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# **YOUNG PEOPLE, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT**

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**Vince Catherwood**

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**New Zealand Planning Council**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

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	Page
FOREWORD	1
I INTRODUCTION	2
II THE TRANSITION TO ADULT WORKING LIFE	4
The Work Ethic	4
The Notion of "Transition from School"	6
Who are the Target Groups?	7
III BACKGROUND	9
Demographic Trends	9
New Zealand Participation Rates in Education	11
New Zealand Retention Rates at Forms 6 and 7	13
Patterns of Leaving School by Years of Attendance	14
Attainments of Secondary School-leavers	18
Intended Destinations of School-leavers	19
Tertiary Participation	25
Apprenticeships	26
IV CHANGING PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE NEW ZEALAND TEENAGE LABOUR FORCE	31
Participation of Young People in Employment	31
Employment Status of All Persons aged 15-19	34
Part-time Workers	34
Changing Patterns of Full-Time Employment	37
Youth Unemployment	46
V CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSITION EDUCATION	51
VI CONSULTATIONS WITH SCHOOL-LEAVERS	59
VII ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS	66
VIII BIBLIOGRAPHY	77



# TABLES

	Page		Page
1. Numbers of Students Attending Secondary Schools (Forms 3-7) at July 1, 1974-1984	9	15. Probable Labour Force Destination of Students Leaving Secondary Schools, 1975-1983 (%)	24
2. New Zealand Projected Population Aged 0-17 Years by Selected Age Groups, 1985-2000	10	16. Probable Occupations of 1982 School-leavers by Race (%)	25
3. New Zealand Projected July 1 Secondary School Rolls 1985-1994	11	17. Numbers of Internal Full-time and Part-time Students at University by Sex, 1979-1983	26
4. New Zealand Participation Rates in Full-time Education by Age, 1979-1983	12	18. Continuing Education — Numbers of Students Enrolled in Full-year Full-time and Full-Year Part-time Courses by Sex, 1979-1983	26
5. A) New Zealand Retention Rates to Form 6	13	19. Trends in Private Sector Apprenticeship Contracts	28
B) New Zealand Maori Retention Rates to Form 6	13	20. A) Numbers Actively Engaged in Full-time Employment by Age Groups	32
6. A) New Zealand Retention Rates to Form 7	14	B) Percentage of Age Groups Actively Engaged in Full-time Employment by Sex	32
B) New Zealand Maori Retention Rates to Form 7	14	21. Employment Status of Persons Aged 15-19	33
7. Percentages and Numbers of Students Leaving Secondary School by Years of Attendance, 1974-1983	15	22. Occupational Distribution of Full-time and Part-time Workers Aged 15-19, 1981	36
8. Years of Attendance of Male and Female School-leavers, 1974 and 1982	16	23. Occupational Distribution of Adult and Teenage Part-time Workers, 1981	37
9. Years of Attendance of Maori and Non-Maori School-leavers, 1974 and 1982	17	24. Employment Trends in Selected Occupations by Age, 1976-1981, Males	39
10. A) Numbers of School-leavers, 1974-1983	18	25. Employment Trends in Selected Occupations by Age, 1976-1981, Females	40
B) Numbers of Maori School-leavers, 1974-1983	18	26. Registered Unemployed School-leavers by Sex, in February, April, June, August and October, 1974-1984	45
11. Attainments of Students Leaving State and Private Secondary Schools as a Percentage of all School-leavers (Males and Females)	19	27. Unemployment Rate by Age (NZ Census, 1981)	47
12. Intended Destinations of School-leavers Expressed as a Percentage of All Those Leaving School	20	28. Maori Unemployment Rates by Age (NZ Census, 1981)	48
13. Probable Destinations in 1977 and 1982 of Male and Female School-leavers	21	29. Pacific Island Polynesian Unemployment Rate by Age (NZ Census, 1981)	49
14. Probable Destinations in 1977 and 1982 of Non-Maori and Maori School-leavers	22	30. A) Young People on STEPS Programmes (1984)	50
		B) Personnel on YPTP (1984)	50

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# FOREWORD

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1985 is International Youth Year. It is therefore appropriate that the New Zealand Planning Council in 1985 addresses one of the major concerns facing youth today: the transition to adulthood. The focus of this report is on the links between young people, education, training and employment opportunities. The study has concentrated particularly on how young people make the transition from school to adult working life.

The aim of the project was to explore ways in which all young people in the 15-19 age group could be provided with options in education, training or employment, or any combination of these, either full-time or part-time, so that unemployment among the young could be reduced or eliminated. It is hoped developments which will assist all young people in making the transition from school to adult working life will arise out of this project and that in the longer-term, the education system as a whole will become better geared to meeting the needs of all young people in the 1980s.

A major concern has been the needs of those young people who leave school each year with poor prospects of employment. These youngsters require appropriate education and training courses. In addition, attention has been paid to the needs of those young people at present in school who are likely to experience similar difficulty when they leave.

The project has surveyed what is currently being done in this country on preparing young people for working life. Interviews with selected school-leavers were also undertaken in order to provide qualitative material to supplement national statistical data and to help explain trends therein. On the basis of this and other research material, an examination was made of the flows from the education system in relation to the patterns of entry to adult working life, to the skills acquired and

needed, and to other aspirations of the students. Finally, policy implications of key issues arising from the study have been discussed.

Other related issues such as adult retraining and the use of education within the workforce are important matters, but have been deferred for consideration by the Planning Council at a later stage.

This volume, which is one of three being concurrently released by the Planning Council as the first set of publications in a wide-ranging analysis of employment-related issues, is the work of Vince Catherwood, who was seconded by the Education Department to the council secretariat for the project. The council sees this as a most valuable input into what was an inadequately researched, but extremely important, area. It expresses its warm appreciation to Mr Catherwood and to the department for making him available and for encouraging the council in this project.

The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of Mr Catherwood and do not necessarily reflect those of the Planning Council.

I should like to thank all those groups and individuals who have contributed to the production of this report through their attendance at meetings or through time spent in offering comments and suggestions. A particular word of thanks must go to those young people who gave up their time so willingly to be interviewed as part of the consultations undertaken for this report.



I.G. Douglas  
Chairman  
New Zealand Planning Council



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# I. INTRODUCTION

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## Chances

*"Although I have my disabilities, I feel I have a lot to offer to other teenagers in the same situation as me, or to the community as a whole.*

*If I had a chance to work as a social worker or journalist in a way to reach others of my own age, or those in distress, I would use the abilities I do have (although they may be limited) and do whatever I have to do to set them straight.*

*There are so many teenagers still at school just wasting their time and knowing that they cannot achieve anything but don't want to make a move in the right direction, or don't even know what the right direction is.*

*Sometimes it goes further than just the individual person. There are those in situations where they are caught between family pressures and schooling. I know very well that some of the parents of teenagers don't want their children to leave school until they have got their School Certificate, but these children may not be academically able to attain the goal that their parents have set for them so they are left there at school feeling more depressed as each day passes and they start feeling that they are useless good-for-nothing BUMS!!! — But they're not!*

*Everyone has something to offer, everyone is talented in one way or another, whether it be in music, art, poetry, or some other way.*

*If I could play the role of social worker or journalist for just a week I feel I could achieve something for someone. If I could set just ONE person's life straight, then I know that I have what it takes to take the whole world on my shoulders."*

THERESA

From *Te Leo O Na Tamaiti, Leo O Tupulaga Talavou, Te Reo O Te Mapu, Te Reo Rangatahi, The Voice of the Young*, a magazine published by the Porirua Work and Social Skills Course, 1984.

Theresa's voice is the voice of youth today. It is personal. It is optimistic. It is outward-looking. It calls for a response from the rest of New Zealand so that Theresa and others like her can find the

right direction for their lives and can "take the whole world on their shoulders". This can only happen if young people have options from which they may choose, and which allow them the right to determine for themselves the direction of their own lives. It is through education and training that young people's development can be assured.

A trained and experienced workforce is the life blood of New Zealand's economy. To promote the objective of a trained and effective workforce, a clear articulation between the education system and the economy is needed. There are benefits to the economy through the entry of trained young people into working life, since this process is the most important single way by which the labour force is renewed and developed.

This report sets out to review the ways in which New Zealand's education system can contribute to providing options for young people in their preparation for the world of work and, in the process, can therefore assist in the growth of the economy and materially improve our standards of living.

It is acknowledged that the focus of education for adult life must be the preparation of the whole person for life in society, and that preparation for working life is only one aspect of learning for living. It is not the intention of this report to polarise "education for adult life" and "vocational training", nor to suggest that there is conflict in affirming the necessity of both. The two are complementary. An effective education for adult life prepares a young person in a broad way for the various roles he or she will undertake in the future, as worker, partner, home-maker, parent or citizen, while vocational training, properly undertaken, will not only assist the development of work skills but will also foster personal and social skills such as confidence, cooperation and initiative, all desirable attributes in every aspect of peoples' lives.

Given these provisos, it must be acknowledged that preparation for working life has received increased emphasis in New Zealand over the last five years, and that this tendency can be expected to continue. Growth of unemployment among the young since the late 1970s has alerted this country to a problem which, although it defies easy solutions, must be confronted. In these times of

economic stringency when numbers of young people are so clearly at risk to unemployment, there is a concern being expressed by parents, by those working with young people, and by the young people themselves, about the adequacy of society's induction of young people into adult roles in general and the workforce in particular.

The depth of these expressions of concern by many people is an indication that the present difficulties felt and experienced by the young in making their transition to employment constitute a crisis of considerable magnitude. Particular groups at risk express their feelings even more forcefully. The communique issued at the conclusion of the Maori Economic Development Summit conference on 31 October 1984, concluded that "Maori youth unemployment is the most critical socio-economic problem facing the country".

Since the young are the first to be disadvantaged in a tight labour market, creation of permanent job opportunities for young people needs to be accorded priority. A first essential, then, is the provision of more jobs.

It is vital that young people at the beginning of their working lives should be able to find work reasonably quickly, if working is what they wish to do. A young person who leaves school and begins working life by being unemployed will quickly develop a "victim" mentality and anti-social attitudes. If the unemployment persists, these negative attitudes are likely to become entrenched and the resultant long-term costs, both for the individual and for society, will be severe.

It is not the responsibility of the education system to provide or create these job opportunities for youngsters: this responsibility belongs elsewhere in society, with employers, with government, with trade unions, or with other agencies which can stimulate employment. But schools and other training agencies can help by preparing young people better for the world of work, not so that the young person can compete more effectively for a limited number of jobs, but on the grounds

that a better trained and educated workforce will not only be prepared to take immediate advantage of an improvement in the economy when it occurs, but will also enhance the general life satisfaction of the working population. Even if training does not of itself create jobs, and even if the skills learned may not be directly relevant to the immediate task at hand, a person who is appropriately trained is more employable than a person with no skills at all, and is less likely to enter the ranks of the long-term unemployed. There are thus individual and social benefits to an effective education and training programme for young people.

Opposed to this position is the view that training is not justified unless there are definite prospects of related employment at the end of the training period. This difference of opinion is discussed in the 1983 OECD report *Review of National Policies for Education: New Zealand*, where the authors conclude:

*"There is no conceivable way in which an education system can deliver the exact mix of skills and competencies of the right kind and in the necessary quantities to meet the needs of economic and labour market systems that are not only essentially unpredictable, but which are almost certain to change out of all recognition in the course of a single individual's working life. To be able to do so would imply a capacity to predict economic conditions and technological change in a way quite beyond human reach."*

What is needed is an adaptable workforce which is capable of responding to the increasing occupational mobility already evident in New Zealand society. The implication for the education system is that schooling and post-school training must prepare young people for a world of work in which the future cannot be predicted with precision. Learning and training should therefore proceed on a broad-based approach rather than a narrowly instrumental one. On such a broad base young people can move with confidence to exercise their options in the next phase of their development, whatever they choose to do.



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## II. THE TRANSITION TO ADULT WORKING LIFE

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### The Work Ethic

Work has an important place in the lives of most people, if only because of the time, energy and commitment devoted to it. The organisation of the economic structure of New Zealand society is so constructed that people require an income to exchange goods and services. For most people, work, in the sense of paid employment, is the primary means by which income is generated, and work therefore becomes necessary for physical survival. People can also find personal fulfilment, intrinsic satisfaction, social stimulation and status through their work, while for many their self-concept and sense of identity is inextricably linked with their performance in their job. Witness the number of people who identify themselves with their occupation when asked who they are. Although there are people who find their identity away from paid work, in a recreation or a hobby, or in their families or community, those who do find satisfaction in this way generally have to reject, consciously and deliberately, the notion that work might provide their satisfaction.

The pervasiveness of the work ethic in our society has inevitably influenced the attitudes of the young. A climate of opinion prevails in which it is expected that people will want to work, that opportunities for work will be available for those who want them, and that even for those not attracted to paid employment, economic necessity will ensure that work cannot be avoided for at least some of the time. These views are formed through a process of socialising, which begins from young peoples' earliest years and is reinforced by attitudes expressed in schooling, in the media, in society at large, and in the aspirations of peers, friends and family.

These attitudes have firmly established the work ethic in our culture as an essential foundation of individual and social well-being. Many young people in New Zealand grow up expecting that they will be able to find a job when they are ready to enter the workforce, or alternatively, feel very anxious that they may not be able to find a place in employment. For most there is also the expectation that the job they do gain will not only provide income but will also validate the individual's sense of worth. Conversely, not gaining or

being able to retain a job is likely to induce feelings of inferiority, failure and low self-esteem.

While many adults are able to contribute to society and fulfil the personal and social demands of the work ethic through unpaid work as parents or homemakers, most young people on leaving school have career aspirations which will take them beyond the home. The majority will eventually look to work, in the sense of paid employment, to provide self-respect and satisfaction and a cultural focus for their adult lives.

The expectations of such an entrenched work ethic are challenged and even undermined by the presence of a growing number of unemployed people in our society. Society's inability to deliver full employment and the consequent imbalance between those who want paid employment and the number of jobs available are therefore indications that attitudes to the place of work in our society must be reconsidered.

In *Directions* (1981), the Planning Council observed that "*attitudes to the pattern of work have changed markedly over the past decade. The Council believes there are benefits for men, women and their families, for employers, and for the community, in the wider acceptance of changes under way, (notably in the State Services) such as job-sharing, glide time, part-time work, and parental leave for special circumstances affecting children.*"

It is essential that a person's employment be voluntarily chosen, and desirable that young people at the beginning of their working lives be given options from which to choose. While full-time education or training will be the choices favoured by most young people entering working life, there is scope for reconceptualising what constitutes "work" through the conscious provision by society of additional choices for the young. It is now essential that there be exploration of options other than conventional wage employment.

Among the young people who were consulted for this study, for instance, Peter and Briar both moved in different ways from school to work, and are likely to move on again to further education and training. This mixing of work and education within the career patterns of young people is likely to become more important in the future. There is

no necessary reason why young people's entire formal education should be taken in one sequential block. The desire of young people to take "time out" before proceeding with further tertiary study is an important indication of changed attitudes. Movement in and out of the labour force may well be a deliberate exploration of options by young people, and such intermittent work could be a helpful way for some to experiment with jobs and find out about their interests and abilities at a time when they have few personal commitments or responsibilities. The present tight job market, however, makes such job experimentation difficult, and frequent job-changing is likely to be regarded by employers as an indication of a poor work record which would disqualify a youngster from further employment on the grounds of unreliability and lack of application.

Other options to full-time employment or full-time training need to be made more freely available to young people, particularly various combinations of work and education or training. Alternation between work, education and training also needs to be available for adults as well.

There are young people who do not wish to make an early commitment in their teens to one particular full-time occupation, and for these young people some mechanism needs to be found to enable them to delay a final decision on occupational entry. For some, the job search process may involve trying out one job for a period, then moving to another which seems to provide more satisfaction, and so on until the worker finds a job which suits his or her situation. This movement of young people from job to job at the beginning of their working life is a healthy development as part of the transition process for those who are unsure of their eventual occupational destiny.

For other young people it may be helpful to provide additional options which could be freely chosen for say a twelve-month period. Two examples could be military service in one of the armed services, or community service in a number of activities, perhaps under the direction of local bodies or central government departments. The introduction of a scheme offering young people the additional option of military or community service upon leaving school would assist their eventual induction into the workforce while allowing them time out to gain maturity, to reflect on themselves, and to consider the directions their lives will take without being forced to make premature decisions. Such an option need be no more expensive to society than the present payments of the unemployment benefit to young people and would have the added advantage that the work is of perceived benefit to the community, and would be helpful in young people's personal development.

It is important both for the individuals concerned and for society as a whole that involuntary unemployment be seen as the least preferred option for young people. Visions of a future society in which many people will not have work roles mean very little to young people who see all around them that society still uses employment as a chief means of awarding status, security and income.

There are interesting contrasts among the young people consulted as to their perceptions of what work means. The more educated young people look for intrinsic rewards (see Peter's comments about job fulfilment in the section "Consultations", for instance) whereas the less educated favour instrumental rewards, generally expressed as money. While both sets of values were represented among the young people talked to, the school-leavers' expectations generally seemed to favour the view that work should provide them with some life satisfaction, and that financial reward was a less important consideration.

In relation to the work ethic, education has a very valuable role to play. Schools, in their preparation of young people for adult life, will need to produce workers who are not only able to fit into whatever jobs are available but who will also not be bound by them. Where patterns of work are outmoded, they will have to be changed. Where deficiencies exist, they will need to be corrected. Students who leave school in 1984 will be in their early thirties by the year 2000. These young people will in part be able to create their own future in a working world which may be significantly different from today's social organisation. Education of the young can help shape this future by recognising that patterns of work are changing, and by suggesting and exploring new relationships between paid employment, community work and leisure.

To sum up, New Zealand society places considerable emphasis on the work ethic. The socialisation of the young impresses upon them at an early age the view that work is an important source of personal and social well-being. Youth unemployment in our society has challenged the expectation that every young person has the right to a job of his or her choosing and the likely persistence of structural unemployment will force society to examine and change traditional notions of "work". Provision of options in employment for young people will therefore remain a high priority in the medium term. Community service or military service may offer additional options to some young people who are undecided about their attachment to the workforce and who wish to take "time out" for a year to gain maturity. While society has a responsibility to provide options for the young, who may otherwise be disadvantaged for the whole of their working lives at great



personal and social cost, educators have a role to play in promoting attitudes to "work" which are flexible and capable of responding to society's future needs. Schools need to foster a general understanding of work in ways which will help students cope in the future with the challenges of changes that cannot yet be foreseen.

### **The Notion of "Transition from School"**

"Transition from school" is a broad notion which includes many aspects of an individual's development as a member of the New Zealand community. It includes one's physical and psychological development, an awareness of one's rights and responsibilities as a citizen and as a homemaker, the establishment of one's economic independence and the adoption of adult roles in other spheres of society. More specifically, there is a current emphasis on the notion of "transition from school" for young people which focuses on the relationship between school and work. While promoting an effective transition from school to work is an important concept and one which has gained currency in recent years partly as a response to rising youth unemployment, it would be a mistake to view "transition education" as a programme suitable only for one particular group, or as a programme concerned solely with movement from school to work.

Transition from school is an important life stage experienced by every young person, and consequently programmes aimed at assisting this process must provide for the needs of all, acknowledging that the responses to the needs of specific groups within the population will be different.

"Transition" also implies a movement from one state to another. In this sense, young people undergoing transition from school are making a passage from their student roles towards adulthood, with all that is implied by that broad term. Many of the social changes presently occurring in society, such as changes in the family and in the structure of the economy, are so profound and far-reaching in their consequences that young people today face problems of adjustment which their counterparts of even a decade ago did not have to confront. What is new is that the young person faces a longer period before assuming the responsibilities associated with adulthood, along with increased possibilities of deferring those responsibilities indefinitely. Transition to adulthood, therefore, needs to be defined in broad terms which include the young person's establishment of independence and individuality as a fully-fledged member of society, and must include, but should not be limited to, a consideration of transition to work.

Effective transition from school to adult working life extends over a continuum and cannot be regarded as a single event such as the acquisition of one's first job. For many young people the process of becoming firmly established in working life will take several years. Transition education offers help over this critical period by emphasising preparation for working life, and not simply the skills and competencies needed for a first job. It begins within the formal education system while students are still attending secondary school, and continues beyond the school gates when young people are being trained, are actually participating in the workforce, or are adjusting to the realities of life after school. It includes both formal off-job and informal on-the-job educational processes. Transition education, therefore, needs to be relevant over many years of a person's life and should enhance occupational flexibility.

In some respects, the present emphasis upon improving "transition education" is a misnomer, since it reinforces a sharp distinction between education and work. The term "transition from school" relies upon the metaphor of a passage. It implies that young people move from the student world of "education" to the separate adult world of "work", that these two worlds meet end-on and do not overlap, and that young people must cross a bridge from one to the other to make a successful adaptation to the next life stage.

In practice, the distinctions between these two life stages are more blurred. Many secondary school students will have had some experience of paid employment during their schooling, whether it be in the form of work during school holidays, part-time after-school work, or some informal activity for which they assumed responsibility and for which they received financial reward. Others too will be involved in forms of activity for which they receive no payment but which are unquestionably "work" in the widest sense of the term. "Education" too is by no means confined to schooling, but is a lifelong process by which individuals learn and adapt. Education occurs through and also beyond schooling during adolescence (in the home, at work, via the media, through interaction with one's peers or contact with other agencies) and continues throughout one's working life.

There are compelling arguments for suggesting that education and work should not be regarded as discrete areas of experience but should reinforce and complement one another. In each young person's growth to adulthood, there will be periods when the educative processes are given more emphasis and periods when work (either paid or unpaid) receives more attention. The periods of formal schooling are partly, but not exclusively,

times when the student is being prepared for the world of work: at the same time students are being prepared for their roles as individuals, citizens, homemakers in our wider community and culture. Each of these roles interacts and overlaps with the others, so that the young person's education must recognise the worth and interdependence of each of these social functions. The worker must learn not only to become a productive member of the labour force but to develop the skills required to communicate with or respond to fellow workers and to fulfil the responsibilities required of each person who is a member of a community. Education has a role to play in helping the worker develop these qualities, while the experience of work will, in turn, provide an education for workers, enabling them to broaden their experience and promote the growth of those personal qualities essential for success in adult life.

Those students who gain a place in the workforce direct from school, then, will have their education continued through the necessary process of job adaptation, a process which will assist their own personal growth and development. A successful transition from school to working life is not simply accomplished by gaining a job although this is not to deny the importance in the transition process of gaining that first job. There are skills and qualities required of members of the workforce which can only be learned "on the job", and learning to adapt to the requirements of a job is for some young people a difficult and demanding task. Transition from school to adult working life, then, is a lengthy process which must begin at school and which continues long after.

### **Who are the Target Groups?**

Questions of equity and questions of value arise when targeting of special assistance for young people making the transition from school is considered. Should particular groups at risk of unemployment be given special treatment by education authorities or by employment agencies? When there is a shortage of jobs, does special treatment for one identified group through training or job provision penalise another group which will be displaced from jobs they might otherwise have occupied? Should society provide equal support by way of state-funded capital investment, state-funded salaries for teachers, and state-funded allowances for students for professional training, say in medicine or law, and for trade training, catering and carpentry for instance? Should private enterprise be involved more in provision of post-school training? Is there justification for affirmative action for groups known to be disadvantaged in the labour force by virtue of age, sex, ethnicity, level of education, socio-economic status, physical or mental handicaps, or location?

Are the measures required to ease the transition from school of the potential brain surgeon comparable to the measures required to assist the potential rubbish collector? When is assistance most appropriately delivered, and what form can it most usefully take? Are there measures society needs to take to preserve equity of opportunity for all young people who wish to enter the labour market?

These questions raise important issues in relation to targeting of assistance for young people's preparation for and entry into the world of work. It is assumed that all will need some help to ease their transition from school, but that special help will be required for those at most risk of unemployment. It is also assumed that this assistance will be delivered in many different ways, both at school, during the compulsory years of education, during the period of post-compulsory schooling, and at the post-school level through tertiary institutions and a variety of other agencies.

The following groups have been identified as likely to require special assistance in making the transition from school to adult working life. They are arranged in a descending order of priority, with those in most urgent need of help listed first:

- (a) Those who leave school at 15 or 16 with no or poor educational qualifications and no immediate job prospects. Generally these will be registered as unemployed school-leavers, and may have been directed by the Department of Labour to a STEPS (School-leavers Training and Employment Preparation Scheme) programme. The group includes a disproportionate number of Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians. Girls in this category are relatively more disadvantaged than boys in obtaining employment.
- (b) First-job seekers aged 17 or more who have left school and are unable to find a job after a reasonable job-search period. Many of these young people will be occupied on a YPTP (Young Persons Training Programme) course. Their personal characteristics are similar to those described in the previous category.
- (c) All other unemployed aged 15-19, particularly those who have been unemployed for 26 weeks or more (the long-term unemployed). This group will consist mainly of the registered unemployed, but will also include those unrecorded unemployed young people who may be discouraged job seekers. Like category (a), girls, Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians will be disproportionately represented in this group.



- (d) Young people who are mentally, physically or emotionally handicapped, who cannot find jobs.
- (e) Young people still at school at the post-compulsory stage, who find that school no longer offers them a challenge, who would like to leave school and work, but who cannot find a job.
- (f) Young people still at school and below the age of 15 who have been identified by the school as potentially at risk to unemployment.
- (g) Young people who have experienced considerable job instability and who find job retention difficult. In general this group is eligible only for unskilled or low-skilled jobs. These young people have an erratic work history and may have personality problems, negative attitudes to work and a low level of education or training. Those jobs which they have held have usually been of short duration.
- (h) Young people in the part-time workforce who would prefer to be working full-time if they could find such a position.
- (i) Young people aged 20-24 who have had a difficult employment history (often characterised by recurrent periods of unemployment) and who have not yet established themselves firmly in the labour force.
- (j) Unemployed young people aged 20 or more who have graduated from institutions of higher education but who cannot find jobs of their choice. As a rule those who have followed professional courses find jobs, although often at a level below their expectations.
- (k) Young people of all ages in the workforce who are dissatisfied with their employment and who wish to improve their mobility by upgrading their skills.

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# III. BACKGROUND

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Table 1

NUMBERS OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SECONDARY SCHOOLS (FORMS 3-7)  
AT JULY 1, 1974-1984.

<i>Year</i>	<i>All Students</i>	<i>Maori Students</i>	<i>Maori Students as a % of all students</i>
1974	208,596	21,808	10.45
1975	219,754	23,869	10.86
1976	230,291	26,823	11.65
1977	231,998	30,723	13.05
1978	235,043	29,902	12.72
1979	230,128	30,193	13.12
1980	226,346	29,806	13.17
1981	224,926	29,939	13.31
1982	223,501	29,923	13.39
1983	230,748	31,479	13.64
1984	(231,698)*		

\* provisional figure

Source: *Education Statistics of New Zealand 1975-1984* inclusive, Department of Education

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## Demographic Trends

During the 1960s and 1970s the New Zealand school-age population continued to grow. Secondary school rolls reached their peak enrolment in 1978<sup>1</sup>, and have continued to decline since then, although some recovery over the 1982 level was experienced in 1983 and 1984 when rolls grew again, largely as a result of increased senior secondary school retention. The demographic bulge of the late 1970s which caused the peak enrolments in secondary schools has now moved into the labour force, and to some extent the pressures caused by this population cohort, most of which in 1984 is in the 20-24 age group, have exacerbated competition for jobs among young people in the 15-19 age group. While the policy suggestions in this report are aimed mainly at the needs of the younger teenage cohort, it must be remembered that the present 20-24 age cohort includes those who became most visible when youth unemployment was first recognised as a problem in New Zealand from 1978 on. There are some young people, particularly those who left school early, in the 20-24 age cohort who have still not become firmly established in the labour market. They con-

tinue to require special interventions such as educational programmes or intensive skill training to help them adapt to the realities of the labour market. Such young people must not be overlooked in the general concern to promote an effective transition of teenage young people into adult working life.

Table 2 sets out the New Zealand projected population aged 0-17 years by selected age groups. The 0-4 age group is projected to rise slowly to 268,050 at 1995 and then fall gradually till the turn of the century. The 8-year cycle of primary education corresponds to the 5 to 12 age group, and virtually all young people in this age cohort are enrolled at primary school. By using the 5 to 12 year-old population as a proxy for primary school enrolment, it can be seen that enrolment levels are projected to decrease until 1990, then increase slowly until the year 2000.

The 13-17 age cohort does not correspond as closely to the secondary school population, as school attendance is no longer compulsory after age 15. Since over 70 percent of this age cohort is still attending secondary school, the general demographic trends will nevertheless be similar in both populations. It is anticipated that secondary

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1 See Table 1



Table 2

## NEW ZEALAND POPULATION PROJECTED AGED 0-17 YEARS BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS<sup>1</sup> 1985-2000

		PROJECTED POPULATION AT 30 JUNE <sup>(2)</sup>																
AGE GROUP (YEARS)		1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	
0-4	Males	128,580	128,770	129,710	130,720	131,990	133,280	134,540	135,580	136,340	136,900	137,140	137,060	136,680	136,010	135,050	133,820	
0-4	Females	122,520	122,740	123,800	124,780	126,000	127,240	128,440	129,420	130,150	130,680	130,910	130,830	130,470	129,830	128,920	127,740	
0-4	All	251,100	251,510	253,510	255,500	257,990	260,520	262,980	265,000	266,490	267,580	268,050	267,890	267,150	265,840	263,970	261,560	
5-12	Males	219,490	214,790	210,740	207,990	206,120	205,320	206,040	207,160	207,660	208,700	210,380	211,980	213,790	215,420	216,810	217,780	
5-12	Females	209,980	205,160	200,900	198,310	196,680	196,010	196,520	197,210	197,630	198,650	200,430	201,980	203,700	205,260	206,580	207,510	
5-12	All	429,470	419,950	411,640	406,300	402,800	401,330	402,560	404,370	405,290	407,350	410,810	413,960	417,490	420,680	423,390	425,290	
13-17	Males	158,700	158,720	156,510	152,900	148,400	143,280	138,070	133,860	131,630	130,000	128,830	129,160	129,530	129,170	129,360	130,290	
13-17	Females	150,340	150,240	148,360	144,770	139,940	134,870	129,770	125,910	123,870	122,450	121,260	121,410	121,300	120,930	121,170	122,230	
13-17	All	309,040	308,960	304,870	297,670	288,340	278,150	267,840	259,770	255,500	252,450	250,090	250,570	250,860	250,100	250,530	252,520	

(1) The 0-4 age group is of pre-school age. School attendance is compulsory for the 6-14 age group inclusive. The 8-year cycle of primary education corresponds to the 5-12 age group. The 5-year cycle of secondary education corresponds to the 13-17 age group. In 1982 the average length of stay at secondary school for males was 3.8 years and for females 3.9 years (from the Department of Education).

Source: Department of Statistics, Projection Series C

(2) These projections incorporate the medium fertility variant and the low short-term migration variant. The net immigration from 1986 onwards is assumed to be 5000.

school rolls will decline steadily until the turn of the century. The actual fall in secondary school rolls may be less than that indicated by the population decline in the age cohort, owing to factors such as increased school retention, which has apparently been responsible for an increase in secondary school rolls in 1983 and 1984 over the roll levels of 1982. Even if school retention rates do continue to improve, as it is expected they will, the secondary school rolls will continue to fall until about 2000, with the effect on the labour market of a slightly smaller cohort of school-leavers entering the workforce year by year. The Department of Education's projected secondary school rolls for the next decade are set out in Table 3. While a declining number of young people will enter the workforce by comparison with previous years, and this will relieve pressures on teenage employment to a small extent over the next decade or so, population changes by themselves will do little to solve the problems which will face young people in the future in making the transition from school to work.

**Table 3**

**NEW ZEALAND PROJECTED JULY 1  
SECONDARY SCHOOL ROLLS 1985-1994**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Roll Numbers in Thousands</i>
1985	234.7
1986	234.7
1987	233.3
1988	227.7
1989	219.4
1990	211.8
1991	204.7
1992	199.7
1993	197.3
1994	196.4

Source: Department of Education, 1984

**New Zealand Participation Rates in  
Education**

By comparison with other OECD countries, New Zealand's participation rates in education for the 15-19 age group are not high. In 1980, for instance, Japan was estimated to have an average enrolment rate of 81.3 percent for the 15-19 age group, the US rate was estimated at 75.8 percent for the same age group, while the comparable figure for the New Zealand population was 45.5 percent<sup>2</sup>. In 1983 the overall participation rate in

formal full-time education for the total 15-19 age cohort in New Zealand had improved to 47.4 percent.

These figures for New Zealand, however, exclude participation in tertiary institutions other than universities, teachers' colleges and technical institutes. These "other" institutions include, for instance, the Police College, members of the armed services trained by the Defence Department, private business and secretarial colleges, agricultural training institutions, hospital board training schemes, hairdressing colleges, drama, ballet and dance schools, seminaries and other training agencies. In addition, part-time education is also excluded. A further 9.2 percent of the 15-19 age cohort is involved in part-time continuing education (apprentices, for instance, would be included here) and an additional 2 percent of that age group studies part-time at university. When these figures are added up, it is evident that at least 58.6 percent of the 15-19 age cohort in New Zealand is involved in either full-time or part-time education, and that even this latter figure is certainly a conservative under-estimate of young people's participation in education or training of one sort or another.

When the participation rates in full-time education are further analysed by age, it is clear that participation in education at ages 15, 16 and 17 has been steadily increasing over the last five years<sup>3</sup>. Marked growth has occurred in full-time enrolment at secondary school. Fifteen year-olds, for instance, increased their participation at school from 87.9 percent in 1979 to 92.2 percent in 1983. An even bigger increase in the rate for 16 year-olds was recorded between 1979 and 1983, from 65.7 percent to 71.3 percent. There has not been the same dramatic increase in participation in tertiary education, although there is a slight increase evident at each age level when 1983 participation rates are compared with 1979 rates.

International comparisons nevertheless suggest that there is considerable room to improve New Zealand's participation rate in education.

There would be benefits for young people and the community, if the length of time spent in education could be increased. An increase in the numbers being educated or trained full-time will reduce the numbers of young people entering the workforce and will therefore alleviate the pressures which result in youth unemployment. Further, a well-educated population will achieve a greater degree of life satisfaction. Finally, a better edu-

2 From Table 12, "Intergovernmental Meeting on Vocational Education and Training", Trends and Policy Issues, OECD

3 See Table 4, New Zealand Participation Rates in Full-Time Education by Age, 1979-1983

**Table 4**

**NEW ZEALAND PARTICIPATION RATES IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION BY AGE  
1979-1983**

AGE	FULL-TIME ENROLMENT AT SECONDARY SCHOOL (FORMS 1-7)					FULL-TIME ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY AND TERTIARY* EDUCATION				
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
15	87.9	86.9	89.2	91.0	92.2	87.9	86.9	89.2	91.0	92.3
16	65.7	66.6	67.7	67.5	71.3	66.3	67.3	68.3	68.2	72.1
17	33.3	32.6	32.9	31.5	35.4	37.8	37.1	37.3	36.0	40.2
18	6.3	6.5	6.3	5.6	6.3	13.8	19.5	19.0	18.6	19.2
19	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	14.2	14.7	15.0	14.8	14.6

\* Enrolments for tertiary institutions other than universities, teachers' colleges and technical institutes are not available by age, and have therefore been excluded. The institutions involved include private secretarial and business colleges, Flock House, the Telford Farm Training Institute, the ballet and drama schools, and seminaries. The numbers of students involved are small by comparison with the total age cohort and are not likely to affect significantly the overall participation rates.

**Source:** *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1980-1984*, Department of Education, and *Estimated Mean Age Distribution of New Zealand Population for Years Ended 30 June 1979-1983*, Department of Statistics



cated and trained workforce is more employable and better able to transfer skills learnt in one occupation to another in the future. Occupational flexibility is likely to become increasingly important for the next generation. Policies to encourage greater participation in education are discussed later in this report.

## New Zealand Retention Rates at Form 6 and Form 7

Over the last decade there has been an overall increase in retention rates<sup>4</sup> for all students in post-compulsory secondary schooling, and a marked

increase for all groups in 1983. It is significant that retention rates for girls have risen more sharply than for boys, both in form 6 and in form 7. For instance, form 6 girls' retention rate in 1972 was 42.6 percent<sup>5</sup>, but by 1983 it had increased to 60.7 percent. Boys' form 6 retention rate has also increased, but at a slower rate than that of girls. Since 1975, girls have also outnumbered boys in form 6. A similar pattern is occurring in form 7<sup>6</sup>. The retention rate for males has increased only slowly from 15.2 percent in 1973, to 17.7 percent in 1983. Males still outnumber females in form 7. Females, on the other hand, have nearly doubled their retention rate in form 7 over the last decade, and at 17.2 percent in 1983, have nearly caught up to the male rate. The Maori figures show retention rates about half those of all students in form 6 and about a quarter those of all students in form 7. The encouraging aspect of these figures is that the retention rates for Maori students in both forms 6 and 7 have doubled over the last decade. There is, nevertheless, considerable scope for encouraging more Maori students to stay on at school for further post-compulsory education.

The pattern of retention at form 6 and form 7 over the last decade, then, shows a gradual increase for male students and a quite dramatic increase for female students. The increasing numbers of young women staying on at school for upper secondary education is a reflection of changing social attitudes to the education of women and an indication that young women themselves in the 1980s are insisting on equity of treatment alongside their male counterparts.

There also appears to be an apparent relationship between student retention rates at school and job opportunities for school-leavers. The fact that girls have been more disadvantaged than boys in the teenage labour market may have been a contributory factor to the marked increase in female retention rates. A tight labour market, however, is not the only reason for young people to stay on longer at school in the 1980s than they did in the 1970s. Rising expectations of the value of an education for young people's life chances will have also played their part.

Table 5

### A) NZ RETENTION RATES\* TO FORM 6

Year	% (Males)	% (Females)	% (All)
1972	46.0	42.6	44.4
1973	45.6	44.0	44.8
1974	44.0	45.0	44.5
1975	45.0	47.0	46.0
1976	46.6	49.9	48.2
1977	46.4	50.6	48.4
1978	48.8	52.2	50.5
1979	48.9	53.4	51.2
1980	49.1	54.9	51.9
1981	50.0	55.7	52.8
1982	50.3	57.2	53.7
1983	55.2	60.7	57.9

\* i.e. ratio of number of form 6 students at July 1 to form 3 students at July 1 in first secondary school year when cohort of that school year commenced.

### B) NZ MAORI RETENTION RATES\* TO FORM 6

Year	% (Males)	% (Females)	% (All)
1972	13.7	13.5	13.6
1973	15.0	14.2	14.6
1974	14.4	15.8	15.1
1975	15.1	17.8	16.5
1976	18.0	18.9	18.4
1977	21.9	24.1	23.0
1978	22.4	23.3	22.8
1979	23.3	24.9	24.1
1980	21.3	23.0	22.1
1981	22.2	24.8	23.5
1982	23.5	25.5	24.5
1983	26.0	29.2	27.6

\* i.e. ratio of number of form 6 Maori students at July 1 to form 3 Maori Students at July 1 in first secondary school year when cohort of that school year commenced.

4 The retention rates which are discussed in this chapter are "apparent" retention rates to a particular form level. A true retention rate cannot be calculated accurately for each form level since the data are not available by cohort. Students who are included on the form 6 roll, for instance, could be in their fourth, fifth or sixth year at secondary school.

5 See Table 5

6 See Table 6

Table 6

A) NZ RETENTION RATES\* TO FORM 7

Year	% (Males)	% (Females)	% (All)
1973	15.2	9.5	12.4
1974	14.7	10.2	12.5
1975	15.4	10.3	12.9
1976	15.9	11.2	13.6
1977	15.3	11.6	13.5
1978	15.7	12.5	14.1
1979	15.8	12.8	14.3
1980	15.8	13.4	14.6
1981	16.1	14.9	15.5
1982	16.0	15.1	15.6
1983	17.7	17.2	17.5

\* i.e. ratio of number of form 7 students at July 1 to form 3 students at July 1 in first secondary school year when cohort of that school year commenced.

B) NZ MAORI RETENTION RATES\* TO FORM 7

Year	% (Males)	% (Females)	% (All)
1973	2.4	1.4	1.9
1974	2.5	1.4	1.9
1975	2.2	1.7	1.9
1976	2.8	1.6	2.2
1977	3.4	2.5	3.0
1978	3.6	2.4	3.0
1979	4.7	3.0	3.9
1980	4.4	2.8	3.6
1981	3.9	2.5	3.2
1982	4.1	3.4	3.8
1983	4.5	3.8	4.1

\* i.e. ratio of number of form 7 Maori students at July 1 to form 3 Maori Students at July 1 in first secondary school year when cohort of that school year commenced.

**Patterns of Leaving School by Years of Attendance**

Over the last decade there have been changes in the patterns of leaving school by years of attendance. The decrease in numbers of students leaving secondary school after only one or two years' attendance has been matched by a corresponding increase in numbers of students staying on at school for longer periods.

In 1974, for instance, 17.7 percent of students left school in their first or second year of attendance (i.e. from the third or fourth form)<sup>7</sup>. By 1982, only 8.9 percent of students left in their

7 See Table 7

first or second year at secondary school. On the other hand, the percentage of the school-leaver population who left in or after four years' attendance increased from 30.8 percent of students in 1974 to 36.6 percent of students in 1982.

A similar increase occurred in numbers of those students who attended secondary school for five or six years. 20 percent of students who left in 1972 had accumulated five or six years of attendance, while by 1982 the percentage of school-leavers who had attended secondary school for at least five years had climbed to 27.5 percent.

The statistic which best reflects this growth in attendance at school is the fact that in 1983, the latest year for which these figures are available, 66 percent of school-leavers had completed more than three years' secondary education.

Two further tables show the differing trends for students leaving school, by sex (Table 8) and by race (Table 9).

Table 8 presents years of attendance of school-leavers by sex. Males were more likely to leave school than females after one, two or three years of attendance. Females were more likely than males to leave after four years of attendance. The percentage of females leaving school after five or six years of attendance increased from 17 percent in 1974 to 27 percent in 1982, whereas the proportion of males leaving at this stage increased less sharply, from 23 percent in 1974 to 28 percent in 1982. However, the percentage of males leaving in the fourth year increased from 26 percent in 1974 to 33 percent in 1982, as against a smaller increase for females, from 36 percent in 1974 to 40.5 percent in 1982.

Table 9 compares years of attendance of Maori and non-Maori school-leavers. Non-Maori leavers attended school longer than Maori leavers in both 1974 and 1982. In 1982, 68 percent of non-Maoris and 41 percent of Maoris left school from the fourth year or later. It is evident that for both groups, however, there is a pattern emerging whereby students stay on longer at school. The proportion of Maoris leaving school from the fourth and fifth year increased between 1974 and 1982 (from 26 percent to 40 percent), as did the proportion of non-Maoris leaving school after four or five years of attendance (53 percent in 1974 to 67 percent in 1982).

For the sake of comparison, the numbers of school-leavers recorded in the Department of Education's annual returns are recorded in Table 10. The numbers leaving school peaked at 61,871 in 1978 and have been gradually declining since.

**Table 7**

**PERCENTAGES AND NUMBERS OF STUDENTS LEAVING SECONDARY SCHOOL\* BY YEARS OF ATTENDANCE, 1974-1983**

	1974			1975			1976			1977			1978		
	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
First and Second Year	19.1	16.1	17.7	16.4	13.7	15.1	14.0	12.4	13.2	12.5	10.2	11.3	10.9	8.7	9.8
Third Year	31.8	31.3	31.5	32.5	30.4	31.5	32.5	29.9	31.3	31.4	27.4	29.4	31.4	27.2	29.4
Fourth Year	26.0	35.9	30.8	27.6	37.6	32.4	29.8	38.9	34.2	31.1	41.2	36.1	32.9	42.6	37.6
Fifth and Sixth Year	23.1	16.7	20.0	23.5	18.3	21.0	23.7	18.8	21.3	25.0	21.2	23.2	24.8	21.5	23.2
Total Numbers	28,220	26,972	55,192	27,950	26,283	54,233	30,178	28,547	58,725	29,355	28,246	57,601	31,866	30,005	61,871
	1979			1980			1981			1982			1983		
	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	ALL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
First and Second Year	11.0	8.5	9.8	10.5	7.7	9.2	10.3	7.4	8.9	10.5	7.4	8.9	9.7	6.7	8.2
Third Year	31.4	26.2	28.9	29.4	24.4	27.0	29.8	25.0	27.5	28.7	25.2	27.0	26.9	24.0	25.5
Fourth Year	32.3	42.0	37.0	32.8	42.4	37.4	32.8	41.3	36.9	32.8	40.5	36.6	34.4	40.3	37.3
Fifth and Sixth Year	25.3	23.3	24.3	27.3	25.5	26.4	27.1	26.3	26.7	28.0	26.9	27.5	29.0	29.0	29.0
Total Numbers	31,785	30,001	61,786	30,465	28,386	58,851	30,322	28,325	58,647	27,523	26,791	54,314	28,170	27,887	56,057

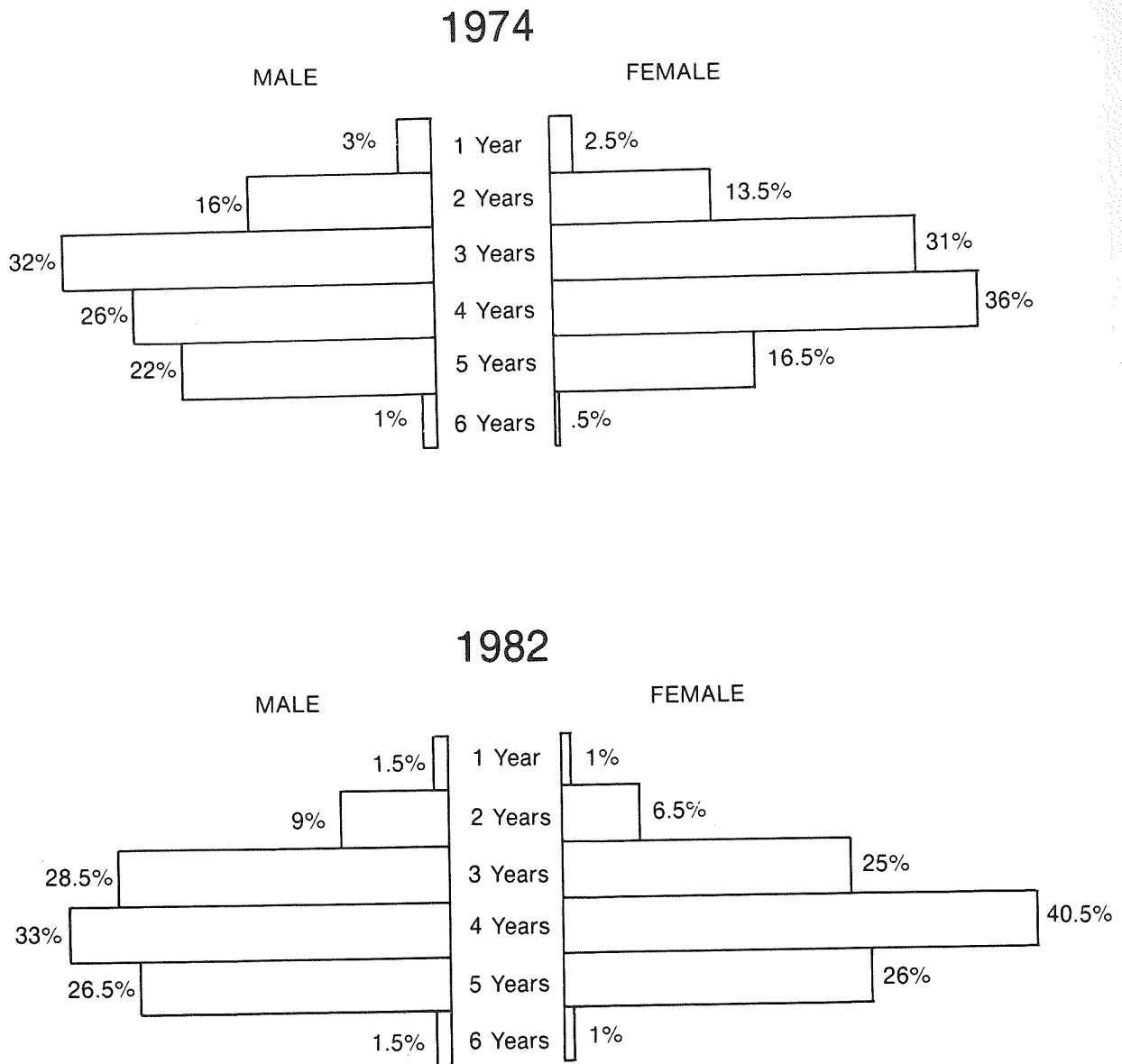
\* excluding Correspondence School

Source: Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1975-1984 inclusive, Department of Education



Table 8

## YEARS OF ATTENDANCE OF MALE AND FEMALE SCHOOL-LEAVERS, 1974 and 1982

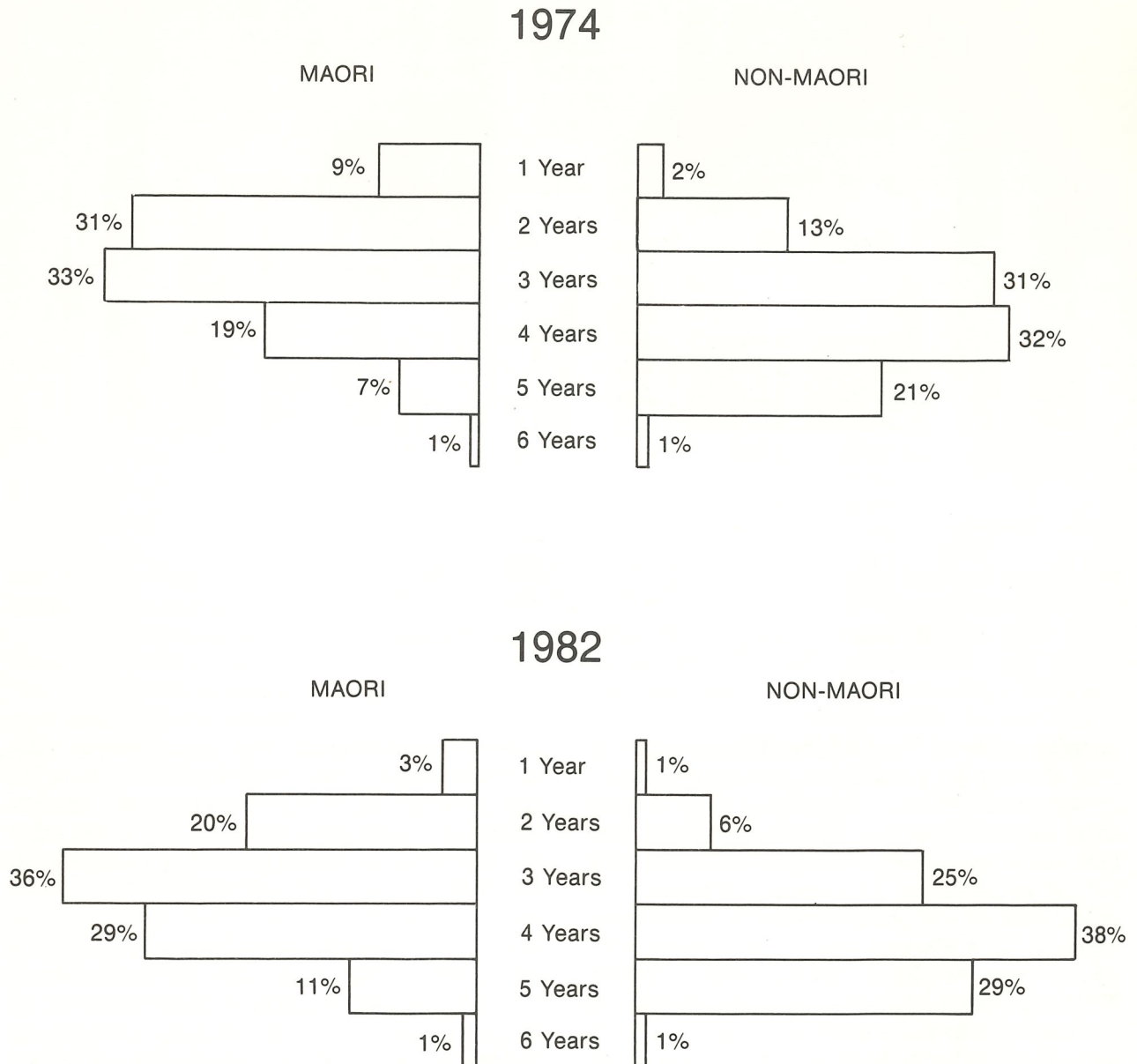


**Note:** Based on figure 5, page 11, from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*, Department of Education, 1984

**Source:** *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1975 and 1983*, Department of Education

Table 9

## YEARS OF ATTENDANCE OF MAORI AND NON-MAORI SCHOOL-LEAVERS, 1974 AND 1982



**Note:** Based on figure 4, page 10 from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*, Department of Education, 1984

**Source:** *Education Statistics in New Zealand, 1975 and 1983*, Department of Education

Table 10

## A) NUMBERS OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS, 1974-1983

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1974	28,200	26,972	55,192
1975	27,950	26,283	54,233
1976	30,178	28,547	58,725
1977	29,355	28,246	57,601
1978	31,866	30,005	61,871
1979	31,785	30,001	61,786
1980	30,465	28,386	58,851
1981	30,322	28,325	58,647
1982	27,523	26,791	54,314
1983	28,170	27,887	56,057

## B) NUMBERS OF MAORI SCHOOL-LEAVERS, 1974-1983

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of Total Leaving School</i>
1974	3,458	3,440	6,898	12.5
1975	3,329	3,430	6,759	12.5
1976	3,852	3,730	7,582	12.9
1977	3,914	3,727	7,641	13.3
1978	4,360	4,108	8,468	13.7
1979	4,683	4,308	8,991	14.6
1980	4,519	4,077	8,596	14.6
1981	4,347	4,074	8,421	14.4
1982	4,307	4,045	8,532	15.7
1983	4,140	4,226	8,366	14.9

Source: *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1975-1984* inclusive, Department of Education.

### Attainments of Secondary School-leavers

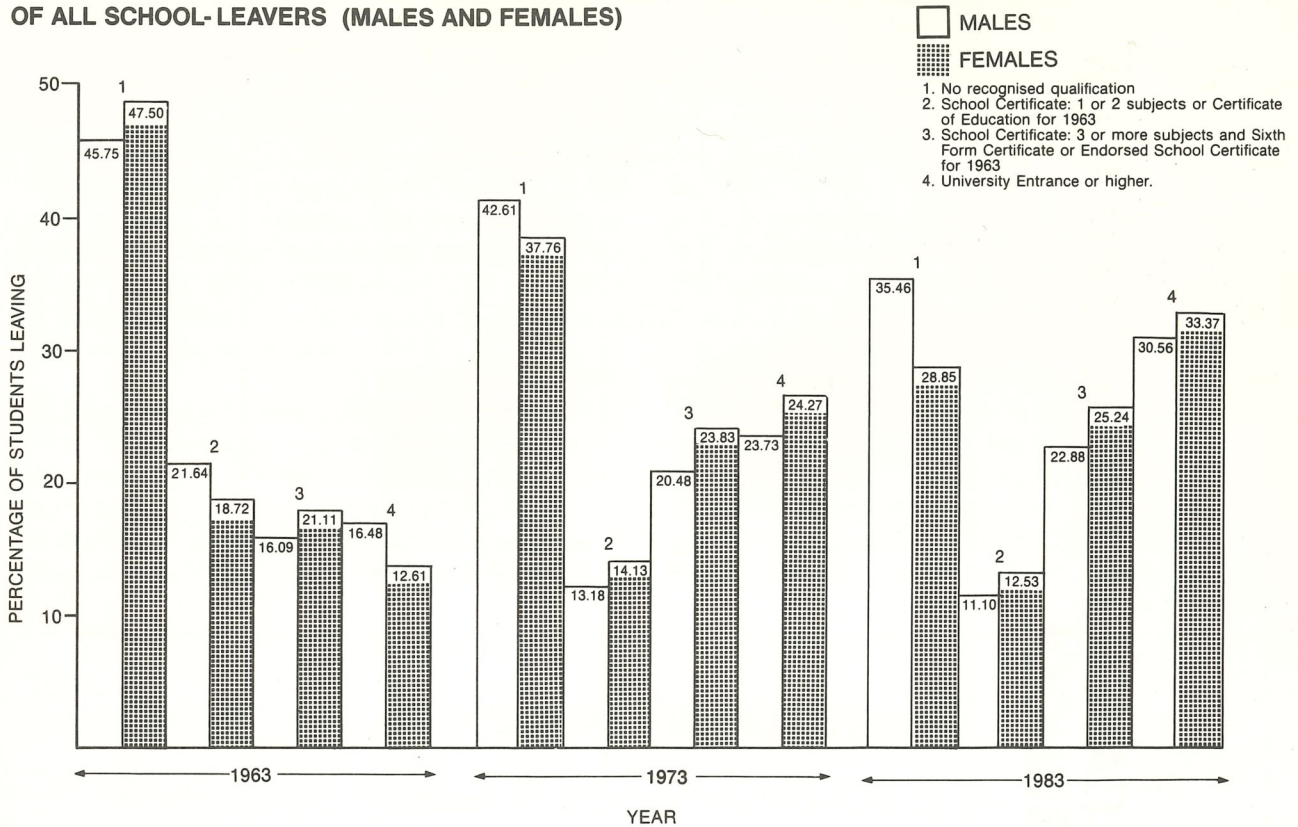
Over the last 20 years, an increasing proportion of young people have left school with at least some national qualification to show for the time they have spent there. Whereas in 1963, 45.7 percent of males and 47.5 percent of females left school with no recognised national academic qualification, by 1983 this percentage had fallen to 35.5 percent of males and 28.8 percent of females. Table 11 shows that more students today are gaining three or more subjects for School Certificate and the Sixth Form Certificate. There are also major changes in the proportions who have gained qualifications from the upper secondary school, such as University Entrance or higher awards. Only 16.5 percent of males and 12.6 percent of females gained University Entrance or better in 1963, whereas by 1983, 30.6 percent of males and 33.4 percent of females had qualified for U.E. or better. In summary, 56 percent of all 1983 school-leavers achieved a pass in three subjects in School Certificate or better, while 32 percent achieved University Entrance or a higher qualification.

These statistics indicate that young people today are receiving a higher level of education than the equivalent group received 20 years ago. This represents a greater concentration of time and effort by the school system in preparing young people for their entry to adult working life.

What has happened in New Zealand is that young people who leave school with no formal educational qualifications are now more visible in society because they are at risk to unemployment. Twenty years ago these young people were absorbed into a labour market which accommodated them because full employment was the norm. Today that is no longer the case. Even though the proportion of school-leavers with no nationally recognised qualifications is a much smaller proportion today, the visibility of the young unemployed has focused attention on the ways the education system prepares these young people for employment. Qualifications by themselves do not of course guarantee access to employment. But the young people who were consulted in the course of this project were certainly aware of the role of



**Table 11**  
**ATTAINMENTS OF STUDENTS LEAVING STATE AND PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS A PERCENTAGE**  
**OF ALL SCHOOL-LEAVERS (MALES AND FEMALES)**



national qualifications in sorting and selecting the young for further education or for employment. The increasing retention of students in the upper secondary school has also altered the situation, and raises anew questions such as the most appropriate forms of assessment and credentials for school-leavers in today's changed circumstances. What the education system must seek to do is to enhance young people's skills and abilities in a way which will enable them to find jobs in a labour market that increasingly demands higher levels of skills. To the extent that an emphasis on qualifications can promote skill enhancement among school-leavers, and help make young people more employable, such educational developments can be commended. It must be stated, however, that an emphasis on obtaining qualifications can be frustrating for the young and inevitably self-defeating if it simply produces a better educated pool of unemployed and is not accompanied by other measures to create new jobs and improve the working of the labour market. Issues relating to assessment and credentials are discussed in more detail in a later chapter of this report.

### Intended Destinations of School-leavers

The data set out in Tables 12 to 16 inclusive are based on the Department of Education's national return collected annually each March on the in-

tended destinations of school-leavers. Caution must be used in interpreting these statistics since their accuracy depends upon whether students notify schools of their intended destination. Most schools have developed a procedure whereby school-leavers fill in a form which includes the information about their intended destination, before they actually leave. Some students, however, simply leave school without following established procedures, and as a result the school may have no information on what these young people intend to do.

In addition, some students do not know their destination and some presumably do not go where they intended. While some schools check a student's notified intentions with the actual outcome, most do not follow up students once they have left school. Nevertheless, most schools have developed procedures which ensure that the information supplied about students' intended destinations on leaving school is accurate. This information is not available from other sources and the return from the Department of Education does provide a useful indication of the immediate intended destination of school-leavers. There is a distinction which must be drawn, however, between the students' *intended* destination (what the student says he or she will do on leaving school) and the *actual* destination (where the student actually goes).



**Table 12**

**INTENDED DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS\* EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL THOSE LEAVING SCHOOL**

INTENDED DESTINATION	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Further full-time education at:									
University	11.5	11.0	11.3	10.8	11.1	11.6	11.6	12.3	12.5
Technical Institute	5.4	5.5	6.1	6.4	6.6	6.8	7.6	9.1	9.2
Other full-time education (including Teachers College)	3.4	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.6	1.6	1.6	1.3
To join labour force									
Technical or professional work requiring further part-time or directed education (health, technicians, other)	9.0	8.7	8.3	7.2	6.8	5.4	4.6	4.1	3.3
Apprenticeships	15.4	15.1	13.3	12.6	11.8	9.1	9.2	8.1	7.8
Clerical, sales and related work	20.8	20.8	19.4	19.1	18.2	17.0	17.4	16.6	15.9
Production service industries (including Armed Forces), agricultural and manual occupations	16.7	16.7	17.0	17.0	16.2	18.8	20.8	19.1	19.9
No occupation or unknown	17.8	19.5	22.1	24.6	27.1	28.7	27.2	29.1	30.1

\* excludes Correspondence School

Source: Education Statistics of New Zealand 1976-1984 inclusive, Department of Education

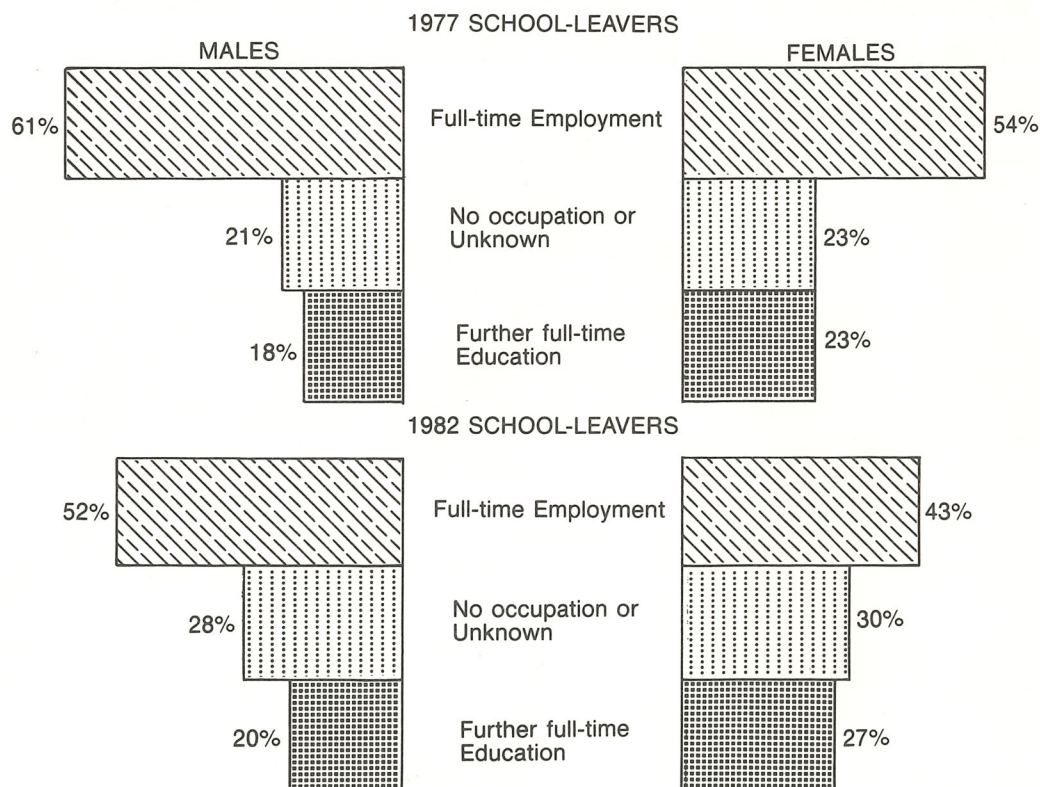
Table 12 sets out the major trends which are apparent in the last decade. The percentage of school-leavers in various categories is set out on a longitudinal basis so that changes which have occurred over time can be plotted.

There has been a slow but steady increase in the percentage of students intending to study full-time at university, a marked increase in numbers of students who plan to study full-time at a technical institute, and a decrease in numbers of those embarking on other full-time education. The decrease in this latter category in 1981 and 1982 is partly explained by the cut in entry quotas to Teachers Colleges as from 1981.

Of those students who intend to join the labour force, numbers intending to take up apprenticeship contracts have declined, as has the proportion of those who plan to embark on professional or technical work requiring further part-time or directed education, in categories such as in health

services, technicians or other work. Similarly, the proportion of those intending to work in clerical, sales or related fields has declined slightly. There is a slight increase in the proportion of those school-leavers who intend to work in production, or service industries (including the Armed Forces), and agricultural or manual occupations. The dramatic increase, however, is in the final category "no occupation or unknown", from 17.8 percent in 1975 to 30.1 percent in 1983. This latter category includes those school-leavers who become unemployed. It is the dramatic increase in the numbers of students leaving school without a clear idea of their destination which underlines the necessity for greater attention being paid in schools to the transition from school to working life, and in particular to the notion of career education. Difficulty in obtaining employment is certainly a contributory factor in the evident growth in the percentage of students whose destination is unknown, but the fact that over 30 percent of students leaving school now fall into

**Table 13**  
**PROBABLE DESTINATIONS IN 1977 AND 1982**  
**OF MALE AND FEMALE SCHOOL-LEAVERS**



**Note:** Based on figure 7, page 16 from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*, Department of Education, 1984

**Source:** *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1978 and 1983*, Department of Education



this category cannot be ignored by schools.

Schools cannot be made scapegoats for the social and economic conditions in society beyond their control which give rise to the more difficult transition from school to work adolescents now face. Schools can help students, however, by making them aware of the increasing scarcity of jobs for young people and by assisting their own "job readiness" through a sustained programme of career education throughout their secondary schooling. Where possible, young people should be encouraged to stay on at school until they have a definite job to go to on leaving. If this encouragement is to be successful, schools will need to develop more appropriate programmes for the "school-tired" youngster who has nevertheless elected to remain in school beyond the age of compulsory attendance.

In addition, more careful monitoring and guidance of potential school-leavers, particularly those at risk to unemployment or those with no evident career attachment, would assist in reducing the numbers of school-leavers who leave school with

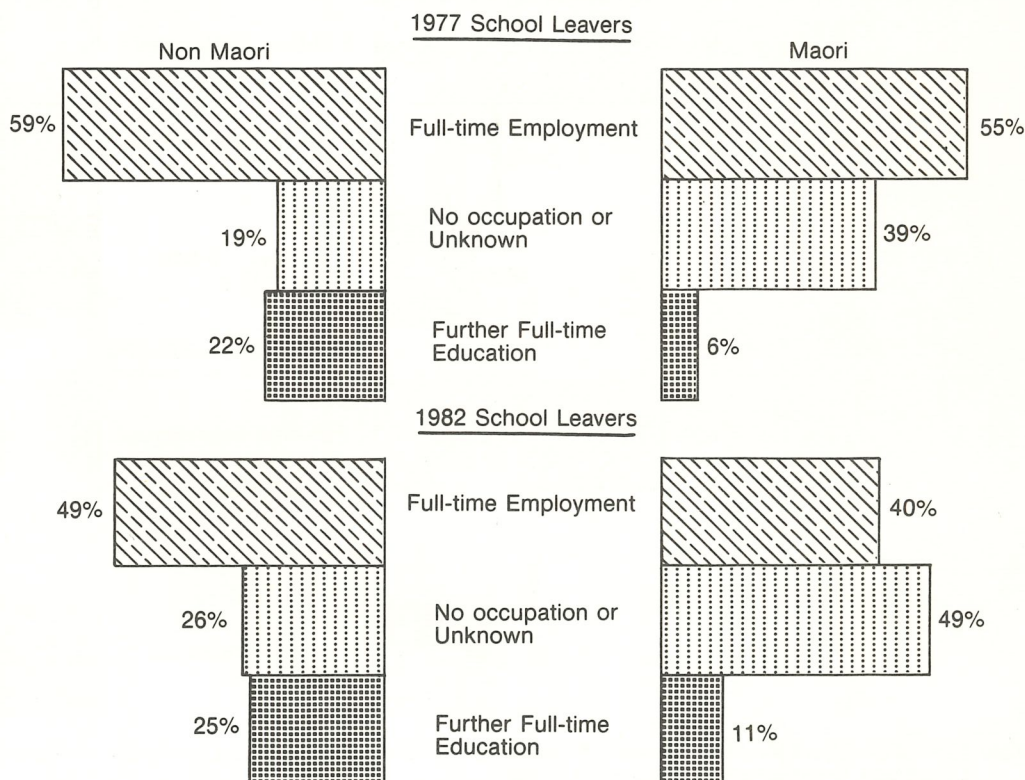
no clear idea of where they intend to work or what they intend to do.

More detailed analysis of the school-leaver "intended destinations" gives a further indication of particular groups where help should be specially targeted. When male school-leavers were compared with females in both 1977 and 1982, for instance, it was found that males were more likely than females to enter full-time employment in both years, although the proportion of school-leavers intending to enter the labour force full-time decreased from 58 percent in 1977 to 48 percent in 1982. Females in both years were more likely to undertake further education or be classified under "no occupation or unknown" (see Table 13).

When Maori and non-Maori school-leavers were compared for the same two years (see Table 14), it was clear the Maori school-leavers were nearly twice as likely to be classified "no occupation or unknown" as non-Maoris. In 1982, 49 percent of Maori school-leavers were in this category as against 26 percent of non-Maori school-leavers.

**Table 14**

### PROBABLE DESTINATION IN 1977 AND 1982 OF NON-MAORI AND MAORI SCHOOL-LEAVERS



**Note:** Based on figure 8, page 17 from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*, Department of Education, 1984

**Source:** *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1978 and 1983*, Department of Education.



More non-Maoris than Maoris intended to enter further full-time education direct from school in 1982 (25 percent of non-Maoris as against 11 percent of Maoris). There was, however, an overall increase in the proportion of Maori school-leavers intending to enter full-time education over this time period, from 6 percent in 1977 to 11 percent in 1982. The decrease in those intending to enter full-time employment direct from school was more marked for Maoris (55 percent in 1977 to 40 percent in 1982), than for non-Maoris (59 percent in 1977 to 49 percent in 1982).

The conclusion to be drawn from all these figures is that Maoris are more at risk in making the transition from school to work than non-Maoris, and that females are more disadvantaged than males.

When the probable labour force destinations of students leaving school are subjected to closer scrutiny, several trends are evident over time. Table 15 sets out the probable labour force destinations by sex of those students who left secondary school between 1975 and 1983 and who indicated they intended to enter employment directly.

First of all, fewer students in 1983 indicated they planned to enter the workforce direct from school, as compared with 1975. In 1975 there were 33,560 school-leavers planning to enter the workforce directly from school, but by 1983 this had declined to 26,297, a decline of 7,263 over less than a decade. This discrepancy occurred even though the numbers of total school-leavers in 1983 exceeded those who left in 1975: there were actually 1,824 more leavers recorded in 1983 (see Table 10). Girls suffered a more severe decline than boys, underlining their disadvantaged position when competing for jobs in a tighter labour market. The major reason for this decline in total numbers of school-leavers entering the workforce directly from school is almost certainly the increased difficulty experienced by these young people in finding a job. Other factors which may have also had some minor influence include a rising expectation of the value of an education, which would have siphoned off some school-leavers into further education, and possibly an increasing tendency for some occupations to train young people full-time in institutions such as technical institutes rather than on the job.

Specific trends are evident when the data is analysed by sex. There is a gradual decrease in the proportion of males intending to take up apprenticeships and an indication that in 1983 the favoured occupations for males are those to do with production, service industries (including the armed forces), agricultural and manual occupations. This

was the intended destination of 34.7 percent of males in 1975, increasing to 52.3 percent in 1983.

The pattern of intended destinations for males indicates a movement by those school-leavers entering employment directly from school away from skilled trades or technical and professional work and towards the unskilled or low-skilled occupations.

There is a decrease in the number of females intending to work full-time in health services although this may be partly offset by the transfer of nursing training to the technical institutes over this period. Another feature worthy of note is that the proportion of young women intending to enter apprenticeships remains consistently low (around 5-6 percent) by comparison with the proportion of young men intending to enter apprenticeships. The most favoured occupational category for girls entering the labour force full-time from school is still clerical, sales and related work. These occupations attract a consistent 54 percent of female school-leavers, although this consistent proportion masks a drop in actual numbers of girls intending to work in these occupations. There is also, as there was for boys, an increase over time in the percentage of female school-leavers intending to work in production, service industries, agricultural and manual occupations, from 18.2 percent in 1975 to 30.4 percent in 1983.

In summary, Table 15 shows a slight decline in the proportion of all students intending to enter technical or professional work requiring further full or part-time education (health, technicians or other), a decline in the percentage of those who intend to take up apprenticeships (24.9 percent in 1975 to 16.6 percent in 1983), and an increase in the percentage of those intending to enter production, service industries, agricultural and manual occupations. This latter group of industries and occupations is where most unskilled workers are initially placed. Finally, absolute numbers of school-leavers intending to enter the workforce directly from school have declined from 36,032 in 1976 to 28,297 in 1983. This indicates there are now probably fewer job opportunities for school-leavers in the labour force.

Table 16 sets out probable occupations of 1982 school-leavers by race, of those school-leavers who intended to enter the workforce directly from school. There is a higher proportion of non-Maoris than Maoris intending to enter technical and professional work (9.1 percent as against 5.4 percent), apprenticeships (17.6 percent as against 11.7 percent), and clerical, sales and related work (36.2 percent as against 23.8 percent). However, a greater proportion of Maoris than non-Maoris plan to enter production and service industries,

Table 15

## PROBABLE LABOUR FORCE DESTINATION OF STUDENTS LEAVING SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1975-1983(%)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
<b>MALES</b>									
Joined the Labour Force									
(a) Technical or professional									
(i) Health services	.5	.6	.5	.6	.6	.9	.6	.6	.4
(ii) Technicians and others	7.4	7.2	7.1	7.3	7.3	6.0	5.7	5.3	4.4
(b) Apprenticeships	42.5	41.5	37.8	36.7	35.7	28.4	27.9	26.0	25.5
(c) Clerical, sales and related	14.8	15.5	15.6	16.3	16.7	17.3	16.8	18.7	17.4
(d) Production, service industries, agricultural & manual occupations	34.7	35.2	39.0	39.1	39.7	47.4	48.9	49.4	52.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers of students	17,783	19,245	18,042	18,801	17,894	16,666	17,021	14,465	14,492
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>FEMALES</b>									
Joined the Labour force									
(a) Technical or professional									
(i) Health services	17.4	16.4	17.3	13.4	12.4	10.9	8.3	8.1	6.4
(ii) Technicians and others	4.6	5.3	4.9	5.3	6.2	4.7	3.9	3.8	3.2
(b) Apprenticeships	5.0	5.4	5.4	5.5	6.2	5.0	4.7	5.4	5.7
(c) Clerical, sales and related	54.8	54.9	54.5	55.6	55.7	54.9	54.7	54.6	54.3
(d) Production, service industries, agricultural & manual occupations	18.2	18.0	17.9	20.2	19.5	24.5	28.4	28.2	30.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of students	15,777	16,787	15,359	15,740	14,821	12,946	13,453	11,530	11,805
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>ALL</b>									
Joined the Labour force									
(a) Technical or professional									
(i) Health services	8.4	8.0	8.3	6.4	6.0	5.3	4.0	3.9	3.1
(ii) Technicians and others	6.1	6.3	6.1	6.4	6.8	5.5	4.9	4.6	3.9
(b) Apprenticeships	24.9	24.7	22.9	22.5	22.4	18.1	17.7	16.8	16.6
(c) Clerical, sales and related	33.6	33.8	33.5	34.2	34.4	33.7	33.5	34.6	33.9
(d) Production, service industries, agricultural & manual occupations	27.0	27.2	29.3	30.5	30.5	37.4	39.9	40.0	42.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of students	33,560	36,032	33,401	34,541	32,715	29,612	30,474	25,995	26,297

Note: Because of rounding percentages do not always sum to exactly 100.

Source: Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1975-1984, Department of Education

\* Based on Table 5, page 20, from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*,

Department of Education, 1984



agricultural and manual occupations (59.1 per cent as against 37.1 percent).

The overall conclusion is inescapable: in 1983, as compared with previous years, a greater proportion of school-leavers of either sex entering the workforce directly from school intends to enter low-skilled or unskilled occupations, rather than skilled occupations. A similar tendency is evident when intended destinations of Maori school-leavers are considered: a higher proportion of Maoris than non-Maoris intends to enter low-skilled or unskilled work.

It is not clear whether these signals from a greater proportion of school-leavers to enter low-skilled or unskilled occupations result from conscious, voluntary choices by the school-leaver population to enter jobs which are perceived by them as less demanding and requiring less by way of investment in education or training. Alternatively, these signals may be forced responses to the working of a labour market perceived by young people to discriminate against them, since school-leavers are now offered fewer opportunities to work in occupations where skills can be developed. On the evidence presented in the chapter of this report on changing patterns of employment in the teenage labour force, the latter hypothesis seems the more likely.

### Tertiary Participation

Table 17 sets out numbers of internal full-time and part-time students at universities in New Zealand over the last five years. There has been a slight increase in numbers each year, mainly among young women. In particular, there has been an increase among female full-time students

from 10,845 in 1979 to 13,417 in 1983, and a slightly smaller increase of 842 in numbers of female part-time students over the same period.

About 30 percent of the internal full-time and part-time students at university are aged 16-19. The pattern for both male and female full-time students in this age cohort reflects trends in the university student population as a whole — that is, male enrolment is reasonably constant, but there is a growth in female enrolment. Among part-time students, however, both males and females in the 16-19 age cohort show a gradual decline in numbers over the period 1979-1983.

Table 18 sets out numbers of students enrolled in full-year full-time and full-year part-time courses by sex in institutions of continuing education. Most full-year full-time enrolments are at technical institutes or community colleges, whereas full-year part-time enrolments may be either at technical institutes, community colleges, night classes at secondary schools, or at the Technical Correspondence Institute or the Correspondence School. Total enrolments in continuing education over the last five years have fluctuated, with the only clear growth pattern emerging being that for full-time female enrolments, which climbed from 4,419 in 1979 to 5,767 in 1983.

About 25 percent of people enrolled in full-year continuing education courses, whether full-time or part-time, are aged 15-19. When full-year continuing education enrolment figures by age for 1979 and 1983 are compared in detail, some interesting trends are evident. Considerably more 15-year-old girls enrolled for full-year continuing education in 1983 (1,268) than in 1979 (423),

Table 16

#### PROBABLE OCCUPATIONS OF 1982 SCHOOL-LEAVERS BY RACE (%)

Occupation	Maori	Non-Maori	Total
(a) Technical or Professional Work			
(i) Health Services	2.4	4.2	3.9
(ii) Technicians & Others	3.0	4.9	4.6
(b) Apprenticeships	11.7	17.6	16.8
(c) Clerical, Sales and Related Work	23.8	36.2	34.6
(d) Production & Service Industries, Agricultural and Manual Occupations	59.1	37.1	40.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	3,365	22,630	25,995

Note: Based on table 6, page 21 from Kerslake, J., *Transition from School to Work: A Review of the New Zealand Literature*, Department of Education, 1984

Source: *E4/10 Return, 1982*, Department of Education

while for the other female age groups up to 18, there were few significant differences in enrolments over these two years.

Male enrolments, however, declined between 1979 and 1983 for 16-year-olds (by 769), 17-year-olds (by 1,080) and 18-year-olds (by 1,391). The major reason for the fall in enrolments for these age groups appears to be a decline in enrolments with the New Zealand Technical Correspondence Institute (NZTCI). This in turn appears to be related to the declining opportunities available for young men to take up apprenticeships. Most of the 16 to 18-year-old males enrolled with the NZTCI will be candidates for a New Zealand Certificate course. It is a requirement for entry to these courses that young people be in a job. If jobs are not available (in this case the jobs are apprenticeships), then enrolments for these courses will fall. This appears to be the most likely explanation for the

decline in tertiary participation (at institutions other than universities) among young males.

### Apprenticeships

Traditionally, the apprenticeship system, which employs a significant number of young school-leavers each year, has been one of the most effective measures available to ease the transition from school to work. One male school-leaver in four in New Zealand becomes an apprentice, although the proportion for females is much lower at 2.7 per cent.

Outlined in Table 19 are the trends that are observable in private sector apprenticeship contracts over the last decade. It is a cause for concern that the number of apprentices entering new contracts has steadily declined from the peak of 10,052 in 1974 to the present level of 6,795 in

Table 17

#### NUMBERS OF INTERNAL FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY BY SEX, 1979-1983

Year	Males		Females		All		Total
	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	
1979	19,049	6,033	10,845	6,611	29,894	12,644	42,538
1980	19,537	6,017	11,452	6,927	30,989	12,944	43,933
1981	19,664	6,009	11,885	7,178	31,549	13,187	44,736
1982	19,456	5,955	12,620	7,280	32,076	13,235	45,311
1983	19,727	5,873	13,417	7,453	33,144	13,326	46,470

Note: In 1983, 29.6% of internal full-time and part-time students were aged 15-19.

Source: *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1980-84*, Department of Education

Table 18

#### CONTINUING EDUCATION — NUMBERS OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN FULL-YEAR FULL-TIME AND FULL-YEAR PART-TIME COURSES BY SEX, 1979-1983

Year	Males		Females		All		Total
	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	
1979	1,867	65,023	4,419	65,460	6,286	130,483	136,769
1980	1,917	65,654	4,925	72,579	6,842	138,233	145,075
1981	2,001	64,573	4,914	69,218	6,915	133,791	140,706
1982	1,940	63,500	5,390	66,744	7,330	130,244	137,574
1983	2,189	66,216	5,767	70,812	7,956	137,028	144,984

Note: In 1983, 24.7% of students enrolled in full-year full-time and full-year part-time courses of continuing education were aged 15-19. (This figure excludes students in the Correspondence School.)

Source: *Education Statistics of New Zealand, 1980-84*, Department of Education



1984, in spite of a slight improvement in numbers in 1982.

There are also fewer private sector apprenticeship contracts in force (23,843 at 31 March 1984) than there were a decade ago. Numbers of new apprenticeship contracts in government departments are much smaller than numbers in the private sector. There was a decline to 373 new contracts in government departments for the year ended March 31, 1984. What is more encouraging is that numbers of private sector contracts completed have not declined over the last decade, and the numbers of contracts which have lapsed in 1984 were only half the number that lapsed in 1974. The tenor of these statistics nevertheless indicates that a general decline in apprenticeships has been under way for a decade, in spite of persistent claims that there is a mismatch between the skills of the labour force and the type of labour required by employers<sup>8</sup>. For instance, the Minister of Employment, Mr K. Burke, is reported in the *Evening Post* of 17 October 1984, as saying that while there was currently an improvement in the availability of jobs, there were also "apparent shortages in some skilled trades".

It is clear from an analysis of changing employment patterns, as recorded in successive censuses, that this fall reflects a decline in employment of major industries which have traditionally provided apprenticeships<sup>9</sup>. Two examples of such major industries are the building and motor trades. The Department of Labour's *Summary of Apprenticeship Trends to 31 March 1983* records 12 trades with increases in new contracts in the private sector, but 25 in which the number of new contracts was lower than in the previous year. Current levels of recruitment are unlikely to be adequate to meet employers' continuing future needs for skilled workers. It is likely that employers will be looking for more skilled labour, particularly if there is an improvement in the economy. Because it takes years to train apprentices, the labour market will not be able to respond easily or quickly to such demands. The construction industry, already mentioned as one industry in which there has been a decline in apprenticeships, is particularly susceptible to these "boom or bust"

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8 See also page 6 of *Apprenticeship for Tomorrow, A Government Statement on Directions for Trade Training in New Zealand*, October 1981, or page 9 of *Employer Approach to Vocational Training*, New Zealand Employers Federation, April, 1984

9 See the next chapter on changing patterns of employment in the teenage labour force.

cycles. What is required is a frontal attack on the rigidities of the apprenticeship system which inhibit effective manpower planning and which prevent a growth in numbers of trained young people who can take their place as skilled journeymen or artisans in the workforce.

A new Apprenticeship Act, introduced in November 1983, sets out several new provisions to improve the training and recruitment of apprentices. This legislation includes provision for: secondment of an apprentice to another employer who is willing and able to undertake a further aspect of that apprentice's training; group apprenticeship schemes, which will enable employers who would not otherwise employ or train apprentices to participate in their training; joint contracts by two or more employers; and apprenticeship to industry, whereby any association of employers in the same general locality can agree to become an employer of apprentices.

These measures are aimed at maintaining and increasing opportunities for persons to become apprentices, or are designed to improve the quality and variety of the training received. If employers adopt these measures, the apprenticeship system should become more effective and efficient.

Changing people's attitudes, however, takes time, and by the time the new Labour government had been elected in July 1984, it was evident that additional moves were needed to boost the numbers entering apprenticeships.

In September 1984 approval was given to an Apprentice Block Course Subsidy whereby employers will receive, as from 1 January 1985, a payment of \$70 a week per apprentice to offset the non-productive costs of their apprentices for the full time they are attending block courses in technical institutes. In addition, the subsidy will be paid for up to two weeks for other approved full-time off-job training per apprentice per year. An enhanced level of subsidy of \$105 a week per apprentice is also offered to trades which reform their apprenticeship training in appropriate ways. Special assistance was offered to encourage employers to recruit female apprentices. Employers of female apprentices, for trades other than hairdressing, will receive \$20 a week throughout the first year of training. The scheme is known as FAIR (Female Apprentice Incentive for Recruitment) and is intended to widen the opportunities available for young women wanting to enter non-traditional occupations.

Other support measures include the availability of seeding money to assist the development of apprenticeship to industry and group apprenticeship

schemes, and the payment of fees to local committees while they are undertaking field work.

These measures do depend upon employment subsidies and may therefore be criticised on the grounds that the tax drain to fund these schemes reduces demand elsewhere in the economy. However, any subsidy is a transfer of income from one group in the community to another, and the expenditure of public funds on apprenticeship training can be well justified on the grounds of equity.

Fundamental to this issue are questions about the role of the state in relation to the vocational training of young people. There are those who argue that the "user pays" principle should be applied more widely to all tertiary education, including university education. On the other hand, there are those who argue that a greater role for the state in all forms of vocational training is in the public interest and in keeping with New Zealand's egalitarian traditions. The expenditure of large sums of public money for training young people for professional occupations at university is well established in the community, presumably because society judges it receives an acceptable rate of return for such investment. Society has an equal need for skilled tradespeople, so that one might reasonably expect state support for young people who undertake these forms of trade training.

Traditionally, trade training has been regarded as the responsibility of the employer, but today's changed circumstances warrant a reappraisal of the role of the state in vocational training. The need for more specialised training, coupled with

the increasing trend to more off-the-job training in institutions, has created a considerable cost burden on employers. It is the financial burden, more than any other, which has made employers reluctant to take on apprentices. Who is expected to pay for training during downswings in the economy if employers will not? The current moves to supply government subsidies are therefore likely to ease the present situation, although it is unlikely that the use of subsidies can be regarded as a satisfactory long-term solution.

These initiatives to improve and reform the recruitment and training of apprentices are commendable, but it is now apparent that it is going to take some time to overcome rigidities in the system and to increase the actual numbers of young people entering apprenticeships.

A key barrier to growth in numbers of apprentices is the requirement for concurrent work experience alongside the training apprentices receive. No-one in New Zealand becomes an apprentice unless he or she has a job. The principle underlying this requirement is that practical training is more effectively delivered on-the-job, while the technical institutes provide an input of theoretical training, largely by way of block courses and evening classes. Industries therefore need to provide the jobs to train the apprentices, who will in turn meet the industry's future labour market requirements. The problem which arises is that there is a gap between industry demand for skilled labour and industry's willingness to train that labour.

The cost to an employer of training an apprentice is certainly one factor inhibiting growth in num-

Table 19

TRENDS IN PRIVATE SECTOR APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACTS

<i>Years Ended 31 March</i>	<i>New Contracts</i>	<i>Contracts Completed</i>	<i>Contracts Lapsed</i>	<i>Contracts in Force</i>
1974	10,052	5,174	2,848	29,982
1975	9,263	6,118	3,402	29,725
1976	7,931	5,619	2,609	29,370*
1977	8,669	5,895	2,306	29,913*
1978	7,804	7,084	2,303	28,327*
1979	7,571	6,823	1,902	26,981*
1980	7,019	5,804	1,843	26,374*
1981	6,592	6,845	1,450	25,146*
1982	7,910	5,641	1,291	26,114*
1983	6,994	6,602	1,740	24,766*
1984	6,795	6,265	1,451	23,843

\* Revised figures. Other columns have not been revised and totals of apprentices employed at the end of the 12 months may not equal total apprentices at the beginning of the 12 months plus new contracts, less lapsings and completions.

bers of apprenticeships. New Zealand's system of training apprentices is expensive, and when the economic outlook is bleak, employers respond by refusing to take on and train additional labour. In addition, employers complain that skilled workers can be "poached" by other firms once training has been completed and the investment made in training the apprentice has therefore been squandered.

A move to train more young people in full-time courses in technical institutes would be one way of attempting to address this problem.

The government's white paper *Apprenticeship for Tomorrow* advocates that off-the-job training be introduced into apprenticeship programmes to provide a broad-based preparation on which later skills can be built. This approach envisages apprenticeship training based on a detailed analysis of the skills required and proceeding in stages, initially broad and becoming progressively more specialised. "It would be in keeping with this approach if achievement were formally recognised as each stage is completed. This would make it easier for people to change direction during an apprenticeship or to cross-credit relevant stages to a new apprenticeship should an initial choice prove unsuitable". Such moves are supported, since broad-based initial training could develop in a number of directions, and therefore allow a speedier response to the changing needs of today's more volatile labour market. It would also probably reduce the number of drop-outs (thereby increasing cost-effectiveness), and because more basic training is provided, it is likely to be attractive to employers.

There may well also be merit in encouraging pre-apprenticeship programmes which begin in school and which could shorten the time spent in apprenticeship, as occurs now in countries such as Denmark, France and Ireland. Alternatively, trade training courses in technical institutes could be made more widely available.

Other rigidities which may be inhibiting growth in numbers of apprentices include gender stereotyping in entry to some occupations, reluctance of some prospective apprentices to accept a level of income which is initially lower than they might obtain elsewhere, and an unwillingness on the part of some young people to commit themselves to training for one occupation for an extended period of years.

Another defect of the apprenticeship system as it has operated in the past is its inability to respond quickly and flexibly to changing needs. What is needed is training that is prompt, flexible and cost-effective, particularly where there are new skill requirements in industries or occupations.

It is appropriate to ask whether supply or demand factors are constraining the growth of apprenticeships. It would be surprising in view of the num-

bers of unemployed school-leavers if young people are being offered posts but these posts are not being filled. The statistics available do not indicate any changes of behaviour among young people. Indications from figures on private sector apprenticeship contracts (see Table 21) are that the numbers of contracts lapsing are declining and that consequently a higher proportion of those young people who enter apprenticeship contracts are now completing their training and becoming journeymen or artisans. A more likely explanation of factors constraining the growth of apprenticeships lies in the demand factors. It appears employers are simply not offering as many places to apprentices as they used to.

One way of improving the system is the suggestion that the notion of time-serving (which has been and still is an integral part of the apprenticeship contract), needs to be replaced by a system of achieving agreed standards which are clearly specified for each industry. Such a system would specify criteria for achieving agreed standards and would allow apprentices to finish their training when the standards have been satisfactorily met.

One scheme which has attempted to reduce the time-serving element in the apprenticeship contract with favourable results was the Special Engineering Apprentice Training Scheme (SEATS). This scheme has been commended for the way it helped employers by carrying out the costly and time-consuming initial training period. SEATS was introduced in 1980 and coupled pre-apprentice training and a shortened term apprenticeship. It was an attempt to train engineering tradespeople to fill projected shortages in the engineering trades arising partly from the major projects. Three intakes of about 200 trainees each undertook pre-apprenticeship training in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

Employer reaction to the scheme was generally favourable. Several employers felt the apprentices' basic training had enabled them to advance to a higher level of skill more quickly than a traditional apprentice. While some employers expressed the view that 5,000 hours was insufficient to train an all-round engineering person, the fact that most employers were favourably disposed to the scheme is an indication that ways can be found to speed up the acquisition of basic skills and knowledge during the initial training period.

It is a matter of concern that the participation of young women in apprenticeships, aside from hair-dressing, is still at a low level. Attitudes which reinforce gender stereotyping in occupational choice are still prevalent in the community, and are difficult to change. The reluctance of young women to enter occupations which have been almost exclusively male-dominated in the past is understandable, but the disadvantaged position of young women in the labour market means that

affirmative action is required, by government, by employers and by young women themselves. Ways have to be found to provide more opportunities for young women to enter occupations in which they have not traditionally been employed, and to encourage young women to enter these occupations when places are available. The government initiatives outlined earlier can be expected to increase the numbers of young women entering apprenticeships, but progress in this area is likely to be slow and needs to be monitored carefully.

New Zealand's apprenticeship system is derived from the British system and is restricted to the traditional trades. There is a need for systematic training for young people in a much broader range of occupations. For this reason, the up-dated German dual system of vocational training and apprenticeship (a system which also applies in Switzerland and Austria), has much to recommend it. The German apprenticeship system is more extensive in the range and number of apprenticeships offered, since the occupations covered extend to industries such as commerce, finance and retailing. The dual system has been used in Germany both to improve the skills and knowledge of the workforce and to provide a buffer against teenage unemployment. Germany has been more successful than most OECD countries in this respect since its youth unemployment rate has been kept to 5 percent or less<sup>10</sup>.

Young Germans are required by law to attend vocational schools for at least eight hours a week after they leave school until they reach the age of 18. In addition, the law requires employers to provide 12.5 percent more training places than the estimated number of applicants, or a payroll tax would be imposed to pay for training places for school-leavers. This system allows the majority of school-leavers to enter into an apprenticeship, which is an individual contract with an employer intended to provide on-the-job training in a given occupation. Underlying this system is the philosophy that a young person trained for any occupation is better placed than one who is not trained at all.

In the New Zealand context, widening the range of industries for which systematic systems of training are made available is likely to be beneficial both for employers and employees. Reformed "apprenticeships", or at least systematic training schemes, could be considered for many industries, crafts or enterprises which do not currently use the apprenticeship system and for which skilled training is a necessary prerequisite. Examples in-

clude banking, secretarial work, insurance, journalism, hotel reception work or some forms of clerical work and retailing.

While it would be difficult and expensive for New Zealand to adopt a German system of nearly universal apprenticeships for school-leavers, there would be benefits for this country in doing more to maintain and improve "human capital". The presence of skilled people in an industry is a spur to growth, and growth in turn stimulates the employment of more skilled people. There are several additional ways in which the skills base of the New Zealand teenage workforce could be improved and in the process the transition of more young people from school to working life would be assisted.

Some of the options available include a combination of schooling and technical institute training organised along the lines of the "sandwich" principle, a "foundation year" of training for students who are disillusioned by schooling but who do not meet present entry requirements for full-time courses in technical institutes, or the setting up of "traineeships" (induction courses to particular industries) for school-leavers at risk to unemployment. A further idea promoted by both Mr Bob Bubendorfer, Principal of Wellington Polytechnic, and an Auckland Continuing Education Review Committee's report, is the concept of a technical institute-based trade-training scheme, which would run parallel to the current industry-based apprenticeship system. These options are discussed in more detail in Chapter VII of this report.

To sum up, there is an evident decline in the numbers of young people entering apprenticeships. Measures have been taken through the introduction of new legislation and through government intervention by means such as approving subsidy schemes to boost numbers entering apprenticeships. More still needs to be done to develop training systems which are speedy, flexible and efficient. Radical structural changes to the apprenticeship system may be the only satisfactory, long-term answer to the problem of providing New Zealand in the future with a skilled and adaptable workforce. Duration of apprenticeships needs to be linked to the achievement of agreed standards of knowledge and performance, and not simply to the passage of time. Real reform of the apprenticeship system needs to be accompanied by other measures to improve the transition from school to work, such as combining schooling with technical institute training, introducing a "foundation year" for students no longer motivated by school, encouraging traineeships for school-leavers at risk to unemployment, or developing trade training schemes in technical institutes in parallel with the apprenticeship system.

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10 *Youth without Work: Three Countries Approach the Problem*, Report by Shirley Williams and other experts, p. 17, OECD, 1981



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# IV. CHANGING PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE NEW ZEALAND TEENAGE LABOUR FORCE

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## Introduction

While increasing youth unemployment over recent years has been a significant factor in alerting policy-makers to the need for a coherent and integrated approach to the transition of young people from school to work, there are equally important changes taking place within the teenage labour force which affect both the ways young people should be prepared to take their place in the workforce and the pattern of occupational destinations they will take up. There are long-term structural changes occurring in teenage employment patterns, changes which reflect fundamental underlying shifts in the New Zealand economy of the 1980s. The needs of young people in the labour market in New Zealand are changing, with the implication that there needs to be a better match between the educational system, the changing demands of the labour market, and policies to assist teenage training and employment.

## Participation of Young People in Employment

The most reliable and detailed source of information about the New Zealand labour force is census data. When information from successive censuses is compared, changes in the working of the labour market can be charted.

Table 20 sets out the numbers and percentages of young people, as categorised by the last three censuses, who were actively engaged in full-time employment. The unemployed seeking work, who are normally included within the census definition of the labour force, are specifically excluded from these calculations.

What is significant about this data is that definite patterns of segmentation by age and by sex are occurring in the labour force. There were fewer young people in the 15-19 age group who were actively engaged in full-time employment at the time of the 1981 census, by comparison with 1976, even though there was a larger number of young people in the total age cohort in 1981.

While there was a decrease from 55.2 percent of male teenagers in the full-time workforce in 1971 to 50 percent in 1981, the really significant decline in participation over this period affected teenage females, 53.6 percent of whom were in full-time employment in 1971, but by 1981 this proportion had dropped to 41.3 percent. At the same time as the female teenage participation rate declined, the percentage of young women aged 20-24 who were actively engaged in full-time employment increased from 53.2 percent in 1971 to 59.4 percent in 1981. The exclusion of the unemployed seeking work from the labour force statistics (as illustrated in Table 20) illustrates markedly the deteriorating position of young people aged 15-19 in the labour market, and underlines the more disadvantaged position of teenage young women.

## *Male and Female Participation Rates*

It is useful to compare trends for teenage participation in the labour force with similar figures for the adult working population. In 1981 at the time of the last census, there were 88,791 males aged 15-19 in the full-time labour force (including the unemployed seeking work), representing 56.6 percent of all males aged 15-19. 6 percent (9,468) of all males aged 15-19 worked part-time. Thus 62.6 percent of teenage males were in the paid workforce, as compared with 82 percent of males aged 20 or more. (80.9 percent of all adult males (787,815) were in the full-time labour force, while only 1.1 percent (10,545) of adult males worked part-time.)

In 1981, there were 74,136 females aged 15-19 in the full-time labour force including the unemployed seeking work, representing 49.5 percent of all females aged 15-19. An additional 6.6 percent (9,864) of females aged 15-19 worked part-time. Thus 55.1 percent of female teenagers were in the paid workforce, as compared with 45.9 percent of adult females. (37.5 percent (381,600) of all females aged 20 or more were in the full-time labour force, while 8.4 percent (85,263) of adult females worked part-time.)

**Table 20**

**A) NUMBERS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT \*  
BY AGE GROUPS  
(CENSUS DATA 1971, 1976, 1981)**

Age Group	1971 CENSUS			1976 CENSUS			1981 CENSUS		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
15-19	73,445	68,390	141,835	82,136	69,183	151,319	78,549	61,911	140,460
20-24	106,931	61,402	168,333	116,640	72,414	189,054	117,144	78,480	195,624

**B) PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUPS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FULL-TIME  
EMPLOYMENT \* BY SEX  
(CENSUS DATA, 1971, 1976, 1981)**

AGE GROUP	% OF MALE AGE COHORT	% OF FEMALE AGE COHORT	% OF TOTAL AGE COHORT	NUMBERS OF TOTAL AGE COHORT
1971	15-19	55.2	53.6	260,789
	20-24	89.5	53.2	234,959
1976	15-19	53.6	46.9	300,737
	20-24	88.6	56.6	259,575
1981	15-19	50.0	41.3	306,633
	20-24	85.2	59.4	269,640

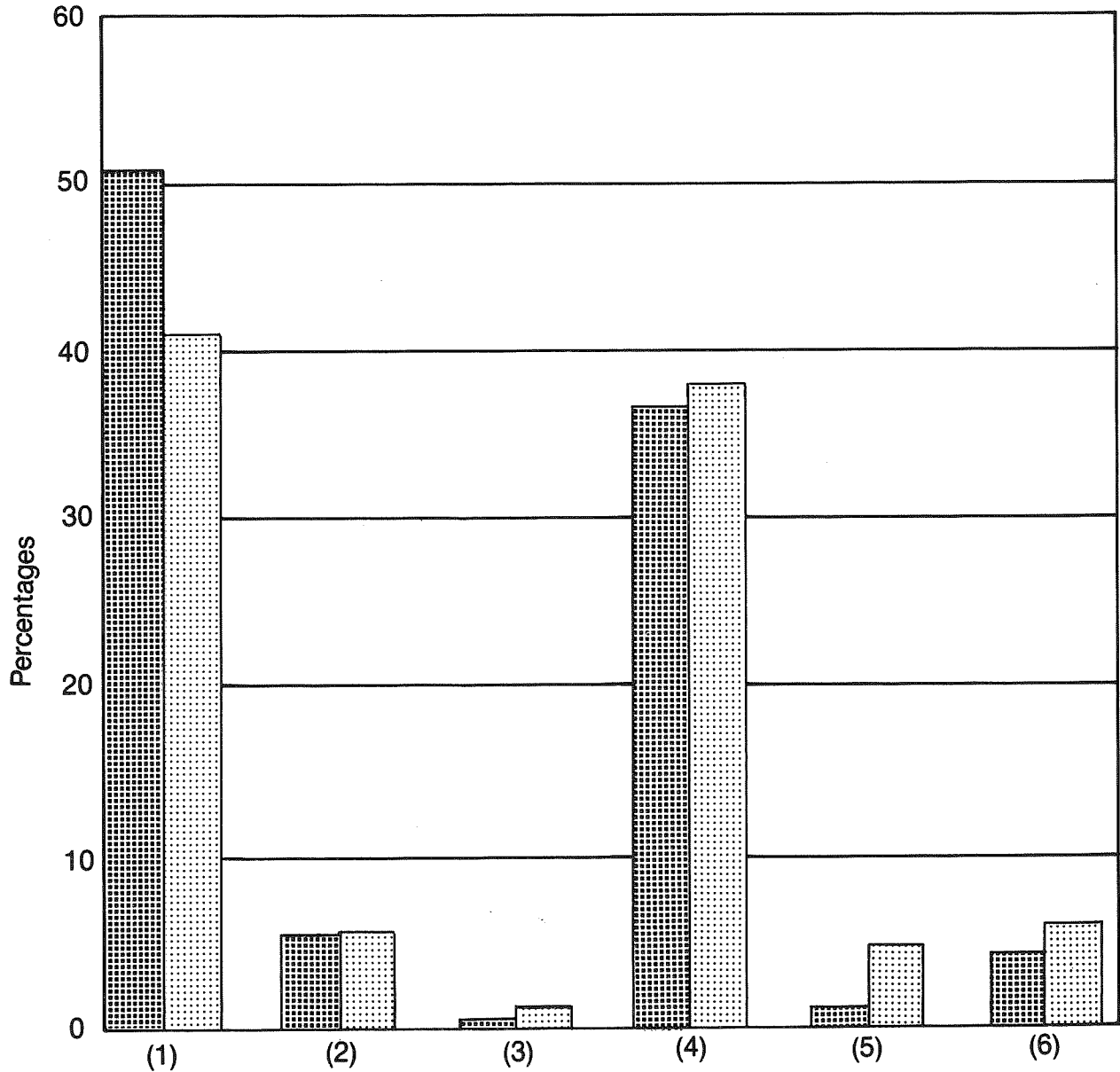
\* excluding the unemployed seeking work

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971, 1976, 1981, Department of Statistics.

**Table 21**

**EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF PERSONS AGED 15-19 BY SEX**

 Males  
 Females



**KEY**

- (1) Full-time in the labour force (excluding the unemployed seeking work)
- (2) Part-time in the labour force, full-time students
- (3) Part-time in the labour force, not full-time students
- (4) Full-time students
- (5) Non labour force, not full-time students
- (6) Unemployed seeking work

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981*, Department of Statistics

## Employment Status of All Persons Aged 15-19

The census also permits a snapshot of the employment status of all persons aged 15-19 in the New Zealand population. There were 306,633 persons in this group in the 1981 census. Table 21 sets out the overall distribution of the six census categories. The major groups are those who are full-time in the labour force — excluding the unemployed (45.8 percent), and those who are full-time students (36.7 percent). The next largest group is the visible group of young people who need most help in making the transition from school to work: the unemployed seeking work (7.3 percent). Another significant group which is often ignored consists of those who are not in the labour force, and who are not full-time students (3.8 percent). The final two groups consist of the part-time workers, those who are full-time students (5.6 percent) and those who are not full-time students (0.7 percent).

The analysis by sex presented in the table illustrates the relative positions of young men and young women. Of those who are full-time in the labour force, young men represent 50.1 percent of the total male population aged 15-19, while young women of this age group in full-time employment represent only 41.3 percent of the female population aged 15-19. Young women, on the other hand, who are full-time students represent 37.3 percent of the female population aged 15-19, as against the 36.2 percent of males in this age group who are full-time students. The often ignored "invisible" group of young people who are categorised as "non labour force, not full-time students" are mainly young women (6.7 percent of the female population aged 15-19), although there are 1.1 percent of the male 15-19 cohort included here also. This group of young people consists of those who stay at home as unpaid housekeepers, some of whom will have become mothers, and various other categories, such as those with health problems, those who may have voluntarily chosen not to work, and so on. Of those aged 15-19 recorded as unemployed seeking work in the census, females represented 8.2 percent of their age cohort, while 6.5 percent of males were in this group.

### Part-time Workers

Part-time workers are defined in the census as those working fewer than 20 hours a week. The part-time labour force numbered 115,140 (20,013 males and 95,127 females) at the time of the 1981 census. This was a 22.8 percent increase on the 85,595 (13,303 males and 72,292 females) recorded in the 1976 census. By comparison, only 56,478 (8,659 males and 47,819 females) were employed as part-time workers in the 1971 cen-

sus. The part-time workforce has therefore more than doubled over the last decade. The male part-time workforce is typically either very young (aged 15-24) or older (aged 60 or more). The female part-time workforce, however, is more evenly distributed over all age cohorts, and is the sector of the part-time workforce which has recently experienced the most dramatic growth rate.

Those in the teenage (aged 15-19) cohort who work part-time occupy a significant share of the workforce. In the 1981 census, 9.6 percent of male teenage workers were reported as part-time workers, while 11.7 percent of female teenage workers were employed part-time.

What is significant, however, is the marked growth in the numbers of teenage part-time workers. Numbers of male part-time workers aged 15-19 increased from 5,938 in the 1976 census to 9,468 in the 1981 census (an absolute increase of 59 percent between censuses), while numbers of female part-time workers aged 15-19 increased from 5,401 in 1976 to 9,864 in 1981 (an increase of 82 percent between censuses).

Most teenage part-time workers in 1981 were full-time students (92.8 percent of the males were students as were 84.0 percent of the females). These statistics do not show what proportion of these students were still at school, and what proportion attended tertiary institutions. Presumably both secondary and tertiary students were represented among the part-time employed teenagers.

There was an increase in tertiary rolls over the period from 1976 to 1981, both for universities (16 percent) and for continuing education (13.6 percent) but the rate of increase of teenage part-time work (70 percent) far outstripped the rate of growth in tertiary education.

One would expect that the increasing retention of students at secondary school and at tertiary institutions would result in an increasing number of students seeking to obtain an income through part-time work. The fact that this is happening, then, is perhaps not surprising. What should be borne in mind is that retention in school and further post-secondary education is likely to increase further in the future, and that a probable consequence of this trend will be a further increase in the rate of teenage part-time employment. If overseas trends (Australia, for instance) are any indication, the percentage of teenage workers employed part-time could double by the next census (1986), with girls being particularly affected.

What is more difficult to interpret is the position of the 7.2 percent of male teenage part-time



workers and the 16 percent of female teenage part-time workers who are not full-time students. This group is not particularly large (it is made up of 681 males and 1,575 females), but is nevertheless sizeable enough to warrant consideration. The critical factor is whether or not these teenage workers have chosen part-time work as a voluntary option, or whether this choice was forced upon them as a less desirable option because no full-time work was available.

The trend to part-time uncommitted work by teenagers may reflect a change in the supply of labour rather than a change in demand for labour, if it represents a deliberate choice about entering the workforce. In this case, part-time work may be an ideal transition from school to adult working life, since it enables teenagers to gain work experience without the commitment to a career-oriented job until they know more about what they want to do. A more flexible working pattern incorporating part-time work will give these teenagers who are uncertain of their career aspirations sufficient income to meet present needs, and time for reflection and decisions on future directions.

If, on the other hand, part-time employment has been chosen because full-time employment is not available, the teenagers so employed are likely to regard their position as a less than satisfactory transition from school to work. A judgement as to whether or not teenagers consider part-time employment a satisfactory transition from school is likely to depend upon their future track record. It is at least possible, however, that there exists a group of young people in New Zealand who are forced to choose part-time work for lack of any better alternative, and consequently need to be considered alongside the teenage unemployed as a target group at which government ameliorative policies should be directed. In this sense, the growth in numbers of teenage part-time workers can be seen as an indication of the difficulties facing young people in establishing a secure place in the workforce.

Research<sup>11</sup> in New Zealand has shown that the full-time employed and part-time employed were found to be distinct segments of the workforce: they presented different profiles according to every employment variable examined.

As Susan Shipley comments, "*the primary sector of the labour market is defined as one composed*

*of jobs which are 'career' positions (with promotion opportunities) which are highly paid, have good working conditions and security of employment. Jobs in the secondary sector are decidedly less attractive. They are characterised by low wage rates, poor working conditions and instability of employment, and they lack a career structure and opportunities for promotion.*"

Almost all part-time jobs are included in the secondary sector category. Teenagers who are forced to choose part-time work because full-time work is unavailable are therefore unlikely to have good career prospects while they remain part-time workers.

#### *Occupational Distribution*

When occupational distribution is considered alongside sex and employment status, the complexity of changes in teenage employment is further complicated. Separate trends are evident in full-time and part-time employment, and these trends are differentiated by sex (see Table 22). It appears that full-time and part-time teenage workers hold different types of jobs. Nearly 70 percent of full-time teenage male workers, for instance, are concentrated in the twin census categories of production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers; and agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters. By contrast, nearly 60 percent of the male teenage part-time workforce is either involved in sales work (42.9 percent) or service work (15.9 percent).

The female pattern of teenage employment is quite different. The major category of full-time female teenage employment is clerical and related workers (35.2 percent), followed by production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers (15.8 percent), with roughly equal proportions of about 10-11 percent working in the professional and technical, sales or service categories. The picture for part-time female teenage employment is markedly different again, as over 70 percent of these workers fall within the categories of sales workers (40 percent) or service workers (31.7 percent).

When adult and teenage part-time workers are compared, some significant differences are apparent (see Table 23).

Whereas teenage part-time workers are concentrated in the category of sales workers, this is not true of the adult part-time workforce. Adult part-time workers are represented much more prominently in the skilled categories such as professional, technical and related workers, and also in the clerical and related fields where adult females feature strongly. A good proportion of both adult and teenage female part-time workers work as service workers.

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11 See Shipley, S. M., *Women's Employment and Unemployment*, a research project, Massey University, Department of Sociology and the Society for Research on Women in New Zealand, 1982

Table 22

## OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME WORKERS AGED 15-19, 1981

Occupational Group	Males		Females	
	Full Time %	Part Time %	Full Time %	Part Time %
1. Professional, technical and related workers	3.2	1.2	11.2	3.0
2. Administrative and managerial workers	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. Clerical and related workers	7.2	4.1	35.2	7.7
4. Sales workers	5.4	42.9	11.3	40.0
5. Service workers	4.8	15.9	10.0	31.7
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	15.4	10.6	4.6	4.2
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	54.5	16.4	15.8	6.7
8. New workers seeking employment	3.8	-	6.0	-
9. Workers reporting occupations unidentifiable or inadequately described, or workers not reporting any occupation	5.6	8.9	5.7	6.8
TOTAL NUMBERS	88,788	9,468	74,139	9,864

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not always sum to exactly 100.

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, Department of Statistics, 1981

In general, teenage part-time jobs are less likely to be found in skilled work requiring further education or training, than are full-time teenage jobs or part-time adult jobs. Most teenage part-time jobs involve low levels of skill and require little or no training.

In addition, adult part-time work such as clerical work will operate during business hours (typically from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.), whereas teenage part-time work will typically occur after school or in the evening, at times which are peripheral to the hours worked by most of the full-time labour force. This further underlines the marginal status of the teenage part-time labour market.

One aspect of "part-time work" which census data does not provide evidence of, is the incidence of intermittent work. "Intermittent work" refers to the activities of people who spend varying lengths of time in the labour force and then periods out of the labour force. Intermittent workers are probably recorded in the census as either full-time

workers or unemployed seeking work, although it is possible they could appear in other categories such as unpaid household duties. It is highly likely that some younger people, who have yet to adopt the adult responsibilities of home and family and who are not strongly attached to the labour force, have adopted this more variable and flexible approach to work. The lack of job opportunities for young people which characterises the labour market at present, however, would make it more difficult for substantial numbers of young people to sustain this lifestyle for any sustained length of time.

It appears that the teenage part-time workforce, then, is a new and distinct section of New Zealand's segmented workforce. It consists of teenagers working in jobs such as salespersons, cashiers, fast-food attendants, waiters, waitresses, wrappers, packers, babysitters, cleaners, storepersons and labourers. Many of these young people are employed in the retail industry.

Table 23

## OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT AND TEENAGE PART-TIME WORKERS, 1981

Occupational Group	Males		Females	
	Adults	Teen-agers	Adults	Teen-agers
	%	%	%	%
1. Professional, technical and related workers	19.9	1.2	20.0	3.0
2. Administrative and managerial workers	2.9	0.0	0.4	0.0
3. Clerical and related workers	9.0	4.1	22.3	7.7
4. Sales workers	8.3	42.9	13.4	40.0
5. Service workers	16.1	15.9	28.6	31.7
6. Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	12.4	10.6	6.5	4.2
7. Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	21.7	16.4	6.3	6.7
8. Workers reporting occupations unidentifiable or inadequately described, or workers not reporting any occupation	9.7	8.9	2.6	6.8
TOTAL NUMBERS	10,542	9,468	85,260	9,864

Note: Because of rounding, percentages do not always sum to exactly 100.

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, Department of Statistics, 1981

Reasons for the growth of the teenage part-time workforce are probably related to a shift in the economy towards the service sector, and to attempts by the retail industry to minimise costs. One way of cutting down wage costs is by scheduling labour to peak demand periods, hence the use of part-time labour. The introduction of Saturday shopping has no doubt accentuated the trend towards the employment of more part-time workers, but the 1981 census figures are unlikely to reflect the full extent of this development as Saturday morning shopping was not introduced until November 1980. Technological development may also have been a factor in the growth of part-time work. Many supermarkets, for instance, use electronic devices for stock-control and re-ordering, restock their shelves out of business hours, weigh and price goods electronically, and use more sophisticated cash registers for recording costs and giving change. The introduction of point of sale terminals to allow funds to be transferred electronically is likely to accentuate further the trend to employment of part-time workers in the retail industry.

The fast-food industry has standardised its products and developed mass production to a fine art through specialised use of labour. These techniques, together with automation, new technology and economies of scale, have helped to increase productivity, and have meant that part-time unskilled labour can be used successfully by employers to maintain profits, or to provide a means of supplying cheaper goods and services.

The effect of these changes has been to reduce, eliminate, fragment or automate skills so that, for some sectors of the economy, it is now possible to hire cheap, inexperienced and untrained labour for a few hours a day instead of expensive, trained and experienced full-time labour.

### Changing Patterns of Full-time Employment

A survey of census data on the labour force from 1976 and 1981 shows that there are significant structural shifts under way within the New Zealand economy, and that there is a highly signifi-

cant segmentation by age occurring within the workforce. The changes which are occurring have affected the teenage full-time labour force in a way that is significantly different from the full-time adult labour force, sometimes to the advantage of the teenage workers, but more often to their detriment.

#### *Employment Trends in Selected Occupations*

The data presented in Tables 24 and 25 detail employment trends in selected occupations. The occupations selected are those minor groups which accounted for the employment of over 500 people aged 15-19 in each category in the 1981 census. These minor groups therefore represent the main employment categories for teenagers in 1981. In total, the selected occupations listed accounted for the employment of 77 percent of the teenage labour force in 1981.

The tables present data separately for teenagers (aged 15-19) and for adults (i.e. those aged over 20), and for both males and females. The column labelled "numerical change" lists the changes in the numbers employed in the particular occupational category by comparing the 1976 census figure with the 1981 census figure. A minus sign indicates there were fewer people employed in 1981; a plus sign indicates more people were employed. The column labelled "percentage change" indicates the percentage change (plus or minus) in that particular occupational category between the 1976 census and the 1981 census.

It must be stated at the outset that the system of classification of occupations used in the census does give rise to problems in delineation of some occupational groups, particularly those groups which are undergoing rapid change in job definition as a result of the impact of technological change. The Vocational Training Council's Report, *Electronic Data Processing: Report on Training*, for instance, lists 28 "position profiles" encountered in a survey of firms using EDP. These positions are in effect new occupations which have been created as a result of the advance of technology, and the report notes that the most obvious characteristic of the staff in the survey was their youth. What is more difficult to locate is exactly where these new jobs are appearing in the census data, since the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (used as the basis for occupational description in the census) does not provide specific slots for jobs such as "microprocessor systems designers" or "software support consultants". On the other hand, vacant slots left when jobs are lost as a result of the advance of new technology are much more easily identified. It is possible that the identification of job losses among the teenage labour force in what follows may be giving an unduly negative impression,

simply because of the limitations of the 1981 census data in relation to occupational definition and the consequent difficulty in some occupational groups of establishing the extent of job creation among young people.

With this caveat in mind, the tables set out the employment trends recorded in the 1981 census for teenagers (aged 15-19) and adults (those over 20), for both males and females.

#### *Analysis of Employment Trends*

Analysis of the data presented in Table 24 demonstrates that most growth in male employment has occurred in the agricultural sector, and in the forestry and related wood preparation industries. There was also significant growth in the retail industry, with an increase in the numbers of male salespeople and shop assistants. In these occupational categories the percentage growth of teenage male employment outstripped the slower rate of increase of adult male employment. For instance, a 20.9 percent increase in teenage employment among agricultural and animal husbandry workers compared with an adult growth rate of 6.3 percent. A 47.5 percent growth rate of teenage forestry workers compared with an increase of 35.7 percent in the adult employment rate within the forestry industry. It is interesting to note that most growth in the farming sector for male teenagers occurred in the category "general farm hand". The positive performance of the agricultural and forestry sectors in the New Zealand economy between 1976 and 1981 will have been a factor giving rise to increased employment in these industries, although policies such as government support through the supplementary minimum price scheme will have had an effect as well since the maintenance of farmers' incomes will have increased their capacity for employment. Positive attitudes to assisting the unemployed in the rural sector may also have been a factor in improving young people's employment chances. It is also pertinent to ask whether some of the growth in employment in the agricultural and horticultural sectors is a result of the introduction of special government work schemes (such as the Work Skills Development Programme) aimed at providing jobs for young people who are otherwise likely to be unemployed. Many of the WSDP projects do involve training in horticultural or agricultural skills. While it appears that some of the growth in employment in these sectors may have been artificially stimulated by the impact of job creation schemes and government subsidies, it is not possible to quantify the extent to which this has occurred.

The increase in numbers of salespersons and shop assistants reflects a shift in the economy towards the retail and service sector. This movement has implications for the education system in that the increasing numbers of young people embarking



Table 24

## EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, 1976-1981, MALES

Occupational Category	Teenagers		Adults*	
	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Numerical Change	Percentage Change
1. Farmers	+430	+76.0	+1,541	+2.7
2. Forestry workers	+632	+47.5	+1,930	+35.7
3. Cooks, waiters, bartenders	+220	+31.9	-268	-4.7
4. Salespersons and shop assistants	+738	+22.5	+910	+5.5
5. Agricultural and animal husbandry workers (including farm workers)	+1,770	+20.9	+1,732	+6.3
6. Machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers (except electrical, and motor vehicle mechanics)	+560	+14.4	-175	-0.6
7. Bookkeepers and cashiers	+304	+13.7	-123	-1.0
8. Blacksmiths, toolmakers and machine tool operators	+130	+13.3	+365	+6.0
9. Warehousemen, storemen and packers	+354	+13.2	-748	-4.6
10. Labourers	+830	+10.9	+3,521	+13.3
11. Wood preparation workers and paper makers	+111	+7.7	+674	+9.4
12. Painters	-53	-2.9	-732	-5.9
13. Printers	-58	-5.3	-288	-3.9
14. Clerical workers	-181	-5.4	-4,824	-16.1
15. Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers	-411	-9.5	+3,395	+15.2
16. Armed forces	-239	-11.0	+518	+6.1
17. Cabinet makers and related woodworkers	-140	-11.2	+165	+3.8
18. Plumbers, welders and other metal workers	-679	-16.7	-1,309	-6.0
19. Motor vehicle mechanics	-680	-16.7	+365	+2.3
20. Butchers, meat preparers, and freezing workers	-779	-18.0	+2,238	+9.2
21. Transport equipment operators	-451	-25.9	-2,824	-7.2
22. Draughtsmen	-374	-48.0	-666	-14.1
23. Bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers	-3,651	-53.8	-9,088	-19.5
24. Electrical and electronic engineering technicians	-421	-68.7	-1,604	-33.1
TOTAL WORKFORCE	+2,447	+2.8	+9,061	+1.2

\* Note: Adults are defined as persons aged 20 and over

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, Volume 4, Labour Force, 1976 and 1981, Department of Statistics

upon such careers will need to develop the personal skills required to meet and respond appropriately to other people in the various transactions which occur in these jobs. While the development of such personal qualities as co-operation, tolerance, and courtesy, as well as the more "academic" skills of literacy and numeracy, has always been an aim of the education system, the perceived need for these personal attributes in more

young people's careers may give added point to their emphasis in school curricula.

In four occupational groups, male teenage employment grew, whereas male adult employment declined. Cooks, waiters and bartenders, machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers, bookkeepers and cashiers, and warehousemen, storemen and packers showed a male teenage employment growth rate ranging

Table 25

## EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY AGE, 1976-1981, FEMALES

Occupational Category	Teenagers		Adults*	
	Numerical Change	Percentage Change	Numerical Change	Percentage Change
1. Agricultural and animal husbandry workers	+1,178	+61.5	+2,936	+30.0
2. Labourers	+720	+50.5	+1,451	+30.3
3. Printers	+141	+26.7	+318	+13.4
4. Bookkeepers and cashiers	+544	+8.9	+6,014	+31.0
5. Warehousepersons, storepersons and packers	+104	+8.6	-348	-5.3
6. Salespersons and shop assistants	+469	+6.2	+141	+0.5
7. Food and beverage processors	+46	+4.8	+587	+16.5
8. Cooks, waitresses, bartenders	+65	+3.4	+1,200	+10.6
9. Clerical workers	+63	+0.5	+6,830	+15.2
10. Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians	-165	-9.4	+341	+12.4
11. Tailors, dressmakers, sewers and upholsterers	-382	-10.4	-893	-5.4
12. Housestaff and related housekeeping service workers	-176	-12.2	+933	+13.2
13. Hospital and/or nurse aides	-258	-17.9	+1,186	+29.1
14. Telephone and telegraph operators	-218	-19.2	+196	+4.4
15. Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers	-139	-20.6	-271	-9.5
16. Life sciences technicians	-189	-30.4	+138	+8.6
17. Computing machine operators	-496	-31.9	+58	+1.2
18. Dental assistants	-221	-34.3	+87	+5.6
19. Stenographers and typists and card and tape punching machine operators	-2,758	-35.3	-370	-1.3
20. Teachers (pre-school, primary and secondary)	-1,481	-36.6	+778	+3.3
21. Nurses	-2,622	-49.6	+3,840	+22.7
TOTAL WORKFORCE	-1,156	-1.5	+48,501	+11.9

Note: Adults are defined as persons aged 20 and over

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, Volume 4, Labour Force, 1976 and 1981, Department of Statistics

between 31 percent and 13 percent, while the adult employment rate in these occupations showed a slight decline. However, what appears to be a case of substitution of teenage male labour for adult male labour is in reality a much more complex process. A comparison with Table 25 will illustrate this. This table shows that there has been a dramatic increase in the numbers of adult female bookkeepers and cashiers (31 percent overall), whereas female teenagers in this industry increased by only 8.9 percent. Similarly, adult women who worked as cooks, waitresses, and bartenders extended their share of employment between cen-

suses by 10.6 percent, as compared with a 3.4 percent growth rate for female teenagers in these occupations. Within these two expanding service sectors of the economy, adult women are gaining the major share of new jobs available. Nevertheless, teenage males have managed to compete reasonably well for a share of available jobs in these two occupational categories. In some skilled trades (machinery fitters, machine assemblers, and precision instrument makers for instance), it appears that male teenagers may have gained jobs at the expense of adults. Explanations are not simple, but this trend may be linked to shortages

of skilled tradespeople or to wastage as a result of declining wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers.

In the case of warehousepersons, storepersons and packers, female teenagers increased their employment rate by 8.6 percent, whereas the adult female rate showed a decline of 5.3 percent. The male teenage employment rate for these occupations also showed an increase (13.2 percent), whereas the male adult employment rate went down. It is possible that the teenage growth rate in this industry is related to a low level of training required in the workforce, although the more significant trend is the overall decline in both the male and female adult employment rate for these occupations.

A trend which emerges from a consideration of those occupational categories in which numbers of teenage males are increasing is that as a general rule young men are increasingly being employed in occupations where the level of skill required on entry to the occupation is relatively low. The occupational category of labourer is a good example of this trend, where there was a 10.9 percent increase in numbers of male teenagers working as labourers between censuses. Most workers beginning their working life as labourers, farm hands, forestry workers, waiters, storemen or packers can be generally described as unskilled, and for each of these categories the numbers of teenagers employed therein increased.

By contrast, another marked feature of the male employment trends was the decrease in numbers of male teenagers employed in some skilled trades. This trend has been reflected in recent Department of Labour figures where a general decline is evident in entry into apprenticeship contracts. The construction industry, for instance, experienced the sharpest decline in numbers employed for both teenagers and adults, with teenage employment of carpenters, bricklayers and related workers declining by 53.8 percent. Since the construction industry is a most sensitive employment barometer in times of recession, it is probably to the economic situation that one must look for an explanation of the dramatic downturn in numbers of jobs. Male teenagers were also disproportionately affected in trades such as motor vehicle mechanics (a decline of 16.7 percent), in plumbing, welding and related metal trades (a decline of 16.7 percent as well), in cabinet-making and related woodwork (a decrease of 11.2 percent), in electrical fitting and related electrical and electronics work (a decline of 9.5 percent) and in printing (a 5.3 percent decline). It is significant that, with the exception of plumbing, welding, related metal trades, and printing, each of these occupations showed a growth in the adult male

workforce. This serves to underline the particular difficulties faced by teenage boys in gaining employment in the skilled trades.

The decline of jobs for teenagers in electrical and electronic work is probably related to the advance of new technology. Computerised technology has rendered some jobs obsolete, while the development of the silicon chip seems to have had the effect of reducing jobs for teenagers in the field of electronics. An element of deskilling among teenage workers seems to be appearing as a result of technological change in these occupational categories. However, it is significant that one of the largest numerical increases recorded is for adult male workers in the electrical and electronics related occupations, which suggests that older skilled workers have an advantage in the labour queue over the younger, less qualified members of the workforce.

In the light of these trends, a case can be made for targeting special government assistance to encourage employers to offer more teenagers apprenticeships or trade training in skilled trades. Failure to provide training now for young skilled tradespeople in the occupations referred to above is likely to result in shortages in the labour market in the future, whereas targeting assistance to these areas promptly will help prevent a serious mismatch developing between the probable needs of the labour market and the skills possessed by young people entering the workforce.

Establishing a system of technical institute-based trade training, which would run parallel to the existing apprenticeship system, would be one way of reducing the gap between the number of trainees an industry is willing and able to train, and total industry demand. Such a need is particularly evident in new technology industries, such as electronic data processing, where rapid growth exists but where current opportunities for apprentice training are too few.

Diverting government funds to providing training for identified skilled trades would be a more effective way of helping to develop a skilled labour force than some of the present uses of government funds for training in short-term programmes like STEPS (School-leavers' Training and Employment Preparation Scheme) and YPTP (Young Persons' Training Programme). Deployment of government funds to support trade training could be seen as an investment in the future development of the workforce. When one considers the relatively generous allocation of government money invested in university education by comparison, it can be argued that such a trade training investment programme would provide an emphasis that is necessary to redress an imbalance

that has occurred in the way money is spent on training young people.

Another set of occupational categories in which there is a decline in numbers of skilled young people employed is the field of the technician.

A striking trend is evident in the employment of male teenage draughtsmen where a decline of 48 percent has occurred, and electrical and electronic engineering technicians, where a decline of 68.7 percent was recorded between 1976 and 1981. The decline for teenagers was accompanied by a 14.1 percent and 33.1 percent drop respectively in adult male employment in these two occupations. What seems to be occurring in this occupational category is a shedding of labour with yesterday's high technology skills as the advance of new technology renders such skills obsolete.

Female teenage employment of technicians showed a similar decline, since there was a 30.4 percent decline in the number of life sciences technicians (working in the medical, biological, agricultural and forestry fields), although the number of adult women technicians employed increased by 8.6 percent (see Table 25). Specific related occupations not listed on the table, such as laboratory technicians, also showed a marked decline for both teenage and adult workers of both sexes.

Reasons for the decline in employment of technicians may lie in technological development, where automated processes for quality control and testing have eliminated the monitoring functions previously carried out by these workers. Another important factor may be competition from alternative, more highly qualified, sources of labour. For instance, there has been an overall growth in numbers of qualified specialist electrical and electronics engineers between 1976 and 1981, in association with a decline in technician employment in the same fields. Whether this phenomenon means the growth of credentialism or an upgrading of skills of the workforce is difficult to determine. Its effect on teenage employment is nevertheless to reduce the number of available jobs.

The impact of the information revolution has had a very significant effect upon employment, both with reference to the work content of specific jobs, and in relation to patterns of employment. Max Geldens, in an article in *The Economist* (July 28 1984) comments that "It is usual to say that most future jobs in rich countries are going to be in 'services', which is a misnomer for two different sorts of job: traditional services (retailers, utilities, transport, hotels, restaurants) and the 'information sector' (clerks, teachers, accountants, bankers, insurance brokers, lawyers, bureaucrats, computer programmers and other people

who process bits of information or move them about)". It is in the information sector that new jobs are being created, and where existing jobs are being transformed. These changes are a direct result of the impact of new technology upon the workplace.

For example, in the finance sector computer technology has affected the ways money is handled and processed. A bank clerk's handling of the international exchange rate is now vastly different from 20 years ago. Computerised handling of ordinary customers' financial transactions has significantly affected the activities involved in a bank clerk's job. Similarly, airline ticket sellers who book passengers on flights through a computer link-up displayed on a video monitor are undertaking tasks in their day-to-day jobs in a way which was not possible ten years ago, but which has revolutionised the content of their jobs in a very short space of time. Typists who now regularly use word processors, public servants who access information through a computer, accountants who store financial statements on floppy disks, and teachers who help students learn by means of computer-assisted instruction, are all finding the actual content of their jobs has been transformed. These changes in society give support to the present review of the core curriculum in New Zealand schools, with its recommendation that all secondary school students require a computer-awareness course as part of their general education.

It is estimated that over half of United States personal income is now developed by the information worker<sup>12</sup>. This trend will be increasingly experienced in New Zealand society, and for this reason the inclusion of a computer-awareness course in a broad sense within the school curriculum will be of direct vocational relevance to many young New Zealanders later in their working lives.

Patterns of employment for both young workers and adults in New Zealand have also been affected by the growth of the information sector in the economy.

When clerical occupations are considered, there is a marked contrast in employment patterns by sex. Numbers of jobs for male clerical workers, both teenagers and adults, have decreased markedly (by 16.1 percent in the case of adults), whereas the numbers of jobs for females have increased. Teenage females have only just maintained their position between censuses, but the adult female clerical workforce has grown sharply, by 15.2 percent. Related occupations such as bookkeepers and cashiers also show a marked growth (31 percent) for adult females but a slight

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12 Geldens, M., "Towards Fuller Employment", *The Economist*, July 28, 1984



overall drop (1 percent) for adult males. The increase of 13.7 percent for teenage male bookkeepers and cashiers is anomalous as it exceeds the increase for female teenage bookkeepers and cashiers (8.9 percent) and runs against a pattern of growing female employment in these occupations.

Clerical and bookkeeping occupations are two of the largest groups of occupations employing women (14 percent and 6 percent respectively of women in the workforce) and it is apparent that by 1981 neither economic recession, technological change nor restructuring of work patterns had affected growth in numbers of jobs in these categories for women. Some of the factors above may have led to a decline in male employment in these occupations, but a more likely explanation is that the increasing participation of women in the workforce is reflected more strongly in these favoured female occupations.

There is, however, no uniform trend whereby females displace males from the labour force within the clerical, sales and service occupations. 7.8 percent of all women in the workforce are employed in sales, yet there is more growth for males than for females in the occupational category "salespersons and shop assistants". Numbers of male teenage shop assistants and salespersons increased by 22.5 percent between censuses, while the female teenage cohort for the same occupations increased by only 6.2 percent. Similarly, adult males increased their numbers by 5.5 percent, whereas adult females maintained their numbers with a very slight increase of 0.5 percent. The trends across both sexes indicate that the retail industry is buoyant and that prospects for teenage employment within this industry are positive.

There are a number of occupations where growth in employment in the adult sector is at the expense of teenage jobs. While there are a number of reasons for this phenomenon, its widespread incidence is particularly worrying for teenagers, in view of the difficulties the situation creates for young people at the beginning of their working lives in establishing their place in the labour market.

Among the occupational categories where males predominate, a growth in numbers of adult workers has occurred in the armed forces, in the meat industry (including the freezing works industry), in cabinet-making and related woodwork, in motor vehicle servicing, and in electrical and electronic work, while at the same time a decline has occurred in numbers of male teenagers employed in these jobs. Various reasons could be proffered to explain this tendency, such as an increase in livestock numbers and subsequent restructuring in the meat industry (particularly in the freezing

works which employs most of the workers in this occupational category), or increasing automation, coupled with more sophisticated technological monitoring instruments requiring higher levels of skill to operate them, seen in the motor vehicle servicing industry or the electronics industry for instance. Economic recession is only one factor in these occupations in explaining the disadvantaged position of young people, since the overall level of employment for adults has increased. Nor is the return to work by married women a factor, since the occupations listed above hire predominantly male employees.

Employers in some occupational groups do appear to show a preference for hiring adult women, and these groups are characterised by an increasing adult female participation in the workforce. This factor appears to have affected employment of teenage females. Numbers of teenage girls have declined in the following groups of occupations, whereas adult women as a group have improved their employment position (see Table 25): hairdressers, barbers and beauticians; housestaff and related housekeeping service workers; hospital and nurse aides; telephone and telegraph operators; computing machine operators; teachers; nurses. The position, however, is complex because there are unique factors in each occupational group which explain why the shifting patterns of occupational distribution occur.

The decline in the number of teenage nurses, for instance, is partly explained by the changes in the forms of training now undertaken by young nurse trainees. Formerly, most trainee nurses worked in a hospital and combined work and study as part of their training. For census purposes, such trainees would appear as members of the workforce. However, the introduction of the three-year nursing courses in technical institutes has meant that most teenage "trainee" nurses now study full-time and are therefore not included in Table 25 as members of the workforce. The 49.6 percent decline in employment for nurses is therefore "apparent" rather than real, and more than likely reflects a changed approach to training and a probable upgrading of skills within the nursing profession.

What these census figures do not show is that there has been a decline in numbers of Maori and Pacific Islanders entering nursing since the training of nurses was shifted to the technical institutes. Reasons for this decline have probably to do with the lower level of financial reward possible while training in a technical institute, although rising educational entry requirements to nursing may also have been a factor. Affirmative action is being taken to redress this imbalance and must be continued to maintain an adequate number of Maori and Pacific Island young people in the nursing profession.

The decline in the number of female teenage pre-school, primary and secondary teachers and teacher trainees, however, is a real decline. This drop in numbers is explained by the reduction of entry quotas to teachers' colleges which has been occurring for some years past, largely as a response to changing demographic conditions in society at large, particularly the falling birth rate and the projected decline in primary school and secondary school enrolments over the next decade. The consequence of fewer students attending schools is that fewer teachers need to be trained. The present government has introduced policies to improve student-teacher ratios, and presumably this will result in an increase of numbers of teachers to be trained, but the extent of falling school enrolments is such that employment trends for trainee teachers are likely to remain at lower levels than they were during the period when the population bulge of the 1970s was being educated.

While new technology has created new jobs or transformed old ones, particularly in the information sector, it has also had considerable impact in reducing teenage employment, especially among young women. Such developments probably lie behind the decline in numbers of teenage computing machine operators, where presumably the development of more sophisticated machines requiring less supervision has resulted in redundancy as machines take over tasks formerly performed by people. Changes in the telephone system have had a similar effect. Replacement of manual exchanges by centralised and computerised exchanges has reduced by 19.2 percent the number of junior female telephone operators. One reason for introducing highly reliable computerised exchanges and for centralising these, has been the consequent reduction in maintenance costs. The decline in teenage electrical and electronic workers may be partly attributed to such developments in the communications industry. In addition, automation has reduced the need for telephone operators in industry and commerce, through the introduction of STD dialling and PABX exchanges with automatic call transfer, call holding and direct in-and-out dialling. Female teenagers have been the ones most affected by the decline in these jobs. Introduction of the telex system has also had effects on employment, as it has reduced the need for telegrams and affected the numbers employed as post and telegram deliverers.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of the impact of new technology in reducing employment opportunities for teenagers can be seen in the group of occupations labelled stenographers, typists, and card and tape-punching machinists, where a 35 percent decline for female teenagers occurred between 1976 and 1981. Reasons for such losses in jobs include the more extensive use of the word

processor and the dry photocopier, which have together almost eliminated copy typing, along with computerised preparation of statements and accounts in the banking, finance and investment industries. In addition, invoice preparation is now often computerised within the wholesale trade, with a consequent reduction in typing jobs for both adults and teenagers. However, the employment statistics indicate that it is teenagers who suffer disproportionately.

There was also a decline in female employment in the set of occupations related to the clothing industry (tailors, dressmakers, sewers and upholsterers). Restructuring of this industry is underway at a time when the closure of factories in recent years has resulted in a consequent loss of jobs. The 10.4 percent decline of numbers for female teenagers and the 5.4 percent decline in numbers of adult females employed as tailors, dressmakers and seamstresses is presumably related to the process whereby this industry faced rationalisation in the interests of greater efficiency and lower costs. In industries such as the clothing industry, the impact of loss of employment is felt more severely by teenagers, whose chances of employment are adversely affected unless measures are introduced to assist their position.

Female hairdressing has traditionally been, and still is, the industry which trains over 75 percent of all female apprentices. The 9.4 percent decline in numbers of female teenagers who are employed as hairdressers, barbers or beauticians is therefore an illustration of the difficulties facing young women in obtaining employment in a skilled trade.

The major areas of growth for female teenage employment in the period from 1976 to 1981 were the occupational categories of agricultural and animal husbandry workers, and labourers, where growth rates of 61.5 percent and 50.5 percent respectively were recorded. Reasons for growth in employment in these occupations for females are almost certainly the same as those already outlined earlier for males. During the period 1976-1981, there were changes to the tax laws which allowed tax benefits where the working role of farm wives was acknowledged. It is possible this changed recognition of the role of working women in agriculture is reflected in the census figures for these occupations.

It is interesting, however, that in the printing trade, both teenage and adult female employment increased significantly (by 26.7 percent and 13.4 percent respectively), whereas teenage and adult male employment declined. This reflects a pattern similar to that already discussed for clerical workers. In each of the three occupational groups where the greatest increase in female teenage employment was registered (agricultural and ani-

mal husbandry workers, labourers and printers), a smaller but still significant rise occurred in the adult female workforce.

The problem for teenagers in establishing their place in the labour market is probably best explained by the notion of the labour queue. This notion postulates that labour is seen by employers as a queue headed by those seen as more attractive hiring prospects, with those seen as least attractive at the end of the line. Accordingly, the employer will commence recruitment from the head of the queue and how far the line is reduced depends, among other things, on the total level of demand or number of job vacancies on offer. Position in the queue is affected by a number of factors, including educational and vocational qualifications and skills, work history, job stability, and a wide range of personal qualities and characteristics. Teenagers, who have had little or no work experience by virtue of their age, have a more difficult time establishing their relative "attractiveness". Policy-makers therefore need to address themselves to the question of how best to help teenagers present themselves as more "attractive" and thereby improve their evidently disadvantaged position. For young women, in particular, this means a diversification of their employment patterns.

#### Summary

The general pattern that has emerged from this survey of employment trends in selected occupations is that while there has been an overall growth in the labour force between 1976 and 1981, teenagers generally are not treated as favourably by the labour market as adults. The teenage labour market in New Zealand is generally more sensitive to fluctuations in employment than the adult labour market, and consequently reflects more extreme oscillations. When employment in an occupational category declined, the rate of loss of teenage jobs was generally higher than the adult rate. When adult employment in an occupation increased, two opposite tendencies were likely in the teenage labour market. In the first place, where workers were unskilled or required little or no training, there was a trend for teenage employment to increase more sharply than the adult employment rate, as in the case of the agricultural or forestry industries, or the occupation of labouring. The second more significant trend was for an increase in an adult employment rate to be accompanied by a decline in teenage employment, as in the case of males who were electrical and electronic workers, personnel in the armed forces, cabinet-makers, motor vehicle mechanics, meat industry workers, or females who worked as hairdressers, housekeepers, nurse aides, telephone and telegraph operators, life-science technicians, computing machine operators, dental assistants, teachers or nurses. In general these

Table 26

## REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED SCHOOL-LEAVERS BY SEX, IN FEBRUARY, APRIL, JUNE, AUGUST AND OCTOBER 1974-1984

YEAR	1974		1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
February	9	41	86	124	159	428	205	662	935	1,875	1,459	2,802	1,863	3,056	2,825	4,075	2,289	3,732	3,592	4,845	4,025	5,254
April	3	27	70	118	94	297	130	413	856	1,636	1,095	2,119	1,598	2,466	1,802	2,792	1,559	2,684	2,866	4,059	2,733	3,704
June	8	26	69	135	102	251	152	345	912	1,360	1,002	1,847	1,526	2,197	1,327	2,168	1,260	2,280	2,746	3,813	2,324	3,071
August	12	19	58	132	88	230	141	322	785	1,338	975	1,519	1,460	2,186	1,227	2,037	1,181	1,972	2,518	3,364	2,062	2,628
October	9	21	39	116	80	204	164	330	740	1,189	881	1,475	1,345	1,876	1,057	1,639	1,208	1,898	2,039	2,776	1,868	2,119

Source: Department of Labour

are skilled occupations and young people are at a marked disadvantage in establishing their position in such jobs.

There are still commentators who maintain that the amount of unskilled work is declining and that the workforce is becoming more skilled as a result of technological innovation. This may be true for the workforce as a whole, but is certainly not true for teenagers. From 1976 to 1981, unskilled part-time work requiring little training grew substantially, and in those few occupations where little skilled training was necessary, teenage employment figures showed growth. It is possible that the effect of special government schemes may have been a contributory factor to some of this growth. The highest rates of decline showed in the skilled occupations: technicians, draughtsmen, typists and the skilled trades. The reason for this decline in skilled teenage employment could often be attributed to technological innovation. It appears one effect of new technology may well be a reduction in the level of skill required in the teenage workforce.

In general, teenagers suffered disproportionately in the labour market by comparison with the adult workforce, largely because they did not possess the skills needed to compete on the labour market with older, more experienced workers.

Policies therefore need to be adopted which will enable teenagers to gain the necessary skills so that they can find places more effectively in the labour market and thereby minimise the present disadvantaged status of teenage workers.

### Youth Unemployment

Youth unemployment is now a structural feature of the New Zealand economy. It is not cyclical in the sense that it will simply disappear, given time. Table 26 sets out numbers of registered school-leavers by sex over the last decade. A registered unemployed school-leaver is defined by the Department of Labour as a job seeker who has left school and has not proceeded to full-time tertiary level study or held a full-time permanent job, however briefly. Young people who have held at least one permanent job after leaving school and who are registered as unemployed, appear in Department of Labour statistics as unemployed 15 to 19-year-olds. For the purposes of comparison, the figures of those registered as unemployed for June, August and October 1984 are presented below:

#### REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED, 1984

	<i>School-leavers</i>	<i>15-19-Year Olds</i>	<i>Total All Age Groups</i>
June	5,396	15,103	65,055
August	4,690	13,637	63,417
October	3,987	12,361	58,218

Unemployment among school-leavers and young people was first generally recognised as significant in 1978, and in the intervening years has steadily increased to its peak in January 1984 when registered unemployed school-leavers numbered 10,038. While there is cause for cautious optimism in the slight decline of numbers among the young unemployed in recent months, one long-term unemployment forecast<sup>13</sup> of the Department of Labour suggested there would be a rise of 22,000 over three years in the total number of unemployed if there were no changes of policy. Young people would inevitably be more adversely affected by such a change.

A subsequent forecast issued after the government's November 1984 budget for the Tripartite Wage Conference now suggests there will be employment growth over the next 18 months with unemployment now forecast to be stable through to 1986.

The figures of the registered unemployed, however, do not necessarily give a true picture of the extent of youth unemployment. There is considerable debate in the literature as to how a true unemployment rate should be measured. Census figures probably give a truer indication of unemployment than do figures of the registered unemployed. For instance, on census night in March 1981, 22,467 of those aged 15-19 were recorded as unemployed seeking work, while the March registered unemployed figure for all those aged 15-19 (including school-leavers) was 18,393. 4,074 young people were therefore unemployed but not on the register at the time of the census.

Tables 27, 28 and 29 set out unemployment rates as measured at the 1981 census, for the New Zealand usually resident full-time labour force who are unemployed and seeking work, for the usually resident Maori population, and for the usually resident Pacific Island Polynesian population.

Of young people aged 15-19 in the full-time labour force on census night, 13.8 percent were recorded as unemployed. This compares with an overall unemployment rate of 4.5 percent. Even more significantly, of all those recorded as unemployed in the census, 37 percent were aged 15-19.

Young women are more at risk to unemployment than young men, and when ethnicity is considered as well, the position is extremely serious. 41.3

13 See *Evening Post*, Wednesday 19 September, 1984



Table 27

## UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY AGE (NZ CENSUS, 1981)

Percentages and numbers by age cohorts of usually resident New Zealand full-time labour force who are unemployed and seeking work

## MALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	10,242	88,791	11.5
20-24	7,935	125,079	6.3
25-29	4,734	114,540	4.1
30-39	4,920	209,595	2.3
40-59	6,444	296,139	2.2
60+	210	42,471	0.5
TOTAL	34,485	876,615	3.9

## FEMALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	12,225	74,136	16.5
20-24	5,748	84,228	6.8
25-29	2,349	50,715	4.6
30-39	2,337	94,332	2.5
40-59	3,006	140,790	2.1
60+	81	11,514	0.7
TOTAL	25,746	455,715	5.6

## ALL PERSONS

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	22,467	162,927	13.8
20-24	13,683	209,307	6.5
25-29	7,083	165,255	4.3
30-39	7,257	303,927	2.4
40-59	9,450	436,929	2.2
60+	291	53,985	0.5
TOTAL	60,234	1,332,330	4.5

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwelling, 1981, Volume 4: Labour Force, Table 22, Department of Statistics.*

percent of young Maori women aged 15-19 were unemployed seeking work on census night. 33 percent of young Pacific Island Polynesian women aged 15-19 were similarly unemployed, while one in four young Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian males were unemployed.

In addition, there are regional centres such as Rotorua, Whangarei and Gisborne where unemployment of young people is known to be higher

than the national average. When one considers that the unemployment statistics set out in Table 26 show that the position of school-leavers in 1984 is considerably worse than it was in 1981, it is clear that young people's unemployment in New Zealand is indeed a serious social problem which requires urgent attention to develop long-term responses to improve the lot of those young people affected.

Table 28

## MAORI UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE (NZ CENSUS, 1981)

Percentages and numbers by age cohorts of usually resident Maori full-time labour force who are unemployed and seeking work

## MALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full- time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	3,417	12,522	27.3
20-24	1,977	13,704	14.4
25-29	1,092	10,191	10.7
30-39	1,059	14,748	7.2
40-59	1,059	17,469	6.0
60+	18	1,215	1.5
TOTAL	8,622	69,849	12.3

## FEMALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full- time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	3,732	9,039	41.3
20-24	1,185	6,462	18.3
25-29	387	3,735	10.4
30-39	360	6,798	5.3
40-59	294	7,998	3.7
60+	6	303	2.0
TOTAL	5,964	34,335	17.4

## ALL PERSONS

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full- time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	7,149	21,561	33.2
20-24	3,162	20,166	15.7
25-29	1,479	13,926	10.6
30-39	1,419	21,546	6.6
40-59	1,353	25,467	5.3
60+	24	1,518	1.6
TOTAL	14,586	104,184	14.0

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981*, Volume 8a, Maori Population and Dwellings, Table 14, Department of Statistics

Table 29

## PACIFIC ISLAND POLYNESIAN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY AGE (NZ CENSUS, 1981)

Percentages and numbers by age cohorts of usually resident Pacific Island Polynesian full-time labour force who are unemployed and seeking work

## MALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	576	2,292	25.1
20-24	450	3,777	11.9
25-29	396	4,233	9.4
30-39	510	6,537	7.8
40-59	357	5,310	6.7
60+	21	279	7.5
TOTAL	2,310	22,428	10.3

## FEMALES

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	600	1,815	33.0
20-24	330	2,580	12.8
25-29	156	2,166	7.2
30-39	117	3,288	3.6
40-59	102	2,649	3.9
60+	3	87	3.4
TOTAL	1,308	12,585	10.4

## ALL PERSONS

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Numbers Unemployed</i>	<i>Total Full-time in Labour Force</i>	<i>Percentage Unemployed</i>
15-19	1,176	4,107	28.6
20-24	780	6,357	12.3
25-29	552	6,399	8.6
30-39	627	9,825	6.4
40-59	459	7,959	5.8
60+	24	366	6.6
TOTAL	3,618	35,013	10.3

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings*, 1981 Volume 8B, Pacific Islands Polynesians, Table 14, Department of Statistics



Table 30

## A) YOUNG PEOPLE ON STEPS\* PROGRAMMES (1984)

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
February	609	672	1,281
April	812	954	1,766
June	924	1,017	1,941
August	833	859	1,692
October	827	879	1,706

## B) PERSONNEL ON YPTP\*\* (1984)

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
February	703	1,057	1,760
April	942	1,162	2,104
June	1,007	1,225	2,232
August	825	945	1,770
October	1,119	1,237	2,356

\* School-Leavers' Training and Employment Preparation Scheme

\*\* Young Persons Training Programme

Source: Department of Labour

The numbers of young people who are participating in special government training programmes also need to be considered alongside the young unemployed, since only those registered as unemployed are accepted on these schemes. Those 15 or 16 year-olds who are on STEPS (School-leavers' Training and Preparation Scheme), have to be registered as unemployed for eight weeks before they qualify for admission. YPTP (Young Persons Training Programme) is aimed at 17 year-olds or older age groups, but there is no requirement of a prior period of registered unemployment before entry to the programme. Numbers of young people involved in both these programmes during selected months of 1984 are set out in Table 30.

There are a number of factors which have contributed to a high rate of unemployment among the young. Probably the most important factor over recent years has been the prevailing economic climate. In a time of economic difficulty, new entrants to the labour force are the first to be affected. Young people's unemployment is very

sensitive to rates of economic growth or recession. Other factors which may have contributed to a situation in which young people today find there are fewer job opportunities include high levels of pay for young people as compared with adult pay rates, presumed lower productivity of young people in comparison with skilled adults, a lack of skills among young people when the labour force requires skilled personnel, an increasing participation rate in the workforce by women, the high costs of training young people on-the-job, displacement of workers by new technology and structural changes within the workforce as a whole which reduce the demand for unskilled or low-skilled jobs.

All these influences work against the interests of the young and inexperienced worker and mean that employers are more reluctant to hire young people. The policy suggestions outlined in Chapter VII, are therefore aimed at reducing or even eliminating unemployment among young people.

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# V. CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSITION EDUCATION

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## I. The School System and Transition Education

It has always been an aim of schooling to prepare young people for adulthood, and in this sense, schools have always been concerned with transition education. In recent years, however, there have been social, economic, technological and occupational changes occurring within New Zealand society. These changes have placed new pressures on school-leavers, and, therefore, schools have needed to respond to the transition needs of students. Within the education system, many secondary schools are giving an increased emphasis to the preparation of young people for adult working life.

Nearly every secondary school in New Zealand offers a programme which could be included under the banner of "transition education". Some programmes are organised and systematic, and operate at all form levels across the curriculum, while others are geared towards the needs of identified students who are perceived by the school to be at risk of unemployment. There is considerable diversity within schools as to the particular programmes that are offered. Such diversity is a strength of the educational system in that schools may develop their own programmes as solutions to local needs, drawing on local resources, community aspirations and values, all of which may differ from region to region.

As yet there are no nationally established curriculum guidelines from the Department of Education which set out formally the aims and objectives of a programme of transition education in schools. The development of such non-prescriptive guidelines would be a logical next step to provide guidance to those schools which need to develop a more coherent approach to the transition education of their students. Such guidelines would need to allow programmes to be developed which differ from school to school.

Transition education is a central curriculum concern which is appropriate for all students at every level of their school experience and beyond. It prepares students to move from the dependence of childhood to adult autonomy. In an earlier section of this report, it was pointed out that the transition process begins well before the student leaves school and extends beyond the acquisition

of a first job. Transition education therefore needs to be incorporated within the existing curriculum as an integral part of each student's schooling and not be "tacked on" as an extra subject or an end-of-year module. A school's transition education programme will help students make decisions through giving experience in decision-making. It will also foster communication between the school and the community, and will encourage the community to participate in the formal education of young people.

"Transition education" is a broad term which subsumes within its compass many activities and initiatives which schools have already undertaken to help young people in their preparation for adulthood. The following sections on career education, vocational guidance and counselling, transition courses and work exploration outline the more important present responses that are currently being made by schools.

### (a) *Career Education*

The aim of a career education programme is to help young people make the transition from school to adult working life. Most secondary schools make some attempt within their curriculum to provide every student with knowledge and competencies which will help him or her, first of all to find out about personal strengths and aptitudes, and then to use this knowledge to match their personal abilities with appropriate occupational avenues and to undertake the necessary preparations for entry to the world of work.

While most secondary schools provide some career education in their curriculum, in a number of cases the school programme proceeds in an ad hoc fashion. The programme may be restricted to one particular subject or may be taken only at one form level. Some schools will organise "career evenings" for students and their parents, at which representatives of various occupational groups offer advice and information about their particular occupations. Other schools will offer courses in job-seeking skills, such as preparing and presenting oneself for an interview, writing a letter of application for a job, building up a personal profile, developing telephoning skills and so on. Still others understand by career education the inclusion within their curriculum of an introduction to the study of work, and include such topics as the nature and range of paid and unpaid work in society, the range and variety of occupations avail-

able, the significance of qualifications in gaining work, worker participation in industry, the function of trade unions, the development of entrepreneurial skills, ways of initiating and developing one's own business, and the interrelationship of the various sectors of the economy.

In addition, the general education of all students will include the development of personal and social communication skills, such as working cooperatively with other people, and the skills of oracy, numeracy and literacy. Such basic competencies are essential to all students in their transition to adult life and are part of career education in its broadest sense.

These activities and courses within schools are all valid and useful. What schools will need to do is review their current programmes which are subsumed under the title of "career education" and ensure that there is coordination across the school curriculum and a clearly articulated development from the time students enter the secondary school until they depart.

Such a recommendation was one of the thrusts of the Department of Education's publication, *A Review of the Core Curriculum for Schools* (1984). This report argued that career education should be a continuing programme from form 3 to form 7 which assists students to clarify progressively their career choices. It should be incorporated in many subjects, and the teachers or subjects should be supported by the guidance staff. While the move to include career education as part of the continuing education of all students is supported, there would be merit in referring to such a part of a reconstituted core curriculum as "transition education", in view of the broader scope of this latter term.

#### **(b) Vocational Guidance and Counselling**

Most secondary schools now have a well-established guidance network to provide guidance and counselling for their students. The aim of the guidance network is to promote the total welfare of each student. Careers advice is therefore an important aspect of this work.

Each secondary school will have at least one staff member whose chief responsibility is both to ensure that students have access to relevant and up-to-date information on careers, and to provide individual help for young people who come asking for assistance in the selection of a career. Larger schools have two careers advisers. Most careers advice is given on a self-referral basis when students come and ask for help. Generally these students profit from their initiative. Of more concern is the small group of students who do not approach anyone for help with career selection and guidance.

Many careers teachers have excellent liaison with their own local communities and are frequently able to place young people in suitable employment through their knowledge both of the students themselves and the employment opportunities available.

Careers teachers also establish close liaison with local offices of the Department of Labour's Employment and Vocational Guidance Service. This service gives help by providing information and advice about the sorts of jobs and training that are available and what they involve, about the skills that are needed for those jobs, about deciding on what sort of job to aim for and on how to go about searching for that job.

The Department of Education provides assistance through its inspectorial teams and through the provision of print and audio-visual resources. Recently 15 programmes on aspects of career education have been recorded on video and are now available for use by schools. In addition, organisations such as the Employers' Association Training Board produce material such as their publication, *The Employers' Guide to School-leavers*, which is made available to schools.

#### **(c) Transition Courses**

A number of schools run "transition courses" for students who have been identified as being at risk to unemployment. This is a rapidly developing area of curriculum development where a number of initiatives have been undertaken in schools. The aim of a transition course is to help students make better decisions about what they want to do when they leave school. The content and organisation of these courses vary from school to school, according to the particular needs of the target population which is taking the course.

Generally, the target group of a transition course in a secondary school is that group of students likely to be at risk of unemployment. The courses have a component of work exploration, job-seeking skills and an emphasis on communication, literacy, and the social skills of working with others. Identification of effective practice in this area will provide models which other schools could adapt and even emulate.

One example of such a course is the transition education programme run at Burnside High School in Christchurch. Its aims are listed as follows:

- (i) to foster a sense of competence, self-confidence, independence and responsibility in students
- (ii) to help students attain personal and social skills needed in adult life
- (iii) to enable students to identify their own individual needs regarding life skills and attempt to improve and develop these



- (iv) to provide job-seeking skills
- (v) to give students the skills to cope with new situations
- (vi) to give students the skills to make realistic career decisions based on an understanding of themselves, occupational requirements and job market conditions.

The course is organised in four ways. First, it is incorporated as a component of two transition classes for students at risk of unemployment, one a fifth form and one a sixth form. Second, it forms the basis of self-selective block courses from one to three days in length for students at any level. Third, it is used as the basis of individual counselling sessions for students who have returned reluctantly to school and for those who intend to leave school shortly. Finally, it is also included as a component of a sixth form career unit. This comprehensive programme ensures that students who need help to make the transition from school have opportunities to seek it.

Since 1980 Mana College in Porirua has been operating a pilot scheme of a different sort in the area of transition from school to work. The necessity for the scheme arose because of the particular needs of a proportion of students on the college roll. There is a high rate of unemployment in the Porirua district, so that young people who lack the appropriate qualifications and who have poor social skills are not able to compete effectively on the job market. This compounds a feeling of failure already evident in some students as a result of poor academic achievement. An alternative programme was designed to assist these fifth form students at risk by helping them develop positive attitudes about themselves, and to teach them practical skills of use in the workforce so that their time within the school system would not be wasted.

The programme involves a five-day cycle, in which one day is devoted to basic skills in the classroom, two days focus on work skills within the school (for instance, improving the school environment through landscape design and construction work), and two days are devoted to work exploration. A concentration on non-academic achievement has shifted the emphasis from academic success to an emphasis on doing well in a field that suits the individual student.

The school reports the scheme has been very successful. This success can be attributed partly to the efforts of talented and dedicated teachers, and partly to the support given the scheme by the school itself and through the additional staffing assistance provided by the Departments of Education and Labour. Case studies of individual students on these schemes indicate there is a high rate of successful job placement as a result of

participation in the scheme. Next year the college wishes to extend the scheme to fourth form students at risk as well.

Another innovation pioneered by Mana College has been a "leavers' seminar" conducted in the middle of the year for all sixth and seventh form students. The programme involved a week-long seminar at a venue outside the school, incorporating visiting speakers, study groups, job visits, films and panel discussions. The participants were exposed to many of the situations and issues that they would face upon leaving school. Speakers who were selected represented many different lifestyles and shades of political persuasion. This ensured that lively discussion became an integral part of the seminar.

As a result of this seminar the majority of students felt better equipped to face the future, as a consequence of having developed a deeper understanding of their responsibilities and a greater degree of self-confidence in their ability to succeed. Teachers of these students noted particularly a change of attitude by the students to school life after the seminar. Many showed an increasing awareness of their own needs and those of others, and were more positively motivated to gain benefit from their remaining time at school.

A third high school which has pioneered yet another variety of transition course is Hagley High School in Christchurch. It has based its approach on the concept of a community learning centre. It operates as the parent school for Pitcaithly House, the Department of Education's vocational centre. This centre operates as a bridge between school and the world of work, giving high school students from city and outlying district schools the opportunity to attend one or more of the vocational programmes it offers. Students can elect to attend, and it seems a large proportion of those who do go are participating on the recommendation of a peer or friend who felt the programme was worthwhile. The centre itself is "off-campus" and is centrally located in the city. Each course enrolment usually includes students from several different high schools. Liaison between Pitcaithly House and interested students is channelled through a school "contact" person, normally the school guidance counsellor, careers adviser, or transition teacher. Some students may be referred from other agencies.

Two different varieties of courses are offered: vocational courses of one, two, four, five or ten days; and a social survival skills course of five days. The content of the courses includes interpersonal skills, vocational orientation and guidance, finding a job, one-day work exploration and skills involved in applying for a job. The clients of the vocational centre speak highly of the value



of the courses they have participated in, since not only have their job-seeking skills been improved, but their career awareness has been enhanced and they are more willing to make realistic job choices. Students have also felt they have become more self-aware and more self-confident, and have in addition developed self-marketing skills and positive attitudes, both to themselves and towards work.

Hagley High School also runs "transition courses" for school-leavers. The people enrolled in these courses come from schools all around Christchurch and from further afield. In effect these courses are pre-employment courses which provide particular vocational skills. The courses are substantially the same as those arranged by the Department of Labour under its Young Persons Training Programme, except that no training allowance is payable to trainees. The five courses run by the school teach industrial sewing skills, catering skills, building trades, horticulture and community skills.

The courses themselves vary in length from six weeks to a full term. They are open to anyone aged 15 years or over, and are designed to help the "at risk" school-leaver by providing work skills needed by employers. The value of the courses can be seen by studying the high success rate of job placements of students who have completed the courses.

#### *(d) Work Exploration*

Work exploration is the placement of a student in a particular job for a limited period, during which time the student works under the guidance of an employer following the pattern of a normal working day. Duration of placement can vary from one day, to two or three weeks in a block, or for one day or part of a day per week over several weeks. Schools will normally establish liaison with local employers who are willing to introduce students to the world of work in this way, and employers will usually be asked to furnish a Work Exploration Report on each student and discuss with that person the qualifications and personal requirements needed for the particular job. The student's responsibility is to participate as fully as possible. Some schools ask students to fill out questionnaires or journals on their experiences. Parents are required to give their consent before students may embark on work exploration.

The teacher who organises the work exploration programme takes responsibility for arranging a suitable placement, taking into account a student's preferences, personality and personal circumstances. Normally the student will also be visited on site by the teacher and the employer will be contacted about the student's progress.

There would be few schools which do not offer students the chance to undertake work exploration. Generally an offer to arrange work exploration will be made to students at a specified level (say fourth form or above) and it will then be up to students to take an initiative and refer themselves for consideration under the programme. Occasionally students will be placed in a job on a teacher referral basis where a particular student might be thought to benefit from the experience because of his or her special needs.

Those students who were consulted as part of this project often referred to their periods of work exploration as the most useful learning experience of their schooling. Work was perceived by them as "real" in a way schooling was not, and by being exposed to the realities of working life, students were enabled to appreciate better the relevance of their schooling, and were often helped in their eventual choice of employment or further education and training.

While trade unions have a legitimate concern that the widespread development of work exploration could be exploited by an unscrupulous employer as a source of free labour, and could thereby jeopardise the jobs of people already in the workforce, in fact this does not seem to have happened. The reality is that teachers report work exploration can be a source of job creation. For example, an employer may be asked to accept a placement of a young person for a three-week period. After that time, if the student has demonstrated a positive attitude to work and has also shown he or she can be useful and productive, the employer may decide to create a permanent position for this particular person where none existed before. The young person is then taken on to the payroll at the end of the work exploration period. Most schools involved in work exploration can report instances such as this.

Employers have a vested collective interest in supporting and providing work experience for young people. Through such programmes, they have an opportunity to provide induction courses for potential employees, and can assess the suitability of new potential workers in a realistic setting.

Work exploration also provides young people with an opportunity to assess their own impressions of a particular type of work and this helps them to clarify their own preferences. Both employers and employees can benefit mutually from the "trial run" which work exploration provides.

It is important that opportunities for work experience are available to students at all levels of ability, and are not restricted to students who may have limited intellectual capacity or who have

demonstrated behaviour problems in the school setting.

In New Zealand, "work experience classes" have traditionally been special classes in selected secondary schools for students with particular intellectual, physical or emotional needs. These classes are normally taken for all or most of the subjects of the curriculum by one home-room teacher, and generally have one day of work experience each week throughout the school year. This procedure is beneficial to those students involved and has been most helpful in assisting the induction into the workforce of students who would otherwise have special difficulties. While such programmes must continue, other students who would benefit from work experience should not be denied the opportunity.

In the past, work exploration has been available to students in most schools on a self-referral basis. There are benefits for students in making such opportunities voluntary rather than compulsory. Students who are ready for work experience and ask for it will benefit far more than any student who might be placed on a work exploration programme under duress. However, schools have not always been able to satisfy the demand from students for such experiences.

There is considerable time involved in the organisation and administration of work exploration programmes. Individual students have to be interviewed and assessed before and after the programme, and their preferences have to be considered and analysed. Employers need to be approached if suitable places are to be found. Teachers need to travel around local work places to see students at work on the job, and to talk to employers. Schools are restricted in the present staffing and financial resources available for such work, and this is one inhibiting factor which has prevented the further extension of work exploration.

There would be benefits for young people and employers in extending work exploration programmes in all secondary schools so that every young person has the opportunity of experiencing the realities of work in different settings during the period of schooling. There is value both in integrating such experience within the curriculum during the period of compulsory schooling, and in making opportunities available during the time of post-compulsory schooling.

## II. Education and Training Schemes after Leaving School

A number of formal educational institutions or agencies provide further education or training for young people after they leave school to assist

them in making the transition from school to adult working life. These include universities, technical institutes, community colleges, night classes at secondary schools, the Technical Correspondence Institute and the Correspondence School. Population trends in these institutions have been discussed earlier in this report. The roles of these institutions are generally well-known and do not need further documentation here.

Particular mention should be made of the Vocational Training Council, which has the important role of coordinating vocational training generally, and in particular supporting the work of the 28 industry training boards and the two industry training committees, and identifying and maintaining training needs.

Two statutory bodies in New Zealand provide accreditation and supervision of technical and vocational education. The T.C.B. (Trade Certification Board) oversees apprenticeship training. Apprenticeships have already been discussed in this report, and suggestions for improving their effectiveness have been made. The A.A.V.A. (Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards) has the responsibility of looking after technician training. Both these statutory bodies have an important role in shaping opportunities for young men and women to fulfil their aspirations through vocational education.

Many other institutions offer specific job training for young people after they have left school. Some of these, such as the Police College, the agricultural training colleges, or the Defence Department training courses have already been mentioned in the section on New Zealand participation in education. Some of these institutions, such as private secretarial or commercial colleges, have long been an established part of the training of young people for office work in New Zealand. It is interesting that at present there seems to be a growth in New Zealand of additional private colleges or institutions which offer training in specific skills. Examples include hairdressing colleges, institutions providing training for beauty technicians, and courses in computer skills and word processing.

The apparently proliferating growth of these institutions suggests that a discontinuity may have developed between the formal education system, particularly the technical institutes, and the market. Where the response of the formal system has been too slow, private enterprise has responded by providing a service which meets the needs of particular groups of young people.

Much of the non-apprenticeship job training for young New Zealanders entering the workforce



directly from school occurs in an informal way on the job rather than through systematic training schemes. Generally this will involve instruction, followed by on-the-job work experience. Whether there should be an overall policy in New Zealand for non-apprenticeship job training is an issue which is discussed further in the last chapter.

Both the National Council of Adult Education and the Workers' Education Association provide community educational programmes which young people along with older adults may take advantage of. There are also numerous other community organisations such as local authorities, hospital boards and voluntary organisations such as the Salvation Army, the YMCA, the YWCA, and so on, which promote or actively support various educational or training initiatives.

Many of these programmes are based on the Department of Labour's job creation, employment and training assistance programmes. These programmes have been established by government in recent years to provide special help primarily for job-seekers registered with the Department of Labour. Their focus has, therefore, been limited to providing training for the particular group of young people identified as being at risk to unemployment. The schemes are funded by government and have, as a general aim, the provision of job training in non-apprenticeable skills for job seekers. The following are the training schemes which are aimed primarily at young people.

#### *School-Leavers' Training and Employment Preparation Scheme (STEPS)*

This scheme aims to offer unemployed school-leavers a wide range of individually tailored combinations of training and work experience, to help them move confidently into working life and to have more to offer prospective employers. Trainees are 15 and 16 year-olds who have left school and who have been enrolled as registered unemployed for at least eight weeks. Some special cases may be accepted directly from school. The young people on these schemes gain guidance and counselling, some training and work experience, all of which is intended to enhance their job opportunities and serve as a springboard for subsequent training and career development.

Trainees are paid a weekly allowance, graduated according to age. Employers are offered the opportunity to participate in the programme through a sponsorship system, and for sponsoring trainees are reimbursed costs of \$36-\$47 per trainee per week, depending on the nature of the equipment used. Managing agents are required to provide a minimum of four linking modules (of three weeks each) lasting at least 12 weeks.

#### *Young Persons' Training Programme (YPTP)*

The aim of the YPTP is to provide training in either technical institutes or on the job for young unemployed people seeking work, to enhance their prospects of competing for and finding full-time employment. Trainees have to be registered as unemployed, and are usually 17 years of age or older. In most cases they will never have held permanent jobs. Three options are offered under this programme. First, "job exploration" is a short programme of three weeks to help young people learn about the type of work undertaken by a particular company. Secondly, "supervised operator training" gives the opportunity to gain new skills to enhance the prospects of finding full-time work. These training programmes normally last from six to eight weeks although up to 20 weeks may be approved. A training allowance is paid on both these options. Thirdly, "training in employment" allows job seekers to receive training while working for a wage. In some cases, 15 and 16 year-olds may be referred to this option. Employers receive a wage subsidy of \$95 per week for each trainee, and pay him or her the appropriate full-time wages and provide training in basic skills.

#### *Maori Trade Training*

This scheme, administered by the Department of Maori Affairs, aims at assisting young Maoris to find training and employment. It offers young Maoris a training allowance, a choice of four courses and sponsorship in pre-apprenticeship training, vocational training, training in agriculture or horticulture, or job-entry training. Sponsorship is also offered for computer courses, New Zealand Certificate courses, or accountancy or commerce courses at Victoria and Massey University.

#### *Kokiri Centres*

The Department of Maori Affairs also offers basic skills training for urban Maori youth in a marae-type community setting. The aim of the Kokiri centres is to develop a basic skills education programme for Maori Youth and also to provide cultural activities in a traditional Maori setting.

#### *Rapu Mahi Programme*

This programme, operated by the Department of Maori Affairs, attempts to provide "job-finding" programmes to assist unqualified school-leavers and unemployed youth aged 15-19 to find employment.

#### *Training Subsidies for Disabled Workers*

Subsidies are provided to employers to assist disabled people to gain some training in order to become fully competitive with other workers. The employee gains training on the job at the appropriate award wage while in a permanent full-time

position. The employer receives a subsidy on the trainee's wages, reducible six-monthly as the trainee progresses.

### *Adult Retraining Programme*

Trainees may be involuntary displaced workers who lack relevant vocational skills and need training in the workplace to acquire these new skills. Alternatively, the scheme may be used to assist employers improve the skills of existing staff for work requiring a higher level of skill or different skills.

### *Other Schemes*

There are other schemes funded by government which provide opportunities for young people. Subsidies are available to help employers provide new apprenticeship training opportunities. These have already been outlined in the section on apprenticeships. The Department of Maori Affairs runs a Marae Enterprise Scheme, aimed at working with Maori people to develop local work opportunities and better use of their economic resources, especially land. The Department of Internal Affairs operates SCOPE (the Small Cooperative Enterprises Scheme), which aims to assist groups of people to start cooperative employment projects. The Detached Youth Workers Scheme of Internal Affairs also supports youth workers assisting young people whose needs are not being adequately met by existing programmes and services.

The Department of Labour runs CEIF (Community Employment Initiatives Fund) to assist community groups to develop new employment initiatives, the Employment Incentive Scheme, to provide increased employment opportunities by supporting the expansion of businesses, and GELS (Group Employment Liaison Scheme), to assist groups of unemployed people gain access to employment and training assistance.

In addition, young people can be assisted by the W.S.D.P. (Work Skills Development Programme), the V.O.T.P. (Voluntary Organisations Training Programme), and P.E.P. (Project Employment Programme).

Finally, the Ministry of Defence has initiated a series of Defence Limited Term Training Schemes for young people under the auspices of the YPTP programme. These young people are known as limited service volunteers, and undergo a period of training with the armed forces.

### **Comment**

Programmes like STEPS and YPTP were designed as an immediate response by government to the training needs of young people who were at risk

of becoming long-term unemployed. The numbers at present participating in these programmes (over 4,000 in October 1984) indicate there is a need for some sort of training programme for young people which these schemes are currently meeting. However, it is debatable whether either STEPS or YPTP represents the best possible long-term response to the training needs of the young people at risk of unemployment.

These two training programmes are open to criticism on two main grounds. First, the length of time given to the programmes is insufficient to provide young people with adequately developed work skills. Many programmes, instead, concentrate on developing young people's "life skills" and self-marketing skills. It is true that many of the young people on these schemes are lacking in self-confidence and have poorly developed oral and written communication skills. It is not likely, however, that a short-term course in personal and social skills will be markedly more successful than the young person's ten or so years of previous schooling.

The fundamental difficulty with these short-term training programmes is that they are temporary expedients which are palliatives rather than remedies for the long-term needs of the unemployed. Since neither STEPS nor YPTP leads to a guaranteed job, and since there is not adequate time for development of specialised work skills, young people on these schemes are simply being kept "waiting in the wings" until they can gain a permanent job. This is likely to create dependence rather than independence among the young unemployed.

Secondly, these schemes are often run by agencies and personnel which have had little or no previous expertise in education. Because the programmes themselves are short-term, the tutors or supervisors of the programmes are also short-term, temporary appointments. This means there is no career structure available for the tutor, and that recruitment and retention of high-quality teaching staff is therefore a problem. This is not to decry the excellent work being done by many dedicated supervisors. It is undeniable, however, that the quality of some programmes suffers as a result of the inadequate experience and training of the tutors.

The existence and proliferation of so many varied schemes for young people at risk of unemployment, spread among so many different agencies, is an indication that now is an appropriate time to review the various schemes, to rationalise those programmes where duplication of effort occurs, and to improve and coordinate the delivery of training to young people. Suggestions of ways of doing this are outlined in the last chapter.



### *D.E.T.A.C.'s*

In each district of the Department of Labour, provision has now been made for the establishment of a District Employment and Training Advisory Committee. These 19 committees throughout the country have the responsibility of planning and advising on the training and employment needs of their district. The committees include representatives of the Departments of Labour and Education, employers, unions and local authorities, and are expected to establish close links with their communities. These committees have a key role in the planning of education and training, by mapping at a local level the existing human and physical resources available, and by making realistic projections of future needs. More publicity for their functions and duties would as-

sist them and the communities they represent in meeting the training and employment needs of young people.

### *Youth Learning Centres*

Nine youth learning centres have been established in 1984 in towns or regions which have no tertiary education facilities. These centres provide young people with access to continuing education programmes. These centres are based in Kaitaia, Helensville, Papakura, Tokoroa, Levin, Masterton, Blenheim, Ashburton and Oamaru. While at present these centres generally provide programmes only for STEPS and YPTP trainees, these learning centres have the potential to be expanded to offer increased education and training opportunities for young people in smaller towns or regions.

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# VI. CONSULTATIONS WITH SCHOOL-LEAVERS

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Consultations with school-leavers were undertaken in order to investigate the experiences of some young people in making the transition from school to adult working life. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with selected 1983 school-leavers to provide a human dimension of what transition from school meant in practice. It was felt that gathering qualitative material in this way would supplement the national statistical data and would assist in interpreting and explaining the trends which were evident. Direct contact with young people themselves was also likely to illuminate personal or local issues which would not be evident from national statistics.

Discussions with members of the Planning Council and its secretariat indicated there was value in consulting the "clients" of the education system in order to obtain their views on the skills acquired and needed to enter adult working life from school and to explore any other aspirations which school-leavers may have. In addition, the qualitative material gathered through these interviews would be useful to those working in the education system by providing an "after-sales service check".

The exercise of talking to school-leavers was not conducted as a rigorous research study. The selection of people for interviews was done by contacting state secondary schools from the greater Wellington region and asking for names of young people whose further education or employment on leaving school was broadly representative of the 1983 school-leaver cohort as a whole. After the names had been supplied by the schools, the young people themselves were approached and interviewed, and the case studies which follow were written up.

A schedule was developed for use by the interviewer to structure the interview but since the focus was on how the young people thought and felt about their transition experiences in school prior to leaving, and in adult life after having left school, some latitude was allowed in following up cues thrown out by the speakers.

1983 school-leavers were chosen rather than any other group, as it was thought important to select a group whose experiences of leaving school were current, but who had left for long enough to have developed a reasonably extensive work history or experience of training.

The material in this section is presented as a series of case studies where the young people are allowed to speak for themselves in their own voices. While each school-leaver's experience is unique, some of the comments which are offered here have a significance which seems to go beyond their personal application to become representative of the voice of many more young New Zealanders. In developing policies for the education, training and employment of young people, their own perceptions and views must be heeded carefully.

## William

William is a 17-year-old young Maori who left school from the fifth form at the end of the first term in 1983. His mother is a shop assistant. He spent just over two years at school and left without any formal qualifications. At school he did have a short period of work exploration with a building firm in a nearby suburb. When he left school he was not too concerned about what job he got, as he was more concerned with earning money. On first leaving school he was unemployed for a period of five months, and then gained a job for six months with the Lands and Survey Department on one of the special government work skills schemes.

William did have some observations on the question of youth rates as a result of his experiences, when two gangs were made redundant because not enough work was available:

"When I got laid off they offered me another job, but just for the summer . . . scrubcutting. You only get \$100 a week for it. I was in a gang and was getting \$200 a fortnight, and all the other guys were getting \$320 a fortnight just because they were older."

After this work he was again unemployed for four months. He then rang up the teacher in charge of transition education at his old high school, and his teacher arranged a job for him as a storeman with a cold storage firm, where he is now employed making up orders for supermarkets. William commented: "I'm only really doing it for the money. But it is a good job."

At the time of the interview he had been in the job for 6 weeks, and planned to stay there as long as he could. It had taken him fifteen months to obtain his first permanent job. Although William appeared diffident at first, it became obvious during the interview that his self-confidence had



## Peter

Peter is a 19-year-old pakeha who attended a single-sex secondary school. His father is a plumber and his mother is a housewife. Peter left school after five years secondary education at the end of the seventh form. He had gained his University Entrance and had been awarded a Higher School Certificate on completion of his seventh form year. Before leaving school he had worked part-time pumping gas at a petrol station and stocking shelves at a supermarket.

At the end of secondary school, he was sick of school and thought he needed a break. He thought he wouldn't need any more schooling or education than he had already had at school. Peter talked about his experiences on making the transition from school to working life.

"I never decided upon what career I'd take until I got the job. I never knew what job I was going to take till I got through. In the seventh form I decided something like Air Traffic Control would be good. Mind you, in the fifth form I picked the sciences instead of the arts because I thought I could do something with that, like physiotherapy or physical education, so I thought the sciences were better in those respects than the arts. And then I went through the sixth form and felt like each month I was changing my mind about what I wanted to do. It was the same in the seventh form, until in the end I just took any job I could."

*Interviewer:* "Did you have any career education at school?"

*Peter:* "That was all modernisation, trying to get the children involved in what they'd like to do. They had pamphlets in the library, all the vocational guidance boards on the wall and that, but if you don't go to the library you don't see much of it. Our Vocational Guidance Counsellor was good at \_\_\_\_\_, he made himself known to the kids and said we could go and see him any time, so he was good in that respect, and a lot of kids went to him just to talk things over with him, and he helped a lot of people, but he was just one man."

*Interviewer:* "Did you ever go and see him?"

*Peter:* "I went to see him for a couple of appointments. People were always helpful with suggestions, but at \_\_\_\_\_, it was live for the present and don't so much think about the future. The future was away from school, and you don't think about it. When you're at school you think of subjects that you are going for and getting your qualifications, doing what you are doing at school. You don't think of what you are going to do when you leave school. I think at school we should have had a kind of elective system where you could go

out and try different jobs and different job areas, rather than just have somebody suggesting jobs to you when you don't know anything about them. They say "Oh, that would be a nice job wouldn't it, try that". Well, if you don't know anything about it, you can't make a decision."

Peter talked about some of the difficulties he faced on leaving school.

"I found it difficult to leave a place where I had been for five years which was like a second home. I really enjoyed myself while I was there. I had to leave because I was in my seventh form year. I enjoyed my schooling. I suppose in the seventh form I got frustrated because I was at school and the teachers were getting on my back to study and I couldn't be bothered because I thought I'm not going to university next year. I don't need extra qualifications, so I cruised through that year, concentrating mainly on sport. I really enjoyed my sport during my seventh form year, but I kept on getting annoyed by teachers who pushed me, I didn't like it. I tried to make the transition period as smooth as I could. The values I had at school I wasn't going to change as soon as I went to work. I made that decision before I started out. A lot of people have gone to work, all of a sudden come from school, and they used to spend Friday nights going to McDonalds and the pictures, or going straight from work to the pub, whereas to me I think it is a charade. I think you should be yourself right the way through. When you leave school and go on to work, it shouldn't be such a drastic change . . . You have got a lot more responsibilities, but if you can take it smoothly you can adjust. You can go through that transition period."

Peter approached the State Services Commission towards the end of the seventh form year, and was provided with information about other government departments. He was interviewed for jobs both by the Commission and by the Customs Department, and was offered both jobs. He chose to work at Customs, and has been with them all during 1984. He is now able to reflect on his present situation:

"I've had a break from school and I really enjoyed my first few months where I was working. I realise now that to get further than where I am I have to take further education and I'm taking this hopefully through Teachers' College to do primary school teaching."

Peter has decided he wants to make a career change after nine months working in a government department. He has applied for entry in 1985 to Wellington Teachers' College. When asked why he had changed his mind about his present career, he pinpointed lack of job fulfilment as a key factor.



"I didn't find myself being fulfilled at the job. I found going straight into the government a most boring, boring transition, in that I didn't feel I'd extended myself in what I was doing. I felt that I was basically working for the weekend and that wasn't what I thought life should be like and it was disturbing. I was just working for the money and not for the job I was doing."

Peter does intend to finish the year in his present job.

"I stayed there to build up a work record, basically. I don't want to be chopping and changing in my first year at work. I've got aims for next year. I don't want to be here next year, but I think that if I could last out the year it would look good for future employers. When I was choosing this job I've got now, I was looking for a secure and stable job, and prospects of promotion. Now I'm thinking more I'm wanting an interesting job, a job where you can get on with your workmates, become part of the team, a job where you meet people."

Peter was asked what he expected work to be like before he started.

"I didn't really give it too much thought. I thought of my work as money. I didn't care what I was going to do from 9 to 5. I was going to go home after work and I was going to have all this money I'd never had before in my life, and I was going to have a great time. Life was going to be homework free, I was going to finish work at 4.30 and be free until I go to bed, then get up and go to work, great lunch-times and things like that."

*Interviewer:* "Was it as you expected?"

*Peter:* "No. Eight hours is a long hunk of your day.

You've got to realise if you want to live your life, then the biggest hunk of your day is at work, so you've got to enjoy what you are doing at work more than you realise when you're at school. When you're at school you think the only reason to go to work is for the money. You don't worry about what you are doing so long as you get great money. But you need to enjoy what you are doing. I'd gladly give away a couple of thousand dollars a year if I enjoyed my work a little more. But it is just a basic job, I don't enjoy my work, I get frustrated, and by the end of the week feel exhausted and that."

Peter had some advice for schools on how they should help prepare students for working life.

"Give them a broad insight into what working life would be like, and an independent background. I think things like budgeting could be studied at

school. When you go to work 9 times out of 10 you'll spend your first pay packet and then you'll get through to half-way through your first year and think, Oh goodness I'd better start saving, and put a little money away, and go, oh, I don't have enough money for myself. But with a bit of budgeting you might be able to work something out there. Start off on a good note, because you find there's a bit of pressure on kids as to how to manage their money, a lot of people just waste it and squander it.

*Interviewer:* "Your friends?"

*Peter:* "Some of them are saving, some of them are trying to save, a lot of them are just squandering what they have got. Some people are very organised, some people aren't. It's all differences. But I think if they were taught at school how to budget they would be able to live more comfortably on what they earn. Some people have problems with the price rises and being in debt by the time next pay day comes round. It's not a very good life especially if you want things for the future."

Peter was finally asked how he felt about his future.

"Quite unsure. I think what I'll be getting myself into now, next year at Teachers' College, will be something that I will enjoy and I'm quite willing, at the moment, now that I've got money, to go three years without money. I'm quite willing to take my chances financially, and I think I'll be able to adjust to that. I think I'll be able to get part-time work to see me through."

*Interviewer:* "Do you think you'll need part-time work?"

*Peter:* "Yes. When I told my parents that I intend to be going to Teachers Training College next year their hearts sank a bit because they thought, oh no, they're going to have to support me, but that is the last thing I want. I want to support myself. I want to work for independence, and now that I've decided to take tertiary study I still want my independence . . . to get a job which I enjoy I have to take tertiary study and forfeit those 3 years, but it doesn't bother me."

Peter's final comments provide food for thought: "Education in schools should be more employment-seeking, employment-based and orientated. But you can't go totally into that, you can't have everything keyed into interviews. Just work out for each student what they are suited for, what type of job they are suited for, and not so much stereotype a student but more give him avenues which he can take. He can progress from there when he is leaving school. Leave his options open, but give him options."



## Briar

Briar identifies herself as both Maori and pakeha. She is an eighteen-year-old whose mother is an adviser for pre-school education and whose father, before he died, held a senior management position in a government department. Briar left school from the seventh form after four and a half years of secondary education, having gained her University Entrance.

She was interested in writing and decided initially she would like a career in journalism. She embarked on a work exploration programme with Wellington Newspapers while she was still at school, intending at that stage not to go back to her studies. Her friends had left school and she wanted to do something else. After her work exploration ended, she heard about a Maori drama group, "Te Ohu Whakaari", from a friend. It had begun as a group of unemployed young Maori people who were all interested in writing, drama and music. For the first six months the group was funded under the Labour Department's Work Skills Development Scheme.

Briar left school and joined the group at the Wellington Arts Centre and spent the first four months learning under the direction of their leader. She has now been with the group for nearly 18 months and is one of the two surviving original members.

"We started off with a myths and legends programme. We worked on that for about four months just building up our confidence and then we took it round to schools for quite a long time."

The group is now almost completely self-supporting. They visit both primary and secondary schools with different programmes for different age groups. The programmes they perform have been written and developed by members of the group, and this is one creative aspect of the work which Briar finds very satisfying. Another aspect of her work she finds satisfying is "the way people respond, the different responses you get, especially from school children. You know that your work has paid off. In other jobs you don't really know. You get feedback and we have question time afterwards for kids. They tell you exactly what they like and don't like."

Briar doesn't plan to stay in her present job forever, but she is happy where she is now.

"I'll probably leave next year sometime, I'm not sure when . . . I just think you can do so much of this and you need to go on to something else. I love it and don't really want to leave, but there comes a time when you have to. There are only two of the original members who haven't left the

group . . . I'm not sure yet what I can do after I leave."

*Interviewer:* "You really haven't got any firm ideas at this stage?"

*Briar:* "No. And I haven't got that much behind me either if I want another secure job. Also I'm not sure how satisfied I could be . . . I'll stay with writing any way, and I'd like to do drama work part-time."

Briar did expound on some of the difficulties she experienced on leaving school.

"School gave me an aim, which was really just pass exams, because you're always looking ahead at school. After I left I didn't really have that. I knew what I wanted to do but I didn't know how to get there. School was security. It was quite hard. I knew I wanted to do journalism, but I didn't know how to get there really, and after the job at the newspapers I didn't know what I was going to do. I thought I was going to be unemployed. I was sure I was going to be. The course in Wellington (the journalism course at the Polytechnic) didn't come up for another year."

What has been dramatic has been the effect on Briar's own personality and development as a result of participating as a member of "Te Ohu Whakaari."

"My confidence has just gone up like that, since I've been in this job. If I had to leave for any reason, I'm not sure what I would do, but I think that I wouldn't be afraid . . . I think I'd be all right . . . Well, I'm not sure what I am going to be doing in my future after this job, I'm not sure at all, but I'm not that worried about it really. Actually I wouldn't mind doing teaching or something like that. That would be good, and keep these other things up as interests. I feel optimistic, I hope that I won't ever get into a rut."

## Christopher

Christopher is a 19-year-old pakeha student now studying full-time at university. His father is manager of a freight-forwarding firm and his mother is a secretary. He is able, articulate and clear as to his career goals. He left school in 1983 after having completed his seventh form year and having sat the University Bursaries examination.

Ever since the fifth form he has intended to become an accountant, and he tailored his course at school accordingly. He is following a full-time course at university which should lead to a B.C.A. and eventually to a career as an accountant. Although he is a full-time student, he also has a part-time job collating materials for a government department. This job supplements his student ter-

tiary bursary. He still lives at home, supported by his parents, as the level of his allowance prevents him going flatting. When he finishes his degree he intends to enter an accounting business. Further study and work experience will be necessary in order to obtain his A.C.A., an additional professional qualification for accountants, but Christopher is confident he will achieve this goal too.

### **Michael**

Michael is Christopher's 17-year-old brother. He also left school in 1983. When Michael left school after four years attendance, he had completed the sixth form and gained his University Entrance. He applied for, and obtained, an apprenticeship with the New Zealand Railways and is currently employed as an apprentice electrician. It will take him four years to complete his apprenticeship, but he finds his work challenging, since he has three month shifts on various aspects of electrical work within the Railways, and believes this varied training will make him a better electrician than most.

In addition to his work, he studies at the Petone Technical Institute. Every Tuesday and Thursday evening from 5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. he attends classes for the first qualifying examination for the New Zealand Trade Certificate (Electrical). In addition he has attended a three-week block course full-time at the Institute, at which he was learning the theory of his trade. Michael also has time off work for a 'day course' for an extra qualification, the New Zealand Certificate of Engineering. He attends this course from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Mondays and from 10 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. on Wednesdays. Eventually he hopes to complete the Advanced Trade Certificate, which will take him four years. He regards his training as a necessary and useful prerequisite for the work he intends to do.

He is paid for studying during work hours (his present rate of pay is \$3.52 per hour) and receives free transport to work with the Railways. He likes his present job, finds it interesting, and is doing what he wants to be doing.

Michael's comments on sex-stereotyping within his field of work are revealing and point up the difficulties faced by young women considering entering an apprenticeship and by employers who might wish to change attitudes to the employment of women within the traditional trades. Michael had been asked whether anything about him personally (such as his race, or his sex) had made a difference when he was applying for work.

"No, what race I am wouldn't really make any difference, not with the Railways anyway."

*Interviewer:* "What about your sex?"

*Michael:* "Yes, there are only about two women there and there's about 550 workers out there. Sex probably is a factor. They were saying at the Railways, I don't know if it is true, that a girl went for an apprenticeship there. She was really good-looking so they didn't want to give her the job because it probably wouldn't be safe. Yes, I think they probably would worry about that, especially at the Railways."

Michael also had some observations about the use of school reports and examination results in helping him to get his job. He found the fact that he had gained his University Entrance was a very useful qualification, as it gave him an edge over some of the other job applicants in the job selection process. He also added:

"Just about all the employers wanted my school report. My last school report was quite good. It was helpful, because I didn't work too hard at the start of the sixth form and then we got a report and my report was terrible, about the worst report I've had. Then I was looking for jobs, and then they ask for your last report. Now I thought during the year, so, what's a school report, then when they wanted my last report I had to put it off because we were getting reports soon, and I sort of put it off until I got that one."

Michael will stay with the railways until he completes his apprenticeship, although he feels he could work as an electrician outside the railways once his training is finished.

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# VII. ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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This chapter discusses a number of issues and policy implications related to the education, schooling, training and employment of young people. The recommendations made in the course of the discussion are intended primarily as signals to the education system of ways in which young people's preparation for adulthood in New Zealand society could be improved. Beyond the education system, there are also implications for agencies such as employers, trade unions, government departments and some community organisations.

## Objectives

The following objectives of a coherent and coordinated policy to assist the transition of young people from school to adult working life have guided the discussion of key issues:

1. To encourage the participation of young people in education and training of all types as a better option than the unemployment benefit, or temporary short-term work schemes.
2. To expand the provision of education and training, so that the variety of needs, interests and abilities of young people is met while the highest quality of services is maintained.
3. To encourage a better knowledge of the world of work and to promote a more extensive acquisition of work experience among secondary school students as a necessary component of the curriculum and personal development of these young people.
4. To monitor the development of education and training after the years of compulsory schooling so that pressures to use resources more efficiently can be reconciled with New Zealand's long-standing commitment to equity of educational provision.
5. To help particular groups of young people who are at risk of unemployment to find appropriate education and training programmes and to complete these successfully.
6. To pay attention to the recruitment, training and career prospects of teaching staff as a prior requirement for the achievement of the objectives listed above.

## *Increasing the length of schooling*

An important issue is how long young people are expected to spend on their schooling. School is the major institution other than the family through which young people are assisted in making the transition to adult life.

A longer participation in education at school, provided an appropriate curriculum is offered, will help to promote and enhance young people's adaptive skills when they do enter the workforce. Young people themselves will benefit in their own personal development, and the economy will benefit from a more adaptable workforce. Increasing the length of schooling, as a generalised policy, would remove more young people from the labour force and by lowering participation rates would have the effect of reducing unemployment figures.

An implication of this issue is the adoption of a policy for young people on increasing the length of schooling. Increasing the length of schooling could be accomplished either compulsorily, by raising the school leaving age from 15 to a higher age level, or voluntarily, through offering tangible encouragement or incentives to young people to stay on at school.

By itself, increasing the length of schooling by arbitrarily raising the school leaving age would be unlikely to confer great benefit on those affected. Most young people now stay on at school beyond age 15. Those who leave school at age 15 are generally young people who find that school has little to offer them. Their success at school has often been minimal, and their motivation towards schooling is poor. Retaining these young people at school under duress will intensify problems of discipline within the school and will alienate their attitudes to authority even further. These attitudes are then likely to transfer to poor attitudes to work. Because of these negative attitudes, it is unlikely that compulsorily extending the length of schooling will enhance the skill levels of present 15-year-old school-leavers. It is also possible that extending the length of schooling would create false expectations in the minds of those who stayed on at school longer than they otherwise would have, as to the appropriate type of job suitable for the educational level which had been achieved.



A more profitable approach is to provide school programmes which encourage young people to stay on at school voluntarily. Those who voluntarily elect to stay on at school are more likely to be motivated to succeed, and if modifications to the present academic curriculum were undertaken, more young people would be likely to enjoy the experience of success. In combination with other changes of emphasis within the school system, such as further opportunities for work exploration integrated within the school curriculum, more teenagers could extend their education at school voluntarily and enhance their adaptive skills.

Moves to place greater reliance on encouraging a higher proportion of young people to stay on at school and to effect a permanent increase in education participation rates have implications for present government policy approaches. At present a good deal of government funding is directed, not towards extending participation in education, but towards labour market approaches such as subsidised job creation schemes or post-school short-term training programmes such as STEPS and YPTP. These approaches are directed and controlled by the Department of Labour. An implication of a change of emphasis from a labour market approach to one which encourages greater participation in education and training is that there needs to be even closer cooperation and coordination of efforts between the Departments of Labour, Education, Maori Affairs and Internal Affairs. Cooperation between the major departments involved, Labour and Education, is generally good at head office level, although liaison appears to be less successful at some regional or district levels.

A subsidiary question is whether one government department should develop appropriate policies for young people on the transition from school to adult working life, and assume primary responsibility for administering and funding such policies, or whether such a responsibility can or should be shared. The Department of Labour's expertise is helpful to young people in providing advice and assistance with job search and job placement. The Department of Education's expertise relates to the provision of education and training for young people, and knowledge of the young people at risk. To place emphasis on increasing participation in education, it would be more sensible to transfer the administration and development of a policy for young people to the Department of Education, and to ask this department to accord high priority to the development of a coordinated set of policies for young people, worked out in close association with other government departments.

An issue which arises from adoption of a policy to extend the length of schooling is the question of who bears the cost. There would be increased costs for the family if young people were expected to stay at school longer. It is generally accepted in New Zealand society that responsibility for support of young people while they are at school lies with the parents. Increasing the length of schooling as a general policy, however, may well create a disproportionate burden for some families, particularly those of lower socio-economic status. There would be little disagreement that responsibility for support of young people lies with the family up to the age when schooling is still compulsory by law. A case can be made for arguing that after the age of, say, 15, responsibility for the support of young people lies increasingly with the state rather than with the family, and that some form of "living allowance" for young people over this age could be considered to lessen the burden of cost on the family. This issue is explored later in this chapter when the concept of the "youth guarantee" is discussed.

### **The Relevance of the School Curriculum**

There will inevitably be tensions in any education system between the schooling suited to the needs of those who will terminate their education at school, and the forms of education appropriate to those who wish to advance to further education. New Zealand secondary schools seem to be preoccupied with preparing students for tertiary study, and consequently the curriculum in secondary schools has a strong academic bias. The presence of the traditional national examinations — School Certificate, University Entrance (to be abolished after 1985) and University Bursaries — at the end of the fifth, sixth and seventh form years have in the past exacerbated this academic bias in the curriculum right through the years of senior secondary schooling, and the backwash effects of these examinations mean they also influence the curriculum in the junior secondary school.

This orientation of school learning towards an academic model means that ability displayed in bookish ways remains the most valued ability in schools. A consequence is that students who do not succeed in these ways define themselves and are defined by others as failures, in spite of strengths they may have in other activities which are highly valued by the community. This creates difficulties for schools in motivating non-academic students. If what is learned is considered valuable only because it prepares one for further study and not for its contribution to an understanding of the world as most people experience it, it is not too surprising that these students find the school curriculum unsuited to their needs. The reaction of a minority of young people is therefore to

refuse or reject what the school has to offer, and either leave school early or passively endure what obviously has little or no interest for them. There is no doubt that many less academic students in New Zealand schools are being offered a curriculum which is perceived by them as largely irrelevant, since they gain little of a positive nature from their schooling.

Schools are lagging in their adjustment to the needs of the total range of students now attending secondary schools, and urgency needs to be accorded to the problem of designing and implementing school curricula appropriate to the needs of the less academic student.

As a first move, there needs to be a clear distinction made between the years of compulsory and post-compulsory schooling. The years of compulsory schooling need to be regarded as basic education in their own right, and should not be associated with any selection mechanism for post-compulsory education. The period of compulsory education should have as its main aim the task of helping young people prepare themselves for adult life, by developing qualities such as independence, initiative, problem-solving and decision-making, as well as the skills of literacy and numeracy.

In 1982, 91 percent of school-leavers in New Zealand secondary schools left school during or after their third year of attendance. This contrasts with the situation in the mid-1940s at the time of the Thomas report, when approximately one-quarter of the population did not advance to secondary school at all. Today's reality is that young people in New Zealand almost universally proceed to the third year of secondary education (i.e. to the fifth form). These are effectively the years of compulsory schooling.

What can be said about the present curriculum in secondary schools is that a review is long overdue. *A Review of the Core Curriculum*, a report published by the Department of Education in March 1984, evoked wide community interest. However, after submissions had been analysed, it became evident that the proposals outlined had met a mixed reception. The review drew attention to the many changes in society which have occurred since the last overall review of the secondary school curriculum (the Thomas report of 1944), and argued a case for a more appropriate structure and balance of the core curriculum in primary and secondary schools respectively. The present Minister of Education has reopened the review of the curriculum and intends to consult widely among community groups and the education community before proceeding to draw up plans for a revised curriculum.

In the context of such a consultative review, it will be important to consider the needs of the majority of young people whose needs are "non-academic". Many of these young people learn more effectively in practical ways through activities, rather than through bookish endeavour.

An excellent example of one programme which develops independent thinking through practical work is the course of study offered for Workshop Craft (forms 1-4) and Workshop Technology (form 5). These courses help students to develop design and practical skills that are applied in their daily lives and provide a foundation for future career and leisure activities. Students experience the pleasure of designing and making things, are introduced to the traditions and practices of craftsmanship, and learn how to develop both practical and intellectual abilities. This "design and make" curriculum is eminently suited to the needs of all students, both male and female, since it provides skills such as problem-solving and decision-making, while providing a broad-based general education upon which the later specialised skills required in the work place can be developed. The further extension and adoption of courses in subjects like workshop craft in all secondary schools would be of considerable benefit in providing a more appropriate curriculum to meet the student needs at present unsatisfied.

In addition to advocating the incorporation of studies and activities like Workshop Craft into the curriculum for all students, there is a need to inject a "practical" component into all school subjects. Most subjects, such as science, horticulture, geography, art or physical education, have such a dimension already incorporated into their syllabuses. There are equal opportunities for practical application in the use of other mainstream academic studies and activities such as English and mathematics. Approaches to teaching and learning which help students apply knowledge and understanding in real life activities right across the curriculum are more likely to help all students experience success in their schooling. All students are good at something. A cardinal aim of schooling should be to help students identify what it is they are good at, to develop their skills in that activity, and to strengthen their abilities in other areas where possible.

In addition, each student's experiences in the curriculum should foster qualities such as cooperation, resourcefulness, initiative, creativity, imagination, the independence to think for oneself and act accordingly, and the ability to confront and solve problems. Of particular importance for those students at risk to unemployment are oral and written communication skills: students who leave school without competence in the use of language are at a real disadvantage in living and

working in society. What is being advocated here is a school curriculum in which all students can assume responsibility for their own learning and can "learn how to learn".

A further dimension of curriculum reform which needs to be considered is the extent to which schools help students learn about the world of work. Some of the students interviewed as part of the consultations for this study believed that schools could have done more to help them with their career education. A study of "career education" for all students within the curriculum would have a much broader focus than simply helping them select an appropriate occupation, although it would have as one aim assisting young people in the development of decision-making and transition skills. Such a study could include many diverse topics like what "work" is, how it may change in the future, what options to traditional patterns of paid employment are available, the range of occupations there are and their training requirements, the development of entrepreneurial skills, how to go about seeking a job, and the history and function of trade unions. Such a programme would also extend opportunities for students to gain work experience in the workplace under supervision.

It is a curious anomaly that in the past, schools, in their curricula, have managed to underplay the importance of work as an aspect of life. In today's changed circumstances, attention to the world of work within the curriculum will help to improve the relevance of school to the lives of young people.

What is therefore being advocated is not a narrow view of schooling which emphasises vocational training at the expense of a broad-based education, but an acknowledgement that schooling develops skills which will be beneficial to adult life, including working life, and a recognition of the need for a continuing search by educators to provide the most effective programmes which will promote those abilities in their students.

On occasion it will be necessary for teachers to articulate what it is they aim to teach their students through a particular activity. Too often students feel they have done "nothing" at school, when they have participated in an educational process which will have been a valuable learning experience. A small group discussion in an English class, for instance, may have been designed to develop personal and social skills such as co-operation with other people, tolerance for the expression of a different viewpoint, willingness to respect another's position, initiative, inventiveness, and ways of responding sensitively to what other people say, as well as developing oral communication skills and an understanding of specific concepts or ideas.

Students need to learn and use these skills, all of which are essential not only in the interaction between people that occurs in the work place, but for effective participation in society. Their particular relevance to one's effectiveness as a worker may not be evident to young people who have had no work experience. Students need to learn how necessary such skills are in working with other people, and teachers will need to demonstrate how students' classroom programmes are aimed at developing these skills. Teachers who can articulate and specify their aims will help students understand what it is they are expected to learn and what benefits they can expect from a particular activity.

Special attention is drawn to a recent research study by Michael Reid of Riccarton High School, *Role of Skills Specification in Easing the Transition from School to Work*. Reid investigated the skill requirements of school-leavers entering junior clerical positions, and then assessed the contribution made by fifth form mathematics and history to the acquisition of those skills. Numerous employer surveys document the favour mathematics enjoys as a contributor to general work skills. History, on the other hand, is perceived as an "academic" option with little or no general market value. The outcome of the research showed that the clerical functions observed in the work place exercised data collection, computational or interpretative skills. While the range of content, concepts and principles covered in history and mathematics is much wider than the routine daily function of a clerk, the skills which were exercised in both history and mathematics classrooms were comparable in many ways to the skills required in the office. It is interesting that the investigation of history, in particular, did not live up to the stereotype of a subject dealing with dates and "battles long ago", matters apparently far removed from everyday life. The study of history promoted interpretative and analytical skills at least as relevant to, and as useful in the workplace as, the numeracy skills of mathematics.

What is needed is a more effective communication to employers, to students, to parents, and to the general public of the pre-vocational skills actually taught in current syllabuses. In one sense, present syllabuses and curricula are entirely relevant as preparation for working life for those students whose abilities are primarily verbal. The problems which exist are problems to do with communication about the curriculum in schools.

As a tailpiece, it must be observed that effective curriculum reform occurs not through imposition by edict but through the "bottom-up" efforts of teachers at the chalk-face actively working to change their own programmes. Schools with teachers like these will be the ones that have the



clearest understanding of the relationships between the needs of the students, the school curriculum they are offered, the expectations of the wider community and the demands of the world of work.

### Assessment, Credentials and School-leaver Documentation

During the consultations with school-leavers undertaken for this project, it became evident that young people are aware of increased competition in school and the world of work, and see the role of the school partly as a sorting and sifting device. They are also aware of the importance of examination successes and credentials as part of the selection process for future employment. School credentials are acquiring even more potency than they possessed in the past.

A consequence is that the increased social demand for education is lifting the level of school qualifications obtained by school-leaver with a corresponding upward adjustment in the requirements for entry to various occupations. Firms offering apprenticeships, for instance, will sometimes now stipulate University Entrance as a preferred qualification for entry. On the positive side, generally improved qualifications of the school-leavers cohort may indicate that young people are being better educated for adult life. On the other hand, qualifications inflation or "credentialism" can result in more highly educated people being given priority in the scramble for a limited number of jobs, for which these people may or may not be the best candidates. The academic bias of the "credential" examinations may mean that those with more academic skills are given preference for jobs which need practical skills. The job itself will then suffer if it is less well done. The successful applicant may become disillusioned and want to change jobs, while the less well qualified, unsuccessful applicants (those without any credentials) are likely to find it difficult to obtain jobs, particularly if these are in short supply.

In *The Welfare State: Social Policy in the 1980s* (1979), the Planning Council saw the impact of an overemphasis on academic credentials when it observed:

*"In order to ease the transition from school to work, there should be more opportunities for work experience and part-time education for some pupils. The sense of failure and disillusionment with education felt by many school-leavers is accentuated by the very high failure rates built into some of the present School Certificate examinations. We recommend a thorough review to find a suitable replacement for the present School Certificate system, as part of a more general reappraisal of techniques of*

*assessment and reporting on students' performance at school."*

This recommendation is endorsed. As quoted earlier in this chapter, over 90 percent of school students now stay at school until their fifth form year. A good proportion of the school-leavers who terminate their education at this stage gain few or no School Certificate passes, whereas those who achieve good results generally go on to further education and achieve additional qualifications which supersede School Certificate results. Effectively, the very students who need certification in the School Certificate examination as a terminal award to assist entry to their chosen occupation do not achieve it, while those who achieve passes in the examination often do not need the award, as it becomes redundant later.

The OECD examiners noted that "New Zealand is probably unique in having formal examinations at the end of each of the last three years of the full five-year secondary cycle." A decision has now been taken by the government to abolish one of these examinations, the University Entrance examination, at the end of 1985. Quite simply, an equally good case can be made for the abolition of the School Certificate examination in its present form, on the grounds that reform of methods of assessment and reporting (and by implication, the curriculum) of early school-leavers is a critical need.

What is needed to replace the School Certificate examination is a nationally recognised assessment method acceptable to students, parents, employers and society. The Employers Federation publication, *Secondary Education and the Path to Work*, lists as one of its eight major conclusions that "there is a need for an additional form of assessment which objectively identifies the skills and talents of each individual, supplemented by a comprehensive School Leaving Certificate".

The Planning Council in its publication *Employment: Towards an Active Employment Policy* further commented:

*"Some schools have developed internal assessment procedures which culminate in the pupil receiving a very full school reference. This assessment, which outlines the strengths and weaknesses of the individual, often means more to the pupil, parents and potential employers than School Certificate results in a few subjects. This type of reference could well be extended across New Zealand. If employers came to rely more on such references to judge job applicants, pressure on pupils to attempt unsuitable courses would be reduced."*

Two schools which have developed such reporting systems are Naenae College in Lower Hutt and

Riccarton High School in Christchurch. The school-leaver profiles produced by these schools have been commended by employers since they provide more useful information about a wider range of abilities, attitudes and dispositions of school-leavers than is included on School Certificate or University Entrance result cards.

The development of a national School Leaving Certificate should be seen as a priority by the Ministerial Enquiry set up in 1984 by the Minister of Education to consider assessment in the senior secondary curriculum.

A further (and different) experimental development sponsored by the Department of Education during 1983 and 1984 has involved 14 schools in the provision of an "employment reference" which is made available to all students leaving school for employment upon their request. This reference records the achievements of school-leavers in specific aspects of oral work, reading, writing and numeracy skills, records extra-curricular activities and awards, and comments generally on the student's competence in other respects, including attitude, disposition and work habits. Employers have found this a very useful form of school-leaver documentation, and while the teachers who write these improved forms of student assessment need considerable time to fulfil the demands required of them in their production, the benefits to their students who make the transition to employment are clear.

The "employment reference" is commended, and it is suggested that the scheme be extended nationally for use by all secondary schools. It should, however, be noted that the "employment reference" is aimed at a specific group of students (those who leave school to go directly to work) and should not be confused with the proposed national School Leaving Certificate, which would be awarded to *all* students as they leave school.

### **Provision of Appropriate Post-School Education or Training Opportunities for all Young People**

More needs to be done to make post-school education and training opportunities available and accessible to young people. What is required is an education and training policy which will provide better options to meet the variety of needs, interests and abilities of all young people.

There are prior questions which must be addressed before discussing the provision of alternative or different ways of meeting this need. These concern the relative responsibilities of the state, the parents of the young person, the employer, and the adolescent, in relation to support for and provision of education and training op-

portunities. Each of the groups or individuals mentioned above has a responsibility to fulfil in relation to the education and training of the young person. Debate usually centres on the form and extent of the contribution expected from each partner in the system. It would be inequitable to expect the state, for instance, to shoulder the total burden of training a young person without some contribution from the groups or individuals who benefit directly as a result of that training. Employers must expect to fulfil their responsibilities for training workers, since they benefit directly from a skilled and productive labour force. Parents have responsibilities as care-givers for the welfare of their offspring, at least until they reach the age when society has recognised the right of young people to the status of adulthood. Individuals, too, have a responsibility to make some return to society, particularly if their human capacity has been built up through education or training by the state. Young people should not expect subsidy from the taxpayer without being prepared to demonstrate a willingness to contribute to society in some appropriate way.

The OECD review of New Zealand's national policy for education referred to two problems. The first is the problem of finding an acceptable transition status for those who do not immediately take up some recognised form of higher education or training, or enter directly into employment on leaving school. Secondly, this report noted that "a question that must be of central importance to any system is the quality and extent of post-school educational opportunities for the more than half of all school-leavers who do go directly into employment of one kind or another."

OECD literature has discussed in some detail the concept of a "youth guarantee" for all young people. Such a proposal would imply that all young people should participate actively in some form of education or training between the period when schooling is no longer compulsory, and the stage at which the status of adulthood is acquired. A youth guarantee would provide these educational or training opportunities for all, and would also provide financial support for say, one or two years. Young people would be able to opt for education, training or employment, or any combination of these. Provision of such opportunities would prove to be expensive if a "youth guarantee" were applied to all young people over the school leaving age without discrimination, including the payment of a "living allowance" or "training allowance" to students still attending high school. However, the concept of providing a "youth guarantee" does raise an important issue, and that is the question of who bears the costs of training young people. Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that the cost to some families of a longer period of schooling might

prove burdensome, and that in order to preserve equity of opportunity, the state might need to consider payment of a "living allowance" for all young people over a certain age (say, aged 16 or more), to assist with their education or training. Provision of some state financial support, along with adequate education and training opportunities, is a key component of the "youth guarantee".

In 1983, 71 percent of students aged 16 were attending secondary school full time, as were 35 percent of students aged 17. The cost to the taxpayer of funding a universal "youth guarantee" for these students who are still at school is likely to be high. The argument in favour of such a course of action is partly one of equity, in that education becomes more accessible to all when the cost burden on families is reduced, and partly one of economics, in that an investment in education and training pays off in increased productivity, and that payment of a "living allowance" provides an incentive to young people to invest in themselves, and a means of financial support to do so, when they might otherwise seek independence through unskilled employment.

In spite of the merits of these arguments, the cost of funding such a proposal for students still at school would almost certainly prove prohibitive at present. Consequently, the concept of the universal "youth guarantee" will need to be modified, at least initially, to meet the needs of those groups of young people assessed as higher priorities. A "youth guarantee" would have to apply in the first instance only to those who have left school.

The particular groups that have most need and which are not at present well catered for, are those who leave school early with poor qualifications and inadequate personal, social and work skills, and those young people who leave school and wish to enter directly into non-apprenticeable occupations without prior training, but cannot find jobs.

Increasing numbers of young people are being referred to the Department of Labour's training programmes like STEPS and YPTP, and the take-up of these schemes demonstrates they are meeting a need in the community. These schemes, however, have already been criticised on one main count: they are short-term, temporary palliatives which act as "off-street parking" or "holding pens" for young people, who emerge from the programmes with no guarantee of a job at the end of the training. A more comprehensive, long-term approach to the training needs of those at risk to unemployment is now required.

No one answer is likely to meet satisfactorily the needs of all young people. It has been observed

that the institutional structure in which training is provided is a major rigidity which inhibits delivery of effective training to all young people. In particular, the present entry requirements to a number of technical institute courses effectively ban from training the very people who have most need of it. For instance, the requirement of concurrent work experience for apprenticeship or technician training means young people without a job cannot be trained for these occupations. Providing a variety of different responses and offering young people choices is therefore a more effective way of making appropriate education or training opportunities available.

Some of the options which could be considered or extended are set out below:

- (a) A combination of schooling and technical institute training could be initiated. This could be organised along the lines of the "sandwich" principle, whereby young people spend a period of several weeks at school, followed by several weeks at a technical institute. An alternative would be part of a week at school and part of a week at a technical institute or, if the distance between school and the technical institute was not excessive, part of a day at school and part at an institute.

At least one high school and technical institute are already discussing a pilot scheme along these lines, whereby form 5 or form 6 students attending high school could take Stage 1 and 2 A.A.V.A. examinations for a New Zealand Trade Certificate at the technical institute. The curriculum these students would follow would be a combination of a school-based programme based on what might loosely be termed "life skills" and a more practically oriented course at the technical institute which would aim at enhancing skills required in the workforce. There are problems of articulation between the systems which need to be solved, but these are not insuperable. The development of such an integrated approach to the transition from school to adult working life by establishing linkages between schools and technical institutes will extend the range of options available to young people and should also enhance the range of skills young people bring with them to the labour market.

- (b) Selected schools in the larger metropolitan centres could be encouraged to set up traineeships, along the lines of the transition courses currently offered at Hagley High School in Christchurch. A "traineeship" is an induction course (say, from six weeks to six months or so) which provides the trainee with a broad introduction to a particular industry. It would be possible to combine



training with work experience, and courses could vary according to the needs of the industry. On a similar basis to traineeships, Hagley High School runs transition courses for school-leavers on industrial sewing, catering skills, building trades, horticulture and community skills. The course content prepares young people, especially those at risk to unemployment, in vocational skills, continues their numeracy and literacy skills in relation to their particular programme, and in addition builds their self-esteem with social survival skills. Students' attitudinal preparation for employment, as well as their retention in a job once employed, is also assisted. Within the course, the skills training module teaches students about the practical necessities and requirements of the workplace. A high job placement rate attests to the success of these courses in Christchurch.

These traineeships are similar to pre-employment courses currently offered under STEPS or YPTP, except that no training allowance is payable to the trainees. Were such schemes to be developed nationally, some allowance would need to be paid to students from outlying towns and rural centres where such courses were unavailable, to allow trainees to attend and survive for the weeks they are away from home.

- (c) A post-school "foundation course" could be considered for 15, 16 or 17-year-olds as an alternative to continuing with full-time schooling. Such a course would teach students about a cluster of related occupations, or a range of skills within a broad area, such as the construction industry, horticulture, commerce, retailing or engineering.

For those who are entering a specific trade, and who can verify the attainment of certain skill levels, credit could be given towards time required to fulfil an apprenticeship contract. Similar credits towards appropriate qualifications or pay awards could be negotiated for those entering non-apprenticeable industries such as commerce or retailing. Such a foundation course would offer new motivation to the student who no longer finds interest or challenge at school.

Such courses would run for a twelve-month period, but there is no necessary reason why students taking them have to start at the beginning of the academic year, or finish at the end of the year. Structures and timetabling need to be flexible enough to allow students to start at any time during the year,

and finish at different points. A year's course organised on modular principles would allow flexibility of entrance and exit.

The "foundation course" would be loosely based on the idea of a "transition voucher": that is, on the idea of an entitlement by each young person to a specified amount of education or training provided by the state. If this entitlement was for a period of five years, some students would take their five years of education at high school by proceeding through to form seven. Others may take three years at school until form five, leave school and work for a year, and then return to the "foundation course" to take up the remaining entitlement of two years' training. Numerous other combinations of education, training and employment are possible. The "entitlement" could be postponed for a year or more if he or she wished to take "time out" to gain maturity before entering a training course. The "foundation course" being proposed would be available to those young people who were unable to find other recognised forms of higher education or training, and who had not entered directly into full-time employment.

Provision of such an option would be expensive, as it would be necessary to locate such a course beyond the school system and pay a training allowance to trainees. Effective training of tutors would be necessary, and an appropriate teaching salary structure should be negotiated to ensure that the quality of instruction is of high calibre, and that good teachers are recruited.

It is envisaged that the "foundation course" would replace current government training schemes such as STEPS and YPTP, and that savings made in this way would partly offset the additional costs incurred in establishing such programmes. A full-year programme of this type, carefully planned and integrated, would be a better way of enhancing skill levels of school-leavers than current STEPS or YPTP courses.

While most courses would be located in technical institutes and staffed by technical institute tutors, others could be located in the community with local authorities or voluntary organisations providing the organisational back-up, as occurs at present for STEPS and YPTP. Youth Learning Centres in smaller towns are ideally situated to provide a base for local "foundation courses".

The skill-based training provided in such a "foundation course" could be interpreted in

a broad way. There will be some young people who would be interested in trade training courses, others would receive training in the non-apprenticeable occupations, and others again would be "trained" by becoming involved in community service. Military service or civil defence training could also be offered as further options.

An issue to be considered is whether payment of a training allowance to trainees is likely to siphon some young people out of school as soon as they reach the age of 15. Any training allowance for 15-year-olds should not be set at a level where it operates as an incentive for young people to discontinue their schooling.

The costs of setting up and subsidising such foundation courses could be offset by cancelling the payment of the unemployment benefit to 16-year-olds (15-year-olds are not entitled to the unemployment benefit at present), and in place of the unemployment benefit offering these young people a place on one of the "foundation courses" with a training allowance at an appropriate level. This procedure would give young people recognised status and would take away the stigma of being unemployed. At present, registration as an unemployed person is a prior requirement before being accepted as a STEPS or YPTP trainee.

A further issue to be considered is whether or not the level of the training allowance for those on a foundation course should correspond with the allowance paid to other students on a tertiary assistance grant.

The "foundation course" would be designed to meet the need for a general "basic skills" programme for young people to improve their occupational mobility and skills attainment on entry to the workforce. Young school-leavers who enter and complete a foundation course would be able to enter the workforce with an acceptable level of initial training completed. The major, but not exclusive, responsibility for organisation and development of these courses should lie with the technical institutes.

If most of these courses are located in the technical institutes, it will be particularly important that adjustments are made to the content and presentation of courses offered, so that a greater participation among Maoris and Pacific Islanders occurs, and employment prospects of these young people are enhanced. It is evident, from research conducted by the Planning Council during 1984,

that young people from Porirua, where there is a higher than usual concentration of Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians, have difficulty at present gaining access to full-time training in technical institutes.

Reasons for this difficulty appear to lie partly in a gradual drift towards higher entry qualifications for full-time technical institute courses, so that those candidates who may have achieved the minimum acceptable standard are nevertheless denied entry, and partly in a resistance to tertiary education among some groups of young people. Both these factors seem to affect Maori and Pacific Island young people disproportionately.

The concept of the "foundation course" is one means of providing an option for those school-leavers who are either not qualified or do not wish to enter full-time study courses which require academic success as a prior requirement for entry.

- (d) A technical institute-based trade training scheme (referred to earlier) which would run parallel to the current industry-based apprenticeship system has been suggested by an Auckland Continuing Education Review Committee. Such a scheme would be located in technical institutes and would operate in areas where there is an identifiable shortage of skilled labour, or where new developments demand skilled labour which cannot be supplied from the existing labour force or by traditional apprenticeships, or where new technology industries are established and no local training opportunities exist.

Courses in such a scheme would involve two years of full-time study in a technical institute, during which all Trade Certification Board (TCB) requirements to Trade Certificate level would be met. These two years of closely supervised and structured training could be credited as equivalent to three years of time in a traditional apprenticeship. The training given would not be company or employer-specific, but would concentrate on a range of basic skills on which a tradesperson could build as the future requires.

Trainees would seek employment after the two-year course, when they would be regarded as equivalent to fourth year apprentices. Those who did not obtain full-time employment would return to the institute for a third year, which would involve related work experience with a variety of cooperating employers. Careful monitoring of the job placements of course members after this year

would be needed to guard against oversupply in any particular trade.

This scheme would enable the pre-apprenticeship courses to be phased out and replaced by the first year of the full-time trade training course specific to a recognised trade.

A major advantage of a technical institute-based trade training scheme as it has been outlined, is that it does away with the present requirement of concurrent work experience for apprentices. This requirement is a major rigidity inhibiting the skill development of young people entering the workforce.

### **Training, Recruitment and Career Prospects of Teaching Staff**

It is axiomatic in education that the quality of a teaching programme is directly related to the quality of the teaching staff involved. If a more effective transition of young people from school to adult working life is to be accomplished, attention will need to be paid to aspects of teacher training and recruitment, at both secondary and tertiary levels.

Few teachers in secondary schools have had experience of working in employment outside the education sector. If more teachers had experience in other occupations and industries outside education, there would be benefits for students who would be made aware of the realities and demands of other types of work. In recent years the mobility of the teaching force has been inhibited by factors such as falling rolls. Employing authorities could consider taking measures to assist teachers to obtain experience outside education for a limited period before returning to teaching.

Conversely, people who have had experience outside teaching could be used within the teaching force as a way of enriching its experience, either through recruitment into full-time teaching or on a consultancy or part-time basis.

It is important that the teaching staff involved in training those who have left school have an understanding of the needs of these young people and are well qualified for their task. In order to provide effective staffing for the introduction of a "foundation course", it will be necessary to recruit and train teachers from industry and other sources, and offer them competitive salaries and career prospects. Provision of adequate professional training would be helpful to some of the tutors involved in present STEPS and YPTP courses to assist them to do their job better. At present, STEPS and YPTP tutors are offered temporary and short-term positions on a salary scale much

lower than that paid to full-time teachers in schools or technical institutes.

More effective programmes will be mounted for young people in training when the staff teaching them are well qualified. To recruit and retain such teachers, better employment prospects and better recognition of the skills they do possess need to be acknowledged through provision of an appropriate employment structure.

### **Training Allowances, Youth Rates, and Income Support for Young People**

At present, arrangements for income support of young people who have left school vary. Those who are full-time students can qualify for a Tertiary Assistance Grant which in 1985 will be set at a basic rate of \$33 per week for students living at home. This level of income support requires students to find other ways of generating income during their period of tertiary study.

Young people on STEPS who are under the age of 16 are paid a training allowance of \$15 a week. Those aged 16-19 on government training schemes such as STEPS or YPTP are paid \$74 a week. Higher rates are payable for those 20 or over, and for those who are married, and for married people with dependent children.

People under the age of 16 do not qualify for the unemployment benefit. Young people aged 16-19 on the unemployment benefit are paid \$75.02 gross (\$66.51 net: the full amount is taxable). The training allowance on STEPS and YPTP, however, is not taxed.

Young people who are on government training schemes such as VOTP (Voluntary Organisation Training Programme) or WSDP (Work Skills Development Programme), where the training is associated with full-time work, are given full reimbursement at award or related award rates.

Training allowances and income support for young people need to be subjected to critical scrutiny in the light of today's changing economic and social conditions so that conflicting objectives can be reconciled and income support for young people in training can be coordinated. On the one hand, it is important that equity be maintained, and that young people be encouraged to undertake training. On the other, public expenditure must be carefully scrutinised and abuse of public funds should be prevented. The issue of a universal training allowance, implied by the concept of a "youth guarantee" (discussed earlier in this chapter), needs to be considered in the context of such a critical scrutiny.



The effect of youth rates on youth employment is a complex matter. A recent OECD publication<sup>14</sup> has surveyed eight countries and reviewed the evidence on the relationship between relative wage levels and youth employment. The conclusion cited is as follows:

*"It is therefore not surprising that an answer on the exact importance of relative wages cannot be given at this time. However, although exact magnitudes are not known, it is apparent that, in terms of the employment and unemployment of young people, the level of youth wages relative to those of other groups does matter. Increases in relative youth rates appear to have reduced their employment in a number of countries, and downward inflexibility in youth wage levels relative to adults has meant changes in adult female and youth labour supply have probably resulted in the disemployment of young people."*

This conclusion suggests that the role of relative wages for young people as driving mechanisms in the teenage labour market is important. Where compression of wage rates occurs, teenage employment may be affected. It is not yet clear whether the introduction of a "free market" approach to youth wages would improve the employment position of young people. It does seem, however, that allowing youth wages to adjust downwards in relation to adult wage rates may well improve the employment position of young people generally, though it may well displace adult workers.

There are conundrums in adopting a policy position on the overall price signals given to young

people. If young people recognise that they are being paid less for being trained, then they are likely to go elsewhere to obtain a better income. Employers, however, perceive that young people with fewer skills should be paid less because they are less productive. Trade unions argue that people should be paid the going rate for a particular job, and that it is the type of work which should determine the wage rate. It appears that policies on youth rates, by themselves, are not a simple solution to the problems of employment faced by young people.

What is generally agreed is that it is in the public interest that young people should be trained, and that any training allowances that are paid should provide incentives for young people to undertake training while preserving equity of treatment among the various groups affected.

## Conclusion

The issues and policy implications discussed in this chapter focus on ways of providing better options for young people in education, training or employment, or combinations of these. Provision of better education and training is a partial, and not a complete, answer to the effective transition of young people from school to adult working life. Action will still need to be taken on the vital issue of providing more jobs for young people. The proposals outlined in this report must therefore be seen as part of a wider context in which New Zealand is pursuing broad social and economic objectives, including the objective of full employment.

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14 *Employment Outlook*, Manpower and Social Affairs Committee, OECD, April 1984

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