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edited by

ROSEMARY HOOKE



Social Welfare Research Centre

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The 54th ANZAAS (Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science) Congress was held at the Australian National University in Canberra in May 1984.

Seven papers were presented by staff of the Social Welfare Research Centre. Most were presented in the Social Welfare section, established at the 1983 Congress; others were in associated areas such as sociology and women's studies.

The demand for closer perusal of SWRC research reported on at ANZAAS has been further stimulated by media and subsequent public interest in many of the conclusions drawn by speakers. In response to requests for SWRC papers, we are now able to make this collection available, as we did following the 1983 Congress.

In reading this publication it is also necessary to bear in mind that some papers are reporting on findings and conclusions of research recently completed by the staff at the Centre, while others are drawing tentative conclusions from exploratory work in progress. The intention in publishing these is to stimulate ideas and discussion.



54th ANZAAS CONGRESS
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

14-18 May, 1984

SECTION 45 : SOCIAL WELFARE

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE WESTERN REGION OF SYDNEY :
JOB SEEKING IN A LOCAL LABOUR MARKET

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I INTRODUCTION : INTEGRATING A CLASS AND A REGIONAL ANALYSIS

In explaining the nature and incidence of unemployment, both official and academic accounts have placed emphasis on the divisions of the unemployed : the divisions of age, gender and marital status.¹ Other accounts have adopted a regional analysis, stressing regional inequities in the distribution of unemployment and the disproportionate shares of unemployment borne in localised labour markets most affected by structural changes in the Australian economy.² There is now compelling evidence from Australian and comparable overseas studies which calls for emphasis on the class nature of unemployment.

Class analyses of the impact of the restructuring of the Australian economy have demonstrated that the experience of unemployment and under-employment have not been distributed evenly through the population but have been concentrated in working class households whose members occupied, or, whose new labour force entrants might have occupied jobs characterised by insecurity, low pay, few fringe benefits, little control of the labour process, and little chance for advancement : in particular jobs concentrated in manufacture, construction, retail and wholesale trades, and in the personal services (Table 1).³

The unemployed have also been drawn disproportionately from labour force participants who are low wage earners when in work. Whiteford's analysis of unpublished data from the ABS Income Distribution Survey 1978/79 shows the significant differences between the earned incomes of those who had been unemployed for some time in 1978/79 and those who had not. Unemployed men's average earned income per week employed was 61 per cent of the average weekly earned income of a full-year, full-time male worker. Controlling for marital status as a surrogate for age, Whiteford calculated that the average earned income per week employed of unemployed married men was 74 per cent of that of other married, adult men. The figures are even more stark for women : unemployed unmarried women's earned income represented 54 per cent of the average weekly earned income of full-year, full-time female

workers and the corresponding figure for unemployed married women was 51 per cent.⁴ British studies based on survey data show comparable findings : that the unemployed tend to have received below average rates of pay in their last job.⁵

Whiteford's conclusion that the unemployed in Australia are drawn disproportionately from low paid workers is consistent with Gregory's analysis of the labour force history of unemployed persons. Gregory found a clear differentiation between, on the one hand, employees with a long period of continuous employment in the same job who are relatively unlikely to become unemployed, and on the other, people in insecure employment without a continuous job history from whom the unemployed are disproportionately drawn.⁶

The thrust of the Australian evidence leads to the conclusion that unemployment is concentrated amongst those population groups with the weakest market power. To identify unemployment as a youth issue particularly affecting early school leavers without formal job qualifications⁷; as an issue of older workers displaced from employment by accidents, illness, technological change or devalued skills in a competitive labour market, older workers whose average duration of unemployment is longer than that of the younger unemployed⁸; as an issue for working class women whose job opportunities in manufacture, sales and the personal services have contracted⁹ - are all correct assessments of the demographic groups with the highest risk of unemployment. But to stress these demographic divisions is to construct a misleading explanation of the nature and incidence of unemployment. This is done firstly by emphasising supply-side factors and the characteristics and intentions of the unemployed, without a complementary consideration of the segmented labour market from which specific groups with the weakest market power are being excluded - an issue well explored by Richard Curtain.¹⁰ Secondly, focussing on the divisions of the unemployed obscures the shared class location which provides the characteristic background in which unemployment is experienced. This is the field which this paper explores.

Analysis of ABS data on the labour force status of families in the period 1979-1982 (Table 2) shows that unemployment (defined in the technical sense) and reduced labour force participation are concentrated not only in working class households in the aggregate sense, but these market disadvantages are accumulated in particular families. In 1979 wives of unemployed men were more than four times as likely to be unemployed and less than half as likely to be employed compared with the wives of employed men. In 1982 this correlation remained strong, with the wives of unemployed men being five times more likely to be unemployed than the wives of employed men, and less than half as likely to be in employment. To express the correlation in terms of labour force participation rates and unemployment rates makes the contrast more stark. In July 1982 the labour force participation rate for the wives of employed men was 51.9 per cent and the unemployment rate was 4.5 per cent. The corresponding figures for the wives of unemployed men were 31.8 per cent (participation rate) and 32.5 per cent (unemployment rate). Similarly, young people living in families where either parent was unemployed were twice as likely to be themselves unemployed when compared with the children of employed parents.¹¹

A nationally representative sample survey of unemployed people in Great Britain carried out by the Economist Intelligence Unit in September 1982 (sample size of 1,043 respondents) found similar evidence of the concentration of unemployment in families. Twenty per cent of unemployed persons were living in a household containing at least one other person currently registered as unemployed and in more than half of these instances unemployment affected a parent and a non-student child.¹²

Unemployment is also concentrated spatially in particular localities in Australian cities and regions where working class families have acquired either rental accommodation in public authority housing, or home purchase through the private market, and where there has been a marked erosion of the traditional industrial base of the region. Data on the spatial distribution of unemployment in the outer metropolitan suburbs of Western and South Western Sydney and in Gosford-Wyong, Newcastle and Wollongong demonstrate the

significance of the location of the household in exacerbating class-based labour market disadvantages.¹³

Explanations of the concentration of unemployment in working class families must address the localised nature of labour markets, and the way in which the job search and employment location of the labour force is constrained by housing and transport policies.¹⁴ The erosion of job opportunities in the traditional manufacturing industries and in the construction industries in regions like Western Sydney and Wollongong have shifted job opportunities to the business and finance industries and to public sector services, which tend to be centralised in major metropolitan areas, and to draw upon labour with different skill levels. Housing markets and public housing policies which might have once coincided with a manufacturing base and extractive industries in the local region, come to locate working class families long and expensive distances away from the major centres of employment.

Studies of labour markets show that they may be conceptualised as local networks in which jobs are sought and found often through informal contacts of family, relatives, friends and neighbours providing knowledge of and introduction to job opportunities.¹⁵ It is very likely therefore that when members of the family and close relatives are not strongly attached to the labour market, in secure employment, the opportunities for other family members to make employment contacts diminish.

It is at the regional level that we may explore the connections between on the one hand the class-based nature of the resources which prospective labour bring to their job search, and on the other hand the nature of jobs in the local labour market – while taking account of the housing and transport issues which delineate the effective boundaries of the local labour market.

II THE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN WESTERN SYDNEY

In order to explore the issues outlined above, the authors (together with Diana Encel and Jo Harrison) carried out an interview survey of a sample of unemployed people, employed people and community service providers in the City of Blacktown in the latter part of 1982. The sample was not a representative random sample, since the object of the study was not to test hypotheses but to explore the experiences of unemployed people in a particular region, using their own accounts of their job histories, labour market resources, local network affiliations, job search, responses to unemployment, income, health and housing situation, aspirations for training and job placement, in order to identify the issues which they considered to be significant. There have been relatively few interview surveys of unemployed people in Australia in the period of economic downturn since 1974,¹⁶ most of our data on unemployment being derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics aggregate labour force surveys. A very few interview studies (of which we are aware) have explored the regional dimensions of unemployment, locating joblessness and job search within the confines of the local labour market.¹⁷ We conducted our study so that the voices of a small group of unemployed people in the Western suburbs of Sydney would contribute to the body of available, published information, and so that our interpretation and analysis might illuminate the issues identified in the national statistics. One of the objects of the study was to identify the social policy implications of unemployment in working class families : in particular the implications for training, retraining and job creation policies, and for social security.

The sample was gathered by a modified version of the 'snowball' technique which involved initial contact with a number of community service providers in government and non-government agencies, their contacting of unemployed people who might be willing to participate in the study and our subsequent invitation to them to participate, and further contacts made through participating respondents. A smaller group of employed people was gathered by the same technique using the same initial contacts. The gathering of a sample by

this method has the advantage of facilitating a relatively trusting atmosphere for the conduct of interviews which explore personal life and responses to often painful experiences. However, the 'snowball' technique has the well-known disadvantages of recruiting into the sample people of similar characteristics, involved in similar networks and sharing similar attitudes and perceptions. In particular the snowball technique is likely to draw its sample from the affiliated, while people isolated from social networks, both formal and informal, are not included. In order to rectify some of these problems, we drew our initial contacts from several different sources, and gathered our sample according to particular targets : to include approximately equal numbers of men and women and roughly equal numbers in the following three life-cycle stages : young people aged 15-24 years without dependent children; people in the period of family formation who had responsibility for pre-school and school-age children (age of the parents was not relevant at the lower age level, and both two parent and one parent families were included); older people aged 45 years or more with or without dependants. A sample of employed people was recruited in a similar manner, and efforts were made to match the employed and unemployed groups as far as possible on the criteria of sex and life-cycle stage.

Difficulties were experienced in filling all the categories, particularly those for unemployed older workers. Permission was given by both the Blacktown and the Mt. Druitt CES offices to approach people registering at those offices or using self-service boards displaying job vacancies. Despite our efforts the category for unemployed older women remained slightly under target, while our more successful efforts in relation to unemployed older men resulted in their slight over-representation. This in part reflects the actual numbers of officially recorded unemployed older men and women, the marked differential in the extent to which men and women in this age group appear to use the CES for job seeking, and the well documented tendency for women, in particular women over the age of 24, to drop out of active job search.¹⁸

The definition of 'unemployment' which we adopted for inclusion in

the unemployed sample entailed a more inclusive definition of joblessness than the official definitions adopted by either the CES or the ABS : it was 'being without a paid job and looking for paid work'. As a result, jobless people not registered with the CES, people not in receipt of unemployment benefit, and some people in receipt of other pensions and benefits were included in the sample. The final composition of the sample is outlined in Table 3.

Interviews were carried out in most instances in people's homes, except for a few respondents who were interviewed in the offices of the CES. The interview schedule addressed six major areas of inquiry :

1. education, job aspirations, past and intended job training.
2. the relationship between respondents' current employment status and
 - (a) their previous employment histories
 - (b) the usual occupations of other members of their households or immediate family outside the household.
 - (c) the incidence of unemployment experienced by other household members and immediate family.
3. the experience of job seeking, types of jobs sought, location of job search, perceived discrimination based on area of residence.
4. the financial impact of unemployment, income and expenditure patterns, use of formal and informal support networks.
5. the social and emotional impact of unemployment on family relationships, friendship networks and community participation.
6. attitudes to work and the lack of it, identification of causes and consequences of unemployment and possible solutions.

In this paper we present material from the first three sections of the interviews : education qualifications; respondents' employment histories (the job histories of members of their immediate family, and the incidence of unemployment experienced by other members of the household and the immediate family); respondents' experience of job seeking, types of job sought, location of job search and perceived discrimination based on the area of residence; housing status. The findings are discussed only for the sample of unemployed people.

III A PROFILE OF THE WESTERN SYDNEY LABOUR MARKET

(i) Population

Between the Census dates 1971-1976-1981 the population of the Western Sydney region increased by 23.0 per cent compared with an increase of 9.2 per cent for the Sydney region (Table 4).¹⁹ In that period the population of the Local Government Area of Blacktown increased by 33.8 per cent. It is clear from Table 4 that population in the areas of furthest distance from the city increased most rapidly while those nearest to the city (Auburn and Parramatta) saw population decrease. By 1981 almost one quarter of the population of New South Wales lived in the Western Sydney region.

(ii) Educational Qualifications

In the inter-censal period 1976-1981, there were changes in the level of qualification held by people 15 years and over in the Western region, similar to changes in the Sydney region : increased proportions of the population had a diploma or degree, and increased proportions had a technicians' and trade certificate, while there was a corresponding decrease in the proportions with no formal post-school qualifications (Table 5). According to 1981 Census data, equal proportions of the population of the Western region and of the Sydney region (18%) have a technicians' or trade certificate, but higher proportions have a degree or diploma in the Sydney (8.6%) than

in the Western region (5.1%) and a higher proportion has no qualifications in the Western region (65.2%) compared with the Sydney region (61.1%). In the Blacktown LGA the proportion with a degree or diploma (3%) is less than the average for the Western region; the proportion with a technicians' or trade certificate (16.7%) is slightly lower and the proportion without formal job qualifications is higher (almost 70%). Men are more likely than women to have higher qualifications and women are more likely to have no qualifications. This regional profile of qualifications is important insofar as labour market power is dependent to a very great extent on the acquisition of formal educational qualifications. If changes in the employment base of a region render redundant labour with certain qualifications, e.g. technical and trades qualifications, and decrease the demand for labour without qualifications, e.g. in manufacturing, and transport, then a regional population disadvantaged by lack of formal qualifications will be correspondingly disadvantaged in the competition for scarce jobs in other industrial sectors.

(iii) The Labour Force

In the period 1971-1981 the labour force of the Western region increased by 61.4 per cent, the labour force of the Blacktown LGA increased by 83.4 per cent, and that of the Sydney region increased by 16.3 per cent (Table 6). The inter-censal period 1976-1981 saw a shift in the distribution of the labour force within industries in both the Western region and the Sydney region (and in Australia as a whole) away from manufacturing and the wholesale and retail trades and towards the service industries (finance, community services, the personal services) (Table 7). However in 1981 the Western region labour force remained more reliant on employment in manufacturing and construction (32.1%) than did the Sydney region labour force (26.2%), while the Blacktown labour force was even more reliant on manufacturing and construction (34.3%) (Table 8). The Western region labour force as a whole, and within it the Blacktown labour force even more so, are less involved in finance and the community services than the Sydney or New

South Wales labour force. Thus the Western region labour force is more reliant on industries which have declined during the recession and are less represented in the growth industries, particularly in finance.²⁰ In the Blacktown LGA 40.5 per cent of the male labour force was engaged in manufacturing and construction in 1981, compared with 30.7 per cent of the male labour force in the whole of New South Wales. The female labour force is similarly much more reliant on manufacturing (21.7%) in comparison with the overall New South Wales figure (12.8%) and has less involvement in the community services (17.8% compared with 23.5%). It is clear that contraction of activity in the manufacturing industries would have a significant impact on the job opportunities of labour in Western Sydney.

In terms of the occupational structure of the labour force in the period 1976-1981, there has been a decline in both the Western region and the Sydney region in the proportions employed in trades, production, process and labouring occupations, and in administrative and executive occupations, and a growth of participation in professional/technical, clerical, sales and service occupations (Table 9). However, the Western Sydney labour force (and even more markedly so the Blacktown labour force) continues to be much more reliant on trades, production process and labouring jobs (40.4% in Blacktown, 36% in the Western region) than is the labour force in the Sydney region (28.7%) (Table 10).

(iv) The Local Labour Market

In the Western region there is a marked degree of employment of residents within the region : in 1976 (the most recent date for which data are available) 64.2 per cent of the labour force of the Western region were working within the region. In the Blacktown LGA the degree of employment within the local labour market was even more marked : 68 per cent of the resident labour force was employed in the LGA (Table 11).

In addition, the proportion of jobs in the Western region filled by the labour force resident in the region was 80.3 per cent (the corresponding figure for Blacktown was 90.5%) (Table 12). It may be inferred therefore that there are constraints on the mobility of labour (particularly in relation to transport); an apparent preference for employment in the local labour market; and little scope for the mobility of labour between LGAs in the search for unfilled job vacancies. Edwards and Lilje note in their analysis of the Western region labour market that travel outside the region (and also within the region) entails long distances. As a result priority would have to be given to creating employment opportunities within the region in order to reduce the need for travel outside.²¹ This is of particular importance for the female labour force who (as 1981 Census data show) have much less access than men to the use of a private car for their journey to work, in the Western region as in the whole of New South Wales. As a result, women are much more likely than men to use the train and bus in their journey to work, and are therefore considerably constrained in their labour market mobility.

(v) The Housing Situation

The following data on housing are presented for the Blacktown LGA where our study was centred. In comparison with the Sydney region and with New South Wales overall, households and individuals in Blacktown are much more likely to be tenants of the State housing authority, and much less likely to be renting in the private market (Table 13). The proportions of households which are public housing tenants is 5.1 per cent for New South Wales, 4.8 per cent for the Sydney region and 16.1 per cent for Blacktown. This of course is a reflection of government policy in the location of public housing in the Western areas of Sydney. The proportions of households which are owner/occupiers in Blacktown is somewhat higher than that for Sydney and New South Wales, although in terms of individuals, the rate of owner/occupation in Blacktown is

identical with that of the other two statistical regions (70%). The significant difference is that Blacktown residents are more likely to be purchasers rather than owners, reflecting the younger age structure of the population.

In relation to mortgage payments, Blacktown households are more likely to be paying in the lowest range of less than \$200 per month (47.2% of households) compared with the Sydney region figure of 37.6 per cent, and less likely to be paying in the upper range of \$300 or more (27.2%) compared with the Sydney figure (35.1%) (Table 14). This pattern is a reflection of the price structure of the Sydney housing market, in which pricing policies are in general related to distance from and accessibility to the city and other major employment centres. With regard to weekly rent payments the pattern is even more distinct : 62 per cent of Blacktown households and persons pay less than \$50 per week compared to 33 per cent for Sydney and 44 per cent for New South Wales. This lower rent commitment is a consequence of the greater proportion of Blacktown renters in public housing. It is clear that the income-related rental policy of the New South Wales Housing Commission has had an impact on keeping rent payments lower than in other areas where private rental predominates. The pattern of housing tenure and of recurrent expenditure on mortgage and rent payments in the Blacktown LGA demonstrates the importance of the region in providing relatively affordable housing in the private owner/occupation market and in public rental housing for working class households. The rapid growth of both the population and of the labour force in the Western Sydney region in the period 1971-1981 is of course a consequence of such housing policies and housing market constraints.

IV SOME FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Since the total number of unemployed people interviewed was 51, it is inappropriate to discuss the findings in statistical terms. Our approach is to analyse the interviews as case studies; to identify the typical characteristics of the experiences of unemployed people, and the extent to which gender and life-cycle stage differentiate their experiences and responses; and to compare our case studies with the profile of the labour force in the Western Sydney Region.

(i) Educational Qualifications and Post-School Training

The typical schooling pattern of the respondents was one of relatively early school leaving, either before or at the age of 15 years. The younger age-group (15-24 years) were more likely than the older groups to have had more than four years of secondary schooling, although even in the younger group only about one quarter had left school after the age of 16. Most of the respondents (40 persons) had no post-school qualifications, and of those who did, all had undertaken a trade or technicians' certificate course. Those under 25 were least likely to have post-school qualifications. In comparison with the pattern of qualifications for the population of the Western region, and of Blacktown, our respondents were somewhat less likely to have post-school qualifications (none had a degree or diploma), but the proportion of both men and women with trade/technicians' qualifications was somewhat higher than the general population.

Respondents were asked what sort of work they would most like to do if given the chance - a question which allowed for the expression of 'unrealistic' aspirations. However, replies indicate that aspirations were congruent with educational backgrounds and attitudes to work-related training. The occupational categories most often mentioned by the unemployed men were skilled trades and production work, transport jobs and 'outdoors' work. Clerical work and jobs in the personal services and community services (working with children and youth) were most often cited by the women. These job aspirations reflect the strength of the sex-segmentation of the

labour market constraining the range of occupations which unemployed people could envisage for themselves. Aspirations changed with age: the young favoured clerical work; the older unemployed mentioned more often jobs in trades, transport and the services, remaining closer to the jobs of their own experience. Two thirds of the respondents, in particular the women and young people, said that they would be prepared to undertake training if it were necessary to obtain the job of their aspirations. Almost all of the remainder stated that they were already trained for the positions which they desired.

Just as young people, particularly the women, were most prepared to undergo training, so too were they most likely to have been previously involved in short-term training schemes which did not provide a formal qualification. This is a consequence of labour force training policies which since 1975 have placed increasing emphasis on programs for the young unemployed, to the relative exclusion of older workers.²² The women in our sample were much less likely than the men to have been given on-the-job training when they were in employment, which may account for their greater tendency to seek formal training. On-the-job training was generally viewed very favourably since such training was tied to the actuality of paid work, while formal training courses were often seen as 'book learning', a continuation of schooling which was usually remembered without pleasure.

The younger unemployed who had been involved in programs, in particular the Special Youth Employment Training Program, were strongly critical of schemes which they said encouraged employment for a limited period so that employers might continue to attract subsidies. It was felt that the benefits accrued to the employers, not to the unemployed. Older workers on the other hand felt excluded from existing training programs. Several described their unsuccessful attempts to enroll in training and retraining schemes once they had become unemployed.

'I tried to enroll in a brick-laying course as soon as I became unemployed, but they told me they didn't run hobby courses.'

(Man 35-45, with dependent children)

'That was the first thing I did when I stopped work last Christmas. I tried to get into a training scheme but they said I was too old - they said it was just for kids.'

(Man, 45 years +)

In contrast to the strong positive response expressed towards training if it were connected with obtaining a desired job, only a minority of respondents stated that they actually intended doing any job training in the next six months. It would appear that preparedness to undertake training is related to the possibility of gaining a job. When job opportunities are very few, there is scepticism of the usefulness of training programs which provide little guarantee of a job in the future. A typical response came from one of the older workers:

'For what? If I knew what job I could get, I'd do the training.'

Others lacked the confidence to embark on a training course because of problems of literacy or health, and others were constrained by the costs of training (transport, equipment) which unemployment benefit and/or training allowance did not adequately cover. There was considerable respect shown for skills acquired by practical experience in the workplace, and scepticism of their book-learning equivalents. There was corresponding resentment of the respect which employers accorded 'to credentials'. Such responses reflect the experiences and values of traditional working class educational and job training practices, in conflict with the higher official evaluation given to formal qualifications in the competition for scarce jobs.²³ For a number of respondents, past experiences of schooling had resulted in active avoidance of situations resembling a class room, but not a rejection of education or training in the broader sense. On-the-job training was seen to have the advantages of practicality, connections with paid work, and avoidance of class-room situations.

In a labour market demanding increasing certification, the conditions of early school leaving and lack of further educational qualifications, or qualifications in areas of contracting labour

demand, create strong barriers to employment. Our life-cycle data show that this must not be defined as a youth problem, but as a problem for unemployed workers in all age groups. Class-based disadvantages in the schooling and post-schooling systems are reinforced by older age, for men after the age of 40 who lose jobs in manufacturing and construction and for women over 35 seeking jobs in manufacturing and clerical work. The Report of the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board on Age Discrimination shows that older workers also experience overtly discriminatory hiring practices²⁴ - one of the factors resulting in the longer average duration of unemployment of older people. Since 1975 however people over the age of 24 have had inequitable access to labour force training programs, representing only 9.5 per cent of participants in assisted programs in 1980-81, while accounting for 44.7 per cent of the unemployed and 47.2 per cent of the long-term unemployed.²⁵ Greatly increased access for all age-groups to training programs is not by itself a sufficient policy, however. The aspirations of the unemployed to link training with paid jobs is a very important consideration.

(ii) Employment History

All but one of the respondents had held at least one job, while 30 had held five or more jobs, and almost all had been wage-earners. In their last job, five men and seven women had been in part-time work, but in most cases part-time work had been accepted only because full-time work had been unavailable. The insecure nature of previous employment is shown by the fact that only three fifths of respondents had had permanent jobs before becoming unemployed, the remaining 21 people having been in temporary, seasonal, casual or contract work. Job insecurity was most marked for the young and for women, of whom only half had been in permanent jobs.

The occupations of both male and female respondents before their unemployment were concentrated in trades, production and process jobs, accounting for 29 respondents, while six of the ten remaining men had jobs in transport and communication, and the remaining women had been in clerical and service job. The older respondents were more likely to have been employed in trades, production and process work.

The manufacturing industries had previously employed half the sample (three quarters of the older workers) while wholesale and retail trades, service industries, transport and storage provided jobs for the remainder.

In the last job which they had held, respondents tended to be low wage earners: their median weekly take-home pay was \$160, although the median pay was of course lower for the young (\$75), higher for workers over 45 (\$240); higher for men (\$180) than for women (\$120). We cannot make comparisons with the national figures for median weekly earnings at the time of the survey because we asked respondents about their 'take-home pay', not about their gross weekly earnings ('take-home pay' was more easily remembered). However, more than half said that they had been paid at award rates, while only one fifth had been paid either below the award or had no award applicable to their job. Women were more likely to report under-award payments. Almost two thirds had no non-wage benefits associated with their job; women were much less likely than men to have employment benefits. One tenth of the men had superannuation, while a few had staff discounts and the use of a car, the staff canteen and subsidised meals and goods. A staff discount was the only benefit enjoyed by the women.

One half of respondents had been union members in their last job, although workers 45 years and over were much more likely than the younger people to have been union members. Of the non-members, the largest group were either ineligible for membership, or there was no union for them to join, while a smaller proportion were either uninterested or unaware of union membership as an issue. The greater rate of unionisation of the older workers is consistent with their longer periods of permanent, full-time employment in the manufacturing industries.

Respondents were asked details of their previous four jobs, in addition to the last job held before becoming unemployed. Analysis of these data shows a similarity with the characteristics of respondents' last job: occupations were clustered in trades, production and process work in manufacturing. But the earlier

occupational history showed a greater proportion of permanent, full-time jobs, suggesting a deterioration of job tenure in more recent times. The trend was also towards shorter duration of jobs in respondents' more recent job histories: whereas 6 out of 10 respondents had been in their last job for less than a year before they became unemployed, only one quarter had been in their longest job for less than a year. In their previous jobs respondents were much less likely than in their last job to be dismissed or made redundant: only one quarter of all jobs held were terminated in this way, compared with 40 per cent of last jobs held. The pattern of union membership in previous jobs was almost identical to that in the most recent job. In all jobs held, one half of the respondents had been union members, but only one fifth had been union members consistently in all the previous jobs for which we sought information.

In summary, analysis of job histories shows deterioration of the employment situation of the respondents; consistent concentration in trades, production process and labouring occupations in the manufacturing industries; a decreased incidence of full-time permanent jobs; jobs held for shorter periods of time with more terminations resulting from dismissal and redundancy.

In their last job 40 per cent of respondents had been dismissed or made redundant. The proportion of redundancies was highest for men and for older workers, who tended to be dismissed with at least 25 other employees of the same firm. A further 20 per cent of respondents had been employed for a fixed period only, or were forced to leave because of accident or illness. The remainder had left their jobs voluntarily. Twenty nine people had received a lump sum payment on the termination of their employment, but in the main this sum consisted of holiday pay and wages for the last pay period. Overall, the median lump sum received was \$600, although the average sum received by younger workers was one quarter of the sum received by the older group and the average sum received by people in the period of family formation was one tenth of the amount received by the older unemployed. Men received on average over three times the amount received by women. Very few (only

three) had received redundancy pay, even amongst the older men who had been in their last job for longer periods. The relatively small average lump sum received by two thirds of the sample on termination of their employment provided a very temporary bulwark against the rapid onset of hardship.

(iii) The Duration of Unemployment and the Concentration of Unemployment in Families

Of all the respondents, 6 out of 10 had been unemployed for more than 6 months, and one third for more than one year. The respondents with dependent children and those 45 years and over had the longest duration of unemployment with almost half having been out of work for more than a year. The more prolonged periods of unemployment of the older age groups is a reflection of the national figures for unemployment durations in November 1982. The groups of respondents however contained more long-term unemployed.

In order to explore the concentration of unemployment within families and households, respondents were asked whether any other family or household member was unemployed at the time of the interview, and whether any of the same group had been unemployed in the last two years. More than one third indicated that at least one other person in their family or household was currently unemployed, while half of the respondents had household members or family (living with them or in other households) who had been unemployed at some time in the last two years. Those with dependent children had the highest incidence of multiple unemployment: three quarters had another member of their family or household currently unemployed, usually their spouse, but siblings and adult children were also mentioned (some living with their parent/s and others who had left the parental home). In the younger age group, almost 3 out of 10 had another currently unemployed person in the family or in the household, usually siblings or friends, but unemployed parents living in another residence were also mentioned. Amongst those 45 years and older, sons and daughters were the family members most often mentioned as currently unemployed. Furthermore, there was a clear pattern of higher incidences of multiple unemployment surrounding the

families and households of the longer term unemployed.

This finding of the concentration of unemployment in families living in the same household and in kin-related households is evidence of the sharing of labour market disadvantages. These families of the unemployed would therefore have limited resources of income and labour market contacts with which to provide assistance and support.

(iv) Job Search and the Local Labour Market

Asked what type of jobs they were looking for, one third of respondents said that they were looking for anything at all. Apart from those whose job search ranged across the occupational structure, men's job search was concentrated in the areas of trades, production and process work, transport and communication, while the women's job search was centred on clerical and service jobs. The younger group was more likely to be looking for clerical work; those with dependent children for jobs in trades, production, transport and communication; those 45 years and over for jobs in trades, production and the services. There appeared to be a lowering of job aspirations with increasing age, with a greater concentration of job search in the areas of production and the service industries, possibly resulting from longer durations of unemployment.

The persistence of sex differentiation in actual job search is identical with the differences identified in the respondents' 'choice' of their most desired job. The job options of the unemployed are limited by the early closing off of their occupational opportunities through early school leaving and, in a majority of instances, the absence of post-school qualifications. Sex segmentation also persisted in the clear pattern of almost all men (9 out of 10) seeking full-time jobs, while 4 out of 10 women sought part-time jobs. This is very close to the national ratio of part-time to full-time work for men and women in the labour force. The concentration of women's job search in clerical and service occupations reflects the greater chances for part-time work in

those fields, consolidating further the sex segmentation of the labour force. Women with household and childcare responsibilities have limited job options, and even fewer when domestic obligations and the ideology that domestic work is women's work pre-determine the choice for part-time work. The men were seeking to follow traditional male work patterns: full-time work in trades, process work, transport and communication at a time when the manufacturing and construction industries are in decline.

The typical pattern was for all respondents to be looking for work in their local region in Western Sydney, while 2 out of 10 were also looking for work in the city of Sydney, and a further 2 out of 10 were also looking for work in the country, or anywhere at all. Men of all ages were less locally confined in their job search than women: they were seeking work in areas of long distances and long travel times from their homes. Women without dependent children were also able to extend their job seeking to the city of Sydney, but women with family responsibilities were confined to their local region.

The clear findings are that the majority of our respondents were looking for work in their local labour market because of: the high costs and unreliability of transport; long journeys to work outside of the region undermining opportunities for private life and leisure; long, expensive journeys to work adding to the costs of earning income. However, men were prepared, from necessity, to spread their search much further afield.

What are the job opportunities in the Western region in the occupations where this group of unemployed people were looking for work? From June 1972 to June 1981 in the Sydney metropolitan area the number of manufacturing establishments increased by 236, but there was a total loss of 52,166 jobs of which 33,883 were men's jobs and 18,283 were women's jobs. This represents a loss of 12 per cent of the male workforce in manufacturing and 15 per cent

of the female manufacturing workforce (using 1972 figures as the base). In the same period the number of Western Sydney manufacturing establishments increased by 693, but the number of people employed declined by 2,283 of which 1,755 were men's and 525 were women's jobs. It must be remembered that in this period the labour force of the Western region increased by 61.4 per cent. The very modest employment growth in manufacture in some of the local regions in Western Sydney (Baulkham Hills, Blacktown, Fairfield, Holroyd, Liverpool, Penrith, Windsor) was offset by the loss of jobs in Auburn, the Blue Mountains and Parramatta.²⁶ It is of significance that the overall increase in manufacturing jobs in various local government areas of Western Sydney was greatest in men's jobs rather than in women's jobs. This is of particular importance because women's job search, particularly when they have childcare responsibilities, is concentrated in their local region.

In Western Sydney in the period 1969 to 1980 there was an increase of 5,409 women's jobs in retail and selected service establishments and a decrease of 496 men's jobs - a pattern consistent with the increase in the casual and part-time nature of jobs in retail sales and service industries.²⁷ This modest increase in local jobs for women must be set against the increase of 61.4 per cent in the labour force.

The pattern of job search of the men and women in our survey (a concentration of job search in the local area, with men and women without domestic responsibilities also searching for work in central Sydney and in other suburban areas) indicates a marked preference for jobs in the local labour market. This preference is a continuation of the well established pattern of local labour seeking jobs in their own locality as demonstrated by 1976 census figures (which showed 80% of jobs in the Western region filled by residents of the region and 64% of the labour force resident in the region having jobs in the region).

Analyses of the journey to work place respondents' job seeking patterns in a thoroughly comprehensible context.²⁸ Overall, men's journey to work in the major Australian cities is much longer than

women's - but there are significant differences. Younger women without family responsibilities make longer trips to work than married women, partially because of their relative freedom from domestic responsibilities, but more pertinently because the major job opportunities for young women are in clerical work in the city centre in public sector employment and in the major private commercial/financial firms. Married women in outer suburban areas are confronted with effective barriers to their employment in clerical jobs in the public sector and in the business services because they face the necessity to make a long and expensive journey to work. Hence our younger women's willingness to seek clerical work in the city and the search by older women with family responsibilities for manufacturing and service jobs in their local area is entirely consistent with the sex, age and spatial segregation of the urban labour market.

Male respondents' preference for jobs in manufacture, transport and communication in their local region, but greater preparedness (especially among the younger men) to seek work further afield is consistent with the decentralisation of manufacturing jobs which occurred before the decline of the early 1970s. No doubt analyses of 1981 census data on the journey to work will show even longer journeys to work for men as local manufacturing industries have declined. But women's domestic responsibilities have not altered, continuing to place constraints on the opportunities of women with children, and of married women, to seek work outside the region.

Long, expensive journeys to work are particularly inequitable for low paid workers, i.e. young people and married women, who are the family members least likely to have the use of a private car. In their last job before unemployment, one half of the men but only one out of seven women had the use of a car for the journey to work - and very few young people had the use of a car. It is also significant that in our study older male workers were somewhat less likely than younger men to be looking for work outside their local region, suggesting that the extra costs of transport for relatively low paid workers with family responsibilities is an important factor in their job search.

Respondents were asked if they had the use of a car for job hunting and if the lack of transport ever made it difficult for them to look for work. More than half never had the use of a car for job hunting, a further small proportion had the use of a car only infrequently. The lack of a car for job search was most severe for young people, and for women, of whom only one third always or sometimes had the use of a car. These data give further meaning to the preference for work in the local region. Lack of transport, both public transport and the use of a car, frequently made it difficult for a third of respondents to look for work, and this problem was greatest for people with dependent children. Again it was women whose job search was made more difficult by the lack of transport.

Differential access to the use of a private car and the problems of transport between suburbs in the Western region, as well as the length of the journey to the Sydney central business district reinforce job seeking patterns and preferences in the local labour market. Mal-distribution of public transport facilities and long, expensive journeys to work have their most inequitable impact on low paid workers, and also impose considerable impediments on their job search when they become unemployed.

(v) Job Seeking Networks : Formal and Informal

Our study found evidence not only of a preference for employment in the local region, i.e. within the local labour market, but also of the extreme importance of informal networks in finding employment. In answer to the question of how they generally looked for work, almost all the men but only two thirds of the women used the services of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). Looking in the newspapers for jobs was an almost universal activity for both men and women. Making personal applications to employers on the initiative of the applicant was a strategy much more characteristic of male than female job seekers: 8 out of 10 men but only one third of the women made personal applications to employers. Two of our respondents described how they do it and how little success it brings them:

In describing how he spends his typical week, a man in the age group 45+ said:

'I generally get up at 4 or 5 am, get the paper at 6 am and see what's offering. Phone for any jobs, follow up any interviews. I try the Riverstone Meat Works - got to be there at 6.30 am and there's 60 or 70 blokes there already - you've got to take your luck. To get there, I go from here to Mt.Druitt, Mt.Druitt to Blacktown, Blacktown to Riverstone and walk up from there. It's \$3.50 every time you go there. Can only afford that twice a week. Transport is one of the main problems.'

Another man in the 45+ age group in answer to the question why he thought he did not have a job, said:

'There's nothing doing. Thousands a week are becoming unemployed. What do you expect? They're not taking anyone on. I went to every factory in Giraween and in another area this week - they're not taking people on. Often 15 to 20 people a day ask for jobs at factories and they're not even advertising. When they built Campbelltown, they put jobs in. Why don't they do that here?'

Amongst the formal methods of job search, registration at a private employment agency is almost never done because of the costs involved. The most frequently utilised method of job search is through the assistance of relatives and friends. Almost all of the sample, consistent across age groups, used the contacts offered by their informal network to look for work, and women were even more likely to do this than men.

For the 50 respondents who had been in employment previously, friends and relatives provided the major source of information through which they had found their last job. One third had found their last job through the assistance of a relative or friend; smaller proportions had answered newspaper job advertisements or made personal contact with employers; while less than one in five had found their last job through the CES. Relatives and friends were a particularly important source of information for the young, one half of whom had found their last job this way, while the CES was of least assistance to them. The differences between men's and women's experiences in finding their last job are consistent

with their methods of job search: one half of the women (but only one quarter of the men) were assisted by a relative or friend; very few women had made personal contact with an employer (compared with approximately one fifth of the men). Similar proportions (one quarter) had answered a newspaper advertisement; while very few of the women but one fifth of the men had been helped by the CES.

The pattern is clear: the informal networks of relatives and friends are important in all job search, but particularly for women and young people, who often have the weakest market power. Personal approaches to employers is a job-seeking strategy used by men, but much less by women. Job advertisements (a formal, universalised method of information distribution) are utilised by both men and women. The assistance of the CES is utilised much more by men than by women, and with more apparent success. Only one of the men was not registered with the CES, while half of the women were not registered. (The national figures for July 1982 show that 37.2% of women looking for work were not registered with the CES compared with 19.7% of jobless men.²⁹) The reasons for the women's non-registration include the belief that they are ineligible to register because they are not eligible for unemployment benefit; they see no point in registering since they believe that the CES cannot help them; or they are in receipt of benefits and pensions other than unemployment benefit and do not identify themselves as potential clients of a formal employment service because they have assessed their employment prospects as minimal.

Joan Vipond points out in her study of the two major formal means of job search, the CES office and the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper, used by the unemployed in Liverpool in early 1980, that formal networks are particularly important for new entrants to the labour market and for the unemployed who do not have informal contacts.³⁰ The formal network becomes especially important in regions where unemployment levels are high and competition for scarce vacancies is intense. Her conclusion is that reliance on informal networks is likely to advantage people who are employed, because of their continuing contacts with other employed persons,

the likelihood that they will hear of employers seeking additional staff and that they will hear about vacancies which are still valid.

Our interview data indicate a pattern of utilisation of the CES formal network which is differentiated by age and sex. The young and women were much less likely than adult males to have found their last job through the CES, and much more likely to have found their last job through informal networks – a method of job search on which they have continued to rely. Having become unemployed however, these groups of people with the least contact with the labour market, and with least confidence to approach employers on their own initiative, are likely to find their informal networks contracting and of little assistance in finding jobs.

(vi) Housing and the Local Labour Market

We asked respondents whether they would consider moving home in order to get work. The overwhelming response (from 70% of the group) was 'no!' particularly from those with dependent children and from older workers. But half the younger group also answered 'no' to this suggestion. Their reasons were clear: allocation to public housing in the region after long waiting periods; problems of transfer in public housing; problems of dislocating the family from their schooling and social networks. The younger groups showed a strong sense of identification with the area in which, in many cases, they had been born, or had spent their school years. Relocation of residence in order to get work might entail not only further impoverishment caused by moving into private rental accommodation, but would also disrupt established social networks which are of particular importance to unemployed workers with family commitments.

The comments of our respondents on the question of moving home in order to get work illustrate the critical role of public housing in demarcating the physical boundaries of the labour market in which it is practicable for the unemployed to seek work.

'It took us a long time to get this house. When you've got kids you can't pick up and go.'

(Man, aged 35-44, unemployed for more than one year)

'I wouldn't move the whole family, just me. We were talking about that this morning. Last year I went to Queensland for a while and got work up there.'

(Man, aged 35-44, unemployed for 6 months)

'If you lose the Housing Commission house, you lose everything. I was on the waiting list for six years for this place.'

(Woman, aged 45+, unemployed for more than one year)

'The Housing Commission tells you where to live and the Social Security tells you how to live.'

(Woman, 25-35, with children, unemployed for 6 months)

The housing situation of respondents provides further explanation of their relative unwillingness to move to seek work: more than half were tenants in public housing (NSW Housing Commission); one third were owner/occupiers purchasing their home; only a very few were renting in the private market. Compared with the profile of housing tenure for the Blacktown LGA (Table 13), respondents were much more likely to be tenants in public housing and much less likely to be owner/purchasers. The group with dependent children were most likely to be in public housing (only one was an owner/purchaser), while those over 45 were most likely to be owner/purchasers (two thirds) while one third was in public housing.

The vast majority of respondents expressed satisfaction with their housing situation. Public housing is of particular benefit to unemployed people because rent payments are calculated at 20 per cent of household income, thus reducing the rent commitment when income drops as a result of job loss. No such rebate is available to people in private rental housing, and no such automatic, routine consideration is available for mortgage relief. Clearly, moving home to get work would entail a substantial loss of housing security and increased

expenditure, e.g. through movement into private rental accommodation, or sale of owner/occupied housing, or movement from the parental home into private rental housing, when a new job might be insecure, low paid and easily lost.

Since our data show that long-term unemployment is associated with the depletion of any savings and the accumulation of debts, consideration of moving residence is virtually impossible in financial terms for most unemployed people, particularly those with family responsibilities.

The majority of respondents (two thirds) had lived in their current housing for 2 years or more; almost half for 5 years or more. This relative stability of accommodation was consistent across life-cycle stages. Answers to the question: 'Why do you live in this area?' demonstrate the significance of public housing allocation in determining residence and the preference to seek work in the region. Almost half lived in the area because of an offer of accommodation from the Housing Commission; a further one tenth stated that their housing was cheap and therefore affordable; a further tenth (all young people) lived with their parents; and a further quarter cited proximity to relatives and friends and their knowledge of the area as the reasons for their residential location. Offers of public housing, and the ability to purchase affordable housing were of primary concern to people with dependent children and to older people, while older people were the group most likely to cite proximity to relatives and friends as an important consideration.

The policy implications are clear. Since settlement of the 'Broad Acres' by the Public Housing Authority has resulted in the resettlement of working class families in the western region over a considerable period of time, socially and economically equitable employment policies must entail not residential movement of labour but job creation in the local region through public and private sector investment. In addition, better provision of affordable public transport between localities and to the Sydney CBD are required.

(vii) Perceived Discrimination Based on Area of Residence

There is a further important dimension to our respondents' preference for local jobs and their reliance on informal contacts to find jobs: the discrimination which they perceive to be practised against them when they seek jobs outside their local region. We asked our respondents whether they had ever been denied a job interview because of where they live. One half of the group indicated that this had happened to them. Young people most often perceived this discrimination on the basis of their residential address. Most of those who had experienced such discrimination described it as implicit rather than explicit: employers or their officers expressed concern about the long journey to work, or the unreliability of public transport as grounds for rejecting the applicant.

'They say it's too far for you to travel. They don't give you credit for getting yourself there on time, no matter how badly you need the job.'

(Woman aged 25-35, with dependent children)

'They often don't come out and say it direct - they talk about distance, but they refer to area. They know they shouldn't discriminate on grounds of area.'

(Man, aged 25-30, with dependent children)

And a young woman (age group 15-24) summed up the issue:

'A lot of local people are put down because of the area. There should be more jobs in the area.'

Discrimination against job applicants on the grounds of their area of residence appears to be couched in terms of the employers' fear of the workers' unreliability (as our respondents recognised). It is clear that, on the one hand, the inequities of transport allocation place restrictions on the localities in which potential workers may find jobs, creating a totally rational preference for jobs in the local labour market. The irony is that with the contraction of local job opportunities, and in addition, because of the sex and age segmentation of urban labour markets, potential

workers (in particular the young) must seek jobs outside their local region. Discrimination on the basis of residential address blames working class families for their housing location (very often itself the result of public housing policies) and also blames them because they are the victims of a long and expensive journey to work in transport systems which may be unreliable. Such discrimination would be much reduced in its impact if more jobs were created in the local region. However, it is clearly appropriate that discrimination on the basis of residential address as perceived by job seekers from the Western Sydney region be officially investigated.

(viii) Is there an Informal Economy?

Recent literature on the economic crisis in advanced industrial countries has focused on the potential development of an informal sector of economic transactions centred on the household and the local community. A burgeoning literature has analysed the monetised and non-monetised transactions which take place, almost always unrecorded for official purposes.³¹ Norman Fisher's study of the Australian informal labour market concludes with an estimation that the informal market is very likely to account for 3 - 4 per cent or even less of gross domestic product; to employ less than 2 per cent of the labour force; to make negligible impact on current perceptions of the magnitude of real unemployment, and to provide very little extra income for the unemployed, certainly no more than is reasonably consistent with the employment earnings permitted unemployment beneficiaries.³²

We found some slight evidence of non-monetary informal transactions of a reciprocal nature: half of our sample of unemployed people were involved in social networks through which they exchanged goods and services which were necessary for augmenting inadequate pensions and benefits. People with dependent children were the group most likely to have received non-monetary assistance from relatives, friends or neighbours. But our employed respondents were even more likely than the unemployed to have received such assistance. Other family members were the major source of assistance for the

unemployed, although friends, and less commonly neighbours also provided assistance. The help received included gifts of food, clothing, assistance with accommodation, household equipment, furniture and moral support. Few had received such assistance before becoming unemployed and most indicated that they sometimes provided similar assistance to others in their social network.

That such informal assistance was usually able to contribute very little to the augmentation of pensions is shown by the significant proportion of the unemployed sample (two thirds) who had approached either a government department or a community organisation for formal assistance. The Department of Youth and Community Services, the Smith Family and St.Vincent de Paul were most frequently mentioned as the agencies from which the unemployed sought assistance. Aid was most commonly sought for emergency relief (i.e. money and concessions) for food, accommodation payments, furniture and household items.

What is clear from these findings is that the so-called informal sector of the economy has little application to the lives of the unemployed whom we interviewed. The patterns of informal, reciprocal assistance usually passing between family members and friends bears no resemblance to conceptions of a hidden economy which augments earnings through unrecorded labour transactions. That two thirds of respondents also needed to seek assistance from formal agencies suggests very strongly that opportunities for extra earnings, either of a recorded or unrecorded kind, were neither regular, nor sufficient enough to prevent significant impoverishment.

V CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of the SWRC survey on unemployment in Western Sydney concerned with the search for jobs in the local labour market has identified the following major characteristics: the majority of unemployed respondents had no post-school qualifications, while one fifth had a trade or technicians' certificate; prior to unemployment respondents had worked predominantly in manufacturing, transport, sales and service industries in jobs which had become

less secure; respondents tended to be low paid in their last job, to have enjoyed few fringe benefits and were very unlikely to have received redundancy pay. Respondents' job search was concentrated in similar occupations and industries to those of their previous employment and even when nominating their most desired job, respondents' aspirations were limited by sex segregation of job choices and by lack of formal qualifications. The search for jobs in fields of previous experience is frustrated by the decline in the manufacturing industries in the Western region and by the low rate of growth of jobs in sales and services, a rate too low to keep pace with the increase in labour supply.

Respondents' job search was concentrated in the Western region, although the younger and older groups without dependent children were able to look further afield. Problems and expense of transport and long journeys to work conflicting with family responsibilities placed limits on the physical boundaries of respondents' search for jobs, affecting women particularly. The marked preference for jobs in the local labour market highlighted the roles of housing policies and of access to reliable transport in determining to a very considerable extent the job opportunities of working class families. Respondents expressed satisfaction with their housing, particularly public housing, because it was secure and affordable and some also expressed identification with the local region where they had established friendships and other important social networks.³³ However, they were less satisfied with transport systems which constrained their job mobility; frustrated in their local job search by the scarcity of vacancies appropriate to their skills, qualifications and experience; and resentful of the discrimination on the basis of area which they perceived to be exercised against them by employers when they applied for jobs outside the local region. Respondents expressed interest in undertaking training programs which were linked to job participation, valuing practical knowledge and skills learnt on the job. Older workers noted that the scarcity of training programs for adults over the age of 24 restricted their opportunities to acquire new skills and qualifications.

Informal networks were of great importance in job search: women and young people relied on them much more than on the formal services of the CES. However the evidence of a high concentration of multiple unemployment in the families, households and related households of unemployed respondents suggests that the capacity of families to provide job contacts is limited. Under such conditions, formal services which gain people's trust are of particular importance. We found no evidence of an informal economy of unrecorded labour transactions. Rather, we found that the social networks of relatives and friends based in the local region were very important in providing assistance of a practical nature which recipients tried to reciprocate. The suggestion that respondents might leave their affordable housing and established networks in order to find work was strongly rejected.

At the conceptual level, it is clear that the nature of unemployment and job search must be understood within the boundaries of the local labour market, shaped by changes in the local structure of industries and occupations as they are affected by national economic policies, and shaped also by the ways in which housing location and transport systems set physical limits to job opportunities. At the level of policy, consideration must be given to devising training programs linked with job placement; job creation in the local region and transport policies which facilitate the mobility of labour.

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33. A minority of respondents also expressed considerable resentment that they had been compelled to move to a new region distant from job opportunities and previous social contacts. This sense of discontent overlay their gratitude for secure and affordable housing.

TABLE 1

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES: BY SEX, AGE, BIRTH-PLACE, INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION: 1981-1983

		(%)	
		(AUGUST)	
		1982	1983
1981			
CIVILIAN POPULATION		5.6	6.7
MALES		4.7	6.3
FEMALES		7.1	7.4
MARRIED WOMEN		4.9	5.1
15-19		13.9	16.7
20-24		8.5	10.2
25 +		3.7	4.5
BORN IN AUSTRALIA	M	4.5	6.1
	F	6.9	7.1
BORN OUTSIDE	M	5.2	7.0
	F	7.8	8.6
INDUSTRY - MALES			
MANUFACTURING		4.6	6.0
CONSTRUCTION		5.1	7.7
WHOLESALE		3.6	5.1
RETAIL		3.9	5.2
TRANSPORT		2.6	2.5
FINANCE		1.6	3.0
COMMUNITY SERVICES		1.4	1.9
RECREATION, PERSONAL		4.5	6.5
AND OTHER SERVICES			10.9
- FEMALES			
MANUFACTURING		5.6	5.8
CONSTRUCTION		*	*
WHOLESALE		4.8	4.6
RETAIL		5.6	4.8
TRANSPORT		*	*
FINANCE		2.3	2.6
COMMUNITY SERVICES		2.1	2.0
RECREATION, PERSONAL		5.2	6.2
AND OTHER SERVICES			6.0
OCCUPATION - MALES			
PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL		1.0	2.3
ADMIN, EXEC, MANAGERIAL		*	1.4
CLERICAL		1.6	1.8
SALES		3.7	4.6
TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION		2.4	3.9
TRADES., PROD, LABOURERS		4.9	6.6
SERVICE, SPORT & RECREATION		4.3	4.8
- FEMALES			
PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL		1.7	2.1
ADMIN, EXEC, MANAGERIAL		*	*
CLERICAL		2.9	2.9
SALES		6.2	4.9
TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION		*	*
TRADES., PROD, LABOURERS		7.4	8.1
SERVICE, SPORT & RECREATION		4.3	4.2

* statistically insignificant

SOURCES: A.B.S. The Labour Force Australia, 1981. Cat. No. 6204.0
 (February 1983) pp.9-11,27,32,35,40,41,70,71
 A.B.S. The Labour Force Australia August 1982. Cat. No. 6203.0
 (November 1982) pp. 10-11,18,29,32
 A.B.S. The Labour Force Australia August 1983. Cat. No. 6203.0

TABLE 2 LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF HUSBAND X LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF WIFE : 1979-1982

LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF HUSBAND	LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF WIFE							
	Employed		Unemployed		Not in the Labour Force		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Employed								
1979	1,259.7	47.1	57.1	2.1	1,355.3	50.8	2,672.1	100.0
1980	1,316.7	49.1	51.1	1.9	1,315.4	49.0	2,683.2	100.0
1981	1,313.8	49.0	51.6	1.9	1,317.1	49.1	2,682.5	100.0
1982	1,336.0	49.5	63.3	2.3	1,298.4	48.2	2,697.7	100.0
Unemployed								
1979	12.7	20.1	5.5	8.7	45.0	71.2	63.2	100.0
1980	11.8	17.5	8.5	12.6	47.0	69.9	67.3	100.0
1981	12.9	19.7	7.9	12.0	44.8	68.3	65.6	100.0
1982	18.7	21.4	9.0	10.3	59.6	68.3	87.2	100.0
Not in the Labour Force								
1979	44.9	7.9	1.5	0.3	519.9	91.8	566.3	100.0
1980	48.5	8.1	3.1	0.5	545.6	91.4	597.2	100.0
1981	50.1	7.9	1.7	0.2	589.8	91.9	641.6	100.0
1982	46.9	6.9	3.5	0.5	631.0	92.6	681.4	100.0

N = 1,000

Source : ABS, Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families, Australia. 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, Cat.No.6224.0.

TABLE 3 COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX AND LIFE-CYCLE STAGE

Life-cycle Stage	Unemployed			Employed			Totals		
	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
Young People: 15-24 years	7	9	16	3	4	7	10	13	23
Family Formation (responsibility for dependent children)	10	7	17	2	4	6	12	11	23
Older People: 45 years & older	12	6	18	3	2	5	15	8	23
Totals	29	22	51	8	10	18	37	32	69

TABLE 4 POPULATION BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, 1971-1981

Local Government Area	1971	1976	1981	% Change 1971-1981
Auburn	49300	48600	46622	-5.4
Baulkham Hills	58150	77400	93084	60.1
Blacktown	135400	163300	181139	33.8
Blue Mountains	37200	46800	55877	50.2
Fairfield	114550	117250	129557	13.1
Hawkesbury	23450	29300	36757	56.7
Holroyd	78350	81650	80116	2.3
Liverpool	83550	91700	92715	11.0
Parramatta	136000	134600	130943	-3.7
Penrith	61100	80800	108720	77.9
Total Western Region*	777050	871400	955530	23.0
Total Sydney Region	2935937	3021979	3204696	9.2

* Throughout this paper Western Region refers to the ABS Western Sydney Subdivision plus Liverpool.

Source: ABS Census Data.

Analysed by S. Edwards and U. Lilje, The Western Sydney Labour Market (1982).

**TABLE 5 HIGHEST LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION OBTAINED BY PERSONS IN
THE POPULATION AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, 1976-1981**

Level of Qualification	Western Region		Sydney Region	
	1976	1981	1976	1981
	%	%	%	%
Doctoral, Masters Degree	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6
Graduate Diploma, Bachelor Degree	1.5	2.3	3.0	4.4
Diploma	2.3	2.6	3.1	3.6
Technician's Certificate	4.6	7.4	5.2	8.5
Trade Certificate	11.5	10.6	10.2	9.5
No Qualifications	67.3	65.2	63.3	61.1
Level not applicable or not stated	12.6	11.7	14.6	12.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ABS Census Data.

Analysed by Edwards and Lilje, op.cit.

TABLE 6 LABOUR FORCE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, 1971-1981

Local Government Area	1971	1976	1981	% Change 1971-1981
Auburn	22460	22227	20928	-6.8
Baulkham Hills	19955	27555	42434	112.7
Blacktown	43178	52915	79198	83.4
Blue Mountains	10437	13926	22276	113.4
Fairfield	39974	42341	60477	51.3
Hawkesbury	8120	10194	16972	109.0
Holroyd	29056	30777	37370	28.6
Liverpool	26069	30842	44007	68.8
Parramatta	49896	50579	61626	23.5
Penrith	19781	27661	48715	146.3
Total Western Region	268926	309017	434003	61.4
Total Sydney Region	1312359	1403906	1526527	16.3

Source: ABS Census Data.Analysed by Edwards and Lilje op.cit.

Labour Force by IndustryTABLE 7 LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY BY REGION, 1976-1981

Industry	Western Region		Sydney Region	
	1976	1981	1976	1981
	%	%	%	%
Agriculture, etc.	1.5	1.2	0.8	0.7
Mining	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4
Manufacturing	28.4	25.2	23.2	20.3
Electricity, Gas, Water	2.4	2.1	2.0	2.0
Construction	7.0	6.9	5.7	5.9
Wholesale, Retail Trade	19.4	18.3	19.3	18.3
Transport & Storage	5.2	5.6	5.7	5.9
Communication	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2
Finance, etc.	7.1	8.8	9.7	11.7
Public Admin., Defence	5.9	5.7	6.0	5.2
Community Services	11.1	12.3	13.0	14.3
Entertainment, Recreation, Hotel, Restaurants	3.8	4.0	5.1	5.5
Other, not stated	5.7	7.4	6.9	7.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ABS Census Data.Analysed by Edwards and Lilje op.cit.

TABLE 8 LABOUR FORCE BY INDUSTRY : BLACKTOWN LGA AND NSW 1981

	BTN	NSW
MEN: (N)	(47,309)	(1,397,698)
Agriculture	1.0%	5.7%
Mining	0.4	2.1
Manufacturing	30.8	21.8
Electricity, gas, water	3.3	3.0
Construction	9.7	8.9
Wholesale, retail trade	17.0	15.9
Transport & storage	8.3	7.4
Communication	3.3	2.4
Finance, property etc.	5.9	8.0
Public administration,		
Defence	5.3	6.0
Community services	6.1	8.1
Recreation, personnel etc.	2.6	4.2
Not classifiable and not stated	6.4	6.5
WOMEN: (N)	(26,697)	(835,398)
Agriculture	1.2%	3.7%
Mining	0.1	0.2
Manufacturing	21.7	12.8
Electricity, gas, water	0.6	0.5
Construction	1.8	1.8
Wholesale, retail trade	20.4	19.7
Transport & storage	2.3	2.5
Communication	1.9	1.4
Finance, property etc.	12.4	12.3
Public administration,		
Defence	4.3	3.7
Community services	17.8	23.5
Recreation, personnel etc.	5.3	7.8
Not classifiable and not stated	10.3	10.2
PERSONS: (N)	(74,006)	(2,233,096)
Agriculture	1.1%	4.9%
Mining	0.3	1.4
Manufacturing	27.5	18.5
Electricity, gas, water	2.3	2.1
Construction	6.8	6.2
Wholesale, retail trade	18.2	17.3
Transport & storage	6.1	5.5
Communication	2.8	2.0
Finance, property etc.	8.3	9.6
Public administration,	4.9	5.1
Defence		
Community services	10.3	13.9
Recreation, personnel etc.	3.6	5.6
Not classifiable and not stated	7.8	7.8

Source : ABS Census Data. Analysed by SWRC.

TABLE 9 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR FORCE BY REGION,
1976-1981

Occupation	Western Region		Sydney Region	
	1976	1981	1976	1981
	%	%	%	%
Professional, Technical	9.5	10.8	12.7	14.8
Admin, Executive, etc.	5.7	3.9	7.6	5.7
Clerical Workers	18.1	19.0	20.2	21.1
Sales Workers	7.4	8.1	7.8	8.6
Farmers, Fishermen, etc.	1.9	1.7	1.3	1.2
Miners, Quarrymen	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Transport, Communication,	5.8	5.6	5.2	4.9
Prod., Proc. Workers,				
Labourers	38.4	36.0	30.6	28.7
Service, Sport, Recreation	7.1	7.5	7.8	8.1
Armed Forces	1.5	1.8	1.0	0.9
Other, not stated	4.4	5.5	5.6	5.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ABS Census Data
 Analysed by Edwards and Lilje, op.cit.

TABLE 10 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR FORCE : BLACKTOWN AND
NEW SOUTH WALES : 1981

	BTN	NSW
MEN: (N)	(47.312)	(1,397.698)
Professional, technical	6.8%	11.7%
Admin, Executive	3.3	7.0
Clerical Workers	9.0	8.4
Sales Workers	6.0	6.9
Farmers, Fishermen	1.6	6.3 ^b
Miners, Quarrymen	0.1	1.1
Transport, Communication	9.1	6.8
Trades, produc.process	53.3	40.2
Service, Sport & Rec.	5.3	5.5
Armed Services	1.4	1.5
Inad.desc. or N.S.	4.1	4.7
WOMEN: (N)	(26.697)	(835.398)
Professional, technical	10.0%	16.4%
Admin, Executive	0.4	1.7
Clerical Workers	36.2	34.1
Sales Workers	11.0	11.3
Farmers, Fishermen	1.3	3.5
Miners, Quarrymen	-	*
Transport, Communication	2.2	1.8
Trades. produc.process	17.6	9.2
Service, Sport & Rec.	12.2	13.0
Armed Services	0.1	0.2
Inad.desc. or N.S.	8.9	8.9
PERSONS: (N)	(74.009)	(2,233.096)
Professional, technical	7.9%	13.5%
Admin, Executive	2.3	5.0
Clerical Workers	18.8	18.0
Sales Workers	7.8	8.5
Farmers, Fishermen	1.5	5.3
Miners, Quarrymen	0.1	0.7
Transport, Communication	6.6	4.9
Trades. produc.process	40.4	28.6
Service, Sport & Rec	7.8	8.3
Armed Services	0.9	1.0
Inad.desc. or N.S.	5.8	6.3

Source : ABS Census Data. Analysed by SWRC.

TABLE 11 PROPORTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE IN EACH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA WORKING WITHIN THE WESTERN REGION, 1976.

Local Government Area	Labour Force	% of labour force from each L.G.A. working in the Western Region
Auburn	22227**	54.12
Baulkham Hills	27555	59.36
Blacktown	52915	68.09
Blue Mountains	13926	78.63
Fairfield	42341	61.34
Hawkesbury	10194	91.77
Holroyd	30777	66.56
Liverpool	30842	58.47
Parramatta	50579	58.11
Penrith	27661	78.99
Total Western Region*	309017	64.18

* Refer to Appendix Table 1A for disaggregated data for each local government area.

** There is a discrepancy between the size of the labour force in Auburn obtained from the Journey-to-Work data and the 1976 Census data.

Source: State Transport Study Group, "Report to Transport Strategy Advisory Committee on 1976 Journey-to-Work Statistics", April 1980, Table 4.

ABS Census Data.

**TABLE 12 PROPORTION OF JOBS* IN EACH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA
FILLED BY THE WESTERN REGION LABOUR FORCE, 1976.**

Local Government Area	Number of Jobs in Local Government Area	Number of Jobs Filled by Western Region Labour Force	% of Jobs Filled by Western Region Labour Force
Auburn	37481	24000	64.0
Baulkham Hills	12475	9945	79.7
Blacktown	29180	26392	90.5
Blue Mountains	7547	7249	96.1
Fairfield	22432	17935	80.0
Hawkesbury	9359	8818	94.2
Holroyd	22108	18709	84.6
Liverpool	26698	19304	72.3
Parramatta	57955	45328	78.2
Penrith	21596	20655	95.6
Total Western Region*	246831	198335	80.35

* Jobs filled by persons travelling from outside the Sydney Statistical division are not taken into account.

Source: State Transport Study Group "Report to Transport Strategy Advisory Committee on 1976 Journey-to-Work Statistics", April 1980, Table 4.

TABLE 13 HOUSING : NATURE OF OCCUPANCY BY HOUSEHOLDS AND PERSONS : BLACKTOWN,
SYDNEY STATISTICAL DIVISION, NEW SOUTH WALES : 1981

Nature of occupancy	BTN	SSD	NSW
HOUSEHOLDS: (N)	(49,276)	(1,065,079)	(1,662,758)
Owner	19.3%	30.9%	34.0%
Purchaser	50.5	34.2	31.3
Owner/purchaser undefined	1.6	1.7	1.8
Total owner/purchaser	71.4	66.8	67.1
Tenant-housing authority	16.1	4.8	5.1
- other	8.5	22.1	20.8
Total tenant	24.6	26.9	25.9
NET	2.0	2.9	4.0
Not stated	2.0	3.5	3.2
PERSONS: (N)	(179,298)	(3,098,829)	(4,909,221)
Owner	17.4%	27.9%	30.9%
Purchaser	51.6	41.0	37.5
Owner/purchaser undefined	1.5	1.6	1.7
Total owner/purchaser	70.5	70.5	70.1
Tenant-housing authority	18.5	5.1	5.6
- other	7.5	19.1	18.3
Total tenant	26.0	24.2	23.9
NET	1.8	2.7	3.7
Not stated	1.7	2.6	2.4

Source: ABS, Census Data : Analysed by SWRC.

TABLE 14 HOUSING : MONTHLY MORTGAGE PAYMENTS BY HOUSEHOLDS AND PERSONS :
BLACKTOWN, SYDNEY STATISTICAL DIVISION, NEW SOUTH WALES : 1981

Monthly payment		BTN	SSD	NSW
HOUSEHOLDS:	(N)	(24,905)	(364,497)	(520,234)
\$ 1 - 99		29.3%	19.5%	20.2%
\$100 -199		17.9	18.1	20.7
\$200 -299		23.4	24.4	25.0
\$300 -398		14.7	16.6	15.1
\$399 or more		12.5	18.5	15.6
Not stated		2.2	3.1	3.4
PERSONS:	(N)	(92,576)	(1,271,072)	(1,839,492)
\$ 1 - 99		30.4%	18.6%	19.3%
\$100 -199		18.9	19.2	22.0
\$200 -299		23.3	24.8	25.2
\$300 -398		14.0	16.2	14.8
\$399 or more		11.5	18.2	15.4
Not stated		2.2	3.1	3.1

Source: ABS Census Data : Analysed by SWRC



54th ANZAAS CONGRESS

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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SECTION 45 : SOCIAL WELFARE

NON-INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF ELDERLY PEOPLE :
NEEDS AND SERVICES

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ISSUES

The Australian population is ageing slowly and the implications of this for social security and health and social service provision have caused alarm in some government circles. Australia has been able to achieve, over the last 100 years, an increase in life expectancy at birth from 47 to 70 for males and 51 to 77 for females. We have witnessed, in recent years, a significant decline in age specific mortality rates. Mortality per 100,000 for 75 year old men dropped from 8055 in 1954 to 6600 in 1981. For 75 year old women the drop was much more dramatic, from 5500 to 3501. I am using 75 rather than 65 because different supports are needed for an elderly population which is mostly aged between 65 and 75, compared with one mostly aged 75 or more - and it is this latter situation towards which we are heading.

Most elderly people in Australia live in private residences. 93.6 per cent of people aged 65 and over live in private households, and only 6.4 per cent live in institutions (nursing homes, hostels, homes for the aged, etc). Institutional rates vary by age and sex: 2.1 per cent of men aged 65-74; 2.4 per cent of women 65-74; 8.1 per cent of men 75+; 17.2 per cent of women 75+ live in institutions of various types.

Many elderly people with chronic conditions do not live in institutions but live at home with limited or non-existent support. Their lives are characterised by lack of choice and a strong case can be made for policy intervention to provide for alternatives. Approximately 150,000 elderly people in Australia live with their adult children. Not all are fully dependent, but a great many are, and their accommodation circumstances often are a result of a lack of choice and/or an utter abhorrence of institutional care.

This ANZAAS presentation draws in part, on a recently published report from the SWRC, Carol Keens, Frances Staden and Adam Graycar Options for Independence: Australian Home Help Policies for Elderly People, SWRC Reports and Proceedings No.35, December 1983.

Longer life in our society often means more chronic illness, and it follows that care within the family, and by family members, takes on a different dimension to that which formerly existed. The care task is becoming longer and harder, and there has developed a special need to integrate statutory and non-statutory services as supports for those providing care. Without these supports, the dependent people who are being cared for will increasingly be cared for by family members who themselves will be locked into the states of dependency.

We have heard a lot lately about families abdicating their responsibility to care for their elderly members. What evidence there is suggests that the families are not at all abdicating their responsibility, but rather they are under enormous pressure because their capacity to deal with and provide adequate care for elderly dependent relatives is diminishing. Advocates of family care often assume that caring presents little difficulty for the family, and while caring for an elderly relatives can be a positive experience, what is ignored are the many accompanying stresses and costs related to the caring role. The day-to-day responsibilities of care usually fall on one person - generally a spouse, a daughter, or a daughter-in-law. Most families continue to care for elderly relatives until a crisis point is reached where there no longer exists any alternative to institutionalising their relatives. Families, it can be argued, suffer greatly because of the paucity of formal service provision.

The Commonwealth however directly or indirectly provides a roof over the heads of approximately 200,000 elderly people at any one time, or 13.7 per cent of those aged 65 or more. 32,205 independent units have been funded under the Aged or Disabled Persons Homes Act; 30,737 under the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement, 70,574 Nursing Home beds have been funded, 34,741 Hostel beds, and a further 30,555 elderly people spent census night 1981 in a hospital. There is, however, an imbalance between Commonwealth support for institutional and non-institutional care. For every dollar the Commonwealth Government spends on services for elderly people at home, it spends approximately 10 dollars for elderly people in institutional care. Yet almost 15 times more elderly people live at home than live in institutions.

While the Commonwealth Government spends almost \$900 million on institutional care for elderly people (mostly on nursing homes) it spends only \$40 million on the 3 main home care services. For those requiring assistance

to remain in their own homes \$17.7 million was spent in 1982/83 under the States Grants Home Care Act for home help services; \$4.8 million under the Delivered Meals (Subsidy) Act for 764 services to provide 9.8 million meals and \$16.5 million to Home Nursing Services. These three services are chronically underresourced, and the quality of life of elderly people at home suffers accordingly.

These services alone are not the only means of overcoming barriers to independent living. Four main barriers can easily be identified, a) inadequate housing, b) low income, c) disability, d) lack of social supports (including living alone).

For some people, ageing may not present any specific problems. Wealth, income, good health, social power and family support will act as defences against the possibility of dependency. However, for a substantial number of people, low incomes, disability, frailty and lack of social support will mean an increased vulnerability to dependency in old age. The challenge, then will be the need to design social policies which will militate against dependency. This will involve the development of a broad range of health and social services. The challenge will escalate in the future as the proportion of elderly people in the community increases and as the composition of the elderly population changes. In particular the predicted increase in the old-old population (those aged 75 or over) suggests an increase in the number of elderly people who will be disabled, housebound and experiencing the problems of low income.

In order to provide effectively for the vulnerable elderly, the full spectrum of formal and informal services will be required: the formal system to provide income support, housing assistance and high quality professional services, such as home care services; the informal system of family, friends and neighbours to provide the personal care that can never be formalised, the emotional aspect of the caring relationship. This paper, however, is concerned with formal aspects of community care.

In the area of community care, State response to the need of elderly people has been slow to develop. Considerable public sector growth in the provision of community care services took place in the early 1970s but, as the current recession deepened, the legitimacy of that growth has been questioned as a backlash against welfare expenditure has evolved.

Since the latter half of the 1970s, debate about the degree of State intervention and the appropriate balance between public and private in service delivery has been taking place in an environment in which the public sector is seen as unproductive and 'big government' as the source of inflation. Stress has been placed on the need to cut back the power of the State, as a former Social Security Minister suggested, 'by restraining the claims we each of us and collectively make on it.'

In the face of reduced welfare resources, the twin priorities of economy and rationalisation and the virtues of using low cost solutions to social problems, have been emphasised. Cost-cutting arguments, as they relate to formal services and the relationship between statutory, voluntary and informal patterns of care, are about the related issues of family policy, State subsidisation, State provision, voluntarism, fee for service, and contracting out, that is, about privatisation of welfare.

HOME CARE NEEDS

'Home care services' describes a wide range of formal activities provided to maintain people in their own homes. These services are not necessarily provided in the home but have the common objective of maintaining people at home. Services provided under the rubric of home care reflect the different types of need found among the elderly population. These needs relate to practical assistance, social contact and surveillance, and personal development and health care (Table 1). The various services are provided by people across a wide skill spectrum, from expert professionals to 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled' carers.

TABLE 1 HOME CARE NEEDS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE

<u>Practical Assistance</u>	<u>Social Contact and Surveillance</u>	<u>Personal Development and Health Care</u>
*Cleaning	*Visiting for companionship	*Aids for daily living
*Laundry	*Bereavement counselling	*Home nursing
*Meal preparation	*Social work support	*Medical advice
*Shopping & errands	*Telephone contact	*Chiropody
*Home repairs and maintenance	*Transport	*Occupational therapy
*Gardening	*Day sitters/relief care	*Recreational and educational activities
*Personal care		*Day care centres
		*Nutrition

The reasons for providing these services are many and varied. They include attempts to improve the quality of life of elderly people, attempts to cut costs, attempts to compensate people for previous activities, attempts to redistribute social resources etc.

An ideal Home Help service can be described as one that is efficient, flexible, accountable, comprehensive, acceptable, accessible, co-ordinated and equitably allocated. Satisfying these criteria is not a simple task and taken separately, each of these ideal elements strains against one or more of the others. For example greater service co-ordination is likely to reduce fragmentation and discontinuity but will reduce accountability and accessibility. Greater equity in distribution of resources, through introduction of standardised eligibility criteria, may increase the acceptability of the service but may reduce flexibility in responding to idiosyncratic needs.

Services for elderly people, which range from those provided in an institutional setting to those provided in the home, are structured by several pieces of Commonwealth legislation.

Residential care is subsidised through the Aged or Disabled Persons Home Act; the Aged or Disabled Persons Hostels Act; the National Health Act (relevant in respect of Nursing Home Benefits) and the Housing Assistance Act. In-home services are funded under the States Grants (Home Care) Act; the Delivered Meals Subsidy Act; the Home Nursing Subsidy Act; the States Grants (Paramedical Services) Act and the Domiciliary Nursing Care Benefit.

Under the Acts administered by the Department of Social Security, \$81.58 million was spent in 1981/82 and of this \$16.92 million, or 20.7 per cent went to in-home services and the remainder to residential services. Social Security expenditure on services for aged people is small when compared with the related Department of Health expenditure. Of the \$609.1 million spent by the Health Department on aged care in 1981/82, \$571.4 million or 93.8 per cent went to institutional care, with only 6.2 per cent going to home care. The scales, it can be seen are tipped overwhelmingly towards expenditure on institutional care.

The States Grants (Home Care) Act 1969 was enacted to correct the previously one-sided approach to care, and specifically to provide domiciliary

services for those unable to afford private services. The philosophy underpinning the States Grants (Home Care) Act 1969 was to utilise the voluntary sector and organise voluntary action to operate home care services that aim to assist those wishing to remain in their homes or those who have no alternative, and who need supportive or preventive services; and to prevent the inappropriate institutionalisation of citizens. The Act provides three forms of assistance:

1. State expenditure on services such as housekeeping or other domestic assistance which is provided wholly or mainly for elderly people.
2. Subsidies to States and/or to local governments to establish senior citizens' centres.
3. A subsidy for the salary of welfare officers for the aged, who are employed by or in association with senior citizens' centres.

In an SWRC study conducted in 1981/2 an attempt was made to develop a national overview of home help services. A first step was to determine the distribution of services funded under the Act. Altogether 527 funded agencies were identified, two thirds of which were in Victoria or New South Wales. The distribution was as follows, Victoria 212, New South Wales 148, Queensland 51, Western Australia 48, Tasmania 40, South Australia 17, Northern Territory 10, Australian Capital Territory 1. In all states (except N.S.W.) the majority of agencies were in small towns. In NSW 47 per cent were in small towns. In Victoria all services were operated through local government, in Western Australia 33 operated through hospitals and the remaining 15 were non-government agencies, in South Australia all operated through integrated (Health Commission) domiciliary care services.

The Commonwealth Government reimburses one half of State Government expenditure on home care services which operate wholly or mainly for aged people. Discretion to include other client groups is largely the prerogative of the individual sponsoring organisations. Applications for funding are made by eligible organisations to the State Department administering the Act. Eligible organisations include State, local government, and community welfare bodies. In New South Wales, the Department of Youth and Community Services acts as the State administering body. In all other States this is the responsibility of the respective State Health Department or Commission.

The Act had a long gestation period. There had been activities in the States for up to 30 years before the Act, but the constitutional division was ever-present. In his Ministerial Statement announcing the Act, the then Minister said 'The Government recognises the respective constitutional responsibilities that exist between the Commonwealth and the States but has not permitted these differences to inhibit the development of a mutually agreed program. The Prime Minister's offer is based on proposals put forward by the States themselves...' (C.P.D., H. of R, 26/2/1969:160). The only State to take advantage of the provisions of the Act in 1969/70 was Queensland. It was not until 1972/73 that all six States became participants under the States Grants (Home Care) Act.

According to the official figures, somewhere in the order of 175,000 people received Commonwealth funded Home Help services in 1981/82. This amounted to some 6.1 million person-hours of services and cost the Commonwealth Government approximately \$12.7 million (which was matched by the States). Commonwealth expenditure on Home Help services, since the inception of the program in 1969, has totalled \$70.9 million.

These figures indicate both the small amount of service received by clients and the low average cost to governments of providing it. In 1981/82 provision of one hour of service to a client cost the Commonwealth and State Governments combined only \$4 per hour. This low cost may be attributed to substantial charges to clients, local government subsidies or access to funds from other sources.

The low coverage rate of the Home Help services may be indicated by a comparison of the number of recipients with the size of likely consumer groups. At the 1981 Census there were 1,455,234 people in Australia aged 65 or more, 36 per cent of whom were aged over 75. Among the group aged over 65, approximately 13 per cent or 189,180 people had an activity limitation in that they were either confined to bed, confined to their home, or required help in getting in and out of bed. Although some of these people may have been receiving assistance from families or been in institutional care, they form a group all of whose members may potentially require some form of home care, especially if policies of deinstitutionalisation are implemented and the pool of family carers is reduced. Their numbers are presently greater than the numbers of those receiving Home Help. This comparison ignores the many other client groups who may require Home Help such as elderly people

with social needs, non-elderly handicapped people and people who are mentally ill.

Of some considerable interest in any analysis of Home Help in Australia are the variations found among the Australian states. Examination of the accompanying tables illustrates how Commonwealth expenditure on Home Help services has varied over the last decade, as well as the different growth periods and patterns of each State. In particular it can be noted that total Commonwealth expenditure increased in real terms over five fold between 1972/73 and 1981/82 (Table 2); that the greatest increases in Commonwealth spending were between 1971/72 and 1972/73 (the first year when all six States participated in the scheme) and between 1973/74 and 1974/75 (when the level of Commonwealth subsidy was increased) (Table 2); that since 1978/79 real increases in Commonwealth funding have been relatively small and that each State has had different growth patterns (Table 3).

These tables also show the very different levels of Commonwealth funding in each State. Relativities between States can be best understood by comparing funding levels with size and composition of the population of the State. In Table 4 the proportion of Commonwealth funds received by each State is compared with the proportion of the population in that State.

The tables on the following pages highlight the great fluctuations in funding over time, and the astonishing variations among the States. Table 4, for example, shows how in 1972/73 Queensland received almost double the funding its population share would normally entitle it to while ten years later it received about one quarter less than its share. Victoria has always received more than its population share. Table 5 demonstrates the astonishing fluctuations on a per capita basis. Between 1976/77 and 1981/82 Queensland went from spending most to spending least. Whereas in 1976/77 Queensland was spending almost 20 times the Western Australian per capita amount and almost twice the Victorian amount, five years later Western Australia was spending more than Queensland, and Victoria was spending more than one and a half times Queensland's expenditure.

In several States Home Help services received funding from sources other than the Commonwealth and State Governments. Additional funds came most frequently either from local government or from fees paid by clients.

TABLE 2

STATES GRANTS (HOME CARE) ACT - REAL COMMONWEALTH EXPENDITURE ON HOME HELP SERVICES : 1981 DOLLARS

	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
New South Wales	446,449	553,684	712,646	1,287,712	1,261,906	2,514,491	2,734,700	2,460,343	3,336,820	3,929,608	4,321,005
Victoria	379,780	1,019,046	891,726	930,502	3,773,232	3,238,799	3,564,382	4,526,416	5,093,200	4,713,739	4,098,033
Queensland	438,871	647,281	753,123	2,623,272	3,015,664	4,404,352	3,881,609	2,358,481	2,160,729	2,038,795	1,498,106
South Australia	26,255	106,732	406,838	1,187,472	1,418,650	2,264,590	1,995,811	1,200,814	1,137,881	1,094,989	1,156,702
Western Australia	27,721	32,639	54,262	244,494	152,902	92,019	72,212	57,299	62,968	62,312	897,776
Tasmania	41,266	32,208	118,972	260,989	596,161	569,747	669,777	662,543	704,258	685,779	701,378
Six States	1,360,342	2,391,590	2,937,567	6,534,442	10,218,514	11,060,134	12,925,492	11,265,896	12,488,593	12,525,223	12,673,000
Percentage change in expenditure on previous year		7%	23%	122%	56%	8%	17%	-13%	11%	1%	1%

Source: Calculated from Department of Social Security Annual Reports.

TABLE 3

REAL COMMONWEALTH EXPENDITURE ON HOME HELP

1971/72 to 1981/82

(N.S.W. 1971/2 = 1)

	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76	76/77	77/78	78/79	79/80	80/81	81/82
NSW	1.0	1.24	1.60	2.88	2.83	5.63	6.13	5.51	7.47	8.80	9.68
VIC	0.85	2.28	2.00	2.08	8.45	7.25	7.98	10.14	11.41	10.56	9.18
QLD	0.98	1.45	1.69	5.87	6.75	9.87	8.69	5.28	4.84	4.57	3.36
SA	0.06	0.23	0.91	2.66	3.18	5.07	4.47	2.67	2.55	2.45	2.59
WA	0.06	0.07	0.12	0.55	0.34	0.21	0.18	0.13	0.14	0.14	2.01
TAS	0.09	0.07	0.27	0.58	1.33	1.28	1.50	1.48	1.58	1.54	1.57

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF COMMONWEALTH FUNDS RECEIVED
BY EACH STATE COMPARED WITH PROPORTION OF
POPULATION IN THAT STATE (%)

	1972/73		1976/77		1981/82	
	Prop. of funds	Prop. of pop	Prop. of funds	Prop. of pop	Prop. of funds	Prop. of pop
New South Wales	23	37	23	36	34	36
Victoria	43	28	29	28	32	27
Queensland	27	15	29	15	12	16
South Australia	4	9	13	9	9	9
Western Australia	1	8	1	8	7	9
Tasmania	1	3	5	3	6	3

Sources: (1) ABS Demographic Statistics.
(2) Department of Social Security Annual Report.

Similarly in Table 5 Commonwealth funding in each State is expressed as the dollar amount spent per 1000 of the population.

TABLE 5

COMMONWEALTH FUNDING OF HOME HELP SERVICES
UNDER THE STATES GRANTS (HOME CARE) ACT 1969

	Expenditure per 1000 population (\$)		
	1972/73	1976/77	1981/82
New South Wales	45	315	825
Victoria	38	530	1038
Queensland	82	951	639
South Australia	8	710	877
Western Australia	9	49	691
Tasmania	38	862	1643

Sources: (1) ABS demographic Statistics.
(2) Department of Social Security Annual Reports.

Local government funding of Home Help services occurred most often in Victoria where municipal councils were expected to meet at least 20 per cent of costs. In other States local funding occurred on a less formalised and regular basis. Revenue was also raised by the charging of fees or receipt of donations. In New South Wales and the Northern Territory the Commonwealth and State each provided 37.5 per cent of revenue, with the remaining 25 per cent in lieu of fees. Although fees were charged in all States except Tasmania and Western Australia, only in New South Wales and the Northern Territory were they listed as a significant part of the budget.

The charging of fees is an important component of the fund raising and rationing mechanism. Although responses from the States stress that fees are not used as a rationing mechanism, and anyone unable to pay is not denied service, there is a stigma attached to receiving the service without paying, and a reluctance on the part of clients not to contribute. Charging practices vary widely around the States as does the discretion to charge or not charge, and the discretion in setting the level of fees to be paid by individual clients. In New South Wales in 1981 for example very few clients paid the then maximum of \$6 per hour; around 70 per cent paid the minimum levied of \$1.50 per hour and 10 per cent paid no fee. In Victoria charging is done on a means tested basis, and this pattern is followed in other States, though as mentioned there is a great deal of discretion. In all States, however, the cost per hour to provide the service (between \$6 and \$8) far exceeded the maximum fee set (a fee paid by very few clients).

There are urgent measures required to develop a funding basis that is both satisfactory and equitable. People who can afford to buy home care services in the private market usually do, though the vast bulk of Australia's pensioners simply cannot afford to pay the market price. Even as home help is presently provided, the cost per hour is well below the market price, and this is due to the structure of the home help service system and the low pay of the providers.

SERVICES PROVIDED

As Table 6 reveals the provision of traditional services, basic cleaning, washing and ironing, shopping and meal preparation were widespread among agencies in all States. Less common were the innovatory services of transport, handywork, gardening, carer's relief, personal care and heavy duty cleaning,

TABLE 6

SERVICES PROVIDED

Service	Proportion of agencies			
	All	Majority ($\geq 50\%$)	Minority ($< 50\%$)	None/Rare
Basic Cleaning	NSW SA VIC WA (N+H) QLD TAS		NT	
Washing & Ironing	NSW SA VIC WA (N+H) QLD		TAS NT	
Shopping	NSW VIC WA (N+H)	SA	TAS NT	QLD
Meal Preparation	NSW QLD WA (N+H)	VIC NT	SA TAS	
Transport	WA (N+H)		NT	NSW SA VIC TAS QLD
Handywork	WA (N)		NSW VIC	QLD TAS SA NT WA (H)
Gardening	WA (N)		NSW VIC	QLD TAS SA NT WA (H)
Carer's Relief	WA (N)		NSW SA	VIC TAS QLD NT WA (H)
Personal Care	WA (N)	SA	NSW VIC NT	QLD WA (H) TAS
Heavy Duty Cleaning	NSW WA (N+H)		SA	VIC NT QLD TAS

WA(N) - non-government

WA(H) = hospital organised

although Queensland was the only State in which none of these were provided.

Services were generally provided on a 9 to 5 basis but most States said that in some cases services could be provided after hours. Only in Tasmania was there no after hours service.

Several States mentioned that there were services which home helps were told not to provide. Both New South Wales and Tasmania proscribed heavy work which was dangerous. Nursing services in New South Wales and Victoria were clearly seen as the responsibility of other organisations. In Western Australia hospital based agencies, handywork and meal preparation were regarded as the province of local service clubs and Meals-on-Wheels respectively. The South Australian sample's list varied across agencies. In most agencies home helps were instructed not to do any heavy cleaning, clean outside windows, or perform any tasks clients might be able to undertake themselves. Others would not allow home helps to provide transport or do shopping.

The South Australian sample was also asked about services seen as lacking. Friendly visiting was mentioned by four agencies; household repairs and maintenance, gardening, transport, night attendants by two agencies each; and chiropody, mobile library, letter writing, paradedical services and support for young mentally handicapped persons and their families by one agency each.

In conclusion it can be argued that home help services face a complex set of policy problems, which on the whole are more structural than delivery related. The main problems are issues in federal/state relations. When the legislation was introduced in 1969 the Minister said it was a response to the States, and ever since, the Commonwealth role has been reactive. It has matched State contributions, but never involved itself in policy planning on a national basis, or engaged in any forward looking policy and program activities (though recent Commonwealth statements indicate that the process may be reviewed). Real Commonwealth expenditure has increased five fold in the past decade (though it has slowed down dramatically in recent years), but very large State variations reveal the program, not as a national program in which all elderly Australians can have a reasonable expectation of having equal access to the services, but as an itsy bitsy program, the distribution of which seems quite fortuitous.

The data presented come from an administrative analysis and not from any evaluation of specific services or service outcomes. (This will come at a later date). In the work done so far the key issue seems to be one of fiscal federalism, but three other main sets of issues can be identified - policy issues, management issues, issues of auspices. The policy issues to examine include issues of equity and effectiveness, eligibility, entitlement, funding and payment issues. The management issues include service allocation, service distribution, personnel management, working conditions, operational tasks. The auspices issues include the rationalisation of public and private, formal and informal, federal, state and local, issues relating to pressures on families and issues relating to government support and control.



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SECTION 27 : SOCIOLOGY

THE LABOUR MARKET, THE PUBLIC SECTOR,
AND THE CLASS STRUCTURE

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to address some methodological questions relevant to the sociological study of labour markets, and in particular of the changing labour market in Australia and its effect on the social structure of the Australian society.

One of the significant changes in the labour markets of industrial societies has been the growth of "white collar" jobs, especially of professional and semi-professional occupations. This change has been presented in some sociological studies as leading to the rise of a "new" middle class, and in others as the growth of the working class. Thus the significance of the changes in the labour market is perceived less according to the empirical evidence than according to a given theory or conceptual framework.

The paper aims to examine the approaches used in the studies of the labour market, presents data on the changes in the Australian labour market and then considers the role of the public sector in the labour market as an important variable in the emerging class structure.

Introduction

The issue that I am concerned with in this paper is the effect of the changes in the labour market on social structure. Within the limited scope of the paper, and also because my work in this area is still at an exploratory stage, the method of study as well as any conclusions that can be drawn from the study are rather tentative.

The questions I seek to explore are some of the following:

- (1) Are there any discernible trends in the observed changes in the labour market, and, if there are, do any such trends indicate a definite direction and long-term trends or only a temporary "aberration".
- (2) What may be the significance of any such changes for the society; i.e., what are the apparent effects on certain groups in the society; what kind of a society, in fact, are we likely to have if the identifiable changes in the labour market continue in certain directions.
- (3) A methodological and theoretical question that I seek to explore is: how are the phenomena in the labour market perceived and interpreted by social analysts.

In essence, I am concerned with the basic question of the relationship between economic production and social life, in the context of current changes in the labour market.

The paper has four parts. First, I give a brief overview of the literature on the subject of class structure, and especially on the debate about the "new" middle class emerging from the changes in the labour market in Western societies. Second, I present some data on the structural changes in the Australian labour market from the later 1960s to the present day. Then, I focus on one part of the labour market, classified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as "community services", which includes the fields of health, education and welfare, and on the position the people employed in that field hold in relation to class structure. Finally, I attempt to draw some conclusions on the possible social effects the changes in the labour market might have, and consider some methodological issues.

In sociological literature the interpretations of the changes in the labour markets of Western societies have varied widely. In some, the changes have been interpreted as evidence of the emergence of a "post-industrial" society, in which the past (and existing) class structure will eventually disappear and be replaced by a "technocratic" society based on information and knowledge industry. In others, the changes have been interpreted as signs of a trend towards a new class structure in which the dominant role is played by a "new" middle class of white-collar occupations, referred to in some writings as the "salaried middle class" of public functionaries. Thus, it seems, while there is an agreement on evidence of change in the structure of the labour markets, the significance of the changes is perceived and interpreted according to a given theory on which the analysis is based.

I will not discuss here the arguments advanced in favour of a technocratic classless society, because it seems to me that class analysis is more appropriate to the study of the issues I want to explore. My own work in the field of the labour market seems to indicate that, far from a direction towards a classless society, the structure in the labour market may change but at the same time reinforce the class structure. Because central to this issue appears to be the middle class, I will focus mainly on that area.

Class Theory and the New Middle Class

The term "new middle class", or "new class", has been used in social science literature for a long time. Milovan Djilas used it in 1957 (the English translation) and John Kenneth Galbraith used it in The Affluent Society (1962). Much earlier, Joseph Schumpeter (1942) used the term with reference to intellectuals. In Schumpeter's view,

Intellectuals are not a social class in the sense in which peasants and industrial labourers constitute social classes; they hail from all corners of the social world, and a great part of their activities consists of fighting each other and in forming the spearheads of class interests not their own. Yet they develop group attitudes and group interests sufficiently strong to make large numbers of them behave in the way that is usually associated with the concept of social classes (1942: 146).

Schumpeter further observed that while not all educated or all professional people were intellectuals, there was a "close connection between the intellectuals and the professions".

The usage of the term and the classificatory and definitional boundaries of the new class differ widely. Some writers refer simply to the new class, others to the "new" class, to the New Class, or to the "New Class". Some (eg. Gould, 1981) are more specific, referring to the Salaried Middle Class, or the SMC. Some writers include in this group all white collar workers, others only the salaried personnel, both in the private and the public sectors. Some (eg. Gouldner, 1979) divide the group into technocrats and humanists and those in the European tradition (eg. Konrad and Szelenyi, 1979) refer to the intellectuals and the intelligentsia. In the United States, the "new class" is broadly identified with the public sector, the welfare industry, the universities. The members of the "new class" are seen to hold liberal-left views on public issues and are looked upon rather critically and often suspiciously by the conservatives and traditional American "business-oriented people". Bruce-Briggs (1979: 9-17) points out that the term is a recent innovation but the idea of the new class has an ancient lineage; it can be traced to Henri de Saint-Simon and hints of the idea can be found in Marx and Engels. The views on the new class have always differed. "Very crudely {Bruce-Briggs says}, the idea can be tracked on three lines —those who saw its potential as beneficial, those who feared its emergence, and those who considered it inevitable" (1979: 10).

Thus, overall, there appears to be an agreement that an important social group, or stratum, has emerged in modern industrial societies, but there are divergent views on the nature of that group and on its significance. While some analysts see it clearly as a social class, others see in the group only a potential of a class emergence. The notion seems to fit in relatively easily into the Weberian interpretation of social class, but it presents some problems for Marxist analysts because of the difficulty of fitting it into the dichotomous structure of capital and labour. Some writers appear to avoid the issue by acknowledging the existence of a new class but simply stating that its position in the class structure is "contradictory" (e.g. Gough, 1979).

Braverman (1974) refers to the "middle layer" in the class structure but does not investigate it with anything like the thoroughness of his analysis of the working class. He places this stratum, or "middle layer" in an intermediate position by saying,

This "new middle class" ... occupies its intermediate position not because it is outside the process of increasing capital {like the "old" middle class or petty bourgeoisie} but because, as part of this process, it takes its characteristics from both sides {i.e. capital and labour} (1974: 407).

It is interesting to note that in a book of 465 pages, Braverman devotes fewer than seven pages to the analysis of this "middle layer" in the class structure. By comparison, Carchedi (1975) gives an extensive analysis of the new middle class. He argues that, as a group, it is not a "pure" class because it contains the elements of both capital and labour (thus agreeing with Braverman) and explains that this is so because the new middle class (a) does not own either legally or economically the means of production; (b) it performs both the global function of capital and the function of collective worker; (c) it is therefore both the labourer (productive or non-productive) and the non-labourer; and (d) it is thus both an exploiter (or oppressor) and exploited (or oppressed).

Birnbaum sees the difficulties faced by Marxist sociologists in locating the new middle class in the class structure as a "crisis in Marxist sociology" because, on the one hand, the prediction of a "pauperization" of the working class has not eventuated while, on the other hand,

... the class structure itself has been transformed: a new intermediate stratum of administrative, technical and service personnel, often possessing a considerable degree of education, has emerged. Objectively dependent upon those who command great concentration of property, including State property, this stratum nonetheless has in general refused to align itself with the working class (1970: 13).

Birnbaum defines this new stratum as,

... the new middle class, or technical intelligentsia ... a new labour force, characterized by educational qualifications, organization in bureaucratic hierarchies, and a somewhat labile political disposition (1970: 20).

The transformation of the class structure in Western societies, Birnbaum argues, presents a challenge and new possibilities for Marxist analysis. It is not only the emergence of the new middle class because,

... the analysis of the manual working class itself presents its own problems. At its upper limits, this class begins to merge with the technical intelligentsia; at its lower limits, it joins the underclass ... without skill qualifications or chances of stable employment (1970: 21).

Touraine (1971) also sees the new middle class as central to the analysis of modern industrial societies. He argues that the working class is no longer at the centre of social conflict. Education is more important than ever as a mark of distinction within the social hierarchy and "the new dominant class is defined by knowledge and a certain level of education" (1971: 51). Furthermore, the new "dominant classes dispose of knowledge and control information" (1971: 61).

An interesting aspect of Touraine's analysis is that he envisages a possibility of consumption, both private and public, replacing the distinctions of production in the class structure.

The writers who may be called 'neo-Weberian', such as Gouldner and Parkin, offer different views on contemporary and emerging class structure. Parkin (1979) argues that the difficulty of the Marxist theory of class lies in the location of the intermediate classes. As the old petty bourgeoisie was being replaced by the 'new middle class', the problem posed by this 'new intermediate stratum arose from the fact that, unlike its predecessor, it was in no sense external to the capitalist productive system but an essential feature of it' (1979: 16). Thus Parkin agrees with Braverman on this point, but he also argues that Marxist analysis of class structure is not adequate because it does not take into account other forces of social cleavage, such as ethnicity and religion.

Gouldner (1979) writes about the New Class (upper case) as 'a universal class in embryo, but badly flawed' (1979: 85), due to internal differentiation and false consciousness. He differentiates between the intellectuals and the technical intelligentsia.

It is a class internally divided with tensions between (technical) intelligentsia and (humanistic) intellectual... morally ambivalent, embodying the collective interest but partially and transiently, while simultaneously cultivating its own guild advantage (1979: 6).

Gouldner sees a conflict of interest between the New Class and the old middle class (the bourgeoisie). In the welfare state, the new class and the old class mutually limit each other but both share in the control of the working class, although the New Class may at times ally itself with the working class to improve its own position against the old class (1979: 7). In Gouldner's view, Marxist analysts conceal the New Class thus concealing its power over the working class. It is a case of false consciousness, for while arguing that the working class is to be set free, it is the cultural bourgeoisie that enhances its own position by representing the interests of the whole society.

Giddens considers the issue of the new middle class in both the Marxian and the Weberian perspectives. He points out that Marx was aware of the growth of the white collar sector but was not able to satisfactorily fit that sector into his theory of a dichotomous and mutually antagonistic class structure. Marx noted "the constantly growing number of the middle classes, those who stand between the workman on the one hand and the capitalist and landlord on the other". These middle classes, Marx saw as "a burden weighing heavily on the working base and increasing the social security and power of the upper ten thousand" (1973: 177).

Giddens acknowledges the growing significance of the new middle class and, while pointing out that that stratum cannot be viewed as an undifferentiated category, it is nevertheless distinct from the manual labour. The manual/non-manual distinction is important because of such factors in each group as conditions of work, expectations, career structure, work culture, and work environment. Furthermore, there is in the organisation of the productive process a physical separation of manual and non-manual production (a factor noted by other writers, e.g. Braverman). This is an important distinction, because

Insofar as administrative workers participate in the framing, or merely in the enforcement, of authoritative commands they tend to be separated from manual workers who are subject to those commands (1973: 108).

In his elaborate analysis, Giddens appears to lean towards Weberian rather than Marxian interpretation of class structure. He argues that a theory of a dichotomous class structure in which other groupings, or classes, are seen as "transitional" is not adequate for explaining the processes in industrial societies. He says,

There are three sorts of market capacity which can be said to be normally of importance in this respect: ownership of property in the means of production; possession of educational or technical qualifications; and possession of manual labour power. In so far as it is the case that these tend to be tied to close patterns of inter- and intragenerational mobility, this yields the foundation of a basic three-class system in a capitalist society: an 'upper', 'middle', and 'lower' or 'working' class (1973: 107).

An interesting observation that Giddens makes (among many others) is the distinction between class awareness and class consciousness. It is a fundamental distinction in Giddens's view, "because class awareness may take the form of a denial of the existence or reality of classes". Of the other factors in the class structure, Giddens emphasises the importance of education, the division of labour in the productive enterprise, the authority relationship within the enterprise, and the influence of "distributive groupings" which affect the pattern of consumption. With regard to the theory of the new middle class, Giddens appears to be rather cautious: he thinks that the theory is based more on the projection into the future rather than an analysis of the present actuality. However, he sees the possibility of an emergence of a manual underclass. This, together with the ramifications of long-term state planning, may influence the nature of class structure and class conflicts.

It needs to be noted here that the notion of the fragmentation of the manual working class appears to be an important element in class analysis, which also serves to clarify the position of the new middle class. The two aspects of class analysis are related, as pointed out by Birnbaum and, in Australia, by Collins (1978).

The issue of the "new middle class" appears to have received relatively little specific attention in Australian sociology, although the growth of the middle class is generally acknowledged. Of recent contributions, Encel's analysis (1978, 1979) is particularly important because Encel relates the changing class structure to political issues. Encel argues that the nature of the class structure and, consequently, the nature of class relationships and class conflict have changed but class relationships remain central to the understanding of the society. He points out that the "expansion of the middle classes has been a major feature of the affluent society" (1978: 153) and this expansion was clearly linked with the growth of higher education. As the middle classes become more important because of their number and hence their voting power, this has had an important political effect, as "changes in the class equilibrium are also reflected in the universal salience of political issues which are predominantly middle-class oriented" (1978: 159).

The issue of the 'new middle class' appears to be one of the problematic areas of contemporary sociology, be a class analysis carried out in a Marxian or a Weberian perspective. Yet, the new middle class, whether regarded as 'a class' or as an 'emerging class' is important to the understanding of the changes in the labour market and of the already apparent effect of these changes on the society and on the likely future effects. In a recent contribution, Abercrombie and Urry (1983) argue that 'a separation of Marxist and Weberian theory is not now theoretically profitable and that an adequate theory may well seem eclectic, incorporating and rejecting elements of both approaches' (1983: 152).

From the reading of various interpretations of the 'new class' phenomenon, however, certain common elements can be identified, e.g.

- (1) There is a general acknowledgement of a growing middle stratum in society which may be seen as a new class or as an emerging class.
- (2) The outstanding characteristic of the new middle class is its educational base, which enhances its market capacity and may be regarded as a form of capital.
- (3) The 'contradictory' position of the new middle class in the class structure in Marxist analysis may be a case of 'false consciousness' of the analysts.
- (4) Important to the analysis of the class structure and of the place of the new middle class in that structure may be the consumption patterns as well as the relations of production.
- (5) The position of the new middle class needs to be seen in the context of changing class structure, and part of that change is the fragmentation of the working class, giving rise to a 'new underclass' in the labour market.

Changes in the Labour Market, 1966-1983

Changes in the structure of the Australian labour market that have occurred since 1966 are undoubtedly a part of a longer-term trend. However, that year is a convenient and useful benchmark for analysis for at least three reasons. First, 1966 is used as a benchmark for labour market statistics collected regularly by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), thus allowing for statistical consistency and reliable comparisons of data. Second, the rate of change in certain trends in the labour market noted earlier have accelerated in recent years. Third, the entry of women into the labour market on a large scale began in the late 1960s.

There are obviously many dimensions, or variables, that may be used to ascertain the nature and extent of change in the labour market over that period. The seven variables used here are:

- (1) Sectors of industry
- (2) Occupations
- (3) Age distribution
- (4) Sex/Gender composition
- (5) Work pattern
- (6) Education/occupational qualifications
- (7) Immigrant labour

These variables are used by the ABS in the nation-wide surveys of the labour force, and varied degrees of change in each variable have been noted since 1966. The compound effect of the changes in all seven variables can be only inferred, but some interesting results have been obtained by relating two or more variables in certain configurations (Jamrozik and Hoey, 1981; 1982) (see Figures 1 to 6).

(1) Sectors of Industry

Between 1966 to 1983, the employed labour force increased from 4824 thousand to 6233 thousand; a rise of 1409 thousand, or 29.2 per cent. The growth was not the same in all sectors of industry. Employment in some sectors decreased in relative terms and in others (agriculture, manufacturing, construction) in absolute terms. The two fastest growing sectors were finance, property and business services; and community services (health, education, welfare). Together, these two sectors

accounted for 61.5 per cent in the growth of the employed labour over that period. In 1966, the two sectors employed 16.2 per cent of all employed persons; in 1983, the proportion was 26.4 per cent. Of the two sectors, community services had the higher growth of 121.0 per cent (and, by far, the highest growth of all sectors) as against 94.9 per cent in finance, property and business services (Tables 1 and 3(a)).

(2) Occupations

The change in the sectors of industry was accompanied by a change in the occupational composition of the labour force. In relative terms, there was a decrease in manual occupations and an increase in non-manual occupations. In absolute terms, there was a decrease in occupations engaged in primary production (farmers, fishermen, timbergetters, etc.). At the other end of the scale, the highest growth was in the group of occupations classified by the ABS as "professional, technical, etc.". Employment in these occupations grew from 473 thousand in 1966 to 975 thousand in 1983, a rise of 502 thousand, or 106.1 per cent. In 1966, these occupations accounted for 9.8 per cent of all employed persons and in 1983 the proportion was 15.6 per cent. The other occupational groups that registered high growth were clerical (53.2%) and the composite group of "service, sport, recreation" (52.5%). (Tables 2 and 3(b)).

(3) Age Distribution

The age distribution of the employed persons "condensed" towards the middle, viz. to the age group of 20 to 44 years, with the highest concentration in the age group 25 to 34 years (Table 4). Compared with the 29.2 per cent in the growth of all employed persons, the growth in the age group 20 to 44 years was 51.8 per cent, and in the age group 25 to 34 years it was 72.8 per cent. Thus the growth in the numbers of employed persons 20 to 44 years (1377 thousand) accounted for 97.8 per cent of the total growth in the numbers of employed persons (1409 thousand), and one-half (49.5%) of the total growth was in the age group 25 to 34 years.

Correspondingly, at each end of the age scale there was a decrease in the numbers of employed persons in relative terms and a decrease in absolute numbers in the age group 15 to 19 years and 60 years and over.

These changes were due to the changes in the age structure of the population (Table 5) and to the changes in the participation rates (Table 6). Between 1966 and 1983, the participation rates for men decreased by 8.1 percentage points and those for women increased by 7.7 percentage points. However, the changes were not the same for each age group. For men there was a big decrease in the participation rates beginning at the age of 55 years, and for women the largest increase in participation rates were in the age group 20 to 54 years, and especially in the age group 25 to 34 years.

(4) Sex/Gender Composition

In 1966, men accounted for 69.8 per cent of the employed labour force and women for 30.2 per cent; by 1983, this ratio had changed to 62.7 per cent and 37.3 per cent, respectively, or from a ratio of 2.31 to 1, to 1.68 to 1. Of the 1409 thousand more persons in employment in 1983 than in 1966, women accounted for 864 thousand, or 61.3 per cent. The number of women in employment over that period increased by 59.3 per cent, the rate of growth 2.03 times higher than that of all employed persons (29.2%) and 3.66 times higher than the rate of growth of men (16.2%). Most of the additional female labour (89.9%) went into three sectors of industry: community services; finance property and business services; and wholesale and retail trade, and nearly one-half (44.6%) went into community services. Most of the additional male labour force (88.4%) went into community services; finance, property and business services; public administration; communications; and power, gas and water supply. Again, community services absorbed the largest share of 37.1 per cent.

In the occupational structure, over one-third of additional employment (35.6%) was in professional, technical, etc., group. The movement into those occupations occurred in both sexes and accounted for 45.8 per cent of additional jobs for men and 29.2 per cent of additional jobs for women. The highest number of additional jobs for women was in clerical occupations; 363 thousand, or 42.0 per cent of the increase. The other occupational group which absorbed proportionately high numbers of both sexes was service, sport and recreation.

(5) Work Pattern

In recent years, new work patterns have emerged, such as greater flexibility in working hours (e.g. "flexi-time"), part-time employment, temporary and casual employment. The only variable noted here is full-time and part-time employment. In 1966, 90.2 per cent of employed persons worked full-time and 9.8 per cent worked part-time (defined by the ABS as less than 35 hours per week). Part-time employment among men was 3.7 per cent and among women it was 24.0 per cent. In 1983, part-time employment was 17.4 per cent: 6.2 per cent among men, and 36.4 per cent among women. The highest levels of part-time employment were in recreation and personal services, and retail trade, and in corresponding occupations, such as sales; and service, sport and recreation. However, part-time employment varied also with the age of persons employed (see Jamrozik and Hoey, 1982). Overall, as a general trend, part-time employment has increased more in labour-intensive industries, especially in those employing "unskilled" labour, and less in capital-intensive industries.

(6) Educational/Occupational Qualifications

The most dramatic change has taken place in the educational qualifications of the labour force. In recent years, the labour market has been shedding people without post-school qualifications at an increasing rate, and employing more people with post-school qualifications. From February 1979 (i.e. from the time the data on the educational qualifications

of the labour force have been collected annually by the ABS) to February 1983, a period of four years during which the number of employed persons rose by 220 thousand (3.6%), the number of those with post-school qualifications rose by 411 thousand (18.3%) and the number of those without post-school qualifications fell by 188 thousand (5.0%).

Close to one-third of the increase of persons with post-school qualifications (31.3%) were people with a degree or equivalent qualifications. The increase for men was 23.2 per cent and for women it was 54.1 per cent. The others had trade, technical or other post-school qualifications (Table 7). The 188 thousand decrease of persons without post-school qualifications was a composite effect of an increase of 85 thousand persons who had reached the highest level of secondary education (Year 12) and a decrease of 271 thousand of person who had dropped out school at lower levels.

It needs to be noted that these changes had occurred in a period of rising unemployment. In the four years, unemployment rates rose from 7.1 per cent to 10.7 per cent of the labour force. In 1983, unemployment rate for people who did not reach the highest level of secondary school was 12.8 per cent; for those with a degree or equivalent it was 5.0 per cent.

(7) Immigrant Labour

According to the ABS data, in August 1983, over a quarter of employed persons (26.2%) were born outside Australia. The highest proportion of overseas-born persons was in manufacturing (37.9%) and in construction (31.0%). The lowest was in agriculture and related industries (11.9%). In occupations, the highest was in trade and labouring jobs (33.4%) and in mining (32.7%) and the lowest in farming (13.5%). These data, however, do not reveal the differences in particular occupations, or in positions in the organisational structure.

Effect on Social Structure

It would not be presumptuous to say that the comparison of the labour market even at this rather crude level of analysis suggests certain effect on social structure. The growth on non-manual occupations is certainly clearly evident. For example, taking only the first three occupational categories on the ABS classification (professional, technical, etc; administrative, executive and managerial; and clerical), in 1966 these occupations accounted for 31.7 per cent of employed persons and in 1983 they accounted for 40.3 per cent. The growth of these three groups was 64.0 per cent, or 2.18 times greater than the growth in all employed persons (29.2%). In the same period, employment in the remaining occupations grew by only 13.0 per cent. Thus employment in the three non-manual occupations increased at a rate nearly five times greater (4.92 times) than in the remaining occupations.

Changes in the levels of educational qualifications of employed persons noted for the four years 1979 to 1983 were quite dramatic, illustrating the importance of education in a person's market capacity.

It may be inferred that changes in the occupational structure and educational levels of the labour force mean changes in the distribution of income and in people's life styles. However, changes in the structure of industry may be regarded as more important for societal outcomes. As shown in the ABS data, the two fastest growing sectors of industry have been those which manage and control the economic and social spheres. One, finance, property and business services, is almost entirely in the private sector of the economy, although it is to a certain extent regulated by the government and is loosely integrated with the public sector. The other, community services, is mainly in the public sector but has a large component of private enterprise, such as doctors, lawyers, private hospitals, nursing homes, private schools, and a substantial component of non-governmental welfare organisations. Public administration and defence (non-military personnel) may be included as a third arm in societal management.

Employment position of these three sectors in 1983 is shown in Table 8. As can be ascertained from the data, the three sectors accounted for 30.0 per cent of all employed persons in February of that year and for 31.5 per cent in August, indicating that the trend of the past 17 years (1966-1983) still continued. The three sectors accounted for over one-half (51.7%) of all persons employed in clerical occupations and for over three-quarters (78.9%) of all persons employed in professional and technical occupations. They also accounted for over two-thirds (69.2%) of all employed persons with a degree or equivalent qualifications.

Whether these data can be interpreted as an indication of a rising "new middle class" may be open to debate, although the data suggest that this may be the case. However, quantitative data alone may indicate a changing stratification order but do not necessarily indicate a changing class structure. For the purpose of class analysis it is necessary to consider the position of the growing "management" occupations, as a group, in relation to other occupational groupings, and the relationships between them need to show some elements of opposition, or conflict of interest (Connell, 1977).

Within the limited scope of this paper the issue of a "new class" is explored, as an example using only the largest and the fastest growing of the three "management" sectors of industry, community services.

Characteristic Features of Community Services

Apart from being the fastest growing sector of industry in terms of the number of people employed, community services also stands out as the most diverse sector in terms of occupations, the most professionalised and educationally qualified, employing the highest proportion of women, and with average (mean) earnings per person above the mean earnings for all industries.

(1) Growth and Diversity

As shown in Table 1, between 1966 and 1983, employment in community services rose by 121.0 per cent, or 91.8 percentage points above the growth of employment in all industries (29.2%), a rate of growth 4.14 times faster than the total growth of employment. In terms of occupations, the sector is extremely diverse: occupations engaged in it include high level professions such as doctors, lawyers, university professors, lower-grade professions and "semi-professions" such as teachers, nurses, social workers, child care workers, a variety of community welfare workers, as well as caterers, cleaners and labourers. Many of the professional occupations came into being only in recent years through diversification and specialisation, e.g. physio-therapists, occupational therapists, diversionary therapists. Each new specialisation called for new courses of study; thus there was a causal link between the growth of services in the community and the growth of specialised courses of study in post-secondary and tertiary institutions.

(2) Education and Professionalisation

In 1983 nearly two-thirds (65.9%) of persons employed in community services had post-secondary qualifications, as against 42.4 per cent in all industries, and a quarter (24.7%) had a degree or equivalent, as against 8.9 per cent in all industries. As a result, community services employed 16.4 per cent of all employed persons but close to one-half (45.4%) of all persons with a degree or equivalent (36.9% of all men, and 64.2% of all women) (Table 9).

It was also the most professionalised sector, with 57.0 per cent of employed persons falling into the ABS category of professional, technical, etc. occupations, as against 15.6 per cent for all industries, a ratio of 3.65 to 1. The proportion of professional and technical occupations was almost equally the same for men as for women. Furthermore, the higher-than-average proportion of occupations classified as service, sport and recreation (21.6% as against 9.7% for all industries) probably

included some non-manual as well as manual occupations (Table 10).

(3) Sex/Gender Ratio

Community services is a sector employing a high proportion of women. In all industries, of all persons employed in August 1983, 62.7 per cent were men and 37.3 per cent were women. In community services the proportions were exactly reversed (Table 9). Of all women employed at the time, 29.0 per cent were employed in community services. The ABS data also show that 63.0 per cent of women employed in community services were married, a shade above the average for all industries of 61.8 per cent. The data also show that in the professional, technical, etc. occupations in all industries 58.6 per cent of employed women were married, and it may be assumed that a similar proportion of married women were employed in that category in community services.

(4) Earnings

On average, earnings of persons employed in community services are higher than for all industries, for both men and women (Table 11). However, the means obviously conceal the range of incomes, related to the range of occupations employed in that sector. The ABS data for August 1981 show that both the mean and the median earnings in community services were above the average for all industries and the differences were higher for women than for men. For men, the mean earnings were 17.5 per cent higher and the median earnings 22.2 per cent higher than in all industries. For women, the respective differences were 38.9 per cent and 33.1 per cent. The differences between the earnings of men and women were lower than in all industries, and corresponded with the lower average weekly hours worked by men and women. Thus, in relation to average weekly hours worked, the average earnings were the same for men as for women.

Some Observations on People Employed in Community Services

The observations below are only generalisations that seem to apply to the professional stratum in community services, but may apply, to a varied extent, to the professional stratum in other sectors of industry, especially to that in public administration and in the private sector of finance, property and business services.

- (1) The defining common characteristics of professional occupations are education and professional qualifications based on education. This means that the position of the professionals is "externally certified" and socially sanctioned.
- (2) The professionals in community services are employed in the public sector, although many of them are private entrepreneurs and/or self employed. However, for their income all rely on the public sector, directly and indirectly. Some have also found the public sector as a source for investment of capital (e.g. private hospitals, clinics).
- (3) In Marxian terms, they do not usually own the means of production, which are supplied by the state; e.g. schools, hospitals, courts of law, tertiary institutions. However, they administer the means of production and control the operation as well as the output.
- (4) Their power derives from many sources: (a) the power of knowledge, which is specialised and protected; (b) the power to define the manner and extent of their activities, e.g. the power to define the human "needs"; (c) the power of bargaining with the government. None of these is absolute power, and there have been numerous examples of governments' efforts to restrict the power of professionals, eg. the charges of "overservicing" against medical practitioners.

- (5) The members of this group often tend to be liberal and "left" in their political opinions. While, in normative terms, this may be interpreted as genuine concern for the community welfare, and especially for the welfare of the people they serve, it may also be interpreted as acting in self-interest, e.g. the demand for public expenditure on services also ensures the "consumption" of the services the professionals deliver. Secondly, the professional stratum is also a substantial consumer of public services, such as education, health, child care, culture and tourism.

Do We See Here an Emergence of a "New Class"?

It is possible to see the "new" middle class simply as a social stratum that has emerged from the changes in technology and from the consequent changes in the structure of the labour market. Its position in the society may thus be studied and ascertained somewhere on the stratification ladder. However, the activities performed by that stratum and their apparent effect on the society and on the other strata suggest that a class analysis is more appropriate.

In some ways, community services, although regarded as part of the "social" market, can be placed in the economic market, because the social conduct of its members (the professionals and managers) is in many ways similar to that of their counterparts in the private sector. For example, as the capitalist market forever discovers new material needs to maintain the demand for its product, the members of community services discover "human needs".

Thus, community services can be seen as being in competition for resources with the private sector. It is also increasingly competitive within itself. Indeed, it has been observed by Gilbert (1983) that what started as an "anti-business" sector, has become more and more capitalist in orientation and behaviour. Secondly, there are growing instances of "coalition of interests" between the public and the private sectors, e.g. in the provision of homes for the aged, health services, welfare services. Thus, although community services are "non-profit"

services, they can and have become sources of profit and wealth acquisition as well.

The common characteristic of community services and finance, property and business services is the power and influence they have over the allocation of resources, both in production and consumption. Both are, as it were, in the management and control of 'mental production'. As the former defines the extent and nature of human needs, the latter defines the extent and nature of material needs. Thus both define the 'quality of life', each in its own terms and values, and its own interests. Both sectors are 'non-productive' in Marxian terms, thus both may be regarded as extracting the surplus value from the working class.

The two sectors are, or appear to be, in competition, the arguments of each being based on certain competing values, economic theories, and political ideologies. However, it needs to be noted that a rapprochement has been taking place in recent times, under the umbrella of consensus politics, or, as it would be seen by some interpretations, of corporatism.

A rapprochement is also evident in the mode of operation by the professional and management strata in both sectors. There has been a growing incidence of corporate decision-making (or 'collegiate' decision-making) in the form of meetings and conferences. Unlike manual workers, the professionals and managers discuss their work in paid time; the workers in their own time; the professionals have conferences; the workers have 'stop-work' meetings. The face-to-face decision-making and conferences allow for exchange of ideas and identification of common views and interests, thus raising 'class consciousness'. Furthermore, such methods of work as conferences and conventions have a high component of social life, narrowing and blurring the distinction between production and consumption, which in manual occupations are clearly separated.

Do we, then, see an emergence of a new class? The observations on the professional stratum in community services suggest that its position in the class structure is not as 'contradictory' as it may appear. On the contrary, there is some evidence, however tentative, that that stratum

tends to coalesce with its counterpart in the private sector, both in the societal function and in the mode of operation. There is evidence of a competition for resources but whether this represents a 'class struggle' may be open to question. A class struggle against whom, against which class?

There are two factors, however, that suggest an emergence of the new class. First is the political power that the 'new' middle class has, as having grown in numbers, its voting power is courted by both political parties. Second is the emergence of the 'new underclass' of people whose hold on the labour market is increasingly tenuous; the unemployed, the under-employed, the transiently employed. If the changes in the labour market continue in the observed direction, the struggle between the two 'new' classes may well be the feature of the coming years.

Methodological Issues

The issue of the 'new' middle class has been a focus of attention in sociology for some time, but it remains one of the unresolved problematic areas. Two reasons, at least, may be suggested for that difficulty. First seems to lie in the problem some analysts encounter in fitting in the phenomena observed into the framework of existing theories, be they Marxian, or Weberian, or a synthesis of both. The second reason appears to be more fundamental: it lies in the fact that the analysts belong to the social stratum, or class, which they attempt to investigate. It may be suggested, therefore, that that difficulty stems from the problems of reconciling the subjective reality of the analyst with the 'objective' reality of the real world.

The studies of the labour market, on the other hand, have become mainly the province of the economists, and in that field of human endeavour the apparent social effects of the changes in the labour market receive relatively little attention. The main focus has been

on the employment/unemployment issue, the rates of unemployment being the main cause of concern. Structural changes in the labour market are acknowledged but their social significance, especially the long-term effects, remains a field relatively untouched.

The need to relate the changes of the labour market to social structure is, however, an important task, not only as a test of any particular theory but also for reason of social concern. Social analysts, being in the field of "mental production" have an important role to play in creating social awareness of current issues.

One of the methodological issues that needs to be solved in the studies of the labour market and their relationship to social structure is the unit of analysis. The prevailing method in most studies is either using the individual or a group based on gender, age, occupation, etc. The family as a unit of analysis is rarely used. Yet, in considering the issues emerging from the studies of the labour market, the family needs to be considered, especially in the attempts to investigate the effects of the labour market on the class structure. For example, the position of women in the labour market is usually studied as that of women, rather than as members of families, however those families may be constituted. Yet, as the data show, over 60 per cent of women in employment are married, and, by and large, people marry (or form households) with members of the same class. If one considers, then, such issues as intra- and intergenerational social mobility, then the family becomes an important unit of analysis. As Parkin (1971) observes: "The failure of some workers to recognise that the family, not the individual, is the appropriate unit of class system has led to certain confusion in their analysis" (1971: 14).

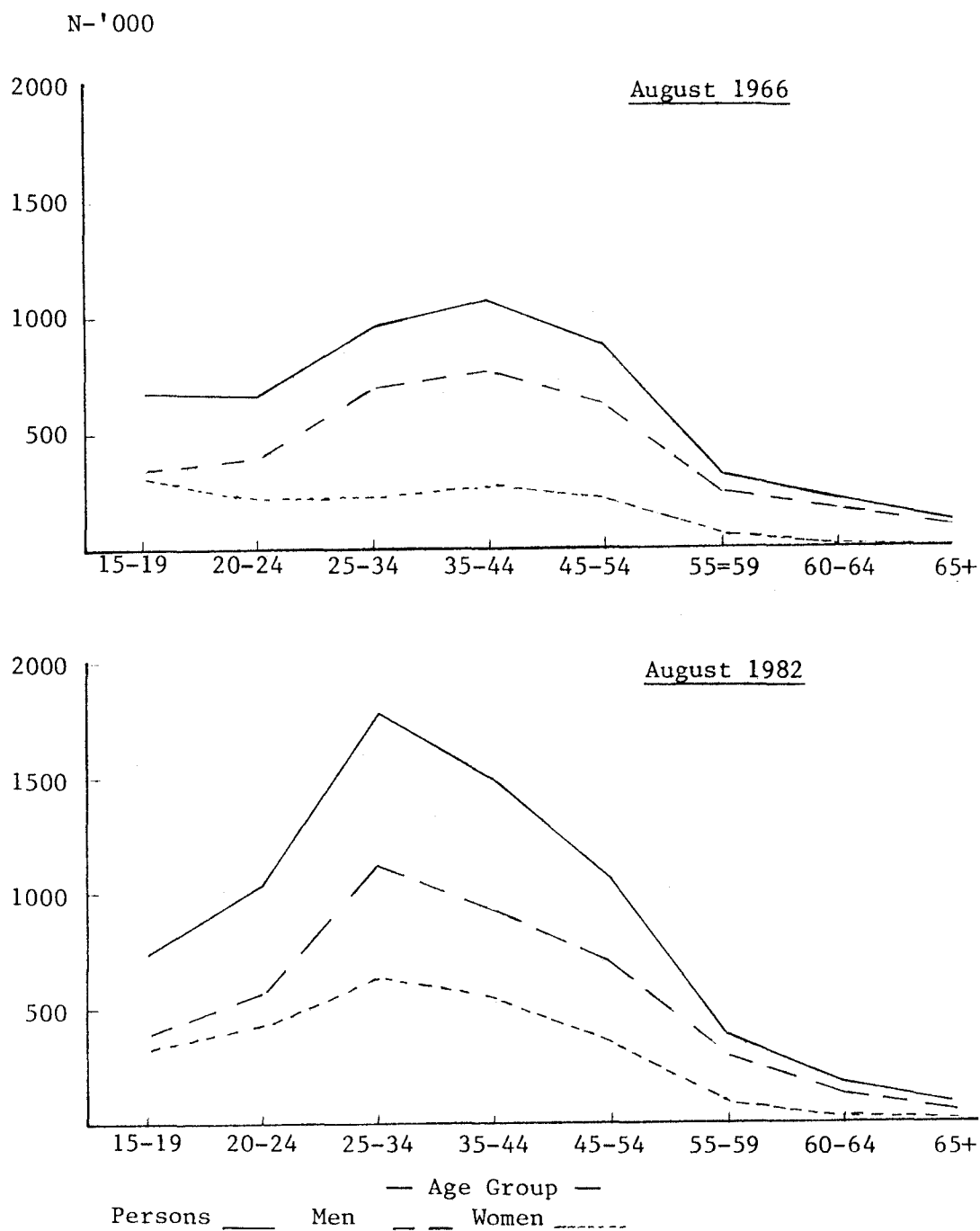
It seems that in the current projections of social reality there is a degree of denial of the family as a social unit, as there may be a denial of the emergence of the new middle class. The reasons for this may lie in the endeavour to use less complex methodologies but the question of "false consciousness" raised by Gouldner in reference to the new middle class becomes quite nagging.

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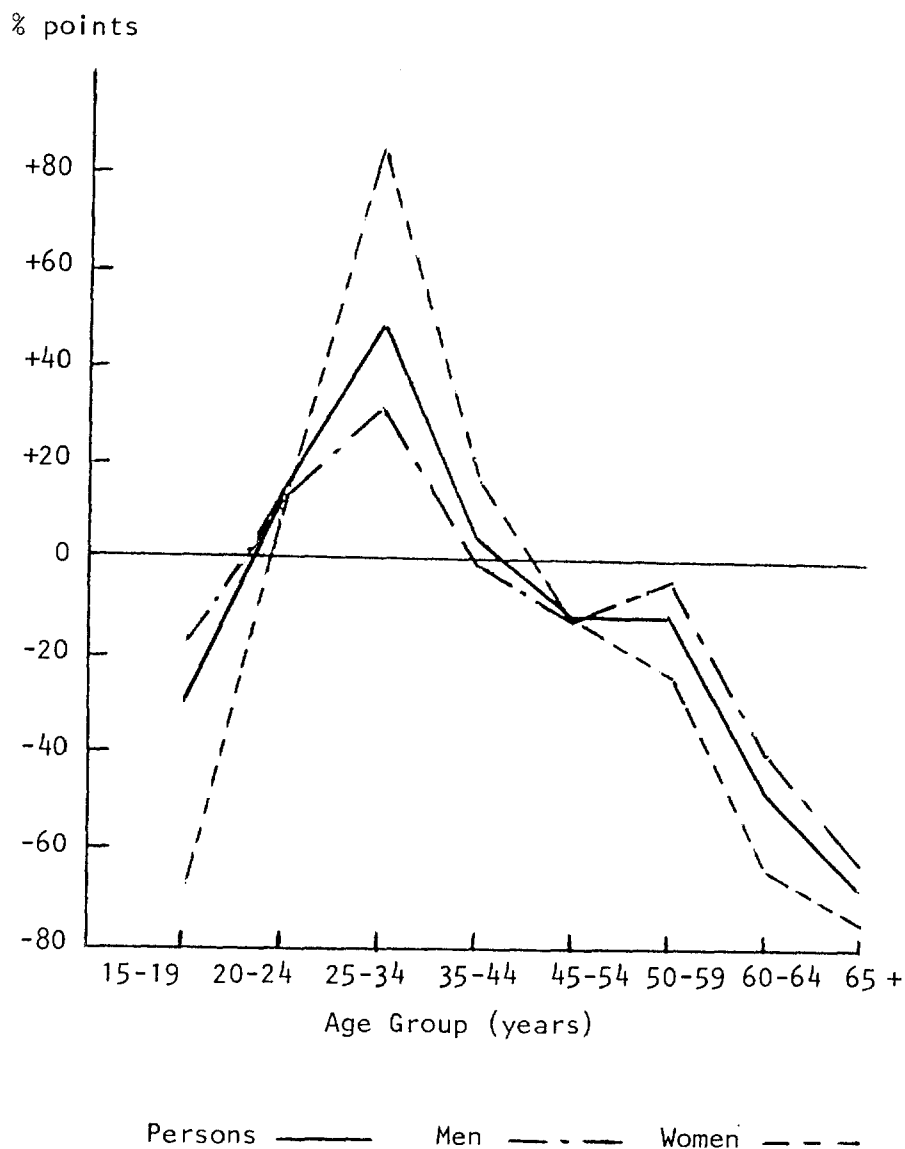
FIGURE 1: AGE PROFILES OF THE LABOUR FORCE, 1966 - 1982



Source: The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.
The Labour Force Australia, August 1982;
 ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

FIGURE 2: RELATIVE CHANGE IN AGE GROUPS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS:
1966 - 1982

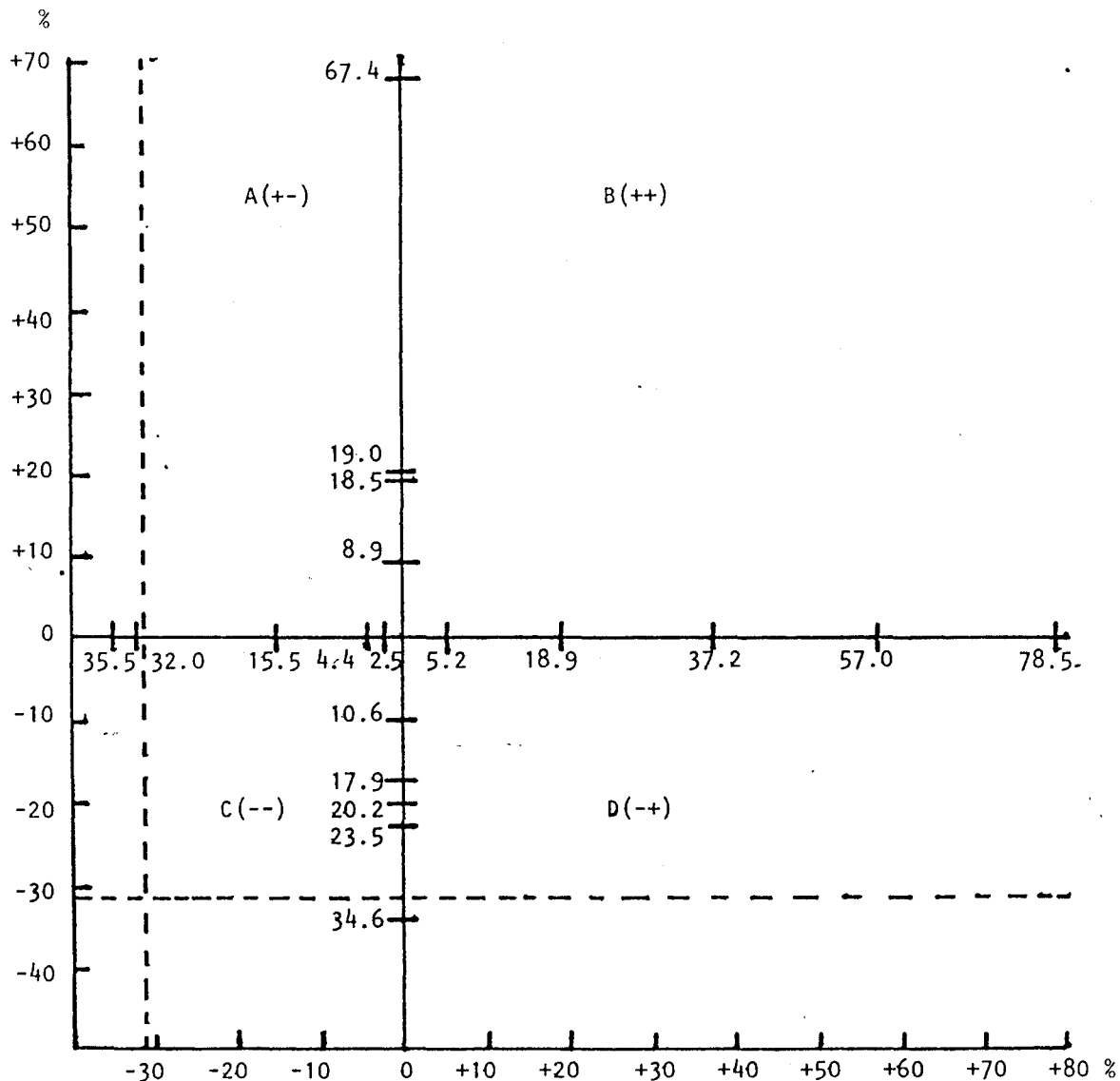
(Percentage Point Change Related to the Overall
Growth of the Employed Persons)



Note: The 0 line represents the level of the growth in the numbers of employed persons from 1966 to 1982 (31.6%: men = 19.3%; women = 59.9%). The growth (or decline) for each age group is shown as a deviation from the overall rate of growth in the numbers of employed persons, expressed in percentage points; e.g., the overall growth from 1966 to 1982 for persons of both sexes was 31.6 per cent but the growth of employed persons in the age group 25 to 34 years was 76.0 per cent. Thus the relative growth for that age group was $76.0 - 31.6 = 44.4$ percentage points above the overall growth of all employed persons. (See Table 5).

Figure 3: Occupations and Industries, 1966-1981

(Changes in percentage points relative to the total change in employment, 1966-1981)



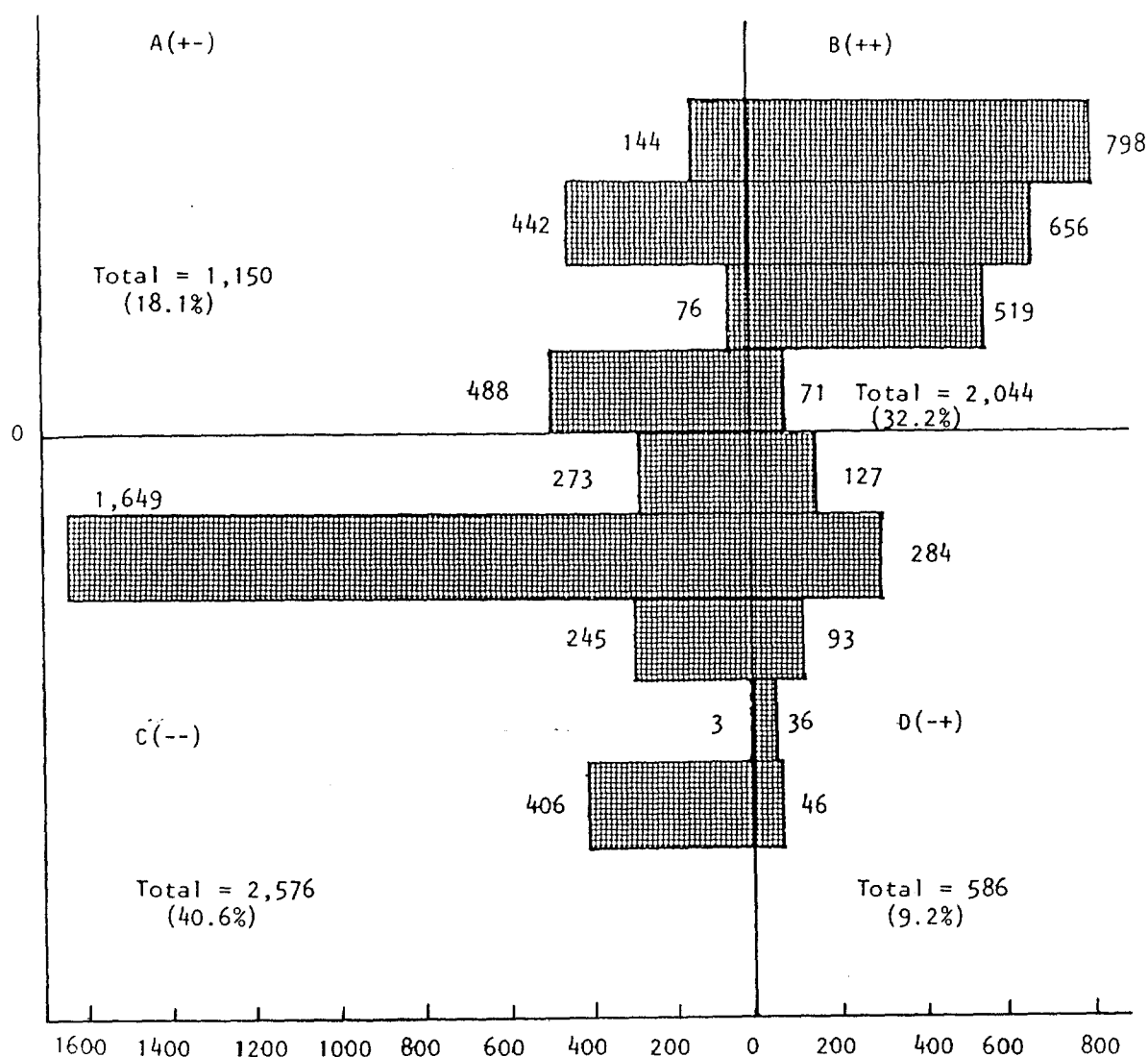
0 = Total growth of Employment 1966-1981 (31.8%)

--- absolute zero growth

Occupations (vertical axis)	Relative change 1966 - 1981	Industries (horizontal axis)	Relative change 1966 - 1981
<u>Expanding Occupations (AB):</u>	% points	<u>Expanding Industries (BD):</u>	% points
Professional, technical, etc.	67.4	Community services	78.5
Clerical	19.0	Finance & business services, etc.	57.0
Service, sport, recreation	18.5	Mining	37.2
Sales	8.9	Other industries	18.9
<u>Shrinking Occupations (CD):</u>		Recreation, entertainment, etc.	5.2
Administrative, executive, managerial	-10.6	<u>Shrinking Industries (AC):</u>	
Trades, process w. labourers	-17.9	Transport and Storage	-2.5
Transport & communications	-20.2	W'sale & Retail Sales	-4.4
Mining, quarrying	-23.5	Construction	-15.5
Farming, fishing, etc.	-34.6	Manufactures	-32.0
		Agriculture & related ind.	-35.5

Source: Jamrozik, A. and Hoey, M. (1982)
Dynamic Labour Market or Work on the Wane?, SWRC Reports &
 Proceedings No. 27.

FIGURE 4: OCCUPATIONS (1981) DISTRIBUTED IN SECTORS EXPANDING OR SHRINKING SINCE 1966. (PERSONS '000)



Occupations (reading from top to bottom):

Expanding Occupations (AB):

Professional, technical, etc.
Clerical
Service, sport, recreation
Sales

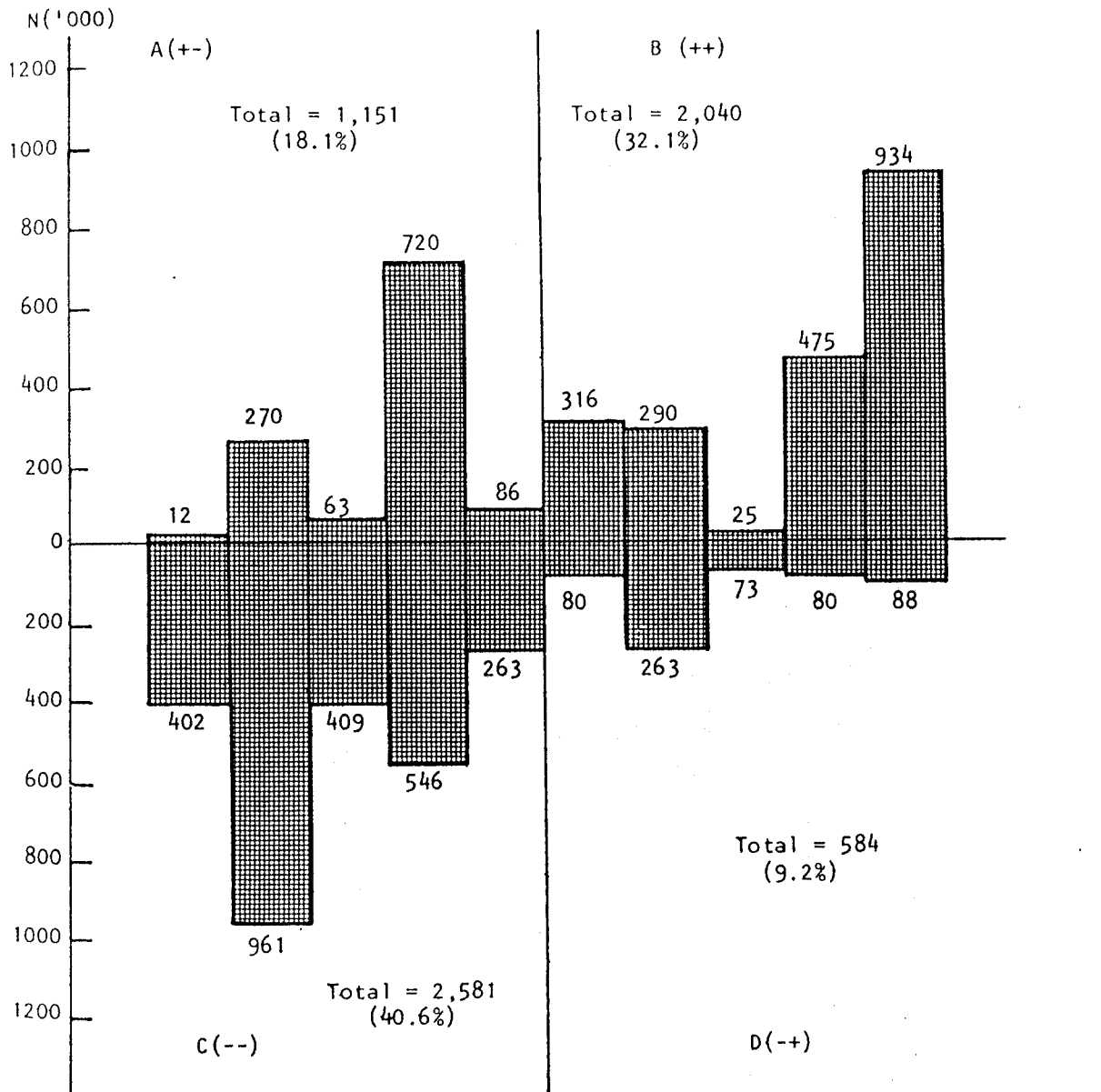
A	B	Total
144	798	942
442	656	1,098
76	519	595
488	71	559
1,150	2,044	3,194

Shrinking Occupations (CD):

Administrative, executive, managerial
Trades, process workers, labourers, etc.
Transport & communication
Miners, quarrymen
Farmers, fishermen, timbergetters

C	D	Total
273	127	400
1,649	284	1,933
245	93	338
3	36	39
406	46	452
2,576	586	3,162
3,726	2,630	6,356

FIGURE 5 : INDUSTRIES 1981: PERSONS DISTRIBUTED IN SECTORS EXPANDING OR SHRINKING SINCE 1966. (PERSONS '000)



Industries (reading from left to right):

Shrinking industries (AC):

Agriculture and related industries
Manufactures
Construction
Wholesale and retail trade
Transport and storage

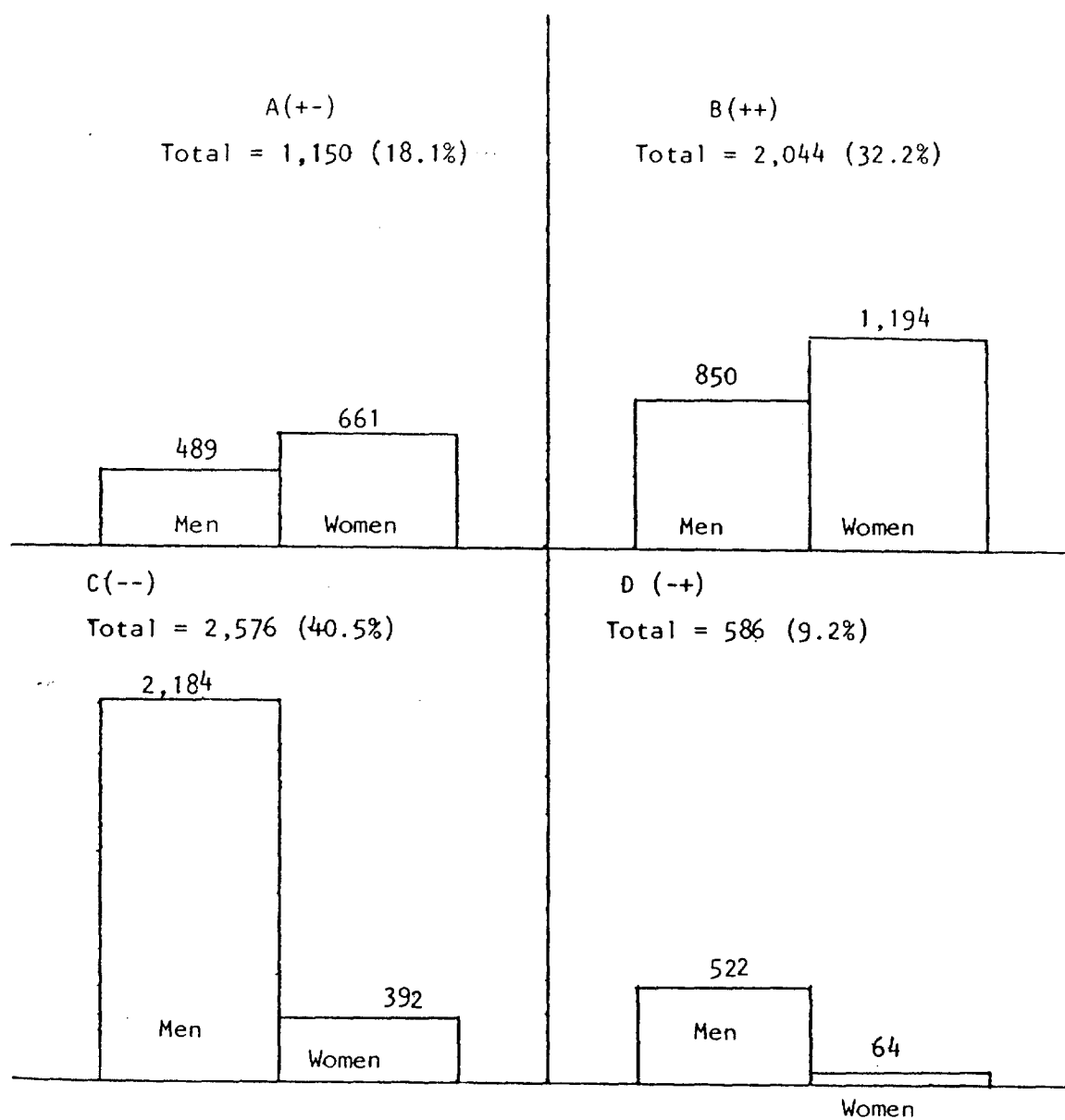
A	C	Total
12	402	414
270	961	1,231
63	409	472
720	546	1,266
86	263	349
1,151	2,581	3,732

Expanding industries (BD):

Entertainment, recreation, personal services
Other industries
Mining
Finance, business services, etc.
Community services

B	D	Total
316	80	396
290	263	553
25	73	98
475	80	555
934	88	1,022
2,040	584	2,624
3,191	3,165	6,356

FIGURE 6: DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN 1981
IN SECTORS EXPANDING OR SHRINKING SINCE 1966 ('000)



A(+/-) = Expanding occupations, shrinking industries
 B(++) = " " expanding "
 C(--) = Shrinking " shrinking "
 D(-+) = " " expanding "

TABLE 1: EMPLOYED PERSONS: 1966 AND 1983 (AUGUST) : INDUSTRIES (N = '000)

Industry	1966(1)			1983(2)			Change 1966 - 1983					
	Men N	Women N	Persons N	Men N	Women N	Persons N	Men N	%	Women N	%	Persons N	%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc.	366	64	430	315	96	411	- 51	- 13.9	+ 32	+ 50.0	- 19	- 4.4
Mining	56	*	58	87	7	94	+ 31	+ 55.4	*	*	+ 36	+ 62.1
Manufacturing	922	310	1233	852	281	1134	- 70	- 7.6	- 29	- 9.4	- 99	- 8.2
Electricity, gas, water	)	)	)	125	11	136)					
Communication	290	77	367	104	36	140	+151	+ 52.1	+ 72	+ 93.5	+223	+ 60.8
Public Administration & defence	)	)	)	212	102	314)					
Construction	392	14	406	347	41	388	- 45	- 11.5	+ 27	+192.9	- 18	- 4.4
Wholesale & retail trade	612	382	994	690	524	1214	+ 78	+ 12.7	+142	+ 37.2	+220	+ 22.1
Transport and storage	243	27	270	311	54	365	+ 68	+ 28.0	+ 27	+100.0	+ 95	+ 35.2
Finance, property & business services	172	122	294	301	272	573	+129	+ 75.0	+150	+123.0	+279	+ 94.9
Community Services	198	288	486	400	673	1074	+202	+102.0	+385	+133.7	+588	+121.0
Recreation, personal and other services	114	173	287	166	223	389	+ 52	+ 45.6	+ 50	+ 28.9	+102	+ 35.5
All industries	3366	1458	4824	3911	2322	6233	+545	+ 16.2	+864	+ 59.3	+1409	+ 29.2

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.

(2) The Labour Force Australia, August 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

Note: Small discrepancies in additions are due to rounding off of decimals.

*Frequency too small for statistical inference.

TABLE 2: EMPLOYED PERSONS: 1966 AND 1983 (AUGUST) : OCCUPATIONS (N = '000)

Occupational Group	1966(1)			1983(2)			Change 1966 - 1983					
	Men N	Women N	Persons N	Men N	Women N	Persons N	Men N	%	Women N	%	Persons N	%
Professional, technical, etc.	279	194	473	529	446	975	+250	+89.6	+252	+129.9	+502	+106.1
Administrative, executive, managerial	282	48	330	361	60	421	+ 79	+28.0	+ 12	+ 25.0	+ 91	+ 27.6
Clerical	290	440	729	313	803	1117	+ 23	+ 7.9	+363	+82.5	+388	+ 53.2
Sales	202	196	398	255	292	546	+ 53	+26.2	+ 96	+49.0	+148	+ 37.2
Farmers, fishermen, timber, etc.	401	64	465	357	92	449	- 44	-11.0	+ 28	+43.8	- 16	- 3.4
Transport and communication	266	36	303	287	47	334	+ 21	+ 7.9	+ 11	+30.6	+ 31	+ 10.2
Trades, labourers, miners, etc.	1499	233	1731	1580	208	1778	+ 81	+ 5.4	- 25	-10.7	+ 57	+ 3.3
Service, sport & recreation	147	249	396	230	374	604	+ 83	+56.5	+125	+50.2	+208	+ 52.5
All occupations	3366	1458	4824	3911	2322	6233	+545	+16.2	+864	+59.3	+1409	+ 29.2

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.
(2) The Labour Force Australia, August, 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

Note: Small discrepancies in additions are due to rounding off of decimals.

TABLE 3: EMPLOYED PERSONS: 1966 AND 1983 (AUGUST) : PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

(a) Industries

Industry	1966 (1)			1983 (2)			Change 1966 - 1983		
	M	W	P	M	W	P	M	W	P
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc.	10.9	4.4	8.9	8.1	4.1	6.6	-2.8	-0.3	-2.3
Mining	1.7	*	1.2	2.2	0.3	1.5	+0.5	*	+0.3
Manufacturing	27.4	21.3	25.6	21.8	12.1	18.2	-5.6	-9.2	-7.4
Electricity, gas, water	)			3.2	0.5	2.2			
Communication	8.6)	5.3	7.6	2.7	1.6	2.2	+2.7	+1.2	+1.8
Public Administration & defence	)			5.4	4.4	5.0			
Construction	11.6	1.0	8.4	8.9	1.8	6.2	-2.7	+0.8	-2.2
Wholesale & retail trade	18.2	26.2	20.6	17.6	22.6	19.5	-0.6	-3.6	-1.1
Transport & storage	7.2	1.8	5.6	8.0	2.3	5.9	+0.8	+0.5	+0.3
Finance, property & business services	5.1	8.4	6.1	7.7	11.7	9.2	+2.6	+3.3	+3.1
Community Services	5.9	19.7	10.1	10.2	29.0	17.2	+4.3	+9.3	+7.1
Recreation, personal & other services	3.4	11.9	5.9	4.2	9.6	6.2	+0.8	-2.3	+0.3
All industries	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	-	-	-

(b) Occupations

Professional, technical, etc.	8.3	13.3	9.8	13.5	19.2	15.6	+5.2	+5.9	+5.8
Administrative, executive, managerial	8.4	3.3	6.8	9.2	2.6	6.8	+0.8	-0.7	0.0
Clerical	8.6	30.2	15.1	8.0	34.6	17.9	-0.6	+4.2	+2.8
Sales	6.0	13.4	8.3	6.5	12.6	8.8	+0.5	-0.8	+0.5
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	11.9	4.4	9.6	9.1	4.0	7.2	-2.8	-0.4	-2.4
Transport & communication	7.9	2.5	6.3	7.3	2.0	5.4	-0.6	-0.5	-0.9
Trades, labourers, miners, etc.	44.5	16.0	35.9	40.4	9.0	28.7	-4.1	-7.0	-7.2
Service, sport, recreation	4.4	17.1	8.2	5.9	16.1	9.7	+1.5	-1.0	+1.5
All occupations	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	-	-	-

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.
 (2) The Labour Force Australia, August 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

TABLE 4: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, 1966 AND 1983

(a) Number and Per Cent in each Age Group (N = '000)

Age Group (years)	1966(1)						1983(2)					
	Men		Women		Persons		Men		Women		Persons	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
15-19	338	10.0	314	21.5	651	13.5	291	7.4	274	11.8	565	9.1
20-24	399	11.9	241	16.5	640	13.3	499	12.8	410	17.7	909	14.6
25-34	712	21.2	245	16.8	957	19.8	1063	27.2	590	25.4	1654	26.5
35-44	767	22.8	293	20.1	1060	22.0	931	23.8	539	23.2	1471	23.6
45-54	632	18.8	240	16.5	872	18.1	668	17.1	347	14.9	1015	16.3
55-59	249	7.4	68	4.7	317	6.6	278	7.1	102	4.4	380	6.1
60-64	172	5.1	33	2.3	205	4.2	128	3.3	41	1.8	169	2.7
65+	97	2.9	25	1.7	122	2.5	53	1.4	18	0.8	71	1.1
Total	3366	(100)	1458	(100)	4824	(100)	3911	(100)	2322	(100)	6233	(100)

(b) Numerical and Per Cent Change in each Age Group, 1966 - 1983

Age Group (years)	Numerical Change (N= '000)			Per Cent Change		
	Men	Women	Persons	Men	Women	Persons
15-19	- 47	- 40	- 86	-13.9	- 12.7	-13.2
20-24	+100	+169	+269	+25.1	+ 70.1	+42.0
25-34	+351	+345	+697	+49.3	+140.8	+72.8
35-44	+164	+246	+411	+21.4	+ 84.0	+38.8
45-54	+ 36	+107	+143	+ 5.7	+ 44.6	+16.4
55-59	+ 29	+ 34	+ 63	+11.6	+ 50.0	+19.9
60-64	- 44	+ 8	- 36	-25.6	+ 24.2	-17.6
65+	- 44	- 7	- 51	-45.4	- 28.0	-41.8
Total	+545	+864	+1409	+16.2	+ 59.3	+29.2

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.
 (2) The Labour Force Australia, August 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

TABLE 5 : CHANGES IN POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER : 1966-1981
(N='000)

Age Group (Years)	1966 N	1971 N	Change 66-71 %	1976 N	Change 71-76 %	1981 N	Change 76-81 %	Change 1966-81	
								N	%
15 - 19	1055.4	1136.3	7.7	1260.8	11.0	1298.5	3.0	243.1	23.0
20 - 24	859.2	1114.1	29.7	1173.4	5.3	1303.4	11.0	444.2	51.7
25 - 29	746.8	962.4	28.9	1183.3	23.0	1231.7	4.1	484.9	64.9
30 - 34	690.2	824.0	19.4	975.4	18.4	1225.4	25.6	535.2	77.5
35 - 39	764.8	754.9	-1.3	843.2	11.7	989.6	17.4	224.8	29.4
40 - 44	776.4	803.4	3.5	749.3	-6.7	834.3	11.3	57.9	7.5
45 - 49	678.0	797.8	17.7	795.5	-0.3	734.8	-7.6	56.8	8.4
50 - 54	644.4	677.5	5.1	776.4	14.6	773.2	-0.4	128.8	20.0
55 - 59	543.7	616.5	13.4	650.2	5.5	740.6	13.9	196.9	36.2
60 - 64	434.7	516.2	18.7	585.7	13.5	613.9	4.8	179.2	41.2
65 and over	986.3	1090.3	10.5	1252.7	14.9	1455.2	16.2	468.9	47.5
Total Population 15 years & over	8179.9	9293.4	13.6	10245.9	10.2	11200.6	9.3	3020.7	36.9

Source: Estimated Age Distribution of the Population, Australia, States and Territories 1966 to 1971; CBCS Ref. No. 4.15.
Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age, States and Territories of Australia, June 1971 to June 1981; ABS Cat.No. 3201.0.

Note: The age groups set off between the lines indicate the cohort effect of the "population bulge" in 5 year sequences and its effect on the growth of population in the age group 20 to 34 years between 1966 and 1981.

TABLE 6: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES, 1966 and 1983
(Per Cent)

Age group (years)	1966 (1)			1983 (2)			Change 1966 - 1983 in % points		
	M	W	P	M	W	P	M	W	P
15-19	66.6	63.0	64.8	58.2	56.9	57.6	- 8.4	- 6.1	- 7.2
20-24	93.7	58.2	76.1	89.6	70.8	80.3	- 4.1	+12.6	+ 4.2
25-34	97.7	35.5	67.2	95.4	52.9	74.1	- 2.3	+17.4	+ 6.9
35-44	98.1	39.5	69.4	95.0	58.0	76.9	- 3.1	+18.5	+ 7.5
45-54	95.9	36.7	66.3	90.4	48.7	70.1	- 5.5	+12.0	+ 3.8
55-59	90.9	28.6	58.3	78.2	28.3	53.5	-12.7	+ 2.7	- 4.8
60-65	79.4	15.4	47.5	42.9	12.1	27.1	-36.5	- 3.3	-20.4
65+	23.3	4.4	12.5	8.6	2.1	4.8	-14.7	- 2.3	- 7.7
Total	84.0	36.3	59.9	75.9	44.0	59.8	- 8.1	+ 7.7	- 0.1

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, 1978; ABS Cat.No. 6204.0.
(2) The Labour Force Australia, August 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

TABLE 7: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF EMPLOYED PERSONS: 1979 and 1983 (FEBRUARY)

(N = '000)

Educational Attainment	Employed 1979 and 1983						Change 1979 - 1983					
	Men		Women		Persons		Men		Women		Persons	
	1979	1983	1979	1983	1979	1983	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>With post-school qualifications (a)</u>	1576	1790	667	865	2243	2654	+214	+13.6	+198	+29.7	+411	+18.3
— Degree or equivalent	314	387	111	171	425	558	+ 73	+23.2	+ 60	+54.1	+133	+31.3
— Trade, technical	1235	1369	539	668	1774	2036	+134	+10.9	+129	+23.9	+262	+14.8
<u>With post-school qualifications (b)</u>	2295	2144	1430	1393	3725	3537	-151	- 6.6	- 37	- 2.6	-188	- 5.0
— Attended highest sec. level	442	487	253	293	695	780	+ 45	+10.3	+ 40	+15.8	+ 85	+12.2
— Did not attend highest level	1846	1651	1173	1097	3019	2748	-195	-10.6	- 76	- 6.5	-271	- 9.0
Total (c)	3900	3959	2135	2296	6035	6255	+ 59	+ 1.5	+161	+ 7.5	+220	+ 3.6

Source: Labour Force Educational Attainment, Australia, February, 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6235.0.

(a) Includes persons with other post-school qualifications.

(b) Includes persons who never attended school.

(c) Includes persons 15 to 20 years still at school.

TABLE 8: OCCUPATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF
EMPLOYED PERSONS

(a) Occupations (1)

Occupation	All Industries		The "Management" Industries*		
	N	%	N	%	% of all industries
Professional, technical, etc.	975	15.6	769	39.2	78.9
Administrative, executive, managerial	421	6.8	88	4.5	20.9
Clerical	1117	17.9	578	29.5	51.7
Sales	546	8.8	45	2.3	8.2
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	449	7.2	19	1.0	4.2
Transport and communication	334	5.4	33	1.7	9.9
Trades, miners, labourers, etc.	1788	28.7	121	6.2	6.8
Service, sport & recreation	604	9.7	303	15.5	50.2
All employed	6233	(100)	1961	(100)	31.5

(b) Educational Qualifications(2)

<u>With post-school qualifications (a)</u>	2654	42.4	1047	55.7	39.4
- Degree or equivalent	558	8.9	386	20.5	69.2
- Trade, technical	2036	32.5	641	34.1	31.5
<u>Without post-school qualifications (b)</u>	3537	56.5	830	44.2	23.5
- Attended highest level sec.	780	12.5	272	14.5	34.9
- Did not attend highest level	2748	43.9	555	29.5	20.2
All employed (c)	6255	(100)	1879	(100)	30.0

Source: (1) The Labour Force Australia, August 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

(2) Labour Force Status and Educational Attainment, Australia, February 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6235.0.

* Includes: Public Administration and defence; finance, property and business services; and community services.

(a) Includes persons with other post-school qualifications.

(b) Includes persons who never attended school.

(c) Includes persons 15 to 20 years still at school.

TABLE 9: EMPLOYED PERSONS: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND INDUSTRY,
FEBRUARY 1983

(N = '000)

Educational Attainment	All Industries						Community Services					
	Men		Women		Persons		Men		Women		Persons	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
With post-school qualifications (a)	1790	45.2	865	37.7	2654	42.4	275	70.7	399	62.7	675	65.9
— Degree or equivalent	387	9.8	171	7.4	558	8.9	143	36.8	110	17.3	253	24.7
— Trade, Technical	1369	34.6	668	29.1	2036	32.5	129	33.2	283	44.5	412	40.2
Without post-school qualifications (b)	2144	54.2	1393	60.7	3537	56.5	113	29.0	236	37.1	349	34.0
— Attended highest sec. level	487	12.3	293	12.7	780	12.5	35	9.0	61	9.6	95	9.3
— Did not attend highest level	1651	41.7	1097	47.8	2748	43.9	79	20.3	174	27.4	252	24.6
Total (c)	3959	(100)	2296	(100)	6255	(100)	389	(100)	636	(100)	1025	(100)

(a) Includes persons with other post-school qualifications.

(b) Includes persons who never attended school.

(c) Includes persons 15 to 20 years still at school.

Persons Employed in Community Services as % of All Industries

	Men	Women	Persons
All employed in Community Services	9.8	27.7	16.4
With post-school qualifications	15.4	46.2	25.4
— Degree or equivalent	36.9	64.6	45.4
— Trade, Technical, etc.	9.4	42.4	20.2
Without post-school qualifications	5.3	16.9	9.9
— Attended highest secondary level	7.1	20.8	12.2
— Did not attend highest secondary level	4.8	15.8	5.5

Source: Labour Force Educational Attainment, Australia, February 1983;
ABS Cat.No. 6235.0.

TABLE 10: EMPLOYED PERSONS, AUGUST 1983: ALL INDUSTRIES AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

(a) Occupational Distribution (N = '000)

OCCUPATION	All Industries			Community Services		
	Men N %	Women N %	Persons N %	Men N %	Women N %	Persons N %
Professional, technical, etc.	529 13.5	446 19.2	975 15.6	229 57.3	383 56.9	612 57.0
Administration, executive, managerial	361 9.2	60 2.6	421 6.8	11 2.8	5 0.7	16 1.5
Clerical	313 8.0	803 34.6	1117 17.9	19 4.8	123 18.3	142 13.2
Sales	255 6.5	292 12.6	546 8.8	* *	* *	* *
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	357 9.1	92 4.0	449 7.2	9 2.3	* *	10 0.9
Transport & communication	287 7.3	47 2.0	334 5.4	9 2.3	* *	13 1.2
Trades, miners, etc.	1580 40.4	208 9.0	1788 28.7	38 9.5	8 1.2	46 4.3
Service, sport, recreation	230 5.9	374 16.1	604 9.7	84 21.0	148 22.0	232 21.6
All occupations	3911 (100)	2322 100	6233 100	400 (100)	673 (100)	1074 (100)

(b) Employed Persons: Men/Women Distribution (Per Cent)

Occupation	All Industries		Community Services	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professional, technical, etc.	54.3	45.7	37.4	62.6
Administration, executive, managerial	85.7	14.3	68.7	31.3
Clerical	28.0	72.0	13.4	86.6
Sales	46.7	53.3	*	*
Farmers, fishermen, etc.	79.5	20.5	*	*
Transport & communication	85.9	14.1	*	*
Trades, miners, etc.	88.4	11.6	82.6	17.4
Service, sport, recreation	38.1	61.9	36.2	63.8
All occupations	62.7	37.3	37.3	62.7

Source: The Labour Force Australia, August, 1983; ABS Cat.No. 6203.0.

TABLE 11: EARNINGS AND HOURS WORKED PER WEEK, AUGUST 1981

Earnings per week(\$) and hours worked	All Industries	Community Services	
	Earnings(\$)	Earnings (\$)	Difference (%)
<u>Mean (1)</u>			
Men	268	315	+17.5
Women	180 (67.2) (3)	250 (79.4)	+38.9
<u>Median (1)</u>			
Men	248	303	+22.2
Women	178 (71.8)	237 (78.2)	+33.1
<u>Average Weekly hours worked</u>			
Men	39.8	39.1	
Women	29.9 (75.1)	30.3 (77.5)	
<u>Professional, technical, etc. Earnings (2)</u>			
Men	356	-	
Women	285 (80.1)	-	
<u>Average weekly hours worked</u>			
Men	40.3		
Women	31.6 (78.4)		

Source: Weekly Earnings of Employees (Distribution) Australia, August 1981;
ABS Cat.No. 6310.0.

- (1) Weekly earnings in main job.
 (2) Mean weekly earnings.
 (3) Figures in () indicate women's earnings and hours worked as per cent of those for men.



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SECTION 45 : SOCIAL WELFARE

THE WELFARE STATE :
AN INSTRUMENT OF REDISTRIBUTION OR OF INEQUALITY?

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SYNOPSIS

There is now a widespread belief that the welfare state might have reached its limits, and any further extension of its activities would endanger the functioning of the economic market.

The thesis advanced in this paper is that while the welfare state might be a "burden" on the economic market, it is also instrumental in enabling the market to function (as Keynes would have argued). In fact, public expenditure (of which welfare allocations are a part) has shown a trend toward greater integration with the economic market, often acting as the stimulus for the activities in the latter.

However, the greater the role the welfare state performs in assisting the economic market to function, the more it becomes instrumental in maintaining or reinforcing the inequalities generated in the market, rather than alleviating or countervailing these inequalities. It is evident, for example, that despite increasing allocations to social welfare services and income maintenance provisions, the inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth have not diminished. On the contrary, they have increased in recent years. A number of reasons for this trend may be suggested, but the structural changes in the labour market and a corresponding change in the occupational structure, evident particularly in the rapid growth of occupations requiring post-secondary qualifications, appears to be an important factor. A related factor appears to be the growth of "middle class welfare", based on the consumption of public services, such as education, health, and children's services.

Evidence from recent studies suggest that the conventional perspectives and conceptual frameworks used in the analyses and research on social policy and social welfare may be inadequate to encompass the multi-dimensional functions of the welfare state. The paper attempts to examine this issue and then demonstrate how a different conceptual framework could be more fruitful as a basis for research and analysis of issues of social policy and social welfare.

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to present some aspects of the Welfare State from a research perspective. After a growth and expansion for some decades, the Welfare State was found to be in a "crisis" during the 1970s, and in some views the crisis still continues. In other views, the Welfare State has not reached its potential, and it is likely to grow and expand further, although not necessarily in the form it now has. As Australia has again entered a period of cautious optimism in the economic as well as social spheres, it is an appropriate time to examine some of the issues of the Welfare State so as to pinpoint its achievements and/or its failures.

The issues explored in the paper relate mainly to social policy/social welfare research, not the Welfare State per se. However, it is argued, social policy/social welfare research is usually conducted in a normative framework and has explicit or implicit purpose (or hope) of contributing to social policy formulation. This being the case, the research is a form of social action, and, as such it has certain implications for the researcher with regard to values, political philosophy or interest.

The paper gives first a brief impressionistic overview of the Australian social scene, then proceeds to examine four specific theoretical and methodological issues in social research. This is followed by a commentary on the relationship between social welfare provision and

social class. Finally, two examples of social measures are given as an illustration that a social welfare policy ostensibly committed towards achieving greater equality in income re-distribution is not necessarily acceptable in the society, and therefore unlikely to be implemented by government.

Australia is regarded to be a Welfare State. While its expenditure on public social provisions does not rank among the highest in the industrialised countries of the Western World, it is nevertheless substantial. Furthermore, the expenditure on social provisions has continued to increase, especially the expenditure on income maintenance and income support provisions.

The attitudes towards public expenditure on social provisions have varied, and so have the policies of Commonwealth and State governments. In the Commonwealth sphere (the subject of this paper) there was a continuous but gradual expansion of expenditure until the early 1970s, followed by a rapid expansion during a Labor party short period in office, then again followed by a contraction. Now, with a change of the party in power the country has entered a new era. In the economic sphere, there is cautious optimism on recovery from recession, although the labour market does not seem to be capable of absorbing the surplus of the labour force, and unemployment rates remain high.

On the social scene, there is a growing inequality in the distribution of income and wealth, leading to distinctly different life styles and different forms of consumption of goods and services in the private market as well as in the social market. In 1981-1982, there were 9,662.6 thousand individual income recipients in Australia (ABS Cat.No. 6501, 1983). The mean income per annum was \$9,656, but three quarters of income recipients had incomes below the mean and one-quarter above the mean. Because of this distribution the bottom half received 15.8 per cent of total share of incomes and the top half received 84.3 per cent. The top decile of income recipients received 29.0 per cent of total incomes and the bottom decile received 1.6 per cent. In 1978-1979 ABS survey, the respective percentages were 27.8 per cent and 2.2 per cent (Collins, 1983). This means that in 1981-82 the average income of the top 10 per cent of individual income recipients had an income, on average, 18 times greater than the bottom 10 per cent. This

distribution, of course, does not give any indication of the distribution among the families, or households, which may be quite different.

Structurally, two distinct groups, or classes, appear to emerge: a "new" middle class of salaried professional workers employed in both the public and in the private sector, especially in the former; and a "dependent" class (or an "underclass") of people who cannot find a secure and stable place in the labour market and have to rely for their income on public income maintenance provisions.

For a large segment of the population formal work, that is, paid, regular, full-time employment in the labour market, is losing its traditional place in their economic and social life. In Australia, on recent indications about a quarter of the population now relies on government pensions and benefits as their main source of income (this includes the dependent children of pensioners and beneficiaries). Unemployment levels remain high, and there are no signs of a substantial reduction in the levels of unemployment in the near future. It becomes increasingly evident that the labour market, as it now operates, is not capable of providing employment for all people who seek it, thus shedding an ever-growing residue onto the public income maintenance support provisions.

Changes in the technology and the corresponding changes in the occupational structure of industry provide new opportunities for some people and discard others. Education has become more than ever before one of the most important factors in the labour market. This is clearly evident from the data on incomes and educational qualifications. In the ABS survey referred to earlier (ABS Cat.No. 6501.0, 1983) the mean annual income of full-time, full-year workers in 1982 was \$10,851 (men = \$14,551; women = \$6,039). Persons with a degree had a mean income of \$20,897 (men = \$22,989; women = \$14,990), but the mean incomes of persons without post-school qualifications ranged from \$4,628 to \$11,235 (men = \$6,622 to \$13,557; women = \$3,327 to \$7,383) and the ranges of incomes were related to the age at which they left school.

At the same time, there is evident optimism about economic recovery, frequently expressed in government circles as well as in the market. However justified that optimism might be, it is appropriate to point out that economic, or "business health" is not necessarily compatible with "social health". For example, the BHP was in a "crisis" and loud cries were being uttered about its impending doom. In order to survive in the tough, competitive world market, the BHP reduced its labour force by many thousands of people, received government assistance (i.e., went on partial "welfare"), was guaranteed future support from the government, and then purchased Utah Corporation for \$2,000 million and declared a record profit.

The policy of the present Commonwealth Government appears to be one of supporting a "free" market economy on the one hand, and attempting to implement social reforms on the other. Whether the two objectives can be made compatible with each other remains a debatable proposition, as it is now generally accepted that "the separation of economic policy from social policy is hardly feasible in principle" (Dobell, 1981: 230). Decisions in economic policy have certain social consequences and are expressions of certain values, and the philosophy of a "free" market economy does not appear to be compatible with the philosophy of social democracy.

Parkin (1979: 200) has observed that,

Marxist critics are able to point out, quite correctly, that post-war social-democratic governments have not been conspicuously successful in pushing through even their modest reform programmes, the eradication of poverty, the redistribution of wealth and income, and the creation of equal opportunities are seen to elude the social-democratic touch. The explanation for this, advanced by the same critics, is also plausible enough: namely, that the attempt to manage capitalism instead of supplanting it has made social democracy subservient to global political and economic interests that are not noted for their warmth towards egalitarian doctrines. Even social democracy in one country appears unattainable in a world system in which international, and above all American, capital imposes its own implacable logic.

Where the social democratic governments have been successful to a degree, Parkin says, was in the broadening of the social base of recruitment to privileged positions but rather less successful in equalising rewards attached to different positions.

In Australia, it is perhaps too early to judge whether the present government in Canberra has made much progress towards a more egalitarian society, or whether it is likely to be successful in doing so in the future. The last experience of a social democratic government was certainly exciting, full of hope, but ending quickly with disastrous results. What that experience achieved, however, was to sow many social democratic ideas which took a long time to germinate but have produced some fruit here and there. The present government may be defined as one of caution in social reform. It is evident, nevertheless, that all policy initiatives it has taken in social welfare sphere, so far, have encountered opposition at each step. The Medicare scheme has been put in place but the arguments and active opposition to it are still strong. The prices and income accord was an agreement for maintaining the status quo of the existing relativities and inequalities in the economy and in the labour market particularly, rather than for change. That agreement still holds but appears to be somewhat fragile at times. The intention to introduce an assets test on pensions for the aged created a violent reaction and the government saw it prudent to retreat and reconsider.

In each of these examples, the opposition to reform has come from the privileged and from the relatively well-off sections of the society. The "underprivileged", e.g. the unemployed, have not given the government many problems, despite continuing high rates of unemployment. Neither have the pensioners who do not own many assets because the assets test would have eventually benefited them. We witness, therefore, an interesting phenomenon of opposition to social reforms aimed at creating a more equal and fairer society that comes from the section of the community which considers the welfare state to be a "burden" on the economy and even a greater opposition from the section which had gained substantial benefits from the welfare state, which now regards the entitlements to these benefits as a right, and wants to ensure that its position of relative advantage is maintained and not curtailed in any way.

It is the latter group, the middle stratum in the society, that presents the government with a problem. That stratum has grown considerably in size over the past decades, has improved its position in the labour market, and has become relatively affluent. Because of its size and the position in the middle of the socio-economic hierarchy, that group — the 'new' middle class — has also acquired considerable bargaining power with governments because its voting power is essential for any political party that wants to win and/or remain in government. In fact, there is some evidence to show that the new middle stratum has acquired the characteristics of a distinct social class.

Yet, it seems, that although the evidence of an emerging new middle class has been discussed in sociological literature for some years, and is frequently mentioned in the daily press in relation to current issues in social welfare, the issue has received relatively little attention in social policy/social welfare research. There has been much concern in research about the "disadvantaged", and frequent references and recommendations in research reports have been made on the need to do something to improve their lot by a redistribution of resources in their favour, but the social strata, or social classes, from which that redistribution should come have remained rather nebulous. In fact, one gets an impression at times that some members of the new middle class are included among the "disadvantaged".

Social policy/social welfare research is normative, and is usually carried out with explicit or implicit purpose of finding solutions that would lead to a fairer, more equal, or more equitable society. The issues selected for study in such research, the methods used in the study, the analysis and interpretation of data are determined, or at least strongly influenced by the value stance of the researcher. In other words, social research is a form of social action. Within the limited scope of this paper, I will briefly examine some methodological issues in social policy/social welfare research, which, in my view, warrant attention, if such research is to contribute to a better understanding of the complexities of the welfare state and thus provide a useful input into policy, which may, then, have a better chance of evolving in congruence with the philosophy and values of a social democratic welfare state.

Issues for Social Research

In social research, four problematic areas need particular attention: (1) the relationship between income and wealth; (2) the unit of analysis; (3) the social group, stratum, or class, that constitute the focus of enquiry; and (4) the boundaries of social welfare. I raised these issues at the last ANZAAS Congress (Jamrozik, 1983a) but I see the need to re-emphasise them, because these issues are as important as ever, and even more important now, both in the light of current political and economic change and in the light of apparent neglect of these issues in social policy/social welfare research. These issues are not easy to solve because of theoretical and methodological difficulties, problems with the access to the sources of data, conventional, narrow perspectives on what is, or is not, welfare and potential unpopularity or adverse reaction that may come from the public or from some sections of the public. Yet, the neglect to tackle these issues in social research leads to a distortion of social reality, and may well serve to conceal and thus perpetuate the inequalities in the society which are not easily visible without a systematic exploration and thorough analysis.

(1) Income and Wealth

The output of research monographs on the distribution of income has been quite impressive, and the methods of analysis have become increasingly sophisticated, ranging from poverty lines and equivalence scales, to Phillips curves and Gini coefficients. By contrast, the data on the distribution of wealth are virtually absent. The reasons for this discrepancy between the volume of data on income and the absence of data on wealth are many, not the least being the resistance of the well-off sections in the society to disclose their wealth, usually on the grounds that such a disclosure would constitute "an invasion of privacy". In social (and economic) research there may be some additional reasons as well. As Watts (1976) observed,

... income is both easier to discuss and to administratively cope with than, say, a category like wealth. It is also more than a technical problem, since the debate is never to fully disclose the real dimensions of poverty as they might be manifested in the appearance, and its distribution.

The necessity to include wealth as well as income in the measurement of inequalities in the society has been emphasised by many writers, as well as by the Royal Commission on Distribution of Income and Wealth (U.K. 1976), giving weight to the well-known assertion made by Richard Titmuss that the individual's or family position in the society was determined by the "command over resources through time". Income, especially if measured by the convention of stating it as so many dollars per week, may give an indication of a person's capacity to survive; it is the possession of a certain amount of assets, or wealth, that gives the person an access to other resources, gives stability, security, and thus enables the person to function socially. G.P. Marshall (1980: 90) comments,

In view of many observers, inequality of wealth shared within a society gives a more accurate picture of the nature of inequality because the full extent of any individual's economic (and political) power is determined ultimately by his potential command over available resources, which must reflect his ownership of assets as well as his current income.

When even a small-scale or estimated findings on the distribution of wealth are available, the results are rather startling. For example, in a recently reported survey on the distribution of income and wealth in the Sydney metropolitan area (Smith, 1984), the average household income in the top-ranked local government area (LGA) was estimated at \$29,543 per annum, and in the lowest-ranked area at \$14,521 per annum, a ratio of 2.03 to 1. But the estimated average net wealth per household in the top-ranked area was \$239,303, and in the lowest-ranked area it was \$25,736, a ratio of 9.3 to 1.

There is now sufficient ground for the argument that all the endeavours that may be undertaken by governments for the purpose of arriving at a system of social welfare that would have a reasonable element of fairness will produce little effect, or even come to nought, unless we can obtain reliable data on the distribution of wealth in Australia. We need to know how wealth is created, how it is retained, controlled, used, and transferred through intra- and inter-generation mechanisms. We need to understand the intricacies of both the private (individual and family) and corporate wealth and the interaction between the two. As, undoubtedly, the distribution and control of wealth are the most

important factors in the welfare of the community, there are no sustainable reasons why these areas of social life should be kept hidden from public knowledge. The very fact that so much secrecy surrounds the distribution of wealth, and so much effort is made to preserve secrecy, leads one to suggest there are "good" reasons why some people want to keep things as they are.

(2) Unit of Analysis

The prevalent unit of analysis of income and expenditure tends to be the individual. There are exceptions to this (e.g. Harding, 1983; ABS Household Income and Expenditure surveys). On the other hand, the prevalent unit of income and expenditure, and especially in the possession of assets is the family (or a "household"), however defined, or constituted, that unit may be rather than the individual. If we analyse the life of people as a process over a certain span of time (e.g. a life cycle) we easily find that individuals share and utilise assets such as dwellings, cars, etc. The family is also the institution through which wealth is generated, shared, and transferred from one member to another, or from one generation to another. In the social and economic spheres (as well as in the political sphere) the family opens, or closes, the door to a good school, to employment, credit card, and other resources. Even the extended family is not as absent as it is often claimed. For example, in a recently completed study of families using child care services in Sydney (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1984), we found that of the 156 families we interviewed, three-quarters (117) had grandparents living in Sydney, either maternal, paternal, or both and one-third of these were used regularly as child carers/baby sitters by the family.

In social research, the relative neglect given to the family as a unit of analysis constitutes a significant theoretical and methodological flaw. This has been noted by some sociologists, e.g. Parkin (1971) who argues that the family plays a prominent part in "placing individuals at various points of social structure and generates a fairly high level of self-recruitment". For this reason, Parkin says,

The failure of some writers to recognise that the family, not the individual, is the appropriate social unit of the class system has led to certain confusion in their analysis. For social stratification implies not simply inequality, but a set of institutional arrangements which guarantee a fairly high degree of social continuity in the reward position of family units through generations (1971: 14).

It needs to be acknowledged that because of the diversity of structure a family unit, or a household, may now contain, it presents considerable difficulties as a unit of analysis for such things as income or cost sharing, as argued by Ingles (1981). This argument is used at times in the debate on an appropriate unit for the purpose of assessing income tax. However, the methodological difficulty does not seem to arise in determining the family unit for the purpose of social security pensions and benefits. It is thus difficult to accept the proposition that the family unit is inappropriate for calculating what should be paid to the state but it is appropriate for calculating what should be paid from the state. The real reason for the "double-think" is obviously political rather than methodological. Somehow, the better-off sections of the society have succeeded, and continue to succeed, in prevailing upon governments to disregard the family for taxation purposes, thus lowering effectively the tax rate for themselves, and the analysts tend to accept that position. It is thus appropriate to ask: is state expenditure through revenue forgone any different from any other state expenditure?

(3) Social Groups as Subjects of Study

Which social groups are appropriate as subjects, or objects, of social policy/social welfare research is an "old chestnut" that comes into discussions at frequent intervals. I raised this issue at the last ANZAAS Congress (1983), and the argument I put forward then was, essentially, that much of the research in social welfare was "truncated", in that it had concentrated on the "captive audience" of losers. This approach, I argued, had two rather negative effects: first, it had little explanatory power because it was theoretically flawed; and second, that the focus on the captive audience led to a situation in which the solutions to what was perceived as a "problem" were sooner or later sought in the studied population group. As a result, studies of captive audiences become unwittingly but logically a part of social control mechanisms.

The theoretical flaw in studies focussed on "dependent" groups in the society, such as the aged, the youth, the single-parent family, and the immigrant or the "ethnic" groups, as social groups in their own right tend to conceal the deeper divisions of social stratification and class distinction. Although it has been argued (Mishra, 1981) that such groups now cut across class lines, that argument is rather difficult to sustain. If such groups are studied on the assumption that they are "dependent", or "disadvantaged", the results of research are quite predictable. If, however, they are studied without a "disadvantage hypothesis", the results may be quite different. One may then find that there are poor aged people and well-off aged people, even very wealthy aged people, as there are poor single parents and well-off single parents, and poor youth and well-off youth.

Social phenomena such as "poverty", "dependence", "disadvantage" are not states in themselves which exist "outside" of society but they are part of the society in which they occur, "a consequence of a given social structure and of definite social processes" (Vranken, 1983). The phenomena can thus have meaning only in relation to other comparative phenomena, such as "wealth", "independence", or "advantage". For this reason, a study of "poor people" is of little value unless it is related to "rich people".

In a book which contains research findings about wealth in Britain published in 1979, Field recalls that many years ago, Tawney (1913) argued that poverty was an "industrial problem". This being so, he

warned that an understanding of poverty required more than the study of the poor themselves; specifically, a researcher "will be wise to start much higher up the stream than the point he wishes to reach" adding, in case his message had not been fully grasped, "what thoughtful rich people call the problem of poverty, thoughtful poor people call with equal justice the problem of riches".

In the same book, Thomas states that

If there was ever any substance to the claim that governments have "soaked the rich" with their taxation policies, there is infinitely more truth in the view that social research has soaked the poor (1979: 129).

Thomas argues that in order to understand poverty in society, social research should not be conducted 'where poverty comes to the surface' but rather in places and among the people 'where poverty is created'. I think, the same argument can be applied to any other phenomena perceived as 'social problems'. For example, there seems to be little value in studies of unemployment conducted among the unemployed, unless such studies are accompanied by studies of places where decisions on employment or unemployment are made.

What this argument amounts to is to say that social welfare research tends to be conducted with a weak theoretical base. In the words of Korpi (1983),

Welfare state development is usually studied in terms of relative levels of social expenditure; ... and, despite its central place in sociological theory, the impact of social class is usually asserted rather than studied.

Being 'problem-oriented', social welfare research focusses on the individuals and social groups 'with problems' as if these individuals and groups lived in a social vacuum. The perceived 'disadvantage' is related to such attributes as age, gender, or ethnicity, and is then explained in those terms. The deeper divisions of class, status and power remain hidden and undisturbed.

(4) Boundaries of Welfare

Over the years, the boundaries of welfare have been expanded. Following from the analysis of Titmuss, it has become a convention to speak of three divisions of welfare: social welfare, fiscal welfare and occupational welfare. However, the focus of debate and much of social welfare research still tends to concentrate on the 'visible' parts of welfare, although fiscal welfare and occupational welfare have received more attention recently (e.g. Jamrozik, Hoey and Leeds, 1981; Harding, 1983). Income distribution and/or redistribution is focal in these studies.

While income distribution is basic to social welfare, other social provisions are equally important to people's social functioning and their place in the market economies of contemporary industrial societies. The importance of services of the collective kind has more recently come into prominence, as it is these services that provide the infrastructure on which the market economy functions. There is, for example, a close relationship between a person's education and that person's place in the labour market.

There is a relative scarcity of research data on the consumption of collective services in comparison with the "consumption" of pensions and benefits. When the data are obtained and related to the consumers' social position, it becomes evident that the rates of consumption of these services, and their qualitative aspects as well, are related to social class (e.g. George and Wilding, 1976; Room, 1979; Le Grand, 1982). In Australia, recent studies have provided indications that this certainly is the case in such fields as education (Anderson, 1983) and children's services (King and Wyllie, 1981; Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1982, 1984).

The collective services and their consumption are not always perceived as 'welfare', and their consumers do not always see themselves, or are seen as, welfare recipients. Yet, these services warrant attention in social welfare research because of their role in the creation and/or reproduction of social inequalities. The Danish experience is a case in point, as it was in the area of collective services rather than in income distribution that the Danish Welfare System was found to be in "crisis". In commenting on the rising cost of social welfare in Denmark, Andersen (1983) argues that,

It should be emphasised that it is not the cash benefits, like unemployment benefits, which are "the villain" in this calculus, since it is exactly these expenses which will diminish, as employment increases. It is the expansion of collective consumption of services, not of cash benefits, which has now made the crisis of the welfare state a structural one.

Andersen further adds that it is necessary to make the contributor and the consumer in social welfare services visible to each other. As things stand, there were many "free riders" in public consumption who often are the same people who argue for the reduction of welfare expenditure. It was not the case to make the "user pay", but to reveal the true boundaries of social welfare.

Social Classes and the Welfare State

It is now clearly evident that many issues related to the welfare state have become middle-class issues. While the main focus in public debate and in social research has been on the "visible" aspects of social welfare, such as income distribution and re-distribution, the less visible social consumption of collectively provided services has grown and is now taken for granted as citizens' right. This is not to be taken to mean that the provision of collective social services should be curtailed. On the contrary, it is an argument for the need of more attention to be given to the importance of these services in policy and in research, as it is the consumption of these services that is essential to people's social functioning. The problem lies in that the differential access to these services and their consumption have been instrumental in maintaining or even reinforcing the inequalities generated in the market economy.

Nowhere is the issue of inequality illustrated better, perhaps, than in the education system. Anderson (1983) reports that "the social composition of school leavers entering higher education has changed little in 25 years", and the participation rates of the upper half of the socio-economic groups "remains consistently about double that of the lower half". Moreover, he expects that efforts to remedy the situation may not be very successful because,

In response to measures for helping the poor to get ahead, those already well up in the hierarchy will redouble their efforts to retain their advantage or, stated from a sociological perspective, education systems translate parental advantage into financial opportunity ... Education is a lift for a few, but for most it is a sieve (1983: 94).

Due to the structural changes in the labour market, post-secondary education is now a very important factor in a person's gaining and/or retaining a place in employment. For example, in a space of four years from 1979 to 1982, the number of people employed with post-school qualifications had increased by 411 thousand while the number of those without post-school qualifications had decreased by 188 thousand (ABS, 1983; Cat.No. 6235). Barry Jones, the Minister for Science and Technology (1983), considers that "the least educated are at grave risk; the highly educated, with some exceptions such as the over 50s, are barely at risk at all. Unemployment is overwhelmingly a class phenomenon".

In a recently completed study on the effects of Commonwealth Government's Taxation and social outlays, Harding (1983) has found that "the net effect for all federal taxes was ... proportional for about half of the income range, regressive at the bottom end and progressive at the very top". As a result, the redistributive effect of taxation was practically nil. If there was any redistributive effect of Commonwealth policy, it was only in the social expenditure. Harding calculated Commonwealth social outlays (social security, education, health and housing) in two ways: as redistribution, that is as a percentage of the total outlays; and as incidence, that is, as a proportion of the household original income before the receipt of the allocation. The results obtained by each calculation were, of course, vastly different. Measured as incidence, the expenditure had clearly a redistributive effect in favour of the low income households; but measured as redistribution the effect was substantially lower, and if expenditure on social security was removed, the remaining allocations had no redistributive effect (Table 1). There was a marginal redistributive effect only in housing expenditure. By contrast, in education expenditure, "... average benefits per household rose as income increased. so that the richest households each received an average benefit of \$741, while the poorest group each gained a scanty \$168 {a ratio of 4.41 to 1} (1983: 125-126).

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL SOCIAL OUTLAYS,
1975-76*

Households/Outlays	Household Income Group (Income per annum)		
	up to \$7279 %	\$7280-\$13519 %	\$13520 & over %
<u>Households</u>	30.1	35.7	34.2
<u>Outlays</u>			
Social Security	60.2	23.9	16.0
Education	16.3	34.3	49.4
Health	28.0	32.9	29.1
Housing	36.2	39.6	24.1
Total Social Outlays	44.7	29.2	26.2
Total <u>except</u> Social Security	30.2	34.0	35.8

*Source: Harding, A. (1983) Who Benefits? : An Exploratory Study of the Australian Welfare State and Redistribution (B.A. Honours Thesis, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney).

Thus the social provision the consumption of which is a very important factor in a person's position in the labour market appears to be also the service in which the welfare system supports the middle classes and the rich. Similar situations would probably be found in the other areas of social provisions if social research related the consumption of these services to the socio-economic stratification or class structure. This is evident in children's services, as mentioned earlier and also in health, as reported recently by Williams (1984). In the problems experienced by the Government with the introduction of an assets test, this issue has been described as "the hurdle of middle class welfare" (Australian Financial Review, 24-2-1984, The Editorial).

The middle class welfare may be seen as the dilemma of the Welfare State, and it certainly appears to be a dilemma for social democratic governments. As Parkin (1971: 18) explains,

A political system which guarantees constitutional rights for groups to organise in defence of their interests is almost bound to favour the privileged at the expense of the disprivileged. The former will have greater organising capacities and facilities than the latter, such as the competition for rewards between classes is never an equal contest.

Implications for Social Policy/Social Welfare Research

The foregoing examples and arguments were an attempt to demonstrate that the conventional perspective on the role the Welfare State performs in a market economy was too narrow. The reason for this was the relative neglect in giving due weight to certain "less visible" aspects of social welfare provisions and their consumption by various social classes. The main focus in public debate as well as social welfare research has been on policies related to income maintenance provisions. While it may be argued that without the income maintenance provisions the inequalities in the society would be much greater, it is also possible to demonstrate that the whole system of social service provisions may be actually reinforcing the market arrangements which inherently generate social and economic inequalities.

It may be also argued, of course, that the purpose of social policy, and of its social welfare component especially, is not to redistribute resources but to provide some minimum income security for those who cannot obtain income through the mechanism of the market. Such a view may be quite legitimate. However, this means accepting the fact that such a policy does not alleviate the inequalities generated by the market forces. On the contrary, it fits into the dominant market order, and far from countervailing that order, becomes subordinate to it. The social effect

of such a policy is the legitimization of a divided society into first-class and second-class citizens.

While social research, by itself, cannot produce changes in the political decisions and in societal attitudes, it can, however, contribute to that process and thus enhance the possibility of a fairer and more egalitarian society, which is the manifest objective of a social democratic welfare state.

The social position of researchers themselves is an important factor in the perspective and the value stance they adopt in their research. While there may be a tacit understanding that most people engaged in social policy/social welfare research subscribe broadly to the values of either a liberal-democratic or a social-democratic philosophy, they are also mostly members of the "new" middle class and, as such, they are among the more privileged consumers of services and benefits provided by the Welfare State. This position may unwittingly colour their perspective on the issues they investigate and analyse.

These comments are not meant to be moral exhortations but, rather, as a comment on theoretical and methodological implications of social research. As an example that certain issues currently under public debate might have acquired a certain "colour" favouring the middle classes rather than the low-income or "disadvantaged", two examples are given in Table 2 and 3. The examples illustrate the hypothetical effect of joint or aggregate family income tax (Table 2) and the actual effect of the Dependent Spouse Rebate (DSR). In each case, when the effect is related to the family income, it is evident that the DSR and joint family taxation does, or would, benefit the lower income families. The effect of the DSR was clearly demonstrated by Saunders (1982) and arguments for an aggregate or joint income tax by Collins (1983) who argued that if such a system were adopted overall rates of income tax could be reduced. The families on higher incomes would, of course, pay more income tax in relative terms to the low income families than they now do.

TABLE 2: EFFECT OF JOINT (AGGREGATE) FAMILY INCOME TAX
(Hypothetical Examples for Income Tax Year 1982-1983)

Husband's income Wife's income Total family income	Net (Taxable) Income per annum (\$)					
	19,765*		30,000		50,000	
	15,241*		20,000		20,000	
	35,006		50,000		70,000	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
<u>Individual Income Tax**</u>						
Tax on husband's income	4810	24.3	9517	31.7	20707	41.4
" " wife's income	3306	21.7	4920	24.6	4920	24.6
" " both incomes	8115	23.2	14437	28.9	25627	36.6
<u>Aggregate Income Tax</u>						
Tax on joint income	11820	33.8	20707	41.4	32707	46.7
<u>Differences</u>						
Additional family tax on aggregate income	3705	45.7	6270	43.4	7080	27.6
Net family income after individual tax	26891	-	35563	-	44373	-
Net family income after aggregate tax	23186	-	29293	-	37293	-
Net family income after individual tax	+3705	+16.0	+6270	+21.4	+7080	+19.0
* Average Weekly Earnings, Australia, June Quarter 1983 (Preliminary); ABS Cat.No. 6301.0. (Wage for full-time adults).						
** Income Tax Rates as for the Income Tax Year 1982-1983.						

TABLE 3: EFFECT OF DEPENDENT SPOUSE REBATE
(DSR) ON INCOME
(Assuming DSR of \$1000)

Taxable Income per annum (\$)	Tax on Income (\$) *	Decrease of Income Tax after DSR (%)	Increase of Net Income after DSR (%)
15,000	3,232	30.9	8.5
19,765**	4,809	20.8	6.7
30,000	9,517	10.5	4.9
50,000	20,707	4.8	3.4

* Income Tax Rates for 1982-1983

** Average Weekly Earnings (full-time adults) June Quarter 1983;
ABS Cat.No. 6301.0.

There have been many arguments for the abolition of the DSR and for a corresponding increase in Family Allowances. The two are, of course, not mutually exclusive. On the principle of greater equality, Family Allowances could be easily increased by, say, fifty per cent, and made taxable, so that overall Government outlay would remain the same but the low-income families would benefit more.

Neither a joint family income tax nor an increase in Family Allowances on the basis outlined here is likely to be adopted by the present Government, nor even be considered seriously. The proposals are purely utopian, because as the current debate on the assets test indicates, the desire for a fairer and more egalitarian society may not be as great among those who publicly subscribe to these objectives. These are some of the political realities of the Welfare State.

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SECTION 44 : WOMEN'S STUDIES

MARRIED WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND FAMILY
INCOME DISTRIBUTION

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In 1978 an article concerned with a possible regressive trend in family income distribution appeared on the front page of the Wall Street Journal, a newspaper, as Bergmann et al. remark (1980, p.452), not well-known for its concern with income inequality. This out-of-character concern is perhaps explained by the title of the article: 'The Rich Get Richer as Well-To-Do Wives Enter the Labor Force', and perhaps even better by the sub-title: 'Dark Side of Women's Lib?'. The main argument of the article was that

as more prosperous wives ... take relatively well-paying jobs, the economic differences between America's "rich" couples and its poorer ones may grow larger, skewing any hopes for more equal distribution of income among families (Wall Street Journal, 8 September 1978, p.1).

The Wall Street Journal is not the only voice to express this concern; economists in the United States and Australia have also linked the increase in married women's labour force participation with an increase in family income inequality (for example, Ingles, 1981, p.52; Richardson, 1979, p.21; Rivlin, 1975, p.2; Thurow, 1980, Chapter 7).

The general thrust of the argument is that, historically, married women's labour force participation has contributed to greater equality in family income distribution. However, this trend has changed, or is in the process of change. In the past, gainfully employed married women shifted family income distribution towards greater equality: firstly, because married women with low income husbands were more likely to be employed than other married women and, secondly, because the earnings of married women were more equally distributed than the earnings of their husbands. The current concern, however, is that what was once a source of family income equality has or will become a source of greater inequality. Thurow explains it thus:

This source of household income equality is probably already in the process of vanishing. Under the impact of female liberation and the general long-run trend toward female work, female participation rates are now rising most rapidly for wives of high-income husbands ... In a nondiscriminating, equal participation

world, female earnings are apt to be as unequal as those of men. The net result — a more unequal distribution of household income. (1978, p.161.)

In this paper we test the validity of the hypothesis that the increase in the labour force participation of married women across all categories of husbands' income and the movement towards equalisation of women's earnings to men's have resulted in a more unequal distribution of family income. We do this in two ways. Firstly, we examine the empirical evidence for the hypothesis and, secondly, we examine critically the assumptions implicit in the hypothesis.

I The Empirical Evidence

In this section we examine the relationship between husbands' income and the labour force participation of married women and the effect of this participation on family income inequality. Where possible we have used Australian data, although it has been necessary to rely on United States data to address some questions, in ways which may be suggestive for future Australian research.

(a) Australian Data

The data provided in Table 1 and graphed in Figure 1 (derived from the ABS 1978-79 Income Survey) illustrate the relationship between husbands' earned income¹ and the labour force participation rate of married women. The relationship is a complex one which is best discussed in stages. Firstly, where husbands have no earned income, only 15.2 per cent of wives were in the labour force. Of married couple income units where the husband has no earned income, in 87 per cent of instances there are no dependent children. This and other data indicate that in the majority of such income units the husband is 55 years and over, and the principal sources of income are derived from government social security benefits, superannuation, interest, dividends and rent. We have therefore excluded this group from the analysis which follows, because we are interested predominantly in the relationship between husbands' earned income and wives' labour force participation.

There is a steep rise in the labour force participation rates of wives whose husbands' earned income lies within the ranges \$1 - \$4,999 and \$5,000 - \$9,999; these rates varying from 68.7 per cent to 66.9 per cent. Where husbands' earned income is between \$10,000 to \$24,999, wives' labour force participation rates fall: the rate for wives whose husbands earn \$10,000 - \$14,999 is 62.4 per cent, the rate where husbands earn \$20,000 - \$24,999 is 56.7 per cent. There is an increase in wives' participation rate (to 65.3%) where husbands' earned income is \$25,000 - \$29,999, falling again to 57.1 per cent where husbands' earned income is \$30,000 and over. Where husbands have earned income, highest labour force participation rates are recorded for wives of men earning less than \$10,000; a second peak occurs for wives of men earning \$25,000 - \$29,999; lowest participation rates are recorded for wives whose husbands earn between \$10,000 and \$24,999, and also where husbands earn \$30,000 or more.

It can therefore be concluded (tentatively) that wives' labour force participation rates are highest where husbands' earned income is relatively low; that participation rates are also high where husbands' income is relatively high; that wives' participation rates are lowest where husbands are in the middle income categories, and again where husbands are very high income earners.

In assessing the relationship between wives' labour force participation and husbands' earned income we need to know not only whether a wife is employed but also the number of hours of her employment. Martin Rein (1980) refers to this factor as 'labour force attachment'. The 1978-79 Income Survey classified employment on the basis of the most common employment in which persons were engaged in 1978-79, using the categories full-year, full-time; full-year, part-time; part-year, full-time; and part-year, part-time.² The data presented in Table 2 disaggregate the employment status of married women into these four categories, cross-tabulated by husbands' earned income grouped according to average weekly earnings for men. In 1978-79 average weekly male earnings were \$225.60 or \$11,731 per year. We have therefore grouped husbands earning \$10,000 - \$14,999 in the category 'About Average Weekly Earnings' (AWE); husbands with

incomes of \$15,000 and above are placed in the category 'Above AWE'; and husbands with incomes \$1 - \$9,999 are placed in the category 'Below AWE'.

From Table 2 we can derive an index of labour force attachment which takes into account both labour force participation and hours of employment. It is clear that the wives of men earning below average weekly earnings have the highest labour force participation rate (67.4%), followed by the wives of men earning about average weekly earnings (62.4%), while the wives of men earning above average weekly earnings have the lowest participation rate (58.6%). The wives of men on average weekly earnings and below have a similar rate of full-year, full-time employment (approximately one quarter employed full-year, full-time); and a similar rate of total full-time employment (more than one third employed full-time either for the full year or part of the year). In comparison, the wives of men earning above average weekly earnings have a lower rate of full-year, full-time employment and a lower rate of total full-time employment (one fifth employed full-year, full-time and one quarter employed full-time either for the full year or part of the year).

Even though the wives of men earning \$25,000 - \$29,999 have a higher participation rate (65.3%) than do other wives whose husbands are in the income ranges above average weekly earnings, they have, like other wives in this income category, a lower rate of full-time employment when compared with the wives of lower income husbands. One fifth are employed full-year, full-time and one quarter are employed full-time for either the full year or part of the year. Their higher labour force participation is accounted for by a higher rate of part-time employment, in particular by a much higher rate of part-year, part-time employment.

Figure 2 graphs the data outlined in Table 3, illustrating the employment patterns of employed married women according to their husbands' earned income. Employed wives of men earning about average weekly earnings have the highest rate of full-time employment (60.7% are employed either full-year, full-time or part-

year, full-time); followed by wives of men earning below average weekly earnings (55.1% are employed full-time). Employed wives of men earning above average weekly earnings have the lowest full-time employment and the highest rate of part-time employment, in particular the highest rate of part-year, part-time employment.

It can be concluded from the data on both labour force participation and hours of employment that the wives of men earning below or about average weekly earnings have a higher labour force attachment than the wives of men with higher earned incomes.

There is an important relationship between husbands' earned income, age of youngest dependent child in the family and wives' labour force participation (Table 4 and Figure 3). The data show that in married couple income units with at least one dependent child, wives' labour force participation rates are lowest where there is a child under six years; labour force participation rates increase where the youngest child is aged 6-14 years and in most income categories participation rates increase again where the youngest child is aged 15 to 20 years.

However, across the categories of husbands' earned income, where the youngest child is under six, wives' participation rates are highest where husbands' earned income is low (\$1 - \$4,999 and \$5,000 - \$9,999) and also where husbands' earned income is relatively high (\$25,000 - \$29,999). It is in the lowest earned income category (\$1 - \$4,999) that wives' participation rates are highest whatever the age of the youngest child, and a similar result is observed for wives whose husbands earn \$5,000 - \$9,999. It is where the youngest child is below six years that the variation in labour force participation rates across the ranges of husbands' earned income is most marked. Where husbands earn \$1 - \$4,999 wives' participation rate is 65.4 per cent; where husbands earn \$5,000 - \$9,999 the participation rate is 59.8 per cent; from this income range wives' participation rates decline steadily to 35.7 per cent where husbands' earned income is \$20,000 - \$24,999. This represents a fall of almost 30 percentage points in the labour force participation rates of women with a pre-school child as husbands' earned income rises. However, this trend is interrupted when husbands' earned income falls within the range

\$25,000 - \$29,999, when wives' participation rate is 65.5 per cent.

It would appear from these data and from other evidence that the wives of low income earning husbands, whatever the age of their youngest child, have a high financial incentive to be employed, and this holds particularly where there is a pre-school child. Labour force participation rates fall significantly for wives whose husbands earn \$10,000 - \$24,999, particularly where there is a child under six and also (but less dramatically) where the youngest child is aged 6 - 14 years. Wives whose husbands earn \$25,000 - \$29,999 also have high participation rates, differing very little according to the age of the youngest child, but not reaching the level of participation shown by the wives of low income earners where the youngest child is aged 6 - 14 years and 15 - 20 years. Wives of the highest income earners, \$30,000 and above, have relatively low participation rates, particularly where the youngest child is aged 6 - 14 years and 15 - 20 years.

Both the wives of low income earners and the wives of relatively high income earners show very little variation in labour force participation according to the age of their youngest child. In explaining the former case (wives of low income earners) we would posit that the financial incentive/necessity for the wife to be employed is very strong, offsetting the disincentives of the extra costs associated with earning income where there is a young child in the family. In the latter case (wives of men earning \$24,000 - \$29,999, but not, it should be noted, wives of the highest income earners) we would posit that career attachment is strong and that the costs of childcare are more easily met. However, it must also be remembered that women in this category have a higher rate of part-time employment than do the wives of low income husbands.

It is the wives of middle income earners (\$10,000 - \$24,999) who show the widest variation in participation rates according to the age of their youngest child and who have the lowest participation rate where there is a child under 6 years or aged 6 - 14 years. There would appear to be less incentive for wives in this circumstance to be employed, and possibly greater disincentives in

the form of unsubsidised childcare costs.

Summarising our findings at this stage, data from the 1978-79 Income Distribution Survey show that:

- (i) Wives' labour force participation rates are highest where husbands' income is relatively low (\$1 - \$9,999, below average weekly earnings), and also where husbands' income is relatively high (\$25,000 - \$29,999). Wives' participation rates are lowest where husbands are in the middle income categories (\$10,000 - \$24,999) and also where husbands are very high income earners (\$30,000 and above).
- (ii) In terms of labour force attachment, which takes into account both labour force participation and hours of employment, wives of men earning below average weekly earnings and about average weekly earnings (\$1 - \$14,999) have a higher labour force attachment than wives of men earning above average weekly earnings. Wives of men earning \$25,000 - \$29,999 have a higher participation rate than other wives whose husbands earn above AWE, but are less likely to be employed full-time when compared with the wives of low income husbands.
- (iii) Where there is a dependent child in the family, wives of low income husbands have consistently high labour force participation rates compared with the wives of higher income earners, and this is particularly marked where this is a child under six or a child 6 - 14 years.

These findings on the relationship between husbands' earned income and wives' labour force participation based on the 1978-79 Income Survey are supported by data from the 1981 Census. The two data sources are not strictly comparable because the income data from the Income Survey used in our preceeding tables refer to 'earned income' whereas the Census figures refer to husbands' total income from all sources. In addition, labour force participation rates in the 1981

Census refer to participation in the week before the Census was taken, whereas labour force participation in the Income Survey refers to participation during the whole of 1978-79. Nevertheless, a study by Brooks and Volker (1983) using the one-percent public use sample of the 1981 Census found that labour force participation of married women decreased as husbands' income rose. As in our analysis of the 1978-79 Income Survey, participation rates increased at the top of the income range (compared with the rate at the preceeding income level) — but this was not a significant rise. Brooks and Volker also found that the number of hours for which married women were employed decreased as husbands' income rose.

These analyses of both the 1978-79 Income Survey data and of the 1981 Census would appear to provide little support for the hypothesis that married women's labour force participation has a regressive effect on family income distribution. Rather, it would appear that married women are more likely to be employed, and to be employed full-time, when their husbands are relatively low income earners, and that this relationship is strengthened when there is a young child in the family. A more likely hypothesis based on these findings is that married women's labour force participation has a progressive effect on family income distribution.

Analysis of the relationship between husbands' earned income and wives' earned income using data from the 1978-79 Income Survey lends support to this inference. Table 5 demonstrates that the pattern of wives' labour force participation across the range of husbands' income distribution results in a very flat distribution of mean earned income for wives, a distribution which shows little significant change as husbands' income rises. The ratio of wives' earned income to husbands' earned income calculated across the distribution of men's earnings shows that wives' earnings constitute a much higher proportion of the total income of the income unit where husbands' income is low and that this proportion decreases as husbands' income rises (see Figure 4). The earned income of wives contributes an additional 70 per cent to the earned income of husbands when husbands' income falls in the range of \$5,000 - \$6,000. Wives' earned income contributes an additional one third (approximately) to the earned income of husbands in receipt of about average weekly

earnings (\$10,000 - \$13,000). By comparison, wives' earnings contribute an additional 20 per cent to the earned income of husbands at the upper levels of the income distribution (above \$18,000). As a result of the high proportional contribution made by married women's earnings to the combined earnings of the income unit when husbands' income is relatively low, the addition of wives' to husbands' earnings results in a more equal distribution of total earnings across the range of married couple income units. Tables 6 and 7 show the distribution of earned income of married couple income units under two different conditions: Table 6 outlines the distribution of husbands' earned income; Table 7 outlines the distribution of the combined earned incomes of husbands and wives. In Table 6, the column for husbands' earned income is derived by taking the mid-points of the 16 income ranges outlined in Table 5; in Table 7 the column for the earned income of the married couple is derived by adding the mean earned income of wives in each range to the mid-point of the husbands' earned income range. It must be noted that the category of 'nil earned income' for husbands has been omitted from this analysis because, as in the previous analysis of wives' labour force participation, the object of the study is the relationship between husbands' and wives' earned incomes. (The issue of income units without earned income will be discussed below.)

A reading of Table 6 shows that married couple income units with husbands earning \$11,500 and below (approximately average weekly earnings and below) accounted for 53.1 per cent of married couple income units and received 35.6 per cent of total income. The lowest quintile (those earning \$7,500 and below) accounted for 19.4 per cent of the total and received 7.8 per cent of total income. At the top of the earned income range, married couple income units with husbands earning \$19,000 and above accounted for 12.3 per cent of the total and received 23.4 per cent of total income. The 'Gini coefficient' (a measure of the degree of inequality of a distribution) for the distribution of husbands' earned income is 0.255.³

Analysis of Table 7 shows the effects of the addition of wives' earnings on the total earned income of the income unit. Income units comprising 53.1 per cent of all income units (those earning \$15,210

and below) received 39.5 per cent of total earnings of husbands and wives compared with 35.6 per cent of husbands' earnings. The lowest quintile of married couple income units (earning \$11,340 and below) received 10.0 per cent of the income of husbands and wives and 7.8 per cent of husbands' incomes. At the top of the range, income units with an earned income of \$22,720 and above accounted for 12.3 per cent of the total and received 21.2 per cent of total combined income but 23.4 per cent of the income of husbands. The Gini coefficient for the distribution of the combined earned incomes of husband and wife is .202, a lower figure than the coefficient for the previous distribution, indicating that the addition of wives' earned income has contributed to a more equal distribution of earned incomes. The data given in Tables 6 and 7 are presented in graph form in Figure 5. The Lorenz Curves for the two income distributions in the figure show the relationship between the cumulative percentage of married couple income units and the cumulative percentage of the amount of income received. The figure illustrates that the lower 50 per cent of income units receive a greater percentage of income when wives' earnings are added than when only husbands' earnings are received.

This analysis has used the most recent, available income unit data for the years 1978-79. However the data are not as adequate as we would wish because they are aggregated, and unit record data would be much more suitable for such an analysis. However, these are the only available data based on a national sample⁴, and our analysis does not provide support for the view that married women's labour force participation increases the inequality of family income distribution. Rather, our analysis suggests that married women's earned income contributes to greater equality in the distribution of earned incomes of married couple income units.

We turn now to an examination of changes which have taken place in the numbers of earners in families and in resultant family income in the period 1968-69 to 1978-79. A study by Murray (1981) used the 1968-69 and 1973-74 Income Surveys to assess changes in family income inequality over this period. 'Family' was defined to include two or more people living in the same household, including the head and any-one with the following relationship to the head: spouse, unmarried

child or near relative. Murray found that two countervailing processes had occurred: firstly, a decrease in income inequality between families with the same number of earners; and secondly, an increase in inequality between families with different numbers of income earners.

Murray's explanation for these two opposing processes identified two factors. Firstly, there have been changes in the proportion of families with different numbers of income earners. Table 8 shows the proportions of families with either no income earner, one income earner, 2 income earners, and 3 or more earners for the years 1968-69 and 1973-74 (Murray's tabulations) and for 1978-79 (derived from ABS Income Distribution, 1978-79). Between 1968-69 and 1973-74 there was an increase in the proportion of families with two income earners and a corresponding decrease in the proportion with one income earner - a change which Murray attributes to the increase in female labour force participation. The second factor is the change in the relative mean incomes of the different family groups. Table 9 compares the mean incomes of families with different numbers of income earners to the mean income of families with one earner. In the period 1968-69 to 1973-74 the mean income of families with no earners declined relative to the mean income of families with one earner, while the mean income of families with multiple earners increased. Murray attributes these changes partly to the increase in the proportion of older, retired people dependent on pensions which increased the proportion of families without an income earner. In addition he points to the reduction in the differentials of individual incomes which occurred in this period, which increased the incomes of 'secondary' earners in families (usually women) more so than that of the incomes of 'primary' earners. Not only did the largest increase in married women's labour force participation occur before 1975, but the largest increases in the female share of the wages bill occurred in the period 1969 to 1975 as a result of the 1969 and 1972 equal pay decisions (Gregory et al., 1983).

As a result of these two opposing processes: an increase in income inequality between families with different numbers of income earners on the one hand, and a decrease in income inequality between families

with the same number of income earners on the other, Murray concludes that there was little, if any, change in the inequality of family income distribution in this period.

In Tables 8 and 9 we have included data from the 1978-79 Income Survey which allows for an extension of Murray's analysis. Between 1973-74 and 1978-79 there has been a large increase in the proportion of families with no income earner (from 9.5% to 15.3%) but virtually no increase in the proportion of families with two earners and overall a slight drop in the proportion of multi-earner families. The increase in the proportion of families without an income earner must be attributed to the economic recession since 1974, which has resulted not only in a marked increase in unemployment and subsequent escalation of the numbers of unemployment beneficiaries, but also in an increased take-up of other pensions and benefits as a result of earlier 'retirement', and as a result of the erosion of labour market opportunities for supporting parents (Sheehan and Stricker, 1983; Cass and O'Loughlin, 1984).

In the period 1973-74 to 1978-79 there has been an increase in the mean income of families without an earner relative to families with one earner, possibly attributable to the twice-yearly indexation of most pensions and benefits since 1976. However, the ratio of income for two earner families relative to the income of one earner families did not increase in this period; although the ratio for families with three or more earners did increase.

It is difficult to assess changes in family income distribution between 1973-74 and 1978-79 because the 1978-79 survey excluded many families which had experienced a change of status in the survey period (for example, those families whose female head had lived with her husband for more than twelve weeks during 1978-79 but was not doing so at the time of the interview). According to Ingles (1981, p.27), these exclusions appear to have reduced the number of families reporting nil or very low income.

Ingles' assessment of the distribution of family income over the

decade to 1978-79 is that family income has become more unequal. He suggests that a major explanatory factor is the increasing labour force participation of married women (1981, p.52). On the basis of the two variables used by Murray to explain changes in family income inequality, this conclusion seems a little hasty. Firstly, the data in Table 8 suggest that a more significant factor in explaining any increase in inequality is the increase in the number of families where there are no income earners. Between 1968-69 and 1978-79 the percentage of families with no income earner increased from 8.4 per cent to 15.3 per cent, an increase of 6.9 percentage points, whereas the percentage of two earner families increased from 38.9 per cent to 42.4 per cent, an increase of 3.5 percentage points — half the increase of that for no earner families.

Secondly, although the data in Table 9 show that there has been an increase in the income of two earner families relative to that of one earner families, we need to know whether high income or low income families benefited from these increases before we can infer that they were a source of family income inequality. According to Murray (1981), the increase in the income of two earner families is explained by a decrease in earnings differentials, especially for the 'secondary' earner in families. Most 'secondary' earners in families are women, and over the period 1968-69 to 1978-79 there was a great decrease in the differential between male and female earnings as a result of the equal pay decisions of 1969 and 1972. The ratio of females' to males' earnings for full-time employees in 1968 was 57.0; in 1972 it was 64.3; in 1974 it was 65.9; and in 1976 the ratio was 77.1 (Gregory and Duncan, 1981, p.409).

As noted at the outset, Thurow and others have hypothesised that the move towards greater equality of females' and males' earnings results in greater family income inequality. This hypothesis is not supported by the following analysis of the move to equalisation of males' and females' earnings between 1973-74 and 1978-79.

In 1973 the ratio of females' to males' earnings for full-time workers was 66 per cent and in 1977 it was 77 per cent. However, over this period the income distribution for full-year, full-time employed

females became slightly more equal. The Gini coefficient for 1973-74 was 0.23 and for 1978-79 it was 0.21. In 1973-74 the lower five deciles of full-time female earners received 34.3 per cent share of the total income earned and in 1978-79 this share had increased slightly to 35.9 per cent. The data suggest that the decrease in income differentials between males and females between 1973-74 and 1978-79 benefited low income females slightly more than the others. In turn, this would have benefited low income families slightly more than others (ABS, Cat.No.4108.0, Table 39).

The available Australian evidence gives little support to the hypothesis that married women's increased labour force participation and the movement towards equalisation of male and female earnings have resulted in a more unequal distribution of family income. Although there has been an increase in the proportion of families with two income earners, the major part of this increase occurred in the period 1968-69 to 1973-74, before the onset of recession caused the upward trend in married women's labour force participation rates to plateau (Sheehan and Stricker, 1980). Of much greater significance has been the increase in the proportion of families without an income earner — an increase which has taken place predominantly in the period 1973-74 to 1978-79.

It must also be emphasised that our preceeding analysis of the 1978-79 Income Survey showed a greater rate of labour force participation and of labour force attachment for the wives of lower income earners, particularly where there was a young child in the family. In addition, the increase in women's earnings relative to men's seems to have had a progressive effect on the income distribution of female earners. Both of these processes effect the contribution made by married women's earned income to the total earned income of married couple income units, producing an income distribution tending towards greater equality than the distribution of husbands' earned income.

It has been argued that the process most likely to have pushed family income distribution towards greater inequality in the period 1973-74 to 1978-79 is the increase in families without an income earner, resulting partially from demographic change but much more

significantly from increased rates of unemployment (Nevile and Warren, 1983). It could be argued further that the emphasis placed on the income inequalities resulting from married women's labour force participation is not only misplaced, but misleading, in deflecting attention from the labour market processes which have reduced the opportunities for both male and female labour force participation.

(b) United States Studies of the Relationship Between Married Women's Labour Force Participation and Family Income Distribution

A number of studies have been conducted in the United States testing the hypothesis popularised by the Wall Street Journal (Bergmann, et al., 1980; Danziger, 1980; Horvarth, 1980; Smith, 1979). Without exception, these studies show that the labour force participation of married women has decreased family income inequality.⁵ Danziger's study is the most useful for our purposes because it compared the effect of married women's employment on family income distribution over a period of time, and also used the most recent data.

Danziger's method was to assess the contribution made by married women's earnings to family income distribution in 1967, 1974 and 1977, comparing the Gini coefficient for total family income with the coefficient for total family income minus wives' earnings. For 1967 the Gini coefficient for total family income for white married couple families was .323, 4.6 per cent less than the coefficient of .339 for total family income minus wives' earnings. In 1974 the Gini coefficient for total family income was again .323, 5.9 per cent less than that for family income minus wives' earnings (.344). By 1977 the coefficient for total family income was .321, 6.4 per cent less than that for family income minus wives' earnings. As Danziger notes, these findings show that wives' earnings have a small equalising impact on the distribution of family income – an equalising impact which has remained relatively stable in the period 1967-1977, despite increases in the labour force participation of the wives of men with higher than average earnings.

For non-white families, Danziger found that in 1967 total family

income distribution was slightly less equal than the distribution of family income minus wives' earnings: wives' incomes increased inequality by 1.4 per cent. However, by 1974 this relationship was reversed and the 1977 figures showed that wives' earnings increased family income equality by 2.9 per cent. Danziger reported that he obtained similar results for white and non-white families using the total income received by each quintile of the population of married couple families as the measure of inequality. Extending Sweet's (1971) analysis of the impact of married women's earnings on family income distribution in 1959, Danziger concluded that Thurow's hypothesis was not confirmed. Rather than wives' earnings having become a source of family income inequality, wives' earnings exerted a small equalising impact on the distribution of family incomes in the period 1959-1974, and this tendency had become more pronounced in the period 1974-1977.

The studies of Danziger and Sweet concentrate on past trends in married women's labour force participation and the effects on income distribution. Bergmann et al. (1980) have made projections of the likely future distributional effects of married women's increasing rates of participation. The study's projections were based on a computer simulation of two paths of entry of married women into the labour force, to illustrate the two possible extremes of the effect on family income distribution. The first path is followed if wives enter the labour force in descending order of total family income minus wives' earnings: i.e. the wives of higher income husbands enter first. This results in a rise in the Gini coefficient for total family income to a maximum of .404 from a coefficient of .344 for total family income minus wives' earnings. This maximum is reached when 40 per cent of wives are in the labour force. The second path is followed if wives enter the labour force in ascending order of family income, i.e. the wives of low income husbands enter first. This results in a lowering of the Gini coefficient for total family income to a minimum of .283 when 60 per cent of wives are in the labour force. Since the available evidence suggests that, historically, advanced industrial societies followed the second path, then a reversal of 'poorest wives first', towards increased participation of the wives of higher income husbands, would increase

family income inequality.

Bergmann et al. however point out that in the United States the entry of married women into the labour force has been following an intermediate path slightly skewed towards the path of 'poorest first'. Assuming that wives of low income earning husbands do not drop out of the labour force, Bergmann et al. conclude that:

from now on as more and more wives come into the labour force, the likelihood of extensive changes in distribution of income due to working wives' pay is very small ... (I)n the future, as we move towards 100 per cent participation, the average ratio of wives' wages to 'other family income' has virtually no effect on inequality, assuming low positive correlation between husbands' and wives' earnings (1980, p.454).

This conclusion raises the question of the effect on income distribution of married women's labour force participation if we do not assume the continuation of a low positive correlation between husbands' and wives' earnings. Investigating husbands' and wives' earnings in 1974, Danziger (1980) found a correlation coefficient of .22 between the earnings of white married women working full-year, full-time and their husbands' earnings; and a correlation coefficient of .11 between the earnings of all wives and their husbands' earnings. If, however, female earnings were made equal to males (and hence the distribution of married women's earnings were to become as unequal as the distribution of married men's earnings) then the correlation would change with implications for family income equality.

If homogamy is assumed, i.e., if spouses are equally matched according to educational qualifications and income-earning capacities, then Danziger posits the most unequal situation for family incomes: when the earnings of husbands and wives are perfectly and positively correlated. In a low income family both husband and wife would earn \$150 per week; in a high income family both would earn \$500 per week. In this situation, using any measure of inequality, the degree of family income inequality would equal the degree of inequality in husbands' earnings, which would be the same as the inequality in wives' earnings. In the United States in 1974, the Gini coefficient

for husbands' earnings was about 10 per cent greater than the Gini coefficient for the sum of the earnings of husbands and wives. Therefore, the equalisation of the earnings distributions of married men and women would imply a maximum increase of 10 per cent in the Gini coefficient for total family income, or using the 1974 figure: from .323 to .355. Danziger concludes:

Given that the current correlation between the earnings of wives and husbands is positive, but quite small, foreseeable changes in the work experience of wives are not likely to become an important source of family income inequality (1980, pp.449-50).

The Australian figures for husbands' and wives' earned income in 1978-79 (Table 5) show an irregular pattern of relationship between husbands' and wives' earnings. Wives' earnings increase along with husbands' earnings until the husbands' income level of \$8,000-\$9,000. Wives' earnings then generally decrease as husbands' earnings increase until the highest income levels where both husbands' and wives' earnings increase. The data in Table 5 are the earnings for all married women, however, and it is likely that the earnings for full-year, full-time employed married women would show a stronger positive correlation between husbands' and wives' earnings. Nevertheless, the data in Table 5 show that, although the overall figures for male and female earnings have shown a movement towards greater equality in the period 1968-69 to 1978-79, this has not been translated into a symmetry of husbands' and wives' earnings.

There are a number of reasons for this: firstly, relatively low full-time participation rates for married women (particularly where there are dependent children); secondly, the remaining inequalities in male and female earnings; thirdly, the lack of homogamy between husbands and wives (i.e., the tendency for husbands to be older than their wives, have more years of formal schooling and higher income earning capacities (English and King, 1984)). A positive and perfect correlation between husbands' and wives' earnings would require not only equality of male and female earnings, but also equalisation of labour force attachment, i.e. of hours worked and continuity of participation — a condition unlikely to be obtained without equal

sharing of domestic and childcare obligations. There is little evidence of such tendencies in Australian family practices (Wearing, 1984).

II Theoretical Assumptions

The first section of this paper examined the hypothesis that the increase in the labour force participation of married women and the movement towards equalisation of male and female earnings have resulted, or will result, in a more unequal distribution of family income. The validity of the hypothesis was tested against the available empirical evidence. This second section tests the validity of the hypothesis by examining the theoretical assumptions embedded in it. The first section mounted an internal critique which accepted the theoretical framework implied in the hypothesis; the second section is an external critique of that framework, identifying and evaluating the four major assumptions on which it is based.

The first assumption is the definition of 'family income' implied in the hypothesis. Family income is defined as income received by husbands and wives from wages, salaries, self-employment in own business, farm, trade or profession, share in partnership, and other sources of income like social security payments, superannuation, interest, rent and dividends. (Where 'earned income' is the subject of study, only income from wages, salaries, own business, trade, farm or profession or from share in partnership is included.)

This definition of family income (or income-unit income, which is the more precise unit of analysis which we have used in the Australian analysis) has a number of omissions. The most significant is the exclusion of the imputed value of services provided in the household by non-employed spouses (predominantly wives). It has been argued convincingly that the exclusion from total family income calculations of imputed income derived from home-produced goods and services results in an under-estimation of the economic resources

available to a family where the husband is employed in the market and the wife is engaged in unpaid non-market work in the household, and an over-estimation of the resources available where both husband and wife are employed (Apps et al., 1981; Edwards, 1980; Garfinkel and Haveman, 1977). Edwards explains the argument:

Working for oneself or one's family does generate goods and services and so generates income. In other words, the economic status of a family depends on more than just money income. ... when a person spends time cooking a meal, spends time on home decoration, spends time in hunting for food specials or caring for children, that person (or his/her family) derives imputed income. Time has been used to save money. It follows that when a family or person uses money income to purchase a meal, to obtain home decoration services, to pay high prices at a local store for convenience or to buy child care, money is being substituted for time. The sum of money and imputed income, 'full income' is a better measure of the economic well-being or status of a person or family than is money income alone. Some people will find it preferable to use money income to save on time while others will prefer to use their time to save money (1980, p.10).

A study by Lazear and Michael (1980) illustrates the difference in measuring the economic well-being of a family by examining money income only and by attempting to derive some measure of full income. Lazear and Michael compared not only the differences in income between one-earner and two-earner married couple families, but also the differences in spending patterns. The study found that two-earner families had about 20 per cent higher incomes after tax than one-earner families and also spent about 8 per cent more in total expenditure. This extra expenditure was mainly on items related to the employment of the second earner, like clothes and transport, and on items that essentially substituted market-produced services for home-produced services, like eating at restaurants and domestic services. Interestingly, however, Lazear and Michael estimate roughly, that to achieve the same standard of living as the one-earner family, a two-earner family would require about 30 per cent more money income to spend on substitute services and goods which is 10 per cent more income than the two-earner families in their study did receive. This estimate was based only on families without dependent children and undoubtedly would be higher for families with pre-

school children because of the high cost of child care. This study indicates that a testing of the effect of married women's employment on family income inequality will provide biased results if only the money incomes of married couple families where the wife is and is not in the labour force are compared.

A more complete analysis requires, firstly, an estimation of the imputed value of home-produced goods and services, and, secondly, an estimation of the extra expenditure associated with the employment of the second income earner, in particular the costs of child care, travel, and substitute household goods and services purchased in the market. A comparison of the economic situation of one and two earner families would therefore require a concept of 'net income', which takes into account the extra direct and indirect costs associated with the labour force participation of the second income earner, particularly where there are dependent children.

A second assumption implicit in the hypothesis also relates to family income: it is assumed that married couple families can be regarded as income units within which the money incomes of the family members are pooled and shared. On the basis of this assumption it is valid to conclude that married women who are not gainfully employed have equal access with other family members to the family's pooled income. This explains the reference in the Wall Street Journal article to women with high income husbands as 'prosperous' and 'well-to-do' wives. Rivlin, who is concerned about the effect of married women's labour force participation on family income equality, agrees with this assumption:

The distribution of income among individuals is meaningless because people live in groups and pool their incomes, so we must look at the income of families, households or perhaps "spending units" (1975, p.3).

But the concept of a married couple as a single income or spending unit goes beyond the initial assumption of pooling to assume further that both spouses have equal access to and control over family income and its expenditure. Considerable evidence is available which demonstrates that such assumptions obscure the wide range of financial

budgeting arrangements within families; from situations where husbands hand over their total wages to be managed by their wives for household expenditure, to situations where husbands retain most (or even all) of their income and maintain complete control of household finances (Edwards, 1981; Grey, 1979; Pahl, 1980; Whitehead, 1981).

The only Australian study of financial arrangements within families concluded that in just over half the couples surveyed there was joint control of finances, but in 40 per cent of couples husbands had much more control in financial matters than did wives. In a number of cases, wives could be said to have a lower standard of living than their husbands (in some cases, a much lower standard). In particular, wives without their own earned income were less likely than their husbands to have access to surplus income for their own discretionary spending. Not surprisingly, wives with their own earned income were likely to have more control in the spending of total family income than were wives who were not in the labour force (Edwards, 1981).

Such evidence suggests that it is reasonable to question the assumption of a general pattern of equality of access to and control over income in married couple units. It is also reasonable to suggest that one of the motivations for the labour force participation of some wives results from an inequitable distribution of income within the married couple unit.

This last point leads to the third assumption implicit in the hypothesis that an increase in married women's labour force participation results in an increase in family income inequality. This is the assumption of the stability of married couple families over time. It is assumed, for example, that a wife with a medium earned income, married to a high income-earning husband will remain in a very high income married couple family. This is, of course, a misleading assumption because of the cessation of marriage as a result of separation, divorce or death. Assuming that 1982 rates of divorce will apply throughout the life-time of a group of newly married couples, 40 per cent of marriages would end in divorce (McDonald, 1983, p.4).

The cessation of marriage usually results in the formation of one person and one parent income units, of which those headed by women are economically disadvantaged by the prior labour force history of the woman as a 'secondary' income earner, or as a non-income earner. If we wish to assess the effect of the labour force participation of married women on family income equality, we need to examine not just the effect on a population of families at one point in time, but also the effect on that population following changes in family composition.

A very large United States study followed economic changes to 5,000 families over the period 1968-1978 (Duncan and Morgan, 1981). The individual was chosen as the unit of observation throughout the period since, as a result of changes in family composition, it became increasingly difficult to identify which individuals comprised the same family. As Duncan and Morgan explained:

We have discovered that changes in family composition are sufficiently frequent and dramatic in their effects that a coherent analysis of changes in economic status must use the individual rather than the family as the unit of analysis. By the seventh year of our study (1974), fewer than one-third of the families in the sample had the same composition as in the first year and over one-third were headed by someone who had not been the head of the "same" family seven years before (1981, p.6).

Their conclusion that changes in family composition often had devastating effects on economic status applied especially to women. One third of the initially married women originally living in families with incomes above the poverty line who became divorced and did not remarry were in poverty by the seventh year of the study. This finding is consistent with Australian data which indicate that 84 per cent of single parent families headed by women are financially dependent on social security payments and that in 1978-79 over a third of single parent families were living in poverty (Cass and O'Loughlin, 1984).

From one point of view it is these single parent families headed by women which are most disadvantaged in relation to married couple families where the wife is employed since the latter family has the resources of an extra earner, as well as the time resources of

the two adults. However, from a different perspective it is possible to see that the disadvantages of female headed single parent families result from the pervasive discouragement of married women's labour force participation, especially when they have dependent children.

A study by Rainwater (1979) explains the relationship between single mothers' labour force participation or dependence on welfare payments and their previous labour force experience when married. Almost all of the women who were employed for at least half of each year in the three years preceeding the break-up of their marriage continued to be employed as single parents, and almost none were dependent on welfare payments. Women who had been employed for at least half of each year for one or two (but not for all three years) in the three years preceeding the break-up of their marriage were also very likely to be employed. However, the women who had been employed for less than half of the year in any year or who had not been employed at all were least likely to be in the labour force as single parents. Rainwater's findings are supported by data from a New Zealand study of single mothers (Wylie, 1980) and a British study (Davis et al., 1983). The British study included a regression analysis of a number of predictors of single mothers' labour force participation. The most significant predictor of employment status was the woman's labour force participation during marriage - even more significant than the presence of children under five.

Most important, however, is the effect which the woman's labour force experience when she was married had on her later economic situation. Rainwater reports that by the fourth year as a single parent women who had regular employment experience before separation had family incomes equal to 80 per cent of their average family income when married. Women who had not been employed at all when married had incomes slightly less than half that of family income in the last year of marriage.

An hypothesis aims to predict the future. In the case under review, the hypothesis aims to predict the effect of married women's labour force participation on family income equality. This prediction will be biased and limited if the only evidence brought forward is based

on the effect of married women's labour force participation on the family income distribution of a population of families at a single point in time. A full assessment needs to be made of the effect on the income distribution of a population of families, taking into account changes in family composition over a reasonable period of time. A valuable study would trace the relationship between wives' labour force participation and family income distribution following a cohort of initially married couples through the period of family formation and children's dependency.

For the sake of the discussion of the fourth assumption we shall suppose, for the moment, that there has been an increase in family income inequality. Part of the function of an hypothesis is to suggest explanations for changes or events in the world. The hypothesis under consideration explains an increase in family income inequality as a direct result of an increase in the labour force participation of married women with high income husbands and by the movement towards equalisation of male and female earnings. Thus, there is an assumption that the problem of an increase in family income inequality is a problem caused by changing relationships between the sexes, by the movement towards women's equal economic participation and equal access to the financial rewards for such participation.

We dispute this interpretation. The problem of an increase in family income inequality is a class issue. The effect on family income equality of changes in women's labour force participation and the economic rewards for such participation are conditional on the prior context of the unequal distribution of men's earnings which takes its shape from the class-based access of men to earned income.

The significance of the class context of men's unequal income distribution is shown by the two explanations which are hypothesised to account for an increase in family income inequality. Firstly, it is not an increase of married women per se in the labour force that is hypothesised to cause an increase in family income inequality, but an increase in married women with high income husbands. Thus, it is the distribution of their husbands' incomes which provides the base which the wives' additional income pushes in the direction of

either greater inequality or greater equality. Secondly, the movement towards equalisation of female and male earnings need not necessarily result in an increase in family income inequality. If male earnings were equally distributed then the equalisation of females' to males' earnings would make the former as equal as the latter. Thus, the effect of the equalisation of females' to males' earnings is also clearly conditional on the distribution of men's earnings.

Explaining changes in family income equality as a function of changing relationships between the sexes results in a masking of the prior significant relationship between the distribution of family income and men's unequal access to earnings. That the much higher incomes of upper income husbands (both in relation to other men's incomes and to their own wives' incomes) provide by far the largest component resulting in family income inequality is not seen as the nub of the issue.

It would be incorrect to imply that the authors putting forward the hypothesis are unaware of the debates surrounding the assumptions we have discussed. For example, Ingles recognises that the 'money income measure is notoriously deficient as an indicator of the real resources potentially available to families' (1981, p.49). What we are proposing is that the relevance of these debates to the question of women's labour force participation and family income distribution has been largely ignored. For example, Ingles' remark, quoted above, appears in the paper in which he suggests that the increasing labour force participation of married women is a major factor in explaining increases in family income inequality. Ingles does not make any connections between the definition of family income used to test this hypothesis and his earlier critique of 'money income' as an adequate measure of family resources.

In general, the proponents of the hypothesis have looked only at the empirical data which they judge suitable for testing their proposition, without tackling the epistemologically prior task of identifying the theoretical assumptions which inform the hypothesis.

III Conclusions

This paper has tested the validity of the hypothesis that the increase in the labour force participation of married women and the movement towards the equalisation of women's earnings to men's have resulted, or will result, in a more unequal distribution of family income. In the first section the empirical evidence was reviewed, and the conclusion drawn was that evidence from Australia and the United States does not support the hypothesis. The available data for Australia (the 1978-79 Income Survey) indicate that wives' labour force participation and labour force attachment are highest where husbands' income is relatively low. The high labour force participation rates of the wives of relatively high income-earners are not associated with the high rates of full-time employment characteristic of the wives of low income husbands. The relationship between high levels of wives' participation and husbands' low earnings is strengthened where there is a dependent child in the family. The increase in women's earnings relative to men's in 1968-69 to 1978-79, and the greater labour force attachment of the wives of low income earners have resulted in wives' earned income moving family income distribution towards greater equality than is shown by the distribution of husbands' earned income. The United States studies under review conclude that the labour force participation of married women has exerted an equalising impact on the distribution of family incomes in the period 1959-1977. It is further concluded that foreseeable changes in the employment patterns of wives are unlikely to become an important source of family income inequality.

Analysis of the Australian income data uncovers very important changes in family incomes which the hypothesis, as it is framed, does not address: the increase in the proportion of families without an income earner which has taken place in the period 1973-74 to 1978-79. The effect of increased rates of unemployment and labour market deterioration on family income distribution is masked by an hypothesis which focuses only on wives' participation. The hypothesis suggests that changes in gender relations are the prime cause of changes in family income distribution. The increase in the proportion of

families without an income earner however has a class basis. The unemployed are drawn disproportionately from people whose earned incomes are low when they are employed (Whiteford, 1982) and unemployment is concentrated in families, and more likely to affect both spouses and their children when one partner/parent is unemployed (Cass and Garde, 1983).

In the second section of the paper we examined critically four assumptions implicit in the hypothesis. The inadequate definition of 'money income' used to test the hypothesis ignores the imputed income contributed by women's household work to the total income of the family. This results in an under-estimation of the resources available to families with an employed husband where the wife is engaged in non-market, household work. The non-recognition of the extra costs incurred by wives in earning income, particularly where there are dependent children, leads to an over-estimation of the net income available to a two-earner family. The assumption that income is pooled and shared within families leads to the further assumption that non-earners have the same access to and control of family income as do earners, and hence wives' economic situation is identical to that of their husbands. The assumption that married couple income units remain stable over a considerable time period results in a static assessment of the effects of women's labour force participation on family income distribution. An appreciation of potential changes in family composition and the formation of single parent families allows for an analysis of the effects of a woman's labour force participation both during marriage and after on the income of her family. Finally, we disputed the assumption that an increase in family income inequality is to be explained primarily in terms of changes in gender relationships, and pointed to the importance of class inequalities in determining income distributions.

A final point which requires highlighting is the inadequate treatment of the so-called 'equalisation' of male and female earnings and the sanguine implication that the trend will continue without impediment. Despite the Australian equal pay cases of 1969 and 1972, the implementation of equal pay remains unrealised while women continue to be employed in a highly sex-segmented labour market. Any movement

towards equalisation of husbands' and wives' earnings (within the same family) remains unrealisable while women's labour force participation, continuity of employment and hours of employment are constrained by their greater responsibility for household work and child care. While the hypothesis points to a future of greater family income inequality because more wives are employed and earning incomes which approximate their husbands' incomes, there are few indications that the domestic division of labour is altering sufficiently to support such changes.

The analysis in this paper does not provide empirical support for the hypothesis that increases in wives' labour force participation and the movement towards equalisation of men's and women's earnings have had, or are likely to have, a regressive impact on family income distribution. Furthermore, it has been shown that the hypothesis rests upon invalid assumptions. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons why such an apparently mistaken hypothesis has been proposed with such frequency. One answer is perhaps to be found in the sub-title of the article in the Wall Street Journal: 'The Dark Side of Women's Lib', and in Thurow's prediction that 'women's liberation will make the distribution of income more unequal'. Perhaps the proponents of the hypothesis do not explore adequately their underlying assumptions, or perhaps their disquiet about 'women's liberation' distorts their study of family income distribution.

TABLE 1 Married Couple Income Units : Employment Status of Wife by Earned Income of Husband, Australia, 1978-79

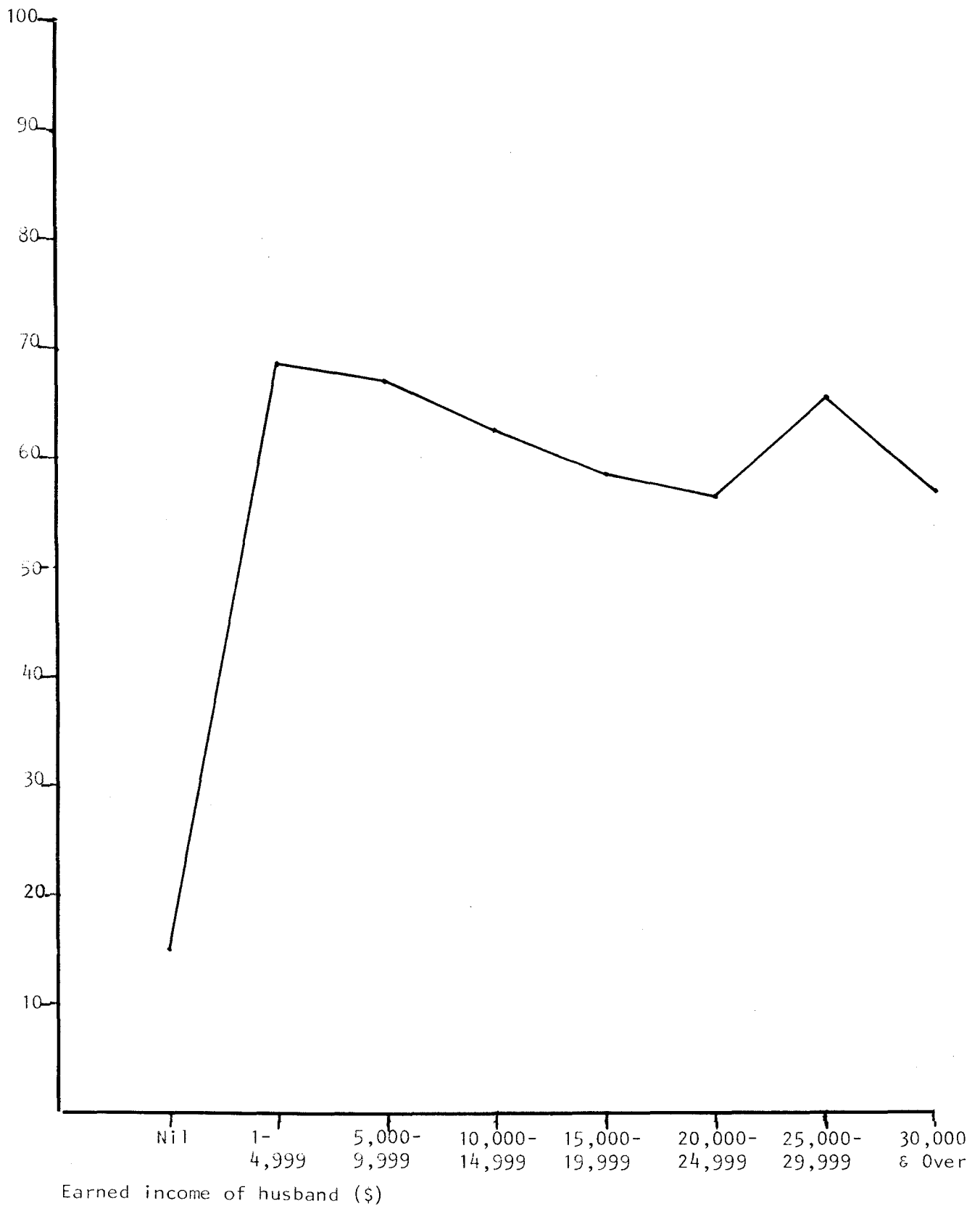
		EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WIFE							
		Full-Year Full-Time	Full-Year Part-Time	Part-Year Full-Time	Part-Year Part-Time	Unemployed	Total in the Labour Force	Not in the Labour Force	Total
EARNED INCOME OF HUSBAND									
NIL	N ('000)	33.3	24.0	8.6	13.6	*	84.8	472.4	557.2
	%	6.0	4.3	1.5	2.4		15.2	84.8	100.0
\$1-	N	47.1	60.1	24.9	20.5	*	154.9	70.5	225.4
\$4,999	%	20.9	26.7	11.0	9.1		68.7	31.3	100.0
\$5,000-	N	196.4	146.8	76.4	53.2	17.9	490.9	242.7	733.6
\$9,999	%	26.8	20.0	10.4	7.3	2.4	66.9	33.1	100.0
\$10,000-	N	293.6	149.3	112.2	114.0	34.3	702.9	424.1	1127.0
\$14,999	%	26.1	13.2	10.0	10.1	3.0	62.4	37.6	100.0
\$15,000-	N	90.6	72.1	32.4	64.6	14.9	274.6	193.2	467.8
\$19,999	%	19.4	15.4	6.9	13.8	3.2	58.7	41.3	100.0
\$20,000-	N	26.2	19.7	6.6	17.2	*	72.1	55.0	127.1
\$24,999	%	20.6	15.5	5.2	13.5		56.7	43.3	100.0
\$25,000-	N	8.0	8.2	*	7.5	*	26.0	13.8	39.8
\$29,999	%	20.1	20.6		18.8		65.3	34.7	100.0
\$30,000	N	9.6	12.9	*	*	*	31.3	23.5	54.8
& Over	%	17.5	23.5				57.1	42.9	100.0
TOTAL	N	704.8	493.3	267.4	294.5	77.7	1838.0	1495.0	3333.0
	%	21.1	14.8	8.0	8.8	2.3	55.1	44.9	100.0

Note: * = Subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Unpublished data from the ABS 1978-79 Income Survey

FIGURE 1 Labour Force Participation Rate of Married Women by Earned
Income of Husband, Australia, 1978-79

Labour force participation rate (%)



Source: Table 1.

TABLE 2 Married Couple Income Units : Employment Status of Wife by Earned Income of Husband (grouped), Australia, 1978-79

Employment Status of Wife	Earned Income of Husband					
	Below AWE ⁽¹⁾ \$1-\$9,999		About AWE \$10,000-\$14,999		Above AWE \$15,000 plus	
	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%
Full-year, Full-time	243.5	25.4	293.6	26.1	134.4	19.5
Part-year, Full-time	101.3	10.6	112.2	10.0	45.2	6.6
Full-year, Part-time	206.9	21.6	149.3	13.2	112.9	16.4
Part-year, Part-time	73.7	7.7	114.0	10.1	93.1	13.5
Unemployed	20.2	2.1	34.3	3.0	18.1	2.6
Not in Labour Force	313.2	32.6	424.1	37.6	285.5	41.4
TOTAL	959.0	100.0	1127.0	100.0	689.2	100.0

Note: (1) Average Weekly Male Earnings. Average Weekly Male Earnings were \$225.60 or \$11,731 per year in 1978-79 (ABS, Labour Statistics 1980, Cat.No.6101.0, p.84).

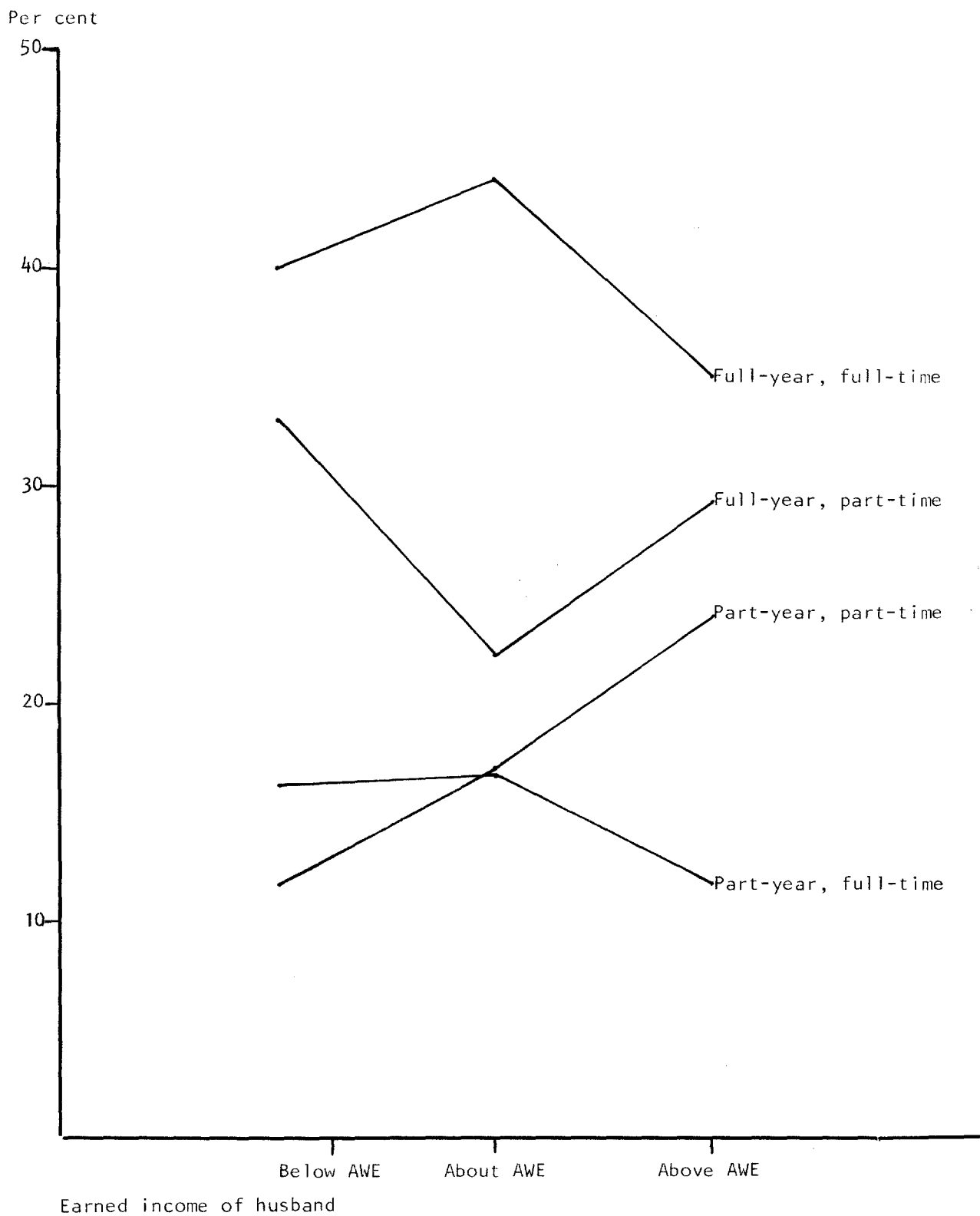
Source: Derived from Table 1.

TABLE 3 Married Couple Income Units Where Wife is Employed : Employment Status of Wife by Earned Income of Husband (grouped), Australia, 1978-79

Employment Status of Wife	Earned Income of Husband					
	Below AWE		About AWE		Above AWE	
	\$1-\$9,999		\$10,000-\$14,999		\$15,000 plus	
	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%
Full-year, Full-time	243.5	38.9	293.6	43.9	134.4	34.9
Part-year, Full-time	101.3	16.2	112.2	16.8	45.2	11.7
Full-year, Part-time	206.9	33.1	149.3	22.3	112.9	29.3
Part-year, Part-time	73.7	11.8	114.0	17.0	93.1	24.1
TOTAL	625.4	100.0	669.1	100.0	385.6	100.0

Source: Derived from Table 2.

FIGURE 2 Type of Employment of Employed Married Women by Earned
Income of Husband, Australia, 1978-79



Source: Table 3

TABLE 4 Married Couple Income Units with Dependent Children : Labour Force Participation Rate of Wife by Age of Youngest Dependent Child Present by Earned Income of Husband, Australia, 1978-79

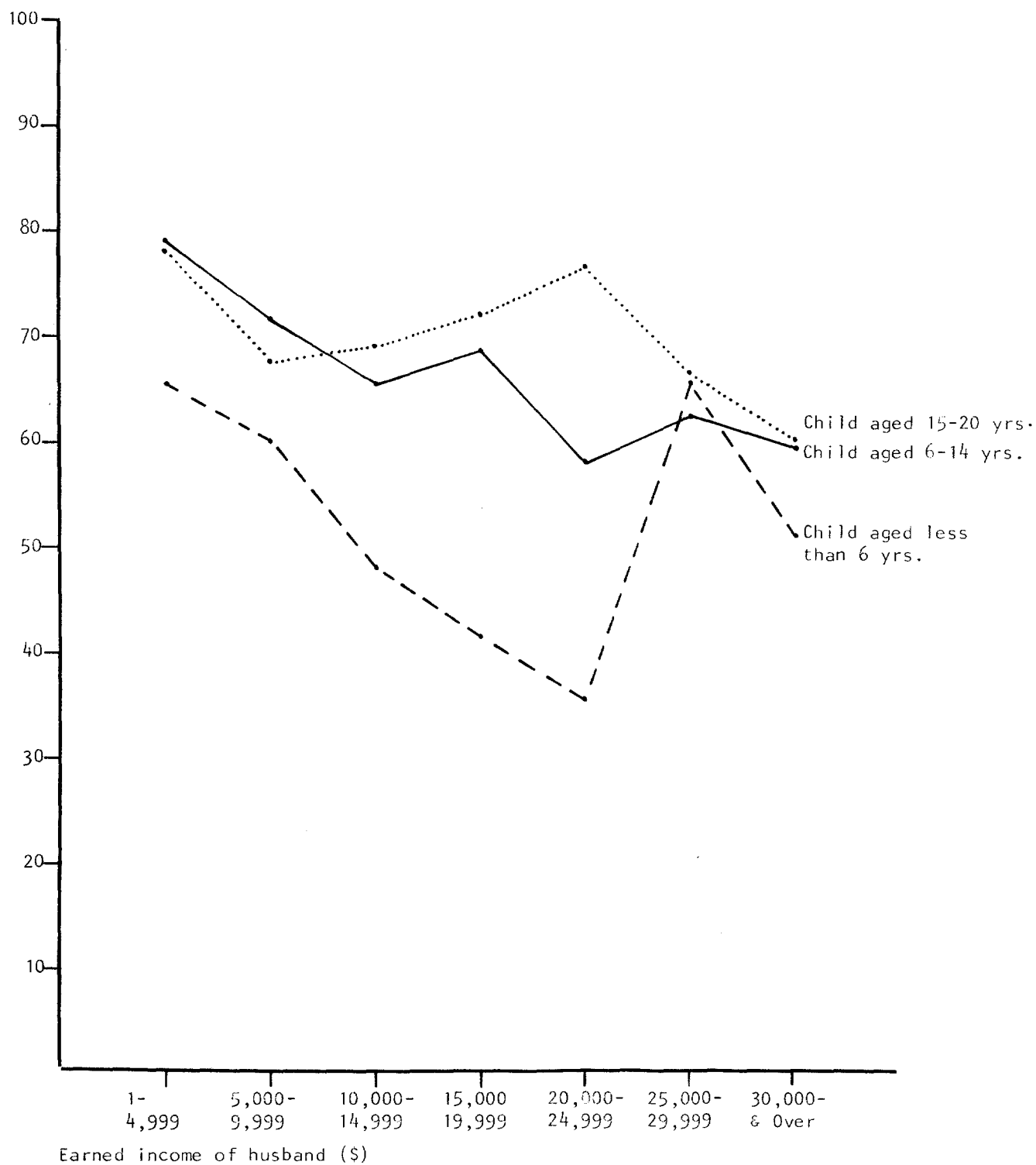
Earned income of husband	Child under 6 years	Child 6-14 years	Child 15-20 years	Total with dependent children
	%	%	%	%
\$ 1 - \$ 4,999	65.4	79.0	78.2	72.4
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	59.8	71.3	67.6	65.7
\$10,000 - \$14,999	48.1	65.5	69.0	57.3
\$15,000 - \$19,999	41.7	68.6	71.8	57.4
\$20,000 - \$24,999	35.7	58.2	76.5	51.2
\$25,000 - \$29,999	65.5	62.5	66.7*	64.9
\$30,000 +	51.0	59.5	60.0*	56.3
TOTAL with dependent children	50.8	67.9	69.9	60.2
TOTAL NUMBER ('000)	813.7	758.4	192.1	1764.2

Note: * = subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Unpublished data from the ABS 1978-79 Income Survey.

FIGURE 3 Labour Force Participation Rate of Married Women by Age of Youngest Dependent Child Present by Earned Income of Husband, Australia, 1978-79

Labour force participation rate (%)



Source: Table 4

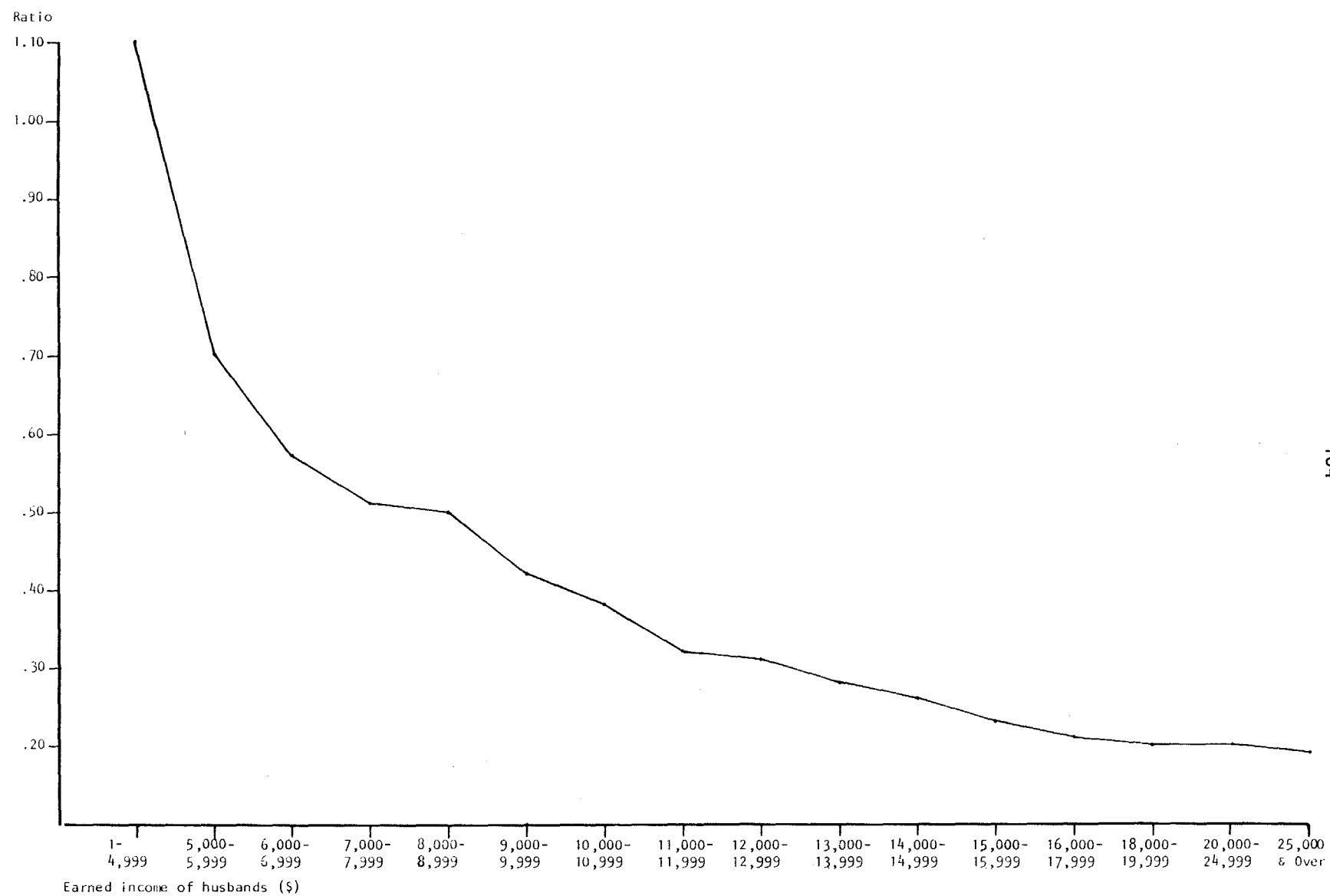
TABLE 5 Married Couple Income Units : Ratio of Earned Income of Wives to Earned Income of Husbands, Australia, 1978-79

Earned income of husbands (\$)	Mean earned income of wives (\$)	Earned income of wives Earned income of husbands	Total number ('000)
1 and under 5,000	2,750	1.10	225.4
5,000 " " 6,000	3,830	.70	88.4
6,000 " " 7,000	3,680	.57	92.0
7,000 " " 8,000	3,840	.51	132.3
8,000 " " 9,000	4,230	.50	193.3
9,000 " " 10,000	4,010	.42	227.5
10,000 " " 11,000	3,940	.38	283.3
11,000 " " 12,000	3,710	.32	233.6
12,000 " " 13,000	3,850	.31	261.4
13,000 " " 14,000	3,830	.28	180.8
14,000 " " 15,000	3,760	.26	168.0
15,000 " " 16,000	3,640	.23	139.0
16,000 " " 18,000	3,640	.21	212.6
18,000 " " 20,000	3,720	.20	116.2
20,000 " " 25,000	4,410	.20	127.1
25,000 and over	5,590	.19	95.8
			<u>2,776.7</u>

Note: The mid-point of an income range for the earned income of husbands is assumed to be the average income for that range except for the highest income range. The highest income range is open-ended and an estimate of \$30,000 is used as the average income for this group.

Source: ABS, Income Distribution, Australia 1978-79, Income Units, Cat.No.6523.0, Table 20.

FIGURE 4 The Ratio of Earned Income of Wives to Earned Income of Husbands, Australia, 1978-79



Source: Table 5

TABLE 6 Married Couple Income Units : Distribution of the Earned Income of Husbands, Australia, 1978-79

Average Earned Income of Husbands (\$)	No. of Married Couple Income Units ('000)	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)	Income Share (%)	Cumulative Income Share (%)
2,500	225.4	8.1	8.1	1.7	1.7
5,500	88.4	3.2	11.3	1.4	3.1
6,500	92.0	3.3	14.6	1.8	4.9
7,500	132.3	4.8	19.4	2.9	7.8
8,500	193.3	7.0	26.3	4.8	12.6
9,500	227.5	8.2	34.5	6.4	19.0
10,500	283.3	10.2	44.7	8.8	27.7
11,500	233.6	8.4	53.1	7.9	35.6
12,500	261.4	9.4	62.6	9.6	45.3
13,500	180.8	6.5	69.1	7.2	52.5
14,500	168.0	6.1	75.1	7.2	59.6
15,500	139.0	5.0	80.1	6.3	66.0
17,000	212.6	7.7	87.8	10.6	76.6
19,000	116.2	4.2	92.0	6.5	83.1
22,500	127.1	4.6	96.5	8.4	91.5
30,000	95.8	3.5	100.0	8.5	100.0

Gini coefficient = 0.255

Source: Derived from Table 5

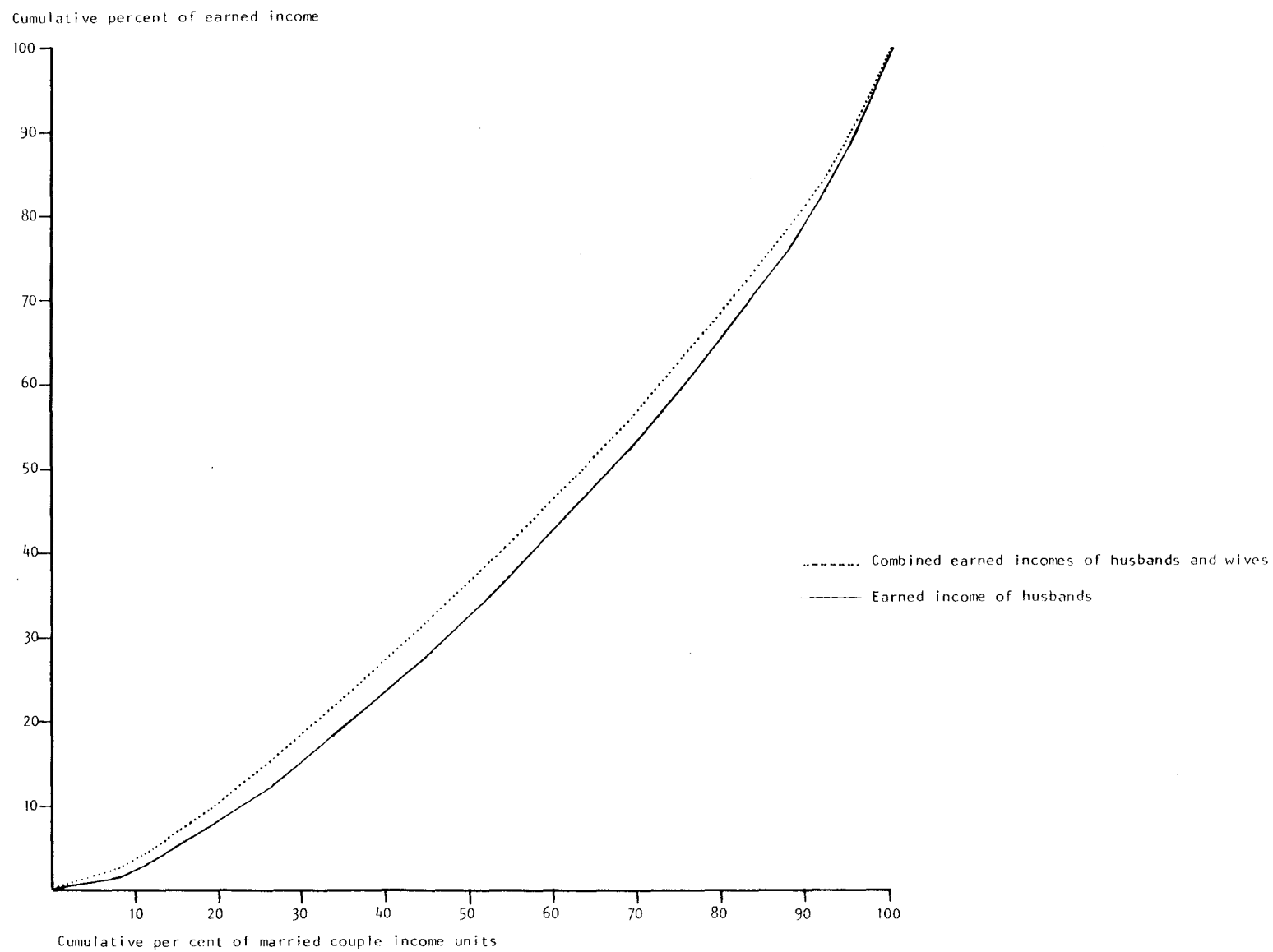
TABLE 7 Married Couple Income Units : Distribution of the Combined Earned Incomes of Husbands and Wives, Australia, 1978-79

Average Earned Income of Husbands & Wives (\$)	No. of Married Couple Income Units ('000)	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)	Income Share (%)	Cumulative Income Share (%)
5,250	225.4	8.1	8.1	2.7	2.7
9,330	88.4	3.2	11.3	1.8	4.5
10,180	92.0	3.3	14.6	2.1	6.6
11,340	132.3	4.8	19.4	3.4	10.0
12,730	193.3	7.0	26.3	5.5	15.5
13,510	227.5	8.2	34.5	6.9	22.4
14,440	283.3	10.2	44.7	9.2	31.5
15,210	233.6	8.4	53.1	8.0	39.5
16,350	261.4	9.4	62.6	9.6	49.1
17,330	180.8	6.5	69.1	7.0	56.1
18,260	168.0	6.1	75.1	6.9	63.0
19,140	139.0	5.0	80.1	6.0	68.9
20,640	212.6	7.7	87.8	9.8	78.8
22,720	116.2	4.2	92.0	5.9	84.7
26,910	127.1	4.6	96.5	7.7	92.4
35,590	95.8	3.5	100.0	7.6	100.0

Gini coefficient = 0.202

Source: Derived from Table 5

FIGURE 5 Lorenz Curves of the Distribution of the Earned Income of Husbands and the Combined Earned Incomes of Husbands and Wives, Australia, 1978-79



Source: Tables 6 and 7

TABLE 8 Proportion of Families with Different Number of Income Earners, Australia, 1968-69, 1973-74 and 1978-79

Number of income earners	1968-69 %	1973-74 %	1978-79 %
0	8.4	9.5	15.3
1	40.2	36.4	31.4
2	38.9	41.8	42.4
3 or more	12.5	12.3	10.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Murray (1981), Table 4, and ABS, Income Distribution Australia, 1978-79, Supplementary Tables, Cat.No.6504.0, Table 36.

TABLE 9 The Mean Incomes of Different Family Groups as a Ratio of the Mean Income for One Earner Families, Australia, 1968-69, 1973-74 and 1978-79

Numbers of earners in family	1968-69	1973-74	1978-79
0 - Mean income (\$)	1,820	2,790	6,130
- Mean income/mean income for one earner family	0.43	0.40	0.46
1 - Mean income (\$)	4,190	7,050	13,460
- Mean income/mean income for one earner family	1.00	1.00	1.00
2 - Mean income (\$)	5,830	10,100	19,280
- Mean income/mean income for one earner family	1.39	1.43	1.43
3 or more - Mean income (\$)	8,080	14,050	28,410
- Mean income/mean income for one earner family	1.93	1.99	2.11

Source: Murray (1981), Table 4, and ABS, Income Distribution Australia, 1978-79, Supplementary Tables, Cat.No.6504.0, Table 36.

NOTES

1. 'Earned income' was defined in the 1978-79 Income Survey as income from wages or salary or income from own business, farm, profession, or income from a share in a partnership.
2. The 1978-79 Income Survey defined 'full-time work' as work occupying 35 hours or more per week. 'Full-year work' was defined as work occupying at least 50 weeks of work or paid leave per year.
3. The Gini coefficient is a measure of income concentration derived from the Lorenz Curve which plots the cumulative percentage of income receivers against the cumulative percentage of total income they receive. As income inequality increases, the value of the coefficient increases from zero to unity. Thus at unity the degree of income inequality is greatest and at zero all income recipients receive an equal share of income.
4. Although unit record data from the 1981 Census are available for a one per cent sample, this is not an appropriate data source to test the effect of married women's employment on family income equality. The main problem with the data is that the only information on income is based on total income from all sources and earned income cannot be separated out.
5. Using 1960 and 1970 data, Smith (1979) did find that, although the earnings of wives had a progressive effect on the income distribution for white families, they had a regressive effect on the distribution for black families. Danziger (1980) also reports that in 1967 wives' incomes increased income inequality in non-white families. However, Danziger's analysis for 1974 and 1977 shows that in these later years the earnings of non-white wives as well as of white wives increased family income equality (see discussion below).

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SECTION 45 : SOCIAL WELFARE

CHILD CARE AND CHILD WELFARE :
TWO SYSTEMS OR ONE?

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SYNOPSIS

In the provision of services for young children (in Australia) two systems are running in operation: "child welfare" and "child care". The paper examines the two systems and seeks to explore the relationship between them. It considers the rationale for the two systems in an historical perspective, and presents an argument that an instrumentalist approach to services for children has been the basis of both: e.g. child care as a means of encouraging women to enter the workforce; or child welfare as a means of ensuring that working class children learnt "appropriate" (that is, middle class) attitudes and forms of behaviour. What seems to be lacking in both systems is a focus on the children per se, as individuals in their own right who have specific needs of their own. Such an approach would be consistent with the prevalent theories of child development. The paper argues that in the light of child development theories, the approach to children and to children's services needs to be re-thought.

As a substantiation of the argument, the paper draws on empirical evidence from a recent study (carried out by the author) of users and providers of child care services. The evidence indicates that these services provide more than "care"; they perform a multiplicity of functions in serving to meet the child's needs, parents' needs, and the needs of the family unit, contributing to the maintenance and enhancement of family functioning.

In the light of this evidence it seems appropriate to examine the relationship between the systems of child care and child welfare, and consider what that relationship might be, potentially or ideally, and what shifts in resources would need to take place to achieve it. It is especially

timely to do this now, given that three State governments have recently reviewed their child welfare legislation and the Commonwealth Government is currently seeking to negotiate a co-ordinated Commonwealth/State child care policy in some States.

Introduction

In the provision of services for young children in Australia, two systems have been operating in parallel: "child welfare" and child care". This paper examines the two systems and seeks to explore the relationship between them. It briefly considers the rationale for the two systems in an historical perspective, and presents two arguments (1) that the instrumentalist approach to the two forms of child welfare needs to be re-thought in the light of what is known about child development theory and the capacity of families to meet children's needs, and (2) that there is considerable potential for a shift in resources from substitute care to child care, a shift which would benefit both families and children. Such a shift would require a substantial re-negotiation of Commonwealth-State roles and responsibilities in regard to child welfare and particularly in regard to services for young children.

I present the issue of the two systems in child welfare, first, by outlining the specific characteristics of each and the functions each system performs. Next, I briefly trace the evolution of the 'new' system of child welfare and its growing significance in the lives of contemporary families, parents and children. I then present some of the key findings of a recent study, which present the issue of children's services from the perspective of parents who use them. Finally, with the support of the evidence presented, I conclude that the issues stated in the two arguments of this paper need serious consideration if the potential of children's services is to become a reality.

System One: "Child Welfare"

Historically, public responsibility for children's services has rested with the States and voluntary organisations. Their approach to children has been a somewhat instrumentalist one, because the services were provided to achieve two aims of rather problematic compatibility. As Jamrozik (1983: 74) points out,

Child welfare services have always been justified by the concern for the well-being of the child, and whatever has been done in the past or is being done now can be substantiated by "the best interest of the child". However, the concern for the "protection of society" has also been an important element in child welfare. The reconciliation of these two concerns, or two functions, has always presented difficulties for those responsible for child welfare, especially in relation to children found to be "neglected", "uncontrollable", "in moral danger", "at risk" or "in need of care and protection".

If one reviews the reports and activities of State welfare departments, it is clear to see that, typically, States' intervention or provision has been for those working class children (or other low social status children, e.g. from Aboriginal families) whose families were seen as not having the "right" attitudes to child rearing or as not providing the right conditions/environment for the child, e.g. suitable housing, adequate nutrition, cleanliness, health etc. Child welfare strategies have focussed on the issue of "government versus the family" and thus State action has been typified by removal of children from their natural family and placing them in a situation where they might be resocialised. In this way, social control and the protection of the efficient working of society and the development of children who would grow up to join the labour force (in the working classes) rather than be dependent on the State was hopefully (if not always) achieved.

What evidence is there that this was (and still is) a class based system of welfare, that is, either directed at or "catering for" the lower classes of society? In the past, the common social class characteristics of children who came into care of State welfare authorities could be only inferred from the reports. Only recently, has it been publicly acknowledged that the majority of children who are deemed "dependent" on the State and placed in some form of substitute care (residential or foster care, family group homes, etc.) are in this situation basically because of poverty — that is, lack of material and personal supporting networks in the child's family. Hanson (1979: 52), for example, concluded that "a low status job, high unemployment rate, atypical and unstable accommodation situations and family insecurity are all part of this fundamental material (and social) deprivation which precipitated children's coming into care for reasons said to be related to "family problems" and "neglect/abuse" (see also New South Wales Association of Child Caring Agencies, 1978; Gregory and Smith, 1982; McCotter and Oxam, 1981; King, 1981).

Other data support this evidence. In 1980, out-of-home care services in the Eastern suburbs of Sydney placed a total of 140 children (33 per cent) of just over 400 children in out-of-home care, because of the sickness and/or institutionalisation of parents (Residential and Alternate Care Task Force, 1982: A9). Likewise, in Queensland 112 children (38 per cent) of 294 children placed in the care and protection of the Children's Services Department between 1 July 1980 and 30 June 1981 for reasons of neglect or inability to care were admitted because parents were unable or unwilling to provide accommodation for them (Queensland Department of Children's Services, Annual Report, 1981:42).

Public acknowledgement by State welfare departments of the class-based nature of their provisions for children, has been even more recent. In New South Wales, for example, one of the earliest such acknowledgements was made in the concluding remarks of a report assessing the State Special Cash Assistance Programme (Gilbert, 1982: 40),

It is imperative that any reassessment of the Special Cash Assistance Programme not be performed in isolation, but take into consideration the relationships between the provision of emergency financial assistance and the Department's other programmes, and how these accord with the broad goals and objectives of the Department. For a large number of families and individuals whose basic problem is poverty, lack of money may have broad-ranging effects such as an increased incidence of problems such as family conflict, household breakdown and eviction. The net result may be abuse and/or neglect of children, juvenile offending and homelessness. The occurrence of such social problems generally invokes costly responses on behalf of this Department such as State guardianship, taking children into residential care or arranging substitute care for them. Bearing in mind the high cost of these responses (the average annual cost per child, in all Y.A.C.S. establishments maintaining children in residential care is \$17,108) ---, the provision of financial assistance to individuals and families in times of crisis may be seen as cost-effective in the long term due to its preventive effects and its relatively low cost.

In the same year, a public report by a government task force also recognised that children being placed in care were from socially and economically disadvantaged families rather than from families who suffered some kind of pathology (Residential & Alternate Care Task Force, 1982). The most recent and most forthright acknowledgements of this was contained in the Vardon Report (1983: 55),

Children who come into care are the children of the poor. Child welfare can thus be described as a class system. There is a different pattern of care for the non-poor. Child welfare programmes include services that attempt to remedy the consequences of inadequate social policies in other areas, such as those in the provision of social security, housing policies, health and education policies.

System Two: "Child Care"

What is this child care for the non-poor? Recent studies (Sweeney & Jamrozik, 1982; 1984; English & King, 1983; King and Wyllie, 1981; Social Research & Evaluation Ltd. 1981) indicate that, by and large, it is the better educated, higher income families who use services such as pre-school, long day care, occasional care etc., that is, services which are (in this paper) defined as "child care".

Analysis of the data from the nation-wide survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in 1980 (Child Care Arrangements Australia, June 1980; Cat.No. 4402.0) showed that the higher the income of families the greater was their use of child care arrangements, formal and informal, (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1982). When these findings were related to the results of a survey conducted by the Office of Child Care (Coleman, 1981), it was evident that children whose both parents were employed were the most frequent users of child care services. In child care centres supported by the Children's Services Program, 58.1 per cent of children attending regularly were children whose both parents were employed.

Of the "special needs" children, children from one-parent families accounted for 22.4 per cent of children, and those coming from families in which at least one parent was born in a non-English speaking country accounted for only 5.4 per cent. Other "special needs" children, constituted only very small proportion of children attending regularly. Although 27.5 per cent of children received a fee rebate, indicating children from low-income families, it could not be ascertained clearly how the low-income was determined (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1982: 109-111)*.

* The Special Economic Needs Subsidy introduced early in 1983 may have increased the numbers of low income families using Commonwealth funded services, but no data on this are yet available. It is unlikely that the increase in their usage would be so substantial as to alter the general trend of higher income families using services more.

Thus, evidence from all recent research in which the use of child care services was related to the income of child's parents indicate clearly that the manifest policy (as it was between 1976 and 1983) of giving priority of access to children with "special needs", low family income being one of the emphasised "special needs", did not work as it was intended to work. This situation has arisen despite the historical roots of pre-school and day care for the poor (Burns & Goodnow, 1979; Brennan, 1982; Sweeney & Jamrozik, 1982) and despite the instrumentalist approaches of government in using child care to try and overcome social and economic inequality.

Until recently, the Commonwealth policy for children's services has always been selective and instrumentalist (see Jamrozik and Sweeney, 1982: 121-123), that is, used as a means to help achieve certain social and economic objectives rather than as a means to enhance the lifestyles and development of children as children. The Commonwealth provision of children's services has been closely related to the national interest, perceived according to circumstances: in terms of national security (World War II), biological survival (the element of "populate or perish" in the immigration program in the 1950s), or economic production (the element of "produce or perish" in encouraging women to enter the workforce in the 1960s). Between 1976 & 1983 the government's approach to child care was very much a residualist one, with children's services being seen principally as a "last resort", as a means of keeping families together, if they were at risk of breaking down and as a way of enabling mothers of poor families to work, so those families could become economically independent. The Children's Services Program was seen by government as "playing an essential role in the support of low-income families" (Guilfoyle, 1979). The aim was clearly not to provide universal children's services (Coleman, 1980). The research data indicated that the need for services was universal, but for various reasons (e.g. cost, access, security) children's services were used mainly by the families who did not fit into the category of "special need" that is by "normal" middle-class families.

The present Commonwealth government has a manifest policy of universal child care which is seen to benefit both children and parents (Grimes, 1982),

A Children's Services Program under a Federal Labor Government will provide services for children 0-15 years which complement the care they receive from parents. Access to community child care is a right, and the aim of such care is to provide all children with developmental and social activities in safe surroundings provided by skilled and caring people for the range of hours which meets the children's needs and those of their parents/carers.

In implementing this policy, the government (in NSW at least) has chosen to give priority to the municipalities with large numbers of working women. This may be seen by some as yet another needs-based policy and instrumentalist approach to child care rather than children's services as a value for children, as children.

Thus, in summary, we are still faced with two systems of child welfare — child welfare/substitute care for some very poor children and child care, established and targetted toward disadvantaged children but used principally by middle- and higher socio-economic status families. This has occurred despite a needs-oriented and until recently a selective child care policy.

Differences between the Two Systems

Does it matter if we have two systems of child welfare? Secondly, how different are the two systems, in their operation, in their use, and in the effects they have on children's lives? Certainly, in terms of the children there is evidence to suggest that the experience of the traditional, State-provided substitute care (whatever form it took) did little to enhance their lives whilst children or their life chances as adults. Research evidence both overseas (for example, Mandell, 1973) and in Australia (Bell, 1981; McCotter and Oxnam, 1981)

indicates that for most child care is neither temporary nor planned, and that the longer children remain in care the more their chances of returning home decrease. It has been shown that children are placed in care for inappropriately long periods, are subjected to disruptive multiple placements and that there is a lack of planning for the futures of children (Kraus, 1973; Fanshel and Shinn, 1978; Bell, 1981; McCotter and Oxnam, 1981).

The evidence suggests that emphasis on removal of the child from, rather than support for, the natural family and restoration of the child, together with the 'unplanned and indeterminate nature of many foster, pre-adoptive and residential placements' (McCotter and Oxnam, 1981, p.1) has meant that large numbers of children are subject to the 'welfare drift'. Children in both State substitute care (that is, children under guardianship) and in voluntary homes (those under guardianship and those placed on a voluntary basis) are likely to be in care for a long time. In New South Wales it has been estimated that wardship lasts, on average, for five years (Bell, 1981: 4).

A recent survey of non-government homes found that in New South Wales 42.1 per cent of children had been in care for two years or longer (Residential and Alternate Care Task Force, 1981: A33). A similar Australia-wide survey (Gregory and Smith, 1982: 2) found that 30.9 per cent of children had been in non-government homes for five years or more. Some doubt has been cast upon the 'quality of care' provided, particularly for the children in State care in New South Wales where breakdown of foster care placements is high, reputedly between 50 and 70 per cent (Kraus, 1973; Bell, 1981: 4), and restoration to parents low (4.6 per cent in 1977-78 for that State). Many children regularly move in and out of care. King (1981: 75-79) for example, found that 26 per cent of his sample of children who had been admitted to one large non-government agency 'were being admitted for the second time or had previously spent some time in residential care'. The educational achievement and social adjustment of ex-wards, particularly those who have been in care for an extended period of time, appear to be quite poor (Burns and Percival, 1967). Only a few years ago, it was a rare occurrence for a ward to complete

five to six years of secondary schooling. In looking at the social adjustment of ex-wards, Kraus (1982) in his 10 year follow-up study of ex-foster children found "greater proportions of individuals convicted of serious offences (Crimes & Poisons Act, NSW) among those who were in more than five different foster placements during their committal to care" (Kraus, 1982: 5). The proportion of ex-wards who were convicted was even more accentuated among those who had been in care for periods over 8 years, that is, those who had been committed to care at an early, "vulnerable age". Finally, the cycle of deprivation does not appear to have been broken by State intervention. Many children are now coming into care whose parent(s) were previously in care (an estimated 9 per cent of children in King's sample, 1981: 75).

When the "new" system of child care emerged, concerns were at first raised that it would be detrimental to children's well being and to their intellectual and emotional development. The idea that children needed the constant attention and care of their mothers was reinforced by Bowlby's work on maternal deprivation in the 1950s. Bowlby's work has often been used as a basis in arguments against services such as day care. However, Brennan (1983: 17-18) has noted,

.... Bowlby's work has little relevance to children living in their own homes and attending day care centres. He was concerned with children living in hospitals who had been separated from their entire families usually under traumatic circumstances such as war. Bowlby sometimes used day care children as the control group whose development he considered normal.

Later it became gradually accepted that child care/children's services were beneficial both for children as well as for their parents.

In terms of assessing child care from the child's point of view, for example, Norman (1978: 22) in reviewing studies of the effects of day care, concluded that "quality day care is at worst harmless and at best it can boost a child's development". Norman argued that good quality day care could be an enriching experience and could be particularly effective in improving "the development of deprived children". The evidence thus suggested good quality child care may provide an opportunity to overcome any social, developmental, educational deprivation a child may have experienced. It could also provide a wider and more stimulating environment than that which could be provided even in the most advantaged home.

In terms of overcoming disadvantage, the evaluation of the effects of Headstart, together with home visiting and parent support programmes have indicated there were long term benefits to the children involved. The "benefits" included: increased cognitive ability at school entry; increased success at school and greater commitment to schooling; less repetition of grades; less need for special (remedial) education; increased employment/earning potential. (Schweinhart & Weikhart, cited by McNulty, 1982: 64).

The Organization for Economic and Co-operation & Development (OECD) (1982: 58) through its Centre for Educational Research & Innovation has concluded that while long-term gains of such intervention programs, as measured by I.Q. and academic achievement might be subject to debate, "there is agreement that children who have been in intervention programs do not fall back as often or as severely as children of disadvantaged backgrounds who have not had special treatment".

In addition child care can thus complement care given by families who were not seen to be disadvantaged in any major way. As Brennan (1983: 18) pointed out:

Attendance at a child care centre does not 'deprive' children, for many it provides not only educational benefits but also opportunities for companionship, imaginative play and loud and messy games which could not possibly be enjoyed in their own homes.

Now, some writers even suggest that children who do not have access to some form of children's service are, in fact, the ones who are deprived. Eva Cox (1978: 73) for example has suggested,

.... children brought up by women at home with the possibility of multiple bonding being severely curtailed, are likely to be deprived of the necessary range of social learning experiences which will allow them to develop their skills at interaction. Furthermore, their limited contact with other children, substantially older and younger than themselves, will deprive them of a range of socialising experiences.

These changes in perceptions of, and attitudes to, children's services may be traced to many sources: the desire of industry in the 1960s to attract women into the labour force, the economic needs of families, the changing family structure, and the recognition that the developmental needs of children were increasingly difficult for the family alone to meet. However, one of the important factors in that change was the entry of middle-class women into the labour force, and their demand of the right for full citizenship.

Apart from the value of children's services to children, their value to the normal functioning of the family unit has also become increasingly evident. Some commentators have observed that lack of assistance with child care has resulted in many children being placed in full time, long term substitute care. Brennan (1983: 18) citing Cox (1978) has noted that "... opposition to the establishment of child care services on the grounds that children should not be separated from their mothers for a few hours a day has directly contributed to many children being separated from their entire families for years at a stretch, and in some cases, forever". In addition many migrant families "have been forced to send their children back to the home country until they reach school age because of lack of child care".

The need for families to have assistance with the care of their children rather than have children removed from their care, has been recognised by many health and welfare workers. This recognition is reflected in the development of programs such as temporary care, temporary foster care, extended or "intermediate" care such as that provided in "Aunties and Uncles" programs. Certainly, these programs provide family support and appear to have the effect of keeping children out of permanent substitute care. This is particularly for those children who may have been placed in substitute care because of a parent's illness, hospitalisation or inability "to cope" with full time parenting.

In addition, welfare and health workers appear to be increasingly referring families "at risk" to child care services. Services are used as a means of supporting such families and perhaps enabling a single parent to work. This may be seen still as an instrumentalist approach to child care. However, services are also seen to benefit the child, particularly if he/she has developmental/behavioural problems. Some voluntary agencies, such as Burnside Homes and Scarba (NSW), have moved away from providing full substitute care to providing services such as day care.

Although no figures on referrals of disadvantaged children to child care services are available, there seems to be general acknowledgement "in the field" that this is happening. The "problem" lies in the fact that these referrals are made in an ad hoc way. Whether a child is placed in day care or substitute care will depend very much on the approach and decisions taken by a welfare officer. Moreover, the services to which children are referred may or may not have the resources to cope with their special needs.

Thus at the operational level or in practice, there seems to be an increasing recognition that child care can benefit all young children, particularly the child with special needs, although, as noted earlier, the numbers of special need children attending centres are small (see also Department of Youth and Community Services, 1982).

Value of Children's Services: Parents' Perspectives

Certainly, in our study of 156 families who used child care services (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1984), the value of these services to both children and parents was evident in the responses parents gave to questions about why they used care, the value, if any, of services to themselves and their children, the features they sought in a service and what they did with their time whilst the child(ren) was in care.

The reasons for using child care given by the families in our sample were extremely diverse and it was evident that the reasons did not remain static but changed as the conditions of family life changed, such as when children grew older, additional children were born, the family moved location, or the mother entered or left the workforce. We have classified the variety of reasons into three broad categories: the family needs, the parent's needs, and the child's needs. It is important to point out that these categories of needs were not mutually exclusive and, more often than not, all three were present in a family. Also, the reasons for use did not necessarily relate to the type(s) of service used — thus working parents used pre-school and parents who wanted an educational program for their child, used long day care (Tables 1(a) and (b)).

Family needs were economic and/or social. In our sample, over one-half (55.0%) of families had mothers employed full-time or part-time; in single parent families, 60 per cent of parents were employed. In some families the mother worked out of economic necessity; this was particularly so in the lower-middle socio-economic area of our study. In others, the mother worked for economic and/or personal reasons. However, mother's employment was not the only reason related to family needs for using child care. The need to give time and attention to other children/adults in the family and a variety of family-related tasks (shopping, housework, etc.) were frequently mentioned reasons.

Parents' needs for the use of child care related mainly to the needs of the mother. It was evident that some mothers worked for personal reasons rather than for reasons of economic necessity — to pursue a career and/or reduce the sense of isolation. In addition, the need to have a "break from motherhood", "mental health", "sanity", freedom and independence, were frequently mentioned reasons.

Using child care for reasons related solely to the needs of the family and to the needs of parents may be regarded as an instrumental use of child care. The third category of needs, the child's needs, may be considered to be equally or even more important in, and directly relevant

to, the provision of children's services. Two-thirds of families in our sample (66 per cent) stated that they used child care services to meet the child's needs (perhaps in addition to their own). Specific child-centred reasons for use of care related to the need for companionship, stimulation/development, for socialisation and preparation for school. These reasons were given by both families in which the mother was not in the paid workforce and those where she was in the workforce, although the former group tended to give these reasons more frequently. There was also some variation by the number of children in the family, area of residence and family income. Lower income groups tended to give child-related reasons for use of care more frequently, while higher income groups were more likely to state work-related reasons for use. However, there were many common factors in most families, clearly indicating that child care services, both in use and expectations, have now become an important social provision, perceived as essential family support for meeting parents' needs, children's needs, and the needs of the family as a unit.

These three categories of reasons for use were reflected in the value services held for both the parents (usually the mother) and the child(ren).

In relation to parents' needs, some parents in our sample (usually mothers) expressed the value of child care services to them as a necessity because they had to work for economic reasons; others, because they felt "inadequate to look after the child all the time"; some said that they "didn't want to be a full-time mother" and were "not interested in staying home"; some described child care as a "luxury", "a blessing". One mother said, child care meant to her the "difference between being happy and unhappy — wouldn't have had a child otherwise". Almost 86 per cent of families stated personal (usually mother's) reasons for using children's services. (Tables 2(a) and (b)).

The value of child care to the family as a unit was evident in most responses, especially when the use of services was related to the other activities of parents and children in the course of a day or a week, and even more so in the context of family history. Each change in the family,

such as mother's entry into the labour force, birth of another child, or change of location, was associated by changes in child care arrangements, and, at times, such changes were contingent upon finding satisfactory arrangements. Thus, while in the aggregate the higher socio-economic status families in our sample used child care to a greater extent than the lower status, lower income, families; at the micro-level of individual families the needs for child care were diverse but were present in all families.

As a value to the child, formal child care services were seen by parents as a necessary provision, facilitating the child's development and providing the child with environment and experience which the parents felt they themselves were unable to provide. Parents' awareness of their children's needs was clearly evident in the features they sought when arranging care (Tables 3(a) and (b)) and in the efforts they were prepared to make to obtain care and/or a specific type of care. Sixty-nine per cent of families saw the child benefiting in terms of socialisation and a further 30 per cent mentioned the developmental value of the service to the child. Almost 30 per cent of families saw that the child benefited in terms of having a break from mother (Tables 4(a) and (b)). Some families specifically mentioned that because of family/personal problems such as child abuse or the child's developmental/behavioural problems, they had been referred to a child care centre by a doctor, welfare worker, clinic sister, etc.

In summary, our study of families using child care services suggests that, notwithstanding the socio-economic differences in usage, the need for child care services is now universal, especially when that need is perceived in terms of family needs, parents' needs and children's needs. Most of the families in our study, whether they were in a high income group or not, or whether the mother was working or not, regarded child care services as an essential element in family functioning. They also felt that, alone, they were unable to meet the needs of their children. Child care services were regarded by them not as a form of substitute care or as a welfare service, but as a form of social parenthood or shared care.

This view of child care was confirmed by service providers interviewed in our study. Irrespective of the differences in the individual providers' perceptions of their roles and of the functions of their services, our overall impression was that, with some exceptions, most providers, too, saw these roles and functions not as a form of substitute care but rather as a form of social parenthood, or sharing care with the children's parents. In that perception some providers focussed their attention mainly on children's needs and others felt that in addition to being sensitive to children's needs they ought to be responsive to parents' needs as well.

As part of this sharing of care, some service providers saw as an important part of their function to identify children with health and/or behavioural problems and refer them for attention to appropriate services (Table 5). Others, especially those in long day care services and family day care schemes where there were large numbers of "special need" children, spent a great deal of time on counselling parents and providing them with general support. One director of a long day care centre, with 45 per cent of children receiving special need subsidy, for example, estimated that 40 per cent of her time was spent on counselling parents.

An associated factor in the providers' perception of their roles was their observation that the nature of childhood had changed to the extent that their needs could no longer be fully met within the confines of the family alone.

However, there was yet another function that the provision of services performed. If child care services are considered as a value to children, then the role of service providers was that of "social parents", complementing and in some cases supplementing or even partly substituting parental care, which among some parents in our sample was seen to be inadequate, both in the providers' views and in the views of parents themselves. That function was clearly recognised by the providers and by the parents.

Two Systems of Child Welfare: Issues for Policy

Despite the recent initiatives in the field of child care/child welfare, both in the Commonwealth and the States' spheres, two major issues remain to be solved. The first relates to the existence and perpetuation of two kinds of child welfare, each based on different assumptions and each used, by and large, by different socio-economic groups. The second issue relates to the Commonwealth/State relationship and division of responsibility.

With regard to the first issue, Jamrozik (1983: 75-76) has presented the issue as follows,

In child welfare there are now two kinds of services: the traditional child welfare for the lower classes related to social control; and child welfare in the form of care for young children which, although expected and purported to be a residual substitute care, to be provided on the grounds of special "needs", is seen and used by the community (or at least by certain sections of the community) as a public utility to be used universally as part of the normal functioning of parents and families.

The fundamental problem in services for young children in the latter category, such as day care or pre-schools, thus lies in the assumptions on which these services are provided. In the community, and especially among certain sections of the middle class, there is a strong body of opinion that these services should be provided by the State, either free of charge or at a low cost, because they are seen to be essential for parents as well as for children. The demands for services are thus formulated on the grounds of need as well as of right.

Generally the States, and until recently, the Commonwealth have not accepted the proposition that the need for child care services is universal, or that these services should be provided universally as a right. There is some evidence that despite the manifest policy of the Commonwealth in stating the universal need for child care, the allocation of funds remain focussed on a specific group of children "in need" — that is, children with working mothers.

The first problem then relates to the reluctance of governments to accept the fact that the care outside the family is now a normal occurrence rather than an exception. The question arises as to whether that care is or ought to be a public responsibility. This has been a long standing debate. In our earlier report Services for Young Children: Welfare Service or Social Parenthood? (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1982: 113) we observed that,

... the development of services for young children, especially pre-school and care facilities, has taken place, and continues to take place, in the context of a diversity of theories, a diversity of interests, a diversity of lobby and pressure groups and a diversity of ideological, political, economic and social perspectives, even religious perspectives and beliefs.

Unavoidably, theories, interests and perspectives have been competing with one another and often are found to be in conflict. In such a situation, development of a cohesive, coherent and consistent policy and services is difficult, especially so as theories and interests change with time. Not the least problem is the absence of a clear responsibility by governments for the provision of services for young children.

In the same report we also made an observation that behind the arguments advanced about services for young children were three main issues concerning varied perceptions on children's needs, children's rights, and on who was to be responsible for ensuring that those needs and rights were met. These issues remained unresolved; for while there was agreement in the theories of child development which indicated the crucial nature of the early years for the child's future development, there was less agreement in the society, on the "best" ways of caring for young children. In some views, it was the family that was seen as the institution where the best caring could, and should take place; in other views, the responsibility for the nurture and care of the child should be shared between parents and society, and the child should be exposed to a wider social environment early, not as a matter of necessity but as a desirable, or even essential, condition of the child's growth and personal as well as social development. This being so, we argued that in formulating a policy on services for young children,

... it is appropriate to ask whether the assumptions held in society about the "best" way of caring for young children are valid. For example, can the family, as currently constructed, ensure the kind of care for the young child the society expects from it? Has the family the necessary personal and material or even temporal resources to carry out this task? What kind, if any, of exposure of the child to a wider community is necessary to ensure an adequate basis for the child's development? (1982: 114)

We further observed (1982: 127) that the issues of services for young children appeared to be debated in a rather narrow framework of a choice between family care or a substitute care. When the latter was considered, arguments were raised as to "who is to be responsible?" In such a perspective children became objects of instrumentalist transactions. What was needed, it seemed, was a wider perspective encompassing the whole socio-economic environment in which the services for young children would be determined on two main criteria: first, what kind of environment did the child need for an adequate development to become a socially well functioning adult; and, second, how such an environment could best be provided.

The public response to children in terms of the extent and quality of services will depend very much on the value a society places on children. Children may be viewed as consumer durables or as a social investment. In the former perspective, children are seen as "goods" or "property" providing emotional and psychological "utility" to their parents who freely choose to bear them (Cass, 1983). In the latter approach, children are seen as a national resource and as the nation's future. Cass (1983: 17) claims that the outcome of this approach provides justification for public expenditure on children's care and development and that such expenditure is seen as partial compensation to parents for their social contribution in devoting their time and resources to child rearing. While this may be so in terms of public financial support of children (family allowances) the Commonwealth response in terms of services has been to partially compensate some children for disadvantage or in Titmuss's view (1968: 131) for disservices caused by society (e.g. the need to 'take' mothers away and have them in the workforce), for disservices caused by family functioning (as in the case of child abuse), or for unmerited handicap (handicapped, migrant children) etc.

It is critical to note that in either view children are often thought of in terms of being future adults and incomplete beings whilst children. Rarely are children thought of as individuals whose life style might be improved simply on the basis of rights or needs as children as well as being potential adults.

The second problem, which relates to Commonwealth/State relationships, lies in the fact that the former is a major provider of child care and the other, a major provider (along with the voluntary sector) of child welfare. A shift of one system to the other, will require not only a major shift of resources, but considerable negotiation of Commonwealth/State roles and responsibilities. Jamrozik (1983: 82) has expressed the issue in the following way,

Currently, the issue which dominates the debate on children's services is the demand for more funds from the Commonwealth. In this rather one-dimensional debate the positive aspects of the Children's Services Programme are overlooked. The Commonwealth has been a rather reluctant provider of funds but the services supported by the Children's Services Programme offer distinct possibilities for a transfer of human and material resources from some of the existing remedial services, such as the substitute services provided by the States for children under their control, into services that would enhance the lives of these children as well as the social functioning of their families. There are some indications that this already takes place.

Whilst the use of child care as a family support may be regarded as instrumentalist, the value of good quality care to all children can potentially improve their life-style as children and enhance their life chances. Children's services need to be seen in a positive light and regarded as a form of social parenthood, necessary for all families,

regardless of socio-economic status. As Jamrozik (1983: 87) concludes,

With regard to children's services the concept of social parenthood (Sweeney and Jamrozik, 1982) appears to be feasible to apply in practice, provided the existing assumptions on which the policies and practices in children's services are based are reconsidered so that the reality of the universal need for children's services can be accepted. The initiatives in that direction can feasibly come from the Commonwealth, from the States, or from the community, but because of the national significance of child welfare, the positive response would have to come, in the first instance, from the Commonwealth Government. This should not necessarily have to mean that the Commonwealth "take over" the full responsibility for child welfare, but there are not many areas of public concern other than child welfare that can be considered to be of greater national interest.

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TABLE 1 REASONS FOR USING CHILD CARE: FAMILIES*

(a) Reasons and Mother's Employment

Reasons given by Parents	All Families			Mother employed			Mother not employed		
	Responses N	%	Families %	Responses N	%	Families %	Responses N	%	Families %
<u>To enable Mother to Work</u>	<u>72</u>	29.5	46.2	<u>66</u>	50.4	76.7	<u>6</u>	5.3	8.6
Reasons for work unspecified	48			43			5		
For economic reasons	16			15			1		
To further career	5			5			-		
To have outside interest	3			3			-		
<u>To give Mother time for Family</u>	<u>10</u>	4.1	6.4	<u>1</u>	0.8	1.2	<u>9</u>	8.0	12.9
For domestic tasks(housework, shopping)	6			1			5		
For time with other children	4			-			4		
<u>For Mother's Personal Reasons</u>	<u>43</u>	17.6	27.6	<u>16</u>	12.2	18.6	<u>27</u>	23.9	38.6
To have a break from motherhood	22			7			15		
To preserve mental health	15			7			8		
To study	6			2			4		
<u>To meet the child's needs</u>	<u>103</u>	42.2	66.0	<u>41</u>	31.3	47.7	<u>62</u>	54.9	88.6
For companionship	37			16			21		
For stimulation/development	23			11			12		
For socialization/independence	18			6			12		
For preparation for school	16			5			11		
For special attention (eg handicapped child)	9			3			6		
<u>Other Reasons</u>	<u>11</u>	4.5	7.1	<u>4</u>	3.1	4.7	<u>7</u>	6.2	10.0
<u>No Response</u>	<u>5</u>	2.0	3.2	<u>3</u>	2.3	3.5	<u>2</u>	1.8	2.9
Total Responses	244	(100)	-	131	(100)	-	113	(100)	-
Total Families	156	-	(100)	86	-	(100)	70	-	(100)

* Multiple responses: the percentages for families are higher than those for responses, as a person may have stated more than one reason.

TABLE 1 REASONS FOR USING CHILD CARE: FAMILIES*

(b) Summary of Family Characteristics

Family Characteristics and (N) in Sample	Reasons as stated by parents/mother (Aggregate of Responses)*									
	To Work		Time for Family		Personal		Child's Needs		Other and not stated	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>All Families (156)</u>	72	46.2	10	6.4	43	27.6	103	66.0	16	10.3
<u>Mother's Employment</u>										
Mother employed (86)	66	76.7	1	1.2	16	18.6	41	47.7	7	8.2
Mother not employed (70)	6	8.6	9	12.9	27	38.6	62	88.6	9	12.9
<u>Children in Family</u>										
One (36)	22	61.1	-	-	11	30.6	13	36.1	4	11.1
Two (71)	30	42.3	8	11.3	19	37.7	54	76.1	7	9.9
Three or more (49)	20	40.8	2	4.1	13	26.5	36	73.5	5	10.2
<u>Family Income p.w.</u>										
Under \$300 (30)	7	23.3	2	6.7	15	50.0	20	66.7	1	3.3
\$300 - \$600 (64)	28	43.8	1	1.6	15	23.4	53	82.8	4	6.3
Over \$600 (43)	27	62.8	7	16.3	5	11.6	18	41.9	8	18.6
Not stated (19)	10	52.6	-	-	8	42.1	2	10.5	3	15.8
<u>Families Living in</u>										
North (26)	13	50.0	2	7.7	7	26.9	13	50.0	2	7.7
East (H) (32)	15	46.9	5	15.6	5	15.6	22	68.8	7	21.9
East (M) (23)	14	60.9	-	-	7	30.4	14	60.9	2	8.7
South (33)	16	48.5	2	6.1	9	27.3	15	45.5	4	12.1
West (42)	14	33.3	1	2.4	15	35.7	39	92.9	1	2.4

* The percentages refer to families in each group: total percentages amount to more than 100 as more than one reason has been by some respondents.

TABLE 2 VALUE OF CHILD CARE TO THE MOTHER*

(a) Value of Child Care and Mother's Employment

Value of Child Care	All Families			Mother Employed			Mother not Employed		
	Responses N	%	Families %	Responses N	%	Families %	Responses N	%	Families %
<u>Work/Employment</u>	<u>52</u>	22.4	33.3	<u>50</u>	40.0	58.1	<u>2</u>	1.9	2.9
Mother can work:									
-economic need	7			7			-		
-continue career	4			4			-		
-unspecified	41			39			2		
<u>Family</u>	<u>27</u>	11.6	17.3	<u>14</u>	11.2	16.3	<u>13</u>	12.1	18.6
Mother can do her family tasks	8			4			4		
Mother can attend to other children	8			4			4		
Mother can be a better mother	2			1			1		
Community support ('couldn't cope otherwise')	9			5			4		
<u>Personal</u>	<u>134</u>	57.8	85.9	<u>48</u>	38.4	55.8	<u>86</u>	80.4	122.9
Break from motherhood	28			8			20		
Mental health, "sanity"	19			6			13		
Freedom/independence	21			9			12		
Can study	5			2			3		
Easier life, more time	40			13			27		
Can have social life	6			3			3		
Convenience, "luxury", "everything"	13			6			7		
Misses the child's company	2			1			1		
<u>Other Values</u>	<u>7</u>	3.0	4.5	<u>6</u>	4.8	7.0	<u>1</u>	0.9	1.4
<u>Not stated</u>	<u>12</u>	5.2	7.7	<u>7</u>	5.6	8.1	<u>5</u>	4.7	7.1
Total Responses	232	(100)	-	125	(100)	-	107	(100)	-
Total Families	156	-	(100)	86	-	(100)	70	-	(100)

* Multiple responses: the percentages for families are higher than those for the responses, as a person may have stated more than one value.

TABLE 2 VALUE/SIGNIFICANCE OF CHILD CARE TO MOTHER:
A SUMMARY

(b) Summary of Family Characteristics

Family Characteristics and (N) in Sample	Value/Significance mentioned (Aggregate to Responses)*							
	Can Work		To Family		To Mother		Other and Not Stated	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>All Families</u> (156)	52	33.3	27	17.3	134	85.9	19	12.2
<u>Mother's Employment</u>								
Mother employed (86)	50	58.1	14	16.3	48	55.8	13	15.1
Mother not employed (70)	2	2.9	13	18.6	86	122.9	6	8.5
<u>Children in Family</u>								
One (36)	19	52.8	7	19.4	35	97.2	3	8.3
Two (71)	17	23.9	11	15.5	57	80.3	13	18.3
Three or more (49)	16	32.7	9	18.4	42	85.7	3	6.1
<u>Family Income p.w.</u>								
Under \$300 (30)	4	13.3	6	20.0	37	123.3	4	13.3
\$300 - \$600 (64)	18	28.1	9	14.1	52	81.3	7	10.9
over \$600 (43)	24	55.8	6	14.0	28	65.1	5	11.6
Not stated (19)	6	31.6	6	31.6	17	89.5	3	15.8
<u>Families Living in</u>								
North (26)	12	46.2	9	34.6	25	96.2	3	11.5
East(H) (32)	11	34.4	2	6.3	29	90.6	4	12.5
East(M) (23)	11	47.8	5	21.7	20	87.0	1	4.3
South (33)	9	27.3	6	18.2	22	66.7	9	27.3
West (42)	9	21.4	5	11.9	38	90.5	2	4.8

* Percentages refer to families in each group: total percentages for each group amount to more than 100 as more than one value/significance would be mentioned by a respondent.

TABLE 3 FEATURES OF CARE SOUGHT BY PARENTS WHEN ARRANGING CARE FOR THEIR CHILD(REN)

(a) Features of Care Sought & Mother's Employment

Features Sought	All Families			Mother Employed			Mother not employed		
	Responses N	%	Families %	Responses N	%	F* %	Responses N	%	F* %
<u>Programme Related to Child's Needs</u>	<u>94</u>	31.0	60.3	<u>47</u>	27.0	54.7	<u>47</u>	36.4	67.1
Benefit to the child — (education, stimulation, company, promotion of independence, happiness)	70			30			40		
Capacity to meet special needs — (child under 3 years, 2/3 children together, child with difficulties/handicap)	24			17			7		
<u>Qualitative Aspects</u>	<u>77</u>	25.4	49.4	<u>49</u>	28.2	57.0	<u>28</u>	21.7	40.0
Quality & Consistency — (reputable, good, well run, reliable, trustworthy, stable)									
Character of Carers — (loving, kind, motherly, understanding, good with/ attentive to children)	30			19			11		
Environment — (clean, safe, pleasant, good families/equipment)	13			8			5		
Atmosphere — (homely, warm, informal)	11			3			8		
<u>Availability/Accessibility</u>	<u>108</u>	35.6	69.2	<u>64</u>	36.8	74.4	<u>44</u>	34.1	62.9
Specific Type — (centre-based, home-based, pre-school, family day care)	<u>37</u>			<u>21</u>			<u>16</u>		
Hours of Operation — (long hours, flexible, irregular, weekend, evening)	22			17			5		
Location — (close, convenient)	16			7			9		
Anything — a place —	33			19			14		
<u>Cost</u> — cheap, subsidised	<u>10</u>	3.3	6.4	<u>7</u>	4.0	8.1	<u>3</u>	2.3	4.3
Other features — (trained staff, hot meals, discretion, staff ratio)	<u>13</u>	4.3	8.3	<u>7</u>	4.0	8.1	<u>6</u>	4.7	8.6
<u>No Response/not stated</u>	<u>1</u>	0.3	0.6	-	-	-	<u>1</u>	0.8	1.4
Total Responses	303	(100)	-	174	(100)	-	129	(100)	-
Total Families	156	-	(100)	86	-	(100)	70	-	(100)

* denotes families.

TABLE 3 FEATURES OF CARE SOUGHT BY PARENTS WHEN ARRANGING CARE:
A SUMMARY

(b) Summary of Family Characteristics

Family Characteristics and (N) in Sample	Features Sought (Aggregates of Responses)*								Other Features	
	Programme to meet child's needs		Qualitative Aspects		Availability/ Accessibility		Cost			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>All Families</u> (156)	94	60.3	77	49.4	108	69.2	10	6.4	14	8.9
<u>Mother's Employment</u>										
Mother employed (86)	47	54.7	49	57.0	64	74.4	7	8.1	7	8.1
Mother not employed(70)	47	67.1	28	40.0	44	62.9	3	4.3	7	10.0
<u>Children in Family</u>										
One (36)	15	41.7	19	52.8	30	83.3	1	2.8	5	13.9
Two (71)	50	70.4	35	49.3	47	66.2	4	5.6	5	7.0
Three or more (49)	29	59.2	23	46.9	31	63.3	5	10.2	4	8.2
<u>Family Income p.w.</u>										
Under \$300 (30)	16	53.3	8	26.7	24	80.0	3	10.0	4	13.3
\$300 to \$600 (64)	44	68.8	36	56.3	39	60.9	6	9.4	3	4.7
Over \$600 (43)	24	55.8	26	60.5	27	62.8	-	-	7	16.3
Not stated (19)	10	52.6	7	36.8	18	94.7	1	5.3	-	-
<u>Families Living in</u>										
North (26)	17	65.4	18	69.2	23	88.5	5	19.2	2	7.7
East (H) (32)	20	62.5	15	46.9	19	59.4	1	3.1	6	18.8
East (M) (23)	15	65.2	13	56.5	15	65.2	1	4.3	2	8.7
South (33)	21	63.6	13	39.4	17	51.5	1	3.0	2	6.1
West (42)	21	50.0	18	42.9	34	81.0	2	4.8	2	4.8

* Percentages refer to families in each group: total percentages for each group amount to more than 100 as more than one feature of care would be mentioned by a respondent.

TABLE 4 VALUE/SIGNIFICANCE OF CARE TO THE CHILD
(AS PERCEIVED BY PARENTS/MOTHER)

(a) Value/Significance of Care & Mother's Employment

Value/Significance of Care	All Families			Mother Employed			Mother not Employed		
	Responses N	Families %	Families %	Responses N	Families %	Families %	Responses N	Families %	Families %
<u>Emotional</u>	46	15.0	29.5	21	12.4	24.4	25	18.1	35.7
Break from mother	13			3			10		
Better relationship with mother/parents	7			2			5		
Happy in Care	19			12			7		
Confused, anxious, less happy	5			3			2		
Would rather be at home	2			1			1		
<u>Developmental</u>	47	15.3	30.1	23	13.6	26.7	24	17.4	34.3
More independent, confident	18			10			8		
Improved speech, conversa- tion	8			4			4		
Improved intellectually, socially	21			9			12		
<u>Socialization</u>	108	35.2	69.2	62	36.7	72.1	46	33.3	65.7
Introduction to society	10			7			3		
Company, interaction with children	61			33			28		
Learning to share	2			-			2		
More disciplined	5			2			3		
Less disciplined	3			2			1		
Difficulty in relating to other children	1			1			-		
Overall socialization	26			17			9		
<u>Educational</u>	45	14.7	28.8	22	13.0	25.6	23	16.7	32.9
Good preparation for school	27			13			14		
Pre-reading, pre-writing	4			3			1		
Learning through play	14			6			8		
<u>Positive Features of Services</u>	37	12.1	23.7	26	15.4	30.2	11	8.0	15.7
Professional approach	10			9			1		
"Like an extended family"	2			2			-		
Intellectual, social stimulation	17			9			8		
"Good for children"	8			6			2		
<u>Other</u>	5	1.6	3.2	4	2.4	4.7	1	0.7	1.4
No Change/Effect	3	1.0	1.9	2	1.2	2.3	1	0.7	1.4
No Response/Not stated	16	5.2	10.3	9	5.3	12.2	7	5.1	10.0
Total Responses	307	(100)	-	169	(100)	-	138	(100)	-
Total Families	156	-	(100)	86	-	(100)	70	-	(100)

TABLE 4

VALUE/SIGNIFICANCE OF CARE TO THE CHILD
(AS PERCEIVED BY PARENTS/MOTHER)

(b) Summary of Family Characteristics

Family Characteristics and (N) in Sample	Value/Significance mentioned (Aggregates of Responses)*											
	Emotional		Developmental		Socialization		Education		Teachers of Service		Other (No change) Not Stated	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Families (156)	46	29.5	47	30.1	108	69.2	45	28.8	37	23.7	24	16.4
Mother's Employment												
Mother employed (86)	21	24.4	23	26.7	62	72.1	22	25.6	26	30.2	15	19.2
Mother not " (70)	25	35.7	24	34.3	46	65.7	23	32.9	11	15.7	9	12.8
Children in Family												
One (36)	9	25.0	11	30.6	28	77.8	7	19.4	14	38.9	5	13.9
Two (71)	20	28.2	22	31.0	48	67.6	19	26.8	13	18.3	11	15.5
Three or more (49)	17	34.7	14	28.6	32	65.3	19	38.8	10	20.4	8	16.3
Family Income p.w.												
Under \$300 (30)	13	43.3	8	26.7	19	63.3	10	33.3	8	26.7	3	10.0
\$300 - \$600 (64)	19	29.7	23	35.9	49	76.6	14	21.9	10	15.6	5	7.8
Over \$600 (43)	10	23.3	10	23.3	33	76.7	13	30.2	19	44.2	3	7.0
Not Stated (19)	4	21.1	6	31.6	7	36.8	8	42.1	-	-	5	26.3
Families Living in												
North (26)	9	34.6	9	34.6	24	92.3	11	42.3	3	11.5	2	7.7
East(H) (32)	9	28.1	4	12.5	24	75.0	8	25.5	6	18.8	4	12.5
East(M) (23)	7	30.4	5	21.7	19	82.6	3	13.0	11	47.8	4	17.4
South (33)	5	15.2	11	33.3	15	45.5	4	12.1	10	30.3	11	33.3
West (42)	16	38.1	18	42.9	26	61.9	19	45.2	7	16.7	3	7.1

* Percentages refer to families in each group: total percentages for each group amount to more than 100 as more than one value/significance would be mentioned by a respondent.

TABLE 5 **RELATIONSHIP OF CHILD CARE SERVICES WITH OTHER CHILDREN'S SERVICES**

Area and Service	Nature of Relationship
NORTH	
Neighbourhood children's centre	Sponsor provides other services such as counselling, wants to expand into providing emergency accommodation for families.
Full Day pre-school (community-based)	Has hearing specialists providing own services within P/S; and employs a part-time speech therapist.
Sessional pre-school	A doctor from local health clinic visits — the centre had handicapped children.
EAST(H)	
Long day care (community-based)	Centre is involved in case conferences with the Department of Youth and Community Services; sponsor has a social worker who is available to parents and children; uses private psychologist for testing.
Long day care (private)	Health workers visit; children can be referred to local health clinic.
Full day pre-school (community-based)	Health Department staff used to come to conduct hearing tests.
Sessional pre-school	Children referred to Health Department and Department's speech pathologist visits; local health centre has surveyed all kindergartens in the previous year.
EAST(M)	
Long day care (private)	Director takes one child to visit hospital once a week.
Neighbourhood children's centre	Some children referred to the centre by pediatricians or speech therapists because of children's delayed development.
Occasional care (1)	Gets referrals from local hospital and a city hospital; a few children attend speech therapy.
" " (2)	Links with baby health clinic.
Full day pre-school (community-based)	Previous year health centre screened every child — identified cases of dental and eye problems. Currently only identified "problem" children — this method criticised for drawing attention to these children.
Full day pre-school (private)	A year previously used to have screening for all 4 year olds.

TABLE 5 continued ...

Area and Service	Nature of Relationship
Sessional pre-school	Refers children to hospital when necessary; counselling service offered by Education Department when needed.
<u>SOUTH</u>	
Long day care (private)	Children with speech problems referred to a clinic.
Full day pre-school (community-based)	Links with the area children's service committee of the Australian Early Childhood Education.
Full day pre-school (private)	Links with the area children's service committee of AECE director consults committee re children who might need help.
Sessional pre-school	Refers children to Health Department but difficult to get help because of Department's staff cut-backs.
<u>WEST</u>	
Family day care	Has family enrichment programme, provided by a technical college.
Long day care (community-based)	Children referred by Clinic for language stimulation; links with Health Department. (Centre has had some hyperactive children).
Full day pre-school (community-based)	Considerable assistance from Health Department; some difficulties in obtaining speech therapy — waiting list for this service.
Sessional pre-school (1)	Teachers identify 2 to 3 undetected problems per year; nurses come in to give health checks; problems rather frequent.
" " " (2)	Links with special schools in the area.

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