43. See the abstract of Cunningham's Presidential Address to Section J, 'The Dilemma of Australian Education', in *Australian Journal of Science*, vol 15, no 1, 1952, p 18.

44. Elkin, 'Anthropology', *Teaching*, p 10; O'Neil, 'Psychology', p 63.

45. Elkin, 'The Emergence of Psychology, Anthropology and Education', pp 21-4.

46. Murray Report, p 9.

47. For a discussion of these issues, although for a rather different perspective, see Don Anderson, 'The Undergradnate Curriculum: Educating Recruits to the Professions' in Anderson (ed), *Mere Technicians?* (Papers from the AVCC Workshop on a Coherent Professional Curriculum), Canberra, 1990, pp 22-40.

48. Copland, 'Authority and Control in a Free Society', *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Meeting of ANZAAS*, Sydney, 1953, pp 1-22.

49. W H Frederick, 'Aims and Methods in University Teaching' in L N Short (ed), *Some Problems of University Education*, UNSW, 1959, p 5.

50. G A Gray, 'The Student and His Needs' in Short (ed), p 52.

51. R R Priestley, 'The Student and His Needs', p 47.

52. AVCC, Conference on University Education (S B Hammond, ed), Melbourne, 1961, p 5.

53. D Langley, 'A Study of the Relationship Between the Form of Student Residence and Student Performance' in AVCC, *Report of Proceedings of the Conference of Australian Universities*, 1964, Melbourne, 1964, p 79.

54. See the contributions of J H Reynolds and H Burton to the 1964 AVCC conference, pp 68, 104.

55. See D S Anderson, 'The Performance of Part-time Students', *Vestes*, vol 6, no 4, 1963, pp 286-95.

56. See for example: T J Mitchell, 'The Tutorial System in the Arts Faculties', Vestes, vol 3, no 4, 1960, pp 46-50; AVCC, *Teaching Methods in Australian Universities*, n.p., esp pp 179-88.

57. See for a general survey of findings at that time: C Sanders, 'University Selection: Its Theory, History and Psychology', *Australian Journal of Education*, vol 1, no 3, 1957, pp 145-168.

58. 'University In Search Of Itself', *Hermes*, 16 July 1953, p 20.

59. See D S Anderson and A E Vervoorn, *Access to Privilege: Patterns of Participation in Australian Post-Secondary Education*, Canberra, 1983, ch 3.

60. AVCC, *Teaching Methods in Australian Universities*, Canberra, 1965.

61. Quoted in Will G Moore, *The Tutorial System and its Future*, Oxford, 1968, p 9.

62. A C D Rivett, 'A Question for Our Universities', typescript dated 25 February 1948 in the Basser Library, Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 82/83, p 6; Rivett, 'Science in Australia', *Australian Journal of Science*, vol 14, no 2, 1954, p 34.

63. G A Currie, 'The Training of the Scientist' in *Science in Australia*, Melbourne, 1951, p 129.

64. Murray Report, p 9.

65. Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester, 1984, pp 48-49.

The personality market

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In response to the government's White Paper, there have been a number of efforts to defend the humanities, efforts which have mostly been characterised by an insistence on absolute oppositions between culture and utility, or between liberal and vocational education.[1] Few efforts have been made to describe in more concrete terms the actual relation between Arts faculties, employment and training. Where such descriptions have been attempted, they exhibit a certain incoherence, largely due to some longstanding tensions within existing accounts of the vocational outcomes of humanities training.

The conventional formulation claims that humanistic education is socially invaluable, since it alone is able to form social leaders schooled in responsibility and service to humanity.[2] Associated with this is the long-standing tendency to regret the passing of the traditional link between liberal education and a vocation of public leadership - lost in the long drift of the universities away from the 'community' - and to call for the rediscovery of more general vocational goals for the humanities, whether in forming citizens, or in building 'humanity' within a broad workforce.[3] Others, however, have been offended by even these broadly-stated vocational rationales, often regarding the student who is re-made in the vocational arena as only half-made as a scholar. According to such commentators, vocational outcomes bear only an indirect and incidental relation to higher forms of ethical and scholarly formation:

> *A training in English can make for improved writing of reports in the public servant or for more imaginative advertising copy, just as a training in philosophy can produce better policy analysis in a politician or better handling of complex 'intelligence' material in a spy. Whether these are good things or not will depend on such matters as what is being advertised and who is being spied on for what purpose.*[4]

Despite efforts to produce more pragmatic rationales, current apologists for the humanities tend to repeat these circular claims and disclaimers. Aiming both to placate the academy and to impress policy-makers, they stress the coexistence of liberal and vocational elements within humanistic teaching, pointing out that it is quite possible for the ethic of the scholarly pursuit of truth to coexist with vocationally conscious pedagogic goals.[5] After all, it has been argued, the humanities produce the majority of personnel within the public sector, whether as teachers, public servants or arts administrators.

> *There is no teaching and learning in higher education that is shorn of practical social purposes... The vast majority of graduates in the humanities and social sciences enter administrative or middle management positions - mainly in the public sector - or specific professions such as teacher, welfare officer or journalist... Training this large segment of the workforce has been the principal role of the humanities and social sciences for decades. If the humanities and social sciences did not have this instrumental role, they would not receive much support. If the production of knowledges (research and scholarship) in the humanities and social sciences did not occur within this particular instrumental context, it would not receive much support*[6]

However, this case has been weakened by the inclusion of more global claims to the existence of a unique and traditional link between the humanities and the vocation of public administration. Such claims are immediately undermined by evidence of reduced government spending on the public sector, and by indications that graduates in Business Studies and Economics are threatening to 'colonise' the public sector.[7] This encourages resort to grand oppositional rationales, in which current policies within public administration are depicted as undermining a diffuse 'social need' for humanities-trained personnel, or in which the vocational arenas adjacent to the Arts faculty are depicted as riven by an internal tension between liberal values and principles of 'technicism'.[8]

One corrective to such tendencies is an emphasis on the diversity of vocational outcomes from the Arts faculty - a diversity which corresponds to the variegated and piecemeal makeup of humanistic teaching regimes and the variety of attributes formed within them. Although both the public and the private sectors make use of the expertise and ethical abilities developed in the humanities, these connections by no means equate with a traditional and privileged link between the Arts faculty and the vocation of civil service. There are in fact significant disparities between the regimes of humanistic pedagogy and the kinds of norms used in graduate recruitment.

It is not hard to find testimonials to the marketability of 'personality' and to the vocational value of humanistic education. Most surveys of employer expectations of graduate recruits indicate a preference for a range of capacities which include 'personal' skills of written communication, logical thinking, ability to work with others and problem-solving, as well as emphasis on elements of character: decision-making, personal initiative, tenacity, enthusiasm, leadership and the ability to adapt, alongside numeracy, or 'understanding of business and work'.[9] In elaborate norms provided for the in-service assessment of skill levels and performance, such major industrial employers as BHP define 'interpersonal', 'personal' and 'people management' skills as half of their six-part catalogue of basic skill categories, equally weighted with technical, functional, business administrative and problem-solving facility.[10] The personal capacities listed include 'breadth of vision', 'judgement', 'earning and maintaining trust', 'self-supervision', 'willingness to accept responsibility for one's own actions', and 'evaluating and improving one's own performance'.[11]

Given that most humanities disciplines incorporate self-formative exercises aimed at cultivating personal attributes of sensitivity or rationality, (as well as the specific capacities for problem-solving, group work and verbal and written rhetorical skills), it is not difficult to argue that Arts graduates are likely to have developed these vocationally desirable capacities. Indeed, this is a long-standing rationale for employing generalist graduates, used by employers in both the private and the public sectors:

> *a university can take a person of intelligence, teach him those principles, teach him to think and write, broaden his outlook and send him out as a marketable commodity in his discipline, or for that matter, even when his particular subjects have no direct relevance. Employers, the Commonwealth included, will nevertheless recruit from a university when the particular subjects are of marginal value, because intelligence, a broad education and the ability to think independently and communicate effectively are, in themselves, highly marketable.*[12]

Although such observations may seem very modest in comparison with more ambitious claims for the cultural mission of the

humanities, they have the advantage of bearing some relation to the actual distribution of vocational outcomes attached to the Arts faculty. The available evidence on graduate outcomes from the humanities gives little substance to sanguine expectations of a direct link between humanistic education and public leadership, but it does support more modest observations concerning the flexible nature of humanistic training. Arts graduates are employed within a limited range of salaries compared with graduates of other areas, they are less likely to be employed full-time, and they are more likely to be required to provide themselves with postgraduate vocational qualifications. But although Arts graduates may not proceed to the career destination of their first choice, they are far from unemployable, being recruited to an expanding range of occupations within the private and public sector.

In 1989, only 6.9 per cent of the previous year's Arts graduates from all higher education institutions in Australia were seeking full-time employment, although 13.9 per cent were employed fractionally or part-time.[13] A third of these Arts graduates were pursuing further study, many of them supplementing their B. A. with vocational postgraduate diplomas in teaching, librarianship, curatorial work, journalism or media production.[14] Of the 1988 humanities graduates who were employed full-time, some were in occupations bearing some relation to the content of their studies, such as those of teacher (12%), social welfare worker or counsellor (6%), journalist (2.9%), social science researcher (1.8%), manager (13%), or clerk (11%). Others had entered more diverse occupations, often within the private sector, as business professionals (5.4%), sales representatives (3.9%), or computer professionals (1.6%).[15]

This increase in the recruitment of humanities graduates by private industry takes its place within a general rise in graduate employment across this sector. The proportion of 'generalist' graduates employed in this sector has increased markedly, having grown from 3.1 per cent in 1972 to 13.4 per cent in 1988.[16] In 1989, 18.7 per cent of 1988 Arts graduates were employed in the private sector, in areas such as manufacturing, trade wholesale and retail, entertainment and recreation, radio and television and community services.[17]

Nevertheless, there continue to be strong links between humanistic education and the production of public-sector personnel. In 1989, 13.1 per cent of 1988 humanities graduates were employed in the government sector, although this proportion is subject to some fluctuation, depending on falling recruitment rates.[18] More than 40 per cent of full-time employed 1986 graduates from the university humanities were working within the broad sphere of government and semi-government employment in 1987: 21.3 per cent as either primary or secondary teachers and 12.1 per cent as clerical and administrative workers within the State or Federal public service.[19]

The humanities consistently provide the highest proportion of all graduates recruited to the Commonwealth Public Service. In 1985, Arts students comprised 39 per cent of newly recruited permanent staff,[20] and in 1984, 30.7 per cent of tertiary-educated permanent staff members had degrees or diplomas in the humanities.[21] Of 2,982 graduates appointed to the Australian public service in 1987, 1,137 were humanities graduates.[22] Many of these were women, although these proportions were not commensurate with the previously noted high proportion of women enrolling in Arts degrees. Nevertheless, in 1980, women constituted 40.7 per cent of all permanent graduate appointees in the Commonwealth Public Service[23] and more than half of this number (55.9%) had Arts degrees. These proportions have increased in recent years, as the narrowing field of recruitment to school teaching has led many women Arts graduates towards clerical and secretarial work.

Further, within the last decade, large numbers of public service employees have undertaken humanities courses as part of in-service education programmes. In 1983, approximately a quarter of the degrees and diplomas gained by permanent officers after their appointments were in the humanities.[24] Of those permanent officers holding pass level B.A.s, about a third had gained them after entry to the service. Despite a growing emphasis on the need for technical and professional training, Arts has provided a strong rival to Economics and Accountancy as a chosen area of staff part-time study.[25] As recently as 1985, Arts outstripped Economics and Administration as an area of in-service study, second only to the comparatively large numbers of enrolments in Accountancy.[26]

There are certainly grounds, then, for a case that the preparation of trained and partially-trained personnel for government and semi-government agencies is a central function of the humanities. However, it is important to note the distinct differences in the proportions of recruits from different disciplines. Those with a background in History, Social Science or 'Mental Science' are most likely to be recruited, followed by those with Language or Political Science training.[27] Although significant percentages of other Arts graduates are also employed in administrative and clerical work, most notably those with training in Welfare Studies, Sociology, Political Science, Geography, Psychology, Communications and Journalism and Linguistics,[28] those who are most likely to receive rapid promotion are also possessed of Law or Economics qualifications.

Further, quite different questions arise in relation to Arts graduates' success in promotion within the public service. Although in the past, Arts graduates have had significant success in entering the higher ranks within the Commonwealth Public Service, this has altered in recent years, with the rising emphasis on technical, managerial, legal and economic training. The high proportions of Arts graduates working within the lower and middle ranks of graduate administration are not reflected in the higher ranks of the Senior Executive Service. As we shall see, recent reforms to this sector have exacerbated this tendency, altering the previously existing ethos of the 'career service' - an ethos which the Arts graduate had inhabited with success for some decades.[29] Consequently, claims to the direct connection between humanities training and public leadership need to be modified by reference to the industrial composition of this area.

In fact, there is little point in repining over a lost traditional link between liberal education and 'public leadership'. If the claims to a connection between liberal education and government currently have an unsteady basis, the historical ground they stand on is even more treacherous. Although there were well-established expectations that Australia might install the British Northcote-Trevelyan model of cultivated civil service, until the post-war period this model bore little relation to actual historical practice. Those who refer to the humanities' traditional mission in forming the cultivated public leader are referring to a largely rhetorical figure.

A brief exemplification of the point is provided by a pamphlet of Sir Eric Ashby's, entitled *Universities in Australia* and published by the Australian Council for Educational Research in 1944. Here, Ashby argues for a closer link between liberal education and the formation of public administrators, offering an exemplary testimonial to the 'ideal pass graduate':

> *His individuality has been developed. He knows where to go to find information. He can distinguish facts from opinions. He can bring together data about almost anything, and lay them out and draw conclusions from them. He has a high standard of thoroughness. He can state his opponent's opinion as fairly and sympathetically as he can state his own. He can dismantle a complex situation as a mechanic dismantles a car engine. He never accepts or rejects an idea through prejudice, in his work or in politics or in golf: he examines it first and accepts the conclusion even if it is distasteful.*[30]

In this account, Ashby provides some useful clues to the circularity of the claims and disclaimers currently made on behalf of the modern humanities. Like modern commentators, he appeals to an ideal relation between culture and government, citing to this end Wentworth's visionary speech on the founding of Sydney University: "from the pregnant womb of this institution will arise a long list of illustrious names, of statesmen, of patriots, of philanthropists, of philosophers, of poets and of heroes."[31]

But Ashby also makes it clear that, in the 1940's, this 'rather florid' ambition of a direct relation between liberal education and public leadership had never been realised. There was simply no bridge across which a university-educated cadre of graduates could march into the administrative arm of the public service. Indeed, Ashby is actually preoccupied with the disconnection between the Australian Public Service and the Arts faculty:

> *If the common fault of professional faculties in Australia is that they stuff their students with facts and vocational technique at the expense of vocational health, the common fault of liberal faculties is that they do not realise what kind of intellectual health is necessary for our intellectual climate. In Britain a classical education still has career value. A first in 'Greats' opens the door to the Senior Civil Service; though even this door is now open to men who have distinguished themselves in the social sciences. In Australia, it is otherwise. We recruit the bulk of our Public Service from boys and girls of eighteen or less, with Leaving Certificate or less.*[32]

Casting ahead to the early 1960's, we find that the gap between the Arts faculty and the public service still yawned. In what was then the most comprehensive survey of Australian Arts faculties, the Academy of Humanities publication The Humanities in Australia, no mention was made of a vocational connection between the Arts faculty and the public service. Instead, it was noted that, of the 'professional extensions of liberal education', the training of teachers 'bulks largest and has the biggest influence on the work of the Arts faculties'.[33] The only other vocational areas mentioned as impinging upon the academy were librarianship and the Christian ministry - and these, it was noted, kept their distance as separate post-graduate diplomas.[34]

These historical clues allow us to doubt whether, in Australia, a 'traditional link' between academic training and an administrative career structure ever existed.[35] It seems likely that, from the mid nineteenth century, the public service maintained only occasional links with the universities, often using its own examinations to draw straight from the secondary schools. Following the Public Service Act of 1902, the recruitment of graduates was restricted by quota, and arguments on the administrative value of a general university education were actively opposed, both on pragmatic grounds, (since in-service training was regarded as more efficient), and on the grounds of principle, (as part of an egalitarian rejection of cultural privilege).[36] As G.E. Caiden put it: "the emphasis in recruiting was mainly negative, namely, to prevent the unqualified, the unhealthy and unsuitable from gaining entry and to avoid favouritism, patronage and nepotism in selection."[37] If some in the universities disdained a connection with the vocation of public administration, this distrust was certainly mutual.

Furthermore, when the public service did eventually look to the academy for expertise, it was not necessarily to the humanities that it turned. By 1942, in his review of recruitment in the Australian Public Service, R. S. Parker had reluctantly announced that "it does begin to appear that administrative work is something distinguished and removed, and that the administrator needs to be a different sort of man from the clerk."[38] Here, he calls upon prevailing descriptions of the ideal administrator:

> *The efficient performance of administrative work calls in all cases for a trained mental equipment of a high order... In some cases what is most wanted is judgement, savoir faire, insight and fair-mindedness; in others, an intellectual equipment capable of the ready mastery of complex problems in taxation or other economic subjects; in others, imagination and constructive ability...* [39]

But although Parker rehearsed arguments such as this, he went on to express a certain scepticism about the administrative usefulness of humanistic training, noting that, unless the Service recruited a significant proportion of graduates with some previous administrative training, it would court the danger of discredit from 'the occasional netting of the scholarly duffer':[40]

> *the ordinary public servant is naturally suspicious of the 'dreamy intellectual' who has not lived close to the soil of detailed departmental procedure, whose ideas have been got from books and whose cloistered training has unfitted him for dealing with the exigencies of real-life situations and for working with the average man, from whom he is separated by various forms of snobbishness on one side or the other.* [41]

As early as 1942, it was predicted that the claims of the generalist graduate would be 'elbowed aside' by those with professional training:[42]

> *It is certainly questionable whether the Public Service can afford to regard 'liberal studies' as the best qualification of the future administrator. The time is coming when the administrator will be recruited as a sober professional practitioner, trained in the lore and techniques of administration...*[43]

Despite this lack of enthusiasm from both the academy and the public service, links between the Arts faculty and public administration were nevertheless forming. During the twenties and thirties, the number of graduates in the Commonwealth Public Service rose slowly, most of these recruits coming from a background in humanities. Immediately following the war, there was an influx of graduates, mostly made up of women with Arts degrees.[44] By the fifties, three in every five generalist graduate recruits were women.[45] This trend continued during the rapid expansion of the sixties, when the great majority of graduate recruits had Arts degrees.[46]

However, ambivalence about the vocational usefulness of the liberally educated generalist graduate remained, strongly influencing the terms of the Boyer Committee of 1959,[47] which reshaped administrative recruitment and training within the Commonwealth Public Service. The Report notes that the ideal administrator should have a 'cultivated mind', and should be 'able to view broad questions of public policy with a balanced perspective, and to distinguish the essential from the trivial in policy and administration', remarking that university liberal education is a 'straightforward means to this end'. However, the Report also states that it does not assume that university graduates of any faculty will supply adequate administrators, any more than it assumes that they will arise from a Service 'recruited as messenger boys and developed "the hard way" by a tedious ascent through the mill of routine or specialist work'.[48]

Nevertheless, by the sixties, Arts had become established as the principal provider of graduate public administrators, even though departments had begun to ask for Economics and Law graduates in preference to those from the humanities. By 1970, the proportion of humanities-educated graduates entering the public service began to resemble current figures. Of 4,422 graduates recruited to the first three Divisions of the Commonwealth Public Service between 1961 and 1968, 37.2 per cent were Arts graduates, with

Science graduates comprising 23.2 per cent and Economics only 11.5 per cent.[49]

On the basis of this historical survey, it becomes obvious that there are significant disparities between the way in which some in the humanities conceive their vocational role - or lack thereof - and the ways in which the vocational network surrounding the Arts faculty actually sprang up. Rather than being the product of a tradition, the kinds of exchanges occurring between the humanities and the public service have been quite contingent and often unintentional, bearing little relation to the more global claims made for the higher vocational mission of liberal education. If the debate is not to continue within its present circularity, it seems, it is necessary to trace the particular circumstances which affect the Arts graduate's vocational direction on leaving the university. Often, the difficulty is that the claims made for the 'function' of the humanities are simply too large and too absolute. This applies to those claims which ascribe the humanities a humanising mission as well as those which treat them as nurseries of ruling-class culture. The evidence presented in this paper suggests that we need a more particularised, flexible and pragmatic analysis of the vocational disposition of the humanities.

Notes and References

1 This paper is excerpted from a more extensive study of the pedagogic and social roles of the Australian Arts faculty, published as 'Personality and Personnel: Rationales for Humanities Teaching', in Ian Hunter, Denise Meredyth, Bruce Smith and Geoff Stokes, Accounting for the Humanities; the Language of Culture and the Logic of Government, Brisbane, Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, 1991.

2 For a contemporary variation on this theme, see Kenway and Blackmore's argument that, through the 'gendered moral technologies' of the humanities disciplines, humanities-educated women provide the 'morality missing from the public sphere'. Jane Kenway and Jill Blackmore, 'Gender and the Green Paper Privatisation and Equity', Australian Universities' Review, No. 1, 1988 p.51.

3 See, for example, John McLaren, 'Humanities in Australian Higher Education', in Stephen Murray-Smith, Melbourne Studies in Education, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp.42-3, C. Plowman and John Bishop, 'The University and the State: Preparing its Leaders and Playing its Tune?', Vestes, vol.24, no.1, 1981, p.45; and Colin Plowman, 'The Preparation of Graduates - Liberal Education and Utility', from Graduate Careers Council, Graduates for What? Understanding the Changing Nature of Graduate Employment in the 1970s, Hawthorn, Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1975.

4 C.A.J. Coady, 'The Academy and the State', Australian Universities' Review, No. 1, 1988, p.16.

5 See, for example Simon Marginson, 'The Humanities in the Marketplace: Should We Defend the Community of Scholars?' Paper presented to the 'Humanities and Universities of Technology' Conference, June 1989, p.4.

6 Ibid., p.4. In earlier work, Marginson rejects the White Paper's comments on the vocational efficacy of the humanities as 'largely rhetorical'. See Simon Marginson, 'The Federal Government's Marginalisation of Intellectuals: Towards a Strategic Response', paper delivered at the Institute for Cultural Policy Studies Conference, Griffith University, 1-4 December, 1988, p.8.

7 Marginson, 1989, op. cit., pp.8-9.

8 Ibid.

9 See, for example, Warren Jones, Education and Employment: Expectations and Experiences of Students, Graduates and Employers, Hawthorn, ACER Research Monograph, 1981; Ian Godwin, 'Recruitment a real chore for the smaller businesses' Melbourne Herald, Sept. 26, 1988; William West, 'Group to survey graduate bosses' Australian, Jan. 11, 1989; and Brian Finn, 'The executive work skills' Melbourne Herald, October 4, 1988.

10 'BHP Performance Review and Development Program', reprinted in Neil Dempster, Training and Development in Industry: Case Studies of IBM and BHP: Report of a study undertaken to support the inservice teacher education project, Canberra, AGPS, 1988, p.54.

11 Ibid., pp.54-5.

12 W.R.S. Briggs and K.W. Heydon, Responsibilities of Universities and Employers for Professional Training, Conference of Appointment Officers and Student Counsellors of Australian Universities, University of Queensland, 1968, pp.11-12.

13 Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1988 Australian Graduates in 1989, A National Survey of their destinations as at 30 April, Hawthorn, Graduate Careers Council of Australia Ltd, 1989, p.15. Of men, 7.7% were in this category; of women, 6.6%. These figures need to be read within the context of a general increase in the number of graduates in the labour market. See ibid., p.8.

14 Of 1988 Arts graduates, 30.9% were studying full-time in 1989: 34.1% of men and 29.5% of women. Ibid., p.15. 10% were undertaking honours degrees, 3.2% higher degrees and 15.8% were enrolled in 'other degrees or diplomas'. Ibid., p.30. Within these newly amalgamated figures for the whole higher educatiou sector, the previously existing differences between the university and CAE sector are occluded. In 1988, 39.7% of 1987 university Arts graduates were pursuing further study, as compared with 12.4% from the CAEs. Across the higher education sector, 35.6% of male graduates and 32.8% of female graduates were pursuing further full-time study. See Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1987 Australian Graduates in 1988, A National Survey of their destinations as at 30 April, Hawthorn, Graduate Careers Council of Australia Ltd, 1988, p.13.

15 Ibid., p.15. Although 12% of these graduates gave their main occupation as 'teacher/instructor', only 6.3% are registered as working full-time in government and private schools and in higher education. See ibid., p.30.

16 Whereas in 1972, 3.1% of Arts graduates were privately employed, as compared with 10.3% of all graduates, by 1988 13.4% of Humanities graduates were privately employed, as compared with 17.5% of all graduates. These increases occur within the context of a general rise in graduate employment in private industry, particularly in certain sectors. See Australian Bureau of Statistics, Transition from Education to Work in Australia, May 1988, ABS Catalogue no.6227.0, 1988. See also Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1988, op. cit., p.9.

17 Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1989, op. cit., p.30. Of course, graduates from some humanities disciplines are more likely than others to find employment within the private seetor. Areas of the humanities with significant percentages of graduates entering private sector employment include communication and journalism (44.2%), religion and theology (40%), counselling (25%), welfare studies (21%), Asian languages (19%), archaeology (19%), psychology (16.4%), philosophy (15.5%), political science (16.4%), literary studies (13.7%), geography (13%), linguistics (13.0%), European languages (12.7%), history (12%), archival studies (12%), sociology (12%), and anthropology (11.8%). Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1988, op. cit., pp.25-8.

18 Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1989, op. cit., p.30. This figure includes graduate entry rates for the State public services, Commonwealth departments, State authorities, local government, Commonwealth authorities and defence services.

19 Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1986 Graduates in 1987: a National Survey of their Activities as at 30 April. Parkville, 1987, p.6.

20 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook 1985-6, Canberra, AGPS, 1986, p.35. Of 3,199 new recruits in 1985, approximately 1,250 were Humanities graduates: c. 750 women, and c. 500 men.

21 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook, 1984-5, Canberra, AGPS 1985, p.106. Of a total of 39,316 tertiary-qualified permanent staff members, 12,075 possessed degrees or diplomas in the humanities.

22 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook, 1986-7, Canberra, AGPS, 1985, p.94.

23 M.G. Carter, G.P. Rothman, P.J. Thorne, Women in the Australian Public Service: Distribution and Career Patterns, Research Paper 4, Public Service Board, Canberra, AGPS, 1982, p.12.

24 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook 1983-4, Canberra, AGPS, 1984, p.127. This figure represents 2,476 of 10,052 degrees or diplomas gained.

25 Ibid., p.138. In 1984, of 8,990 Australian Public Service officers enrolled in assisted part-time courses, 1,072 were pursuing Arts degrees or diplomas. 1,036 were enrolled in Economics/Commerce, and 1,516 in Accounting.

26 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook 1984-5, op. cit., p.116. Of 7,573 Australian Public Service officers undertaking assisted part-time study in 1985, 951 took degrees or diplomas in Arts, 756 in Economics, 720 in Administration, and 1,303 in Accountancy.

27 Australian Public Service Board Statistical Yearbook 1986-7, op. cit., p.94. In 1986, from a total of 2,982 graduates recruited to the Australian Public Service, 1,137 were Arts graduates, 675 of them women. Of this body of recruits, 170 had degrees in Social Science, 101 in History, 103 in 'Mental Sciences' and 91 in Languages.

28 Graduate Careers Council of Australia, 1988 op. cit., pp.25-8. In 1988, 33.3% of 1987 Welfare Studies graduates were employed in administrative and clerical work, as were 20.6% from Sociology, 17.1% from Political Science, 16.7% from Geography, 14.1% from Psychology, 13.8% from Communications and Jourualism and 13.0% from Linguistics.

29 For historical discussions of the model of the 'career service', see Robert S. Parker, Public Service Recruitment in Australia, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1942, pp.17-116; G.E. Caiden, Career Service, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1964; and H.A. Scarrow, The Higher Public Service of Australia, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1957.

30 Eric Ashby, Universities in Australia, Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1944, p.34.

31 Cited in Ashby, 1944. Ibid., p.13.

32 Ibid., p.31.

33 A.G. Mitchell, in A. Grenfell Price (ed.), The Humanities in Australia, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1959, p.93.

34 Ibid., pp.96-7.

35 For histories of graduate recruitment, see Caiden, 1964, op. cit.; Parker 1942, op. cit.; Australian Public Service Board, The Public Service Board 1923-73, Canberra, AGPS, 1973; and M.A. Stanton, The Merit Principle: Its History and Future, Canberra, AGPS, 1978.

36 See, for example the debate between Encel and Scarrow, in Sol Encel, 'The recruitment of University Graduates in the Commonwealth Public Service', Public Administration XII, 1953, pp 222-231, and H.A. Scarrow 'Further Comments Upon the Recruitment of University Graduates to the Commonwealth Public Service', Public Administration vol.XIII Sept. 1954, pp.166-75.

37 Caiden 1964, op. cit., p.24.

38 Parker, 1942 op. cit., p.234.

39 Tomlin Commission (United Kingdom Civil Service, 1929-31), Appendix VIII to Minutes of Evidence. Cited in ibid., p.245.

40 Parker, 1942 op. cit., p.270.

41 Ibid., p.234.

42 Ibid., p.265.

43 Ibid., p.262.

44 Sol Encel comments that between July 1947 and June 1952, about 380 graduates took up positions in the Australian Public Service. Of the 219 for whom details were available, 102 were women, 95 of whom had Arts degrees. Among the men, 56 had degrees in Arts, 31 in Economics and 9 in Law. However, he also notes that at the time, Public Service departments were actually asking for graduates in Economics, Law and Accounting, with only marginal interest expressed in Arts graduates. Encel, 1953, op. cit., p.229.

45 Public Service Board, 1973, op. cit., p.14.

46 For details on the expansion of graduate recruitment in the 1960's, see Commonwealth Public Service Board, Recruitment and Wastage of Graduates and Diplomats in the Commonwealth Service, Canberra, AGPS, 1970. By 1967, the Commonwealth employed approximately 10% of the total output of 11,395 Australian university graduates, about 35% of these being 'generalists'.

47 Report, Committee of Inquiry into Public Service Recruitment, R.J.F. Boyer (chair), Canberra, AGPS, 1959. Encel notes that, between 1934 and 1941, 67 graduates were admitted to the Public Service, out of 204 applicants - a number well below the prevailing quota of 10% graduate recruitment. At the same time, several hundred new non-graduates were recruited into the Third Division. Encel notes that over half of this small number of graduate recruits had backgrounds in Arts. See Encel, 1953, op. cit., pp.223-5.

48 Boyer Report, 1959, op. cit., p.30.

49 See Commonwealth Public Service Board, 1970, op. cit., pp.4-6. Of 4,422 graduates recruited to the Public Service in this period, (the bulk of them in the A.C.T.) 1,648 were Arts graduates, 1,028 were from Science, 511 from Economics, 419 from Engineering, and 313 from Medicine. In disciplines apart from Arts, the overwhelming majority of graduates recruited were men. During this period, Arts graduates were mostly recruited into the following areas, in order of frequency: Labour and National Service; Education and Science; the Public Service Board; the National Library; External Affairs; and the Statistical Branch of the Treasury.