of recognised demonstrable scholarly professional achievement in the relevant discipline area. Outstanding contribution to teaching, research and profession required
Level E Professor	A doctoral degree (as same as Level D)	Equivalent accreditation and standing(the same as Level D)	Providing leadership as a recognized leading authority in the relevant discipline area. Fostering excellence in research, teaching and professional activities and policy development in the academic discipline

Source: Promotions Guidelines (Academic staff and title holders) Enterprise Agreement 2010-2013
http://www.adelaide.edu.au/hr/conditions/ea/...accessed_10/2011

Equality policies in university education

Australian universities typically have a set of policies and procedures to promote equity and diversity. Equity and diversity policies have been implemented with fair treatment policies covering university students and staff and addressing the issues of bullying, discrimination, harassment, sexual harassment, racism and vilification. These take the form of grievance policies for students, and complaints policies for staff, and code of conduct policies that apply to staff to identify any issues of ethical conduct that may arise in their employment. Close relationships policies outline a university's positions on staff-student relationships and staff-staff relationships with regards to potential conflicts of interest in explicit areas.

The relevant State and Federal equal opportunity and human rights legislation which relates to equity and diversity are also relevant in university contexts. Usually the policies adopted by a particular university are made explicit and freely accessible to their students and staff on the university's website as a measure of its transparency. This creates an environment which is more supportive of academics

in general and female academics in particular than is the case in Sri Lanka which evidently lacks such explicitly transparent policies.[41]

Facilities and benefits for academics

Australian university academics have access to better facilities than those available in Sri Lankan universities. Particular differences are observed especially in the areas of grants and funds, material resources, library facilities and educational technology. While flexibility of working hours as well as maternity leave and study leave are privileges observed in both countries, Australian academics' entitlements to leave facilities reflect a more focused worker-centeredness than in Sri Lanka. Academics are eligible for annual leave (NTEU, 2009: 26),[42] paid parental leave for either parent or paid maternal leave for 26 weeks, long service leave (ibid, 37) or Special Studies Programme leave (NTEU, 2009: 50,Annexure 5; also see NTEU Bargaining Update Bulletin 14, 04 October 2013).[43]

Casual academic staff

Certainly a significant number of staff are hired on a temporary, casual basis, and most of these work part-time. These casual academic staff do not have access to the leave and other benefits available to permanent staff. In recent years the efforts of the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU)[44] to improve the rights of casual staff have been significant but have not born much fruit (NTEU, 2012; NTEU, 2009: 2-23, 78-80).For permanent staff, however, flexibility of working hours as well as maternity leave and study leave are privileges observed in both countries.

The casualisation of the academy is a major concern in Australian universities within the current trend towards neoliberal flexiblization and managerial rationalization (Marginson and Considine, 2000: 3-6). Since the 1990s casualisation trends have greatly increased in the universities, such that between a third and a half of university teaching is being delivered by casual staff (Brown et al., 2010: 169). Casualisation has been observed to have a multitude of implications on academic experience for staff (Brown et al., 2010: 169). Further, the tendency for the majority of these casuals to be women due to their caring obligations and their inability to avail themselves of fulltime academic commitments has been noted (Brown et al., 2010: 170). Women have been shown to be faced with the double jeopardy

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[41]See, for example, THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE FAIR TREATMENT POLICY In Human Resources at http://www.adelaide.edu.au/hr/equity/fair_treatmt/...ac_04.07.2012
[42] All fulltime academic staff are entitled to leave of absence with full pay at the rate of 20 days per year.
[43]NTEU BARGAINING UPDATE FOR QUT 04.10.13in the National Tertiary Education Union library at http://www.nteu.org.au/library/...ac_04/10/2013
[44]NTEU SURVEY OF ACADEMIC STAFF in *Unicasual*, The website for Australian casual and sessional academics athttp://www.unicasual.org.au/...ac_13.07.12

of work-place discrimination in terms of access to income and status, especially due to a voice-lessness constituted by their casual status and also because there is a tendency for them to be treated differently from men in employment contracts (Brown et al., 2010: 170; also see Berry, 2005; Cotterill et al., 2007). While casual staff was not included in this study, however it must be emphasised that casualisation is a very significant aspect of the gendered privilege in academic life that requires further interrogation and detailed analysis.

Aboriginal academic staff

Despite these equality policies and achievements, Australian Aboriginal academic staff proportions remain very low in the national statistics and the small number of Aboriginal staff is an increasing concern. A recent newspaper report argued that 'Indigenous staff are dramatically under-represented in academe'(*The Australian*, 7 September 2011, 29).

This report pointed out that in 2009there were only 241 teaching and research staff and 58 research-only staff in the whole country(*The Australian*, 7 September 2011, 29) In 2011 the Indigenous Higher Education Advisory Council reported the need to launch a strategy to increase Indigenous employee representation in the sector to reach population parity within 10 years. The senior Council members also noted that the extent of under-representation wassuch that it could not be overcome simply by relying on any 'pipeline effect' (ibid). The experience of Aboriginal people has been extremely limited in academic professions, with notably limited headway into academic positions beyond those in the areas of Aboriginal studies. Their representation in managerial positions and decision-making is minimal.

PART 2: Interrogating statistical data

3.4 Insights from figures

In this second part of the chapter an exploration of male privilege in the academy is conducted using published statistical data on academic staff in Sri Lanka and Australia. A few key categories of inquiry have been selected for interrogation using simple quantitative analysis and discourse analysis concurrently. The discussion is based on available data particularly in relation to the representation of academics in different academic ranks, as well as to the gender distribution in different disciplines, at decision-making levels and awards and scholarships. It commences with a brief account of the origination of gender disaggregated statistics.

3.4.1 Gender disaggregated statistical data resources

The history of gender-disaggregated data is a recent one. The 1995 United Nations Beijing Platform of Action states that for the effective monitoring of progress of gender equality and women's advancement and to guide policy, the reliable and timely availability of statistics is essential. It has been stated, however, that sometimes national data on basic demographic and social topics for analysis are also deficient or unavailable altogether (United Nations, 2006: vii, 2010). An increasing demand for sex-disaggregated data and statistical information in all aspects of life has been evident since the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. In 2006, a key response was made by the United Nations Statistics Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), analysing the world's women and their progression in statistical reporting. Similar insights and concerns can be observed in the practice of statistical data collection on academic staff in Higher Education in Sri Lanka and in Australia.

Australia commenced compilation of gender-disaggregated data on academic staff in higher education during the 1970s and 1980s. The main sources of data pertaining to university academic staff include the Higher Education Group of the DEEWR web-site in cooperation with the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This information has been freely accessible online since the early 2000s. By way of contrast, Sri Lanka commenced gender-disaggregated data of academic staff only from 2005. There, Higher Education data have been published since 1998, however only rather intermittently. An Annual Statistical Handbook by the UGC (University Grants Commission) has been available only since 2009. Currently, the bureaucratic authorization required to access higher education statistics is a heavy constraint on Sri Lankan researchers interrogating the 'higher education business'.

Furthermore, the reporting of certain categories of information is inconsistent and irregular. For example, the University Grants Commission's Annual Report of 2009 reports scholarships and Fellowship awards giving the total sum spent under each different scheme of awards, but this is differently reported in other year reports(such as those of 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013),all of which use less transparent formats. This makes it impossible to analyse the gendered patterns[45], or any other patterns for that matter.

Some specifics observed in Australian reporting, which relates to accessing data on grant funds and awards also involves some complex and unclear procedures and processes. For example, when data were requested, for this particular study, through the Adelaide University's Research Division on gender disaggregated ARC grants or government data compilations, requests did not yield satisfactory results without the use of personal links and networks within such information sources/bases. In this context, such data not being available explicitly or readily in gender-disaggregated formats was somewhat surprising and limited the opportunity for detailed scrutiny.

Nevertheless, precise interrogation during the current study of the practice of statistical data compilation and reporting on academic staff statistics in both Australia and Sri Lanka makes it clear that Australia maintains relatively better, more consistent, democratic and transparent reporting and dissemination of gender-disaggregated data and associated practices than is seen in Sri Lanka.

3.4.2   Gendered trends in Australian and Sri Lankan higher education

In Australia published research in terms of women's representation and academic ranking reveals that in the 1990s women held only a quarter of the continuing (tenured) appointments in universities, while only one in ten professors was a woman (Probert, 2005: 255). Furthermore, information on research funding in Australia shows that in 1996, out of the successful applicants for the Australian Research Council's (ARC) large research grants, only fifteen percent were women researchers (ARC, 1996).This reality is further evident in more recent research data that refer to the fact that the highly prestigious ARC Federation Fellowships have traditionally attracted a very low number of female applicants, and

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[45] These local research grants have been reportedly awarded to 58 staff members in grants that amounted to 27,000,000.000 LKR. This data is neither gender-disaggregated nor listed under different discipline areas. Under the Commonwealth scholarship scheme 20 academics were reported to have been nominated and 'under review' with no specific details on gender, discipline area or any other information provided.

that across the seven selection rounds conducted by 2006/7, only 9.3 per cent of proposals (76) were from females.[46]

In the developing nations of South Asia oriented largely towards Eastern traditional ideologies, there is little published research on women's or men's experiences of academic work-life. There is however, some reports and unpublished grey literature (Morley, 2005:211).[47]In this regard, the limited publications available in Sri Lanka parallel those in the West in demonstrating women's poor representation in higher academic ranks. These studies note that some 'level of numerical gender parity' at higher decision-making levels has been attained (though this statement is left without un-coding what this entails).More significantly it reveals the invisibility of women's participation (Gunawardena et al., 2005). One study further stresses that the influence of the un-specified organizational culture in universities leads to inadequate representation of women in elected posts such as Deans or in appointed posts such as Heads of Departments, Directors of Centers or Institutes, or as representatives on boards or councils (Gunawardena et al., 2005).

Further, it has been stated that there is a trend in Asia for gender to be represented as a 'non issue', and that this is the case in higher education policy in Sri Lanka at both national and organizational levels. Similarly, a noticeable silence is maintained regarding the poor representation of women in the academy, which is demonstrated to be a form of 'failure to address issues beyond the achievements of the quantitative targets' (Gunawardena et al, 2006: 570; also see Morley et al., 2006: 96-101).It may be questioned whether this 'failure' is in anyway influenced by an institutional unwillingness or uneasiness as a result of cultural traditions and ideologies being transformed into these set-ups and work-place ways of being.

Having noted the social context of gender disaggregated statistical compilation and some key gendered trends in academics' representation, recent statistical information is now drawn in an analysis of several different sources on a few key themes in both Australia and Sri Lanka. These are analysed to provide a clear gendered picture of the academic staff position in the research sites.

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[46]ARC ANNUAL REPORT 2006/7 in ARC Annual Reports athttp://www.arc.gov.au/pdf/annual_report_06-07.pdf...ac_ 09/10/2011
[47]The researcher believes that Sri Lankan academics are reluctant to question their own ways of being in general, and specifically as gendered beings.

Academic rankings in Australia

Tables 3.5 to 3.7 below present selected statistics from 1989-2012 in Australia to show the relative percentages of male and female academics classified by academic level. The data for different years are drawn from several different sources given below and brought together to present an analysis for consecutive years. A limitation is observed with regard to the unavailability of data for previous years especially for the 1990s through a single source. Despite the minute irregularities in the formatting followed, it is acknowledged that these statistics to a large extent present an accurate picture. The statistics given here in bold font reveal both the magnitude of male privilege and the changes, which can be seen to have occurred over recent years.

The statistics in Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 clearly show that over the years the privilege and dominance of male academics in terms of proportional representation has been consistently very high, despite the fact that the total proportion of male academics dropped from 72.2 percent in 1989 to 59.1 percent in 2010, which indicates an overall increase of gender equality in academic staff positions even where men are dominant and clearly more privileged in terms of numbers.[48]This parallels an increase in the total female representation by 15.1 percent over a period of 21 years and a gradual average annual increase of about 0.5 to 1 percent, which is not quite statistically significant.[49]

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[48]These percentages were calculated by the researcher based on original statistical figures.
[49]This average is calculated taking each year interval and the percentage increase into consideration and dividing by the number of years.

TABLE 3.6

Percentage of Academic Men and Women by Classification by Level (Australia) Selected Years from 1992-1999 (Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Staff Classification	1989*		1992		1994		1995*		1996		1999	
	M	F	**M**	F	**M**	F	**M**	F	**M**	F	**M**	F
Above Senior Lecturer	**92.1**	7.9	**89.9**	10.1	**88.4**	11.6	**87.8**	12.2	**87**	13	**85.4**	15.6
Senior Lecturer	**85.6**	14.4	**80.9**	19.1	**79.1**	21.9	**76.8**	23.2	**75.7**	24.3	**72.1**	27.9
Lecturer	**65.7**	34.3	**60.1**	39.9	**59.7**	40.3	**59.4**	40.6	**58.4**	41.6	**56.6**	43.4
Below Lecturer	**49**	51	**48.7**	51.3	**48.4**	51.6	**48.1**	51.9	**48.4**	51.6	**48.2**	51.8
Total Academic Staff	**72.2**	27.8	**68.1**	31.9	**67.2**	32.8	**66.5**	33.5	**65.9**	34.1	**64.5**	35.5

TABLE 3.7

Percentage of Academic Men and Women by Classification by Level (Australia)

Selected Years from 2000-2006   (Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Staff Classification	2000 M&F		2001 M&F		2003 M&F		2004 M&F		2005 M&F		2006 M&F	
Above Senior Lecturer	**83.9**	16.1	**82.8**	17.2	**80.9**	19.1	**79.8**	20.2	**78.5**	21.5	**77.1**	22.9
Senior Lecturer	**70.6**	29.4	**69.5**	30.5	**66.3**	33.7	**65.3**	34.7	**64.6**	35.4	**63.4**	36.6
Lecturer	**55.9**	44.1	**54.4**	45.6	**53.6**	46.4	**52.9**	47.1	**52**	48	**51.3**	48.7
Below Lecturer	**47**	53	**45.9**	54.1	**46.8**	53.2	**46.3**	53.7	**46.4**	53.6	**46.2**	53.8
Total Academic Staff	**63.7**	36.3	**62.5**	37.5	**61.3**	38.7	**60.5**	39.5	**59.9**	40.1	**59.1**	40.9

Source: ABS Higher Education Statistics, 2001-2008

TABLE 3.8

Academic Staff by Gender, and Academic Level Classification, 2008-2012 (Australia)
Selected Statistics of 42 Academic Providers (Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Staff Classification	2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Above Senior Lecturer	7015 (75%)	2328	7257 (73.2%)	2618	7511 (72.7%)	2819	7796 (72.0%)	3027	8055 (70.7%)	3323
Senior Lecturer (Level C)	5424 (61%)	3459	5503 (60.1%)	3656	5522 (58.7%)	3877	5580 (57.9%)	4042	5755 (57.8%)	4201
Lecturer (Level B)	6163 (50.7%)	6070	6371 (50.04%)	6382	6538 (49.3%)	6699	6771 (49.3%)	6946	6919 (49.0%)	7179
Below lecturer (Level A)	3305 (46.7%)	3758	3356 (46.7%)	3821	3349 (46.9%)	3786 53.1	3276 (47.2%)	3652 52.8	3479 (48.2%)	3734 51.8
Total academic staff	21907 (58.2%)	15,615	22487 (57.7%)	16477	22919 (57.1%)	17181	23423 (57.0%)	17667	24207 (56.7%)	18436*

*Source:*www.deewr.gov.au/HigherEducation/.../HEStatistics/.../Staff/...ac_21/10/2011
http://heimshelp.deewr.gov.au/sites/heimshelp/2011_Data_Requirements/2011HigherEdStaff/Documents/2011StaffElementDictionary.pdf...ac_10.10/2011
http://www.innovation.gov.au/highereducation/HigherEducationStatistics/StatisticsPublications/Pages/Library%20Card/2012StaffFulltimeEquivalence.aspx...ac_23/10/2013
http://www.innovation.gov.au/HigherEducation/HigherEducationStatistics/Pages/Library%20Card/Publications/2011StaffFulltimeEquivalence.aspx...ac_23/10/2013
*The total males and females for 2012 includes one more than the actual due to being presented as it appears in website

However, within this very broad positive trend, male academic proportions are still notably over-represented at the higher academic levels such as Senior Lecturer and above, and under-represented at lower academic levels such as lecturer and below lecturer. In the category above Senior Lecturer, male academic numbers are extremely high (92.1 percent in 1989), which gradually drops to 72.7 percent in 2010, a decline of 19.4 percent over 21 years. This indicates a decrease of less than one per cent each year, which may be statistically significant but is the slowest changing amongst academic ranks in proportional male dominance. At the Senior Lecturer rank, male rates drop slightly at a higher speed than in the above senior lecturer level (from 85.6 percent in 1989 to 58.7 per cent in 2010), a drop of 26.8 percent over a 21 year period. For the category of lecturer, the years from 1989-2010 depict a gradual decline by 16.8 percent.

An overview of these statistical trends suggests that male proportions remain dominant and way ahead of those of females in all categories, including lecturer and above (though with slightly increased male proportions in 2010). However, what is hopeful is that, though it is quite gradual and slow within all academic ranks, a gradual steady growth of female proportions is visible. The rank below lecturer in Australia is the only category where female proportions exceed male by between two and five percent. After 1989 the proportion of females grew within this particular group, from 51 percent in 1989 to 54.1 percent in 2004.This declined to 53.2 percent in 2003 and the period 2004 to 2009,saw an increase of 0.1 to 0.2 percent. Interestingly, however, in 2008 within this category a steady and speedy decline of female representation below lecturer rank from 53.3percentto 51.8 percent (a 2.5 decrease) is also evident.

Scrutinising these statistics shows that, in Australia, all ranks except the below lecturer level are still clearly male dominated. The fact that the proportion or percentage of women at the lowest rank has been recently decreasing by 2 percent over a period of 4 years is a very significant one statistically and academically. This trend suggests, mainly, that women are more likely to be 'dominantly' represented only at this lowest rank, if at all, and that men are less likely to stagnate there. Though female proportions within all other categories above 'Level A' are gradually increasing over the years, the category of above lecturer rank is still very clearly male dominated and much slower to change. Female predominance at the lowest level, however, denotes a very slight increment of men since 2008-2012 in Australia. This may be an indicator of another very significant trend in terms of the continued gendering of the academia. This backward trend and under representation with regard to women, and the reality of the counterpart privileging of the academic male, is further seen in the Sri Lankan context.

Academic rankings in Sri Lanka

Tables 3.9 and 3.10 below refer to academic staff statistics in Sri Lanka for selected years from 1999-2010. For the1999-2002 period, the statistics are based on grey statistics drawn from the few available sources on higher education (Karunaratne, 1999). For the rest of the years the figures are based on the statistics of the University Grants Commission (UGC).

TABLE 3.9

Distribution of University Academic Staff by Gender in Sri Lanka (1996, 1999, 2002)

(Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Category	1996				1999				2002			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Professor	157	**88.7**	20	11.3	NA	**85.0**	NA	15.0	210	**77.8**	60	22.2
Associate Professor	81	**78.6**	22	21.4	NA	**72.0**	NA	28.0	189	**88.7**	24	11.3
Senior Lecturer L 1	*653	**69.6**	285	30.4	NA	**70.0**	NA	30.0	957	**66.9**	474	33.1
Senior Lecturer L II									NA	**NA**	NA	NA
Lecturer (Probationary)	696	**64.3**	387	35.7	NA	**62.0**	NA	38.0	745	**60.5**	486	39.5
Total	1587		714									

Sources: Chitra Karunaratne (1996, 1999) CENWOR, Proceedings of the National Convention on Women. (Tables 3.18 and 3.19) Gunawardena et al., 2005: 97, 99

* Senior Lecturer categories have been merged into one group for the purpose of this analysis

TABLE 3.10

Distribution of Sri Lankan University Academic Staff by Gender 2006-2011

(Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Category	2003	2005	2006		2007		2009		2010		2011	
	Non gender disaggrgated	Non gender disaggregated	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Professor	294 (3)	324 (2)	**266 (2) (76.8%)**	80 (23.2%)	**294 (4) (77.9%)**	83 (22.1%)	**298 (3) (76.8%)**	90 23.2%	**347 (4) (75.9%)**	110 (3) (24.1%)	**416 (76%)**	133 (13) 24%
Associate Professor	105	103	**81 (82.6%)**	17 (17.4%)	**71 (76.3%)**	22 (23.7%)	**49 (65.3%)**	26 34.7%	**43 (70.4%)**	18 (2) (29.6%)	**55 67.1%**	27 32.9%
Senior Lecturer L 1	1542 (3)	1633 (12)	**1136 (12) (66.1%)**	581 (3) (33.9%)	**1160 (21) (64.4%)**	641 (9) (35.6%)	**1304 (7) (64.2%)**	724 (2) 35.8%	**1485 (17) (65.5%)**	780 (16) (34.5%)	**1339 (13) 62.2%**	817 (12) 37.8%
Lecturer/ Lecturer (Probationary)	1340 (391)	1383 (418)	**868 (177) (58.4%)**	616 (176) (41.6%)	**869 (221) (55.9%)**	685 (233) (45.1%)	**879 (305) (54%)**	747 (304) (46%)	**873 (254) (50.8%)**	845 (357) (49.1%)	**870 (171) 50.5%**	856 (342) 49.5%
Total	**3281 (397)**	**3443 (432)**	**2351 (191) (64.4%)**	1294 (179) (35.6)	**2394 (246) (62.5%)**	1431 (242) (37.5%)	**2530 (315) (61.4%)**	1587 (306) 38.6%	**2748 (275) (61%)**	1753 (378) (39%)	**2680 (184) 59.4%**	1833 (367) 40.6%

Source: 2003, 2005-2011 based on UGC Statistical Handbooks 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012

Temporary staff in brackets

**NA stands for not available

Until 2006 regularly published gender disaggregated UGC statistics on academic staff was not available in Sri Lanka

Distribution patterns in academic grades (as they are referred to) in Sri Lanka, between 1996 to 2010, show several trends. During the four year period from 2006-2010, for which gender disaggregated statistics are available, the total male academic staff proportions have ranged from 64.3 percent in 2006 to 59.6 percent in 2010. The overall proportions of women have remained between 35 and 40 percent, showing women's significant and on-going under-representation in the academy.

There are five different academic grades in the Sri Lankan academic classification, with two Professor grades and two Senior Lecturer grades, which are clustered together and treated as single categories within the present analysis given in the table above. This is done in order to construct categorical consistency between the two countries for effective analysis of the trends while taking the similarities of the two categories into consideration. Within all five levels male predominance is clear and starkly evident. However, there is a gradual decline in the proportion of men in the category of Professor from 88.8 percent in 1996 to 76percent in 2011, a 12.2percent drop over a period of 15 years. Similarly in the

Associate Professor grade, male proportions remain far higher than for females, but there is no steady decline evident within this category, rather a pattern that shows increases in some years. This could be a function of the smaller number of academics in this category and the long period of time taken by individuals to move in or out of it, or a case of female academics applying less often than men for Associate Professorship before they apply for the Professor level.

In the Senior Lecturer grade there is a mixed pattern of decreases along with a slight increase in 2010. However, the main trends show that principally male proportions continue to remain higher than the counterpart females, remaining static around 68 per cent to 65 per cent throughout the 15 years. In recent years from 2010–2011,the proportion of female Senior Lecturers has grown by 3.3 percent. In the Lecturer Probationary grade, which is the lowest academic grade in Sri Lanka, men still predominate and the average percentage hovers around 54. In 2011 this category indicates near gender parity with only 50.5percent male representation. According to these statistics this is the highest level of gender equality achieved in any academic grade in the entire history of the academy in Sri Lanka, which suggests a change in the gendered practices of recruitment into academic positions. However, importantly, as seen earlier, this cannot be seen as a lessening of male privilege for either country. Women are more likely to be gathered at this lowest entry grade position (which is equal to below Lecturer level in Australia), without upward movement through the academic scale. The fact that there are more women coming in at the bottom level does not necessarily lead to the women moving up in the system, which has been presented as a 'pipeline fallacy' (Castleman and Allen, 1998).Further, men are slightly under represented at the lowest level when compared to their total level of participation in the academic workforce. Thus men account for 59.6 per cent of the total academic work force, however only for 50.5percent at the lowest level.

Overall then, the statistics on academic ranks in the two countries demonstrate consistent male dominance, with the male numbers nearly in all academic grades being far above those of female academics. One exception in this regard is, at the Lecturer and Below Lecturer levels, just for one year in Sri Lanka and throughout in Australia, the numbers have equalised. At the lowest levels male and female proportions are more equal. The greater representation of women at this level is a manifestation of male privilege and female inequality. The proportion of women shows a gradual increase at all levels as well as in the total academic work-force. But it is significant when compared to, for example, 2006, when women were 37.3 percent of the broad economically active population in Sri Lanka(Department of Census and Statistics, 2006: Chapter 3.1), and a similar level of representation within the total academic labour force is visible. Women, however, representing over

40 percent at Lecturer/Lecturer Probationary level indicates a more progressive trend than the average trend in labour force participation.

It is evident that the achievement of gender equality within academic ranks is relatively slower for Sri Lanka, especially looking at the Lecturer/Lecturer Probationary categories, although the pace of gender changes in the upper grades is quite similar in both countries. However, the overall progression is more positively evident for Australia. In the next section, the gender intricacies of academic representation are further interrogated in terms of gendered discipline categories.

Gender distribution by discipline

Gender segregation in academic disciplines is another very significant aspect of the gendered academy. This entails the form of gender stereotyping of academic disciplines where female dominated disciplines are constructed as worthless and as more unimportant than the male dominated ones, thereby constructing a divide. This produces the vertical and horizontal gender segregation that is visible in academic institutions (Bell and Bentley, 2008: 06) and implemented through gendered discipline categories.

In this research, gender distribution of academic staff by discipline has been investigated in both sites using available data and various other relevant peripheral sources. For both Australia and Sri Lanka the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) statistics are utilized, with the limitation that these data were not available annually. What has been available is data that categorises male and female representation in research-intensive and non research-intensive academic roles and duties. This data has been referred to. Particularly in Australia, data categories for conducting this analysis were scanty. Consequently, the 2006 ACU statistics reported by Singh (Singh,2008: 07) for Senior Lecturer and above categories are analysed with regard to the discipline distribution of academic staff (Table 3.11).

TABLE 3.11

Gender Representation in Academic Disciplines in Australia and Sri Lanka 2006

[(Based on Senior Lecturer and Above) Male and Male Percentages in Bold Font]

Discipline	Sri Lanka			Australia			Common wealth
	F	M	M %	F	M	M %	Total
Biology	15	**13**	**46.4%**	62	**276**	**81.7%**	639
Chemistry	43	**38**	**46.9%**	52	**382**	**88.0%**	665
Computer	10	**27**	**73.0%**	47	**361**	**88.5%**	693
Engineering	33	**98**	**74.8%**	111	**1346**	**92.4%**	841
Mathematics	8	**40**	**83.3%**	79	**446**	**85.0%**	586
Information	3	**18**	**85.7%**	136	**560**	**80.5%**	529
Medicine	39	**31**	**44.3%**	303	**1190**	**79.7%**	1522
History	10	**23**	**69.7%**	86	**173**	**66.8%**	779
English	21	**2**	**8.7%**	70	**93**	**57.1%**	1047
Education	17	**32**	**65.3%**	393	**419**	**51.6%**	2747
Social Sciences	21	**69**	**76.7%**	304	**510**	**62.7%**	2358
Total							**12406**

Source: ACU Statistics; Table 21; Singh, J, (2008: 37-44)

This data demonstrates the gendered nature of disciplines in both countries. In the Commonwealth region in 2006 and 2008, Engineering, Mathematics, Chemistry, Computer Science and Biology respectively were the most heavily male dominated disciplines. These were then followed by Medicine, Information Technology, History, English, Social Sciences and Education (Singh, 2008: 36).

Thus, according to the statistics of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, male dominance is visible in nearly all discipline areas, though clearly in some more than others. The notion of gendered disciplines is relevant to the current research study, and to the thesis of masculine privilege in

disciplines within the sample, as an important aspect that may specifically impinge on gendered academic life.

In Table 3.11, ACU statistics for Sri Lanka and Australia in 2006 show that in Australia female academics in all discipline areas represent below 50 per cent, which demonstrates a more gender-biased distribution and male privilege in disciplines in Australia than is numerically evident in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, according to the ACU statistics, in Sri Lanka female academics in the science-oriented disciplines of Biology, Chemistry and Medicine represent more than 50 percent, and over 90 percent in English. This latter has been a traditionally female discipline dominated largely by a group of English educated middle and upper-class and upper-caste women (see also Gunawardena et al., 2005, emphasis added), which may be also read as a strong reflection of feminist activism amongst this group of English educated Sri Lankan women, long exposed to western ideas and ways of being.

Further, the more gender-egalitarian national picture apparent in Australia ceases to exist when discipline distributions are explored more deeply, since these indicate more embedded gender realities than are perhaps indicated in the Sri Lankan scenario. In the ACU statistics, male dominance in all disciplines in Australia is more clearly evident, as will be discussed below.

In regard to this gender distribution in disciplines, the Sri Lankan situation shows surprising variability in the representation of male and female academics.

TABLE 3.12

University Academic Staff by Gender and Discipline Area 2009-2011(Sri Lanka) (All Academic Grades)(Male and Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Discipline area	2009		2010		2011	
	M	F	**M**	F	**M**	F
Arts[1], Humanities and social science, Language and communication, Islamic studies, Art and culture	**706 (66.4%)**	357	**687 (64.8%)**	372	**683 (62.9%)**	402
Education	**24 (45.5%)**	30	**27 (44.2%)**	34	**29 (47.6%)**	32
Law	**13 (44.8%)**	16	**11 (42.3%)**	15	**09 (33%)**	18
Medicine, Health allied Sciences, Health care, *Siddha* medicine	**306 (49.9%)**	307	**310 (48.1%)**	334	**341 (50.07%)**	340
Dentistry	**36 (58%)**	26	**34 (62.9%)**	20	**31 (56.4%)**	24
Veterinary science	**21 (55.2%)**	17	**21 (55.2%)**	16	**19 (55.8%)**	15
Science, Applied science, Geomantic, Natural sciences	**493 (60.7%)**	319	**469 (59.3%)**	321	**466 (58.7%)**	327
Agriculture, Animal science and Export Agriculture and agriculture plant management	**163 (66.8%)**	81	**170 (61.3%)**	107	**250 (66.8%)**	124
Commerce and Management and Business studies	**290 (59.9%)**	194	**269 (55.1%)**	219	**292 (55.9%)**	231
Visual and performing arts[2], Fine Arts	**84 (71.1%)**	34	**85 (74.5%)**	29	**160 (66.1%)**	82
Engineering and Engineering Technology	**333 (79.6%)**	95	**2879 (72.1%)**	111	**290 (72.3%)**	108
Fisheries and Marine	**15 (42.8%)**	20	**18 (45%)**	22	**19 (50%)**	19
Information technology and Science and Technology	**25 (52%)**	23	**34 (58.6%)**	24	**33 (61%)**	21
Architecture	**24 (50%)**	24	**28 (50.9%)**	27	**26 (50%)**	26
Total Percentage male female permanent academic staff	**2721 (61.5%)**	1702 (38.5%)	**2588 (59.6%)**	1753 (40.4%)		

Source: Extracted from UGC Statistical Handbook, 2010pp.76-79, 2012 pp.85-89, University Grants Commission, Colombo,

[1]Visual and Performing Arts also include Ramanathan Institute of Fine Arts and Sripalee campus.

[2] In Law, some are reported under the Humanities Faculty within the Open University where the only other Law department in the country exists

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In Sri Lanka, according to the UGC information, the highest male representation is evident in Engineering, Agricultural Science and Visual and Performing Arts, which are72.3, 66.8 and 66.1 per cent respectively. It is noted that the Australian situation represents a remarkably different picture within comparable disciplines (refer to Table 3.10). The earlier pattern of highly gender segregated disciplines is followed by those in Science and Management. For example, in Dentistry, Veterinary Science, Medicine and Management, the numbers of male academics are about five to ten per cent higher than their female counterparts. Interestingly, in Sri Lanka, female academic staff dominates in Law and Education, with an average percentage increase of 10 to 30 per cent, which is also a marked difference from the situation in Australia as noted above.[50] In Architecture, Fisheries and Medicine in Sri Lanka, there is near gender parity with less than a two percent difference between male and female academic proportions.

The key trends observed in the distribution of academic disciplines indicate clearly visible male privilege in numerical representation. Thus problems for disciplines occur where women are highly gender segregated, as in some disciplines (identified as horizontal segregation), and where, if a discipline is female dominated, it is then accorded lower status while if it is male dominated it is granted higher status (identified as vertical segregation) (Bentley, 2011:86 also see Carrington and Pratt, 2003).

Further, there is a slow but gradual increase in female numbers in all discipline areas evident especially in Sri Lanka, and more broadly within both countries. This is particularly evident in the data pertaining to the academic rank of Below Lecturer level in Australia. However, the trends for the gendering of disciplines are markedly different between Australia and Sri Lanka. The progressive incremental trend suggested in the national statistics mainly for Australia as well as more broadly for Sri Lanka gets starkly blurred and shifting in the discipline representations within it.

The above statistics pertaining to discipline representations indicate a more rigid gendering of academia in terms of academic disciplines in Australia, than is observed in Sri Lanka. These progressive patterns for discipline representation in Sri Lanka may be attributed to the merit based practices of entry into tertiary education and as well as appointment to academic staff positions out of the best performing students.

Thus, a general point reached here regarding gendered disciplines is that a greater measure of equality is only possible if at least a rough equivalence of men and women is achieved in all disciplines, as

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[50]There are no separate statistics for discipline categories of Fisheries and Law for Australia in the ACU (2008) report.

against both vertical and horizontal forms of segregation within them.

Representation in decision-making and in most senior positions

Table 3.15 demonstrates the predominantly masculine nature of academia at the executive level in the two research sites over the period from 1997 to 2006.

TABLE 3.13

Executive Heads by Country (Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Country	1997			2000			2006		
	Total	F	M%	Total	F	M%	Total	F	M%
Australia	42	6	**85.7**	43	8	**81.4**	37	9	**75.7**
Sri Lanka	11	0	**100**	11	1	**90.9**	13	1	**92.3**
Commonwealth	600	50	**91.7**	602	54	**91**	42	429	**90.2**

Source: Association of Commonwealth Universities Statistics,Table B2;Singh, J. (2008: 61)

The unequal gender distribution in these positions is common to both countries, however a more positive picture is visible in Australia. Here the male proportions have dropped by 10 percent over a period of nine years. The Sri Lankan situation involves much smaller numbers and is far more rigid by comparison, with only one female executive head and a decline in male percentage of less than 8 percent. In fact, over this period the absolute number of male heads increased by two. Table 3.14 below demonstrates the proportion of Deans by country and gender. It indicates that the dominance of male Deans is declining more rapidly in Australia from 2000-2007, while in Sri Lanka it has increased by about 10 percent during the same years.

TABLE 3.14

Deans by Gender and Country (Male Percentages in Bold Font)

Country	1997			2000			2007		
	F	M	Male %	F	M	Male%	F	M	Male%
Australia	31	**184**	**85.6**	38	**207**	**84.5**	48	**156**	**76.5**
Sri Lanka	6	**27**	**81.8**	9	**41**	**82.0**	4	**37**	**90.3**
Commonwealth	245	**1571**	**86.7**	308	**1852**	**85.7**	375	**1836**	**83.0**

Source: ACU Statistics; Table B6;Singh, J. (2008: 65**)**

According to these ACU statistics, the status quo in Sri Lanka shows more gender bias than in Australia in terms of participation in higher academic administration. Within the Commonwealth in general, the patterns indicate a gradual decline. Table 3.15 below represents male and female senior academic staff in Australia by classification from 1996-2005, and it demonstrates that male academics dominate university senior management.

TABLE 3.15

Male and Female Senior Academic Staff *(Male Female Percentages)(Male in Bold Font)*
Full-time and Fractional Full-time by Classification, 1996-2005 (Selected Academic Ranks) (Australia)

Academic level	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Vice Chancellor(Male %)	95 %	90 %	86 %	83 %	82 %	77 %	76 %	73 %	70 %	77 %
Male	**38**	**35**	**32**	**30**	**31**	**30**	**29**	**27**	**28**	**30**
Female	2	4	5	6	7	9	9	10	12	9
Deputy VC (Male %)	81 %	78 %	82 %	81%	81 %	83 %	82 %	79 %	74 %	70 %
Male	**80**	**73**	**76**	**73**	**86**	**95**	**90**	**100**	**95**	**90**
Female	19	21	17	20	20	20	20	27	34	38
Academic Level E (Male %)	90 %	89 %	88 %	87 %	87 %	86 %	85 %	85 %	84 %	83 %
Male	**2301**	**2405**	**2400**	**2461**	**2688**	**2711**	**2926**	**3060**	**3236**	**3550**
Female	262	310	321	364	406	439	497	545	626	733

Source: DEST staff data sets 1996-2005AVCC- Table 3. Male and Female Staff Full-time and Fractional Full-time by classification, 1996-2005

Uni_Staff_profiles_1996-2005.xls / % Female Participation by level...ac_22/03/2010

Uni_Staff_profiles_1996-2005.xls / Males by level...ac_22/03/2010

This table clearly shows that the high echelons of university administration are demonstratively and explicitly male preserves with only a token representation of females. However, an encouraging trend is the very slow decline in male dominance which is evident in Australia in all the three senior staff positions of Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor and Professor/Level E. Out of these three categories, the fastest transformation can be seen in the category of Vice Chancellor, while the slowest change evident is at Level E. Although the number of Level E female staff almost tripled from 1996-2005, their proportion growth is only 7 percent. Over this nine year period, the number of male professors increased by 1,249.

Scholarships and awards

Thus it is apparent that in Australia the academy appears as resistant to change as ever, especially in the higher management echelons, and this is also evident in research and grant success (Castlemanet al, 1995: 18).This is almost 20years old, it doesn't seem the best reference here. Nevertheless, within the current statistical analysis a slow but gradual progress is also indicated.

The Australian Research Council (ARC) is an Australian Government statutory agency and its mission is to deliver policy and programs that advance Australian research and innovation. The ARC is responsible for the management of the National Competitive Grants Program (NCGP) and for administering the Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA) initiative.[51] Discovery grants are one of the main types of research awards administered through the ARC. The gender disaggregated data on these awards for 1995, 1996, 2007 and 2008 show that the success rates are better for male applicants.

However, the situation is not a bleak one, since female success rates are only 3-5 per cent less than male in the most recent years, which indicates considerable improvement when compared with the success rates of previous years (see Tables 3.16 and 3.17). These statistics also indicate that more men apply for these grants and many of them are unsuccessful.

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[51] http://www.arc.gov.au/...ac_10/02/2012

TABLE 3.16

Successful Solo or First Named Applications for ARC Large Grant Applications in 1995-6

Gender	1995		1996	
	N Applied	**% Successful**	**N Applied**	**% Successful**
Male	2125 (86.1%)	451 (87.7%)	2391 (85.2 %)	569(85.7%)
Female	344 (13.9%)	63(12.3%)	415 (14.2%)	95(14.3%)
Total	**2469 (100%)**	**514 (100%)**	**2806 (100%)**	**664 (100%)**

Source:ARC LARGE GRANT APPLICATIONS inBazeley, P.(1996). Waiting in the Wings: A Study of Early Career Academic Researchers in Australia. National Board of Employment, Education and Training, Commissioned Report No.50. Australian Government Publishing Service: Canberra. At http://www.researchsupport.com.au/Waiting_in_the_Wings.pdf Accessed 31.10. 2013

TABLE 3.17

Distribution of ARC Discovery Projects/ Grants Gender Wise

Gender and Category	2007	2009
Female		
Total Approved	401	477
Not funded	1738(81.3%)	1954(80.4%)
Success Rate	**18.7%**	**19.6%**
Male		
Total Approved	1461	1574
Not funded	4645 (76.1%)	5442(77.5%)
Success Rate	**23.9%**	**22.4%**

Source: University of Adelaide Research Branch Data, referred in December2011

The situation in Sri Lanka is less well understood. Numerous research studies refer to the generally gendered nature of grant fund acquisition and success (Probert, 2005). However, in Sri Lanka there has not been sufficient research or analysis into this. There isa severe lack of effort to understand the gendered nature of access to grants and awards, as part of the deliberate disregard of gender within higher education.

University/government-supported grants and scholarships for academic staff in Sri Lanka are of paramount significance to career mobility and progression. These are the sole means available to all academics to gain much-valued foreign-earned credentials, and academics need to be successful in winning such awards through their own personal effort. This has been the common practice until recent interventions under the HETC (Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century) project introduced in 2009by the World Bank.[52] This is true equally for both male and female academics.

The Table below (3.17) represents the gender distribution of scholarships and awards for international and local programmes to academic staff in Sri Lanka for the five years from 2004 to 2008. These statistics are based on data extracted from the annual reports of the University Grants Commission, Sri Lanka. These data are not reported separately for some years, therefore in this analysis they are presented under the categories of grants utilised by the UGC.

As given in the tables, there are three or four different types of awards available to Sri Lankan academics. These are Commonwealth fellowships (UK) for senior academics, Commonwealth split site scholarships (UK), placements in Indian universities, and awards and grants for local and international based studies. Among these different categories the most prestigious are the Commonwealth Fellowship awards for post-doctoral research abroad. This category is followed by the Commonwealth split site awards for the UK, which give awardees the opportunity to spend half of their candidature in a UK university but the degree awarding university is always the local Sri Lankan partnering university, hence they are seen as less prestigious.

The Indian exchange awards stand at the next level in the hierarchy of prestige, and last are the local awards granted through the National Centre for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (NCAS). Usually the competition and recognition for international scholarships is much higher than for locally based awards. These smaller grants are therefore usually utilised for less expensive training opportunities, either within Sri Lanka or in the South Asia region, and are regarded of less value hence there is less competition for them. On the other hand, the international awards of prestige (usually to study or work in a western and English language academy) are supposedly awarded on merit, though in actual practice the bureaucratic screening can be governed by subjective judgments.

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[52]The HETC programme is a strategic initiative launched to strengthen the intellectual and human capital of the country since 2009 under the financial assistance of the World Bank in response to Sri Lanka's future in the context of the global knowledge economy in the Twenty first century.

TABLE 3. 18

The Gender Distribution of Scholarships and Grants

Award type	2004/5		2005		2006/7		2007		2008		2009		2011	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Commonwealth Fellowship Awards			**15** **(75%)**	5 (25%)	**18** **(91%)**	2 (11%)	**11** **(55%)**	9 (45%)	**13** **(65%)**	7 (35%)	**20** nominees		**6** **(55%)**	5 (45%)
Commonwealth Split-site Awards			**7** **(58.3%)**	5 (41.7%)	**7** **(46%)**	8 (54%)	**7** **(50%)**	7 (50%)	**6** **(42.8%)**	8 (57.2%)				
Split-site Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowships	**9** **(64.2%)**	5 (35.8%)												
Indian Cultural Exchange Awards	**9** **(45%)**	11 (55%)												
Placements in Indian Universities for Probationary and Senior lecturers in Humanities, Social Sciences and Management							**5** **(50%)**	5 (50%)						
Local Research Grants amounting to 10, 105,000.00 LKR For MPhil/Ph.D.							**33** **(73.3%)**	12 (26.7%)						

Local Research Grants amounting to 5,450,000.00 LKR For MPhil/Ph.D. List of names not given						**26**							
Local Research Grants amounting to 27,000,000 LKR For Ph.D.											**58**		
Local Research Grants amounting to 3,600,000 LKR towards the 2nd instalment For Ph.D.											**10**		
Local Research Grants amounting to 6,661,882 LKR For Ph.D.												**27**	

These details were personally gathered and computed by the researcher from the Annual reports. The awardees were identified by gender titles given in the lists of names of the awardees. Sri Lanka Universities Year Book 2003/2004 is the fourth issue of the new series published after a lapse of 4 years from its previous issue(2005, p.46). Therefore these statistics include details for 2003,2004 and 2005 published in 2005.

Source: UGC Sri Lanka, 2005, 26th Annual Report, p.25-26.
Source: UGC Sri Lanka,2006, 27th AnnualReport, p.29.
Source: UGC Sri Lanka, 2007, 28th Annual Report, p.34.
Source: UGC Sri Lanka, 2008, 29th Annual Report, pp.21,23,24& 25.
Source: UGC Sri Lanka, 30th Annual Report, p.28.
Source: AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS,RESEARCH GRANTS AND OTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY ACADEMICS in UGC Sri Lanka 2009, 31st Annual Report, p.35 Published in 2010.
Athttp://www.ugc.ac.lk/downloads/annual_report/UGC%20Annual%20Report%202009%20(English).pdf...ac_9/10/2011
Source: AWARD OF SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS,RESEARCH GRANTS AND OTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY ACADEMICS in UGC Sri Lanka 2011, Annual Report, p.41-42 Published in 2012
At http://www.ugc.ac.lk/downloads/annual_report/UGC%20Annual%20Report%202011%20%28English%29.pdf...ac_01/11/2013

In the distribution of these awards, statistical patterns in the above tables suggest that among Commonwealth Fellowship holders, female representation is much lower than that of male academics around 2004/5 and 2006. However, this representation increased in 2007 and 2008. Overall, it is observed in these Sri Lankan awards and scholarships that, although the female awardees have increased over the years 2005-2011, men are more privileged than women in terms of the prestigious awards. On the other hand, in the Commonwealth Split Site Awards, female academics have won awards equally with the male academics. In 2007 and 2008 female academics have also been awarded slightly more of these awards than men. It will be worth finding out whether in Sri Lanka female academics demonstrate greater willingness to apply for Split Site Awards, which involve short durations of stay out of the country, possibly due to personal, familial reasons rather than academic ones. However, the data in Table 3.18 shows that, in a majority of scholarships both for local and international training, male academics have been awarded the more prestigious ones.

Thus, in observing the practices of collection and presentation of statistical data on academic staff in universities, the following issues become apparent. In Australian reporting, the consistency of categories and formats utilised in presenting data are continuous and accompanied by improvements on proceeding years. However, that the number of Aboriginal academic staff has not been explicitly reported in these statistics is a deficiency that needs to be addressed. In Sri Lanka, the staff statistics are not compiled under different disciplines but under faculties, which blurs relevant distinctions. The fact that information on awards and scholarships is not included in the UGC statistical handbook is a weakness of existing data dissemination practice. The absence of data on ethnic academic distributions in Sri Lanka is another serious deficiency noted. The trends observed in the annual reports especially on scholarships and awards, where the applicants are unidentified and presented in consolidated unidentified categories; indicate that a rapidly diminishing value of transparency is implemented within the recent volumes when information pertaining to research grant monies are reported (Refer UGC annual reports, 2010, 2012 for a scrutiny).

3.5 Conclusions

The foregoing chapter sets the scene in its first part and in the second part provides a detailed examination of statistics on gendered representation in the academies of Australia and Sri Lanka. The first part of this discussion on contexts of the two research sites focused on significant social and academic context features of relevance implicit within the analysis of gendered academic life. The social aspects included demographics, colonization and hierarchy marked by caste, class, ethnicity or race and location. The academic contexts details took account of the historical beginnings of higher

education while focusing the conditions of academic appointment, equality policies of relevance and some issues pertaining to conditions of academic life in the two research locations.

Then, from an in-depth examination of relevant statistical resources in the second part, it becomes clear that there is strong male dominance evident in terms of academic distributions in ranks, disciplinary affiliations, in decision-making positions and in scholarships and awards. However, in the lower rungs of the academy in Lecturer and Below Lecturer positions there is a slow change indicated for both countries, and in a few disciplines. This situation of 'change' is much more promising and visible in Australia than in Sri Lanka at the broader, national level. With regard to gendered distribution of academic staff in different discipline areas, the broadly more positive picture for Australia in academic ranks is modified. In fact, in Sri Lanka more encouraging distribution patterns are evident in traditionally male dominated discipline areas than in Australia. However, the disciplines also appear to be differently evaluated and gender configured in the two countries. Thus, while Medicine has more women in Sri Lanka, in Australia women have found it more difficult to enter into the medical academy. Senior academic levels and high-level management positions remain very rigidly male dominated in both countries, but Australia demonstrates more promise of change in this regard. Research awards and scholarships in Sri Lanka suggest that more prestigious awards, scholarships and post-doctoral fellowships favour male academics at the expense of females. Thus, overall, the results within this chapter demonstrate strong male privilege in the academy in both Sri Lanka and Australia with some scope for optimism within a few limited areas.

4 GENDER RELATIONALITY: MALE PRIVILEGE AND FEMALE DISADVANTAGE IN ACADEMIC CONTEXTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the data in relation to one of the key questions, that is, whether male privilege acts to disadvantage the positions of academic women within the sample. It interrogates a few key areas where this relationality is evident in the accounts of the daily experiences of male and female academics' lives surrounding different academic activities, the context of pre-career family background and in work-life balance. It explores the way every day practices within universities influence the construction of gender relational outcomes. This discussion seeks to interrogate whether male privilege stems from any devaluing of female and or women's work, and if so, to identify specific academic and everyday processes and practices contributory to gendered imbalance.

The concept of gender relationality is analysed here considering informal everyday aspects of academic work-life e.g. in micro-politics, pre-academic career determinants in family background and in everyday work-life balance. The materialization of privilege/disadvantage relationality is also investigated considering both formal and informal aspects of academic and everyday life. For example, the relationship between privilege and disadvantage is explored in the formal institutional context through the way male and female academics' experiences are shaped within specific academic activities and settings such as mentoring, teaching, service to university, and research.

4.1 The Concept of Gendered Relationality

This analysis begins with a brief introduction of what is meant by gender relationality within this analysis and why it is important in the context of male privilege and academic life. It very briefly reiterates the need for a scrutiny of male privilege in the academy, taking a few explicit reference points from previous feminist research on academic life. Joan Eveline (1996), for example, is a pioneer for her passionate emphasis on the need to shift the analytical focus from a woman-blame approach to an 'essential' articulation of men's advantage. This shift of perception is necessary for a more insightful, *realistic and complete* understanding of the mutuality of the discourse that constructs the gender advantage/ disadvantage duality (1996: 69). Such an emphasis introduces an innovative critical dimension to the whole analysis of women's less privileged position in academia. These views have been supported by other scholars too (for a detailed reading refer chapter one).

Gender relationality is captured and demonstrated as a central focus of the present study. For the purpose of this research male privilege is conceptualised as an influence, initiation or intervention which occurs through discursive processes external to the individual her/himself and not of their own making or initiative. Such processes may be experienced as representations in the external world as beliefs and gender ideologies, or in material terms such as in tangible concrete everyday patriarchal normative practices. In a context of gendered (masculine) privilege, these may have positively favorable influence that contribute to meeting positive academic outcomes and career advancement more often for the male academic than for the female. Such initiations **would** simultaneously result in/produce a negative influence on female academics' career advancement due to the **possible** gender bias against women through such unequal practice. Thus, in the following analysis, experiences of male and female academics in an academic context are regarded gender-relational on the basis of the following:

1. Whether academics' experiences represent a notion of influence which contributes to meeting positive ends and personal advancement, and which is gainful for individuals of a particular gender; whether this favorable influence is often in relation to men's experiences (ie. a form of valuing the masculine explicitly or implicitly).

2. Whether there is a concurrent relationship between the above positive influences and a negative gendered impact that constructs an unfavorable influence and a disadvantaged position for women; and whether these negative impacts contribute to hinder or undermine the personal advancement of the individual (a devaluing of the female explicitly or implicitly).

3. whether there exists concrete forms of 'influence', 'initiation' or an 'action'; what kinds of 'external processes' or 'interventions' occur, beyond or external to the individual her/himself (both in concrete and abstract senses), which initiate a positive/negative gendered influence over their lives that simultaneously transforms into privilege for men and disadvantage for women academics (processes, traditions and practices).

The point of departure for this analysis of academics' gender relational experiences is concerned with the pre-career experiences and its influence on their entry into an academic career. These include the dynamics within family background that shaped employment aspirations towards an academic career. Here, the aim was to identify whether there were any regular gender relational patterns of privilege and disadvantage evident in academics' social backgrounds that contributed towards their academic career aspirations as gendered pre determinants of their success or failure. Here two specific aspects of the factors regarding family background are focused on. One explores the support and circumstance-related

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factors in academics' family backgrounds and considers whether these suggest gender relational privilege and disadvantage in the way they are shaped. A second aspect was to understand whether ideologies of femininity and masculinity as sources of the external world played a part in shaping those aspirations as 'gender sensitive pre academic career determinants'.

4.2 Relational Privilege in Social and Family Background

Social learning theories show that significant elements of human social behaviour are 'learned' through primary and secondary socialisation that occurs from infancy within the family, and from childhood into maturity through more formal channels (Giddens, 2001: 29, also see Oakley, 1972).

The knowledge and behaviour content of these socialisation experiences are acquired via a range of social roles through a multitude of processes. These correspond to and are guided by the multiple social needs normatively defined and related sets of means made available to men and women.

In this study, the interviewee responses revealed a multitude of experiences of parental and inter-familial influences, and social background factors that significantly shape academics' entry and career aspirations. Within these responses, some key trends are observed which exerted a significant influence in shaping academics' career aspirations and choice. While clear and strong privilege and disadvantage gendered relationality/duality was reflected within some of the representations others represent relatively free narratives unaffected by it. Such elements of influence however are seen to primarily represent a class status dynamic which is relatively free from gender bias, whilst a role model configuration that indicated gendered elements [in] shaping academic career aspirations.

4.2.1 Class and Social Status

One of the major trends which emerged with regard to pre-career experiences is clearly reflective of a class and socio-economic status dynamic. Academics' aspiration formed and shaped through inspiration in the family background and embedded family values, primarily found materially realised in ways that displayed a significant class dynamic other than a gendered one. A middle / upper class dynamic: extremely significant in influencing academics' career choices and academic success in particular. This was particularly evident in both the reports of academics who were White Australian and Sinhalese Sri Lankan. The experiences below by Australian and Sri Lankan men demonstrate very clearly the

confidence regarding one's own academic career being shaped through middle and upper class privilege family dynamics.

> I was financially secure...I stayed at home and lived at home...I had good support...I have two brothers and a sister and all of them did university education.
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

> My father was a businessman... [my mother's] father was a protestant minister who had a degree... and [mine] was a private boys' school.
> **(Professor, Social Sciences, Australia, M)**

Similarly though subtle, a Sri Lankan male reveals how his family privilege of caste[53]/class was instrumental in shaping his academic aspirations. The strength of being a part of a professional family and an elitist English-speaking school environment is represented as being significantly inspirational for his entry into the academy, and the success of his academic career.

> [The inspiration was present]...from my mother's side yes...there were professionals in their families...and fortunately for me with the family background of English and my school [which is elitist], [caste] I streaked ahead of most other academics. I could write well [in English] with my [social] background.
> **(Senior Professor, Agricultural science, SL, M)**

Similarly, class privileged emulation of educational achievement is evident in the experiences of some female academics as well. However these experiences are represented with less emphasis with regard to a 'confidence element' and not so much as readily, naturally or strongly articulated as is observed in the case of the examples of the male counter parts.

> I also have a brother and a sister who had gone on to do Ph.D.s, one who is in the academia and one who doesn't...so I guess I had a background of knowing that these things were possible...My parents had always been very supportive of education.
> **(Level C, Computer, Australia, F)**

The above quotes as a whole provide very clear case of academic privilege entailed in class status embedded in positive materialistic family support. Within this sample of academics, the most successful

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[53] The academic belongs to a very privileged caste group in Sri Lanka which was known to the researcher and is easily identified through his family name and lineage.

men, particularly in Australia, represented this category of experience. In Sri Lanka, however, it was very rare for class or wealth privilege alone to be dominantly influential in shaping the success academic trajectories (situated within a Weberian concept of status). Because within those experiences, the presence of class privilege element is frequently coupled with positive professional role models in the family environment. It could also be seen that the projection of the class element was less articulate among all female[54] interviewees in both countries. However, in terms of shaping female academic aspiration class is represented as very influential especially for Sri Lankan women's entry into the academic profession[55]. Role modeling was the other significant element for shaping academic aspiration.

4.2.2. Role Models

Social psychological views of social roles are concerned with their dynamic aspects, i.e. how people 'take on others' roles, interact or respond to them, and construct their own within different socialization settings' (Marshall, 1994:570-571; also see Goffman 1959 and 1961). Some social roles become influential 'role models or ideals' that individuals pattern their behaviours upon, knowingly or unknowingly. These are fostered by different social conditions. Further, studies that take a gender perspective on the shaping of career development aspirations and choices show that key sources include family and parents, professors and teachers, spouses and other significant adults (Hackett et al., 1989:164). Similarly, 'the professional achievements of parents, siblings or significant other adults, and the supportive family environment are important predictives, while gender role variables *may be* non-predictive towards non-traditional career choice' (Lunneborg, 1982:276-277 my italics).

Role modeling within the family environment is hence another very significant pre-academic career motivational factor which is seen to reflect embedded gender and class dynamics. For the academics in this study, these role modeling experiences show evidence in three key ways: 1) through upper and middle class privilege, where academic career aspirations are shaped through the professional achievements and motivation of parents, siblings and relatives; 2) living in academically-oriented family environments in close proximity to academic endeavours and processes, and familiarity with them; 3) availability of supportive and conducive environments with positive encouragement, continuous coaching and guidance towards academic endeavour, which is an element of privilege present even within lower and middle class environments with no professional role models as parents or relatives.

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[54]It needs to be noted that the female group was too small to see very clear patterns. Only two Australian academics demonstrated high academic progression. Among them one was from the middle class and the other from a working class background of the Sri Lankans, though all 4 females were middle class, their progression was quite slow.
[55]All Sri Lankan women academics in the sample belong to the middle and upper middle class.

The role modeling experiences here show gendered patterns in the way that the professional role model for men often being other adult men. Mothers or female relatives and adults are represented by many male academics to be a strong element of a supportive family environment and emotional ties conducive to academic pursuit, rather than however as professional role models. For women academics on the other hand, professional motivation is shown to be derived from both parents. In this regard, the influence of gender stereo-typing in shaping career aspirations for females is clearly evident.

Similarly in most cases for men the shaping of academic professional motivations occurred through engagement in or being witness to fathers' and (predominantly male) relatives' professional work activities.

> Actually...my father was a teacher...my experience with my father would have influenced my expectations... I worked with him and I helped him [in] various activities related to school, that was my basic experience.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka, M)**

> My father is a doctor and he's also got a Ph.D. in Medicine. My mother's a trained physiotherapist...So, really, when I finished school, the expectation – I always thought that I would go to university.
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

The significance of supportive and conducive environments through continuous coaching and guidance towards academic and professional endeavour is another similar dimension represented by academics representing the middle class, which becomes clear in the following narratives.

> When I was small I wanted to be a doctor, so that was probably as far as I could remember from grade 5 onwards...working hard...My father was very enthusiastic about medicine and...He probably played a role in that. He is very knowledgeable in medicine.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Medicine, SL, M)**

> My mother was very insistent that at least one of her children should become a professional...she was a huge influence on my professional life.
> **(Senior Professor, Agricultural science, SL, M)**

Familiarity with an academic life style and exposure to academic aspirations through close immediate contact within the family through parents and siblings was observed by some men and women

respondents in both Sri Lanka and Australia to have been an advantageous and motivational role modeling factor that helped to generate their career aspirations.

> I have family members who are academics, but they're not in the Law; they're scientists, I mean I knew what the lifestyle involved, I guess, from observing them when I was younger [I may have been inspired].
> **(Level C, Law, Australia, M)**

> Yes all the way through, even when I was in Moscow I wanted to become an academic, the inspiration to become an academic probably come from my brother (who is a Senior Professor now) may be.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Arts, SL, M)**

4.3   Relational Privilege In Gendered Opportunity

In so far as human social behaviour is learned through socialisation (Giddens, 2001: 29), similarly gendered norms of behaviour are also understood to be learned within social relations and social practice (Connell, 2005 Also see Oakley, 1972, 74 regarding gender role socialisation) and this can have a significant influence in shaping our career and work aspirations.

In this sample, significant influence on men and women's choice of an academic career path was experienced as gendered opportunity that shaped individual academic's career aspirations. A clear element of gender relational advantage and disadvantage was evident in the distribution of such opportunities to men and women.

4.3.1   Relational Opportunity

Embedded within the above-noted supportive family environments, positive role models and class privilege, it was evident that a privilege of gendered opportunity was notably present in men's experience. Such opportunities were experienced as chances to venture into academically-motivating, unique public occasions which were usually unavailable or gendered in the female academics' experiences.

Male respondents often cited having experienced such unique academic opportunities and the freedom to get practical experience and exposure in their field as a strong foundation for shaping academic

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career inspiration and confidence, implicitly as well as explicitly. The implicit opportunity was realised in two key ways: 1) within upper and middle class backgrounds this was through sharing and engaging in the inspiring professional achievements of immediate family members such as parents, siblings or relatives, who acted as role models; 2) in lower and poorer class family environments it was through chances that arose from the constant coaching, support and unique opportunities for academic skill- and confidence-building that they received. Among these academics the gendered nature of this kind of opportunity and its configuration often set men's and women's experiences apart as privileged and disadvantaged in constructing academic career aspirations. Nevertheless, within the responses there were very few men and women who did not mention any of the above motivational elements in their family environment. Similarly, there were also a few women who were benefitted by the privilege of opportunity without any obvious gender bias.

Implicit gendered opportunity and class privilege

In the following example the opportunity is represented implicitly. This male was benefitted by the reputation and popularity of his grandfather and by being involved in his socio-political activities.

> My grandfather was an [Aurvedik[56]] guru and he was also ... a politician. So he used to engage in a lot of social services and I used to help him. I felt that even during my under graduate life here [being politically active]...I used to give private tuition too.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Arts, SL, M)**

Here, an opportunity to develop a good grasp of his own area of specialization today materialised out of this academic's association with the grandfather. He had been a politically active undergraduate, having been influenced by and learning from the experiences of the grandfather. Subsequently, teaching students through his own personal initiative presented further opportunity to develop teaching skills and build up confidence towards realistic academic aspirations. Similarly, as discussed in earlier accounts, the availability of opportunity through financial security and role modeling present even more evidence in this regard.

Embedded within this kind of explicit opportunity is also an important *implicit* element of confidence that was subtly gendered. The opportunity to build up confidence was made available 'naturally' to men as a right, and this constructed a big part of their privileged position and contributed to their

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[56] The traditional or the indigenous system of medicine/ medical practitioner in Sri Lanka that has been in existence over centuries.

academic success. In the present research the 'legitimated' opportunity to build up confidence given to men rather than to women was made evident in some male respondents' experiences. The confidence element manifests here in the form of encouragement, love and, significantly, in the constant and committed propelling of the aspirant towards setting and achieving academic goals by their immediate family, relatives or teachers. For example, a few examples could be cited but the installation of strong career goals encouraged and being coached by his father helped one participant to believe in his own capabilities and develop academic confidence as a child.

> One day my father took me down this road, the road in front of the Engineering faculty...he showed me the faculty and said, 'Do you know what this faculty is?' I said I didn't know. He said, 'You know this is the X University's Engineering Faculty and one day you should come here.'...I thought I should somehow try to come here[this faculty] and become an engineer.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Engineering, SL, M)**

In this way similar opportunity for academics without class privilege or positive professional role models within their family backgrounds also received inputs that shaped their academic aspirations, especially being encouraged to have a go and get involved in unique social situations and forums that fostered building the necessary self-confidence and creativity required for an academic career.

> But my parents had the wisdom...to say, 'Look, no. If you don't want to be a farmer, don't. Go and do what you need to do.' So I did...they weren't academic or university people...I think for me, one of the turning points when I was only very young was in Australia...when we had the Referendum. I remember standing with my father as he was lining up going to vote in that referendum and listening to the conversations around me,...I was probably only seven. But it's one of those things that clearly stands out in my mind, and I think from that moment on I just thought, 'Well that's where I'll go. That's what I'm interested in.' And that's what I've done.
> **(Level D, Social Sciences, Australia, M)**

> The only positive thing I would have had is... people would come to our house on a Saturday or a Sunday night, they would talk. These are working class people work in factories and farm labourers. They have very long complicated discussions about all sorts of issues...quite involved and technical...I found that very fascinating.
> **(Level C, Social Sciences, Australia, M)**

Explicit gendered opportunity for academic aspirations

Some academics referred more explicitly to the gendered nature of privilege in the forming of academic aspirations. In the following example, the influence of parental coaching and career guidance is seen in the career progression and ambitiousness of siblings of different genders, as comparative career guidance and advancement are differentiated for the two children in the same middle class family, in the same medical profession.

> Though he was not knowledgeable enough [in medicine] to guide me into selecting the subjects but he gave me overall direction. He said, 'Becoming a doctor is not enough– you must become a specialist.' something like that... and my sister was a doctor too, she stopped at a certain level [in her career] because she is a wife and a doctor, and she voluntarily gave up her career at a certain point.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Medicine, SL, M)**

Here the encouragement towards further advancement in the medical profession was for the male to become a 'specialist' while his sister remained a general physician. The suggested notion of a voluntary decision on the part of the female not to advance her career clearly warrants further interrogation by problematising the ways in which this so-called 'voluntary' decision is embedded within prevailing societal norms and culture, rather than representing a simple expression of choice. The seemingly natural justification given by the respondent of the sister's decision is typical of the gendered relationality of this opportunity.

Another explicit example of gendered privilege in the opportunity created for academic career aspiration and achievement was articulated in the experiences of the following Sri Lankan Professor.

> My mother pushed me to go to [better school] a Christian school in a nearby town so, she always wanted me to do well in studies...Well...here probably there was a gender factor, I was the only boy in the family. My mother actually wanted everybody to study but she wanted me to study a little bit harder and qualify in whatever I do, and she actually wanted me to go in the science stream...she is a major influence on me in my [academic] life.
> **(Senior Professor, Arts, SL, M)**

In addition to his explicit recognition of the 'gender factor' here, this professor pointed out that none of his sisters reached the academic success that he did, nor received equal propelling and coaching.

In a few cases however, the opportunity for academic aspirations within the family background was reported by females, though it entailed a notable degree of gender bias. Mainly this opportunity was experienced as role modeling or as an academically supportive and conducive family environment. A few female academics in male dominated disciplines pointed out that their academic aspiration for entering into masculine disciplines may have been influenced by association with male siblings. For some it was the parents or relatives. However, it was noted that these experiences within class privilege showed the influence of gender to a lesser degree than those experienced within working class or poorer class environments. For example, for the following respondent, taking up residence with an aunt who was an academic living in a university hostel had inspired academic career aspirations through role modeling.

> I had the influence of my Aunt who was an academic because I knew she was teaching in the university...like especially after I joined the university I came and I moved in with her [she lived on campus]... then I thought how nice it is being a student here [university] and then to work here and I thought it would be like may be one percent of the people getting that opportunity.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)**

In the case below, the female is also from a middle class family environment. Her mother's perseverance and dedication in ensuring university education for her children, and setting up foundations for it, provide the opportunity in this case. However, the gendered nature of ambitious pursuit of academic aspirations by both men and women can be observed within this example. The female here expresses a half-hearted commitment and ambition towards achieving and performing at the highest level in the following response.

> It was not like I wanted to become an engineer as such; I don't know, for some reason my parents didn't push me or my sisters for that matter. I had best results for Ordinary Level Exam. I was the only girl who had eight Distinctions from my school...but still I did not want to like cram a lot and do my studies. I wanted just to make sure (that)I got through the exam to enter the university and did that part...I didn't have any idea at all about joining the university as a lecturer, not at all. I was kind of average, I could have done better but I didn't want to cram myself so much and I wanted to enjoy the life at the University... and my idea was that I wanted to go to the university and get that experience, and because my mother was selected to (-University)...when she did her Advanced Level exam...and then she got married, she never got the chance to go to university because my father said 'no you should stay at home'. It was her dream to send one of us[girls] to (University).
> **(Senior Lecturer II, IT, SL, F)**

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From the above examples it can be observed that in the context of class privilege some females do have the benefit of opportunity. However, they often indicate that it may be gendered and disadvantageous towards women more generally within family environments. In fact, the opportunity and encouragement towards practical, public engagement is relatively high in men's reports while poorly experienced by women in the sample.

4.3.2   Relational Disadvantage

Thus men's privilege is seen to be realised through the multiple opportunities offered them in family backgrounds that support and help build up confidence and positive strength. By contrast, some specific experiences of women present the relative disadvantage women suffer in being deprived of these opportunities, making it difficult for women to build up the same level of confidence to which most men in the sample had 'legitimate' access.

Let us take a closer look at the way this situation has been constructed. For these respondents, gendered employment aspirations that were resistant to academic career aspiration-building had taken place by way of specific social practices, in particular the gender differentiated social aspirations that parents hold and practice and, notably, the limitations on career choice enforced through gender stereotyped career aspirations.

Gendered employment aspirations of parents

The following example highlights the negative influence that parents can effect in this regard.

> My parents were very angry with me... when I was in year 10 they said, 'We think it is time
> that [you] should decide whether [you are] to be a hairdresser or to work in some sort of
> butchering trade' (which was what my parents did) and I said, 'I don't care for either of those'
> and I wanted to read books, and they said, 'No, you have to choose one of those', and I
> said, 'No I was not doing any of that stuff'.
> **(Level E, Health, Australia, F)**

This report shows how some women experience considerable retaliation and disapproval within the family if they want to deviate from the traditional line of occupations and strive for upward mobility. These attitudes can result from ideologies of class as well as those concerning gender-appropriate

career goals. Also in the following experience of an Australian female, strong encouragement towards forming academic career aspirations was explicitly lacking and possibly seen as irrelevant.

> I think they [parents] were supportive – not particularly supportive, but just supportive that I was sort of following a path that I wanted to and, you know... they saw that I was enjoying it; but I don't know if they particularly valued it for what it was.
> **(Level B, Social Science, Australia, Female)**

Gender stereotyping and naturalised career aspirations

Specific disadvantage frequently manifests itself by way of limiting chances of free movement in one's own choice of a career especially due to gendered ideologies concerning an appropriate career path. This was much more commonly reported by women in the sample than men, because they felt limited by societal notions of what was appropriate employment for them, with or without their knowledge. These experiences clearly exemplify the level of confidence generally accessible by the exercise of freedom to choose a career in society.

> I think my gender probably maybe limited me in the beginning in areas I thought that I could do. I don't know whether it was just gender or whether it is the lack of self-confidence. For example I remember earlier in school liking science...and then I thought well I could be a laboratory assistant, that was like my highest thing that I could achieve within science and that I am sure was because I thought I was a woman..., I didn't think that I could be a scientist; [but] a laboratory assistant...and then I think when I did start university and I enrolled in drama initially at...[X] University and I really would have liked to have done that... but I never thought I could be a film director you know?...So...I don't know whether that was gender or self-confidence and in terms of what I could do, but I suspect gender played a part in that.
> **(Level B, Arts, Australia, F)**

Most women respondents in both countries here expressed great difficulty in challenging these conventions, especially when deciding on an academic area, and often gave into them for reasons of social survival and acceptance. The extent to which these constructions and conditionings are naturalized also emerges as astonishingly real. Gender disadvantage was particularly evident in female academics' selection of academic disciplines and areas of specialization, diminishing females' aspirations for entering into more privileged, male dominated discipline areas. Some females in science-oriented disciplines reported explicitly their experience of gendered influence when choosing their area

of specialization. The following two responses in Sri Lanka articulate how certain areas of skill had been carefully removed or made unavailable to females as a result of the strategic stereotyping of feminine and masculine discipline areas.

> In my fourth year I wanted to do fisheries. I loved going out into the sea and all and then because I was a girl and because I was the only one who chose fisheries and the professor in charge said, 'it will be difficult to do' because I have to go by the boats to the sea and all. Then I was taken aback because I wanted to do [fisheries].
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Sciences, SL, F)**

Here a career door closes naturally and explicitly for reasons of gender. In the following experience a Sri Lankan female's choice of discipline shows clear connotations of gender undermining her free choice because she was aware of the limitations imposed by society for women in employment that involves high levels of outdoor practical engagement. The situation of 'naturalised exclusion' is further aggravated in this respondents representations due to notions/awareness of Asian cultural restrictions for women.

> I never liked engineering for some reason. For example I didn't like the practical side, and I thought if I become an engineer, I was not good at hands on experiments that much, relative to problem solving. [I am] more into the theoretical science but not practical; that is something common to lot of females. **(Were you not good at it or were you not interested?)** Both..., I never liked, haven't tried until then, I would have been behind if I went for engineering because of my inability on the practical side...that is the culture what we live in. So that [gender] was also probably a contributory factor in my decision. Because I thought if I became an Engineer it will all be practical work.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)**

Research studies have numerously argued that women academics are relatively less ambitious and driven in their career pursuits and academic progression (Probert, 2005). Some academics' responses regarding their pre-career undergraduate experiences vividly reveal the influence of culture in the construction of gendered disadvantage. Academic and career pursuit decisions in everyday life reflect the way male employment is prioritised over female, and their impact on academic aspirations for women is demonstrated clearly.

> I had a boyfriend when I was in the university. They usually complete (their degrees) very quickly, and when he did, he got a job and...[He] wanted to marry me...I wanted to do a

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general degree because of this reason and I didn't apply to specialize. [Though] I was eligible for all three subjects but I did not apply for anything.

(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)

A similar impact with regard to women's aspirations and the shaping of them was evident in a reversal of experiences by a male academic. This respondent represented the privilege bestowed on him in his own academic career as triggered by the gendered aspirations of his girlfriend, who preferred him to excel and to prioritise his career aspirations over hers. This resulted in lower achievement as an under graduate on her part compared to his. In this case, women's perception in the South Asian culture that a man's career should receive more significance and priority within the intimate relationships between partners would probably have played a role in the shaping of the gendered aspirations observed in this account.

Then really she [my wife, then girlfriend] motivated me a lot...she did her Advance Level well, got better results than me but for the Degree she only got an average pass...she really worked hard for me and she wanted me to excel, so she supported, those days she was doing those individual classes and she would attend the lectures get notes and give everything to me, so there was that type of motivation, support and push.

(Senior Lecturer II, Management, SL, M)

The above analysis has been concerned with motivational factors in shaping academic career aspirations in the context of pre-career family related factors. The gender relational nature of those experiences suggests several clear insights. In particular, the basic factors motivating academic aspiration include class privilege, positive family support for educational pursuits, and professional role modeling, especially by fathers. Within this sample of experiences class privilege was gendered to a lesser degree.

On the other hand relational male privilege was clearly evident and demonstrated itself largely in the greater number of opportunities available to male academics through their family backgrounds interwoven with gendered social practices and the relative freedom they enjoyed in the choice of discipline areas. This facilitated a much greater lack of inhibition for men in constructing career goals, aspirations, and avenues into academic career pursuits. Although parental support was almost a parallel privilege for both male and female academics, men's accounts of being channeled into academic career paths and receiving encouragement displayed a much more vigorous intensity and subtle commitment than was represented in female academics' experiences. Females reported being restricted much more significantly due to gender ideologies than due to family values or support.

4.4 Relational Privilege in Academic Life

The other major domain where the duality of gender relational privilege and disadvantage is observed is in every day academic life practices. The key activities include mentoring, teaching, research, service to the university, and academic micro-politics in everyday settings.

4.4.1   Mentoring

In previous studies mentoring has been often discussed in the context of a gendered academy, under the concept of the 'old boys club' to emphasise the opportunity and privilege male academics enjoy as compared to the relative lack of such opportunities for networking and mentoring for women (Brooks, 1997: Dever, 2006). Mentoring has been observed by August and Waltman (2004) as critical for academic career confidence building in women and the lack of such support and opportunity leading to lower and slower career progression (Odejide, 2006, Wallace, 2001). This situation has been brought out and reinforced in the findings here, with greater emphasis on lack of intensive and engaged mentoring for women as well as for some men especially from less privileged class groups. Though some studies debate the value of mentoring and see this kind of supportiveness as problematic (Brooks, 1997), there is more recent evidence to suggest the need for re-conceptualised mentoring programmes as non-threatening positive collective action to improve women's conditions in universities (Monroe, Ozyurt, Wrigley & Alexander, 2008).

In this study questions were raised in relation to mentoring to explore whether there are any obvious differences in the way mentoring was experienced by male and female academics, and whether men's experiences showed more opportunity for more successful mentoring than did the experiences of females. Here, gender relationality was visible in mentoring experiences that shaped academic career experiences and aspirations especially in relation to enhanced career progression and related academic opportunities. This study revealed some notable evidence of gendered privilege and disadvantage in this regard.

General trends in mentoring most often include single academics found through personal contacts, among friends, colleagues, university teachers, Ph.D. supervisors or a multiplicity of other supportive individuals (Darwin, 2004). Representations of high mentoring experiences include two particular trends. One is lifelong mentoring relationships, and the other is short term, less intensive 'snapshot relationships' (Allen and Eby, 2004) constructed around specific academic requirements. Although literature represents an easy availability of formal mentoring to academics, the responses of a large

proportion of the academics in this study explicitly articulated the lack of mentoring opportunities and the resulting negative impact on their career advancement in general. There were, however, some stark differences in academics' mentoring experiences within the two countries. (This is discussed below in Chapter Five).

In this sample, mentoring experiences are seen to be gendered and to represent male bias in the way the experiences are constituted. The materialization of mentoring relations here clearly advantages the male through collegiality, more engaged trajectories of mentoring among male academics than among women, and the predominance of male mentors with only a few influential female mentoring figures mentioned. The responses in the current research revealed that women's chances of mentoring were comparatively less intensively experienced than men's. There was a subtle lack of interest or enthusiasm by the female academics evident in the lack of rigorous detail with which mentoring experiences were articulated in their responses. This was especially noticeable in the accounts of females with families and children particularly in Sri Lanka. By contrast, most male accounts depicted comparatively higher engagement and involvement, in a more internalized, intensive and organized fashion.

Material Experience of Mentoring Relations

'Not an academic thing'

The materialization of mentoring relations is seemingly common within trajectories that constitute a natural part of male privilege in everyday life. Mentoring association is configured through masculine social space and ways of being that correspond to notions such as old boys' or men's' club (Brooks, 1997: Dever, 2006) was clearly evident within the present findings. In the response below male advantage is clearly visible in the advantage of there being more male academics in higher academic positions of power, and the availability of an established masculine normative means to network and construct professional links (Bagilhole, 1993: 437).

> [T]eaching that first class was the Dean of the Law School, and I sort of got to know him very
> quickly...and I got to know him through not an academic thing; we had a common interest in
> baseball, (laughs) and he sort of had mentioned something in a class one day about
> baseball, and then I saw him in the hallway – actually, it was in an elevator I saw him – and I
> sort of said something to him about baseball. And...immediately sort of interested [him]
> then, you know, and we started a conversation... And then the one thing that I think might

have been also helpful is he had done his Ph.D. in [Scotland], and so he sort of had this – he kind of liked [Scottish] a bit, I think, so I think that helped me out... I don't know why, but I really looked up to him. And I'm still friends with him.

(Level C, Law, Australia, M)

Such shared interests are clearly gendered means of opportunity, which are far removed from feminine comfort zones and cultures. Such constructions greatly reduce women's possibility to enter and benefit from interactions, thus contributing towards a gendered imbalance in accessing opportunities.

'They were much more collegial'

Male academics' experiences revealed a considerably higher number of collegial academic encounters being available to male academics than were to female academics in the sample. Collegiality was a more frequently cited feature, particularly in Australian male academics' mentoring accounts.

They could see value in the research that I was doing; even though I wasn't a – well, I wasn't a doctor, and I wasn't tied to an institution. But they could see the research I was doing had value, and so they were prepared to have conversations because what I was doing was interesting. They were interested in it as well. So I think it was more the quality of the relationship…they were much more collegial. They were much more prepared to say, 'Well, this is fantastic'...So it was more the mentoring, the collegiality that they were able to even give me then.

(Level D, Social Sciences, Australia, M)

In the following excerpt, studying in Cambridge had marked this academic out to older male colleagues who had studied there previously. Important career opportunities then flowed from these connections.

When I came back here [Australia], I was very fortunate in that there were older colleagues who had been in Cambridge who encouraged me and gave me opportunities, so I think it was very much sort of collegial...I think there is a sort of a generosity and a common commitment to the discipline. Well I think although I did not have a mentor, I think I was always conscious that there were those senior figures who encouraged me and helped me you know. I've been fortunate to be offered opportunities that older people tend to be able to give to young people, you know 'Would you like to join this committee?' or 'Would you like to write this book?'

(Professor, Social Science, Aus, M)

While the respondent here assigns this collegiality to disciplinary interest, it clearly suggests and reinforces the male club dynamic that operates within the context of class privilege evident in some experiences.

'I think you should go for a promotion'

The privilege of advantage in personal development and career progress is often seen to depend on having mentors who encourage and stand up for one, especially with respect to promotions.

Within the present research, supportive mentoring by superiors towards promotions has shown to make a remarkable difference, and this is more frequently noted by male academics than by women.

> (A)nd so I was able to ask him about, you know, what a 'Level A' position was, what a 'Level B' position and talk through the options. And he was here [in this University] when I interviewed. He's certainly been probably one of the important people mentoring me since I've come here and as far as having a mentor he would be the person I would say in [this city who] has mentored my career.
> **(Level C, Science, Australia, M)**

> You know, Professor [Female]…says, '…If we were to offer you a promotion, would you and your family come to [University]'...So I came, and then Professor [Jill] - said, 'Well, look, I've just looked at your academic record and I think you should go for a promotion'…I've only been here – you know, this is my fourth year, and I've managed to go from a Lecturer C to an Associate Professor.
> **(Level D, Social Science, Australia, M)**

Interestingly, as in this example of a female professor mentoring a younger male academic is evident, the current research somewhat contradicts the traditional assumptions of male mentors through which academic inspiration of male academics is derived from, though it is perhaps a more frequent possibility. For these academics a mixed composition of genders are experienced, though the role of female mentors is less emphasised.

Some females signified the sheer lack of female mentors in male-dominated disciplines as an acute gap. However, entering into a relationship with male mentors within such contexts on the other hand

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was noted for its collegiality and supportiveness, rather than as constituting threats, hindrances or competition, as well as beneficial for the career advancement of these individuals

> I guess I have always had very supportive heads of school, men who have always encouraged me to pursue my ideas, and have helped me to seek funding for various programmes and have given me other opportunities...I think there are so few women particularly older female academics in my field that I don't even know of one that I have ever met at a conference....For instance I have female academic colleagues and friends that I work with in my field, but there were no more experienced female academics that I have met that I could have had as a mentor. There are other people, male, that I know in the university more experienced than I am in other fields and although they are not strictly mentors. I observe them to get ideas for how I should be doing things… So I now have access because I have access to people in other fields but in my own field, it's very hard to find.
> **(Level C, IT, Australia, F)**

The emulation of male behaviour in these fields also emerges as inevitable for the construction of academic success, especially for women.

Lack of privilege in mentoring

'I'd like to be mentored'

Academics of both genders reported a lack of mentoring, though it was more obvious in women's trajectories. Some academics faced emotional and personal struggles where there were no opportunities for mentoring. At the commencement of their careers, both male and female academics look for guidance from their superiors, which can have a large impact on the new entrant's potential for academic achievement.

Academics' multiple roles in relation to life and work can impose serious obstacles to advancement. In the following example of a minority group female's unmet desire to be mentored, her experiences point to a lack of sensitivity regarding such crucial academic needs by decision-makers and power-holding administrators in academic departments.

> Well...people are sort of supportive – like my boss did send an email around after I did one of the intensives to just say 'Well done'. But I actually feel like I've been just generating off my own steam, and I don't really feel like I've been mentored or supported to a large extent. I feel like it has mainly been my initiatives, and sometimes my boss might push and push or

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want this and want that, but I don't really feel like I've been that supported. **[Do you wish for any kind of special support?]** Well, I'd like to be mentored, actually. I would like, you know, to be able to sort of – *I'm going to cry* – I would like to be able to just, you know, go to people and say, 'This is where I'm at', or, 'This is what I'm struggling with', or, 'This is what I don't know'...I know when I work with people I just try to kind of bring out the best in them, kind of thing. But I don't really feel like there's anyone doing that with me.
(Level B, Arts, Australia, F)

'I was more interested in running the household'

Other restricted opportunity for successful engagement of women in mentoring has been substantiated in previous research (Rheineck and Roland, 2008; Odejide, 2005; Allen and Eby, 2004; Brooks, 1997). This situation is exemplified in the following quote within the current research as a result of the traditional triple burdens of women: mother-cum-home maker, income earner, and community worker (Moser, 1989a and b)[57]. According to this academic she could have been assigned a mentor but she did not recognize a need, largely due to the personal situations she faced in her feminine gender role. This raises the possibly gendered nature of the mentoring opportunity especially most female responses within the current research revealed difficulties in availing themselves as freely and vigorously as had most men, due to their practical situations.

[**Any mentor?**]. No. I probably could have had, if I'd wanted to. They had a mentor scheme, so I could have done that. But I didn't bother. It wasn't until the last couple of years that I was so – more interested in having a career and all those things... But since I've been on my own for the last two or three years and the children have grown up so they don't need that support, and they don't spend all the time with me, so I don't cook for them anymore and things like that so I've got more time… [Before, when the children were young] I wanted to be available for my children if they needed me in the evenings. It meant I wasn't really concentrating on having a career or anything [then]; I was more interested in running the household and doing all those duties.
(Level B, Language, Australia, F)

'I've never had very clear mentors'

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[57]For an in-depth analysis of the triple Role of women particularly focusing the Third World see Moser, C. O. (1989). Gender planning in the third world: Meeting practical and strategic gender needs. *World Development, 17* (11), 1799-1825.

Among men too there was reference to lack of proper guidance and mentoring support, with the possible drawbacks on career progression. This reality was observed in both the following experiences in Australia. However, one academic here reported achieving progress in his academic career, despite not having clear mentors. This academic reported he had previously held the post of Chair and was an Associate Professor in a university, which is not within the Group of Eight.

> My mentors came late in life. When I got started in the1970s it was good in one sense, we could do what we liked, but no one ever actually took us aside and said this is what you need to do. Now our bosses anyway were females, but I think for females it was a different thing. That it was only about the last ten years ago that I met some people overseas…They were very important, they gave me great advice, and I wish I had it then when I was in my 20s you know? Would have been nice to have a mentor to say on day one, '[A] if you want to get to Associate Professor or professor this is what you need to do', whereas we did it by accident.
> **(Level C, Education, Australia, M)**

This academic's membership of the dominant group and possibly class-based collegiality may have contributed effectively towards his academic success. By contrast, the next quote demonstrates the significant lack of mentoring support for an academic with an Australian Aboriginal social background. He confessed that his experiences of academic life included hardly any personal mentoring relationships that he benefitted from.

> [**Experience of mentoring?**] Not really. The times when I did have a male as a direct supervisor were times when I worked in situations of crisis management, so it was a day-to-day reacting to external pressure from students and there wasn't ever an emphasis placed on long-term career-building goals...I'm not sure that I miss it because I've never known it, it's never been part of my [work] experience.
> **(Level B, Arts, Australia, M)**

This academic had clearly had no effective institutional acculturation, and he was not quite sure what he had missed with regard to mentoring support as he had not experienced any. His lack of class privilege in belonging to a minority group had probably been detrimental to his career progress, possibly contributing to his being stuck in a lower academic grade for a long time.

4.4.2 Teaching

The distribution of teaching duties are seen in this study to further gendered processes and initiations contributory towards the career advancement of the male. Despite the differences in the gendered nature of disciplines and academic levels of teaching, these processes correspond most evidently to teaching commitments, pastoral care and student welfare, and to academics' attitudes to teaching.

Teaching involvement

'I have relatively limited teaching commitments'

In patterns of teaching involvement, these responses showed that among some senior academic men in Australia, relative freedom from teaching duties was evident. This materialised in a limited number of teaching hours being assigned in order to permit the academic to engage in other, more valued, duties of research and administrative leadership. The following Professor who won a very prestigious fellowship in Australia mentioned that he has limited 'teaching' commitment to allow more time on research.

> So I am an ARC Research Council Professorial Fellow, so I have some limited teaching or a Seminar, and I have a number of post grads and Honours students whose research projects I am supervising, but I am particularly fortunate now that most of my time is spent doing research.
> **(Professorial Research Fellow, Social Sciences, Australia, M)**

Similarly another male academic also commented that he was committed to a relatively low number of teaching hours due to his research position and the winning of a fellowship.

> Because I'm on a Future Fellowship I have relatively limited teaching commitments. So I lecture, do about nine lectures at first year and I will lecture about eight lectures at third year. I supervise five Ph.D. students; I've got three honours students and one Master's student who's on leave at the moment that I'm supervising.
> **(Level C, Science, Australia, M)**

Lack of privilege in teaching involvement

'I teach…', 'I teach…', 'I also teach...'

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In contrast to male accounts, the experiences of women academics in this study revealed a different emphasis. It was significantly noted that, even though some of them were in very high administrative as well as middle range academic positions, all these women expressed close affinity with their teaching engagement. They experienced intensive and relatively heavier teaching loads alongside their administrative commitments than was the situation for most of the senior academic men in this sample. This reality becomes evident in both the examples below.

> I am the acting Head of the Discipline, so I am in charge of running the discipline, and [in] particular I am in charge of the finances for the discipline and I answer to the Head of School who is a [position] in the School of (Discipline)... 'I teach, so I teach [discipline] students in particular in year 1, 2 and 3, that's my main teaching role, I also teach in the Masters programme, and in [Discipline X] jointly run between[Discipline Y] and [Discipline X]. I have got 12 Ph.D. students [and] 5 Masters students.
> **(Level E, Health, Australia, F)**

> I'd have about 10–12 hours of contact time a week. That's not including things like administration and supervision and so on. Oh, I should say I do also supervise Ph.D. students and Master's students, so I've got [about] five Ph.D. students [or] six, I can't remember. A couple of them just submitted.
> **(Level B, SS/Education, Australia, F)**

Women with heavy course administration loads also showed that their teaching loads to relatively high though considered to be lowered, as was the privilege for men with higher administrative responsibilities or research awards. This indicates there may be a subtle gender bias that typically tilts towards male privilege.

> I teach the first year but I also teach in other third year courses as well... but that teaching load is a little bit low because my admin duties as Head of the Faculty are reasonably large, so I am only part-time in the School ... So I coordinate all the teaching activities within the School. I also contribute to work load allocation, making sure we have a lot of the people to teach the courses, looking at reviewing our curriculum to see what we need to change in order to keep it up to date, but that also involves other learning and teaching aspects. I have mentoring programmes and support services and things like that, those are my main academic duties.
> **(Level C, IT, Australia, F)**

The allocation of teaching in general and heavier teaching loads to women than men is continuously observed in the academy (Winslow, 2010: 769; Hart and Cress, 2008: 18). This situation demonstrates the gender relational configuring of teaching assignments in explicit ways. The experiences below point to the relatively high loads, often at lower levels and higher numbers of students, assigned to female academics in Sri Lanka.

> In the department I have one course at two hundred level, Data Base Management Systems. There I teach about 200 odd students. There is a three hundred level course, a general course on Computer Networks. We have general and special science. I also do a course that I did in the previous semester [at] 400 level Special [Honours] students on Computer Vision, and another course at three hundred level on Digital Image Processing. So [it is about 4 hours a week, it [also] depends on the number of credits you have for the courses you teach. [During] this half of the semester we have 2, two credit courses, which means about two hours a week for each. [At PG level] I did one course last year on Digital Image Processing for the Masters students and right now we have started a new batch, there I teach the Intro to Computer Science to them [during] Saturdays, three hours every Saturday.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, IT, Sri Lanka, F)**

These teaching loads are heavy with a large number of undergraduates and do not leave time for more 'prestigious' research and scholarly activity which are valued higher by the university promotion panels. Therefore these comments exemplify the material reality of traditional female disadvantage in teaching and teaching administration.

Differentiated pastoral care

Another noted aspect of teaching by women that emerged from this analysis was their higher involvement in student welfare and service oriented roles. Men's responses, by contrast, frequently depicted differentiated involvement in pastoral care. Through these responses the gender bias in the discharging of teaching duties is observed in the postgraduate supervision styles displayed, as has been observed in previous studies (Park, 1996 also see Probert, 2005). Students' inclination to make more demands for nurturing on female academics and for academic advice on male academics has also been noted. (Letherby and Sheils, 2001; Bornholt et al., 1999).

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'I've got an open door policy, so they can come in any time'

The idea of engaged supervision and student mentoring is further manifested in the experiences in Australia where post-graduate students and academics will have meals together. More women academics referred to this kind of pastoral care than did the men. This practice however also suggests a culturally specific element of academic practice that is not present within Sri Lankan academic configuration.

> Well, yes lot of my students live down the corridor so, I am always in there bothering them...And we [go] out to lunch a lot. So, I do lot of talking and stuff there, and I see all of them regularly about once a week or so and all the ones who are on campus here. I would email them at least once a fortnight or otherwise bother them. I've got an open door policy, so they can come in any time; sometimes for five minutes to sign something, or for an hour. Oh! We went out to lunch for an hour and a bit on Tuesday and we were talking about work and related stuff. So, I am easy with that, I do that whenever.
> **(Level E, Health, Australia, F)**

> I think our primary responsibility should be to produce very good students, not only with good academic results but development of soft skills and other skills such as...communication skills, how to handle hectic situations, how to work in a team and things like that.
> (**Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M**)

The above academic's ironic description of herself as "bothering" her students, when she is clearly helping them and making herself available to them, is a typical example of the modest public representation of feminine/female generosity with regards to student welfare. In both the female encounters the engagement and focus on a personal level with the student becomes pronounced.

'They come only when they want… any major advice'

By contrast here, unlike the styles disclosed in the female accounts, some of the male styles of supervision here entailed less engagement and more restriction in terms of frequency of meetings and time allocated to them, and it is clearly restricted to thesis matters.

I have 2 MPhil students and I do co-supervisions. One is working at [Institute] right now - she hasn't come yet, very little supervision there, [She comes only] when she needs something. Other is working at [Institute] and I am the co-supervisor; there [too] very little time is spent. They come only when they want to write the research proposal, and any major advice they [may] need, then they come. The support they need is, [according to] my experience in the [discipline] area, if there is [any] major issue, and when they [have to] decide whether to follow this one or the other, then they would come and ask me.

(**Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M**)

Further this pragmatic style male academic accounts of supervision focus upon the tasks and do not refer to any personal support.

We have maybe fortnightly meetings. I'm the co-supervisor for one of them, and that's a meeting every month for about an hour; and for the Principal Supervisor it's a meeting for about an hour every two weeks. **(What's the content like in your supervision duties?)** Well, usually, the student will come with some written work in advance and I'll have looked at that, read it and made comments, and then we'll talk about that for an hour.

(Level D, Law, Australia, M)

These men's strict, less flexible supervision styles are further exemplified in the following quote which stresses on 'objective supervision', which suggests that for some academics, supervision responsibilities are secondary due to pressures of institutional priority and time constraint.

I've had a number of quite difficult PG students and one is very upset with me at the moment and refuses to see me and refuses to come in. But it is mainly a question of finding the time to be able to read their work and comment constructively and as objectively as possible. And that is difficult on top of everything else because the pressing thing is to get Under Graduate marks out.

(Level C, Social Sciences, Australia, M)

Within the responses in this sample, male accounts of supervision show a more distanced nature and less engagement in personal relationships than was observed in the female encounters. This may contribute to gendered disadvantage for women academics who usually engage in personal styles of supervision because intense, in depth styles that takes the whole person of the student into account requires more personal energy, time and resources than does a style that is focused only on academic needs.

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Multiple realities in attitudes to teaching

The fluid nature of gender dynamics in the reconfiguration of practice to ally with privilege so that men and masculinities are ensured their privileged place in society has been observed in previous research (Game and Pringle, 1983: 15; Also refer Chapter One p. 13 for a detailed discussion). This phenomenon was specifically observed in the academic context of this study.

'It will be mostly the men that do the teaching'

What has been traditionally deemed a feminine job is challenged within these findings as, in some disciplines teaching and the hierarchical duties associated with it are performed and owned as masculine rather than feminine responsibilities. This was seen here particularly within Health disciplines so teaching, according to this female Professor, is a more privileged duty within her department than is regarded traditionally.

> Of course well the teaching is always deemed to be for the girls, and Medicine is a little bit different from [other disciplines] in so far as a lot of the teaching is clinical, and so therefore when there is clinical teaching it will depend on the discipline- if you are a surgeon then the teaching is going to be done by men because there are mostly men. So in that way it is a little different. Even in [my discipline] in which there is more women than surgery, it's still predominantly men. It will be mostly the men that do the teaching, not all but a lot of men will do the teaching. So it is slightly different. So in terms of the things like who will do the coordination of the teaching, i.e. usually getting the stuff with the secretary of the discipline or a woman, for example, I will end up with that.
> **(Level E, Health, Australia, F)**

This response above provides clear evidence of the dubious/dual nature of gendered privilege in this instance regarding teaching duties in some academic disciplines or 'non fixed nature' of the sexual division of labour as referred to by Game and Pringle (1983: 15).They point to 'the way the work that men and women engage in is constantly changed and constructed in relation to each other for purposes of maintaining the *hierarchical* distinctions'. This gendered distinction is maintained through the regular valuing and privileging of men's work whereas women's work tends to be regularly devalued and rated as secondary.

'Showmanship' of teaching

It was also observed in these academics' accounts that the performative nature of the teaching profession held attraction and appeal to male academics, emphasising its masculine performative elements and the public engagement it entailed. One Australian science academic articulated this as the 'showmanship' of teaching performance, while another contrasted teaching to the tedium of marking and regarded it as producing an 'adrenalin rush'.

> I love teaching – in fact, that's why – – –. I probably could justify dropping some of the first-year teaching that I do, but I love getting up in front of the 300 or 500 students in lecturing. In fact, I like that sometimes more than the third-year lecturing; I like the sort of showmanship of first year. Yeah, I like the research more, but I equally like [teaching]. That's why I'm in academic rather than in [industry] not that I've seriously pursued working in industry, but to me that's one of the drivers: you get to do both.
> **(Level C, Science, Australia, M)**

> I like teaching, but not marking. Very few academics like marking, but I think it's nice talking to people. Particularly lecturing, I'm thinking it is rather because I like the state of foxing in you know, it is like performing in front of an audience with a microphone (laugh)...but I enjoy it, I think there is an adrenalin rush that I enjoy...but I don't know why, when I first started lecturing I remember thinking this is good, this was pleasant [and I] enjoy it.
> **(Level E, Language, Australia, M)**

'Teaching is one of my hobbies'

In contrast to the above analogies of teaching with theatre, the response of this female in Sri Lanka projects a different perception of why it appealed to her.

> I like the job very much because teaching is one of my hobbies, it is not my job and I really like it... So, I decided to become an academic... [I like to] teach a new thing every day to my students. So as a practice even if I repeat the same course units, every time I prepare a fresh lecture because I need to address new issues, and give new ideas to my students.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)**

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Here it is apparent that the reasons given for pleasure in teaching relate much more directly to students' learning experience, and as such are more focused upon service to the students than personal and self-focused. Here there is no mention of showmanship and performance.

4.4.3   Service to the university

Male privilege in participation in decision-making and management is an area of acute attention in previous studies concerned with gendered academic life (Hearn, 2001, Acker, 2000). These studies also point out that service to the university is not adequately accounted for in academic promotion (Winchester et al., 2006) and that certain types of services may be valued more noteworthy than others. Further the types of service to the university that gain recognition may differ along gender lines (Park, 1996) and may therefore be differentially recognised.

Gendered memberships and duties

'I was President…'

Within the current study the trends of participation in committees entailed occupation of higher positions of recognition by a large majority of men. The involvement of women showed in lower level positions in committees and contributions which are generally less acknowledged and less pronounced (Park, 1996). This may be due to discursive masculine practices of dominance entrenched within management assumptions that configure feminine ideas and contributions as secondary (Hearn, 2001; Pritchard, 1996; Acker, 1998 Also see chapter one under Service). The extremely high end of male privilege in committees and university service is visible in the following example.

> When I stopped being the Dean I escaped from University committees and I would have had
> a very long list of those. I would have [spent] much of my life in committee meetings. I was
> President of the [Association] and I am now the Vice President, so I go to a number of
> meetings... I am a member of the Advisory Committee Board now of the [Australian X], so I
> attend these meetings too. The Government has a project to establish a national school
> curriculum in place... I am the person who is responsible for the [Discipline] curriculum... I
> have quite a long list of meetings.
> **(Professorial Research Fellow, Social Sciences, Australia, M)**

Here we see how privilege realises in terms of the range of the contributions made through involvement in negotiating with institutions outside the University, representing ones' own university and discipline at a national level. The relative privilege some men gain through these opportunities is twofold: first, within the institution in terms of the manifest functional privilege attached to these kinds of high level administrative functions that has direct impact on performance evaluation; secondly, as latent functional privilege due to the training and exposure gained from such processes of negotiation, which help develop qualities of leadership, confidence and the chance to make your ideas heard and implemented.

'Why I'm not on very many committees'

In this study when the experiences of women were compared with those of the male academics, they were seen to be of secondary importance. Women's participation in committees in the sample showed that often their involvement was tokenistic, being responsible for women's issues-related committee work rather than being assigned duties representing specific academic disciplines.

> No big committees outside of the university although I was on the Women's Studies Board for the Women's Studies Resource Centre. But it just got too hard in terms of the time commitment, so beyond the school no [committees]. I have actually asked the Head of School why I'm not on very many committees, and she said because I'm doing everything else (laughs). So there's just no time.
> **(Level B, Education, Australia, F)**

This quote brings out that women can be marginally assigned responsibility of significance or visibility if it could help, but the greater likelihood is for them to be assigned lower status, less-impressive, though strenuous academic programme administration duties in its place. Even where a female academic holds a high administrative position in a science-oriented discipline/faculty, as in the following example, the persistence of traditional sentiments associated with the gendered division of labour are potentially visible. The duties and responsibilities assigned to her are related specifically to teaching, learning and curriculum development, and despite being a Head of Faculty, she chairs only two or three committees.She is not on committees, such as research committee, which are generally seen as more prestigious than those relating to teaching and curriculum development.

> It will take another hour to list the committees (laugh). I am on a few committees that is probably because I am the Head of the Faculty. Mostly in learning and teaching committees at university and faculty level, looking at curriculums and teaching matters. I am on a committee that looks at curriculum and teaching matters. I am on a several committees that

are basically looking at those areas, probably [in] about ten. I sit on Academic Board, I am on the Online Learning and Teaching Committee (OLTC) and things like that. I am a member of these but I chair only about two or three.

(Level C, IT, Australia, F)

'most of that is very tedious. But… I know it has to be done'

Generally here there were several attitudes expressed with regard to participation in committees and university service. Male academics' experience revealed in multiple ways that this kind of participation is un-interesting and not directly relevant to academic work. Such expressions conveyed that other academic activities were more relevant and beneficial to progression than was services to the university, even though the necessity for it in terms of promotional prospects was acknowledged.

But [committees are] very time consuming and I'm currently writing a document to the PG committee. I am on the PG Coursework Teaching [Committee]. That is what I spent the whole of yesterday doing, actually when I think I am nearly over this now, and I think most of that is very tedious. But I think it has to be done, some of it at least. I don't enjoy being in any of them though, I know it has to be done, but what I like about the [academic] job is writing and teaching.

(Level E, Language, Australia, M)

That [participation in committees] also I [try to avoid] mainly because we started this course. So when you have to go, you have to go for those meetings, then you have to spend time there and you don't have time to work here. I like to get involved in committees which are directly relevant to the students, for example if it's a student counsellor, because the students have problems; that I don't mind doing because you are very directly involved with the student. Others may be important, but right now I don't have the inclination nor the time to get involved in those things.

(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M)

Significantly, male academics in the sample showed greater ambition to be promoted to higher ranks than did females (see Probert, 2005), and this was evident in men's greater interest in certain types of services to the university than in others, especially when compared to the women.

I was on a lot of committees and they took up a lot of time but when you go for promotion you have to have them, I didn't realise but when you go for promotion they want to know

what committees you have served in, and what you have done and if you are important, but it eats up so much of people's time, but I think no one particularly likes it.

(Level C, Education, Australia, M)

This account by a male academic articulates his interests strongly and precisely. He has a very instrumental approach to committee work. He does it only to improve his chances of promotion. The respondent below also observed that some on university committees make very few contributions to the committee, which is disadvantageous for the institution because it deprives others of the opportunities to contribute and to gain valuable experience.

To be a successful academic you have to quite often be very strategic about what you do and what you refuse to do. so some people refuse to do anything which does not directly benefit their career; like if it gets in the way of publication they won't do it, if it's a committee that won't help them, won't look good on their CV they won't do it. In order to be promoted they need to have administrative experiences, so all of a sudden they are going to stand for a committee. But having been on a committee, are they going to make a positive contribution? No, that's passive and a couple of people have been very blatant about this. Why has (person) … (had) the sudden interest (in being on this committee)? And then you realise they must be worried about their promotions or something.

(Level B, Social Science, Australia, M)

Here again it was interestingly noted that female accounts did not express explicit unwillingness to be involved in service as did most men in the sample, though they explicitly admitted that service to the university is time-consuming.

Lot [of time is spent on committees], I sometimes work even at night when we have conferences and things like that. So may be every day I spend about two hours on those things.

(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)

'It's all for show'

A further interesting point to emerge in relation to the need to be involved in service identified a distinct tokenism arising from racial or ethnic identity. This was explicitly observed by an academic with an Australian Aboriginal background.

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There's pressure here, again because of my [racial] background, for me to sit on various committees– and on some of these committees which I have not much interest in, I'm there as a token [racial] person, Well, it's not very meaningful. It's all for show. I am on a student transition committee; an international partnerships committee – which is okay I don't mind that one. There's a new Aboriginal Advisory Council which I have been invited to participate in.

(Level B, Social Science, Australia, M)

The challenge required to resist this situation of tokenism is perverse, as it restricts the freedom of an academic's contribution through stereotypical identity frames, whether of race or of gender.

4.4.4   Research

How academics' research involvement and opportunity are, shaped by different discourses was considered in this study through an analysis of the discourse around what was understood to be an academic career.

Opportunity for research

'I do find the time'

In these responses, allocation of time for research clearly demonstrated gendered patterns by male and female academics. Both in Sri Lanka and in Australia, contrary to the majority of women, nearly all of the male responses about the allocation of time reflected a far more privileged research time trend. They reported relative ease in splitting up their time between work and family, presenting themselves as care-less or less inhibited by caring and family responsibilities, and not considering them when planning time on research activities. These quotes signify clearly an identifiable degree of almost 'concrete' freedom or privilege accrued to male academics with regard to allocation of time for research activities. Similar trends and experiences have been observed in other studies: Dever showed successful female researchers' constant struggles to achieve a work-life balance (2006). Asmar (1999) provided evidence that this difficulty for women mainly arises from their having heavier teaching loads than men particularly at lower academic levels, while other scholars have identified a long standing gender division of academic labour (Bagilhole and White 2003, Park 1996).

Typical responses from males in this study may be seen in the following comments.

Normally I am at the university all seven days, If it is weekends I leave home at 7am and leave university around 6.30 in the evening both Saturday and Sunday, so I do find the time.
(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka M)

(And) I've just had study leave again...which enabled me to get a lot of research done. What are the other supports I'd say I've got? Well, I don't have any children, and I think that makes a difference to – you know, talking to colleagues who do. I can work in the evening, whereas other people can't...I try and make use of every minute of my day...See, there aren't very many distractions.
(Level C, Law, Australia M)

'It is still hard to find the time to sit and work on that'

Women in this regard except those with fewer caring obligations such as single women or married women with no children, all reported difficulties in meeting the demand to publish more. This was mainly due to juggling heavier teaching loads with larger student numbers as well as domestic caring obligations. Evidence on the research and publication of these respondents showed that more men and fewer women reported higher research productivity. This becomes especially evident when we examine the comments made about the allocation and availability of time for research by these academics.

I really wanted to continue with research immediately after coming back. I was told that if you don't do so you will be doing these teaching and other work and you will lose all the interest in the end. I still have a manuscript that I was working on when I was a Ph.D. student, I want to send it somewhere; but it is still hard to find the time to sit and work on that. So concerning my own research I don't feel that I am at the level that I want to be. All these other [students'] research is in my field but not my own work. I advise them to develop their own ideas, but my own research work I wish I had more time to spend on but it is kind of difficult to find the time.
Senior Lecturer II, IT, Sri Lanka F)

May be this one time, though not once...I felt that I should slow down a bit and look into my child's matters more now…maybe being a woman was probably a factor for being less active in research.
(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)

Oh no because I have not got any family life…that's why I can go home and spend 4 hours writing a paper, because I don't have anybody to bother me. So, that way I may be a bit like

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a man, because a man will have a wife and then will expect her to do the child caring.
(Level E, Health, Australia, F)

Research Productivity

'…at least two articles a year'

Another aspect of male advantage in research was observed in the research output and productivity reported. Significantly higher research productivity was demonstrated by men in both countries as a whole.The responses from the majority of the Australian male academics and some senior male academics in Sri Lanka, provide strong evidence of high research output and the privilege it brings.

> Well, I average about two refereed publications a year...so altogether probably about 20 to 25. Mainly in Australian journals and some in international journals. I've got a co-authored book and quite a few – when I say 'refereed publications', actually some of them included book chapters- so, yes: mainly articles, but there are some book chapters.
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

> But I <u>wanted to</u> achieve that [high publication output in developed countries]. I still get publications and citations in indexed journals. I had two for 2010. So I maintained the publication record something like at least two articles a year, two articles in international journals, <u>internationally</u> not locally no. [Emphasis in original]
> **(Senior Professor, Agricultural Science, Sri Lanka, M)**

Further, very few male academics in Australia mentioned unsatisfactory research productivity or stressed weak aspects in their research. In Sri Lanka however, more interviewees reported low research productivity arising from a multitude of situations and conditions, including the different emphases of Sri Lankan academic culture.

> The problem is like [with] most journals, it is not about what you know, but about who you know as well. Right sometimes when you publish, when you send papers to extremely reputed journals, when you don't have a collaborating scientist from a developed country, who is famous, the paper is automatically rejected. That happens and you would experience that.
> **(Senior Professor, Agricultural science, Sri Lanka, M)**

No, I think that is one of my weakest points. I believe most of the work [research] that I did, this is my belief, I need somebody to approve it. I believe the quality of my work can reach the international level but I am a very bad writer, I have to admit that.

So what of your journal publications? They are very little, very limited. **Is it because you are busy or because [of your] writing [style]?**Both, it's a waste and ultimately I admit that it is a waste and I don't publish (hmm).
(Senior Lecturer 1, Engineering, Sri Lanka, M)

'that research is glowering at me because I haven't done it'

Among these interviewees, the research output of females was observed to be lagging behind male success stories. Many reports such as the one below show typical trends in female responses to the question of research.

There's the research that I do, and...the shelves that have my various bits of research all puttering away up there, some of which are– I feel like some of that research is glowering at me because I haven't done, haven't contributed to it for a while. The beginning of the year's always terrible for the Graduate Diploma Coordinator because there's so much going on. So there's a paper I'm working on, on co-supervision. I've just sent my Ph.D. thesis off to America to see if there's a publication possibility for the whole thing as a book. I've got a project happening for online learning. I'm actually also – I should have said – doing a Graduate Certificate in Online Learning. So another thing that I'm doing, because I'm getting a qualification as well. There's a project that we're trying to get off the ground with some colleagues at [Y] University, so that's one. There's also Researcher Skill Development Framework, which [a colleague] is working on – I've got a little, and it's very little, research project happening there. There's one up there called ZING *[sic]*, which is a team learning system that my colleague...has been working on and I'm contributing a paper to that – I want to actually extend the research on that a bit more, which I can't really do till next semester.
(Level B, Education, Australia, F)

Reports such as this demonstrate female academics' typical efforts to manage the demands of publication within the previously observed constraints of teaching and student-centred administration, often over-committing themselves to collaborative, collegial team work and trying to juggle their research time with commitment and courage.

4.4.5   Academic micro-politics

Previous research has described the operations of micro-politics as affected by multiple discourses which conspire to inhibit the active participation of marginalised groups in the academy. Morley states that micro-politics are elusive, subtle, and difficult to capture, leaving individuals unsure of the validity of their 'readings of a situation' and appropriate responses to them. She also importantly notes that 'what appears trivial in a single instance acquires new significance when located in a wider analysis of power relations and that the attribution of meaning and decoding of transactions, locations and language constitutes an important component of micro-politics'(Morley, 1999: 05).

With regards to academic gender politics in particular, overt and covert practices that undermine, devalue and obstruct women's contribution to academic life have been identified. Kaplan (1985:19-22) for example states that it is the norm for men to treat women with verbal and non verbal hostility, to ostracise and exclude them from informal networks.

Different studies by Morley (2002: 214-215; 2006: 215) and Brooks (1997: 49-51) refer specifically to acts of sexual harassment, and bullying directed at both students and female academic staff, which are seen as means used to regulate women's actions and as a masculine style of leadership that disadvantages women specifically. Castleman et.al. in their study also provide evidence that men in the academy are, by comparison relatively more advantaged than women and that the dynamics and discourses around advantage do not relate to merit and in fact undermine it (Castleman et.al.,1995:4-5).

Material experience of micro-politics

How did the reality of micro-politics figure in the field data of this research? The respondents were asked what their experiences in the academy related to micro-politics were and whether they felt that it was gendered.

'I can't leave early or come late due to culture'

Several dimensions of the materiality of micro-politics emerged in the study and indicated that it was experienced as strongly gender relational. Sri Lankan female academics in particular revealed that male privilege was implicated in the vigorous practice of cultural norms associated with academic life, and that it particularly inhibited research advancement. One academic who was focused upon career

advancement and had a promising future, expressed experiences of cultural inhibition which disadvantaged her in two main ways. One refers to cultural norms and ideologies concerning what is and is not socially acceptable appropriate feminine behaviour in Sri Lanka, which inhibited her research output.

> If males have work to do you can come to the department, your room anytime, with anybody male or female, nobody questions. But if I came with a male they all get very curious 'Who is that person?'...So we don't come here and work during weekends or in the evenings as a rule.

> Even with funding my work is difficult because my discipline is field based...so being a woman it is difficult to visit my sites and work like a man, because I can't leave early or come late due to culture...always I should have an escort with me.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

Such constructed academic norms are disadvantageous to one gender, and allow maximum benefits to men in turn. The above excerpt refers to mechanisms of controlling women's free access to the university as well as to field work thereby undermining their potential for progression.

'The Head of School said 'Oh! Every man and his dog have been given a promotion'

Another means through which micro-politics operated was in specifically gendered remarks, which act to devalue and undermined feminine academic excellence. This situation described below demonstrates the difficult and subtle nature of micro-politics, despite its often crude operationalization in the academy. This Australian female academic who had progressed in her career referred to the undermining gendered comments made by senior academic men on her being promoted to the Professorial Level E.

> This is a very male dominated area... I am the only woman in that list of heads around here so of course sometimes remarks are made... when we got the list of people who got promotions I was the only woman on the level E list and, the head of school said 'oh! 'Every man and his dog have been given a promotion!'
> **(Level E, Health, Australia, F)**

The meaning of this comment is that if a woman has been promoted then the process and the achievement itself are devalued, and this female academic did not fail to appreciate her superior's meaning.

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'Don't talk like a street vendor-woman'

The subtle controls effected by this kind of discourse was noted by other respondents. The report below depicts the gendered micro-politics which attempts to control the few outspoken women in universities in Sri Lanka. These overt mechanisms are rude strategies which work to undermine women's' confidence and their challenge to the domination of male opinion.

> ...but at times there are certain male chauvinistic kind of male people staff members who don't like female faculty members coming in and arguing in the Faculty Board. Especially in the Faculty board you can see some of them when the females are vociferous they some men don't like it and react*...(wattiammawage)* –[like vendor women].At least I heard one person say, *wattiamma wage kathakarannaepa!* [Don't talk like a vendor woman!]...so that was one occasion, so only at that level you might have very extreme cases [of] looking down upon [women].
> **(Senior Lecturer I, A Science, Sri Lanka, M)**

The crude, aggressive behaviour and the informal 'out of context' nature of such remarks make it very difficult to effectively respond to them, and to find effective ways to deal with these discriminatory practices. Some respondents' experiences signified extreme mechanisms of control and male power in administrative positions, which were utilised to cause markedly detrimental effects on female academic careers. The helplessness of women against such discursive micro-political manipulations is aggravated by their gendered status in the broader society (Morley, 1999, 2006; Gunawardena et al., 2005, 2006).

'They prefer to have a male [in those positions] most occasions'

Another way in which micro-politics was evident in the respondents' reports was through male bias against the selection and appointment of females to higher administrative positions. The sentiments and practices of homo-sociality which are known to perpetuate cultural and structural gender biases that ensure constant, unchallenged advantage to men (Grummel et al., 2009; Knights and Richard, 2003), were repeatedly expressed by the participants in this study.

> No, not for nominations to Dean or Head we may not [discriminate against women], but at the [level of] appointment it is true, sometimes people [voice] their concern, at least they prefer to have a male [in those positions] most occasions.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka, M)**

I was lucky as I was a male in a female profession, and I saw terrible things done to females I can give you examples. She was appallingly treated,.. she lost her voice from lecturing and she was [trying to] get work compensation and the male administration threatened her if she went down that path,.. they then tried to get rid of her because she didn't have a higher qualification, not many people had higher degrees in those days, and she was just completely marginalized, She left [her post].

(Level C, Education, Australia, M)

4.5 Obligatory Care and Domesticity

Research focusing on women's under-representation in the academy has invariably pointed one way or the other at the relevance of women's gender role in society especially within domesticity in explaining female disadvantage in the academy. The gendered obligation to care and domesticity have been implicit in findings of previous studies which discuss academics' work-life balance.

4.5.1   Gendered Domestic Obligation

Gender inequity in academic employment has been explained in part by the fact that more women are divorced/single with the full responsibility for children, often teenage children (Probert, 2005: 50). Asmar focussed upon the research experiences of male and female Ph.D. candidates in Australia, observing the greater likelihood of male Ph.D. candidates to be willing and able to separate family life from their research work than females. Further she also observed the presence of a degree of 'anguish and guilt' on the part of female candidates when required to disengage themselves from their caring obligations within domesticity (Asmar, 1999: 216).

The failure to perform gendered obligatory domesticity and the consequent anxiety and guilt, experienced by academic women, has been widely and frequently noted in research. For example Weigt and Solomon report that in the USA, how women academics resisted pressures to put the family on the backburner by sometimes hiring help to care for their children in order to not to compromise their familial roles (Weigt and Solomon, 2008:633). This study notes that 'a few mothers spoke of feeling guilty about having others take care of their children' though they had the ease of being temporarily free from care responsibilities (Weigt and Solomon, 2008: 634). Here the feeling of obligation is implicit in

these women's unwillingness to put the 'family on the backburner' and in the feelings of guilt displayed.

Further, another study of female senior level managers and executive women's experiences of domesticityobserved that the balancing between home and work always 'tugs at your heart strings' and showed the need to be highly organized to do this balancing act successfully (Pringle et al., 2003:10). Further, it was almost impossible for these women to be 'care-less'; attempts at compartmentalising work-life domains with clear boundaries proves to be challenging and rarely successful because cutting off completely from the obligations of domesticity is impossible for most working women.

> "...I think only of home if the phone goes and then my heart sinks because it would only be
> the nanny" (Pringle et al., 2003:10)

In all the situations presented above, it is evident that women have a relentless awareness and very conscious pull towards domesticity and family care, as well as feelings of anxiety, even when they are at work. This feeling exists even among the highest echelons of the professional world. By contrast, reports on similar experiences by men are frequently absent in the literature; scholarly analyses of care responsibilities are predominantly produced in relation to women. Men are care-less and care-free, while women are attached to care and caring.

It has been established that a gender bias exist in the distribution of domestic labour, where men are largely released from domesticity and the emotion work that attends it: they are care-less. While some in western society assert that recently there has been change in the involvement of men in domesticity (Egmond et. al., 2010; Bianchi et.al. 2000; Sullivan, 2000), others deny that it is so (Baxter et. al., 2008, 2002). Further, there is evidence to suggest that in varying degrees, most men are afforded the possibility of distancing themselves from the obligation of domesticity-embedded emotionality through the facility of gender relationality. However, this has also been contested and may not be true for all men's situations. Research concerned directly with plausible explanations for women's under-representation in the academy have pointed out that a close scrutiny of domestic gender roles and related workloads is now necessary (Probert, 2005).

In a study concerned with gendered career progress and work-life balance, Castleman et al. (1995) provide evidence that men enjoy a number of advantages over their female professional colleagues. These reflect social patterns which include lack of family responsibilities for men enabling career continuity, being available for networking connections, and having the opportunities and emulation of

masculine ethos in the work place which facilitates a single-minded and care-less commitment to career.

4.5.2   The Materiality of Gender Relational Obligatory Domesticity

'Attached' and 'detached' emotional selves

In the current study a significant observation is the regular and frequent correspondence academics made to gendered experience work-life balance in relation to academic achievement. Therefore understanding how gendered work-life-balance shaped academic privilege became a key area to shed light on a broad context of entitlements to gendered privilege in the academy.

In this analysis two regularities were considered. On the one hand respondents' family-domestic obligations and commitment were identified, and on the other hand, academics' accounts of work and academic obligations or related experiences were scrutinised.

The situation of unequal domesticity and its relevance to men and women's positions in the academy was confirmed by the majority of responses in the present research. These findings suggest that there is a pattern of gendered obligatory domesticity among academics which demonstrates the inclinations of female and male academics to construct their domestic selves as 'attached' or care-full and 'detached' or care-less. Most male academics were strongly inclined towards the construction of a 'detached instrumental self' entrusted with fewer, less obligatory domestic roles, whereas women depicted an 'attached emotional self' through much more obligatory range of domestic roles (Lynch, 2010). The obligatory 'attached' emotional self contributed to restraining females, in contrast to the push that men felt towards an instrumental (care-less) self that privileged and contributed towards their academic advancement. These obligations were seen in discursive practices expressing societal norms on a biological base of reproductivity.

The findings showed female academics' strong inclination towards an obligation to care (or care-full).Men's reports on domesticity entailed fewer obligations to domesticity. For female academics these obligations entailed guilt, anxiety shaped through numerous internalized norms of mothering, caring and home making. When such internalised obligatory gender roles and practices are not fulfilled it leads to self-doubt, a sense of personal failure which can often lead to lack of self-confidence, agitation and self-

blame that are very disruptive to developing single-minded academic focus and intellect in the case of women. The gendered nature of these care obligations allowed male academics freedom to construct a kind of detached (care-less/ care free) subjectivity with less demands on their emotional role, away from distracting obligatory domesticity which was conducive to academic success. On the contrary, these obligations had produced an oppositional effect of emotionally attached and distracted subjectivities in females. These shaped dual realities for males and female academics, one of academic advantage and relative disadvantage for the other.

'Less expectations of men in terms of emotional domesticity'

The responses of these academic men exemplified an ability to separate family obligations from academic work or be care-free. They depicted situations in which male academics enjoyed a kind of a luxury of family commitments being eased off from them by their female partners who take charge of domesticity and caring responsibilities.

Men had been thereby granted the opportunity to detach themselves from the obligatory emotional labour within their families and the community while receiving great support to develop and nurture the skills and momentum required for rational abstraction.

> Really for my achievements the one main source of support is my family, especially my wife, sometimes my kids too.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka, M)**

> No! My academic work have pulled down my family commitments, I have kind of given up [family commitments] for my academic work rather than the other way around.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Management, Sri Lanka, M)**

> Culturally we have less expectations of men in terms of non-work-life, and I have experienced the benefit of that when it comes to my partner, she has this constant feeling of guilt that she is not doing enough with the children, whereas my attitude is, 'Gee, I am doing a lot'.
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

Domestic obligation for most men in this sample was minimal. Generally they demonstrated the ability to detach themselves in order to concentrate upon their academic careers without having to worry about putting in much towards domesticity, which resembles Lynch's notion of care-lessness (2010). This was

also in keeping with gendered ideologies of masculinity and a pattern of behaviour that did not challenge the stereotype. Therefore, the responses of male academics demonstrated being completely at ease, willing and feeling it was rightful to describe how much they were involved in academic life, sometimes even at the expense of their personal lives. This is clearly because these self-evaluations do not challenge the stereotype. These behaviours have been endorsed, normalised and facilitated through ideological and psychological structuring of societal roles, particularly around emotion work and domesticity.

Obligation to care

'I felt that I should now slow down a bit'

The responses of the women noted how their attitudes and academic experiences were shaped by a gendered obligation to look after and care for family and children (be care-full). Fulfilling the complex negotiation of career demands with domesticity was represented as the right, correct and voluntarily assumed and willing position of females who had child care responsibilities. Within the sample of female academics in this study almost 70 percent were married or had a partner, while 85 percent had children. Significantly, all of the female trajectories of domesticity mentioned its visible influence upon the academic attainments and the speed with which they achieved them. This was not evident in the male stories. Most women in the sample with family commitments reported juggling their career and the demands of a young family. This was especially emphasised during mid-career in Sri Lanka, and in Lecturer and Associate Lecturer levels in Australia. Most often, these women declared a compulsion to relax career ambitiousness or to negotiate it, in order to prioritise family demands of care-fullness, perhaps taking turns at career and family alternatively thus trying to strike a balance in both areas. Females, in both countries, with domestic roles routinely experienced a 'slowing down' attitude especially after achieving their Ph.D. credentials. This was especially evident in Sri Lanka as seen in the following:

> I felt that I should now slow down a bit and look into my child's matters more now that she
> is growing up. I think [so] because of what I see in media I decided that I need to be there
> for my daughter. I do most of the parenting stuff.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

'My husband is supportive… But'

Similarly the notions of obligation towards care responsibilities accompanied other significant gendered

realities that had shaped academic life opportunities and aspirations of women. Although most respondents stated that their engagement in an academic career was supported and approved by the husbands. However, in practice some women did not see this support put into practice to the same extent as it was done for men. The experiences of most female respondents in both countries displayed behaviour trends in this regard.

> When it is my chance to go abroad I have to look into all the things [at home] before I can make a decision. I should check whether it clashes with my son's tests, whether it affects any other activities, then sometimes I would postpone or...decline. But my husband does not have any of these obligations, my husband never had to think all of that.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

> **Having to play the multiple roles: how did that affect you?** It meant I wasn't really concentrating on having a career or anything [earlier on]; I was more interested in running the household and doing all those duties. My husband was quite happy for me to go out to work and everything, there was no problem with that, but he was very – he didn't really help a lot at home. (laughs) So the [children] boys helped a bit and I got them to do things, but, it meant I was really quite tired in the evenings so I wouldn't really think about doing anything extra. Plus my husband was a [professional] and always had to do a lot of work in the evenings; he just worked flat-out all the time...he'd work 110 hours a week or whatever... he had to work...and I always decided that I didn't...I wanted to be available for my children if they needed me in the evenings, so I didn't want to spend all my time working...which is what also appeals to me.
> **(Lecturer B, Language, Australia, F)**

For these women the support they received was less than that given to their partners and to married academic men, as in release from domestic responsibility or in having the same, unrestrained freedom to pursue professional goals.

*'… they ask why mum cannot stay home'-**The gendered guilt /obligation***

Another significant reiteration with regard to the obligations of domesticity was seen, as observed in previous studies (Asmar, 1999; Probert, 2005; Pringle et. al., 2004), in how women expressed feelings of guilt when they felt that their gendered domesticity performances fell below the normative optimum. These guilt feelings had a strong tendency to tilt them towards their domestic responsibilities, sometimes at the expense of more ambitious achievement of academic career goals. A Sri Lankan male

married to female academic represented this as his wife's voluntary choice. However, he seemed devoid of any knowledge or consideration about the social construction that might have shaped this choice of women.

> Sometimes [my wife] gets the chance to [lecture] during weekends, but she would tell me, 'Why should I go [to University] again?' The kids also complain that both parents are not available [at home for them]; they ask why mum cannot stay home... This is more cultural.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Arts, Sri Lanka, M)**

> I mean I've experienced the benefit of that. Like I know with my partner she has this constant feeling of guilt that she's not doing enough for the children, whereas my attitude is, 'Gee, I'm doing a lot', and that's because culturally the expectation is I'm doing much more than is expected of men usually, so therefore I feel quite comfortable with what I'm doing, even though I don't do more than her. But she feels the burden of not doing enough and I feel good about it, but we do the same. So why is that? And I think that is something that's very hard for women, is that they do take – even if – regardless of how much of the care of children they're doing, they take on the psychological burden of it, and I think that's a big thing and I don't think our society values it nearly enough.
> **(Level D, Humanities, Australia, M)**

Out of a total of ten women in this study, only one reported very high support with domestic activities while two reported receiving moderate support on special occasions. Two Sri Lankan females had domestic helpers, one lived in and the other a daily visited.

For most of the female academics in this study, the domestic work had somehow been prioritized, along with career pursuits to some extent, and perhaps at the expense of personal well-being or health. When they were unable to continuously perform this balancing effectively, they would experience feelings of failure and accompanied guilt that again contributed towards distracting thoughts and decreasing self-confidence.

> I totally neglected myself for the Ph.D., the job and the family- husband's and daughter's work. So...what happens then is that you neglect yourself.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

Men's obligation to work

'Not cut into too many of the things that I need to do here'

Many of the male interviewees' responses revealed their awareness of how they prioritised their academic work over their family responsibilities. This Australian academic clearly limits his contributions to the care of his children, although expressing the view that he should 'switch off' from work sometimes.

> I guess at different times I certainly neglect some aspects of that[family life]...I can take my son to school in the morning, if need be I can go pick him up, but not cut into too many of the things that I need to do here...There's probably a balance that's achieved but sometimes I wonder how it is achieved.

> As I said to you, this idea of being a bit of a perfectionist and not wanting to let go of things means that sometimes it cuts into family life and I try to make up in other ways, but I guess I've probably not quite achieved the right balance, but I'm happy enough with the balance, it's just it's probably not [the best]. Sometimes I need to be able to switch off, just to do things at home with the kids and things like that.
> **(Level C, Science, Australia, M)**

In quotes like this, and those below, the sacrifices involved are recognised and the stresses of possibly not meeting the expected academic achievements are explicitly acknowledged, but are not the source of intense guilt nor self blame or a decrease in self-confidence.

> My wife looks after the children, she is a working woman but still she can manage a lot of things [on her own]. She does not demand much [from me towards] housework, therefore I can get my spare time. Other thing is I can sacrifice many things for my career. For example, I have missed out on many [family] weddings, funerals and that sort of thing. That was [to a great extent] contributed by family background too. In my family...they wouldn't bother if I just left my brother's wedding [for office work]. Even after my wedding they would look after [things so that] just after two or three days I can come back to work.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka, M)**

> I felt comfortable with it [slowing down], although every now and then I sort of felt a bit guilty: 'Am I doing enough work and am I working hard enough?' I didn't care about progression so much, but I did care that I was meeting all the requirements of the job.
> **(Level C, Science, Australia, M)**

Within the group of academics in the present study, however, concerns about domesticity and caring obligations were more explicitly and frequently presented by females than males. Nevertheless, this does not amount to a complete absence of concern for family and life-work balance on the part of male academics. On the contrary, men's obligation was often found tilted towards work and career obligations and where concerns over domesticity were expressed; it was in less obligatory ways. What was prevalent was that men's domestic concerns did not have such a negative influence on their academic careers as the caring obligation had on the academic lives of females. It was noteworthy that the majority of male academics' responses represent their lack of contribution to domesticity as negligible, justified and socially and culturally legitimized.

'I chose not to spend that kind of time [at work] and spend time with my partner and with my children'

Occasionally, some male academics showed more involvement in domesticity than did others. However, this reality presented a sense of 'going against the grain', in other words as an individual preference rather than arising necessarily from a strong obligation towards domesticity, as was often the case with women.

> That's right, that's the case. I'd changed my focus from... I would stay at work when I was single till 7 at night, I would finish off research projects, and when I had family responsibilities I didn't have that opportunity and didn't work as hard – and not only have the opportunity, I also chose not to spend that kind of time and spend time with my partner and with my children.
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

These males held in their responses the conviction that their obligation was equally to do with making a successful career as a priority, while still managing an effective balance with family life, which is a choice to be managed in relation to the main issue – the career.

4.5.3   Gendered Obligatory Domesticity – Towards a Conceptual Framework

The current research demonstrates clearly that maintaining and developing the skills of focus, concentration and commitment are the vital qualities required for an academic's success. The gendered nature of domestic obligations, interwoven with the emotional entanglements they generate, plays a dominant role in the construction of two different lived realities for male and female academics. On the

one hand, there is a repeated pull towards distracting emotionality and attachment which imposes heavy practical constraints on women's time and focus.

The opposite effect of liberation from such emotional obligations, as observed here by both male and female academics, facilitates easy detachment (care-lessness) and privilege for most male academics. It was noted that the potential for scholarly rational abstraction which is required for academic work is maximized by higher entitlement to care-lessness, a 'detachment' from domesticity, and is inevitably complemented by the constant pull towards attachment and emotional domesticity expressed by many females.

A further outcome of this study was that the success levels of the women with fewer caring responsibilities showed a huge difference from the average success levels and achievements (refer back to this Chapter) of those with care responsibilities. These respondents reported the time and the freedom from obligatory distraction to be able to develop the abstract thinking required of them. In this respect they demonstrated experience of the same privilege that most men reportedly enjoyed. Only a very few men with care responsibilities expressed being constrained by them, and then only as a minor consideration.

What is obligatory domesticity in an academic setting? The caring responsibilities and domesticity demands of academics in this research entailed all the traditional parental care obligatory aspects established previously (see Weiland, 2011, and above Chapter 1). In addition to the general social and biological assumptions of parental responsibility as an almost exclusively feminine role, the academic context raises its own characteristic issues. An academic career is concerned with developing skills of decontextualized intellect and the formulation of knowledge through the constant pursuit of abstraction, which form its core functions and requirements.

Reason and emotion in context

Discourse on rational thinking, intellect, focus, concentration and wisdom has a long history that manifests an inherently gendered nature. In her book *Man of Reason* Genevieve Lloyd shows that

> Our trust in a Reason that knows no sex has...been largely self-deceiving. To bring to the surface the implicit maleness of our ideals...does have important implications for our contemporary understanding of gender difference. It means...that there are not only practical reasons, but also conceptual ones, for the conflicts many women experience between

Reason and femininity

(Lloyd,1984: x).

In this view constructions of reason are observed as inherently male not only constraining and eliminating women's understandings through femininity in practical ways, but also through conceptualizations of what reason is. Through an in-depth analysis, Lloyd shows how, from the beginning of Western philosophical thought, 'what had to be shed in developing culturally prized rationality was… symbolically associated with femaleness' (1984, 3; see also Kourany, 1998: 93).In Greek philosophy female 'nature' and emotion were seen as contrary to the attainment of reason. According to Lloyd, 'maleness was aligned with active, determinate form, femaleness with passive, indeterminate matter' (Lloyd, 1984: 3).

As Lloyd (2002) argues, such a portrayal of the maleness of reason would gain no credibility today, yet some elements of this analysis are useful in explaining the materiality of gendered obligatory domesticity. The emphasis on and demand for femininity-femaleness in the labour intensive emotion-work of women in society remains current, whereas men are required to play a much more intensive, instrumental role detached from emotionality. The differential conceptualisation of these roles constitutes practical difficulties for achieving states of focus and abstract thinking within femaleness, whereas it is more easily aligned with and accessible to the professional practicalities associated with maleness. This has been analytically described by Lloyd (1984, also see Lloyd, 2002) and it is also clearly exemplified in the present research findings.

The 'attached' domestic self and 'detached' academic self

These Western, historically-inherited trends of thought are seen in this study to have direct influence on the lives of individuals. Furthermore, similar concepts of a detached and an attached self can also be drawn from concepts of wisdom in Buddhist philosophy. In Buddhist philosophical discourses on wisdom, the attached and detached nature of reason (wisdom) and emotion (desire) have been extensively emphasised and analysed (The Sangha, 2006). In the application of Buddhist philosophy to life, central importance is ascribed to non-attachment as the path to wisdom, freedom and focused attention. Liberation from strong desire and emotions through a rigorous path of practice of non-attachment (psychological detachment) enables the attainment of *Samadhi,* that is, mindfulness and concentration (The Sangha, 2006: 18-38). Reason is thus understood to be detached from emotional and intuitive/instinctive dimensions of understanding.

Within Western philosophical thought, the Cartesian sexless view of reason separate the body and

emotions that represent similar conceptualization of a detached self and an attached self, aligned with gender ideologies (see Haldane and Ross, 1972). Consequently, historical Western philosophical views of reason and rationality continued the strong tradition which associated irrationality with femaleness. Within recent analyses, however, such as that by Lynch (2010: 54), and especially within Buddhist philosophy (McRae, 2012: 99-104), reason is presented in parallel with emotion (The Sangha, 2006:7-13). This means that rationality-wisdom or reason, desire and emotions are presented as phenomena that exist concurrently within one singular bodily entity. Wisdom can be achieved through rigorous balancing of emotional attachment and rational detachment, both of which are accessible to all people in all social conditions and circumstances, irrespective of gender.

The responses in the present research clearly showed that the separation of maleness as rational (instrumental/detached) and femaleness as less rational (emotional/attached) are contributed by differentiations established through gendered normative practices in the academy. These concepts do not refer to any innate, tangible or provable cognitive differences. The relational advantage that discourses of domesticity accrue to men have been explicitly analysed focusing on care-lessness grounded in Cartesian rationalism and it has been shown that 'Given the moral imperative on women to do care work and on men to be care-less, the carelessness of higher education has highly gendered outcomes'(Lynch 2010: 54). In the context of gendered obligation the practical ways that constrained women from achieving rational abstraction through a constant imperative to perform the emotional, caring role was clearly evident in these data. By contrast, the lack of obligatory domesticity portrayed in male experiences displayed an imperative of instrumental maleness that clearly privileged academic endeavour.

Therefore, one powerfully plausible explanation for the differential achievement of academic success of male and female academics in this research lies in how domesticity was constructed as gendered in these contexts. It must of course be acknowledged that the reasons for this differential achievement are multiple, and that the interactions between detached and attached emotional and intellectual experiences of all respondents are complex and interwoven with other aspects found within formal institutional processes as well. Nevertheless, the distraction produced here through the emotional obligatory domestic role created the basis of academic success around which other masculine realities were organized. This research therefore demonstrates the significant relevance of a gendered obligatory domesticity to academic privilege and the way it is shaped by an element of care that corresponds to gendered emotionality on the one hand and instrumentality on the other. It confirms the view that this situation frequently disadvantages the female and privileges the male in professional academic endeavour.

Conclusion

The above chapter attempted to explore the data in relation to one of the key questions of the current research, that is, whether male privilege is constructed relationally to the disadvantaged position of academic women and, if so, how this reality is represented and constructed. An attempt was also made to identify whether there are gendered practices external to the individual that contribute towards relational outcomes in academic advancement that privilege the male and disadvantage the female.

The privilege and disadvantage mutuality was evident in the spheres of academic and non-academic life analysed. Within the family background, class privilege was a significant pre-career academic aspiration determinant which was largely free from gender bias especially in Australia. However, in Sri Lanka class privilege had been a significant factor for women's entry into the academic career, though not for progression within it. Gender relationality within family background was evident in the way that opportunity for developing academic aspiration had been shaped. This frequently favoured men, being experienced in less restrictive ways, while it was unavailable to many women within the sample. However, a few experiences also revealed unconventional trends and patterns of multiplicity weaving away from the main gendered trends.

With regard to the academic activities of teaching, mentoring, service and research, gender relational privilege and disadvantage were clearly noted. Within teaching involvement and student pastoral care, some marked evidence of male privilege and women's disadvantage was visible. Male privilege in relation to teaching was seen where men enjoyed relatively more freedom, being released from teaching and related duties to engage in research or other prestigious academic activities on the basis of their seniority more readily than women of equal rank. Another key trend was seen in the gendered division of disciplines, where evidently men in the sample had been assigned teaching of the specific courses stereotyped masculine, and females those stereotyped feminine which were interpreted as comparatively lower in the hierarchy of prestige.

In mentoring, on the whole men exemplified the privilege of intensive mentoring, while only one female out of ten women in the sample had had this opportunity. The assumptions and practices of masculinity promote a culture more conducive to mentoring than the discourses of femininity. However, on the average, intensive mentoring opportunities were lacking for both genders, especially for all academics in Sri Lanka. Service to the institution showed largely the gender stereotyped nature of task distribution and committee responsibilities in which male involvement was higher than that of females, especially in decision-making bodies at higher levels. Female academics' experiences

showed more involvement in departmental and Faculty level committees and responsibility for traditionally feminine areas of work such as teaching, learning and student welfare, rather than at University Senate or Council levels.

In terms of research commitment and publications, much greater male and lower female research and publication productivity was represented. The reality experienced around this was evident in the interviewees' responses especially in the area of the allocation and availability of time for research by respective male and female academics. In addition to the obvious distinctions outlined above, the area where relational privilege and disadvantage were perhaps most clearly articulated was in relation to the everyday life practices connected with work-life balance and the micro-politics of domestic responsibility. Men's advantage in these two areas was profound and determined an overall privilege which spilled over on to other areas of academic life for men and women academics. Deeply entrenched discourses polarising emotion and reason as attached and detached ways of knowing continue to exert profound influence on the gendered performance of academics today.

Significantly in all the above areas of analysis a multiplicity of responses was apparent. Within the two countries there were also similarities as well as considerable variation. The following chapter discusses some of the key issues concerning this multiplicity and diversity of gendered privilege and the country variations observed.

5 MULTIPLICITY IN CONTEXT

5.0 Introduction

From the analysis conducted in the previous chapter, it has become clear that the over-riding condition of male advantage and female disadvantage is real and much experienced within the global academy. This is particularly confirmed through the findings of this research within a context of gender relationality. The gendered nature of the academic profession has serious implications, not just for the individual academics concerned but also on the structure and outputs of the academy and the kinds of knowledge that it is able to contribute to human society.

However, the complexities of the processes by which these strikingly gendered effects are produced, also significantly represent a multiple in nature. This chapter analyses the multiplicity of gendering of the academy mainly considering two aspects. The first part of the chapter discusses the multiplicity within relational masculinities and femininities within the academy, taking the multiple identity categories of class, race, ethnicity and other culturally-embedded hierarchies[58] into consideration. In this regard the focus is mainly on the question of whether male academics are generally undifferentiated and seen to be equally advantaged, while simultaneously considering whether differentiations have been seen within the clear picture of female disadvantage that has emerged.

The second part then explores multiplicity in terms of the important general differences in academic life arising from the unique socio-cultural and economic contexts of the gendered academic practices within the two countries, and it discusses the significant variations which have become evident within the research findings.

5.1   A Complex Web of Multiple Threads

In the previous analysis there has been the constant reminder that the experiences of male and female academics reflected gendered regularities but some significant contradictions as well. In other words, the experiences of academics both male and female are significantly varied, while yet conforming to certain traditionally gendered patterns and stereotypes. These findings bring home that, in everyday life, configurations of gendered practice are significantly fluid and they are constantly being challenged and adapted within individual subjectivities and different social realities and conditions.

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[58]These cultural hierarchies here refer primarily to caste and locality-based social strata.

Hence this drives us to concur with those numerous scholars who have historically discredited the assumption that men and masculinities are homogeneous, and have approached masculinities in all their rich plurality, notably Connell (2005), Hearn and Morgan (1990), Kimmel (2005) and many others. The study of femininities too demonstrates this multiplicity through a long line of studies that refer to the differences among women, although female privilege still tends to be embedded within gendered subordination.

Today it is understood that masculinities are configurations of social practice which are multiple and different, and are distributed among different social groups such as ethnic communities, regions, or social classes (Connell, 2005, xviii). Connell (2005) refers to different types of masculinities such as workplace masculinities, working class masculinities and middle class masculinities, particularly referring to class differences within them. Earlier it had been argued that the structures of the old traditions governed by class were gradually melting away (Cockburn, 1996) but Connell (2005) continues to point out that class and ethnic settings are still significant determinants in shaping masculinities. Of particular relevance here is the observation that other significant types that emphasise ethnic differences, such as black and so-called 'third world' , or rather non-western non-white masculinities, have been rarely researched (Hearn, 2001). Further patterns of difference have emerged as different masculinities are produced within the same cultural or institutional settings as well (Connell 2005: 37).

Recognition of diversity in masculinity is most important for an understanding of the relations among different masculinities. These relations vary among relations of alliance, dominance and marginalization, constructed through social practices that effect inclusion and exclusion, and practices that intimidate, exploit or collaborate. It is also important to note that these different masculinity types are not fixed or constant but are varied conceptual categories that depend on their contexts for meaning. Connell (2005: 76) has particularly noted and emphasised these relational masculinity configurations and the importance of understanding them.

Significantly in the present research, interviewees' responses show explicit evidence of multiple masculinities as well as femininities. The multiplicity of gender construction is evident across the two cultural contexts as well as within them. This study reveals multiple academic masculinities arising from interviewees' different social class belongings as well as from different ethnic and racial and other social hierarchical affiliation categories. Interestingly, confined especially to the academic context is the category arising from different discipline areas such as science and non-science as well as from the hierarchical constructions within disciplines themselves. This multiplicity then also expands to

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demonstrate the ways in which these different categories relate to each other, broadly forming into hegemonic as well as marginalised or disadvantaged academic masculinities.

Similarly, among female academics too, different femininities are revealed. Even though subordination and disadvantage were constantly visible here, different levels of privilege were also clearly evident. However, there is difficulty in separating out multiple masculinities and femininities in reality, or placing them in any strict or consistent hierarchical continuum of unmixed categories based on gendered advantage and disadvantage. To the contrary, these categories are experienced within the current research as inseparable, mixed and fluid, while they persistently position females as relatively secondary and devalued in relation to males in all the comparable hierarchical categories.

This chapter will therefore explore these various social structural factors as experienced by the participants, and consider how they may contribute towards the configuration of hierarchical relations of masculinity within the academy. Within the present research multiple masculinities seem to emerge noticeably from different class, ethnicity or race experiences, locality status or disciplinary affiliation.

5.1.1 Class Privileged Academic Masculinities

In Australia and Sri Lanka, class masculinities constitute a continuum extending from upper to lower class social situations. The academics' experiences represented the positive dynamics of mainly upper class privilege in the construction of hegemonic masculinities, while the working or less privileged class status was more often configured in marginalized or less privileged academic masculinities. Evidence of class privilege that supports hegemonic gender categories representing the most successful segments of the academic hierarchy, is common for both men and women. The most powerful academic positions within this sample were regularly held by upper class men, while upper class women held relatively secondary positions within comparable and synonymous class privilege categories. When compared to men some academic women from working class backgrounds too held privileged kind of academic femininities. However these positions varied according to different disciplines, or race and ethnic identities, as complex mutually inclusive determinants of multiple masculinities and femininities.

The following experiences show how the upper class masculinities evident within the sample resemble the hegemonic types. In this context they are shaped by higher class status and identity which have been academically advantageous in terms of positive professional outcomes. These male academics' responses clearly represent the significant positive influence that class privilege had on their academic success, while shaping particular masculine prowess of a hegemonic nature.

[I studied in] a private boys school in [a city]... when I went to Cambridge I was part of a group of contemporaries mainly English or Scottish, who have gone on to very senior positions, so I got a lot out of interacting with them... I was very fortunate in that there were older colleagues who were in Cambridge, who encouraged me and gave me opportunities.

(Professorial Research Fellow, Social Sciences, Australia, M)

In fact, my dad's a lawyer and my uncle's an engineer and one of my aunties is a librarian. I'm a Tall Poppy[59].

(Level C, Science, Aus, M)

Well, you have been given advantages because of who you are, and it's maybe not just based on merit, and you have to try and accept that

(Level D, Law, Aus, M)

The evidence of upper class privilege within the above responses entails material wealth as well as the opportunity to receive a privileged education in the exclusive and resource rich environment of a private school. This is clearly connected to social recognition and the practical advantages of material privilege and that contributes inherently towards a confident mind set. The first response emphasises the advantage of being associated with other like-minded, academically privileged, white nationals as contemporaries. Further, within the two following accounts of academics in Australia, upper class family background with professional family members, relatives and academically profitable life styles, is clearly represented and recognized as a significant shaping determinant of the most privileged academic masculinities presented within the current sample. Significantly, these academic masculinities also stress a kind of solidarity, bonding support and unity, or a form of homo-sociality that has been observed earlier (Brooks, 1997). This can promote academic advancement in a way not evident in economically less privileged academic life trajectories within this study. This situation is clearly visible in the experiences of senior Australian academic men and in relation to some Australian women, who produced very positive academic advancement trajectories showing that economic advantage had been a key factor in their academic success.

However, a remaining question is whether this is a singular possibility for hegemonic masculinity construction within the sample. Alternatively, the findings suggest that within the Sri Lankan

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[59][Interviewer]**I'm sorry, what do you mean by that?** So in Australia and New Zealand and probably in England a little bit there's this tendency amongst the population – this is where the 'tall poppy' idea comes from – that people chop down the tall poppy. So, you know, in a field of poppies, one that grows a bit higher than the rest, and people have this idea. And in New Zealand and Australia there's this general community thing that people tend to lop off tall poppies, people who stand out from the crowd, whereas in America they kind of – if you think a little bit about the way Americans look [up] to people who achieve and stand out, people try to stand out from the crowd and do that little bit more, whereas on the whole – it's not so present in universities, it's not something that's an issue

experiences, this linear trend of class privilege is ruptured. Here, while a few successful men were noted to be from the economically and socially more powerful class categories, some of the most privileged academic masculinities had emerged from less privileged social classes and economic backgrounds.

> Well I am not from an urban area; I studied at *Bedda* Central College. I am a scholar of the then Grade Seven scholarship and I was born in (*Ambarawa)*[60] and went to a small school in the village. I was the first in class throughout. I was the best science student in school and all others wanted to learn from me... I also had a record too having six Distinction passes[61] in 1975 those days Distinctions for Ordinary Level was not heard of even in Colombo and it was a really great achievement at that time.
> **(Senior Professor, Science, SL, M)**

Thus, although there may be less tangible social status elements present in the family environment other than economic status influencing the success categories, experiences such as this point to the complexity of hegemonic masculinities in this context. Quite apart from the social class privileges revealed above, it is evident that masculinities in the academy are unique and multiple in the shaping. In many cases they also depend on and are directly affected by the degree of courage and confidence men are able to master in constructing specific masculinities through personal intellectual capabilities and skills, as well as through effective engagement in academic activities.

As explained in Chapter Three, in Sri Lanka higher education opportunities are determined almost entirely on academic merit, and admission into recognised government institutions is available free of charge for the best and high performing students. While external factors such as class and other identity criteria clearly help fuel the process of confidence-building, the findings of this research demonstrate that power building and hegemonic forms of academic masculinities is not totally or exclusively attributable to such externalities alone. It is evident in a large number of responses here that the internalities of how one weaves the web of academic success within contexts of motivation, courage, confidence and intellectual skills, are also highly significant.

> I was a very poor student... So the whole thing comes alone and I had just a little bit of worry about my few brothers and sisters because they had not even [passed] their O/L. May be that will be the thing that set my mind to come this far in this path.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M)**

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[60]A relatively under privileged district in Sri Lanka.
[61] The Sri Lankan State education system awards Distinction passes as the highest grade point at the General Certificate Ordinary Level (G.C.E. O/L) Examination.

> No, but my father was *very keen to keep me going* as he did not have any professional qualification, he was an accountant not with professional formal qualification, *and he was very keen for me to get that [emphasis in original].*
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Science, SL, M)**

Within this second group of masculinity constructions the traditional structures have been very clearly broken down and challenged. Personal commitment towards academic advancement has been the greatest contributor, as well as motivation and moral support from within the family and social networks, as discussed in Chapter Four. Evidence to support similar interpretations is available from working class masculinities in Australia as well, though their success trajectories, while being very impressive, still stand secondary to the most powerful hegemonic types especially when located in less recognised disciplines, unlike in Sri Lanka where the mobility seemed more flexible.

In the contexts of these responses, the external traditional social status hierarchies and privileged identities such as those conferred by class, economic status, caste or race are seen as only a few of the multiple external means to confidence building, and they have not been the source of inspiration and success for everyone within the sample.

5.1.2 Hegemonic Masculinities in the Context of Ethnicity and Race

Another criterion that emerged from these responses as a significant constituent in the formation of masculinities is racial or ethnic identity. This category refers to and takes into account both the differences constructed based on biology and physicality, as well as the social differences entailed in language, religion and culture as discussed in Chapter Three.

In these two contexts, the privileged academic masculinities of racial or ethnic nature showed two main trends that primarily included, in Australia, white Western and in Sri Lanka, majority ethnic Sinhalese identity-based privilege. In Sri Lanka this privilege was only indirectly referred to, or not at all by those who benefitted from it. The responses of non-white academics in Australia, as well as those of Tamil ethnic minority participants, referred to their experiences of lack of privilege and marginalisation. Some of the academically privileged white Western academic men in Australia represented the positives of white racial identity quite clearly within their accounts.

The privilege of whiteness

The following experience refers to recognition and positive support of racial identity-based bonding. This is a white Western male in the construction of his academic masculinity:

> I'd already been accepted into the program, and I just showed up and I went to the first class, and people were surprised: 'Oh, there's a Canadian here', you know. 'Don't get many Canadians in Australia' and everything... And he [Lecturer- the Dean] taught the whole [course] so he was there for five days: the Dean, you know...The one thing that I think might have been also helpful is he had done his Ph.D. in Canada, and so he sort of kind of liked Canadians a bit, I think, so I think that helped me out.
> **(Level C, Law, Australia, M)**

In such cases, structured privilege appears so natural, real, inevitable and even fair, everyday life arrangements, which are taken for granted. Privilege accorded these externalities are so heavily ingrained and embedded in the social life of people that they tend to strongly believe in them and uphold them as 'true' and unable to be challenged. Within these findings, some of the responses by white male academics represented the discourse of racial privilege as more or less 'real and incontestable', reaffirming their own privilege while simultaneously posing it as a very challenging situation that requires serious interrogation.

> And I think the other thing as a white male in my position is you have to – among some circles there might be a feeling that, 'Well, you've been given advantages because of who you are', and it's maybe not just based on merit, and you have to try and accept that – and, you know, there's some truth in that, I think. But you have to live with that, live with the fact that, oh well, I haven't had barriers to my advancement others have; how do you deal with that in Equity?
> **(Level D, Law, Australia, M)**

This kind of self-reflexive awareness of racial privilege opens up the multiple and complex dimensions involved in the formation of academic masculinities in the academy today.

Majority Sinhalese privilege

Another dimension to masculinities is constructed based on ethnic identities in Sri Lanka. Here, as discussed in Chapter Three, the ethnicity-based hierarchy evident during recent times as the most influential segregator category, here the stress is on Sinhalese privilege and how it supports the

formation of a hegemonic masculine category. The findings, however, also revealed that this hierarchical order is not totally independent of the influence of the socio-economic class or other family background elements of the particular individual within their particular social identity category. The relative privilege of the Sinhalese majority is highlighted in the following sentiments, as is the lack of privilege of ethnic minorities. This Tamil academic refers to his experiences of the disadvantages resulting specifically from ethnic quota systems and the civil ethnic war in Sri Lanka, which lasted more than thirty years.

> After I came here [Colombo] I had chances to sit for a lot of exams. A very good example is I sat for the Central Bank exam in Sri Lanka. A lot of other staff members too sat for same. I became third in the Tamil medium and my marks were very high. However in the mean time, one or two of our staff with fewer marks than me who were representing the majority ethnic group [Sinhalese] got selected to Central Bank. I didn't get the chance and I was very worried about it then... In the past I think out of which about sixty percent [of my life] hadn't been happy because of being a minority [Tamil person]. The other was being poor. My life has always been a challenge... I had to always rise to that challenge and show that being poor, being Sri Lankan or belonging to minority [Tamil] was not an issue.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Arts, SL, M)**

Caste privilege

Understanding a particular cultural milieu within which different masculinities figure is vital for a comprehensive context analysis. The academics' responses also brought out several sub-groupings of hierarchy within a particular setting that influenced the masculinity formation. Within the Sri Lankan context, people also form a significant aspect of their identity based on caste, which involves the locality of their original descent, though this does not receive the prominence that sub-categories of class and ethnicity do (see Chapter Three for a detailed account of caste in Sri Lanka). For this study, it is questionable to what extent the figuration of academic masculinities is influenced by caste categories, as distinct from everyday masculinities.

Interestingly in the present research the influence of caste identity in the shaping of masculinity confidence and hierarchy was very clear in one instance. The following academic represents an elite caste group which is pronounced through his family/ surname and personal affiliations, which are very well known to the researcher.[62] This affiliation was also explicitly expressed in his account of experience in the highlighted phrases below. The influence of caste privilege in the construction of his particular

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[62]Having been very closely associated with the interviewee for over thirty years.

academic masculinity, as well as of his personal identity, is expressed and acknowledged in the following way:

> And fortunately for me with the *family background* of English *and things* [social status] I was streaked ahead of most others... the academics. I could write well with the background of my school *and things like that*.
> **(Senior Professor, Agri-Science, SL, M)**

Thus, within this sample the privileged forms of academic masculinities seemed most significantly to arise through upper class, ethnic, race or caste solidarities, which act to provide support and unity amongst the members. Together with disciplinary attachments, these affiliations represented a particular hegemonic academic masculinity which is thus is not a fixed character type that is always and everywhere the same. Nevertheless, the above group of academics were benefitted by different social realities and displayed much more confidence than did others, due to the gendered social privileges accorded them.

5.1.3 Marginalised academic masculinities

The second category of masculinity observed is based on the ideas and typology of Connell's (2005: 78) marginalised masculinities. Within the present research, these were seen to correspond to findings pertaining to minority ethnic (SL) and non-white racial (Australian) identities, poorer social class status, rural or lower country-based situations, and affiliation with non-science or applied science based disciplines. This type of masculinity configurations often clearly indicated the experience of oppressive marginalisation when compared to the privileged hegemonic type of academic masculinities.

Class-based marginalisation

With regards to academics from less privileged class categories, the lack of economic advantage together with the affluence and social power it brings, can be a significant source of academic confidence. The associated shaping of masculinities was clearly reflected in interviewees' experiences in the sport of rowing in Australia which is associated with attendance at elite private schools.

> And people that I thought would be interested seemed more concerned about, concerned with socialising and which school you came from. For example I still remember, I think this is sort of made my own insecurity, but I remember on orientation day, orientation week I really wanted to do rowing. I love [rowing] I came from a country town with no river and [at] their

rowing club and the first question they asked was, 'Which school did you go to? *(emotionally)*, in a very dismissive way, and I said, 'Well, *(showing his rude finger)* rude gesture to you too then if that's what concerns you most, then'... if they don't want me as a member then they can't be any good.

(Level C, SS, Aus, M)

I was much more bothered personally about class more than gender...there were quite a few conflicts and I had problems because I hadn't gone to a private school and you didn't know the right people. I am not sure this is true but I said it, as a young man I had a chip on both my shoulders about that...mmm... (Laugh)...but I am not sure that I do now. But it seemed very important to me at that time. It might be still important for young men actually... but again I don't know.

(Level E, Arts, Aus, M)

What is observed in the above experiences is that in quite a few instances, a person's class status has been a significant influence on the powerfulness of masculinity constructed. But this power is also co-dependent on how the academic area and discipline is decided. The second quote above highlights that the lack of access to the 'right' networks and confidence acts as a barrier to being complete participants and beneficiaries in an academic life, particularly at the inception or foundational stages of an academic career. However, for others, lack of social power has clearly acted as a stimulant and motivator. Although this may not lead to any visible constructions of hegemonic academic masculinity, these men mobilized themselves adequately to reach satisfactory academic advancement levels, as noted in the experiences below. This was here more pronounced within the Australian academic experiences, perhaps arising out of less privileged non academic family back grounds with average education levels in the first extract and assertive working class traditions in the second.

No. My parents are farmers. So I'm the first son of a long line of family that has got a university degree... I was an only son and so technically I should have been a farmer. But my parents had the wisdom, way back then, to say, 'Look, no. If you don't want to be a farmer, don't. Go and do what you need to do'... but they weren't academic or university people.

(Level D, Arts, Aus, M)

I was a bit lucky. I ended up getting two doctorates, I got one from an Australian university and one from an overseas university, a higher doctorate, and that was quite good. When I got my Associate Professorship that was really exciting because my boss said it's really hard to get, and then I got my full Professorship in England. That was a real achievement because I worked in competition and then the third thing when I got my visiting scholarship,

the post of visiting scholar to Cambridge, a poor working class boy, I never thought I would
go there, to Cambridge.
(Level C, Education, Aus, M)

Race- and ethnicity-based marginalised masculinities

In relation to non-white identities, and those from developing academic contexts, the so called 'third world' academic represents a race of its own, socially constructed as lower in the hierarchy of academic masculinities due primarily to white racial supremacy. Within the findings of this study, the experiences of these academics most often exemplify constant struggles for recognition in the international/global academic context. Though they may possess comparable academic qualifications and skills, international scholarly recognition is often awarded according to established structural biases based on non-objective perceptions and conventional categorizations and ideology. Thus so called 'third world' academics are often ranked lowest in a hierarchy which entitles them to comparatively much more limited recognition and privilege. This is clearly evident in the following male's account.

I was awarded the Commonwealth Scholarship to New Zealand. And I went to New Zealand and the Professor there didn't want to accept me for a Ph.D. because the Professor did not know my standards. He wanted me to do a Diploma. I decided to refuse it...The scholarship was for a Ph.D. you know...three and a half years therefore…it's not possible for me to spend six years doing all this...a Diploma and Masters...He was insistent and after a rigorous examination of one hour [on] my background, he said, 'Ok... there's no need for you to do a Diploma but I would rather if you registered for a... Master's degree' and that was it... and at the end he had said…No person from a developing country had gone straight for Ph.D..
(Senior Professor, Agri-Science, SL, M)

Despite the high success levels and recognition enjoyed by this academic in Sri Lanka, his experiences abroad reflect the struggles he had to undergo to be accepted into the Western context as an academic of equal standing (The sample of respondents males or female examples of academics from third-world backgrounds working in Australia are unfortunately not in the current sample). These diverse male experiences within the sample often resulted in relatively marginalised masculinities arising from less privileged class positioning and racial identity of non-white origins. The subtle constraints of racial nature imposed on such participants proved extremely significant in the construction of less privileged types of masculinities. The disadvantage of having comparatively low opportunities for upward mobility, particularly beyond Level C in Australia or Senior Lecturer Grade II in Sri Lanka, is immediately observed in the following response by an Indigenous academic in Australia.

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I had studied my undergraduate degree at the University of Ballarat, which is a very small university... I guess my mother being Aboriginal and experience in discrimination always placed a high value on education and how education can transform people and is a way out of poverty, is a way out of limited life choices... the opportunity to travel a little bit around the world, which is something that people within my family and within the community that I grew up in never really did... Constraints for advancement have probably focused on the fact that I am known to have an Aboriginal background and therefore somehow this is a thing that makes me better suited to working only in a Centre dealing with Indigenous issues (laughs).
(Level B, Arts, Aus, M)

Studies have specifically focused on the issue of lack of recognition and marginalization experienced by Indigenous academics (White, 2007: 21, Herbert, 2003). This is a class status considered extremely low in the hierarchy so most often impenetrable by people belonging to it. This becomes clearly evident in the context of academic relations, and hence in relation to the masculinities constructed within it.

A somewhat similar situation of marginalization is visible within Sri Lanka in some minority academics' statements. This situation of marginalization, however, is more evident in the responses of those who belonged to a lower economic class, and less so in those with more privileged social class status backgrounds.

I am a minority person... I have a lot of disappointments because of this ethnic issue and I have to tell that. We had many chances but because of this minority status it [has been] very difficult.
(Senior Lecturer I, Arts, Sri Lanka, M)

While some academics felt serious marginalization and disadvantage because of their ethnic status as Tamils, another ethnic minority academic from a higher class background in a more privileged science discipline commented that he experienced no such marginalization. In this particular situation there is probably a more class-related dynamic operating in the making of masculinity, rather than any specific ascribed status such as ethnicity or caste. This becomes clearer in the following extract:

Ethnically I never had any problems in the University, maybe because my Sinhalese is very good. Even others [friends] had no [problems]. I have had Tamil students and lecturers… personally I have not felt it and I have not heard it from the friends whom too that they felt being [discriminated against].
(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M)

Discipline area

Academia is probably one of the best arenas to demonstrate that the discourses constructing masculinities are moving beyond the traditional ideologies of masculinities based on physiology and broad general social assumptions. In a deeper sense, this context liberates analysis from traditional classifications and typologies to the construction of different, perhaps more meaningful and realistic, yard sticks which challenge traditional masculine ideals.

Within the hierarchy of academic masculinities, the influence of the discipline area one belongs to may be equally as important in the academy as belonging to a privileged socio-economic class, because this reflects the hierarchical norms exclusive to the academy. Research studies have discussed the ranking of disciplines and show that science is generally ranked higher than social science and non-science disciplines.

A well-known model of so-called hard and soft disciplines is that by Neumann, Parry & Becher (2002). However, It does not make much investigation to show how these categorisations of disciplines are associated with masculine and feminine academic locations. The current research shows that within those main categories of disciplines there are also other sub-divisions which are hierarchically organised, such as those demarcating the pure and applied sciences in line with the ideologies of validation of knowledge discussed by Neumann, Parry and Becher (2002: 405-417).Such categorisation may be perceived as masculine and feminine within in the project of gendering of disciplines. Even within certain disciplines themselves, the sub-parts may be separated out as masculine and feminine components (Park, 1996). Thus the hegemonic types of masculinities are usually constructed around these hierarchical ideals of disciplines, or within the combination of disciplines usually regarded as masculine.

The response of the male academic in the science discipline below refers to the way this division in science materialises within his own department. He reported being less well recognised due to the subdivisions within one single discipline in science marking the different respect accorded to lab-based and field-based data, methods and analysis.

> Yes, well here in this school [for] most of the people I think research is more genetic, molecular laboratory-based, quote 'real science', and… my guess is that [if] people [are] working in the field, it is lesser science because it is applied, also you know the publication rate is much slower. People working in laboratories they can publish much quicker – like I did some research with [wind breaks] and it went for five years and we got two publications

out of it, five years of work you know?... Lot of field work stuff takes a long time before you can get data to get publications done. It is a slow way of processing data and so there is a hierarchical system here based on publication rate and if you are doing more field based stuff, publications get slower and you are a second class citizen.
(Level C, A Science, Australia, M)

In many ways then, the intricacies of diverse intellectual criteria, in addition to disciplinary methodologies with their accumulated historical values, add a significant dimension to the complex construction of masculinities in interpretation of academic success.

5.1.4 Multiple Femininities

Thus it is evident that power constructions are multiple and fluid. However, they are less flexible within the conceptual context of gender to effectively penetrate or challenge the traditionally subordinate position of women, which largely remains consistent. While these power structures are not totally resistant to the negative influences of gendered practices, these negativities seemed to spill over in multiple ways within the academic context of this study. The extent of this spill over is noticeable, and particularly intensified amongst the female experiences of this research.

In respect to the construction of femininities in these interviewee responses, varied and defined patterns of privilege associated with social identity categories could not be established as clear constants of privilege or subordination, thus demonstrating the multiplicity within femininities.

Similar to academic masculinity configurations, academic femininities also reflected benefits of class privilege and associated social status in both countries. All four female academics in Sri Lanka belonged to upper or middle class Sinhalese families, whilst in Australia three females out of six reported coming from the working class, with one from upper class and two from middle class environments.

My father was also working in a university [as an academic] and maybe to please my father I also wanted to become an academic.
(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)

And I also have a brother and a sister who had gone on to do Ph.D.s, one who is in the academy and one who isn't. They are in science, so I guess I had a background of knowing that these things were possible and definitely knowing what kinds of options are available [to

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me. I 've received the best paper awards for the students, I've had research visiting fellowships at universities in other countries, in St Andrews in the UK – I obviously had a lot of opportunities given to me in... leadership programmes, to have an Associate Dean's position now.

(Level C, IT, Aus, F)

These academics' success trajectories, however, show different levels of advancement from that of the male academics within comparable categories discussed above.

Some female academics with positively aligned conducive family backgrounds supportive of academic achievement and higher class statuses showed very successful academic trajectories or slightly above average achievement in terms of academic credentials, although less so in the areas of research and publication. However, among the academic women at the highest levels in this study include women from working class social status as well as from educated class family backgrounds, as in the second quote above. The most senior female academic with most credentials and advancement in the current sample who is from a working class background reported on her academic progression in the following manner.

That was because quite a few publications and quite a high level [were needed] to get D, so it took me a few years, and then I was promoted to level E, then end of this year (2010), three years in between [promotions] and I have finished, and now I could become a Head of School if I want to, [or] the Dean or the VC... I am from a working class family, my mother was a hairdresser, my father was a butcher.

(Level E, Health, Aus, F)

Another significant similarity to male trajectories observed within academic femininities was the influence of social identities of race and academic discipline in the configuration of their multiplicity. The following quote refers to this aspect within discipline categories.

Yes. Some disciplines seem to get higher ranks than others. My discipline doesn't get a very high ranking.

(Level B, SS, Au, F)

Within the academy, the distinction and gendering of hard and soft sciences has been a frequently raised concern as observed above. The female responses above and below make the prevalence of this situation in the academy much evident and its influence on women's academic progression. The extract

below articulates the continued construction of such gendered lowering within certain hard science disciplines.

> That is in Medicine, I am not sure if it is in the university hierarchy, I am talking about in the medical hierarchy. [I understand that] Yeah, that everybody here comes into medical degree wants to be surgeon and that's the stereotype… whereas very few people want to do Psychiatry… so we don't get much money not from the university, not from the wider community…It is probably everywhere.
> **(Level E, Health, Aus, F)**

Women representing racial minorities however demonstrate multiple femininities in terms of discipline areas. Their progression showed slightly above average academic advancement, though these experiences of advancement are reportedly less smooth than for academics with social privileges of class and race, particularly amongst the Australian group of women. Here, the impact of perseverance and motivation was present to a notable degree in some of the socially disadvantaged groups' responses. The extracts below reflect multiplicity of reality with regards to race, class and gender intersectionality.

Academic masculinities within minority groups on the other hand indicated a more politicized nature than is visible amongst the group of women representing minorities. These disciplinary/identity boundaries seem more vigorously perceived and established through support and group/identity solidarities. The responses here reflect gender identity constructions that are based on different and flexible academic goals, ends and aspirations. This element of flexibility in femininities is seen particularly well in the following this particular experience of advancement of female academics.

> So we went from being very working class to moving quite rapidly up a social scale into a very middle-class family.
> **(Level B, Education, Aus, F)**

Also the quote above by the Level E female academic again echoes the extent and positive character of this flexibility.

This context of multiplicity of femininities is thus established. Nevertheless, these findings suggest a kind of variability determined by different social status hierarchies that are still constructed within the gendered subordination of all femininities which appears to be a constant within comparable categories, as has been established in Chapter Four.

However, what is also reiterated is that women, irrespective of their privilege affiliations, when considered as a group are continued subjects of gender disadvantage. A majority of the female academics' responses in both countries displayed rather passive acceptance of their subordination to men as a group, as an unavoidable reality that is hard to contest.

> I just think kind of, men assume that they have their place in the world, you know? and that's not so difficult for them to find it and the way men conduct themselves, they just go for something quite often without having the self doubts that maybe the women have. I mean that's not wrong..., (**Why do you say women have doubts?**) Maybe those doubts I have as a woman, I wouldn't say all the women have, no definitely all women don't have that.
> **(Level B, HSS, Aus, F)**

> **Women's progression is quite low?** Yes I agree with you, partly it is because, as I told you, I decided to devote more time to my daughter.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)**

However, what the above responses reiterates is that women irrespective of their privilege affiliations when considered as a group continue to be victims of gender disadvantage. A majority of female academics responses in both countries displayed similar passive acceptance of their subordination to men as a group in many different ways. The situation of less articulated influence of social privilege evident in these femininities may be identified the opposite of Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony(Connell,1987: 184); something which powerful classes enjoy, has formed the basis of masculine hegemony, that is 'dividends of patriarchal oppression and gendered disadvantage'. Whilst what is evident within masculinity constructions represent the masculine dominance.

5.1.5 Summary

A recapping of the multiple interwoven threads that this study has revealed includes the multiple and fascinatingly diverse threads that make up some of the masculinities and femininities in today's global academy. The different strands emerging from multiple social identities of class, race-ethnicity, caste and the particular disciplinary orientations adds to the construction the rich tapestry of the multiplicity picture that constructs the situation of the gender relationality within the academy.

5. 2 Contextual Difference and Similarities

The two different cultural contexts of the study opened up further new insights into the multiplicity of gendered academic practices, embedded as they are in the historical and cultural conditions of the academic locale under investigation. The two countries share the common experience of being colonised by the British during the late eighteenth century. When considering the experiences in Higher Education it shows the different levels and speeds of development in Sri Lanka and Australia due to their economic and social stability. (Refer Chapter Three for more information about the historical background of the two countries and the academic systems).

Hence this part of the chapter compares the experiences of academics in the two countries in an attempt to ascertain the differences in the academic contexts on the one hand in general which may not be in gendered terms. On the other it focuses on striking gendered differences evident in the findings of the two academic contexts.

The research findings reveal some key gendered differences which clearly show how constructions of academic masculinity and femininity are deeply and inseparably embedded within contextual social and professional mores. This diversity/multiplicity is seen to be mainly located in the academic practices of service to university, micro-politics and promotion evaluation within the two contexts. The general differences emerged under the topics of mentoring, research and work-life balance.

5.2.1   Common Ground in the Two Settings

While this chapter is dedicated to reflecting on the new insights of multiplicity of gender construction within the specific contexts, it acknowledges some key commonalities emerged in the findings. These are already addressed in chapter four and shall be briefly reiterated here.

There are similarities observed within teaching, particularly in terms of gendered disciplines as well as teaching administration and student welfare being heavily inclined towards women in the sample. The gendered nature of service to university evident in the membership patterns, level of participation in committees as well as the lethargic lack of enthusiasm displayed by many male academics towards participation in service related committees are commonly reported.

Another area which common ground has been visible is in practices connected with everyday academic life micro-politics and work-life balance; the observations by some proportion of male academics in both countries regarding its importance and often unavoidable practices. Similarly almost all of the female responses within the sample expressed complete avoidance of academic politics. In this regard, resistance of women in terms of voice, overtly in Sri Lanka and more informally in Australia is reported commonly. Further, whilst some Australian men's responses referred to women being seen more as ornamental objects of beauty;

> I can remember when I was a student, I mean they were beautiful young ladies, are very attractive and particularly the male lecturers were kind of all over by their beauty in youth. I don't think that works for blokes.
> **(Level C, Edu, Aus, M)**

Whereas some of the male responses in Sri Lanka looked upon women as a group of people into need of men's protection, some women in Sri Lanka revealed the need for the protection from men in the academic context.

Similarities in the work-life arena were observed in the prioritization of the husband's employment within the family unit more often although a couple of Australian instances deviated from this norm. Family support for men in academic endeavour extended by wives and partners performing the care role taking on the larger or exclusive proportions of child rearing duties sometimes with support lent towards academic work also is evident in both samples. Whilst the above similarities of traditional patterns emerge prominently within this study, the multiplicity of gender within the two contexts also exists to a limited degree. However, the constant effort and ongoing strategic maintenance of the gender binary through patterns of privilege and disadvantage have also been highly visible.

5.2.2   Experiential Differences in the Two Contexts

The apparent contextual difference of gendered construction in the academy focus on the ways in which explorations of contextual, multiple gendered roles are now vitally required for a full understanding of academic privilege and disadvantage. These contextual differences observed within specific gendered practices as well as more generally within particular academic activities of mentoring, research, performance evaluation, work-life balance and micro-politics of contextual nature guide us towards the primary contribution of multiplicity in this chapter.

Mentoring

The experiential differences in mentoring were clearly visible in between context. Sri Lankan academics represent a situation of less intense mentoring and an absence of reference to the concept in the everyday academic life by both male and female academics was noted. There was an apparent sheer lack of explicit reference or visibility of mentoring trajectories or the need for it in the academic's reports. In Sri Lanka, the academics' responses related to mentoring did not constitute a natural part of the conversation, and was only discussed when probed by the interviewee. Further, none of the academics in Sri Lanka identified mentoring as having any major influence or benefits on their academic progression.

These academics responses however revealed gratefulness for whatever little opportunity for mentoring or similar experiences was available to them. Some of these were in the form of academic role models. For example the response below shows that the academic is modelling himself on another senior academic who inspired him.

> I met a teacher here in the faculty, he is still here in the faculty (he is retired now, one Professor *[X]*)…I used to admire his qualities and thought if I could become a teacher one day in the university I could fulfill both my wishes of becoming a teacher [as well as] an engineer. He [is] the best teacher I have ever seen.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Engineering, SL, M)**

These instances of less engaged mentoring and the lack of reference to it by academics may be a cultural issue that reflects the less developed nature of such support systems within the Sri Lankan academy

Although mentoring may be perceived a priority in the hierarchy of academic needs globally, perhaps the lack of resources and the absence of an academic culture of collegiality of the Western academy, as well as competition and hierarchy explains the absence of reference to it in the academics' accounts, other than mainly as role models. However, the male academics' accounts revealed relatively higher opportunities for mentoring than did females in Sri Lanka.

> Not really [no special mentors], I mean I would say [Lecturer M] probably could have been one role model for us at that time I would say. He is a very solid, solid means…he is very serious about what he is saying and that, as a teacher he would always look at [a problem

from] different viewpoints, and get the students also to you know come up with their own views and discuss issues in the class.
(Senior Professor, Arts, SL, M)

Mentoring of course I got from the two people I was collaborating with[locally] **(What are the special things that you got from them?)**At least encouragement I got from them, I would never have written a proposal if they did not kind of pushed me, and sharing the lab base with me, otherwise I may have not [done].
(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)

On the other hand in Australian academics' accounts mentoring represented a more natural part of the conversation without having to raise the question as a probe. By contrast, the findings show the availability of many more opportunities for mentoring in Australia than in Sri Lanka for both male and female academics.

The Australian trajectories are more articulate and straight forward especially in male academics' accounts. When compared among female academics it showed that in Australia female academics' represent clearer mentoring trajectories than did Sri Lankan women (Refer Chapter Four 20-30p).

Another marked/noted trend noted in the Sri Lankan experience is the role international collaboration and funding play in Sri Lankan academia as a significant aspect of the success stories of these academics. In fact, such support seems to constitute the heart of academic success for them perhaps, irrespective of gender or the discipline area. Emerging from the primary affiliations with a good academic career path for Sri Lankan academic begins with their international exposure and through the engaged mentoring and guidance they receive therein. This aspect evidently constitutes a huge part of the academic success and it is well worthy of notice as frequently returned to in academics' responses. The academics of both gender with very successful academic records emphasised this support in the context of their foundational international credentials and related support beyond Ph.D.

When I started with my research work and I got this very humanely[sic] [supervisor]...in the US... [He] was a little elderly but he was very encouraging and he believed [that] once you start liking something that you will work for it and that kind of attitude he had so he was not pushing at the beginning he just allowed me to find the interesting part of it, letting me settle down. He was positive in his attitude.
(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)

Yes, the people in Sweden were much geared to doing research. It is a completely different setup there you know? They need to get results, and they help [each other], culturally very different, and it is a very conducive environment for research. Here it is not conducive to research. I got the background in Sweden, my supervisor there, he was very keen that I get exposure out in the world, because the way they look at things is quite different to ours, he was encouraging for me to go for these conferences and things, he was also used to [sic] [know] my supervisor [in Sri Lanka], '[asking] is he applying for post docs?' and things like that, because there, after your Ph.D. you do go for a Post Doctoral position, here we cannot, because you have to work.

(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, M)

While the positive input of international exposure in developed countries is remarkably significant, on the other hand the responses frequently revealed that continuing and maintaining the momentum of academic enthusiasm one internalizes through such exposure in more academically advanced societies constitutes a genuine and real career issue to almost all academics who return to Sri Lanka on completion of their academic pursuits.

The disadvantage here is there are only [a few] Ph.D.s, in IT related fields in this institute. We work together and have also formed research groups. But apart from that there are no other people to get help. I lack that sort of mentoring here in Sri Lanka especially in the IT field.

(Senior Lecturer I, IT, SL, M)

Then I came back …and after coming back like most young people who come back with their Ph.D.s I was disillusioned with the situation here and I wanted to go back…I wanted to go back…. I had two jobs in New Zealand and I wanted to go back.

(Senior Professor, Agriculture, SL, M)

This situation is perhaps even more challenging for female academics. This situation was articulated by a female academic regarding the struggle she underwent trying to save the academic momentum developed abroad.

Immediately after coming back I was told that if you don't do (research) that you will be doing these teaching and other work you will lose all the interest and you will do all the other work and will lose all interest in the end. So it was one advice Professor [X] gave, she was always pushing me to get started as early as I could, as I came she said we should start doing research and [for me] to take at least one M.Phil. student and start my work.

(Senior Lecturer II, IT, SL, F)

The different levels of academic achievement evident in the two countries and the non-availability of references made to concrete measures and avenues for academic advancement within Sri Lankan responses is also perhaps a reflection of a possible lack of collegiality among the academic community in Sri Lanka as opposed to a much more collegial environment represented in Australian responses. This situation may be primarily arising out of poverty as well as cultural expectations surrounding differentiated ideologies of dependency and hierarchy present in similar academic environments observed in early studies (Morley, 2005).

Research

The difference in research is striking between the two contexts. This is particular in relation to the level of international publications, and the availability of research funds. In this regard the research output particularly of the female staff in Sri Lanka is very poor. The weak publication output was largely explained in terms of the traditional gender differentiated division of labour in the household that is heavily feminized in Sri Lanka. It was also attributed to cultural and normative practices that discourage women's public participation. This explains the generally lower levels of research output persistent in Sri Lanka.

> I have two papers written and lined up and when they write to a journal they have to pay with coloured illustrations and all. Sometimes we have to pay about 50.000 rupees and with our salaries we cannot publish. But the problem is the department also don't have funds and we have no money to publish these papers.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, SL, F)**

> But for scientific research especially in the biological sciences, Sri Lanka is not a very inspiring [place], mainly because we don't have the facilities. And now things are very advanced, the universities are [sic] [cashrupt]; they don't have any money. Whatever money that is offered also they don't give that too…So research is very difficult unless you are funded by a foreign organization.
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Science, SL, M)**

Research output is also seriously undermined by the lack of necessary funds and facilities. These include the lack of access to and availability of proper library facilities, updated research data and information, non-availability of ongoing support for publications and charges levied when publishing in reputed international journals. These facilities are relatively poor for social science oriented disciplines and non-science oriented disciplines. On the other hand in Sri Lanka after being confirmed in ones

position it is not usually essential to maintain a very strong record of publication for the stable continuity of an academic career. For promotion for example, as long as the other aspects of academic career requirements and teaching duties are adequately performed, the emphasis on research and publication would be less. This is another general difference observed between contexts. Further an understanding of these configurations within the poor economic context and the predominant focus on undergraduate level training and credentials rather than post graduate requires consideration elsewhere.

In the two contexts studied, attitudes to and levels of engagement in research show clear differences. In Sri Lanka enthusiasm for research was seen to be constrained by numerous resource factors, key to which were the lack of access to financial support and limited opportunity for international collaboration. Research was not as highly prized as in Australia, or it was perceived a distant unrealistic dream by many respondents due to numerous contextual factors (refer back chapter).

The Sri Lankan academics therefore appeared keener to contribute to national development through their expertise for reasons of personal recognition and satisfaction, financial benefit or for promotional purposes. This trend also may be read as arising from the possibility of lack of relative opportunity available to academics to publish within a context of severe financial resource constraint. A key point of comparison between academic goals in Sri Lanka and Australia with regard to research is the relatively lower degree of emphasis or stress it has within an academic career. Although research is conducted, it is generally represented relatively less vigorously and ambitiously than in Australia and the developed world is an interesting point of multiplicity perhaps arising especially out of resource constraints or cultural ideologies that would have to be addressed elsewhere.

> Yeah...and also the demand...we being in the academia I believe that if you like ...in the developed countries all Professors have to publish or perish. Here [Sri Lanka] it's not the case. You can sort of sit on your laurels and go until retirement.
>
> That's the thing I told you, I feel in this I am a little far behind. But, it is not only me ok...Also what I also feel is that I am still in early 30's, so I feel my achievement is [comparatively] ok. I have my private goals, yes that too. I have my house, vehicle and family etc, though it needs little improvement, I think for the moment [at my age] my academic attainment is sufficient.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Management, Sri Lanka M)**

Clearly the time spent on research, and the availability of such time, also varies in the two contexts. The interviewees in Sri Lanka revealed considerably heavier teaching loads throughout both semesters.

Also, the vacations are relatively shorter, at best not more than two weeks, filled with coordination, teaching graduate classes or paper marking duties leaving hardly little time for research work.

In Australia research time was described as likely to be mostly during the long summer vacation or in-between the semesters by arranging teaching in such a way to accommodate research activities, so contributing to the generation of an officially sanctioned, more stimulating and active research culture. However, it has to be stressed again that a main reason for these noticeable differences is economic viability and the limited financial resources available for research in the academies of a developing country, such as Sri Lanka.

Another fascinating difference that is eye-opening and worthy of attention especially as details not emphasised in any other study in Sri Lanka or in any other equivalent academic context that came alive in the current study is in relation to the daily work-life experience. This was especially noticeable in the configuration of cohabitation styles and marital unions, as well as the availability of hired domestic help.

Work-life balance

Cohabitation styles

With regards to patterns of cohabitation significantly, all the female academics in Sri Lanka reported being married and living in family unions, and this is a typical social norm (Refer Chapter Three). In the general community, nearly 98 per cent of the females in Sri Lanka will marry and have a family and will not remain single unless under very exceptional circumstances (Refer sample data Chapter Two). Further, within this sample there was only one single Sri Lankan male, which is a profound deviation from the cultural norms pertaining to the civil status of Sri Lankan men.

In the Australian sample, by contrast, of the six female academics two lived in a family unit with a spouse and children, whereas the remaining four were separated, divorced, unmarried, or married with no children by choice, which is an acceptable and fairly common occurrence. For example one woman presented her own situation as:

> It was extremely difficult balancing both[work-life] because I was a single parent.
> **(Level B, Humanities, Australia, F)**

With regards to cohabitation men in both countries were found to be living more within marriage with partners or spouse, except for two men in Australia who were separated. Among women academics, all four respondents in Sri Lanka lived within traditional marital cohabitation units, but in the Australian sample females were living more within alternative unions outside the traditional. This, while affirming the story of male privilege on the one hand, strengthens the argument on the multiplicity of context especially around Australian experiences on the other.

Another noticeable contextual feature in relation to the configuration of the daily work-life experience has been the availability of hired domestic help in Sri Lanka and the lack of such in Australia.

Domestic help

A specifically contextual difference apparent within the sample was the tendency among most Sri Lanka female academics (three out of four) and some males with working wives to hire live-in female domestic help to assist in child care and housekeeping. The availability of domestic help as well as sometimes the practice of live-in extended family situations while set the contexts apart, had clearly facilitated Sri Lankan female academics' ability to commit themselves to academic activities, as in the following response:

> I don't have any problem being married and working as an academic...my work sometimes
> does get neglected, I had two helpers [when my child was small]...[also] I am very fortunate
> to have the support of my parents and siblings who are very helpful.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

However, a point to raise here is that such hired or family domestic support is not without problems (Refer Chapter Three), and it is noticeable that in spite of the availability of cheap hired help and extended family networks, women in Sri Lanka still show lower publication output. This may result from lack of economic affluence, poor academic resource bases, and publication not being a requirement for middle level academic promotions. Also needing consideration are the deeply entrenched historical inclination towards feminine domesticity that has made limited progression towards equal sharing of caring duties, and a system of hired help which is extremely poorly structured and frequently problematic for the female heads of households. Further, as shown in Chapter Three, the lack of alternative family-cohabitation styles together with gendered cultural norms which strongly discourage alternative attitudes towards female caring for family and children's demanding and competitive education, while work towards masculine advantage can seriously impede female progression and contribution to the academy. While availability of domestic help shapes this situation in significant ways,

the heavy impact of domesticity continues to be a serious concern as a resistance factor which was noted and discussed at length in chapter four. This becomes further evident in the following remark.

> In our department the workload for women is very high but you have to do it with your family [commitments] and so now there is so much [work]. I don't have a servant or anything... we [women] are bound to the house work... Now when my daughter is ill or something it is always me who is staying home, not the husband... Yes [men] are not bound to family life or these [domestic] responsibilities as we do...It is also cultural so it is easier for them [men] to be academics.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F**

Similarly the contextual difference in the configuration and prevalence of (gendered) micro-politics has emerged very strongly within the current sample as a very clear differentiation of context.

Every day academic life practices

Micro-politics

The incident of male resistance of women within the context of micro-politics has received much attention in research studies particularly focusing the experiences of the West (Pocock, 1996; Brooks, 1997) and a few in non Western contexts (Odejide and Odekunle, 2006; Morley, 2006) as well as in chapter four of the current research. The differences in the configuration of micro-politics are seen in both contexts, often prompted by their different cultural values, traditions and everyday life practices. In Sri Lanka, for example, academics of both gender tended to emphasise practices of gossip and petty jealousies which they attributed to significant impediments to their achievement of their ambitions.

> What I have experienced are more general things to do with petty jealousies and things. For the professorship [and things]...if you [joined] in later and people who were there [before you] do find [you competitive]…there have been times where I have felt the tendency in people who are senior [in position] in the University...to control and manipulate [your promotions].
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, M)**

> Because as in every sphere of life there's lot of personal jealousy and under cutting taking place even here [university]. And they will run. As long as you are the underdog they will support you, as long as you try to get on to the top they will cut you.
> **(Senior Professor, Agric- Sciences, SL, M)**

In similar regard, as mentioned in Chapter Four, female academics experienced sexualised fabricated gossip which constrained their activities, especially their access to offices during afterhours. These are seen as de-motivating and undermining mechanisms targeted especially at ambitious female academics.

> Without doing any harm, I was a source for various rumors and sexually associated fabrications like that, I have very bad experience especially...if you are climbing up the ladder, and particularly men don't like it.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F)**

The practice of gossip and petty jealousies have been observed as having serious impediments to women's academic advancement and progression in Sri Lanka which is quite different from the stronger anti-discrimination regime and legislation evident and its impact in Australia. The insecurity seen above is possible because there is no recognised, institutional system of appeal or redress to prevent possibly unethical professional practice being carried out for personal motivation. Female academics are less empowered and less vocal in challenging such issues except on very rare occasions.

A noticeable difference experienced in Australia is the complete lack of mention of gossip in terms of micro-political practices in everyday cultural norms inhibiting females. The situation reported were not seen as problematic to the freedom of movement and access to the university, and the option was clearly available for Australian women to remain single and to prioritise career goals over domestic responsibilities if they wished to. Thus the impacts of gossip and petty relationship issues were experienced as much more serious impediments to career progression in Sri Lanka for both men and women while it is an issue pointed to with slightly less impediments in Australia.

Career advancement

Speed of promotion and opportunity for career advancement were also seen to be differently experienced in the two countries. Australian academics were generally promoted faster than those in Sri Lanka. As noted in Chapter Three, Sri Lankan academics' experiences are characterized by longer periods of stagnation as a result of restricted openings for advancement. This situation is accompanied by Ph.D. pursuits being limited, often tedious and taking a longer time to secure for reasons of limited placement opportunities and lack of recognition of first degree qualifications.

A vital difference was observed for career academics in Australia, made possible by mandated institutional structures which demand a performance evaluation meeting for all the academics annually.

In Australian universities Deans are required to formally evaluate annual academic plans submitted by each academic together with their actual achievements. However, a negative of this system was reported in that the assessment and promotion process was felt by some to be completely disengaged from the management process and that it is barely more than recording of information that will not used in most of the cases.

> The promotion process seems completely disconnected from the performance management process which operates annually, which is where you have to document your output, meet with your supervisor and tick all the boxes.
> **(Level B, SS, Aus, M)**

However, in Sri Lanka this practice of guided evaluation of plans and scholarly achievements for the academic year is not implemented. What are reviewed are self-assessed annual academic achievements for incremental entitlements the academics states the individual accomplishments and activities which are routine practice.

Furthermore, in some of the Australian universities in this study the relative weightage assigned to the different academic activities of teaching, research and service to university could be developed and negotiated as credit towards promotion by the individual academics themselves. This was expressed by all the academics representing a particular university in Australia).

> **[And are you satisfied with the organisations procedures available to evaluate your performances, your academic performances?]**
>
> Yes, here I am... Well, we can actually develop that weightage for ourselves... but with consultation with my head, which is Lynette, we negotiated that ourselves.
> **(Level D, SS, Australia, M)**

Further, teaching performance surveys and student respect for knowledge transfer are considered in the evaluation of academic performance for promotion (as per the reports of Level C, Law, M, Australia, Level C, IT, M, Australia), which are not practices evident at all in Sri Lanka, thus leaving opportunities for career advancement sometimes more open to nepotism and favouritism. This may be arising from the main lack of structured responses to such risky possibilities within the university system in Sri Lanka and the strict implementation of same through the changing political regimes. This vulnerable situation becomes evident in the reports of academics with regard to micro-politics in the previous section too and warrants in-depth analysis elsewhere.

5.2.3   Gendered Differences in the Two Contexts

University service

A particularly interesting and marked difference that was observed in this study relates to attitudes to university service, especially where contact and support for students is concerned. In Sri Lanka, a marked difference was seen in the enthusiasm among academics, particularly the males, to get involved in services such as Head of Department, higher academic administrative positions, or as Student Counselors. This is mainly because for promotions these kinds of service carry more credit than other positions. A particularly notable aspect of this was the likelihood of more males being elected for the Student Counselor positions in Sri Lanka. A dominant reason for this is the constant trade unionism and related turbulence and student unrest prevailing in Sri Lankan universities. Student Counselors are required to have a strong personality to be able to deal and negotiate with the young activist students on a constant basis. Sometimes the trade union actions culminate in situations of violence and physical conflict among students or with the government or administrators, and this is almost exclusively steered by male students. A further reason is the involvement of students in ragging as a tradition in the Sri Lankan university system, which makes the Student Counselor's role a complicated and respected one requiring the public display of strength and authority. From a feminist perspective this marked difference between the two countries in the assignment of service to university may be related to different ways and expectations of performing masculinity or gender as well as the different counseling styles.

As established in Chapter Four, in Australia, service in counselling and advising students is considered more of a feminine duty, along with many other student contact roles, and more women tend to fill those positions than men. These roles are not usually valued highly in relation to promotion. This feminised 'caring' work is avoided by ambitious academics seeking rapid career advancement. However between the two countries, in this study the Australian female academics' involvement in service is seen in slightly higher decision-making level positions than is that of the Sri Lankan academic women.

Gendered dress codes

One issue which, while perhaps not surprising, must not be under-emphasised in consideration of gendered relational practice for academic professionals, and that is dress code. This was an extremely significant even though informal practice that women were concerned about in Sri Lanka. These academics experienced clear discrimination in the pressure imposed on them in relation to dress, in contrast to the privilege felt to be accruing to men in terms of their relative freedom enjoyed through dress code. In this context, women most often have to efficiently manage family affairs and academic

work, while draping themselves in six yards of fabric. This was expressed as considerably restricting brisk movement of the body, for example in walking fast, or in focused concentration while seated at a desk. Female academics saw the 'saree' largely as an adornment for special occasions rather than as practical work dress.

> We are supposed to wear 'saree' for academic work which I suppose is [quite unfair] why only for us? This is the situation of this university, why only women, I was [told] once you cannot come to the examination hall in a dress you have to come in a 'saree'...then, I should have asked from that person what about men? They wear t-shirts, denims, sandals and they also sometimes have long hair, why only us? Nobody asks that question.
> **(Senior Lecturer II, Science, Sri Lanka, F*)***

Interestingly, some male academics also confirmed that the presence of male dominant cultural practices at large, including those of dress code, disadvantage and act as barriers to women in Sri Lanka.

> I feel women [due to] their family commitments; don't find very many women reaching the top... I think the [society's] culture is not conducive for [women] to get the work done... women are not successful because they are more involved with their families. I have found that there a lot of female UGs are excellent, but after a few years you don't hear anything about them, they have completed their Ph.D.s and so on but they have settled down to their family lives. With men you do hear about their advancement, he is a professor there [and so on] ... we have equal or more women academics in our Department, but I am not sure whether they are given the equal chance to be smart...that I am not sure. I don't think society can take it...at least in Sri Lanka
> **(Senior Lecturer I, Science, SL, M*)***

Conclusion

This as the final chapter of the thesis puts the findings of the gendered academia into perspective drawing on some of the significant contradictions that exists concurrent to the main story of gender stereotypes. Thus two complex threads of multiplicity have been reflected upon. The multiple strands of academic masculinities and femininities constituted within higher social status of economic class, white Western and majority Sinhalese and upper caste identities. Similarly the marginalised gender constructions emanate from less privileged class categories, ethnic or racial minority identities and

discipline areas, weaving the web of gender relations broadly in to hegemonic and marginalised gender types.

Within contextual specificities the key differences are embedded in mentoring experiences and research output. Some differences are also seen in the everyday life practices of cohabitation styles, micro-politics and also in career advancement. The two countries share gendered academic patterns to a greater extent except a few instances based upon cultural norms and gendering of service to university and associated duties.

6. CONCLUSION

The foregoing three chapters have presented an analysis interrogating male privilege in today's global academy. In this final chapter, the analysis of male privilege in higher education is brought to a close, synthesizing and integrating the multitude of ideas and debates surrounding gender inequality established in the academy with the real world academic practices revealed in the two research settings of Australia and Sri Lanka. This goal is accomplished by considering some specifically chosen sub-themes which demonstrate how male privilege becomes manifest in the academy, and address the following questions: Does male privilege act or influence to disadvantage the position of women academics and, if so, how does this dynamic fashion gender relational outcomes? Are all academic men privileged while women are disadvantaged within these contexts? Why? Why not? What key similarities and differences are visible between the two academic contexts generally, and specifically in relation to gender? Finally, suggestions and observations arising from the findings for bringing about better gender equality within the academy are discussed and some ideas for future research possibilities are suggested.

The present analysis refers to several important theoretical gaps. Primarily, it focused upon the need to address women's disadvantaged position through a theory that foregrounds and problematises male privilege and interrogates the over-representation of men in the academy. This approach is critically required to dismantle the deeply entrenched patriarchy in higher education and in applying it, these findings contribute rigorously to the limited number of intellectual inquiries on masculine privilege and gender equality in higher education.

Moreover these findings on academic male privilege contribute to scholarship through analysis of the nature of gendered changes and the qualitative experiences of women and men in higher education in low income countries in Asia such as Sri Lanka, since these have not previously been systematically mapped out and detailed (see supporting evidence and statements in Morley, 2006: 209-210). Its cross-cultural comparison across the contrasting socio-cultural and economic contexts of Northern and Southern countries, as configured in the different socio-cultural settings, exposes why and how academic masculinities end up being dominant and privileged. This contribution provides a significant input to the existing knowledge in the area.

Finally, the study has responded to methodological gaps identified in the literature (for example Probert, 2005: 54) by adopting a predominantly qualitative mode of inquiry. Through rigorous theoretical analysis it has addressed critiques of 'anecdotal data' by using supportive quantitative statistical data and quoted

information, which constitutes strong, credible and transferable methodological practice for analysing gender issues in higher education.

How does male privilege become manifest in the academy?

The continued and ongoing position of women's disadvantage in the academic work place is very much the story of the regular production of the male privilege within it, through a multi-stranded web of gender relational practices and ways of being. As noted explicitly by the pioneers scholars of this approach (Eveline, 1996: 69; Pocock, 1996: 8), to focus on male privilege as distinct from women's disadvantage in general and more specifically in the academic workplace, clearly points to an interrelated, intertwined construction of privilege and disadvantage which acts to determine the position of women in society. Male privilege becomes challenging and requires questioning when such advantage is achieved through biased means, producing the dense fabrics and mechanics of masculine oppression of women.

The current study demonstrates quantitatively and qualitatively that male privilege is strongly manifest within all the four areas of academic practice scrutinized: academic ranks, decision making and senior academic positions, academic disciplines, and awards and scholarships. This is shown to be the case in Sri Lanka as well as in Australia.

As demonstrated here, the statistical evidence produced by this research and interview data reaffirm and strengthen previous understandings of women's lower representation in academic ranks and hierarchies and strongly establish the powerfully embedded male privilege within the academy. However, the quantitative narratives specifically show that on the lower rungs of the academy ladder in Lecturer and Below Lecturer positions, a slow change is indicated for both countries, and in a few disciplines. The analysis reveals that this situation of 'change' is particularly more promising and visible in Australia than in Sri Lanka, including at the broader, national level. This is consistent with the revelations of Gunawardena and others in 2005 that there is a tendency within Asian higher education systems to represent gender inequality as a 'non issue'.

Common to both countries is that rigid masculine dominance in senior academic levels and high-level management positions remains persistent and unchallenged to a large extent. although Australia demonstrates more promise of change in this regard. While this situation clearly reinforces Singh (2008), and is entirely synonymous with the proposition by Gunawardena et al. (2005: 570) that 'inadequate representation of women in decision making is influenced by the organizational culture in universities' and effected via cultural hegemony, it nevertheless somewhat contradicts the notion

represented in their statement that the 'level of numerical gender parity has been attained at higher decision-making levels' (Gunawardena et al., 2005: 570)

With respect to different discipline areas, the gendered distribution of academic staff projects a view that mitigates the more positive picture for Australia in academic ranks. The Sri Lankan statistics demonstrate a more encouraging distribution pattern than in Australia, especially in traditionally male dominated discipline areas such as Medicine, Law and Biology. The idea of the gendered politics of knowledge and scholarship is supported by the findings of this study, though, interestingly, these academic disciplines appear to be differently evaluated and gender configured in the two countries, which is a significant and unexpected contrast shown in the current research.

Research awards and scholarships in Sri Lanka here suggest that the more prestigious awards, scholarships and post-doctoral fellowships favor male academics at the expense of females. In Australia the success rates remain better for male applicants, which parallels earlier analyses (Probert, 2005).However, in most recent years, some female success rates have been only 3-5 per cent less than male (University of Adelaide Research Branch Data, 2011),which indicates considerable improvement over previous years.

The primary findings of this research and reflected in the statistical analysis to a large extent add rich information supporting the strong male privilege persistent in academic institutions,. The 'old boys club' identified by Brooks (1997) and Dever (2006) is alive and well, and this study shows the much greater privilege and opportunity that male academics enjoy in networking and mentoring when compared to most women in the academy (see Chapter 4, pp 159).However, reports by a few men from less privileged social status categories identified lack of intensive and engaged mentoring, especially in Australia, and in the Sri Lankan reports a total lack of such privilege is obvious in the reports of both men and women. This requires understanding within the web of possibilities and arguments cited by Brooks (1997) as well as Odejide (2006) that see this kind of mentoring support as sometimes problematic.

As in previous studies, the gendering of teaching duties showed patterns that clearly promote faster career progression amongst men than women. Lesser teaching workloads are assigned, differing styles of pastoral care are evident and more privileged courses are allocated to men. Similarly, in terms of service to the university, differentiated and gendered recognition and acknowledgement of men's service are observed, arising from opportunity springing from masculine dominance within management. Furthermore, the reports of academics in this research contribute that men's ambitiousness for

promotion makes them keen to perform those duties that are more rewarding than others and to continue in them for indefinite periods of time. Notably, the reports in this study by academics with an Australian Aboriginal background show that the need to be involved in service to the university also arises out of a distinct tokenism based on racial or ethnic identity, which clearly imposes restrictions on their academic work through identity frames.

The stories of this research further establish the strong and significant male privilege in research, especially in terms of time and opportunity for research and related higher levels of publication. Such findings are consistent with the established view of male bias and the decisive nature of research for academic tenure and promotion. However, these findings also echo the contrary view that the situation in Australia is changing in that 'research bias in promotion evaluations has altered during recent times in many Australian universities through recognition of teaching contributions' (Probert, 2005: 57). The reports of academics in this thesis clearly reveal that, within this sample, men generally engage more in research than do women, reinforcing the higher research productivity generally found among men by Krefting (2003), for reasons both within and outside the academy. Asmar's (1999) revelation of time limitations for both men and women is countered as nearly ninety percent of men in this study consistently reported on their 'carelessness', their freedom to have time to engage in research. This arose from their freedom from 'obligatory domesticity'. The stories within this analysis also stress and provide evidence that research output measurements are often problematic because they emphasize quantity rather than quality. Hence in keeping with the views of Park, (1996) and Dever and Morrison (2009) that research evaluation needs to be more creative in accounting for the contribution of research to existing knowledge and practice.

It has been widely recognized that male privilege in the academy spills over as strongly oppressive micro-politics in the form of overt expressions, and this is frequently visible in this research. This includes the more formal practices of female exclusion from opportunities for academic advancement and the holding of higher academic positions framed in 'exclusionary practices of homo sociality' (Brooks, 1997: 47,120), plus the 'controlling of female body' (Jayawardena, 2005: 11), which are specifically in evidence here..

Finally, the area of obligatory domesticity is one of the most significant arenas where male privilege demonstrates itself explicitly in this research and this is broadly discussed under the next question on the relational construction of gender.

Does male privilege act or influence to disadvantage the position of women academics and, if so, how does this dynamic fashion gender relational outcomes?

The findings and stories of this analysis clearly reveal that male privilege acts to disadvantage the positions of women academics and they demonstrate how the dynamic of gender relationality fashion these unequal outcomes. This has been demonstrated within the current research by taking three key areas into consideration. These are: academic pre-career determinants in personal life or family environment; practices in everyday academic life; the work life balance associated with the idea of obligatory domesticity.

The privilege and disadvantage mutuality is evident and shaped by experiences in both academic and non-academic life. Within the non-academic life, in the family background, the dynamic of class privilege emerges here as a significant pre-career academic aspiration determinant, and this is largely free from gender bias especially in Australia. However, in Sri Lanka, class privilege is significant in supporting women's entry into an academic career, even if not for progression within it. Notably, gender ideology within family background is also significant in shaping the opportunity of academic aspirations of its off-spring. This frequently is shown to favour those experiences of men in less restrictive ways, while such advantage is seen to be unavailable to many women within the current sample of academics in both countries. A few experiences within this sample also reveal unconventional trends and patterns of multiplicity which weave away from these main gendered trends, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Gender relational privilege and disadvantage are especially clearly visible in the academic activities of teaching, mentoring, service and research, as demonstrated in the data analysis. Particularly within teaching involvement and student pastoral care, some marked evidence of male privilege and women's disadvantage is articulated by the participants. Male privilege in relation to teaching is prevalent where men enjoy relatively more freedom by being more readily and frequently released from teaching and related duties to engage in research or other prestigious academic activities on the basis of their 'seniority', in comparison to women of equal rank. Another key element is evident in the gendered division of disciplines where clearly men among these participants are shown as being assigned the teaching of the specific courses stereotyped masculine, and females as assigned those stereotyped feminine, which are traditionally undervalued in the hierarchy of disciplines.

In respect to mentoring, on the whole men enjoy the privilege of intensive mentoring, while only one female out of ten in the sample reported having similar opportunity. The study reveals that the

assumptions and practices of masculinity promote a culture more conducive to mentoring than do the assumptions of femininity. However, in Sri Lanka, on average intensive mentoring opportunities are largely lacking for both male and female academics, with female academics having even less mentoring. In Australia, there was a stronger gender relationality of mentoring opportunity, and Dever(2006) and Castleman et al. (1995)have confirmed similar patterns.

Service to the institution shows largely the gender stereotyped nature of task distribution and committee responsibilities that clearly point to the gender relational nature of this dynamic. Here male involvement is higher than that of female, especially in decision-making bodies at higher and more privileged levels. In contrast, female academics participate more in departmental and faculty level committees related to traditionally feminine areas of work, such as teaching, learning and student welfare. Such committees are relatively unrecognized, in comparison with University Senate or Council level committees (see Park, 1996).

Furthermore, in terms of the academic research commitment and publications which are so significant for academic progression, much greater male and lower female research and publication productivity is evident in these findings. The reality experienced is particularly visible in the area of the allocation and availability of time for research by male and female academics respectively that are demonstrably gender relational.

Finally, several dimensions of the materiality of micro-politics emerged in the study and indicate that it was experienced as strongly gender relational. Sri Lankan female academics, in particular, revealed that male privilege is implicated in the vigorous practices of cultural norms associated with academic life that have particularly inhibited research advancement.

The study especially demonstrates that the informal mechanisms of gossip and control over women's free access to the university undermine their potential for progression substantively, which is a unique finding of this research. Such constructed academic norms disadvantage one gender, and in turn allow maximum benefits to the other. While some different aspects of micro politics have been identified in previous studies, such as its subtle nature (as in Morley, 1999, 2003) and its control and resistance to advancement (Brooks, 1997; Pocock, 1996),no studies have specifically mentioned the cultural traditional forms of resistance and gossip found in this study, which add to previous knowledge.

In addition to all the obvious distinctions outlined above, the area where relational privilege and disadvantage are perhaps most clearly articulated and influential is in the everyday life practices

connected with domestic responsibility. Understanding how the work-life balance shapes academic privilege is one of the key contributions to knowledge that emerged in this research and it throws new light on gendered entitlements to academic privilege.

The findings clearly demonstrate that the duality of privilege in these stories of academic success or academic disadvantage is largely shaped by domestic division of labour characterised on the one hand by home and family work and feelings of obligation, and, on the other, by the absence of such obligatory domesticity. Similarly, the results also clearly show the way academic success is influenced by a dynamic of gender differentiated professional commitment levels afforded to individual academics within a context that disassociates men from caring responsibilities while being conducive to their ambitious pursuit of academic career development. Academic success is hence largely shaped by a dynamic of attached or detached subjectivity and self linked to a gendered emotionality (or, conversely, on the absence of it) constructed on an assumption of obligatory domesticity that is gendered.

Men's advantage in these two areas is profound and determines an overall privilege which spills over into all areas of academic life for men and women academics. Deeply entrenched discourses polarising emotion and reason as attached and detached ways of knowing continue to exert profound influence on gendered academic performance today.

Are all academic men privileged while women are disadvantaged within these contexts? Why? Why not?

The findings here throwing light on the gendered academy draw on some of the significant contradictions that exist within the main story of gendered privilege. Significantly in analysis of academic life as well as everyday life, the responses here represent strong evidence of multiple constructions of gender. These multiple strands are consistent with the concepts of hegemonic and marginalized masculinities shown by Connell (1995; 2005).Further, the idea of 'dividends of patriarchy' (Connell, 1995: 79-80) demonstrates how all men in general gain from overall subordination of women while only a minority actually rigorously practices hegemonic masculinity. Hence the present study suggests the significance of extending the idea of dividends to illuminate the concept of multiple femininities within a frame that describesthe shares of female subordination experienced by the category of women, though this will have to be probed elsewhere. Mainly two complex threads of multiplicity are visible in these reports. The multiple strands of academic masculinities and femininities are constituted most obviously within the social status of higher economic class, white Western and majority Sinhalese and upper caste identities. Similarly marginalised gender constructions emanate from less privileged class categories,

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ethnic or racial minority identities and differentially recognised discipline areas weaving the web of gender relations broadly into the hegemonic and marginalised gender types of the first thread. The other refers to the multiplicity of masculinities and femininities evident within the different social and cultural context realities discussed below.

What key similarities and differences are visible between the two academic contexts generally, and specifically in relation to gender?

Another aspect of this multiplicity, considered one of the key contributory aspects of this research, is present within contextual specificities where the key differences are embedded primarily in mentoring experiences and in research output. The two countries being studied share gendered academic patterns to a great extent, except for a few instances based upon cultural norms and the gendering of service to the university and associated duties. However, some stark social differences are visible in everyday life in cohabitation styles, whilst in academic life, micro politics and career advancement also show differences.

The commonalities exist particularly in gendered disciplines, in teaching administration and in student welfare, which is heavily inclined towards women in both contexts. The gendered nature of service to university in the membership patterns and level of participation in committees as well as the lethargic lack of enthusiasm towards service-associated duties by most men are other similarities reported. In micro-politics and work-life balance areas, their representation in discourse and as a definite part of academic life are unavoidable practices common to both countries, while all the women's reports here show their desire for complete avoidance of such politics and practice. In regard to micro-politics, resistance to women in terms of the overt control of their voice in Sri Lanka and the more informal use of sideline remarks is common in Australia. Similarities in the work-life arena include more frequent prioritization of the husband's employment within the family unit, and relatively higher family support being available for men's academic endeavour by the wives and partners. These women perform the care role almost exclusively, which constructs a situation where men enjoy the privilege of 'carelessness' that shapes their academic advancement.

Suggestions and observations arising from the findings for bringing about better gender equality within the academy.

Emerging from this analysis of male privilege, there are a few significant suggestions that have practical use and application in everyday life among academics for achieving better gender equality. In addition

to reiterating the need to challenge practical situations of gender inequality in the academy promptly and strategically on an everyday basis through policy and political responses, a few specific ideas are noted here for practice within the two relevant settings.

The treatment of gender as a significant social issue within the context of national policy and more specifically within higher educational policy requires strong recognition, inclusion and practice. A comparative understanding of policy frameworks for learning from the good practices of more progressive higher education systems and sharing the opportunities to learn and be trained in those is identified as an essential part of establishing gender equality nationally. In addition, targeted training of the intellectual community on the values of gender equality is a stable, solid and effective way of establishing and integrating gender values into cultural systems.

Hence, the practices of the values of gender equality should be made more explicit and given in concrete forms, for example displaying the policy regulations governing the university's students and staff in the university website and making those updated details readily available to its staff and students. Correspondingly, gender support and facilities for addressing the specific gender needs, of the university communities of staff and students, both practical and strategic for advancing women's position in academic settings should be made available. Such support structures towards addressing gender needs should be integrated and institutionalized through the establishment of gender sensitive groups and associations. At the policy level, the established criteria for academic promotions should be reviewed to ensure gender sensitivity and equality, introducing values of flexibility with regard to the ability to propose weightings by the academic staff for promotional evaluation. For example, equal recognition could be established regarding teaching-associated duties and teaching large student numbers, as well as requiring conscious effort to deconstruct gender stereotyping of academic disciplines and courses by reallocating courses among academics on regular intervals. Such strategies would actively disturb the grounding of such gendering.

On another level, the provision of leave facilities for academics should be worker friendly. National level higher education statistics in both countries should represent gender wise academic participation, especially taking into account academic ranks, disciplines, management representations and representation in types of funds, awards and scholarships as well. In this regard the participation of all ethnicities should be clearly reflected in the national statistics on higher education, for both students and staff. Consistency and maintenance of transparency and professionalism should be maintained within all national statistical reporting frames.

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The gendered nature of opportunity that is deeply constructed and maintained within family settings and class is shown to be a very significant determinant shaping the differential academic aspirations of men and women, which in turn leads to gendered academic outcomes. These findings require serious contemplation and interrogation when making meaning and responding to unequal and inhibiting gender patterns in scholarly participation. Similarly, practices in the private realm, even disregarding wealth, are shown to be having profound influence in shaping academic goals for both men and women that arise from supportive and empathetic family environments which help flourish and retain academic aspiration. In the same way, the practice of domestic work sharing and its influence in shaping the academic lives of those who are entrusted with obligatory caring duties should be recognised and addressed as significant influential elements.

Some ideas of areas for future research possibilities

This research also indicates the strong and critical need for expanding knowledge and understandings pertaining to gender equality in higher education and recommends a few important areas for future research initiatives and further interrogation.

Strong and insightful analysis of gender policy within higher education for opportunities of good practice as well as to identify the gaps in policy at a more general level is essential. Within this context the national statistical data compilations are a serious necessity especially in Sri Lanka and the constraints and possibility towards honest commitment to such practice should be investigated, scrutinized and established.

Similarly, research in the area of family backgrounds and related subjectivity constructions require firm investigation so that understandings can be established regarding their significant influence in shaping academic aspiration and endeavour of those engaged in academic profession while also in children and young persons, as well as their operations in the everyday work life balance.

Finally the arena of gendered forms of resistance and academic micro-politics that hinder the progression of academics should be looked into more creatively, progressively and deeply. It is significant that such emotional acts of control are recognised as values that go completely against the values and norms of intellectual exercise, hence much inquiry and questioning of such practice as problematic is a key necessity for honest and genuine academic advancement to take place.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1 - List of Australian Universities

The Group of Eight (go8) markets itself as the group of 'Australia's Leading Universities'. They support this claim by referring to statistics relating to variables such as research outputs, industry links, graduate outcomes, and the standing of their academic staff. The group of 8 member universities are:

- The University of Adelaide
- The Australian National University
- The University of Melbourne
- Monash University
- The University of New South Wales
- The University of Queensland
- The University of Sydney
- The University of Western Australia

Universities	Location
Australian Catholic University	North Sydney ...
Bond University	Robina ...
Central Queensland University	North Rockhampton ...
Charles Darwin University	Darwin ...
Charles Sturt University	Bathurst ...
Curtin University of Technology	Perth ...
Deakin University	Geelong ...
Edith Cowan University	Joondalup ...
Flinders University	Adelaide ...
Griffith University	Brisbane ...
James Cook University	Townsville ...
La Trobe University	Melbourne ...
Macquarie University	Sydney
Monash University	Clayton ...
Murdoch University	Murdoch ...
Queensland University of Technology	Brisbane
RMIT University	Melbourne ...
Southern Cross University	Lismore ...

Swinburne University of Technology	Hawthorn ...
The Australian National University	Canberra
The University of Adelaide	Adelaide
The University of Melbourne	Melbourne
The University of New South Wales	Sydney
The University of Newcastle	Callaghan ...
The University of Notre Dame Australia	Fremantle ...
The University of Queensland	St Lucia ...
The University of Sydney	Sydney
The University of Western Australia	Crawley
University of Ballarat	Ballarat
University of Canberra	Canberra
University of New England	Armidale
University of South Australia	Adelaide ...
University of Southern Queensland	Toowoomba ...
University of Tasmania	Hobart
University of Technology, Sydney	Sydney
University of the Sunshine Coast	Sippy Downs
University of Western Sydney	Penrith ...
University of Wollongong	Wollongong ...
Victoria University	Melbourne

Source: http://www.australianuniversities.com.au/directory/group-of-eight/

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Research Questions:

3.2 Guiding research question:

➢ What is male privilege in the academy in Aus & SL? What are the similarities and differences? Are Male privilege and women's disadvantage in the academy mutual constructions?*(literature establish this point and eventually this will be tested in field data too).*

Sub questions

➢ How is male privilege in the academy socially constructed? Specifically how does ideology and practice around masculinities and femininities contribute to the construction of male privilege in the academy? *(focus on stereo types and gendered division of labour sex roles with regards to the organization and arrangements of academic activities and duties as valuing of certain tasks and devaluing of others, certain behaviours that are gendered active participation in committees)*

➢ Does male privilege work to the disadvantage of women's position? And if so, How? (implications*)(valuing of masculine over the feminine tasks- in teaching, research, org evaluation structures or through active direct processors)*

➢ Are all academic masculinities privileged in the academy? Why?/ why not?

➢ What institutional processes/practices of Higher Educational organizations are contributory to male privilege? (What is valued academic work?, promotional criteria etc)

➢ Any femininities more privileged than others?

➢ What gendered experiences and patterns of masculine privilege are common and specific in the two countries**?**

➢ What are the discourses around strategies for enhancing women's position?

Specific interview Questions

- a. What are the circumstances that lead you to be in an academic career?

  b. What inspired you to it?

  c. Are there any specific reasons in/ related to your gender identity that contributed towards your choice of an academic career? What was the drive?

2. a. What are the highest professional achievements in your career? Opportunities? promotions, scholarships or appointments?

c. What was especially supportive to you in these (organizationally -mentors, seniors etc)/ Or personally - through your own initiative? What is the driving force?)

3. a. What are your academic duties?

b. What courses do you teach this year/ semester? Under graduate? PG Course work and research

c. And how much time spent in a week on research? What are the highest achievements in research experiences? And research publications (scholarly journals, how many),

d. Which Research funds you have applied for and been successful? How did you achieve this success? what support you receive in this regard? Such as special networks or mentoring?

e. What committees are you on?(in what capacity?)Which committees do you actively take part in or contribute to?) / administrative tasks?

f. Do you spend time on mentoring and supervision? How many students? At which levels? UG, PG

g. Establishment of links with the industry? Your participation in national/ international development?

h. What interests you most out of these academic activities? Why?

I. What do you think is the prime responsibility of an academic towards the student?

j. How do you go about achieving success in research, teaching and services?

4. a. Are you satisfied with the organizational procedures available to evaluate your performances?

b. Research?

c. Teaching?

d. Services?

e. Academic administrative work?

5.*a. What are your family related/ personal engagements during the said week? And generally?

b. What sort of work does your partner engage in fulltime? part time?

c. Any children?

d. Does family take up time? and Does that affect your work? What arrangements have you made in this regard?

6. a. Do you think you have been able to live out a complete self fulfilling academic life? what are the reasons for your answer?

7. a. How do you experience gender in your academic career?

   b. Would it have made any difference if you were a man? /woman?

   c. Any experiences of differential treatment/prejudice because of your sex status?

   ci. Why do you think there are more men than women being successful in academic career?

   cii. Would you think it is easier for men to be successful as academics than women?

   ciii. Why?

   civ. What is advantageous for men in an academic career?

   cv. What does not work for women? Why?

   cvi. Is the academic career structured to suit your demands? Why?

8. a. What are your experiences regarding politics within the academy?

   b. How does micro politics in academic environments manifest itself, (Decisions of allocation of duties, responsibilities in leadership etc) who is, affected by it?

   c. Are you affected by it?

   d. How does one deal with it?

9. a. What are the constraints if any to your career advancement now or in the past?

   b. Any specific instances/ moments that stands out in your mind? (low points for you and if not others whom you may know of?)

   c. How those were met? Overcame by you or others?

10.   a. What advice would you give your fellow academics in making a successful academic career?

11.   a. Any thing else? Would you like to recommend any other participants who might be interested in taking part in this research?

Thank you very much!

APPENDIX 3 - List of Universities in Sri Lanka

	Universities
	University of Colombo
	University of Peradeniya
	University of Sri Jayewardenepura
	University of Kelaniya
	University of Moratuwa
	University of Jaffna
	University of Ruhuna
	The Open University of Sri Lanka
	Eastern University, Sri Lanka
	South Eastern University of Sri Lanka
	Rajarata University of Sri Lanka
	Sabaragamuwa University of Sri Lanka
	Wayamba University of Sri Lanka
	Uva Wellassa University
	University of the Visual & Performing Arts

Source: http://www.ugc.ac.lk/en/universities-and-institutes/universities.html...ac_05/02/2012

(12) Post & Salary Scale

Associate Professor (All Faculties) B-02

Method of Recruitment

By merit promotion.

Qualifications

A Senior Lecturer (Grade II/I) may be considered for promotion to the grade of Associate. Professor if he/she has obtained at least the required minimum mark as specified in the Marking Scheme for the post. See Annex

Method of Application and Selection Process

(i)   An application for a merit promotion should be accompanied by

(a) the Curriculum Vitae of the applicant,

(b) a self-assessment of his/her whole career specifying the contribution to:
-teaching and academic development
-research and creative works
-dissemination of knowledge, and
-university and national development

(c) two copies of the publications, research papers and other relevant documents.

(ii)   The Senate shall appoint two (02) experts in the relevant field from outside the higher educational institution concerned to evaluate the applicant's contribution to:
-   research and creative works (Section 2 of the Marking Scheme)
-   dissemination of knowledge (Section 3.1 of the Marking Scheme)

The experts should not be teachers/supervisors of the candidate at post-graduate level.

(iii)   Evaluation of the contribution to:
-   teaching and academic development (Section 1 of the Marking Scheme) and

-   university and national development (Section 3.2 of the Marking Scheme)

Will be carried out by a panel appointed by the Senate which shall consist of the following:
-   Vice-Chancellor/Deputy Vice-Chancellor/Dean of the faculty concerned
-   Two professors, one of whom is either from within or outside the Institution concerned and has a knowledge of the discipline or a related discipline and the other from another Faculty of the Higher Educational Institution concerned. The Head of the Department concerned shall report on the attendance of the candidate at meetings of the Faculty Board and Senate (where relevant) and other statutory bodies and he may be called upon to serve as an observer in the panel.

(iv)   The final selection will be made by the Selection Committee based on the evaluation reports specified in(ii) and (iii) above and in conformity with the Procedure of Appointment. Appointments on merit promotion are made on merit promotion are made on 'personal-the - holder' basis and do not necessarily reflect cadre positions.

(v)   A candidate whose application is rejected by the Selection Committee could apply again for Merit Promotion only after the expiry of 02 years from the date of his/her earlier application.

(a)

13.   Post & Salary Scale

Associate Professor (All Faculties)B-02

Method of recruitment

By open advertisement

Qualifications

Candidates should possess (a) the minimum academic qualifications required for a post of Senior Lecturer (by open advertisement) in the relevant field of study as stipulated in posts 4 or 6 of Commission Circular No.721 and, (b) six (06) years of experience in teaching at university level/research/professional work after obtaining the relevant post-graduate qualifications required for the post of Senior Lecturer,

AND

Obtain at least the minimum mark laid down in the Marking Scheme for Associate Professorship (external candidates). See Annex

Method of Application and Section Process
Same as that adopted for Associate Professorship by merit promotion.

14.	Post & salary Code

Professor (All Faculties)B-01

Method of Recruitment
By merit promotion

Qualifications
A Senior Lecturer/Associate Professor may be considered for promotion to the grade of Professor if he/she has obtained at least the required minimum mark as specified in the Marking Scheme.(See Annex)

Method of Application and Selection Process
(i)   Every application for a merit promotion to the grade of Professor should be accompanied by -
    (a)   the Curriculum Vitae of thle applicant, and
    (b)   a self-assessment of his/her whole career specifying the contribution to:
        -teaching and academic development;
        -research and creative works;
        -dissemination of knowledge; and
        -university and national development.
    (c)   two copies of the publications, research papers and other relevant documents.

(ii)   The Senate shall appoint 02 experts from outside the Higher Educational Institution concerned to evaluate the applicant's contribution to-
    (a)   Research and creative works (Section 2 of the Marking Scheme); and
    (b)   Dissemination of knowledge (Section 3 . 1 of the Marking Scheme).

The experts should not be teachers/supervisors of the applicant at post-graduate level.

(iii) Evaluation of the contribution to -

Teaching
and
academic
development
(Section 1
of the
Marking
Scheme),
    (b)   University and/or National Development (Section 3.2 of the Marking Scheme) will be carried out by a panel headed by the Vice-Chancellor/Dean of the Faculty concerned and 02 other Professors of the university appointed by the Senate, one of whom is either from, within or outside the Institution concerned and has a knowledge of the discipline or a related discipline and the other from another faculty of the Higher Educational Institution concerned. The Head of the Department concerned may be called upon to serve as an observer.

(iv)   The final selection will be made by the Selection Committee based on the above evaluation reports specified in 2 and 3 above and in conformity with the Procedure for Appointment. Appointments on merit promotion are made on 'personal-to-the-holder' basis and do not necessarily reflect cadre positions.

(v)   A candidate whose application is rejected by the Selection Committee could apply again for the post only after the expiry of 02 years from the date of his/her first application.

15.	Post &Salary Code

Professor(All Faculties) B-01.

Method of recruitment
By open advertisement

Qualification

Candidates should possess :

(a) The minimum academic qualifications required for a post of Senior Lecturer (by open advertisement) in the relevant field of study as stipulated in posts 4 or 6 of UGC Circular No.721

(b) Ten (10) years of experience in teaching at university level/research/professional work after obtaining the relevant post-graduate qualifications for the post of Senior Lecturer.

AND

Obtain at least the minimum mark laid down in the Marking Scheme for Professor ship,(external candidates)(See Annex)

Method of Application and Selection Process

Same as that adopted for Professorship by merit promotion.

(16.) Post Salary Code

Senior Professor (All Faculties) : B-01(a)

Method of Recruitment
By normal promotion

Qualifications

A Professor who has completed eight (08) years of service may apply for the post of Senior Professor.

Method of Application and Selection Process

The applicant should submit a self-assessment of his/her contribution to the following fields after he/she became a Professor ;

(a) teaching and academic development;

(b) research and creative works;

(c) dissemination of knowledge; and

(d) university and national development

The Selection Committee will evaluate the suitability of the applicant,for promotion based on the above self-assessment and other relevant considerations.

ANNEX

MARKING SCHEME FOR APPOINTMENT TO POSTS OFASSOCIATE PROFESSOR/PROFESSOR

1.0	CONTRIBUTION TO TEACHING AND ACAD E MIC DEVELOPMENT		Maximum
1.1	Participation in Staff Development Programme		
	1.1.1 As a resource person in Seminar/Workshop/Planning of Staff Development Programme (0. 5 point/Activity 03)		03
1.2	Teaching Load		
	When the teaching load of the staff member is more than the norm by at least 25%. The norm should be approved by thenFaculty Board and the Senate (0.5 point / year 04)		04
1.3	Preparation of Teaching Material		
	1.3.1 Preparation of lesson materials for distribution to students		10
	1.3.2 Preparation of audio/video programmes / Computer Software for teaching		
Note :	All documents listed under 1.3.1 to 1.3.2 should have been approved by the Faculty Board and the Senate.		
1.4	Teaching / Professional Experience		
	1.4.1 Service after being promoted as a Senior Lecturer, Gr.II or service in equivalent teaching position or relevant professional experience in other organizations.(0.5 point/ year 08)		08
	1.4.2 Ph.D/D.M/D.Litt/ equivalent or a higher Degree		02
1.5	Postgraduate Supervision		
	Supervision of Ph.D., M.Phil or other postgraduate degrees (for each candidate who has successfully completed the degree)		
	1.5.1 Ph.D.	04 points	
	1.5.2 2 year postgraduate degree (M.P hil , M.Sc ., M.A.e t c) 02 points		06
	1.5.3 M.S ., M.D. or postgraduate degree (M.A., M.Sc. etc.) of less than 2 years duration	01 points	

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1.6	Institutional Development	
	Any other contribution to teaching/curriculum development/evaluation/institutional development/laboratory planning and development, inter-faculty teaching and strengthening research capacity etc. A detailed report prepared by the applicant should be submitted for evaluation by a Panel of the Senate along with the recommendations and observations of the Head of the Department and the Dean of the Faculty. Marks will be assigned by the Panel.	10
	SUB-TOTAL :	---- 43 ----

2.0	**RESEARCH AND CREATIVE WORK**	
2.1	Publication in refereed journals based on research for a degree Up to 02 points / paper	
2.2	Other research publication in refereed journals upto 5 points / paper	No limit
2.3	Research publications in non-refereed journals (Publications in Newspapers, Magazines, etc. should not be considered under this category) upto 2 points / paper	do
2.4	Presentations at conferences, meetings of professional associations etc.	
	(a) Published in abstract form Up to 01.5 points / abstract	No Limit
	(b) unpublished papers upto 01 point / paper	do
2.5	Patents and inventions upto 05 points	do
2.6	(a) Books, scholarly work not submitted for a degree Up to 12 points	do
	(c) Books, scholarly work submitted for a degree upto 05 points (Duplication with 02.1 must be avoided)	do
2.7	Monographs upto 05 points/monograph	do
2.8	Chapters in Books, scholarly work upto 04 points/chapter	do
2.9	Editing of Collections of Essays other than journals upto 03 points / book	do
2.10	Editing of classical works upto 04 points / book	do
2.11	Translation of monographs/books/books for supplementary reading upto 02 points / book	do
2.12	Editing of journals 01 point/journal	04
2.13	Creative work in literature, culture and arts relevant to the academic discipline of applicant up to 05 points/work	
2.14	Other creative work 02 points / work	10
2.15	Citation of the applicant's work in refereed journals and scholarly publications	
		0.5 point per citation subject to a maximum of 02 points for repeated citation of the same work 10

Notes : (i) In the case of papers/publications with joint authorship, applicants should indicate their actual contribution to the work published and marks should be allocated proportionately.
(ii) Double marking for the same work within section 2.0 and section 3.1 should be AVOIDED.

3.0	**DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNIVERSITY AND NORMAL DEVELOPMENT**	
3.1	Dissemination of knowledge No limits	No limits
	3.1.1 * Text Books upto 06 points / book	do
	3.1.2 *Books to be used for supplementary reading upto 04 points / book	do
	3.1.3 *Translations of books upto 04 points / book	do
	3.1.4 ** Documentary orations including Presidential and keynote addresses at recognized national, academic or professional bodies upto 02 p o ints / oration	do
	3.1.5 ** Special Academic/Professional Awards or recognised Academic/Professional Distinctions upto 02 points/awards	do

Notes : * In the case of books with joint authorship the applicant's contribution should be determined and marks assigned accordingly.
** Excluding awards given for Postgraduate or Doctoral work, if already considered for appointment or promotion.

3.2	University and National Development Activities Maximum	
	3.2.1 Vice-Chancellor 02 points/year	10

3.2.2 Deputy Vice-Chancellor/Rector/Dean of a Faculty/Director of a University Institute or a Research Institute 01.5 poi n ts / year 08 — 08

3.2.3 Head of a Department of a University or any other Institution 01 point / year 03 — 03

3.2.4 Course Co-ordinates/Project Co-ordinates for Postgraduate courses 01 point/year 03 — 03

3.2.5 Student Counselor/Career Guidance Counselor/Warden of a Residential Hall/ Proctor/Deputy Procter 0.5 point/year 02 — 02

3.2.6 Participation as President/Secretary/Treasurer in University Teacher Unions, or in the same capacity in University Alumni Associations at national level 0.5 point/year 02 — 02

3.2.7 Membership of Boards of Management/Boards of Study in other Universities/ Higher Educational Institutes 0.5 point/year 03 — 03

3.2.8 President/Secretary of a Professional/Academic Association at National level 0.5 point/year 03 — 03

Sub-total   35

Note: An applicant from outside the University System can be allocated similar marks for 3.2 on the basis of holding equivalent positions.

4.0   MINIMUM MARK

The minimum marks for each component of evaluation, (1,2 and 3 as specified below) and the minimum total mark that an applicant should obtain in order to qualify for the relevant appointment are given below:

		Asso.Prof (Internall)	Asso.Prof (External)	Professor
1	Contribution to teaching & Academic Development	20	10	20
2	Research & Creative Work	25	35	45
3	Dissemination of Knowledge & Contribution to University & National Development	10	10	15
4	Minimum Total Mark	65	65	90

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UNIVERSITYGRANTSCOMMISSION

Commission CircularNo.916

No.20,WardPlace
Colombo07
30thSeptember2009

Vice Chancellors of Universities

Directors of Institutes

Rectors of Campuses

SCHEMESOF RECRUITMENT/PROMOTION FOR ASSOCIATEPROFESSOR/PROFESSOR

Your reference is invited to the Schemes of Recruitment/Promotion applicable to the following posts stipulatedinCommissionCircularNos.723of12December1997and869of30November2005.

Associate Professor (All Faculties) : U-AC4/(B-02)- By merit promotion Associate

Professor (All Faculties) : U-AC4/(B-02)- By advertisement Professor (All Faculties)

: U-AC5(II)/(B-01)- By merit promotion Professor (All Faculties)   : U-
AC5(II)/(B-01)- By advertisement

The Commissionatits 787th meeting held on 03 September 2009 having considered issues that have arisen and representations made, decided to amend the Schemes of Recruitment/Promotion and the marking scheme applicable to the above posts. Accordingly the amended Schemes of Recruitment/Promotion and the marking scheme are annexed herewith (**Annex-I**).

The composition of the Selection Committee for the above posts in the Higher Educational Institutions prescribe dinsection6 (2) of Commission CircularNo.166of06.04.1982as amended by

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Commission Circular No.869 of 30November 2005 and Establishments Circular Letter No.09/2008 of 25 August 2008 is reproduced (**Annex–I**).

The provisions of Commission Circular No.233 of 30.06.1983 will continue to apply with regard to the composition of the Selection Committee for promotion/appointment to the posts of Professor in the Higher Educational Institutes.

The Schemes of Recruitment applicable to the post of Senior Professor stipulate din Commission Circular Nos.838 dated **26.01.2004** and 897 of **08.07.2008** remain unchanged until further notice.

The provisions of this Circular shall come into force with effect from 01st October 2009 and be applicable to all recruitments/promotions to the posts of Associate Professor/Professor in all Faculties of the Higher Educational Institutions. However, those who were in service in the Higher Educational Institutions concerned as at 01.12.2005 and applying for professorial positions by promotion may be given the option to be considered in terms of Commission Circular No.723 of 12.12.1997 upto 30.11.2009. Commission Circular No. 723 and Establishments Circular Letter No.07/2007 of 11.09.2007 will cease to be operative with effect from 01.12.2009.

Commission Circular No.869 of 30.11.2005 will be rescinded with effect from 01st October 2009. But, any teacher who was appointed after 01.12.2005 and has applied for a professorial position by promotion as well as all applicants who have applied for Cadre Chairs prior to the effective date of this Circular may be considered under Commission Circular No.869 of 30.11.2005.

Please take action accordingly.

(Prof. Gamini Samaranayake)
Chairman

Copies to :
1. Chairman's Office/UGC
2. Vice Chairman/UGC
3. Members of the UGC
4. Secretary/UGC
5. Deans of Faculties
6. Registrars of Universities
7. Financial Controller/UGC
8. Bursars of Universities
9. Librarians /SAL/AL of the Higher Educational Institutions/Institutes
10. Deputy Registrars/Snr. Asst. Registrars/Asst. Registrars of Campuses/Institutes
11. Deputy Bursars/Snr. Asst. Bursars/Asst. Bursars of Campuses/Institutes
12. Chief Internal Auditor/UGC
13. Govt. Audit Superintendents of Universities
14. Snr. Asst. Int. Auditors/Asst. Int. Auditors of HEIs
15. Secretaries of Trade Unions
16. Auditor-General

File No. UGC/HR/2/3/106

POST AND SALARY CODE:

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR (ALL FACULTIES) - U-AC 4

Method of Promotion /Recruitment

1) Application for Promotion (Internal) and Interview
2) Applications for Advertised Posts(Internal and External) and Interview
3) An application for Associate Professor cannot also be simultaneously for the post of Professor

Qualifications

Internal Applicants - A Senior Lecturer (Grade I/II) in the relevant subject

And

At least the minimum marks laid in the Marking Scheme for Associate Professorship.

External Applicants - Candidates with

The minimum academic qualifications required for a post of Senior Lecturer (by open advertisement) in the relevant field of study in post 4 or 6 of Commission Circular No.721,

And

At least the minimum marks laid in the Marking Scheme for Associate Professorship.

Method of Application

An application for a merit promotion or recruitment should be accompanied by -

a) the Curriculum Vitae of the applicant.

b) a self-assessment of his/her whole career specifying the contribution to:
   - Teaching and Academic Development
   - Research and Creative Work
   - Dissemination of Knowledge and University and National Development

   as given in the attached marking scheme.

c) three copies of the publications, research papers and other relevant documents by the candidate. Other relevant documents and materials may also be submitted in three copies in a form that can be evaluated.

d) titles of three (03) outstanding research papers/publications by the candidate.

These documents shall be sent to the Vice Chancellor by each candidate with a covering letter applying for the position/promotion.

Method of Evaluation

The Senate shall appoint two (02) experts in the relevant field from outside the Higher Educational Institution concerned to evaluate the applicant's contributions to Research and Creative Work (Sections 2 and 3.1 of the marking Scheme) Both the experts shall be Senior Professors/Professors of a University in Sri Lanka or a recognized University abroad or an expert who has held professorial rank at a recognized University or a professional of equivalent outstanding eminence from outside the University System.

The outside subject experts should not have been teachers/supervisors of the candidate at postgraduate level. Nor should they have been co-authors of papers or books with the candidate or previously at the university concerned in any capacity such as teacher or other staff member, or visiting staff.

The experts should assess the research and creative work of the applicant based on the papers, and other documents submitted by the candidate and they should allocate independent marks based on the Marking Scheme. The experts should be specifically requested to comment on the quality, impact of research on the discipline, profession, industry and wider community based on the papers, publications, reports and other documents submitted by the applicant, with special reference to the three (3) outstanding papers as claimed by the applicant. The same panel and experts shall serve for all applicants whenever possible.

The Senate shall appoint a Panel of three (3) Senior Professors/Professors with specialty in the relevant field and the Dean of the relevant Faculty to evaluate the Educational Activities and Dissemination of Knowledge & Contribution to University and National Development (Sections 1, 3.2 and 3.3 of the Marking Scheme). Whenever possible this panel should include at least one person from outside the Institution and one from within the Institution, but outside the Faculty. The Dean of the Faculty shall chair the Panel. However, if the Dean of a Faculty is the applicant, an additional Senior Professor /Professor shall be appointed to the panel and a suitable Chairman shall be elected in his place by the members of the panel. Where the relevant Department Head is not the candidate and is not appointed to the panel, he shall be an observer. This Senate appointed Panel while allocating marks should submit a report to the Selection Committee regarding the applicant's teaching ability, service to the University, profession, industry, national development, community etc., and leadership qualities. The Panel shall request the applicant to make a presentation on a topic chosen by the applicant to assess the teaching and overall communication abilities of the candidate.

The Vice Chancellor shall announce the candidatures of all applicants to the academic community of the University. The self-assessment, publications and other supporting documents of each candidate shall be made available through the relevant Dean for a period of 30 days and shall be open to written comment addressed to the Selection Committee through the Vice Chancellor from Senior Professors, Professors, Associate Professors and Heads of the relevant Faculty.

Where the assessment cannot be completed within the year and a half limit of Commission Circular No.846 of 14 July 2004 for advertised positions, steps shall be taken immediately upon the expiry of the period to re-advertise the post. Assessments made under pervious advertisements may be continued but the final selection cannot made until all applicants, both past and new, have been assessed.

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Method of Selection

Candidates with the required qualifications shall be requested to appear before a Selection Committee. The Selection Committee shall consist of as stipulated in Selection 6(2) of Commission Circular No.166 of 06 April 1982.

- The Principal Executive Officer who shall be Chairman

- Two nominees appointed by the Commission

- Two nominees of the University Council who were appointed to the Council by the Commission

- The Dean of the relevant Faculty

- The Head of the relevant Department

- Two Senior Professors/Professors appointed by the Senate from among its members with knowledge of the subject at least at degree level

Provided:

- Where the Head of the Department of Study concerned is himself an applicant for the post, or where the Department of Study has no permanent Head, the Senate or the Academic Syndicate as the case may be, shall appoint from among its members a person with knowledge of the subject of study concerned in lieu of such Head of Department.

- Where the Dean is a candidate, the Senate will appoint another suitable person in such Dean's place.

- Where the Vice Chancellor is the candidate, such Vice Chancellor shall withdraw from all relevant meetings of the Senate and the Council and these bodies shall decide on matters under their purview under a pro tem chairman appointed for the relevant meeting. A Chairman of the Selection Committee from outside the Institution concerned shall be nominated by the Commission in addition to the two nominees of the Commission.

Every applicant shall appear before the Selection Committee and make a presentation on his/her main area of research or creative work. Audio visual, multimedia facilities etc.., may be provided for the presentation. This may be followed by a discussion with the Selection Committee. The Selection Committee shall arrive at a score on a scale of 10 for a candidate's presentation skills.

The Establishments Division of the University shall handle the processing of applications. Where one of the two outside subject experts gives marks above the minimum threshold to a candidate and the other does not according to the table given in Section 4.0 of this Circular, the Registrar or other person from the Establishments Division processing applications shall arrange for a discussion (in person or electronic) between the two subject experts with a view to reaching a consensus. Failing a consensus being arrived at, a third subject expert shall be appointed by the Senate. Whether a candidate is above or below the threshold shall be decided by whether the third subject expert gave marks above or below the threshold as in the table in Section 4.0 of this Circular. The final marks of a candidate shall be the average of the total and component marks given by the two Subject Experts and Panel or, where a third Subject Expert had to be appointed, of the third Subject Expert and that Subject Expert of the first two Subject Experts who assigned the highest total marks to the candidate, and the Panel.

Where there are more than one candidate obtaining the minimum threshold marks as defined in the table at the end, the final section will be made by the Selection Committee from among those reaching that minimum threshold. This shall be done based on the final marks from the marks submitted by outside subject experts and the Senate appointed Panel, and on the presentations made by the applicant, with 90% weight for the combined marks from the subject expert and panel assessments (90 being assigned to the candidate with the highest marks as assessed by the subject experts and panel and the other candidates' marks being scaled accordingly) and 10% for the assessment of presentation skills by the Selection Committee.

Appointment on merit promotion will be made on 'personal-to-the-holder' basis.

A candidate whose application is rejected by the Selection Committee could apply again for merit promotion only after the expiry of two (2) years from the date of his/her earlier application.

POST AND SALARY CODE :

PROFESSOR (ALL FACULTIES) - U-AC 5(II)

Method of Promotion/Recruitment

1) Application for Promotion (Internal)

   #### Qualifications

   A Senior Lecturer/Associate Professor may be considered for promotion to the grade of Professor if he/she has obtained at least the required minimum mark as specified in the Marking Scheme.

2) Applications for Advertised Posts(Internal and External)

   #### Qualifications

   Qualifications to be Senior Lecturer Gr.II in the relevant subject

   And

   Fifteen (15) years after obtaining the qualifications for Lecturer(Probationary) as laid down in Commission Circular No.721

   And

   At least the minimum marks laid in the Marking Scheme for Professorship

Method of Application

An application for a merit promotion or recruitment should be accompanied by -

a) the Curriculum Vitae of the Applicant

b) a self -assessment of his/her whole career specifying the contribution to

   - Teaching and Academic Development
   - Research and Creative Work
   - Dissemination of Knowledge and University and National Development

as given in the attached marking scheme.

Contd.,

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c) three copies of the publications, research papers and other relevant documents by the candidate. Other relevant documents and materials may also be submitted in three copies in a form that can be evaluated.

d) titles of five(5) outstanding research papers/publications by the candidate.

These documents shall be sent to the Vice Chancellor by each candidate with a covering letter applying for the position/promotion.

Method of Evaluation

Exactly the same as for Associate Professor except that the outside subject experts will have 5 papers instead of 3 to address as defined in subsection (d) under Method of Application.

Method of Selection

Exactly as specified for the post of Associate Professor, except that the required threshold marks are deferent as given in the table at the end.

MARKING SCHEME FOR APPOINTMENT/PROMOTION TO THE POSTS OF
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR/PROFESSOR

Note: In using the term "up to" in the sections that follow, what is implied is that the best possible item in a category in terms of quality and relevance get the highest limit. Experts ought not to assign the highest marks routinely to every item.

1.0 TEACHING, SCHOLARSHIP AND ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT   Maximum

1.1 Academic/Professional Preparation

Service after being promoted as a Senior Lecturer Gr. II

or service in equivalent teaching position

or relevant professional experience in other organizations.

                1 point/year   16

1.2 Qualifications for Teaching

1.2.1	Doctorate or equivalent higher degree	04
1.2.2	Fellowship of a Professional Body	02
1.2.3	Masters degrees (M.Phil/M.Sc../M.A.) of two years duration with a research component (dissertation or thesis)	02

1.3 Extra Teaching Load

1.3.1 Outside the Discipline

Teaching officially in areas other than a staff member's specialty. For example:

a) Teaching Sinhalese to non-Sinhalese speaking and Tamil to non-Tamil speaking students, by a teacher in the Faculty of Science

b) Teaching Professional Ethics or Management by Science or Engineering Lecturers

c) Teaching English to undergraduates etc.,

                0.5 point/year   01

1.3.2 Excess Load

Carrying a teaching load of more than 25% above the norm on the basis of the approved cadre

0.5 point/year   04

1.4 Postgraduate Supervision (Max. For Section 1.4 is 12 points)

Supervision of Ph.D., M.Phil, or other postgraduate theses and dissertations (Only for each candidate who has successfully completed the degree)

1.4.1 Ph.D., D.M.

4 points/thesis   No Limit

1.4.2 M.Phil. (Two-year full-time research degree)

2 points/thesis   08

1.4.3 Two year full-time postgraduate degree (M.Sc., M.A. etc.)

1 point/dissertation   04

1.4.4 M.Sc., M.A., M.D. or other postgraduate degrees of less than 2 years' duration (postgraduate reports to be excluded)

0.5 point /dissertation   04

Note: For joint supervision in section 1.4, the marks should be appropriately apportioned.

1.5 Participation in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) Programmes /Extension Courses/Short Courses

As a resource person in Seminars / Workshops / Staff Development Programmes / CPD Programmes / Extension Courses / Short Courses

1 point/Activity   10

1.6 Institutional Development

a) Introduction of new courses/new degree programmes
b) Curriculum planning and development
c) Development of new material for existing courses (both Undergraduate and Postgraduate)
d) Laboratory planning and development
e) Strengthening research capacity in the particular HEI as well as in other HEIs
f) Inter-faculty teaching

A detailed report prepared by the applicant should be submitted for evaluation by the Panel of the Senate along with the recommendations and observations of the Head of the Department and the Dean of the Faculty.   20

1.7 Transitioning to Dual Delivery of Lessons

Preparation and use of audio and video material and Computer-Aided Instructional Software for or in Preparation of dual delivery of lessons, particularly with a view to distance education needs

Up to 1 point/item   08

2.0 RESEARCH, SCHOLARSHIP AND CREATIVE WORK   Maximum

Note - 1 :   In the case of papers/publications with joint authorship, applicants should indicate their actual contribution to the work published and marks should be allocated accordingly.

Note - 2 :   In evaluating and assigning marks to papers, the Selection Committee and Outside Experts should bear in mind and strictly enforce the following well, widely and long understood definitions:

(i) A Journal Paper   : A fully scripted essay of academic significance in a serial publication in numbered volumes to which articles may be submitted at any time and are published only if they pass peer review.

A Conference Paper: A fully scripted essay reported in the bound report of the proceedings or transactions of a meeting of academic significance, which is circulated at or after the meeting. Such meetings may also be known by other names such as Conference, Seminar, Colloquium, Forum, Workshop, Congress, and Sessions.

(ii) Book   : A publicly available bound text with ISBN Number.

2.1 Peer reviewed publications (including invited editorials in indexed journals)

2.1.1 Research publications in <u>refereed</u> journals (full paper published)   No limit

      i)   Up to 3 points/paper in a journal that publishes at least two issues per year

      ii) Up to 2 points/paper in a journal that publishes less than two issues per year

      iii) Add 2 points/paper if the paper is published in a recognized indexed journal

Note 1:

Recognized Index journals are listed at http://www.isinet.com/journals under:

1. Science Citation Indexed Expanded [™] (Web of Science)
2. Social Sciences Citation Index® (Web of Science)
3. Arts and humanities citation index® (Web of Science), etc.

Note 2:

The candidate must produce evidence that the journals claimed under 2.1.1 are published at least twice a year and are indexed

2.1.2 Peer reviewed Presentations at National/International Conferences/Symposia

      (a) Published as full papers - up to 1 point /paper   15

      (b) Published in abstract form - up to 0.75 point/abstract   05

      (c) Presented with evidence up to 0.5 point/presentation   05

2.1.3 Citation of the applicant's work by others in books and refereed journals

          0.5 point per citation subject to a maximum of 10 points for repeated citations of the same work   No limit

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2.2 Scholarly Work   Maximum

2.2.1 Chapters and Books of Scholarly Work (other than Textbooks) published in the
relevant field.

(a) Recognized publisher

up to 3 points/chapter or up to 6 points/book, whichever is less   No limit

(b) Other publishers

up to 1 point/chapter or up to 2 points/book, whichever is less   25

2.2.2 Editing of Collections of Essays and Books

up to 3 points/book   09

2.3.3 Editing of Classical Work/Book Reviews

up to 4 points/book   08

2.2.4 (a) Translation and publication of Books of Scholarly Work

up to 2 points/book   04

(b) Bonus for publication with recognized publishers

up to 4 points/book   04

2.2.5 Editor-in-Chief of journals published at least twice a year

up to 1 point/ journal/year   04

2.2.6 Reviewer/Editorial Board Member of journals published at least twice a year

up to 0.5 point/journal/year   02

2.3 Creative Work

Creative work in literature, culture, theater, music, dancing, arts and design in the
academic discipline of the professorship (up to 5 points/work)   15

2.4 Patents in the relevant field

National patents - up to 2 points per patent   No limit

International patents - up to 4 points per patent   No limit

3.0 CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNIVERSITY AND NATIONAL / INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

Note :

In the case of books/awards/reports with joint authorship, applicants should
indicate their actual contribution and marks should be allocated accordingly. A
book is as specified in Note (II) to Section 2.

3.1 Dissemination of knowledge

3.1.1 Textbooks for University Students published in the relevant field   18

a) Recognized Publisher   - up to 6 points/book

b) Other publisher   - up to 3 points/book

3.1.2 Scientific and Literary Communications

(Feature articles in Newsletters and Scientific Magazines) (up to 1 point/article)   04

Contd.,

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3.1.3 Published Orations and Presidential Addresses at National, Academic and Professional Bodies. A Published Oration in this context is an invited ceremonial presentation of distinctive academic or scientific significance under the auspices of a recognized academic or professional body where, (a) it is the only presentation, (b) there is no discussion at the end and, (c) the speech is printed and made available publicly.   - up to 2 points/oration or address   04

3.1.4 Commissioned Reports for National/International Bodies - up to 1.5 points/Report   03

3.2 Awards

Special Academic/Professional Awards or recognized Academic/Professional Distinctions in research or teaching   - up to 2 points/award   10

3.3 University, National and International Development Activities

3.3.1 Vice-Chancellor

    up to 2 points/year   10

3.3.2 Deputy Vice-Chancellor/Rector/Dean of a Faculty/ Director of a University Institute or a Research Institute

    up to 1.5 points/year   06

3.3.3 Head of a Department of a University or equivalent position in any other Institution

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.4 Director/Co-ordinator of a Centre/Unit or Equivalent recognized by the Senate of the relevant University and approved by the UGC

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.5 Co-ordinators for Postgraduate Programmes, University level Projects

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.6 Chief Student Counsellor/Warden of a Residential Hall/Proctor/ Director, Career Guidance Unit/Director, Staff Development Unit

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.7 Student Counsellor/Career Guidance Counsellor/Academic Counsellor at least at faculty level

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.8 President/Secretary/Treasurer of an approved Society in the University

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.9 President/Secretary/Treasurer in University Teacher Union/University Alumni Associations at National level

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.10 Membership of Councils, Boards of Management/Boards of Study in other Universities/Higher Educational Institutes, which are not ex-officio posts

    up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.11 President of a Professional/Academic Association at National / International level

up to 2 points/year   04

3.3.12 Secretary/Treasurer of a Professional/Academic Association at National / International level -   up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.13 Chairman, Secretary, Member of National / International Committees, Task Forces or Statutory Bodies -   up to 1 point/year   03

3.3.14 Other appropriate contributions at national / international level

up to 1 point /assignment   03

Note 1:

For each of the 14 items under 3.3, evidence of participation, attendance and contributions needs to be produced as appropriate.

Note 2:

An applicant from outside the university system can be allocated similar marks for 3.3 on the basis of holding equivalent positions.

4.0 MINIMUM MARKS / STANDARDS

To qualify for a professorial position, a candidate should earn at least 12 marks from Section 2.1.1 (namely, from journal articles). In addition, the minimum marks for each component of evaluation (1, 2 and 3 as specified below) and the minimum total marks that an applicant should obtain in order to qualify for the relevant appointment are given below.

	Associate Professor		Professor	Professor
	Internal	External	(Merit)	(Cadre/Advertised)
1. Contribution to teaching & Academic Development	10	05	20	25
2. Research & Creative Work	25	35	50	55
3. Dissemination of Knowledge & contribution to University & National Development	10	05	10	15
Minimum Required Total Mark	70	70	105	115

Note : An internal candidate is an applicant already in the University system applying for a promotion. An external candidate is an applicant from outside the University system who has worked extensively outside Universities and other Higher Educational Institutions.

UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

COMMISSION CIRCULAR NO: 924

No. 20, Ward Place,
Colombo 07.

July 05, 2010.

Vice-Chancellors of Universities
Rectors of Campuses
Directors of Institutes

SCHEMES OF RECRUITMENT FOR THE POST OF LECTURER (PROBATIONARY) IN MEDICAL/DENTAL AND UNIVERSITY MEDICAL OFFICER

Your kind attention is invited to Establishments Circular Letter Nos. 14/2008 and 08/2009 of 24th December 2008 and 14th September 2009 respectively.

The Commission at its 797th meeting held on 11.02.2010 decided to recognize the one (01) year period of internship completed by medical graduates, in determining one (01) year teaching experience for appointment to the post of Lecturer (Probationary) in the Faculties of Medicine/Dental Science and other relevant Faculties.

Accordingly, the Commission decided to issue a new circular to all Higher Educational Institutions/Institutes with regard to recognition of one (01) year experience for recruitment of Lecturers (Probationary)/Senior Lecturers and for promotion of Lecturers (Probationary) as Senior Lecturers and the period of service required for appointment of Medical Officers as follows:

1. to recognize one (01) year internship completed by Medical Officers for determining one (01) year teaching/professional experience for appointment to the posts of Lecturer (Probationary)/Senior Lecturer, Grade II and for promotion of Lecturers (Probationary) to Senior Lectureships in the Faculties of Medicine provided that the internship of such Medical Officers had not been considered for appointment of Lecturer (Probationary).

2. to recognize the experience gained as a Temporary Lecturer and/or Temporary Demonstrator/ Instructor/Tutor who are on U-AC 2 and U-AC 1 (formally B-05 and B-09) salary scales in the University System for the purpose of reckoning one (01) year teaching experience as specified in Establishments Circular Letter No. 08/2009 of 14.09.2009.

3. to consider the one year period of service as Intern Medical Officer for the purpose of reckoning the required period of experience for appointment to the post of Medical Officer.

The Letter No. UGC/HR/2/3/106 of 09th October 2006, Establishments Circular Letter Nos. 14/2008 of 24th December 2008 and 08/2009 of 14th September 2009 consecutively issued are hereby rescinded.

Please take action accordingly.

(Prof. Gamini Samaranayake)
Chairman

Copies to: 1. Chairman's Office/UGC
2. Vice-Chairman/UGC
3. Members of the UGC
4. Secretary/UGC
5. Deans of Faculties
6. Registrars of Universities
7. Financial Controller/UGC
8. Bursars of Universities
9. Librarians/SAL/AL of the Higher Educational Institutions/Institutes
10. Deputy Registrars/Snr. Asst. Registrars/Asst. Registrars of Campuses/Institutes
11. Deputy Bursars/Snr. Asst. Bursars/Asst. Bursars of Campuses/Institutes
12. Chief Internal Auditor/UGC
13. Govt. Audit Superintendents of Universities
14. Snr. Asst. Int. Auditors/Asst. Int. Auditors of HEII
15. Secretaries of Trade Unions
16. Auditor-General

File No. UGC/HR/2/3/106

APPENDIX 7 - Fair treatment of staff

DIVISION OF SERVICES AND RESOURCES
HUMAN RESOURCES

THE UNIVERSITY
OF ADELAIDE
AUSTRALIA

FAIR TREATMENT GUIDELINES FOR STAFF

Authorised By: Vice Chancellor and President   Date Authorised: 07/12/2005

Effective Date: 01/01/2006

Last Amendment Date:

Review Due Date: 07/12/2008

TRIM File Number: F. 2005/3417

Related Documents: Fair Treatment Policy
Fair Treatment Guidelines for Students
Complaints by Staff Policy, Guidelines and Toolkit
The University of Adelaide Code of Conduct for Staff

Implementation & Review: Human Resources

Superseded Documents: Sexual Harassment Policy, 8 December 1995
Anti Racism Policy, 11 December 1992

Any person who requires assistance in understanding any aspect of this document should contact Human Resources on ext. 35666.

1   PURPOSE OF THE GUIDELINES

These guidelines provide clarification on the practical application of the University's Fair Treatment Policy and should be read in conjunction with it. They provide good practice advice and should be followed unless an equally effective, alternative approach, which complies with the Policy, can be demonstrated. Before any alternative approach is used it is advised that advice from Human Resources (HR) is sought in the first instance.

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3 DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES

3.1 Age discrimination

3.1.1 Age discrimination means unfair treatment of a person on the basis of their age. It often arises because of stereotypes and incorrect assumptions about people's skills, needs, abilities and personal qualities, based on how old or young they are. Age discrimination can occur against people of any age, and can deny them the opportunity fully to participate in the University community. Age discrimination in education, employment, accommodation or the provision of goods and services is unlawful. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of age in any circumstances.

3.1.2 Examples of possible age discrimination include:

- Preferring an older person to a younger person for a job, without looking at their actual experience and qualifications, on the assumption that younger people will be insufficiently experienced or qualified to carry out employment duties
- Preferring a younger person to an older person, on the assumption that older people are "set in their ways" and unlikely to adapt to new employment situations
- Unreasonable requirements for length of work experience which indirectly discriminate against younger people
- Requiring staff to retire at a certain age
- Requiring students to be below a certain age to be eligible for a scholarship.

Relevant legislation: Age Discrimination Act 2004 (Cth) ;Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA)

3.2 Bullying

3.2.1 Bullying, like harassment and vilification, is behaviour that interferes with a person's right to study or work in a non-threatening environment. Bullying can take different forms, including:

- oral
- written
- physical
- other non-verbal forms (psychological), such as deliberately withholding information.

3.2.2 Bullying is the persistent and ongoing ill treatment of a person, with the expectation that the behaviour would victimise, humiliate, undermine or threaten that person. Examples include threats, verbal abuse, coercion, sarcasm and ostracism that humiliates or intimidates a person or group. Commonly reported forms of bullying may include humiliation through sarcasm, unwarranted criticism and insults (possibly in front of others), innuendo, deliberate exclusion nit-picking, and sabotage. Often bullying behaviour can be covert and possibly only obvious to the victim. In the workplace, inequitable workload distribution is an example of bullying. For students, consistently singling out a student in a negative way in a tute or lecture can amount to bullying.

3.2.3 Bullying (and harassment) should not be confused with a lecturer's or manager's right to exercise authority in a professional manner. For students, it is acceptable for a lecturer or class leader to give fair assessments of student work, give legitimate direction, and give informed comment and feedback. In the workplace, it is acceptable for a supervisor to give legitimate direction, give performance appraisals, counsel a staff member on their performance and deal with complaints and misconduct within the policies and guidelines of the University. It is accepted that differences in opinion can and will occur and they should not constitute bullying in themselves.

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Relevant legislation: Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare (SafeWork SA) Amendment Act 2005 (SA) which imposes on the University a legal responsibility to promote health and safety in the University environment.

3.3   Disability discrimination

3.3.1 Discrimination on the ground of disability or medical condition (or physical or mental impairment) is unlawful in the areas of education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods or services, as well as in respect of access to premises used by the public, sports, activities of clubs and associations, and provision of facilities.

3.3.2 Discrimination against associates of people with a disability or medical condition (their partners, relatives, friends, carers and co-workers) because of that association is also unlawful.

3.3.3 The University's policy is broader than the law and prohibits any member of the University community from discriminating against other members or the general public on the ground of disability or medical condition for any reason.

3.3.4 Disability or medical condition include:

- loss of physical or mental functions, for example, a person who has quadriplegia, brain injury, epilepsy or who has a vision or hearing impairment
- loss of part of the body, for example, a person with an amputation or a woman who has had a hysterectomy
- infectious and non-infectious diseases and illnesses, for example, a person with AIDS, hepatitis or TB, a person with allergies or who carries typhoid bacteria
  [Note: in the case of students wishing to study Medicine, Nursing or Dentistry, the Students with Prescribed Communicable Infections Policy applies]
- the malfunction, malformation or disfigurement of a part of a person's body, for example, a person with diabetes or asthma or a person with a birthmark or scar
- a condition which means a person learns differently from other people, for example, a person with autism, dyslexia, attention deficit disorder or an intellectual disability
- any condition which affects a person's thought processes, understanding of reality, emotions or judgement or which results in disturbed behaviour, for example, a person with a mental illness, neurosis or personality disorder

and includes a disability that:

- is present
- once existed but doesn't any more, for example, a person who has had a back injury, a heart attack or an episode of mental illness
- may exist in the future, for example, a person with a genetic predisposition to a disease, such as Huntington's disease or heart disease or a person who is HIV positive
- someone thinks a person has, for example, assuming a person living with someone with an infectious disease also has the disease or assuming that a gay man has AIDS.

3.3.5 The law prohibiting discrimination on the ground of disability does not extend to a requirement to tolerate behaviour which is of a criminal or quasi-criminal kind, such as offensive behaviour or assault, even if that behaviour is a consequence of a disability, such as a malfunctioning of the brain or a mental illness.

3.3.6 In the case of employment, a disability can be taken into account, but only if any workplace adjustments required to accommodate the person with the disability in the relevant staff position would cause unjustifiable hardship to the University.

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3.3.7 In the case of education, a disability can be taken into account, but only if any adjustments required to accommodate the person with the disability as a student would cause unjustifiable hardship to the University. The University offers a range of assistance to students with disabilities to enable them to complete their studies on the same terms as other students. More information is available from the Disability Liaison Office in Central Student Support Services.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA) ;Disability Discrimination Act 1992 (Cth) Also see *Purvis v New South Wales (Department of Education and Training)* [2003] HCA 62 (11 November 2003). The impact of the Disability Discrimination Act 1992 (Cth), in particular, on the University is wide-ranging and requires the University to be pro-active in ensuring its work and study environment is accessible to people with a disability. For more information on Disability support see Staff Disability Information or for Disability discrimination contact the Equity Project Officer in Human Resources or Disability Liaison Office in Student Support Services.

3.4 Discrimination: direct and indirect

3.4.1 Discrimination can be either direct or indirect:

Direct discrimination occurs when a person is treated less favourably than another person or group of persons in the same or similar circumstances on any of the grounds listed in these Guidelines.
Indirect discrimination occurs when a rule, policy or practice, though apparently the same for everyone:
- has an adverse effect or result on particular groups covered by any of the grounds listed in these Guidelines *and*
- is not reasonable having regard to the circumstances.
It may occur without any intention or motivation on the part of the discriminator to disadvantage a particular individual or group.
Where discrimination is unlawful, it is unlawful whether the discrimination is direct or indirect.

3.4.2 Examples of indirect discrimination include:
- A height requirement imposed on manual workers is likely to be discrimination on the grounds of sex and race. It will have the effect of preventing a substantial number of women and people of Asian descent from being recruited, because women on average are shorter than men, and people of Asian descent on average are shorter than people of non-Asian descent.
- Holding all lectures in a given subject in a lecture theatre that can be reached only by climbing stairs, when another lecture theatre is available and accessible from ground level or by lift, would be indirect discrimination against a student using a wheelchair.

3.5 Family responsibilities discrimination

3.5.1 Family responsibilities means responsibilities of a staff member to care for or support:
- a child who is wholly or substantially dependent on the staff member; or
- any other immediate family member who is in need of care and support. Immediate family member includes: a spouse (including a former spouse, de facto spouse or former de facto spouse) of the staff member; or an adult child, parent, grandparent, grandchild or sibling of the staff member or of a spouse of the staff member.

3.5.2 It is unlawful to dismiss a staff member on the ground of the staff member's family responsibilities.

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3.5.3 While other forms of discrimination on these grounds are not unlawful, the University recognises that many people have family responsibilities. It particularly encourages a flexible and sympathetic approach to scheduling and work practices to enable students and staff to accommodate their family responsibilities.

3.5.4 Examples of flexibility include:

- Permitting a working or studying parent flexible lunch/tea break arrangements in order to feed a young child in an on-campus facility.
- Students involved in group work taking account of the parenting requirements of one or more of their group in setting meeting schedules.
- Not scheduling staff meetings outside normal working hours.

Relevant legislation: Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

3.6 Harassment

3.6.1 Harassment, like bullying and vilification, is behaviour that interferes with a person's right to study or work in a non-threatening environment. Harassment can take different forms, including:

- oral
- written
- physical
- other non-verbal forms (psychological), such as deliberately withholding information.

3.6.2 Harassment is unwelcome, offensive, humiliating or intimidating behaviour or comments aimed at a person or group. Instances include threats and intrusive or inappropriate questions or comments about an individual's private life. Harassment can also include being subjected to unwelcome and offensive images.

3.6.3 Harassment can be obvious or subtle, direct or indirect and can make the victim(s) feel belittled, intimidated, insulted and/or offended. Harassment can be based on personal characteristics, such as disability, sex, race/nationality, age, or physical appearance.

Relevant legislation: Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare (SafeWork SA) Amendment Act 2005 (SA). Some forms of harassment, such as physical assault, are a criminal offence.

3.7 Marital status discrimination

3.7.1 Discrimination on the ground of marital status means unfair treatment on the basis of whether a person is single, married, divorced, separated, widowed, or living in a de facto relationship with a person of the opposite sex. In education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, discrimination on the ground of marital status is unlawful. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of marital status in any circumstances.

3.7.2 Examples of possible discrimination on the basis of marital status include:

- Preferring a married person to a single person for a job on the assumption that married people are more settled than single ones.
- Declining to offer someone employment because their partner, spouse or relative is already a member of the Faculty or School. (In such a case, other policies might nevertheless apply, such as the Close Personal Relationships Policy and Conflict of Interest Policy, which is intended to avoid conflicts of interest.)

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA); Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

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3.8 Other discrimination: religion, political opinion, criminal record, trade union activity

3.8.1 In line with Commonwealth legislation, the University prohibits unfair treatment in employment on the basis of a staff member's religion, political opinion, criminal record (when irrelevant to their employment), or trade union activity. While such treatment is not unlawful, where it occurs in employment it can be the subject of a complaint to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, which can endeavour, by conciliation, to effect a settlement.

3.8.2 These terms are not defined in the legislation, and should be taken to have their ordinary meanings.

3.8.3 More broadly, the University prohibits discriminatory behaviour on the grounds of religion, political opinion, criminal record (when irrelevant) or trade union activity, in any circumstances.

Relevant legislation: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986 (Cth)

3.9 Pregnancy discrimination

3.9.1 In education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, it is unlawful to treat a woman unfairly because she is pregnant or likely to become pregnant. In the area of employment, a woman has the right to work or continue to work during her pregnancy. Therefore, she must be treated the same as other employees unless there are sound medical reasons for treating her differently. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of pregnancy in any circumstances.

3.9.2 Examples of possible discrimination on the basis of pregnancy:

- Not hiring an obviously pregnant women, when she is otherwise the most meritorious applicant, because of the inevitability of her taking maternity leave
- Requiring all staff to wear a uniform, but not making provision for maternity wear for a pregnant woman.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA) ;Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

3.10 Racial discrimination

3.10.1 Race includes colour, nationality or ethnic origin. Racial discrimination means unfair treatment on the basis of race. It is also racial discrimination if a person is treated unfairly because of the race of the people they live with or associate with, such as their relatives, friends or work colleagues. In education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, discrimination on the ground of race is unlawful. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race in any circumstances.

3.10.2 Examples of possible race discrimination include:

- not hiring a person for a job because of their nationality or ethnic origin
- insisting on a high level of English-language skills when the job does not require it
- having a uniform policy which cannot be observed by certain ethnic groups
- refusing to accept an overseas qualification without checking on whether it is accredited here.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA) ; Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth)

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3.11 Racial vilification and racist behaviour

Definitions

3.11.1 Racial vilification is unlawful and can be any act that happens publicly and incites others to hate, have serious contempt for, or severely ridicule groups or individuals because of their race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin.

3.11.2 Racist behaviour is behaviour or the expression of attitudes which does not fall into the definitions of racial discrimination or racial vilification, but is based on an assumption of the superiority of one person or group of persons of one race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin over another. It includes any form of unwelcome, unsolicited and unreciprocated behaviour that denigrates offends, distresses or humiliates someone, or has the capacity to do this, on the grounds of their race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin. Racism may cover what is not done as well as what is done. While not strictly unlawful, such behaviour is prohibited by the University.

Examples

3.11.3 Examples of racist behaviour or racial vilification include:

- oral racist comments, whether about an individual or a group, made in the course of lectures and classes, meetings or interviews, or by telephone or similar communication systems
- derogatory name calling, abuse, insults, taunts or racist jokes, including reference to a person's physical features, or accent, dialect or pattern of speech
- written racist comments including comments in any teaching materials, student publications, internet sites, emails or other electronic or written communication systems
- racist graffiti
- distribution of racist material in the University, including posters and stickers
- making threats publicly against a person or group because of colour or ethnicity
- provocative behaviour, such as wearing racist badges or insignia, including Nazi insignia
- using University facilities to recruit students or staff to racist organisations or groups
- discrimination on the basis of racial or cultural stereotypes
- exclusion of the knowledge or experience of indigenous people from discipline areas to which these are relevant
- giving preferential treatment to one group or individual over another on the basis of race.

Difference between racial vilification and racist behaviour

3.11.4 For a certain behaviour to be racial vilification it must:

- happen publicly
- be serious, that is, have incited hatred, serious contempt or severe ridicule
- involve the threat of physical harm; or cause injury, damage or loss; or cause distress in the nature of intimidation, harassment or humiliation.

3.11.5 Racial vilification can result in criminal action involving fines or imprisonment, or a civil action with damages of up to $40,000.

3.11.6 Less serious or less public forms of behaviour, if still racist, are prohibited by the University. Members of the University are expected not to engage in any form of behaviour, which has the capacity to cause distress to others on the basis of their race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin.

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Exceptions

3.11.7 Acknowledging the principle of freedom of expression in Australian society, the following activities are not unlawful or against University policy:

- A reasonable act, done in good faith, for an artistic work or performance (eg, a play in which racist attitudes are expressed by a character)
- A reasonable act, done in good faith, for academic, scientific or research purposes, or for purposes of the public interest, including discussion or debate regarding public policy such as immigration, multiculturalism or affirmative action for migrants
- Publication of a fair report about someone else (eg a fair TV report of an act of racial incitement or racially offensive conduct)
- Material presented in Parliament, or in court or tribunal proceedings (unless it is malicious or exaggerated)

Relevant legislation: Racial Vilification Act 1996 (SA) ; Civil Liabilities Act 1936 (SA), s.73

3.12   Sex discrimination

3.12.1 Sex discrimination means treatment of a person of one sex less favourably than a person of the other sex. In education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, sex discrimination is unlawful. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex in any circumstances.

3.12.2 Examples of possible discrimination on the basis of sex include:

- Requiring a specified period of continuous service for a promotion or training opportunity. As more women than men interrupt their working lives to have children, this could discriminate against women.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA); Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

3.13   Sexual harassment

Definition

3.13.1 Sexual harassment is unwelcome sexual behaviour where the victim feels offended, intimidated or humiliated, and it is reasonable in the circumstances to feel that way. It has nothing to do with mutual attraction or friendship. If there is consent, it is not sexual harassment.

3.13.2 Sexual harassment can occur in any aspect of University life. It is an exercise of power, mostly by men over women, and often occurs where there is an inequality of formal status between those involved. However, it can also be by women against men, men against men, or women against women. All forms of sexual harassment are unlawful.

3.13.3 Sexual harassment includes:

- unwelcome sexual advances
- unsolicited acts of physical intimacy
- unwelcome requests for sexual favours
- other unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature, including oral or written statements of a sexual nature to a person, or in a person's presence (whether or not the statement concerns that person).

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The recipient's perspective

3.13.4 Sexual harassment is defined by law from the perspective of the recipient. If the recipient feels offended, humiliated, distressed or intimidated by conduct of a sexual nature, and it is reasonable in all the circumstances for the recipient to feel that way, then the conduct is sexual harassment. This is the case even if others might think the behaviour mild or trivial.

Examples

3.13.5 It is impossible to describe exhaustively all behaviours which may constitute sexual harassment, but the following examples constitute sexual harassment if they are unsolicited or unwelcome:

- leering, patting, pinching, touching, embracing, hugging, kissing
- repeated requests for dates or social activities, especially after prior refusal
- requests for sexual favours
- sexual comments or innuendo about a person's physical appearance
- sexual comments or innuendo about a person's sexual preferences
- sexually offensive written or electronic messages and offensive telephone calls, or smutty jokes or comments
- groups of people leering, wolf whistling or making sexual comments at a person or group of people
- offensive or humiliating displays of sexually graphic material including posters, pictures, cartoons and graffiti
- invasion of personal space
- persistent questions, of an implicitly or explicitly sexual nature, about a person's private life.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA); Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

3.14 Sexuality discrimination

3.14.1 Discrimination on the ground of sexuality means unfair treatment of a person on the basis of their sexuality or sexual preference, or what someone thinks is their sexual orientation. A person's sexuality refers to whether they are heterosexual (people attracted to the opposite sex), homosexual (people attracted to the same sex), bisexual (people attracted to both sexes) or transsexual (people of one sex who identify with the other sex). In education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, discrimination on the ground of sexuality is unlawful. More broadly, the University prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexuality in any circumstances.

3.14.2 Examples of possible discrimination on the basis of sexuality:

- Not hiring a homosexual person because they "would not fit in" or would make others "uncomfortable"
- Refusing to teach a homosexual student
- Making fun of a transsexual student in a tutorial.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA)

3.15 Special measures

3.15.1 Some of the Acts mentioned above contain specific provisions permitting special measures for the purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain groups or individuals.

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3.15.2 Decisions to take such special measures on behalf of the University can only be made at senior management level. All queries should be directed in the first instance to Human Resources.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA) ; Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

3.16   Victimisation

3.16.1 Victimisation is treating someone unfairly because they have acted on the rights given them under this or other University policies or because they have supported someone else who acted on those rights. Victimisation in connection with a complaint of unlawful discrimination or harassment is unlawful. Other kinds of victimisation, while not necessarily unlawful, are prohibited by the University.

3.16.2 Examples of victimisation include:
- Calling someone a 'dobber' because they have made a complaint about another person's behaviour
- Refusing to provide additional teaching support to a student because they have agreed to be a witness in a complaint of racial discrimination by another student.

Relevant legislation: Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA)

3.17   Vilification

3.17.1 Vilification, like bullying and harassment, is behaviour that interferes with a person's right to study or work in a non-threatening environment. Vilification can take different forms, including:
- oral
- written
- physical
- other non-verbal forms (psychological), such as deliberately withholding information.

3.17.2 Vilification occurs when a person says or writes in an insulting, abusive or defamatory way about or to a person or group. Vilification is commonly associated with the incitement of hatred towards a person, due to their race or religion. Within the University, vilification can also occur when a person defames or verbally attacks another person, often using abusive language, with the intention of insulting or offending.

Relevant legislation: Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare (SafeWork SA) Amendment Act 2005 (SA)

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APPENDIX 8 - Fair treatment of students

DIVISION OF SERVICES AND RESOURCES
HUMAN RESOURCES

THE UNIVERSITY
OF ADELAIDE
AUSTRALIA

FAIR TREATMENT POLICY

Please note that the 'Fair Treatment Guidelines for Students', referred to in this document, were revoked by the Vice-Chancellor and President on 29 October 2009 and replaced by the 'Student Grievance Resolution Process'.

Authorised By: Vice Chancellor and President   **Date Authorised:** 07/12/2005

Effective Date: 01/01/2006

Last Amendment Date:

Review Due Date: 01/01/2008

TRIM File Number: F. 2005/3416

Related Documents: Fair Treatment Guidelines for Staff
                             Fair Treatment Guidelines for Students
                             Complaints by Staff Policy, Guidelines and Toolkit
                             The University of Adelaide Code of Conduct for Staff

Implementation & Review: Human Resources

Superseded Documents: Sexual Harassment Policy, 8 December 1995
                             Anti Racism Policy, 11 December 1992

Students requiring assistance or advice relating to this document should contact Student Policy and Appeals, ext 37503 or ext 37572.

Any other person requiring assistance or advice relating to this document should contact Human Resources ext. 35666.

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1   OVERVIEW

The University of Adelaide values and celebrates the diversity of its community, and promotes the recognition, acceptance and right of all people to be treated with fairness, equity and justice. The University does not condone or tolerate unfair treatment of its students or staff. In accord with the University's fair treatment principles and legislative requirements, this policy:

- Informs all students and staff of their rights and obligations;
- Sets standards of behaviour in accordance with legal requirements; and
- Addresses the consequences of breaches of this policy.

2   SCOPE

This policy sets out behavioural standards required of all *members of the University community* in their interactions with other *members of the University community* and the public whilst undertaking University activities.

3   DEFINITIONS

Agreement refers to the instrument, which sets out a staff member's terms and conditions. It can either be an Australian Workplace Agreement (AWA) as replaced or varied from time to time or the University of Adelaide Enterprise Certified Agreement as replaced or varied from time to time.

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Complainant means the person making a complaint about unfair treatment. (See *Respondent* also)

Duty of care refers to the duty owed by a member of staff to a student or member of staff under their care or control.

Procedural Fairness (also referred to as **Natural Justice**) in the handling of a complaint or appeal involves all of the following elements:

- The right to a fair hearing;
- The right to attend hearings with a support person, if required;
- The opportunity for all parties involved to openly present their case;
- The subject of the complaint having full knowledge of the nature and substance of all allegations;
- The person making the complaint or appeal not determining the complaint or appeal
- The right to an independent, unbiased decision-maker; and
- A final decision that is based solely on the relevant evidence.

Respondent refers to a person nominated to respond to an unfair treatment complaint involving students. (See *Complainant* also)

University community, for the purpose of this Policy, includes all staff, all students, all staff and student representatives in the Adelaide University Union, and other people, such as title-holders, contractors, volunteers and visitors, who are involved in a University-related activity.

See the Fair Treatment Guidelines for Staff and Fair Treatment Guidelines for Students for other definitions and examples of terms and behaviours described in this policy.

4 POLICY PRINCIPLES

4.1 General Principles

4.1.1 All *members of the University community* have right to study and work in a fair, safe and productive environment.

4.1.2 At all times while engaged in University activities or interactions or on University grounds, *members of the University community* and the public are entitled to be treated with courtesy, fairness and equity by other *members of the University community*. The University expects all *members of the University community* to abide by the relevant State and Federal legislation, the University By-Laws and Codes of Conduct and to adhere to high standards of behaviour that reflect well on the University. The relevant State and Federal legislation includes:

- Age Discrimination Act 2004 (Cth)
- Disability Discrimination Act 1992 (Cth)
- Equal Opportunity Act 1984 (SA)
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986 (Cth)
- Occupational Health, Safety and Welfare (SafeWork SA) Amendment Act 2005 (SA)
- Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth)
- Racial Vilification Act 1996 (SA)
- Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (Cth)

4.1.3 The University encourages people affected by unfair treatment to talk directly to the person engaging in unfair treatment to explain to him/her how it impacts on them and to ask that they stop.

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4.1.4 In cases were it is impracticable or ineffective to resolve issues of unfair treatment in the manner described above the University provides complaints procedures to support this policy and to ensure that complaints are treated promptly, confidentially and according to the principles of procedural fairness. The University's complaints procedure encourages the resolution of complaints through informal discussion, raising awareness, facilitation, and mediation wherever possible.

4.1.5 Members of the University community who feel they have been treated unfairly are encouraged to seek advice from Student Policy and Appeals or Human Resources.

4.1.6 Breaches of sections 4.4 to 4.11 of this policy are prohibited by the University and can lead to disciplinary action.

4.2 Creating a Fair Treatment climate

4.2.1 All *members of the University community* are expected to help create a Fair Treatment climate within the University by:

- Speaking up, and making it clear when behaviour is unacceptable
- Supporting people who are affected by breaches of this policy and encouraging them to take action
- Promoting mutual respect between individuals
- Openly supporting and promoting this policy
- Completing the Equity and Diversity training program (for staff)
- Circulating this policy and making it clear to students and staff that compliance is obligatory (for educators and supervisors).

4.3 Specific unacceptable behaviours

4.3.1 While the general principle of acting with courtesy, fairness and equity applies at all times, *members of the University community* are specifically prohibited from engaging in the behaviours listed at sections 4.4 to 4.11 while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.4 Harassment, bullying and vilification

4.4.1 All *members of the University community* are entitled to a fair, safe and productive study and work environment that is free of all forms of harassment, bullying or vilification. Members of the public interacting with the University are also entitled not to be harassed, bullied or vilified. The University prohibits all *members of the University community* from engaging in such conduct while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.5 Racial vilification and racist behaviour

4.5.1 All *members of the University community* are entitled to a fair, safe and productive work and education environment that is free of racial vilification and racist behaviour. Members of the public are also entitled not to be racially vilified or the subject of racist behaviour by *members of the University community*. Racial vilification is unlawful. The University prohibits all *members of the University community* from engaging in any form of racial vilification or racist behaviour while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

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4.6 Sexual harassment

4.6.1 All *members of the University community* are entitled to a fair, safe and productive work and education environment that is free of sexual harassment. Members of the public are also entitled not to be sexually harassed by *members of the University community*. Sexual harassment is unlawful. The University prohibits all *members of the University community* from engaging in any form of sexual harassment while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.7 Discrimination on grounds of age, sex, marital status, pregnancy, sexuality or race

4.7.1 In relation to education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods and services, all *members of the University community* and the general public are entitled not to be discriminated against on the grounds of age, sex, marital status, pregnancy, sexuality or race. Such discrimination is unlawful. All staff, in particular, are expected to ensure that bias or prejudice on any of these grounds do not influence or override their objectivity when engaged in University-related activities.

4.7.2 More broadly, the University prohibits any member of the University community from discriminating against other members or the general public on the grounds of age, sex, marital status, pregnancy, sexuality, or race, for any reason. The University expects all *members of the University community* to treat everyone fairly and without bias or prejudice on any of these grounds while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.7.3 Special measures taken for the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain groups or individuals may not be deemed discriminatory or unfair, provided they are not unlawful.

4.8 Discrimination on the grounds of disability or medical condition

4.8.1 All *members of the University community* and the general public are entitled not to be discriminated against on the grounds of disability or medical condition, ie physical or intellectual impairment. This applies not only in the areas of education, employment, accommodation and the provision of goods or services, but also in respect of access to premises used by the public, sports, activities of clubs and associations, and provision of facilities. Such discrimination is unlawful.

4.8.2 In addition, associates of people with a disability or medical condition (their partners, relatives, friends, carers and co-workers) are entitled not to be discriminated against because of that association. Such discrimination is also unlawful.

4.8.3 More broadly, the University prohibits any member of the University community from unlawfully discriminating against other students and staff or the general public on the grounds of disability for any reason. The University expects all *members of the University community* to treat everyone fairly and without bias or prejudice on the grounds of disability while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.8.4 Special measures taken for the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain groups or individuals may not be deemed discriminatory or unfair provided they are not unlawful.

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4.9 Discrimination on grounds of religion, political opinion, criminal record or trade union activity

4.9.1 In relation to University employment, all staff members are entitled not to be discriminated against on the grounds of religion, political opinion, criminal record (when irrelevant to their employment), or trade union activity. The University prohibits such discrimination. Although discrimination on these grounds is not unlawful, it can be the subject of complaint under Federal legislation. All staff members are expected to avoid bias or prejudice on these grounds.

4.9.2 More broadly, the University prohibits discriminatory behaviour on the grounds of religion, political opinion, criminal record (when irrelevant) or trade union activity, even where it does not relate specifically to employment. The University expects all *members of the University community* to treat each other fairly and without bias or prejudice on any of these grounds while on University grounds or engaged in University activities.

4.10 Discrimination on ground of family responsibilities

4.10.1 The University prohibits *members of the University community* discriminating against others because of their family responsibilities while on University grounds or engaged in University activities. The University encourages a flexible approach to scheduling and work practices to enable students and staff to accommodate their family responsibilities.

4.10.2 More specifically, all staff members are entitled not to be dismissed on the grounds of family responsibilities. Such dismissal is unlawful.

4.11 Victimisation

4.11.1 The University supports the right of any member of the University community to make a complaint under this policy without suffering any victimisation, harassment, recrimination, or detriment as a result. Victimisation in connection with a complaint of unlawful discrimination or harassment is itself unlawful. Other forms of victimisation are prohibited.

5 COMPLAINTS

5.1 Complaints Involving Students

5.1.1 Complaints of any breach of this policy by or against a student or students are made in the first instance in accord with the Fair Treatment Guidelines for Students

5.1.2 Breaches of this policy by students can lead to disciplinary action in accord with the Rules for Student Conduct or the Rules of Conduct for Roseworthy Campus.

5.2 Complaints Involving Staff or Persons who are Formally Involved in University-related Activities

5.2.1 Complaints of any breach of this policy by or against a staff member are made in the first instance in accord with the Complaints by Staff Policy and associated guidelines.

5.2.2 Breaches of this policy by staff can lead to disciplinary action on the grounds of misconduct, or serious misconduct in accord with the Agreement.

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5.2.3 Serious breaches of this policy by persons who are not staff but who are involved in a University-related activity in a formal capacity may result in the person's relationship with the University being terminated.

5.3 Complaints by Members of the General Public

As members of the general public do not have a formal relationship with the University, they cannot use the complaints procedures listed here. However, complaints may be made in writing to the Executive Dean of the relevant Faculty, or the Vice-President (Services and Resources), who will arrange for the complaint to be investigated promptly, confidentially and according to the principles of natural justice.

5.4 Malicious complaints

5.4.1 Complaints by staff that are malicious, or intended to intimidate or harass the person complained about, can lead to disciplinary action against the complainant on the grounds of misconduct, or serious misconduct.

5.4.2 Complaints by students that are malicious, or intended to intimidate or harass the person complained about, can lead to disciplinary action under the Rules for Student Conduct or the Rules of Conduct for Roseworthy Campus.

5.4.3 Complaints by other *members of the University community* that are malicious, or intended to intimidate or harass the person complained about, can lead to the immediate termination of the person's relationship with the University.

5.5 Lodging Grievances with an External Body

5.5.1 Nothing in this policy prevents complaints of unfair treatment being made directly to the State Equal Opportunity Commission, the Commonwealth Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission or the Office of the State Ombudsman in accord with their own procedures, although the University encourages *members of the University community* to attempt to resolve complaints internally in the first instance.

6 RESPONSIBILITIES

Role	Accountability
All students	Comply with this policy. Help create a Fair Treatment climate in accord with Principle 4.2.
All staff	Comply with this policy. Help create a Fair Treatment climate in accord with Principle 4.2. Complete the Equity and Diversity training program.
All title-holders, contractors, volunteers or visitors involved in a University-related activity in a formal capacity	Comply with this policy. Help create a Fair Treatment climate in accord with Principle 4.2.
Supervisors	Promote and provide information to students and staff on the location of the policy and where to seek advice on the issues relating to the policy. Regularly make it clear to their students and staff that

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	compliance is obligatory.
Vice Chancellor and President or nominee	Arrange investigation of complaints by members of the public that this policy has been breached by a member of the University Community.

Human Resources	Promote, administer, monitor, evaluate and report on this Policy. Provide appropriate management training for University staff. Provide professional advice on this policy.

7 COMMUNICATION

The policy will be communicated through publication on the University's Policies website, and in the annual Student Guide. It will also be publicised through *Inside Adelaide* and *On Dit*, and by way of a memo to the heads of Faculties, Divisions, and student organisations. It will be referred to in the online Induction Course undertaken by all new staff. Occasional awareness-raising campaigns will be held from time to time.

https://www.adelaide.edu.au/hr/docs/uoa-enterprise-agreement-2010-2013.pdf

Date accessed 24th 12 2014.

University of Adelaide

Enterprise Agreement
2014 – 2017

adelaide.edu.au   seek LIGHT

http://www.adelaide.edu.au/hr/docs/enterprise-agreement-print.pdf

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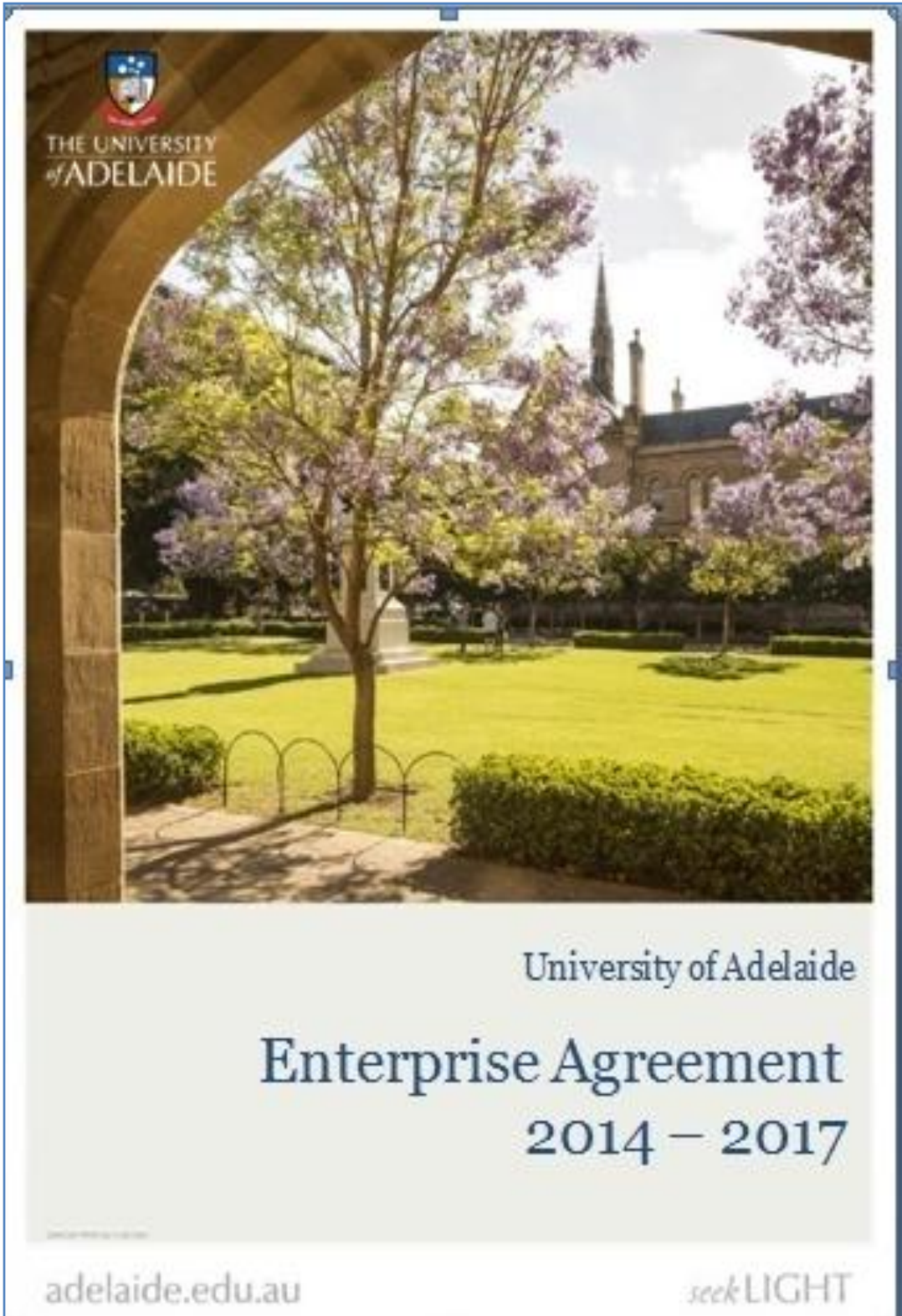
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GENDER, WORK & SOCIAL INQUIRY
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<div align="center">**APPENDIX 10A - Information Sheet - Australia**</div>

Information Sheet
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEN AND WOMEN ACADEMICS EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMIC LIFE

The study is about....
This research study is conducted as part of researcher's post graduate study which focuses on understanding why there continues to be more men than women in academia in terms of advancement, representation and leadership. Although this topic has been studied widely, focusing largely on women, there has been little research conducted focusing men's academic advancement and success. This study is also innovative in that it compares the experiences of Australian and Sri Lankan academics.

We are interested in talking to male academics (full-time), in South Australian universities, in the age range 30-65 years from any discipline area with at least 5 years of academic experience.

What it involves to take part in this study
If you are interested in contributing to this research you are invited to get in touch with the researcher of this study Ms Kanchana Bulumulle whose contact details are given below to arrange an interview. The interviews will be conducted at a place and time convenient to you.
The interview will take the form of an unstructured conversation sharing your opinions experiences and academic life histories broadly around organizational experiences and work life balance. **The interviews will take up to 60minutes and will be tape recorded.**

Guarantees
Your interview information will be strictly confidential and the interview will be transcribed using pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.Also with regard to the interviews, no names or identifying details of people to whom the academics might refer during their discussion will be recorded. You are free to withdraw during data collection if you decide you do not wish to contribute to the research. An update of research progress of this project will be posted on the Gender, Work and Social Inquiry website and the participants will be given details of web link during the interview. If you have any concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this research or to lodge a complaint please refer to the form attached.

To arrange an interview:
To participate in the research or for further information about the project please contact Kanchana Bulumulle to arrange a time and a place to conduct the interview;
Phone: 08 830 33671(AU), 094 11853777-402 (Sri Lanka)
Email: kanchana.bulumulle@adelaide.edu.au

Further information:
For any further information about the project please feel free to contact either the researcher Kanchana Bulumulle or the Principal Supervisor Professor Margaret Allen of the Department of Gender, Work and Social Inquiry through following details.
Phone: 8303 35975
Email: margaret.allen@adelaide.edu.au
Address: Department of Gender, Work and Social Inquiry
Room 528, Level 5, Ligertwood Building,
The University of Adelaide, SA 5005, South Australia

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APPENDIX 10B - Information Sheet – Sri Lanka

Information Sheet
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEN AND WOMEN ACADEMICS EXPERIENCES OF ACADEMIC LIFE

The study is about....
This research study is conducted as part of researcher's post graduate study which focuses on understanding the trends represented in academia in terms of advancement, representation and leadership. This topic has been studied widely at an international level, focusing largely on women, there has been little research conducted in Sri Lanka focusing academic's experiences and success in a context of gender. This study is also innovative in that it willcompare the experiences of Australian and Sri Lankan academics.

We are interested in talking to 4 female and 16 male academics (full-time), in universities in Sri Lanka, in different discipline areas, in the age range 30-65 years with at least 5 years of academic experience.

What it involves to take part in this study
If you are interested in contributing to this research you are invited to get in touch with the researcher of this study Ms Kanchana Bulumulle whose contact details are given below to arrange an interview. The interviews will be conducted at a place and time convenient to you.
The interview will take the form of an unstructured conversation sharing your opinions experiences and academic life histories broadly around organizational experiences and work life balance. The interviews will take up to 60-90 minutes and will be tape recorded.

Guarantees
Your interview information will be strictly confidential and the interview will be transcribed using pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.Also with regard to the interviews, no names or identifying details of people to whom the academics might refer during their discussion will be recorded. You are free to withdraw during data collection if you decide you do not wish to contribute to the research. An update of research progress of this project will be posted on the Gender, Work and Social Inquiry website and the participants will be given details of web link during the interview. If you have any concerns regarding your rights as a participant in this research or to lodge a complaint please refer to the form attached.

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GENDER, WORK & SOCIAL INQUIRY
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Post Graduate Research Student

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APPENDIX 11 - CONSENT FORM

1.   I, …………………………………………………………………(please print name)
     consent to take part in the research project entitled: Men and women's experiences of academic life: A comparative study of Australia and Sri Lanka

2.   I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled: A comparative analysis of men and women academics' experiences of academic life.

3.   I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

4.   Although I understand that the purpose of this research project is to contribute to improve the quality of academic life, it has also been explained that my involvement may not be of any benefit to me.

5.   I am fully aware of and grant consent totape recordand transcribe my interview for the purpose of this research on completion.

6.   I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.

7.   I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project during data collection phase and that this will not affect me in anyway now or in the future.

8.   I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

………………………………………………   …………………………………………

   (Signature) (date)

WITNESS

I have described to   ……………………………………………………..(name of participant)

……………………………………………………………………………………….. the nature of the research to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

……

Status in Project: …………………………………………………………………………..…………………

Name: ……………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………….   …………………………………

               (signature)   (date)

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APPENDIX 12 - LETTER OF COMPLAINTS

Document for people who are participants in a research project

CONTACTS FOR INFORMATION ON PROJECT AND INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE

The Human Research Ethics Committee is obliged to monitor approved research projects. In conjunction with other forms of monitoring it is necessary to provide an independent and confidential reporting mechanism to assure quality assurance of the institutional ethics committee system. This is done by providing research participants with an additional avenue for raising concerns regarding the conduct of any research in which they are involved.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

Project title: Men and women academics experiences of academic work life: A comparative study of Australia and Sri Lanka

1.If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the project co-ordinator:

> *Name: Professor Margaret Allen….*

> T*elephone: 8303 53975………..*

2.   If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to

- making a complaint, or
- raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
- the University policy on research involving human participants, or
- your rights as a participant

contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028

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