# The impact of EEO: Women in Management in the Transport Industry

Dr. Erica French

School of Management, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Queensland

e.french@qut.edu.au


Prof. Glenda Strachan

Department of Management, Griffith University, Brisbane, Queensland

g.strachan@griffith.edu.au

**ABSTRACT**

This paper sets out to identify the approaches undertaken in implementing equal employment opportunity in the transport, and services to transport industry. This male dominated industry employs limited numbers of women and consequently there are limited numbers of women in management. The study investigates data from reports submitted to the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency by organisations employing more than 100 persons. The findings indicate a correlation between the equal opportunity approach used and numbers of women in management. This study is different to others in that it identifies issues specific to one industry and links organisational approach to equal opportunity with the employment status of women.

Keywords: *EEO; Women in Management; Non-traditional work areas.*

**INTRODUCTION**

Equal employment opportunity legislation has been in place for 20 years in Australia. However little has been written on the impact of this legislation on the numbers or the status of women's employment, particularly in male dominated industries. This paper examines the types of policies and practices outlined in equal employment opportunity (EEO) programs within organisations in one male dominated industry, namely transport, and one gender neutral industry, namely services to transport. The study analyses the type of policies and processes outlined in these programs which are submitted as EEO program reports under legislative regulations to the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOW Agency). The results of the study categorise the link(s) between the types of policy and programs utilised and the status of women within the industry in order to identify policies and programs predictive of increased numbers of women employed and/or in management.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Legislation, categorised as equal opportunity, has been argued to have improved the employment status of women (Thornton, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; Still, 1993; Konrad and Linnehan, 1995; Sheridan, 1995, French, 2001, French and Maconachie, 2004). While there has been a lack of evaluation by independent researchers and assessment of equal opportunity legislation, its implementation is complex and the general consensus is that women have made occupational gains since the introduction of the legislation (Still, 1993; Strachan and Burgess, 2001). However the extent to which the equal employment opportunity legislation has influenced the change is still argued.

Institutional pressure is identified as an important determinant of administrative structures used in addressing disparity. Konrad and Linnehan (1995: 807) identified the importance of regulation for the imposition and inducement of unpopular organisational change. However, both the majority and protected groups have difficulty with positive administrative structures designed to address disparity. Yet, positive administrative structures which include decision-making based on differences in identity are correlated with indicators of increased participation of women (Konrad and Linnehan 1995).

It is also acknowledged that change continues to be dependent on the types of policies utilised to implement equal opportunity. Kanter (1976) supports the use of policies identified as social structural policies to challenge biased organisational structures and decision-making. Despite their considerable use in Australian organisations, Sheridan (1998) identified social structural policies as reactive to legislation and limited in their ability to proactively change any inequality because they support different outcomes due to different individual inputs without acknowledging that some individuals do not have the opportunity to input equally. Sheridan (1998) recommended more proactive policies including work and family policies to recognise the limitations that family roles have placed on women in the past. French and Maconachie (2004) note that equity management policies which recognize role-related difference and those that support individual difference are predictors of increased numbers of women in management. Whereas policies that change structures and processes do not. Indeed, an approach to achieving equity that includes a predominance of social structural policies (to change bias in policies and structures) and development policies (to address the so-called "deficiencies" of women) is negatively associated with increasing numbers of women in management.

The distinction between equality and equity further confounds the issue of addressing any disparity between groups in the workplace. Deutsch (1985) noted that the use of equity or equality as the principle of distributive justice is associated with different social contexts and psychological orientations. French and Maconachie (2004) found the principle of justice used in implementing EEO is also related to a change in outcomes for minority/identity groups when managing difference to encourage fair outcomes. Equal access, opportunity and treatment encourage equal access for all individuals regardless of their different needs or constraints, whereas equitable access, opportunity

and treatment encourage different outcomes for different individuals. Liff (1999) identifies social regulation (in addition to legal regulation) through consultation with employees and their unions is an important further requirement in equity management to ensure employee needs are included on the equity agenda. The use of both various structures and policies in the implementation of equity management are increasingly reported. In fact multiple implementations of different equity management strategies are recommended (Sheridan 1998; Liff, 1999; Dickens, 2000, French, 2005).

## THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY

The transport industry has historically been male-dominated, that is, employing more than 60 per cent men (AAA, 1997). In February 2006 the ABS (2006) identified 418,700 workers in the transport and services to transport industry, comprising 311,300 men (74.3 per cent) and 107,400 women (26.7 per cent). Within this industry, the transport sector employs 264,500 men (79.2 per cent) and 69,800 women (20.8 per cent). The services to transport sector is gender mixed (between 50 and 60 per cent men and women) (AAA, 1997) employing 46,800 men (55.5per cent) and 37,600 women (44.5 per cent). For the purposes of this research the EEO program reports evaluated include those from both sectors of the transport industry and there are a number of reasons for this. First, these sectors form part of one industry and as such are often grouped together. Second, neither sector can be considered as a female dominated industry, so fulfils the requirements of this study and third, the larger number of organisations allows increased data for analysis and a cross industry study.

Women continue to be underrepresented in non-traditional industries and occupations. The difficulty faced by women working in these areas is recognised as different from women working in traditional areas or from men working in female dominated workplaces. Previous arguments that men and women gravitate toward different types of jobs based on the innate differences in the sexes (McIntyre, 1994) have largely been replaced by discussion of the problems of reconciling promotion and family responsibilities and the deeply embedded gendered cultures of work (Bagilhole, 2002). Patterns of occupational segregation have been identified as the principal cause of the wages gap between men and women in Western economies (see Ackah, 2001). Many have sought to explain this complex and long lasting phenomenon (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990; Walby, 1988; Whitehouse, 2004) and

some to 'give voices to women' (Gale, 1994; Bagilhole, 2002). Few, however, have investigated the means used by organisations to address the issues of gender segregation and the effectiveness of such strategies. This study seeks to address that gap by investigating the equal employment opportunities implemented within an industry sector and resulting influences on the status of women's employment.

Inequity and career barriers continue to be an issue within the industry. For example, examination of the ten organisations in the transportation industry (including services to transport) included in the top 200 organisations on the Australian Stock Exchange in 2006 shows that only four of the ten organisations had women on boards and half had no women in executive management (EOWA, 2006). In a study of more than 80 women transport and logistics managers in the UK, career barriers identified included the men's club (37.5 per cent), prejudice of colleagues (26.6 per cent), lack of career guidance (25 per cent) and sex discrimination (15.6 per cent). Senior women were more likely than junior women to complain of these attitudinal barriers (Simpson and Holley, 2001). Johnson, McClure and Schnieder (1999; 2000) identified that both men and women in the logistics and transportation industry perceive a glass ceiling for women. In their study of 1000 logistics and transportation professionals, 500 of whom were women, more than 75 per cent of the women and 33 per cent of the men believed that women were limited in growth opportunities through exclusions at both a professional and social level. However, women entering the industry are apparently not so concerned. A study of women undergraduates majoring in logistics found that these women believed that gender bias was not a serious issue facing women in logistics (Knemeyer, Murphy and Poist, 1999). In USA, Baker (2000) reports an increasing level of female participation across all levels of the industry resulting in a decline in wage disparity. However, little is said about how this change is occurring. The commitment of women workers in the industry appears high as results from two separate studies identified that both men and women are highly committed to their companies and to the profession (Rae 1995; Johnson McClure and Schnieder, 1999 and 2000).

## RESEARCH AIM

Despite an extensive literature on the barriers women face in the workplace and in management positions, there is limited research examining specific equity strategies and even less literature that

can link strategies to outcomes such as a change in the numbers of women in senior positions (Konrad and Linnehan, 1995; French, 2001; Naff and Kellough, 2003). There is a dearth of research that classifies the conditions under which such change occurs (Glastra et al., 2000). Further there is limited information on equal employment opportunity programs and their results specific to different industries (Konrad and Linnehan, 1995; French, 2001). This study differs from others in several important respects. First, this paper seeks to identify the differences between the types of equal opportunity approaches implemented. Second, the study seeks to determine any relationship between approach used to implement equal employment opportunity and the proportion of women in management. Until now, research has focused on the causes of disparity in the workplace and argued for various strategies to address that inequality. Few studies have linked equity strategy and outcomes.

## METHOD

The research was undertaken using secondary data gathered from information provided by 94 organisations reporting to the Australian Government (specifically the EOW Agency) on their equal employment opportunity program. In 2003, 114 transport and storage organisations submitted reports to the Agency. Four organisations submitted reports that were ultimately considered as waived from reporting for at least one year. It is Agency policy that once an organisation is waived, its report is removed from public access to ensure confidentiality. Six reports were listed more than once against organisations recorded under more than one incorporated name and were excluded from this study. Fifty-one (51) reports were from transport organisations and forty (40) reports were from organisations classified as providing services to transport, while three (3) reports were unclassifiable.

A report consists of a semi-standardised form which requires details of the reporting organisation's employment statistics by gender (although there is no standard method of reporting this); consultation strategies; information on current practices relative to seven employment matters specified in the legislation; details of strategic planning for equal opportunity including priorities; actions taken; evaluation of actions taken; and future plans. Signatures of both the report writer (usually the HR manager) and the CEO are mandatory and this information remains confidential. Each report is checked at the Agency, evaluated and the organisation contacted to verify information, to make

recommendations and give feedback. Trained assessors review the contents of reports to ensure compliance status under the Act, then evaluate the organisation's analysis of equal opportunity issues and identify demonstrated links with the organisation's current actions and future plans. Feedback is offered on the analysis of issues and the workplace program designed to address these issues. The feedback is provided through telephone contact with follow-up letters to the HR officer and the CEO. This educative approach is designed to fulfil EOWA's mission 'to inspire Australian employers to create workplaces where women's contribution is valued and recognised' (EOWA, 2006c).

In this project, content analysis of each report was undertaken to determine the organisation's overall approach to addressing each of the employment matters, evaluation of actions and strategic plan. Content analysis measures the semantic content of the message (Emory and Cooper, 1991:457) and is described as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of a communication". Information was recorded in an SPSS data base.

*Workplace Profile and Organisational Analysis and Consultation*

The reports include details of male and female full and part-time positions in specific job roles. Job roles were not standardised throughout the reports so data were aggregated to four main categories: management (including senior executives, management; supervisory staff, and professional staff), operations (including service and sales personnel), support (including maintenance, technicians, trades and miscellaneous personnel) and clerical staff. Information on workplace analysis of specific issues for women and information on any consultative process were recorded as 'yes' or 'no' information.

*Seven Employment Matters*

The legislation identifies seven employment matters for organisations to consider. To address the issues for women in the workplace organisations are required to identify the strategies they use to address any current issues or inequities in Recruitment and Selection; Promotion and Transfer; Training and Development; Work Organisation; Conditions of Employment; Addressing Sexual Harassment; and Pregnancy and Breastfeeding.

*Classification of Policies*

Each report was read by the researchers and each section classified according to the theme of the equity management approach taken in implementing equal employment opportunity policies. The classifications were identified by French (2001) as a typology of equity management based on distributive structure; that is equal/equitable treatment, and implementation strategies; that is legislative or non-legislative implementation strategy.

**1. No reporting**: Includes all those reports that made no comments or had strategies on any or all of the seven employment matters.

**1. Traditional**: The traditional approach refutes that discrimination plays a role in workplace disparity between different employee groups and supports the different treatment of individuals in the workplace based on the choices made by individuals. This approach advocates against the specific implementation of equity measures, instead calling on women and minority groups to make different educational and lifestyle choices in order to create change (French, 2001).

In this study comments such as, '90% of applicants to sales positions are female' were placed to this category, as were 'Records show that all positions were advertised internally with recent middle management appointments from existing staff'; 'There have been no instances of sex-based harassment reported during the past 12 months'; and 'Females fill most of the casual positions. Such positions attract predominantly females, as casual positions suit their needs'.

**2. Anti-discrimination**: The anti-discrimination approach acknowledges the importance of the removal of discriminatory practices and processes in order to offer equal treatment based on human rights principles. This approach fulfils the requirements of anti-discrimination legislation and seeks the removal of discriminatory practice on the basis of sex. Equal employment opportunity activity limited to equal treatment and/or equal outcomes for men and women was classified as 'anti-discrimination' (French, 2001; Konrad and Linnehan, 1995).

In this study comments such as 'A current position description is necessary prior to recruiting for any vacancy' were placed in this category. Also comments such as, 'We treat all applicants the same',

'Our policy is to treat men and women equally' or 'Total new hires 52 – 24 female and 28 male' were included in this category. The statement 'Introduction of a Career Leaders Program (CLP) designed to develop individual high potential employees as a matter of priority. 8% of CLP participants are female. CLP participants are identified by HR and senior management and the criteria is non-gender biased therefore female employees have equal access to the CLP' provides a further example.

**3. Affirmative action**:  The affirmative action approach acknowledges the importance of the removal of discriminatory practices as well as the adoption of special measures designed to assist members of disadvantaged groups, particularly women. This follows the usage of the term 'affirmative action' in Australian legislation: 'Affirmative Action is based on recognition and acceptance of the fact that it is not sufficient to make specific acts of discrimination unlawful….steps are needed to relieve the effects of past discrimination, to eliminate present discrimination and to ensure that future discrimination does not occur' (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1984: 8).

In this study reports on specific strategies such as apprentice or graduate programs for the recruitment of women were classified as affirmative action in nature. Other examples include 'Parental leave Information Kit details entitlements and benefits for pregnant and potentially pregnant employees are distributed' and 'We encourage women still predominantly employed in Clerical/Administrative category to apply for other positions advertised internally'.

**4. Gender diversity**:  The gender diversity approach acknowledges that custom and tradition resulting in bias and discrimination against women has played a role in the disparity between employment outcomes based on sex and supports neutral treatment of individuals based on organisational requirements. While there is debate about exactly what constitutes policies and programs variously labelled 'diversity' and 'managing diversity' (Bacchi, 2000; Kirton and Greene, 2005), we have used the term 'gender diversity' to incorporate elements of organisational change. In order to classify policies as gender diversity, reports needed to include elements of culture change.

In our policy classification, the category of gender diversity can extend on affirmative action, seeking cultural and systems changes that address root causes of prejudice and develop the potential of every individual. Proactive equal employment opportunity activity that included specific treatment to

address the potential for disadvantage for all workers or different needs of all workers not limited to gender and often including external measures such as enterprise bargaining and union advocacy were included in this categorisation. Reports that included leave opportunities that were the same for both genders and included maternity, paternity and adoption leaves were classified as diverse in nature. Examples include 'All employees have opportunity to work either full-time part-time job share, flexible hours casual or on contact [through negotiation]. All positions are reviewed to see if flexible-working arrangements can be accommodated. With core hours being between 7am - 7pm the majority of employees are able to keep their own hours'; 'All staff on maternity, paternity or paid parental leave have the option of dial in access … to receive corporate communications … via email'; 'Flexibility in working hours, part time/job share workers being able to hold management positions'.

## FINDINGS

Findings for this study are reported in three sections. First the results of the content analysis of approaches taken by organisations in addressing equal employment opportunity; second the results of the correlation analysis of equal employment opportunity approach taken and the number of women in management and finally the results of the analysis of the difference between the two sectors, namely transport and services to transport, are discussed.

### 1. Approach to EEO

There was evidence of a range of different equal opportunity approaches taken to address the seven employment matters (see table 1). In 'recruitment and selection', 'promotion and transfer' and 'training and development', 16.7 per cent, 22.6 per cent and 17.9 per cent of organisations respectively reported no specific equal employment strategies of any type to address any inequity of women in their organisations. Over one third of the organisations (46.4 per cent, 34.5 per cent and 39.3 per cent respectively) took an anti-discrimination approach to these employment matters. This involved the use of strategies that encouraged equal treatment of men and women in recruitment, promotion and development. Less than five per cent of organisations took a proactive approach of any kind, either affirmative action or gender diversity, in designing and delivering equal employment

opportunity strategies specific to the disadvantage of women in gaining access, promotion or opportunities for training and development.

Table 1: Organisations' Approaches to EEO in Employment Matters by Percentage

| Approach Type | R&S | Promote/ Transfer | Train/Dev | Work Org | Condition/ Service | Harassment | Pregnancy & Breastfeeding |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nil | 16.1 | 21.5 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 23.7 | 9.7 | 23.7 |
| Traditional | 32.3 | 40.9 | 37.6 | 29.0 | 35.5 | 7.5 | 17.2 |
| Anti-discrimination | 45.4 | 36.6 | 41.9 | 14.0 | 19.4 | 75.3 | 34.4 |
| Affirmative Action | 6.5 | 1.1 | 3.2 | 14.0 | 2.2 | 0 | 7.5 |
| Gender Diversity | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22.6 | 19.4 | 7.5 | 17.2 |

In the areas of 'work organisation' and 'conditions of service' a number of organisations offered no specific strategies for addressing inequity. In those organisations that did seek to address recognised equity issues, more than 22 per cent took a proactive approach to developing equitable work patterns and conditions of service. Many organisations utilised the gender diversity approach, bringing in flexible work and fair conditions for both women and men. These strategies were neutral in their application rather than gendered through an affirmative action approach. For many of these organisations part-time work, flexible work hours and 'work from home' opportunities were identified as opportunities for both women and/or men to balance their work/life issues. Given debates in recent years about work and family policies this is not unexpected.

In the area of addressing harassment, the majority of organisations took a compliance based approach in ensuring equal treatment through training of all staff, regardless of gender or organisational role. While some were not compliant, these were in the minority. This is not surprising given the strength of provisions in the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*. The Act defines and prohibits discrimination and harassment on the basis of sex and outlines extensive provisions for obtaining justice. Further, the tribunals and courts emphasise the importance of appropriate policies and practices and are supporting zero tolerance through judgments awarding increased amounts in damages (Jackson, 1998; Jenero and

Galligano, 2003). A small number of organisations have taken compliance to new levels and identified an extension of their harassment policies to include protections for other groups, and have identified issues of vilification and bullying throughout their policies and procedures.

Compliance was also an important outcome in addressing the issues of pregnancy and breastfeeding. Many organisations had policies specific to meeting the requirements of the legislation but a small number had extended these to include further issues including adoption and invitro-fertilisation requirements, while others ensured the policies in these areas were also available for the father.

## 2. *Correlation of EEO Approach and Number of Women in Management*

The data was examined using multiple regression analyses in order to ascertain any relationship between women, in terms of their numbers in management, and the approach used to implement EEO. A multiple regression controlling for size was performed with numbers of women in management as the DV and the EEO undertaken by the organisations across the seven employment matters as the IVs.

Table 2: Multiple Regression results for Women in Management

| | R² adjusted | R | F | Df | B | β |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women in Management | .244 | .327 | 3.941** | 10,81 | | |
| Recruitment and Selection | | | | | -89.270 | -.228 |
| Promotion and Transfer | | | | | -79.978 | -.191 |
| Training and Development | | | | | 99.201* | .243 |
| Work Organisation | | | | | 43.599 | .198 |
| Conditions of Service | | | | | -34.641 | -.149 |
| Addressing Sexual Harassment | | | | | 132.264** | .356 |
| Pregnancy and Breastfeeding | | | | | -53.775 | -.223 |
| Priority | | | | | 14.288 | .047 |
| Future Actions | | | | | 1.872 | .010 |

** $p = < .001$; * $p = <.05$

(Table 3 indicates the numbers of organisations according to size.) The model showed significant relationship between the approach taken in implementing EEO and the number women in management. Two variables were identified as significantly positively correlated with increased

numbers of women in management, namely Training and Development and Addressing Sexual Harassment. This indicates that organisations encouraging equity in training and development and those taking action to address sexual harassment are linked with increased numbers of women in management in these organisations. Altogether the $R^2$ (adjusted) accounted for 24 per cent of the variability in numbers of women in management.

Table 3: Transport and Services to Transport Organisations by Size

| Less than 500 employees | 55 |
|---|---|
| More than 500 less than 1000 | 16 |
| More than 1000 less than 3000 | 12 |
| More than 3000 | 9 |

Because a number of organisations' EEO programs were not available due to being waived from reporting we did further investigations to gain an insight into the status of women's employment in such organisations. In 2003, ten (10) organisations in the transportation sector (including services to transport) were identified in the ASX200 (EOWA, 2003). Four (4) of these organisations were waived organisations under the EOW Agency's criteria and were excused from annual reporting obligations for a fixed period. In order to be waived from annual reporting, an organisation's application must clearly demonstrate that it has analysed its workplace to identify the equal opportunity issues for women; taken all reasonably practicable measures to address each issue; and been compliant with the legislation for at least three consecutive years (EOWA 2006). Two of the four organisations waived from reporting to EOWA had women on their board and in Executive Management (see Qantas and Transurban Group below). The numbers of women in these two organisations were one (1) of eleven (11) on the board for Qantas and one (1) of eight (8) on the board for Transurban Group. In executive management the numbers were one (1) of fourteen (14) at Qantas and two (2) of twelve (12) at Transurban. The evidence suggests that these waived organisations are doing no better and some may argue they are even worse than those still reporting each year when considering the position of women in decision making positions.

Table 4: ASX200 Transport – Women on Boards and Executives

| Organisation | % of Women on Board | % of women Executives |
|---|---|---|
| *Adsteam Marine Limited | 0 | 0 |
| Australian Infrastructure Fund | 0 | 0 |
| Macquarie airports | 12.5 | 42.9 |
| Macquarie Infrastructure Group | 0 | 0 |
| Patrick Corporation Limited | 0 | 0 |
| Prime Infrastructure Group | 16.7 | 20 |
| *Qantas Airways Limited | 9.1 | 7.1 |
| The Hills Motorway Limited | 0 | 0 |
| *Toll Holdings Limited | 0 | 0 |
| *Transurban Group | 12.5 | 16.7 |

* Organisations waived from annual reporting to EOW Agency.    Source: EOWA, 2003.

### 3 Women in Transport and Services to Transport

In order to identify any differences between the transport sector (a male dominated industry) and services to transport sector (a gender mixed industry) t-tests were undertaken. There was no significant difference between the sectors relative to the employment status of women on any of the seven employment matters used in implementing equal employment opportunity programs.

## DISCUSSION

Specifically, the findings indicate that there are relatively few organisations in this industry developing proactive strategies in the areas of recruiting, promoting, and retaining women. Kanter (1976), Sheridan (1998), and French and Maconachie (2004) referred to these areas as 'social structural' strategies related to the organisations' structure and the structure of work and used to address any systemic discrimination against women. Numerous organisations identified 'equal treatment' as the primary reason for their lack of any proactive strategies in recruitment, promotion and training for women. Yet without specific programs that acknowledge women's historic systemic disadvantage in this industry, change is unlikely to occur. It would seem the old battle of 'what is

equity' is still being waged at an operational level. Equal treatment has been widely recognised as insufficient to achieve equity of opportunity or equity of outcomes for women (Bacchi, 1990; Poiner and Wills, 1991). Further, women continue to be identified as undertaking more of the family responsibilities which ensures they are not 'equal' in the workplace. Research has shown that equal treatment based on strategies that are blind to identity differences including race and sex are not conducive to change in many of the measures of advancement for women (see Konrad and Linnehan, 1995; French, 2001).

There is significant proactivity in the implementation of some of the measures of equal opportunity, specifically 'organisation of work' and the 'conditions of service' under which that work is performed. Kanter (1976), Sheridan (1998), and French and Maconachie (2004) recognise these areas as 'role related' strategies used to address the division of labour between men and women and to ensure women are not disadvantaged by their different and traditional role requirements in society. Neither of these measures, however, was predictive of increased numbers of women in management.

The aim of this study was to determine any relationship between EEO measures and the proportion of women in management, in a non-traditional industry for women's employment. The findings indicate that some of the measures of EEO and some of the approaches to implementation are predictive of increased numbers of women in management. Implementing measures concerned with equality in training and development for women particularly within larger organisations and addressing sexual harassment are predictive of increased numbers of women in management. It is argued, however, that the limited approach to EEO policy implementation appears to maintain the current status quo through the encouragement of flexible employment practices. These allow women to move in and out of organisations as their family needs dictate but may further limit their access into the management.

This predominant approach to equal opportunity displayed by these transport organisations appears to offer the means of ensuring equality of participation by encouraging greater flexibility of working conditions and fairer pay structures but may not extend the equality of access or the equality of opportunity for movement into management or leadership roles. In today's competitive market place it is arguable that this tactic ensures a cheap flexible labour force. With increased family friendly

policies and flexible hours, people with family responsibilities, predominantly women, continue to provide a ready source of labour for support roles and service jobs often outside the career structure. In a study of male and female perspectives on equality measures in another non-traditional area for women, the construction industry, men identified policies that maintained the current workplace environment as the most valuable, while women's priorities were in developing a flexible workplace with fairer and more transparent procedures (Dainty and Bagilhole, 2001). Career enhancing aspects were important but the opportunity to combine work and family lives maintained the highest ranking. It is debatable whether merely providing the opportunity to combine work and family is proactive enough to support and encourage substantive change that equates to increased numbers of women in decision making positions. Without proactive implementation of equal opportunity measures across a range of areas, including the social structural policies of recruitment and selection and promotion, substantive change appears uncertain. EEO, it would seem, has been sidetracked from delivering equitable treatment through opportunities for recruitment, promotion and development. It has instead become a 'pacifier' for workers through the delivery of day-to-day equality of opportunity for participation, incorporating a return to work after life events and a 'satisfier' for an industry meeting staffing requirements under changing workplace situations.

## CONCLUSION

The findings presented suggest that EEO in the transport industry is implemented through an approach that encourages equal treatment of men and women through the social structural measures including recruitment, promotion and training. Those role related measures, namely work organisation and terms and conditions of employment, are implemented through a proactive approach that encourages equitable treatment but offers limited change to equality of women within the organisation. Overall, the results suggest that for substantive change to occur, implementation of equal employment measures needs to be strategic. This requires both equal treatment approaches and equitable treatment approaches across a range of measures including the social structure measures and the role related measures not limited to equal treatment in the social structural measures and equitable/proactive approaches in the role related measures.

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