

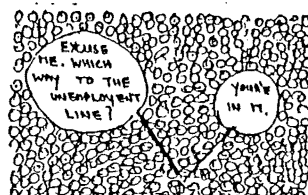
I THOUGHT I'D LEAVE THIS YEAR, BUT MR. SMITH SAYS I SHOULD WAIT UNTIL I SEE HOW I GO ON THE 'CREATIVE LEISURE FOR RETIREMENT' EXAM.

# TRANSITION-FROM-SCHOOL-TO-WORK : THE EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS.

[M.Ed. Research Paper.1984  
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Will you be staying on at school or going straight into redundancy?



## TRANSITION-FROM-SCHOOL-TO-WORK :

### The Educational Response To The Present Economic Crisis.

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## INTRODUCTION

"If schooling is made relevant to the real world, then the pupil's ability to deal with the world will be greatly enhanced...It is clear that the present education system is under a great deal of pressure and is not performing particularly well. In addition to employer dissatisfaction, there is also a general dissatisfaction in society at large."

-- Mr. M. Robson, (Managing Director of INL), speaking as 'Business Leader' at the Economic Summit.<sup>1</sup>

"In times of economic depression, pressure is put on the educational system to take the blame for unemployment... Young people's time at school is too precious to waste on vocational skills."

-- Mr. J. Knox, (President of FOL), October 1984.<sup>2</sup>

The social reality of the present economic crisis in New Zealand, is that the youth constitute the single largest group who are registered unemployed. At present, teenagers constitute 16% of the working age population but make up nearly 40% of the registered unemployed.<sup>3</sup> The economic reality is that unemployment is increasing. In its most recent prediction, the Department of Labour forecasted that by March 1987, there would be 87,000 registered unemployed compared to the present level of 63,4000 at August 1984.<sup>4</sup> The educational response in the Secondary School context has been the development of Transition-From-School-To-Work (TSW) programmes which aim at "preparing young people for entry into employment."<sup>5</sup>

Within the framework of the capitalist industrial society in N.Z., the link between schooling and employment has been variously accounted for in recent years. The need for a labour force, which is appropriately motivated, imbued with the work ethic, willing to accept instruction, and prepared to engage in mental and/or manual labour for which the

only reward is pay, has been one of the primary functions of the educative process. Schools in contributing to this socialisation process of the future work force, have been directly linked to the competitive market economy as a supplier and selector of mental and 3or manual labour. The match between educational supply (school-leavers) and economic demand (for labour) have been in the past as such, whereby even the least qualified school-leaver had been able to get some unskilled but 'gainful' employment. However, in recent years, with the 'shrinking' of the economy and the 'expansion' of new technology, even highly qualified students with tertiary credentials have encountered a mis-match between educational supply and employment demand.<sup>7</sup> With over 27,000 young adults (including 8,000 direct school-leavers) unemployed as at December 1983<sup>8</sup>, and a corresponding shrinking of at least 10,000 jobs<sup>9</sup>, the mis-match has become very apparent.

The term 'transition', to indicate the progression from adolescent, dependent, school life to adult, independent, working life, has increasingly come into common usage in the Secondary School context. It covers a whole range of educational approaches — work exploration, work experience, pre-employment training, literacy and numeracy skills, social and life skills, and carries with it assumptions about the nature of work and solutions to the youth (and school-leaver) unemployment problem. Given the high rates of youth unemployment—averaging at 28% of the registered unemployed over the last five years, the focus has been on schools and students to improve this 'transition' process. Issues ranging from 'back to basics' to 'raising the school-leaving age' have been symptomatic of the perspective which holds that the transition process has not been working satisfactorily.

This paper attempts at appraising the nature and significance of Transition education, in the context of the present economic crisis. As a starting point, the Liberal bias to the N.Z. educational approach

will be briefly discussed from a historical perspective, in order to highlight the contextual development of Transition education in relation to the changing economic situation. The second section of the paper, will attempt at reviewing the major changes to the educational and employment patterns, drawing upon official Department of Labour and Department of Education statistics. In the context of this changing pattern, the third section will outline the development of TSW education in State Secondary Schools and evaluate the policy changes. In the final section, a theoretical evaluation of Transition education will be forwarded in the context of the economic policies of the State and its effect on the school-society relations.

#### THE LIBERAL BACKGROUND

In the immediate era following the second world war and the subsequent decades, the major concern for the western nations, including New Zealand was to promote economic development which would benefit all the people. Technology was perceived as the means to effect this, and which would bring about socio-economic egalitarianism. This was a period when the social, the economic, and the educational sectors were thought of as essentially consensus-based, integrated and interdependent units.

In the 1950's and 1960's, society was seen in the affluent post-industrial phase, and the belief was that all the anomalies and social inequalities could be challenged by further growth in the techno-economy. Both educationalists and politicians shared in this view, and investment in education was perceived as direct investment in the economic growth. In New Zealand, whereas the total educational vote in 1937-1938 period was \$9.4 million, by 1968 more than \$36.3 million was spent on just the tertiary sector of education.<sup>10</sup> These decades were periods of economic boom, and full employment was the norm. As Table 1 shows, the total unemployment never exceeded 7,000 in any quarter for the years between 1946 and 1970. During the same period, the number of unfilled notified vacancies for employment far exceeded the registered unemployed ( Table 2 ).

Investment in education was directly linked to the nation's growth and productivity. Society was perceived in occupational-functional terms, in that certain occupations were functionally more important than others. However the criteria for entry to these functionally important, that is, highly skilled occupations were primarily determined through achievement in the educational sub-system. In other words, education had a

TABLE : 1

5

TABLE : 2

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## REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED \*

END OF MONTH	MALE	FEMALE	ALL PERSONS	END OF MONTH	MALE	FEMALE	ALL PERSONS
March 1946	402	24	426	Sept. 1975	3423	1662	5085
Sept. 1946	261	7	268	March 1976	2438	2583	5021
March 1947	67	7	74	Sept. 1976	3452	1935	5387
Sept. 1947	96	10	106	March 1977	1816	2290	4106
March 1948	26	5	31	Sept. 1977	5262	2813	8075
Sept. 1948	90	4	94	March 1978	10963	8881	19844
March 1949	34	4	38	Sept. 1978	15965	8445	24410
Sept. 1949	114	1	115	March 1979	13625	10109	23734
March 1950	19	2	21	Sept. 1979	17671	8567	26238
Sept. 1950	33	2	35				
March 1951	9	3	12				
Sept. 1951	45	23	68				
March 1952	16	12	28				
Sept. 1952	40	20	60				
March 1953	37	12	49				
Sept. 1953	88	15	103				
March 1954	42	19	61				
Sept. 1954	93	16	109				
March 1955	67	34	101				
Sept. 1955	63	9	72				
March 1956	62	3	65				
Sept. 1956	410	48	458				
March 1957	299	31	330				
Sept. 1957	478	30	508				
March 1958	301	37	338				
Sept. 1958	1435	66	1501				
March 1959	738	65	803				
Sept. 1959	1310	90	1400				
March 1960	590	85	675				
Sept. 1960	499	42	541				
March 1961	205	29	234				
Sept. 1961	460	28	488				
March 1962	568	99	667				
Sept. 1962	1323	141	1464				
March 1963	640	107	747				
Sept. 1963	704	105	809				
March 1964	391	118	509				
Sept. 1964	560	166	726				
March 1965	380	144	524				
Sept. 1965	362	106	468				
March 1966	255	140	395				
Sept. 1966	389	117	506				
March 1967	413	173	586				
Sept. 1967	4871	769	5640				
March 1968	5062	1494	6556				
Sept. 1968	4746	1726	6472				
March 1969	2007	878	2885				
Sept. 1969	1880	627	2507				
March 1970	923	403	1326				
Sept. 1970	1397	358	1755				
March 1971	787	334	1121				
Sept. 1971	3229	648	3877				
March 1972	3591	1144	4735				
Sept. 1972	4867	1458	6325				
March 1973	1513	830	2343				
Sept. 1973	1279	561	1840				
March 1974	418	283	701				
Sept. 1974	695	357	1052				
March 1975	1947	1111	3058				

\* Job seekers available for work and without a job who have enrolled with the Employment Offices of the Department of Labour for employment assistance.

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

## UNFILED NOTIFIED VACANCIES\*

END OF MONTH	MALES	FEMALES	ALL PERSONS	END OF MONTH	MALES	FEMALES	ALL PERSONS
March 1946	7106	9929	17035	March 1975	2021	442	2463
Sept. 1946	9795	12919	22714	Sept. 1975	1433	478	1911
March 1947	14402	12989	27391	March 1976	1593	412	2005
Sept. 1947	11992	11723	23715	Sept. 1976	1293	398	1691
March 1948	13684	12216	25900	March 1977	1496	327	1823
Sept. 1948	10972	10344	21316	Sept. 1977	1142	370	1512
March 1949	11049	10119	21168	March 1978	1042	301	1343
Sept. 1949	10267	9353	19620	Sept. 1978			2196
March 1950	12662	9637	22299	March 1979			1644
Sept. 1950	13253	8937	22190	Sept. 1979			1497
March 1951	14934	8997	23931				
Sept. 1951	13066	7865	20931				
March 1952	13609	7595	21204				
Sept. 1952	9946	4470	14416				
March 1953	8892	3592	12484				
Sept. 1953	7268	3285	10553				
March 1954	8268	3989	12257				
Sept. 1954	8312	4264	12576				
March 1955	9937	4704	14641				
Sept. 1955	10117	4658	14775				
March 1956	10035	4567	14602				
Sept. 1956	7797	3515	11312				
March 1957	6432	3130	9562				
Sept. 1957	5366	2824	8190				
March 1958	5283	3010	8293				
Sept. 1958	3356	2334	5690				
March 1959	4053	2379	6432				
Sept. 1959	2410	2136	4546				
March 1960	3653	2460	6113				
Sept. 1960	4084	2820	6904				
March 1961	6148	3514	9662				
Sept. 1961	5653	3348	9001				
March 1962	4692	3008	7700				
Sept. 1962	3694	2147	5841				
March 1963	3765	1862	5627				
Sept. 1963	3297	1951	5248				
March 1964	4730	1739	6469				
Sept. 1964	4870	1770	6640				
March 1965	5937	1765	7702				
Sept. 1965	5784	1934	7718				
March 1966	6101	2189	8290				
Sept. 1966	4935	2170	7105				
March 1967	4234	2062	6296				
Sept. 1967	1709	997	2706				
March 1968	1338	673	2011				
Sept. 1968	1495	751	2246				
March 1969	2674	904	3578				
Sept. 1969	2688	1142	3830				
March 1970	3670	1318	4988				
Sept. 1970	3392	1353	4745				
March 1971	2989	1003	3992				
Sept. 1971	1564	726	2290				
March 1972	1631	852	2483				
Sept. 1972	1746	842	2588				
March 1973	2281	752	3033				
Sept. 1973	3242	1148	4390				
March 1974	3185	1084	4269				
Sept. 1974	3982	1494	5476				

\* Vacancies notified to employment offices of the Department of Labour and remaining unfilled at the end of the months indicated.

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

role in not only the development of the technical and job-relevant skills of the student, but also determining who achieves the highly skilled occupations. Concomittant to this view was that in a post-industrial society the role of education was directly determined by the needs of technological change. As such, with greater technological growth, occupational functions become more complex and specialised, hence the educational sub-system had to expand to provide for these changes. In recognition of this complexity of occupations, schools introduced career education in the curriculum during the 1940's and special careers advisors were appointed in the early 50's.

Another major approach to New Zealand education which reflected the liberal view, was the usage of education as a means of socialising the students to accept the norms and values of the capitalist technocratic society. The official New Zealand approach stated, amongst others, two main types of social ideals which were the objectives incorporated into the education.

"Democratic citizenship is a social ideal: preparation for citizenship in a democracy is an objective of the schools" and "The expansion of opportunity for all, through the education system."

However in the translation of these two objectives, 'citizenship' came to mean to be occupationally productive in the economy, and 'opportunity' came to mean to be able to compete as 'human capital' with qualifications such as School Certificate and University Entrance in the employment market. In 1963 for instance, 33% of the males and 34% of the females, of all school leavers had School Certificate or higher qualification (Appendix 3), and of these 54% entered technical and clerical occupation, 17% entered further education and virtually all found work of

'some sort'.<sup>12</sup> The link between credentials and employment in the techno-industry was clearly indicated by the fact that a majority of the school leavers who had School Certificate or more were able to get direct employment in 'technical and clerical' occupations. The 28,800<sup>13</sup> other school leavers that year who had no qualification, were also able to be productive 'citizens' albeit in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Table 1 shows that only 509 people were registered unemployed in march 1964.

Historically this trend set the reality of the relationship between school and work, whereby the school has been an essential part of the social processes by which young people have been inducted into the modes and requirements of the economy. Schools socialised the young for adult role and 'work' had been central to the self-concept and identity of adult status. Trends evident from the liberal approach to education, such as the facts that only 234 Maoris out of 3,637 Maori school-leavers had School Certificate or more,<sup>14</sup> or that even as late as 1975, 37% of all school-leavers had no qualification at all, were not considered serious, and these anomalies were met by the development of 'compensatory' education. The justification was that although inequalities existed in the social environment the education system would have been able to effect the necessary changes. As the Department of Education Review stated, 'special education services have been developed for children who because of... social or educational handicap, need extra assistance of various education.' Moreover, given that most school-leavers, even those without any qualifications, were able to gain successful entry into the work-force validated the essential rationale of the liberal approach to education.

However by the late-1970's, major mismatches appeared between the education supply (school-leavers) and economic demand for labour. Within the context of the total labour force in N.Z.-- estimated at 1,272,333 persons, there were only 701 people registered unemployed in March 1974, however, by December 1979 this figure had risen to 26,889 registered unemployed and a further 27,794 on subsidised work programmes. Of these, the total number of unemployed school-leavers were 4059 or 6.3% of all school-leavers. In recognition of this, schools began developing work-exploration and pre-employment programmes for their 'at risk' students. The Department of Education (DOE) sought a special Accident Compensation Corporation agreement in 1979, for students who were sent on unpaid work-exploration in factories and shops. The main thrust to solve the increasing youth (school-leaver) unemployment was translated to the education sector, in the development of Transition programmes. In 1979, the DOE in recognition of the growing school-leaver unemployment for the first time, allocated 22 teacher equivalents nationally for transition (compensatory) education.

With increasing pupil retention rates at school (who were termed as 'reluctant returners' and estimated at 600 in the Canterbury Region alone),<sup>16</sup> the Liberals limited the causes to this problem to mainly the school-context. In a major report conducted by the DOE in 1978, the causes were identified as :

"...a basic inflexibility of thinking and forward planning in many school, and staffing ratios which don't allow for innovation...."<sup>17</sup>

The report equally limited the focus of solution to the growing school-leaver unemployment and high retention rates, to the school context. The answers lay in ,

"Moulding occupation studies on to the 4th Form social studies,... compilation of 'This is me' portfolios (for job applications and interviews),... using a lecture session in assemblies or liberal study periods to subject

exam-pupils to elements of pre-employment courses, ... (and)... non-exam pupils should attend a work exploration course..."<sup>18</sup>

Thus , as in the past when the DOE attempted at redressing the social inequalities through compensatory education in schools, similarly now with the economic recession and unemployment the DOE put a major emphasis on 'Transition education' as a means toward solving the high school-leaver and youth unemployment problem. In this context, it is important to note that whilst the expenditure on education as a proportion of total government expenditure decreased from 14.2% in 1978-1979, to an estimated 13.1% in 1982-1983, the actual amount spent on Transition (compensatory) education increased from \$200,000 in 1979 to over \$2.45 million in 1983.

## CHANGING PATTERNS OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Prior to discussing the Transition policies of the DOE and the nature of its implementation in secondary schools, it is useful to consider the major trends apparent in the economy (labour market) and the education (school-leaver) sectors, and as such provide for a contextual basis to appraise youth unemployment and TSW development.

The most significant change in the labour market situation was apparent in 1978, when the total registered unemployed increased from 8075 in September 1977, to nearly 20,000 in March 1978. By December, 1983 the total registered unemployed had increased to over 74,000. (this by no means represent the actual numbers of New Zealanders unemployed, because many categories of people are excluded in the Department of Labour (DOL) figures.)<sup>19</sup> Correspondingly, during this period the total number of actual vacancies and net newly created jobs also declined. Despite the introduction of subsidised job-creation schemes by the DOL, there were little changes to the overall pattern of unemployment. For instance, although the November Quarterly Employment Survey indicated that the total number of jobs increased by 0.1% in the year ending November 1982, however after allowing for the growth in job creation programmes there was a net decline of 0.4% in actual job positions.

Within this background of increasing general unemployment, and decreasing number of available jobs, it is the youth who have been primarily affected. As the following two tables show, the under 20 age category comprise over 30% of the total registered unemployed. It is important to note that these statistics do not reveal the true extent of youth unemployment, in that, school-leavers and the 15-19 age group categories do not include those who are in further training or temporary subsidised employment schemes. The DOL has a policy of not including those who are in schemes such as Additional Job Programmes (AJP), Project Employment Programme (PEP), Work Skill Development Programme (WSDP), Private Sector Employment Incentive Scheme (PSEIS), Work Rehabilitation Programme

(WRP), Voluntary Organisation Training Programme (VOTP), and several others. Despite this 'hidden' unemployment, the following two tables clearly indicate that it is the teenaged sector who have been worst effected by the labour market downturn.

TABLE:3

Age of the Registered Unemployed, December 1982 and December 1981

Age Group	Dec 1981			Dec 1982		
	MALE N %	FEMALE N %	TOTAL N %	MALE N %	FEMALE N %	TOTAL N %
School leavers	1,438 5.5	2,371 13.1	3,809 8.6	2,677 7.0	3,746 15.7	6,423 12.3
15-19	5,950 22.7	6,849 37.9	12,799 28.9	8,513 22.2	8,275 34.6	16,788 27.0
20-24	6,578 25.1	4,316 23.9	10,894 24.6	10,283 26.9	6,015 25.1	16,298 26.2
25-29	4,290 16.4	1,580 8.7	5,870 13.3	5,972 15.6	2,065 8.6	8,037 12.9
30-39	3,951 15.1	1,388 7.7	5,339 12.1	5,626 14.7	1,811 7.6	7,437 12.0
40-59	3,873 14.8	1,538 8.5	5,411 12.2	5,046 13.2	1,991 8.3	7,037 11.3
60+	140 0.5	27 0.1	167 0.4	154 0.4	15 0.1	169 0.3
Totals	26,220 100.0	18,069 100.0	44,289 100.0	38,271 100.0	23,918 100.0	62,189 100.0

(Source: Labour And Employment Gazette (LEG), 1983)<sup>21</sup>

TABLE:4

Age and Sex of the Registered Unemployed\*

Age Group	January 1983				January 1984			
	Male	Female	Total	% Total	Male	Female	Total	% Total
School-leavers	3,397	4,608	8,005	11.7	4,407	5,631	10,038	12.5
15-19	9,050	9,041	18,091	26.4	10,424	9,980	20,404	25.5
20-24	11,163	6,732	17,895	26.1	12,600	7,568	20,168	25.2
25-29	6,461	2,401	8,862	12.9	7,660	2,894	10,554	13.2
30-39	5,909	2,020	7,929	11.6	7,171	2,499	9,670	12.1
40-59	5,438	2,099	7,537	11.0	6,310	2,617	8,927	11.2
60+	161	21	182	0.3	177	40	217	0.3
Total	41,579	26,922	68,501	100	48,749	31,229	79,978	100

(Source: LEG, 1984)<sup>22</sup>

Another major trend evident from the overall registered unemployed, is that the actual numbers of long-term unemployed are increasing. As the following tables show, the number of long duration unemployed (that is, people registered unemployed for 26 weeks or longer) were 16,712 persons at the end of January, 1984. This was 7,030 or 72% higher than the level of 9,682 at January, 1983. In fact, long duration unemployed people comprised 20.9% of the registered unemployed at the end of January, 1983.

TABLE:5

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Duration of Unemployment, December 1982 and December 1981

	December 1981		December 1982	
	Number	%	Number	%
4 weeks or less	14,553	32.9	20,809	33.5
5-8 weeks	8,013	18.1	13,177	21.2
9-13 weeks	5,736	13.0	8,730	14.0
14-26 weeks	7,808	17.6	10,966	17.6
More than 26 weeks	8,179	18.5	8,507	13.7
Totals	44,289		62,189	

(Source:LEG,1983)<sup>23</sup>

TABLE:6

Duration of Unemployment

	January 1983		January 1984	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
4 weeks or less	19,349	28.2	17,732	22.2
5 - 8 weeks	15,814	23.1	14,055	17.6
9 - 13 weeks	11,393	16.6	14,238	17.8
14 - 26 weeks	12,263	17.9	17,241	21.6
More than 26 weeks	9,682	14.1	16,712	20.9
Total	68,501	100	79,978	100

(Source:LEG,1984)<sup>24</sup>

Whilst the above tables represent the overall registered unemployed, the achool-leaver and under-19 age categories constituted nearly 25% of all long-term unemployed as at December, 1983.

TABLE:7

Duration

Age group	Duration					Total
	Up to 4 Weeks	Over 4 & Up to 8 Weeks	Over 8 & Up to 13 Weeks	Over 13 & Up to 26 Weeks	Over 26 Weeks	
School Leavers	4362	1262	732	884	916	8156
15 - 19 Years	5937	3763	2751	3781	2767	18999
20 - 24 Years	4654	3816	2772	4218	3416	18876
25 - 29 Years	2207	1802	1481	2392	2330	10212
30 - 39 Years	1869	1563	1267	2374	2357	9430
40 - 59 Years	1417	1159	1173	2089	3023	8861
60 Years & Over	29	28	18	47	85	207
Totals	20475	13393	10194	15785	14894	74741

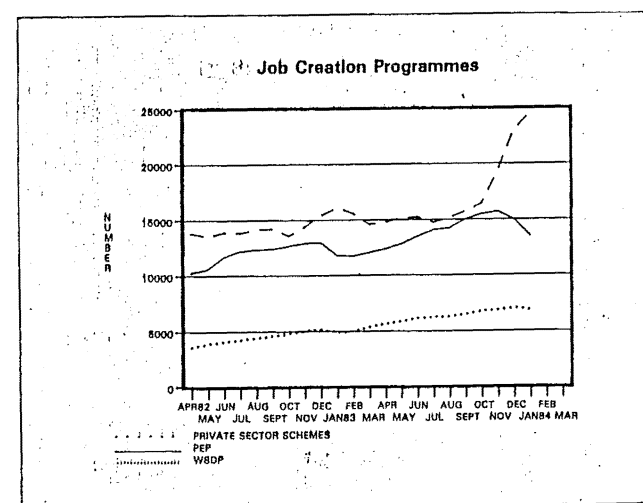
Age and Duration of Registered Unemployed, Dec.1983.

(Source: Monthly Employment Operation, DOL, 1983)<sup>25</sup>

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The development of post-school subsidised employment and training programmes by the DOL, have also had a significant bearing on the nature and development of DOE's transition education. Whilst this aspect will be discussed in detail later, it is important to note here that in the last two years they have had a considerable effect of depressing the registered youth unemployed figures. (Registered Unemployment is defined as the number of job-seekers enrolled with the Employment and Vocational Guidance Service at a particular date who were without work and were available for and willing to accept a full-time job of 30 hours / week or more.) Their justification is based on the International Labour Organisation's definitional framework, which states that "people who do any work for pay or profit during a specified period, are classified as 'employed' "26, and as such the DOL states that "people employed on subsidised jobs are by definition employed".<sup>27</sup> Figure 1 shows the growing trend of job creation programmes, especially in the private sector.

FIGURE:1

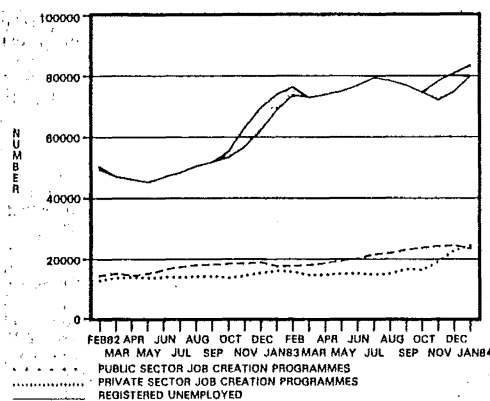
(Source: LEG,1984)<sup>28</sup>



Inference to Figure 1, over the period from January 1983 to January 1984, the number of people engaged in employment programmes increased from 33,756 to 48,126, a rise of about 42%. The number of people on private sector job creation programmes rose by 52.6% to 24,593, while the number of people on public sector programmes increased by 33.4% to 23,533. The other two programmes, which have specific youth component, the Young Persons Training Programme (YPTP) and the School-Leavers Training and Employment Programme (STEPS), are not represented in Figure 1. Nationally, since the inception of STEPS in June 1983, the total number of 15 and 16 year olds who have enrolled stood at 2,660. The YPTP, which has been operating for a considerable time longer, equally depressed the actual youth unemployment rate. In September, 1983 more than 1,300 young people were on this scheme. Figure 2 perhaps best illustrates the significance of the employment programmes in relation to registered unemployed. As such, a more valid appreciation of the general impact of the various schemes on unemployment figures can be drawn.

FIGURE : 2

Registered Unemployed and Employment Programmes\*



(Source: LEG, 1984)<sup>29</sup>

A trend particularly affecting youth unemployment, as will be discussed later, has been the growth of part-time employment with a corresponding decrease in full-time employment. Whilst no figures are available of actual youth employment pattern in this respect, it is nevertheless important to recognise the changing pattern for all categories of employment.

TABLE : 8

FULL TIME EMPLOYEES - ALL SECTORS - ALL INDUSTRIES (INCL SEASONAL)

One week in	Full Time Employees All Persons	Fluctuations 3 months	% Change 3 months	Fluctuations Yearly	% Change Yearly
1980 Feb	887,997	-	-	-	-
May	884,722	-3,275	-0.4	-	-
Aug	857,198	-27,524	-3.1	-	-
Nov	862,656	5,458	0.6	-	-
1981 Feb	874,306	11,650	1.4	-13,691	-1.5
May	872,722	-1,584	-0.2	-12,000	-1.4
Aug	860,083	-12,639	-1.4	2,885	0.3
Nov	872,538	12,455	1.4	9,882	1.1
1982 Feb	877,605	5,067	0.6	3,299	0.4
May	881,563	3,958	0.5	8,841	1.0
Aug	866,785	-14,778	-1.7	6,702	0.8
Nov	868,221	1,436	0.2	-4,317	-0.5

(Source: Statistics Tables 1982 onwards, DOL)<sup>30</sup>

TABLE : 9

PART TIME EMPLOYEES - ALL SECTORS - ALL INDUSTRIES - (INCL SEASONAL)

One week in	Part Time Employees All Persons	Fluctuations 3 months	% Change 3 months	Fluctuations Yearly	% Change Yearly
1980 Feb	145,072	-	-	-	-
May	148,491	3,419	2.4	-	-
Aug	149,944	1,453	1.0	-	-
Nov	154,259	4,315	2.9	-	-
1981 Feb	149,644	-4,615	-3.0	4,572	3.2
May	154,439	4,795	3.2	5,948	4.0
Aug	156,173	1,734	1.1	6,229	4.2
Nov	160,856	4,683	3.0	6,597	4.3
1982 Feb	151,957	-8,899	-5.5	2,313	1.5
May	159,363	7,406	4.9	4,924	3.2
Aug	162,579	3,216	2.0	6,406	4.1
Nov	165,350	2,771	1.7	4,494	2.8

(Source: Statistics Table 1982 onwards, DOL)<sup>31</sup>

Significant too, within the school-society relations context (as will be discussed later), is the type of occupations sought by registered unemployed. As Table 10 shows, it is mainly the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations --primary industries, construction, production and transport, which are overrepresented compared to the Professional and Administrative occupations for males, and a similar bias in favour of clerical occupations (semi-skilled) to Professional and Administrative occupations for the females. As will be shown later (Table 14), there is a high correlation between the types of occupation sought by school leavers and those currently unemployed.

TABLE: 10

## EMPLOYMENT

OCCUPATIONS SOUGHT BY REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED (1) (2)												
Decade Year (1960-1969)	Primary Indus- trial (Metal & Mining etc)	Profes- sional and Tech- nical	Adminis- trative and Manag- erial	Clerical and Sales	Personal and Other Service Workers	Build- ing and Con- struction Workers	Produc- tion- and Related Metal & Electri- cal	Produc- tion- and Related Other Indus- tries	Trans- port and Com- muni- cations Handling	Other Occu- pations N.E.C.	Total	
Males												
Group UNP Series	87194A	87194B	87194C	87194D	87194E	87194F	87194G	87194H	87194I	87194J	87194K	
1960	3183	788	304	3184	1111	1841	2182	13133	3519	818	28145	
1961	3532	1158	285	2776	1207	1888	2586	13702	3586	896	31339	
1962	3540	1801	416	4384	1852	3554	4688	18800	5710	940	47688	
MONTHLY												
1963 AUG	3646	1354	446	4378	1880	3688	4817	22108	6153	995	31769	
SEP	3902	1587	426	4182	1848	3637	4662	21799	6052	903	31011	
OCT	3803	1587	417	3973	1835	3436	4593	20793	5824	974	30839	
NOV	3130	1902	426	3878	1947	3223	4467	19004	5446	930	28598	
DEC	3136	2048	432	4298	2052	3608	4467	17189	5446	959	28598	
1964 JAN	3714	1136	473	4701	2147	3790	5378	17887	5707	1138	38749	
FEB	3618	1941	452	4419	3089	3419	4983	18020	5470	1118	38149	
MAR	3618	1717	416	4012	1936	2938	4714	14445	5065	1003	31264	
APR	3928	1816	425	3887	1888	3757	4886	18086	4851	1001	30701	
MAY	3980	1868	388	3750	1781	2671	3784	14071	4659	997	28539	
JUN	3836	1426	362	3718	1788	2740	3688	18172	4814	1018	30967	
JUL	3798	1359	348	3650	1670	2733	3573	18132	4848	951	32080	
AUG	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Females												
Group UNP Series	88194A	88194B	88194C	88194D	88194E	88194F	88194G	88194H	88194I	88194J	88194K	
1960	1286	780	88	6361	3481	62	828	4370	582	405	17846	
1961	1528	1054	128	7748	3859	78	520	4628	598	488	20654	
1962	2139	1589	173	10458	5007	127	824	5927	740	651	27652	
MONTHLY												
1963 AUG	2057	1321	171	9737	4824	108	817	6143	791	403	26574	
SEP	2092	1333	161	9256	4800	114	836	5982	782	593	25952	
OCT	1988	1329	174	8943	4825	117	748	5649	782	617	24970	
NOV	1981	1574	189	9181	4889	121	723	5388	841	748	24988	
DEC	2048	1618	190	11192	5165	158	769	5886	748	787	28448	
1964 JAN	2244	2103	210	12584	5440	174	848	5891	822	843	31329	
FEB	2248	2018	218	11943	5381	177	810	5820	820	807	30354	
MAR	1988	1724	208	10487	4948	159	773	5028	748	748	24988	
APR	1882	1612	217	9767	4738	138	753	5140	775	759	25881	
MAY	1982	1387	198	8787	4628	140	687	5101	733	716	24292	
JUN	1975	1208	188	8508	4652	140	674	5246	722	673	24086	
JUL	1884	1248	188	7947	4610	134	683	5117	683	683	23147	
AUG	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	

Source: Department of Labour.

(1) The Occupational Classification of Unemployed according to usual occupations ceased from March 1981. From that month classification has been according to the occupation sought by the person registered as unemployed. A new occupation classification, the Employment & Vocational Guidance Service Classification of Occupations (EVSOC) has been used from March 1981.

(2) Excludes vacation workers.

(3) Individual components may not add to totals due to rounding.

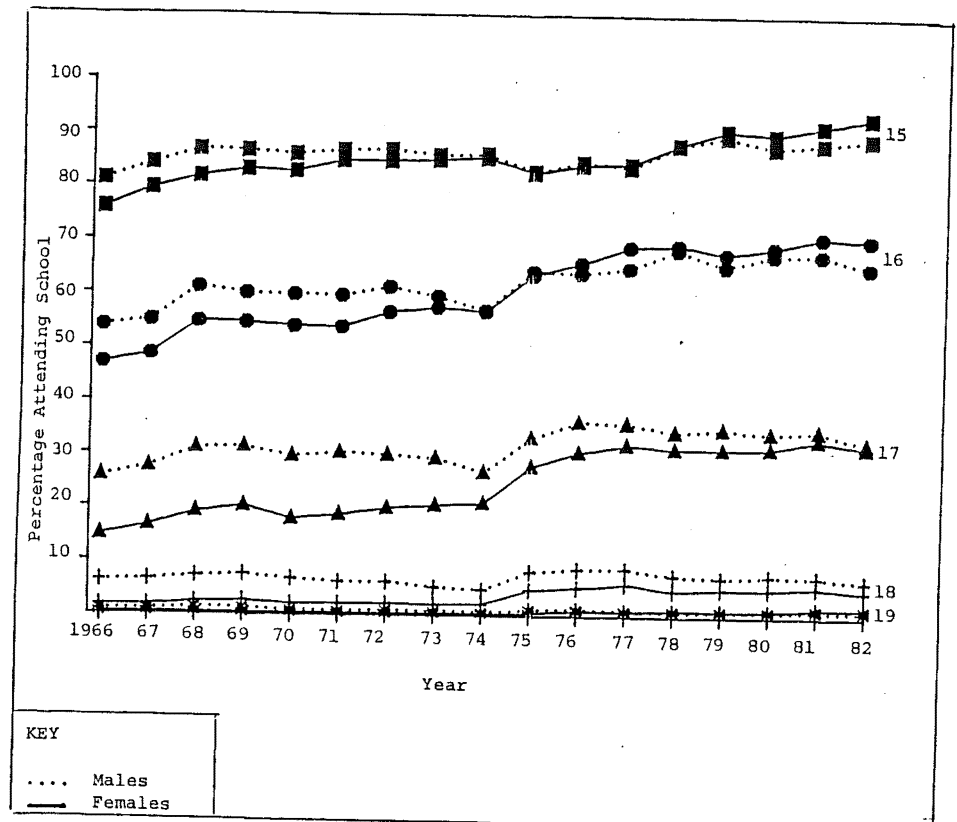
(4) Due to changes in collection procedures by the Department of Labour 1981 figures are an average of 10 months.

(Source: Monthly Abstract of Statistics, Dept. of Statistics, 1984)<sup>32</sup>

In the education sector, several significant trends are important to note in the context of the development of Transition education in secondary schools. Firstly, the school participation rate, that is the proportion of an age cohort who are enrolled at school, have shown a steady increase in the period between 1966 and 1982. The rates for 16 year olds have been particularly noticeable- with an increase from 50% in 1966 to 71% in 1982. Equally significant has been the increase of 17 year old participation rate, from 14% in 1966 to over 30% in 1982. The following figure has to be noted in the context that the legal school-leaving age is fifteen years. As such, it is quite evident from the figures that in percentage terms more young people are remaining in school as full-time students, especially since 1975.

FIGURE:3

School Participation By Age And By Sex, 1966 -1982

(Source: Department of Education Statistics, 1967-1983)<sup>33</sup>

Corollary evidence that a higher proportion of school-pupils are remaining at school can be found in the enrolment data of 5th, 6th and 7th Formers at Secondary Schools. The retention rate refers to the percentage of an age cohort entering secondary school which remain to a particular Form level. As Table 11 shows, the overall percentage increase in retention rate was from 81.9% in 1976 to 87.00% in 1983 for Form 5 students. Similarly there was a 9.7% increase from 48.2% in 1976 to 57.9% in 1983 in the sixth form. The Table also shows there was an increase in the seventh form level.

TABLE: 11 Apparent Retention Rates for Forms 5, 6, and 7, 1976-1983

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Overall</u>
<u>Form 5</u>			
1976	80.4	83.5	81.9
1977	80.5	83.6	82.0
1978	83.1	86.1	84.6
1979	82.1	86.6	84.3
1980	82.4	86.5	84.3
1981	82.8	86.6	84.7
1982	82.2	87.7	84.9
1983	84.7	89.4	87.0
<u>Form 6</u>			
1976	46.6	49.9	48.2
1977	46.4	50.6	48.4
1978	48.8	52.2	50.5
1979	48.9	53.5	51.2
1980	49.1	54.9	51.9
1981	50.0	55.7	52.8
1982	50.3	57.2	53.7
1983	55.2	60.7	57.9
<u>Form 7</u>			
1976	15.9	11.2	13.6
1977	15.3	11.6	13.5
1978	15.7	12.5	14.1
1979	15.8	12.8	14.3
1980	15.8	13.4	14.6
1981	16.1	14.9	15.5
1982	16.0	15.1	15.6
1983	17.7	17.2	17.5

(Source: Education Statistics, DOE, 1977-1984)<sup>34</sup>

Whilst higher proportion of young people are remaining at school, there has also been an increase in credentialism during the same period. As Table 12 shows, an increasing proportion of males and females have left secondary schools with higher qualifications, whilst at the same time (between 1970 and 1982) the proportion of school-leavers with no qualifications have been decreasing. This trend in correlation to the previous data (Figure 3 and Table 11) attests to the fact that an increasing proportion of 15 to 17 year olds are remaining at school to seek further credentials, such as School Certificate and University Entrance, University Scholarship and Higher School Certificate.

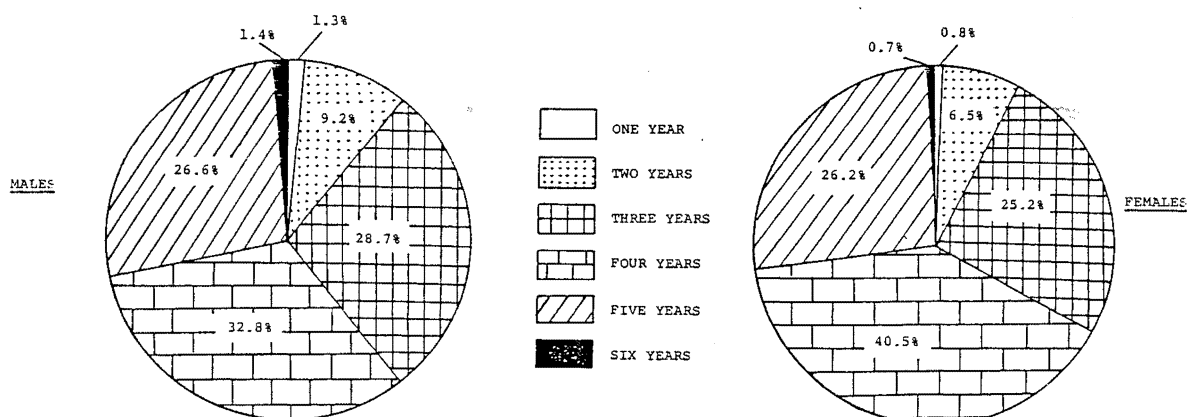
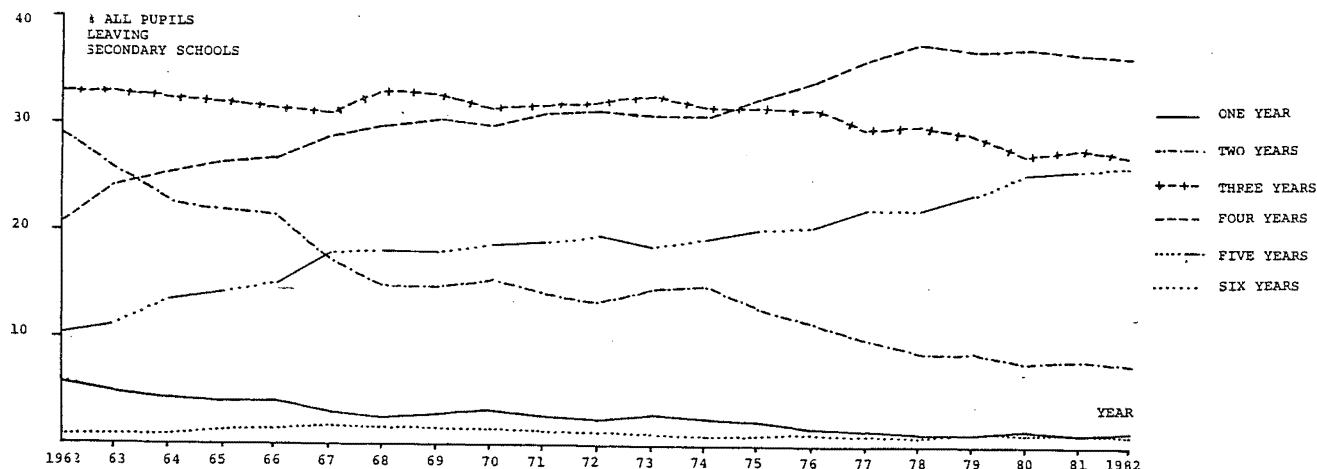
TABLE: 12 Attainment of School-Leavers, 1970 and 1982.

	<u>Female</u>		<u>Male</u>		<u>Maori</u>		<u>Non-Maori</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	1970	1982	1970	1982	1970	1982	1970	1982	1970	1982
Seventh form qualification	8.2	14.8	14.4	16.5	1.3	3.2	12.7	17.9	11.4	15.7
Sixth form qualification	25.1	32.1	20.4	25.6	6.6	15.2	24.7	31.3	22.7	28.8
School Certificate 3 or more subjects	12.7	10.8	9.5	10.4	4.3	5.3	11.9	11.6	11.1	10.6
School Certificate 1 or 2 subjects	13.7	12.6	12.8	11.1	10.2	11.6	13.6	11.9	13.2	11.8
No qualification	40.3	29.7	43.0	36.3	77.6	64.7	37.1	27.3	41.7	33.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: Education Statistics, DOE, 1971 and 1983.)<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, the years of attendance figures of pupils leaving all secondary school between 1962 and 1982, indicate that fewer students are leaving school in their first, second and third years, with a corresponding increase in the percentage of school-leavers in the fourth and fifth years. Figure 4 shows this trend. And by 1982, detailed figures (Table 13) show that nearly 61% of students who left school, did so in their fourth and fifth years.

FIGURE 4  
(Source: Education Statistics of N.Z., 1983)<sup>36</sup>



YEARS OF ATTENDANCE AND SEX OF PUPILS LEAVING ALL SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1982 (TABLE 40)

YEARS OF ATTENDANCE AND ATTAINMENTS OF PUPILS LEAVING ALL SECONDARY SCHOOLS\* 1982

Highest Attainment	Year of Attendance												TOTALS			Percentage	Of These Maoris+	
	First Year		Second Year		Third Year		Fourth Year		Fifth Year		Sixth Year							
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	GRAND		M	F
University Scholarship	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	152	39	2	-	157	39	196	0.4	1	-
University Bursaries Examination	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	2574	2271	47	20	2645	2291	4936	9.1	53	41
Higher School Certificate	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	11	1619	1583	120	41	1750	1635	3385	6.2	105	69
University Entrance	-	-	-	-	2	2	2113	3076	1552	1756	116	62	3783	4896	8679	16.0	196	222
Sixth Form Certificate	-	-	-	-	2	1	2170	2693	1019	968	80	48	3271	3710	6981	12.9	389	466
School Certificate: 3 or more subjects	-	-	-	-	1135	1033	1553	1693	178	163	8	2	2874	2891	5765	10.6	228	211
2 subjects	-	-	-	-	641	636	747	876	74	73	2	-	1464	1585	3049	5.6	182	206
1 subject	-	-	-	-	837	907	705	807	56	59	1	4	1599	1777	3376	6.2	278	299
No Attainment	368	221	2524	1751	5273	4170	1698	1695	110	119	7	11	9980	7967	17947	33.0	2875	2531
TOTALS	368	221	2524	1751	7890	6749	9024	10851	7334	7031	383	188	27523	26791	54314	100%	4307	4045
Of these Maoris	163	100	939	724	1558	1437	1092	1307	482	442	73	35	4307	4045	8352		8352	

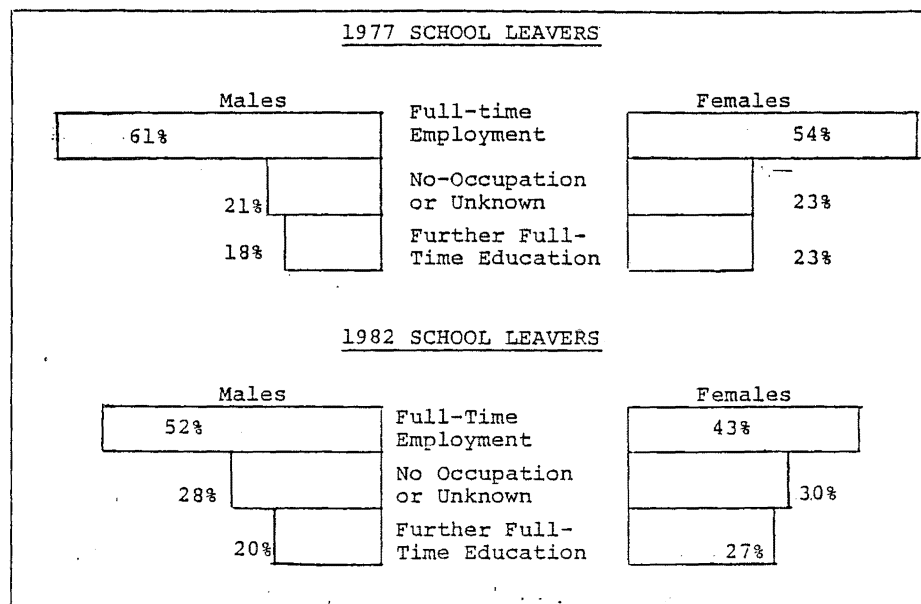
\* Does not include students leaving to attend another secondary school or deceased.  
Excludes the Correspondence School (unable to supply this information).

+ Estimate

(Source: Department of Education Statistics, 1983)<sup>37</sup>

Whilst the previous data has shown that there has been an increase<sup>23</sup> in the proportion of students remaining at school, as well as a higher school-lever credential trend, it is important to note that during the same period (between 1977 and 1982) the proportion of school-leavers entering full-time employment (according to the information provided by schools) decreased from 58% to 48%. There has been a corresponding increase of proportion of school-leavers with no occupations or whose occupation was unknown, from 22% in 1977 to 29% in 1982. Figure 5 clearly sets out the overall comparison between 1977 and 1982.

FIGURE : 5 Probable Destination in 1977 and 1982 of Male and Female School-Leavers



(Source: Department of Education Statistics, 1978 and 1983)<sup>38</sup>

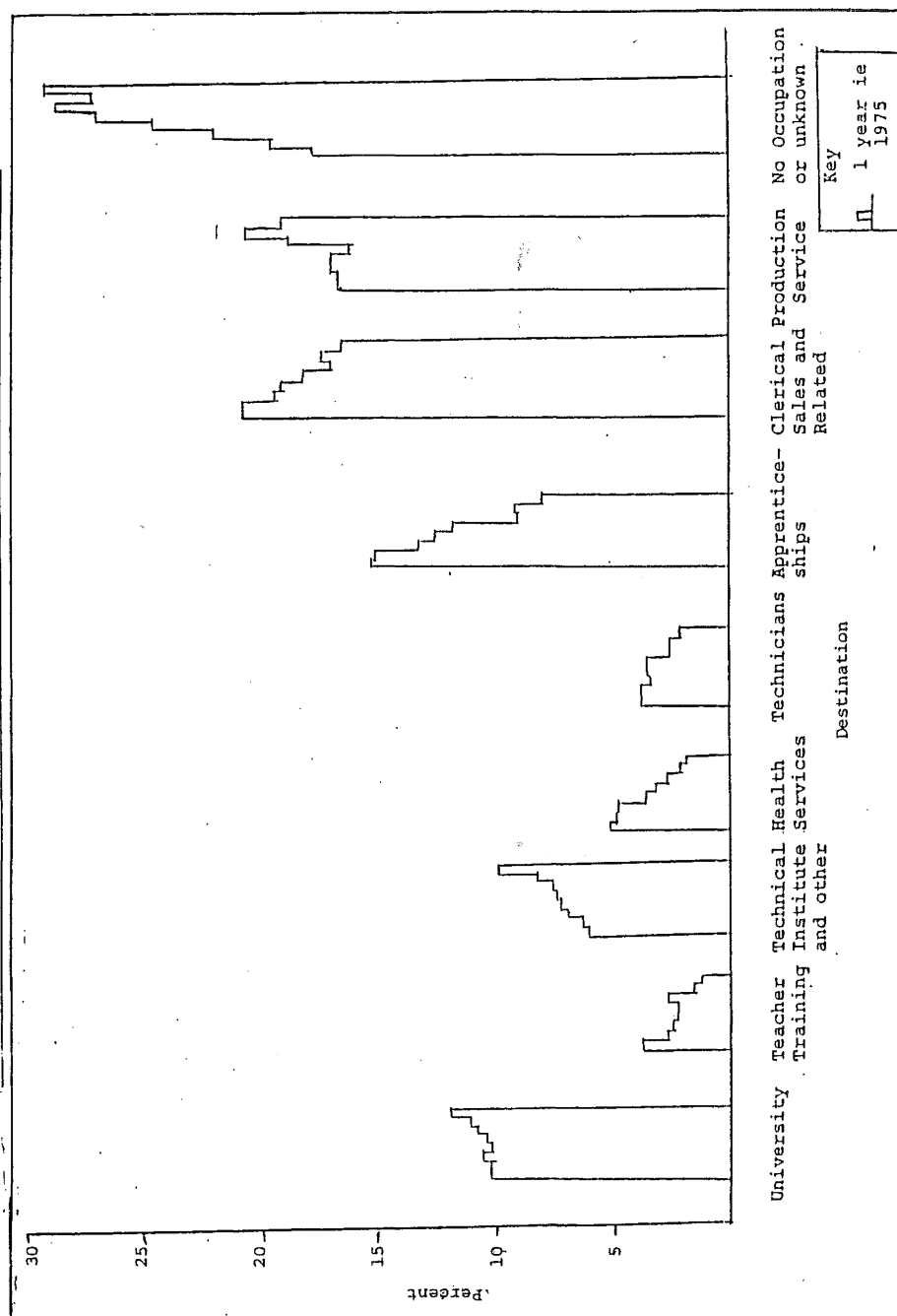
(Table 14 and Figure 6)  
More detailed information on the probable destination of school-leavers reveals that those who have no occupations or unknown destinations, have not only increased significantly between 1975 and 1982, but also a decrease of the number of school-leavers entering the Health services, Technicians, Apprenticeships, clerical and sales related occupational categories. Of all the probable occupational destinations, it is only<sup>10</sup> the production services category that there has been any increase. For males, there has been a large reduction in the percentage entering apprenticeships (43% to 27%) and a large increase in the proportion taking up production and service related occupations. The proportion of females entering the latter occupations has also increased markedly (from 18% to 28%), while the proportion entering employment in the health services have decreased from 17% to 8%.

TABLE : 14 Probable Destination of Leavers Joining the Labour Force 1975-1982

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
<b>Males</b>								
Joined the Labour Force								
(a) Technical or professional								
(i) Health Services	.5	.6	.5	.6	.6	.9	.6	.6
(ii) Technicians and Others	7.4	7.2	7.1	7.3	7.3	6.0	5.7	5.3
(b) Apprenticeships	42.5	41.5	37.8	36.7	35.7	28.4	27.9	26.6
(c) Clerical, Sales and Related	14.8	15.5	15.6	16.3	16.7	17.3	16.8	18.7
(d) Production, Service Industries, Agricultural and Manual Occupations	34.7	35.2	39.0	39.1	39.7	47.4	48.9	49.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	17,783	19,245	18,042	18,801	17,894	16,666	17,021	14,465
<b>Females</b>								
Joined the Labour Force								
(a) Technical or professional								
(i) Health Services	17.4	16.4	17.3	13.4	12.4	10.9	8.3	8.1
(ii) Technicians and Others	4.6	5.3	4.9	5.3	6.2	4.7	3.9	3.8
(b) Apprenticeships	5.0	5.4	5.4	5.5	6.2	5.0	4.7	5.4
(c) Clerical, Sales and Related	54.8	54.9	54.5	55.6	55.7	54.9	54.7	54.6
(d) Production, Service Industries, Agricultural and Manual Occupations	18.2	18.0	17.9	20.2	19.5	24.5	28.4	28.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	15,777	16,787	15,359	15,740	14,821	12,946	13,453	11,530
<b>All</b>								
Joined the Labour Force								
(a) (i) Health Services	8.4	8.0	8.3	6.4	6.0	5.3	4.0	3.9
(ii) Technicians and Others	6.1	6.3	6.1	6.4	6.8	5.5	4.9	4.6
(b) Apprenticeships	24.9	24.7	22.9	22.5	22.4	18.1	17.7	16.8
(c) Clerical, Sales and Related	33.6	33.8	33.5	34.2	34.4	33.7	33.5	34.6
(d) Production, Service Industries, Agricultural and Manual Occupations	27.0	27.2	29.3	30.5	30.5	37.4	39.9	40.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	33,560	36,032	33,401	34,541	32,715	29,612	30,474	25,995

(Source: Department of Education Statistics 1976 to 1983)<sup>39</sup>

PROBABLE DESTINATION OF PUPILS LEAVING SECONDARY SCHOOL - 1975 TO 1982

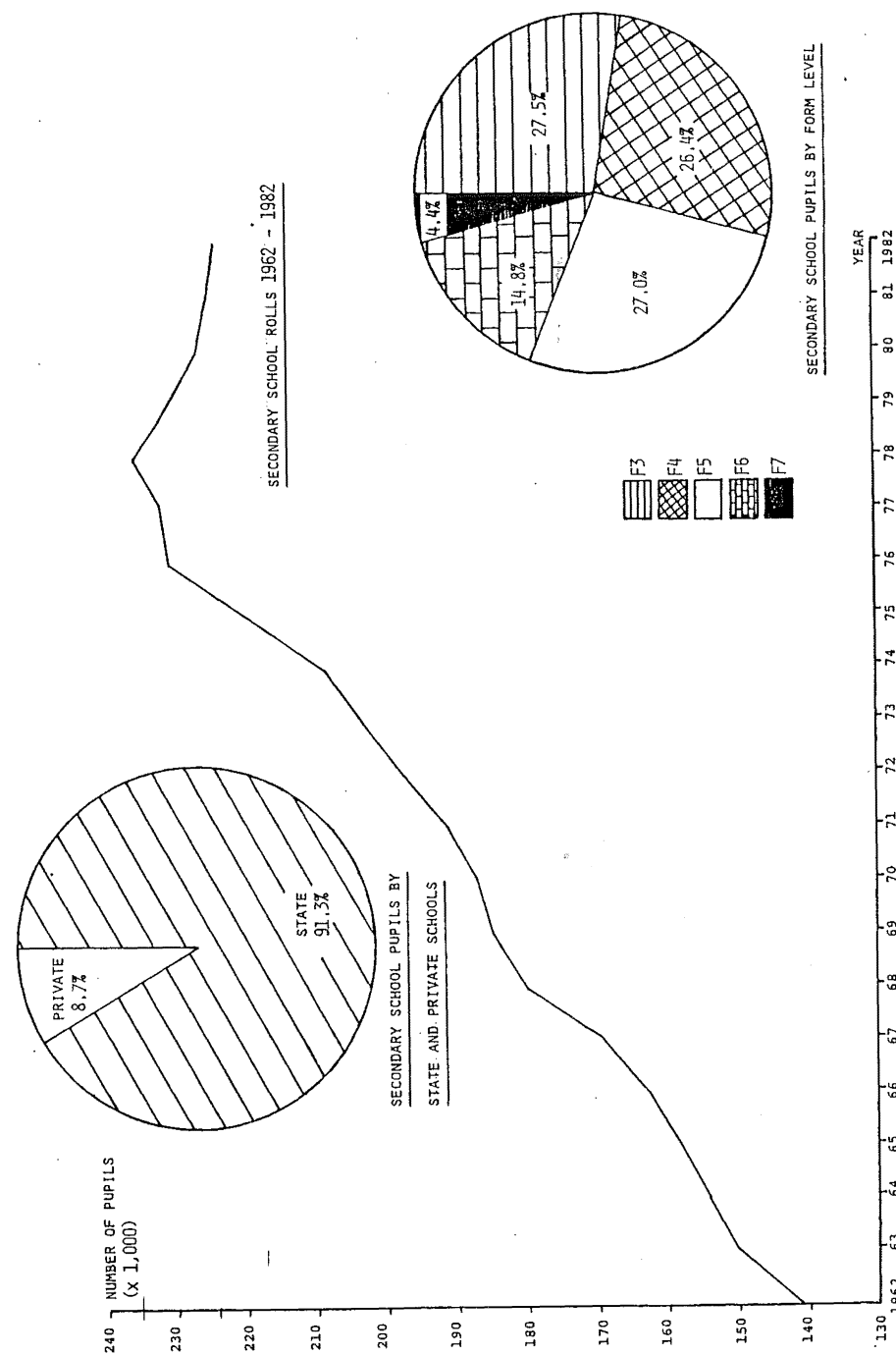
(Source: Department of Education Statistics 1975 to 1982)<sup>40</sup>

Finally all the previous trends in education has to be seen in the context of the overall decrease in the actual school roll in N.Z. As Figure 7 shows, the 'baby-boom' demographic trend peaked in the Secondary School situation in 1978, and the school roll has been declined by over 10,000 from that time to 1982.

In summarising the labour market and the educational patterns in recent years, the following trends have been noted:

- That unemployment has been increasing since 1978.
- That the youth are particularly over-represented in the registered unemployed.
- That the long-term duration of unemployment is increasing, with the teen-age sector being affected.
- That the amount of actual jobs available to the youth has been decreasing
- That the various DOL schemes affect to reduce the true number of unemployed youth.
- That in the overall context of employment pattern, there has been an increase in the part-time employment rate at the expense of full-time employment.
- That unskilled and semi-skilled occupations are more sought after than professional and administrative occupation by the registered unemployed (all categories).
- That more pupils are leaving school to seek unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the service and labour sectors, than any other type of occupations.
- That schools are increasingly faced with a higher retention rate, despite the fact that the overall school roll is decreasing.
- That more students are seeking higher credentials than before at secondary schools.
- That school-leavers have more higher qualifications than in the past, and there has been a decrease in the number of school-leavers with no qualifications.

And, that more students are leaving school to join the unemployed ranks than in the past.

(Source: Department of Education, 1983)<sup>41</sup>TRANSITION EDUCATION IN POLICY AND PRACTICE; An Outline of Development.

Prior to the noticeable changes in the employment and educational patterns in 1978, the secondary educational system had very little direct component of transition education in either the school curriculum or DOE policies. Whilst in the period of the post-war boom and up to the mid-1970's, the changes in the education system included the expansion of educational services, diversification of the subjects in the curriculum, increase in the amount of specialised education for students, extension of the types of merit qualification and the introduction of compensatory education for socially 'disadvantaged' children, the issue of 'transition' education did not arise. It was a period when the links between formal education and the techno-economy were strengthened, on the assumption that employment opportunities existed for all.

Given that in a post-industrial affluent technological society, certain occupations were deemed more important than others, schools attempted at revaluing social roles so that new importance was given to menial tasks. Subjects such as wood-work, metal-craft, shorthand and typing, book-keeping and clothing and textiles were introduced and extended to the third form level in recognition of their increasing demand in the economy. Whilst, School Certificate and University Entrance examinations were more attuned to selecting students for further (academic) education and consequently specialised occupations. the DOE attempted at strengthening the school-employment link for non-specialised and manual occupations with alternative classes and assessment procedures. As the Baseline survey of state secondary schools stated in their review, "To meet the needs of less able pupils, an appreciable number of schools provided... alternative form 5 course in mathematics and/or

science (in 53% of the schools), in social studies and/or geography and/or history (in 25%) and in English (24%)....(in addition) schools made their own certificates (as different to S.C or U.E) available for pupils who completed particular courses...11% of schools had single subject certificates in the fifth form..."<sup>41</sup>. Further, since the school-leavers and labour market pattern prior to 1978 indicated that almost all students were able to enter directly into employment, schools attempted at promoting the psychic and moral self-development of students. This was primarily for the benefit of the techno-economy so that it could be "best served by individuals who have the highest possible level of personal development..."<sup>42</sup>. In recognition of this close schooling -to-employment relations, the Director General of Education commented "For as long as there has been national system of education (in NZ), the links between the school and the economy has been close, continuous and important."<sup>42b</sup>

Hence, prior to 1978, the liberal approach to education was perceived in instrumental, selection and achievement terms, without "any apparent need for 'transition' or specific career education courses, either as a special course or as part of their social studies programmes."<sup>43</sup> In that year only 17.8% of the 54,223 pupils leaving school had no occupations or whose destination was unknown. Whilst 20% were selected for further full-time education and 90% for professional and technical occupations, by far the majority of school-leavers were able to get direct employment in manual (agriculture, fishing, apprenticeships, production, labourers) or service (clerical, sales, and armed services) occupations. The following table demonstrates that the link between schooling and employment was significant and direct.

TABLE : 15

Probable destinations	Form 3			Form 4			Form 5			Form 6 and 7			Totals			Percent			Males Included		
	Form 3			Form 4			Form 5			Form 6 and 7			Totals			Percent			Males Included		
	M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F		M	F	
1. Further full-time education at																					
(a) university ...	10	2		510	55	1,435	72	1,399	50	801	32	186	2	4,002	213	4,615	8.5	412	22		
(b) teacher training:	138	108		281	281	1,153	482	301	184	292	79	116	21	3,073	1,446	4,519	8.3	757	443		
(c) full-time university	301	296		1,122	1,033	1,406	1,329	849	790	856	644	537	431	5,091	4,543	9,636	17.8	1,016	1,316		
(d) other full-time education																					
(e) other full-time education																					
(f) other full-time education																					
(g) other full-time education																					
2. To join labour force:																					
(a) professional, technical, related:																					
(i) technicians																					
(ii) health services																					
(iii) others																					
(b) clerical and related work																					
(c) sales work																					
(d) service work (including armed services):																					
(i) entering apprenticeships																					
(ii) others																					
(c) agriculture, fishing, hunting:																					
(i) entering apprenticeships																					
(ii) others																					
(f) production, transport equipment operators and labourers:																					
(i) entering apprenticeships																					
(ii) others																					
(g) no occupation or unknown																					
Totals ...	632	494		3,954	3,094	6,456	5,343	5,010	4,899	4,612	3,281	7,296	7,172	27,950	26,283	54,233	100	3,329	3,430		
Of totals, Males numbered	30	19		228	285	642	809	1,212	1,142	988	918	229	257	3,329	3,430	6,759					

Source: The classification and probable destinations of pupils leaving all secondary schools, 1975.

(Source: Department of Education, 1975)<sup>44</sup>



By 1983, however the thrust of the educational direction in secondary schools had changed. Between 1977 and 1982 the proportion of school-leavers entering full-time education decreased from 58% to 48%, with a corresponding increase of leavers with no occupations or whose destination was unknown to nearly 30%. The DOE had made special provision of \$2.45 million to establish transition education in schools, (from less than \$200,000 in 1980), more than 90 teacher equivalents were appointed (at a time when actual pupil rolls were declining), special career advisors were appointed, students were encouraged to remain at school for further vocational preparation and training (with the incentive of training allowances and unemployment benefit), the DOE gradually disinvested many of its traditional roles in education (especially careers preparation and vocational guidance) to the Department of Labour. As the patterns in the previous section of this paper highlighted, the post-war to the 1970's link between schooling to employment had undergone significant changes in the latter part of the 1970's and the early 1980's. In recognition of the changing economic climate, and its consequential educational effect (e.g. higher retention rate at schools), 'transition' education came into prominence in most secondary schools.

In the context of these changes, it is firstly important to note that neither the schools nor the DOE were prepared for the high retention rates in the late 1970's. Whilst some schools adopted 'temporary' measures for 'reluctant returners', no special provisions were made or policies adopted by the DOE. In 1978, a major report conducted by the DOE Inspectorate in the southern region concluded,

"...schools with a large number of reluctant returners, were in need of help. Schools would have been able to do a more efficient job... had they been

forewarned...(and) it was certainly too late to help schools introduce elements of pre-employment courses..."<sup>45</sup>

In most schools, attempts were made to re-integrate the returners into the fifth form School Certificate courses. However some schools on their own initiative began to develop specific Transition-from-School-to-Work-Courses, with special emphasis on work experience and job seeking skills.

For its part, the DOE in the formative years of transition education, perceived the high school-leaver unemployment in terms of the failure of the school guidance systems and career education courses to adequately prepare school-leavers for employment and not necessarily as structural economic phenomenon. The problem was not that jobs were unavailable but that students were unavailable but that students were not adequately motivated, or informed about employment prospects. As such, a comprehensive 'guidelines for Career Education in Secondary Schools' was introduced to schools in May, 1979. In keeping with the traditional liberal approach it sought to reemphasise that "all education may be regarded as career education"<sup>46</sup> in that "every aspect of education through providing for the acquisition of knowledge and the development of various skills, is a preparation for living."<sup>47</sup> The main thrust of the new career education curriculum were to develop "self-knowledge and personal growth of students" so that they could "identify and clarify their own values in terms of...their work expectations."; to develop "opportunity awareness and appropriate aspirations" so that the students could be aware of the wide "range of opportunities open to them and appreciate the effects of technological change on the patterns of work, training and employment."

Although youth and school-leaver unemployment had reached

almost 40% of the total registered unemployed, the DOE in its 1979 Guidelines perceived the phenomena as temporary and as such urged schools to develop in their Transition programme "an awareness of the need to think and plan ahead for working life, and of the relevance of schooling as a preparation for it." As stated earlier, the problem of school-leaver unemployment was perceived as a fault of students and schools, and as such the Guidelines sought to correct this anomaly by urging teachers "to help students to acquire need (job-seeking) skills and an adequate degree of confidence to enable them on leaving school to take the necessary steps to seek and secure an appropriate employment, and function competently in it."

This approach of seeing the youth unemployment pattern as a temporary phenomena, and that the education system had an important part to play in redressing the situation, reflected in other subsequent reports and policy circulars. Planning to cope with school-leaver unemployment and high retention rate was perceived to be only on a year to year temporary basis. "The Government has now (1980) extended the provision for the 1981 and 1982 school years, and planning can proceed from year to year,"<sup>48</sup>. Similarly, although specific teacher allocations were made, the circular (1980) emphasised that "they are not full-time positions." However by 1982, the DOE with the pressure of increasing rates of unemployed reluctant returners modified its approach and recognised that "the majority of transition courses (in schools) have a continuing programme of unspecified duration." This modified stance nevertheless was qualified to only "meeting the needs of those students most clearly identified as being at risk to unemployment", and not for "generalised work exploration or career education schemes." The assumption being that "school pupils who are inadequately qualified in social

as well as academic skills or are poorly motivated" were mainly those "who returned to school because they were unsuccessful in gaining employment."

This ad hoc nature of DOE transition policies and school practices also reflected in the types of terms and concepts used in relation to transition education. In its most recent survey, the DOE Transition officer for the Southern region identified that in over 70 of the 80 schools running transition type courses, some had block courses (9 schools), some had withdrawal courses (20 schools), so had semester courses running for 6 weekly/2 period classes (15 schools), some had short courses "on demand" (18 schools), and some had timetabled "transition" option all year (38 schools). The content of these courses varied from purely job-seeking skills to full vocational training. Similarly, the DOE policy makers initially adopted the term "Bridging Pre-Employment courses" in referring to provisions to assist youth employment. Later this was modified to "Transition-from-school-to-work" (1982), and in 1983 in recognition of the high improbability of school-leavers actually entering the workforce, the "Transition-from-school-to-work" term was dropped in favour of simply "Transition education". A similar trend in nomenclature relating to students was also evident. Initially the terms "reluctant returners" and "at risk students" were used to categorise those students involved in transition education. However with over 4 000 of these "at risk" reluctant returners, the nomenclature was modified in 1981 to just "returners", then in 1983 simply to "students" and lately as "trainees", (only in some cases).

Another significant feature in the development of Transition education had been in the shift of focus (and blame) in accounting for the high school-leaver unemployment since 1978. In its earliest phase, the DOE in referring to the growth

of Transition programmes, focused singularly on the role of schools to develop the employability of students. The problem of youth unemployment was identified with "those students lacking social and academic skills and poor motivation". The solution was perceived essentially within the school context. Subsequently, parents were included in the high youth unemployment context and the role of schools in their career education was to develop "parents' seminars, covering ways they can help their children plan and prepare for work." In November 1980, a further modification was officially stated. "The changed employment pattern is requiring increasing attention to be given to the career education... and the Department of Education is placing emphasis on (teachers') career education in-service training in an effort to develop more informed programmes and give better advice to students."<sup>49</sup> As such in the first three years, the focus on Transition education varied from solely pupil direct education to parent education and finally to teacher training, however always within the school context.

By early 1982, in recognition of the structural youth and school-leaver unemployment (over 16,000 in 1982) and a recurring pattern of 'reluctant' returners to school (estimated to be over 4,000), the DOE began to significantly change its whole approach to the problem. Given that increased 'remedial' transition education had made no appreciable impact on the changing employment and education patterns, the DOE put more emphasis on direct vocational training, of school pupils, as part of their general education. Student work exploration involving unpaid work in industries and factories, became institutionalised as part of the education orientation. A new Factories and Commercial Premises Act was passed in February 1982 covering student (unpaid) employment in such places as factories, shops, offices, warehouses and garages. Section 2(a) of the Act specifically "incorporates recognition of school pupils in employment (unpaid) as part of a work experience

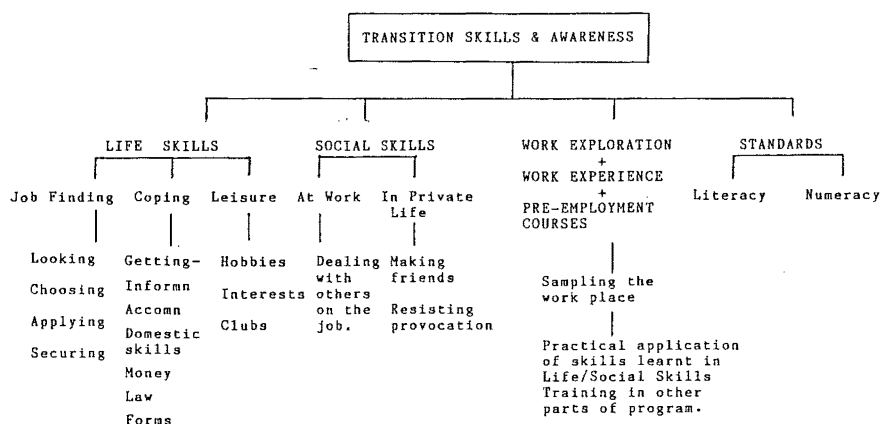
or work exploration scheme." Further, "there was no longer a requirement to obtain a Certificate of Fitness from the Department of Labour for pupils between the ages of 15 and 16 placed in factories." In addition, whilst the Act recognised that "it is illegal for persons under the age of 15 years to be placed in an undertaking defined as a factory", the legislation "allowed work exploration and work experience in shops and offices" for those under 15 years of age. It is significant to note that in December 1981 more than 21,000 school-leavers out of 58,000 total school-leavers had left school in their third year of schooling (corresponding to 15 years chronological age). Similarly, 47.3% of school-leavers had indicated a probable destination to join the labour force in such areas as production, service industries, agricultural, manual occupations as well as clerical, sales and related work.

Whilst in the formative years Transition education was perceived in terms of "job-seeking skills and personal-growth and self-knowledge terms" ("life-skills") and "social skills", by the end of 1983 this was extended to fully incorporate work experience, work exploration and pre-employment vocational training. Work experience was "for students of considerably below average scholastic ability whose special social and academic needs cannot be met by the modified curriculum appropriate for most slow learning students"<sup>50</sup> and involved direct working experience in shops, factories and other work-places. Work exploration programmes however "are for ALL students, regardless of their ability, who can benefit from spending time regularly trying out a job outside school."<sup>51</sup> Pre-employment courses "need to have clearly separate identity from the normal school courses and provide a structured (training) programme, to enhance work related skills, motivation and employment prospects."<sup>52</sup> Whilst most schools had not developed the latter aspect, those which had established courses in such areas as industrial sewing, horticulture and building trades, clerical skills and catering, students in Transition education were

entitled to unemployment benefit, as they were regarded as 'trainees'. As such, financial incentives were given to students for them to remain at school for 'further training' which helped to ease the total youth unemployment figures, and as such delay their entry into the labour market.

In December 1982, following the review of responses to the task force on youth training (under the chairmanship of Mr. G. Thompson M.P., Under Secretary for Internal Affairs), the Government extended its support for school-based transition courses for the 1983 school year by increasing the allowances for transition programmes from 50 to 90 teacher equivalents. In 1982, a total of 124 schools received allowances and catered for 6524 students, of whom 3905 were successful in getting jobs before the end of the academic year. In addition, the Government continued to support work exploration schemes, authorised the appointment of careers advisers in area schools and small secondary schools, and upgraded the training of careers advisers.

The following Model outlines the main characteristics of the Transition education, part or all of which were practiced to varying degrees in most State secondary schools in N.Z.

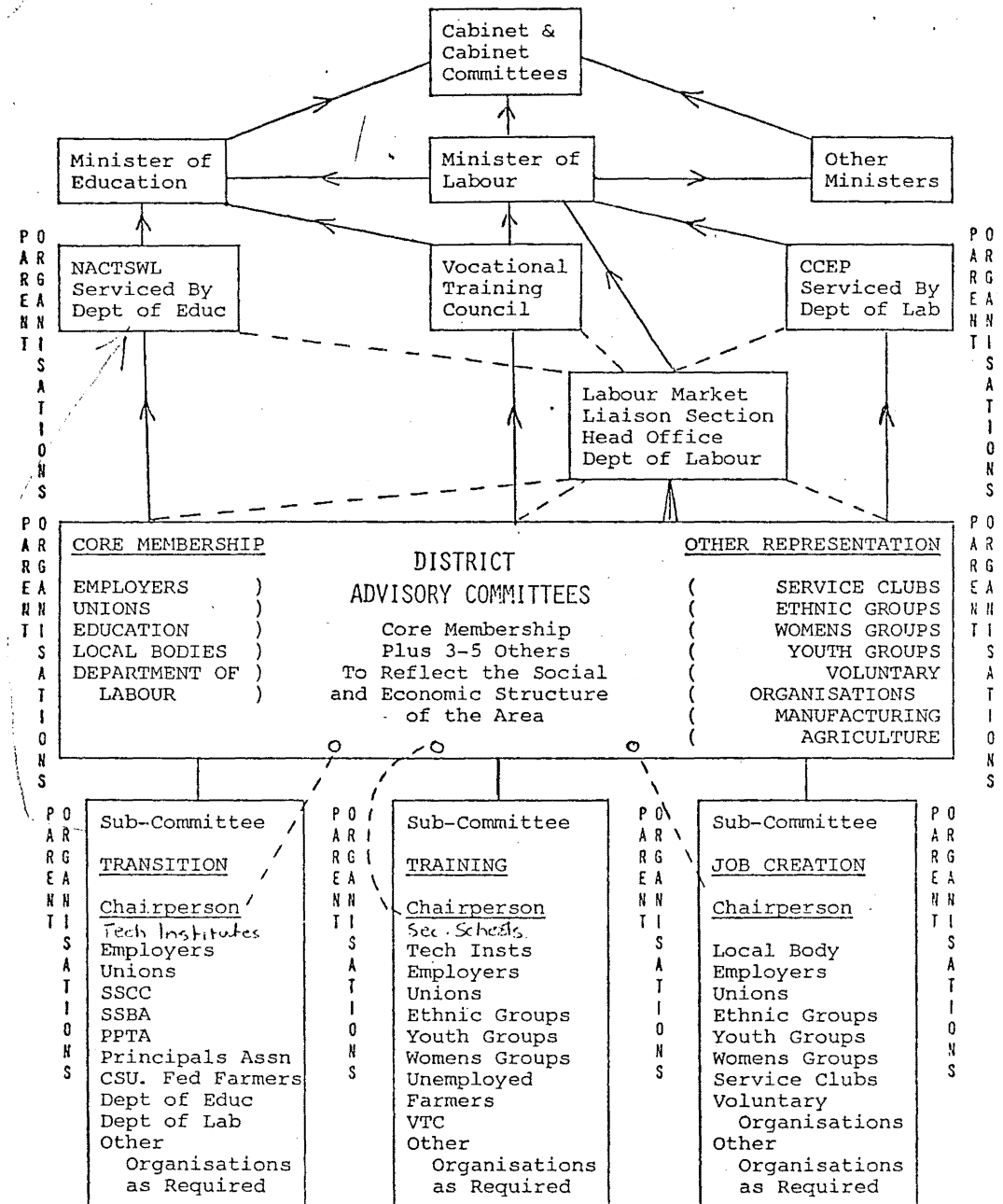


By early 1983, with increasing proportions of teenagers being registered unemployed, the National Government implemented an overall youth "employment" policy in light of the Thompson Report which directed away many of the DOE Transition educational functions to the Department of Labour Sector. The Task Force on Youth Training chaired by Mr G. Thompson, M.P. and the Minister of Labour, Mr Bolger attempted at a "comprehensive package of youth-related measures as part of an increased effort to respond to the difficult employment scene."<sup>53</sup> The purpose of this package was to "effect a closer link to the Labour Market" by focusing not only on school-leavers but also those "from inside the school through into the job market." The introduction of School-leaver Training and Employment Preparation Scheme (STEPS) by the Labour Department, directly encroached on the Transition education of the DOE. The PPTA, the unions, the Secondary School Principal's Association, many Polytechnics and Technical institutions, as well as schools themselves, criticised this shift.<sup>53a</sup> The objective of DOL's STEPS programme was:

"To assist young people to move confidently from school into working life by offering individually tailored combinations of training and work experience which will enhance their job opportunities and which will enhance their job opportunities and which can serve as a springboard for subsequent training and career development "<sup>54</sup>;

and was almost identical to the DOE's TSW objective. The funding for STEPS was nearly 300% more than the TSW funding (\$7.5m to \$2.45m) despite the fact the total national intake in the two years to March 1984 was only 4,986<sup>55</sup> compared to TSW intake of 10,625 in just the Southern education region in 1983.<sup>56</sup>

With this came the increasing pressure on the DOE's TSW scheme to prove their success (by the then Minister, Mr Wellington) and the DOE modified their past view of "numbers of students getting jobs" as a measure of success "to include those who go into training programmes e.g. YPTP, WSDP, polytechnics as 'successes'". In addition, "acceptance of the fact that reorientation to school, personal growth, development of alternative courses for non-exam students plus a range of less tangible results were also (regarded as) measures of success."<sup>57</sup> With this 'expansion of success criteria, the DOE attempted at validating the TSW schemes.



From its earlier stance of Transition education being directly aimed at job acquisition, the DOE modified its position to "help encourage young people to stay for as long as they can benefit from school programmes" <sup>58</sup>. in other words, retaining as many prospective school-leavers within the education system. The expanded criteria for measuring success rate helped to validate the new 'holding' pattern of prospective school-leaving students in TSW schemes. By early 1984, the TSW had expanded to the extent whereby 227 schools had some sort of transition programmes, and a retention rate estimated at over 5,000 nationally.

## TRANSITION EDUCATION IN PERSPECTIVE

Whilst in the previous section, an attempt was made to outline the piecemeal development of Transition education in New Zealand, it is important in this final section, to appraise TSW within the context of youth unemployment and the school-society relations. Central to <sup>this</sup> objective is to critically evaluate the economic factors which have given rise to the high school-leaver unemployment, and the effects in terms of education ~~on the school-leaver~~.

At the time of the economic boom in the 1950's and 1960's, N.Z. experienced a considerable expansion of educational services for the purpose of preparing adolescents "for an active place in society, as a worker, neighbour, homemaker and citizen."<sup>60</sup> The liberal perception was that a 'free and universal school system' attuned to the needs of technological change in the economy, would not only lead to a more egalitarian society but that a more prosperous society would inevitably result from the greater investment in education. By the 1980's however, the focus was not so much on educational 'investment' but rather educational 'cut-backs' and "rethinking education philosophy and practice in a period of economic difficulty," as the National Spokesperson for Education, Mr. Robin Gray recently commented.

With the deepening economic crisis, not only was the educational expenditure reduced, but the State increasingly sought to directly realign the 'products of education' to better fit its economic labour-market policies. Expenditure on education declined from 16.7% of the total government vote in 1973, to less than 13.1% in 1983, and it was in the latter year that the State's Department of Labour (DOL) increasingly took-over the 'transitional education and training' functions of the DOE with the introduction of STEPS for school-leavers. With the legitimization of the capitalist economy the primary concern of the State,

attention was drawn away from the purely structural economic causes of the problem, to the problems within the 'labour force', including the 'quality of the individual school-leaver'. With issues such as the 'falling standards of schools' and the 'back-to basics' approach by the then Minister of Education, Mr. Merv Wellington and statements about the 'need to properly motivate and train the school-leavers' by the former Minister of Labour, Mr. Jim Bolger, all served to indicate that education was implicitly perceived as the cause of an 'ill-trained' labour force, and thus indirectly the cause of unemployment. More significantly, the blame for being unemployed was increasing levelled at individuals and at the schools. The former Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. George Gair's statement that people fail because they are "...victims of their own inadequacies-- disadvantaged not so much by the lack of material things, as by poverty of intellect, of character or will...", was more specifically echoed later by the N.Z. Employers Federation, "... for the youth of today, the immediate problem is one of more competitive entry into employment, rather than unemployment", and the reasons why they found it "difficult to compete (was) because they commonly lacked one or more of the following, ... clear ideas on the career they wish to follow; motivation and job-seeking skills; realistic employment expectations within their capacity and adequate numeracy and literacy."<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand, labour market factors, such as that 20,000 new jobs were needed annually to account for the natural increase in the labour force<sup>63</sup>, were directly translated into the educational sector with the emphasis on Transition education as means of delaying entry of the youth labour force. Similarly, the analysis by the Secretary of Labour, Mr. Gavin Jackson, that "unemployment is, for the most part a long-term structural problem,"<sup>64</sup> meant a redirection of transition education content to include "programmes on non-traditional occupations and possible periods of non-work."<sup>65</sup> These trends within Transition education, and the others described in the previous section, not only

indicated the ad hoc nature of TSW development, but also the increasing emphasis on neo-classical labour market orientated economic analysis for policy development ~~to cope~~<sup>to cope</sup> with unemployment, by the State. As such, for the purpose of better understanding the contextual relationship between Transition education and youth unemployment, it is necessary to briefly appraise the prevailing labour market economic orientation.

Casson (1979) in his major study on youth unemployment notes, that a labour market approach in a competitive market economy operates on the basis of two main criterias. The first is that of 'allocative efficiency', whereby "each worker should be employed in the occupation to which he (or she) is most suited."<sup>67</sup> In this context, it is important to note that the DOE Guidelines for Career and Transition Education also sets out as one of the main objectives, "to help students to identify their own values in terms of...their work expectations (and) to help students discover careers (which are) likely to be suited to them."<sup>68</sup> The second is that of 'full employment', which "means that each worker willing to work at the wage currently paid to individuals of similar skills can find suitable employment... and this is achieved by adjustment of the general level of real wages."<sup>69</sup> The rationale for this is that, if the number of vacancies available is less than the number of jobs then competition to fill the vacancies leads workers to bid wages down. In the N.Z. context, the issue of youth (wage) rates had been consistently advocated by the State as well as the Employers Federation, and it was suggested that one of the main reasons for the youth unemployment was the existing award wage structure which "put youth rates on par with those for experienced workers...(and as such) the cost of employing young workers is substantially higher in employing young workers is substantially higher in terms of their productivity."<sup>70</sup> The State in this context implemented two types of strategies for laying the grounds for youth rates. Firstly, both the Education and Factories

and Commercial Premises Acts were amended in 1982, so as to allow unpaid 'work exploration' for students. (According to the Secretary of the Trades Council, Mr. Gordon Walker, this scheme was used by "many employers to organise free labour for their business."<sup>71</sup>) And secondly, by reterming potential youth workers as 'trainees' employers were able to get full-time subsidised workers "for a larger chunk of time".<sup>72</sup>

However as Casson also notes, both these objectives — allocative efficiency and full employment, are only achieved under ideal conditions, and "in practice no economy ever satisfies the idealised conditions of a competitive market economy."<sup>73</sup> The factors which inhibit adjustment to full employment are perceived as essentially because of 'imperfections' in the labour market, and accordingly the focus of explanation and solutions are orientated in this direction. The main explanations offered for the high school-leaver and youth unemployment may be summarised in the following four points.

- 1) Demographic factors giving rise to too many young people joining the Labour force.<sup>74</sup>
- 2) Other types of 'labour force' increasingly competing for the available jobs, especially 'married women returning to the work-force'.<sup>75</sup>
- 3) Educational standards have not kept in par with changes in the labour market, especially in respect of technology.<sup>76</sup>
- 4) Youth wage structure prevents employers from employing them in a competitive market economy.<sup>77</sup>

And in terms of the solution to arrive at the idealised objectives of 'allocative efficiency' and 'full employment', the main thrust of the economic policies had been to simultaneously stimulate the demand for labour through subsidised 'job creation' schemes, and reduce the supply of labour by extending periods of schooling (Transition) and training (YPTP and STEPS).

Whilst the above four explanations were developed in the context of the State's approach to 'legitimizing the existing

capitalist economy' it is important to analyse them in the background of the changing employment and school-leaver pattern discussed in the previous section. Central to the argument that 'too many young people have been joining the labour force' has been that the unemployment rates can be accounted for in terms of the "unhappy conjunction of (the effects) Arab oil and baby boom"<sup>78</sup> Whilst it is true that that the average annual increase in the labour force had been a high 2.6% between the years of 1971 and 1976<sup>79</sup> thus indicating the demographic pressure on employment patterns, it is also important to note that at the same time there had been an actual decrease in the number of jobs available, as a result of government's 'restructuring' the economy. In fact since 1977, even after the unemployment figures became 'very high', more than 10,000<sup>jobs</sup> had disappeared due to "the government's policies on economic management".<sup>80</sup> Further, if the 'baby boom' had been the cause for unemployment then conventional demographic indications would have forecasted a decrease in unemployment figures once the effects of the 'baby boom' had eroded. However, even the Government Treasury forecasted<sup>(in 1980)</sup> in the context of the N.Z. demographic trend that the number of unemployed (registered or not-registered) could reach 280,000 by 1985.<sup>81</sup> The argument that 'high numbers of school-leavers' (as a result of the baby boom) have caused the general unemployment crisis can not also be sustained. Firstly, the figures (Section 2) have indicated that there was<sup>no</sup> dramatic increase in school-leavers prior to 1978, but rather that since 1978 the schools have experienced higher retention rates whilst the young unemployed figures have risen. Thus indicating that the explanation did not lie in the 'baby boom' argument.

The second explanation offered, that there was increasing competition for jobs from other sectors of the labour force, especially married women returning to the work-force, is validated in terms of the statistics but not necessarily as a causal relationship. Between 1971 and 1976 the fulltime labour force increased by 11%, and the



number of women working full-time grew by 16%. In the same period the number of women working part-time grew by 40%, indicating employers preference for "married women returning to jobs for which they have trained"<sup>82</sup>. However, a more detailed analysis shows that it was not that 'different labour force were competing for jobs' but rather that the pattern of the labour market had changed to less full-time occupations and more part-time occupations (Table 8 and 9) with the consequential effect of attracting a different type of labour force. By most analysis, the reasons for this change in employment pattern had been due to the effects of technology<sup>83</sup> on industry, as well as the decline in primary and secondary industrial demand.<sup>84</sup>

The third explanation of educational standards not having kept par with the technological changes is also suspect. This argument of educational standards and technology is superficially attractive, as it appeals 'to a popular readiness to recognise that technology is becoming increasingly complex.'<sup>85</sup> Both the Employers Federation and the State (DOL and DOL) put a great deal of emphasis on training and numeracy and literacy, as an indication of raising the standard. However it is important to divorce the general proposition that new technology creates a demand for new types of skill on the part of some, from the effect that new technology has on the existing skills of most. "the question becomes not whether new technology has created the need for all school students to have higher standards of literacy and numeracy, (but rather).. whether technological developments in the trades area have made jobs more skilled and hence have increased the levels of literacy and numeracy required for successful job performance."<sup>86</sup> It is important to note here that firstly, the criticism of falling standards had been at a time when the reality was that the number of school-leavers with higher credentials had actually been increasing (Table 12) whilst the number of school leavers with no qualifications had been decreasing. Secondly, given that general

unemployment rates were highest in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations (Table 10) and thus possibly indicating that new technology had more to do with making people redundant<sup>87</sup> than increasing new jobs, the issue of raising standards was not directly relevant to explaining the high school-leaver unemployment. The then Minister of Labour, Mr. Jim Bolger in advocating the introduction of new technology conceded that "(new technology would) undoubtedly have some effect on the overall levels of employment"<sup>88</sup>, and at the same time failed to mention if employment rates would improve because of the technology. In a different context, it is also important to note that new technology does not necessarily 'increase the skill level of tradespeople'. Given that the trend amongst school-leavers in New Zealand has been towards unskilled and semi-skilled occupations (Table 14), most recent research has indicated that there is no widespread evidence of technological developments increasing skills demand but rather "the introduction of standardisation, prefabrication and computerisation (have) led to the fragmentation of skills, and enabled much work previously done by skilled tradesperson to be performed by semi-skilled worker."<sup>89</sup> As such, the argument that schools have not kept their standards (numeracy and literacy) in pace with the technological changes does not provide an adequate explanation for the high school-leaver unemployment.

The fourth explanation in terms of the youth (wage) rates being in par with experienced workers' rates, and thus preventing employers from hiring the inexperienced youth worker, is equally difficult to validate in the context of the available data. Firstly as the figures on age and duration of the registered unemployed (Table 7) clearly shows, both the numbers of the 15-19 age category and the 20-24 age category are equally represented in the Table (about 18,800), and moreover, the adult sector have experienced (relatively) longer duration of unemployment than the teen-age labour market. Secondly, with the onset of the unemployment, the State effectively instituted

youth wage rates of a type, by the introduction of subsidised job creation schemes. Through these schemes the State 'paid' employers various amounts, ranging from \$65 per week as in the case of the Additional Jobs Programme Subsidy Scheme upto \$95 per week for the Training in Employment Wage Subsidy Scheme, and thus effectively reducing the employers' own contribution to the worker's gross income. However, as the DOL itself concluded such types of subsidy "did not create the additional employment anticipated"<sup>90</sup> but rather "redistributed (existing) jobs".<sup>91</sup>

Despite the fact that the above four neo-classical explanations did not necessarily account for the high-school leaver and youth unemployment rates, the State maintained its policy orientation based on the false assumptions. In the context of the education sector, the main thrust was to reduce the supply of labour through directly encouraging potential school-leavers to remain at school. Apart from the financial incentive of enabling school-students enrolled in TSW to receive the Unemployment Benefit, the State through the DOE further extended the concept of education to include 'vocational training'. The types of training included courses in horticulture, industrial sewing, building trades, as well as extended periods of 'work experience' in factories and shops.

In terms of the type of students most affected by the DOE's retention policy, the official explanation was that it was for students who were considered 'at risk' due to their own deficiencies in numeracy and literacy as well as <sup>in</sup> conventional education. Thus Transition education was seen as providing for these 'lower-ability' students an alternative education approach to improve their 'life-chance credentials', than the conventional academic credential path of School Certificate and University Entrance. The Liberal assumption still remained that employers preferred 'educated labour', and <sup>thus</sup> schools needed to redirect its approach to remedy the growing anomaly of school-leaver unemployment. However, a

closer analysis of the school-leaver figures indicate that unemployment has led to a devaluation of credentials whereby even School Certificate did not necessarily lead to a job. In 1963, 17% of school-leavers with School Certificate entered further education, 54% entered technical and clerical occupations and virtually all found work of some sort. However, by 1979 (the last time the DOE tabulated figures on this basis), only 9 % of those with S.C. gained further education places, 32 percent entered technical and clerical work, and 32% were without known work.<sup>92</sup> Further as Nash(1984) has pointed out, "the fact that employers generally prefer educated labour to the extent that they do, ... cannot show how necessary a given level of education is to an occupation."<sup>93</sup> Further examination of the available data reveals that the type of Transition courses, and the areas in which 'work experience' are offered, are also the very areas in which unemployment rates are highest. As Table 10 shows the types of occupations sought by the registered unemployed are mainly in the primary production (agriculture) as well as the building construction and secondary production (metal, and other) areas. In addition, as the DOL redundancy survey reveals "the largest group to have been affected by redundancy are production, storage and related workers, transport operators and labourers and tradespersons".<sup>94</sup>

The inability of the neo-classical labour market theory to account for the high school-leaver and youth unemployment, as well as the inconsistencies of the Liberal approach to Transition education to address the problem, have given rise to alternative explanations about the school-society relations. Firstly, in terms of the overall organisation of labour in the capitalist economy, the alternative perspective holds that there exists two broad types of labour market, which serve to "minimise the inherently antagonistic social relations between the labourer and the capitalist."<sup>95</sup> This dual labour theory, which is also known as 'segmented labour market' theory holds that a key

feature of the present labour structure is that it is divided (for the benefit of the capitalist) into several categories of occupations each with different criteria of "hiring, paying, promotion, rules and behaviour,"<sup>96</sup> and such a differentiated labour market may be dichotomised into primary and secondary sectors.

Within these two labour sectors there is very little inter-sector mobility, and the occupational 'experiences' within each of the sectors are differentiated in terms of power, independence, authority and reward. Access to each of these labour sectors is dependent, amongst other factors, upon education. Given the "wide variation of characteristics in the primary sector, it is often further broken down into independent and subordinate subdivisions,"<sup>97</sup> and it is in the latter subdivision as well as the secondary sector where lower levels of education are generally found. Jobs in the subordinate primary sector are characterised by repetitive tasks, specific supervision and formalised work rules, and generally most of the skills are acquired on the job through practice and experience. The secondary labour market is composed of workers who move through a random series of jobs which greatly restrict the opportunities for learning new skills or gaining advancements, and the tasks involved are relatively straightforward. Whilst very little empirical work exists to correlate school-leavers with each of the sectors, some recent studies<sup>98</sup> suggest that 'the experiences one is exposed to in high school are generally congruent with the kinds of activities one would be confronted with in the secondary labour market.'<sup>99</sup> And as Bowie suggests, the secondary sector with its 'peripheral' occupations (lower paying unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, including clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, and farm labourers), are "more apt to fall victim to seasonal ebbs, to find themselves superfluous in periods of low economic activity."<sup>100</sup> As such, the segmented labour theory accounts for the high school-leaver unemployment not as the resultant cause of 'inherent problems within

the ill-trained labour force' as the neo-classical theorists claim, but rather as a direct result of the way the labour market is segmentally organised in the capitalist economy,<sup>and</sup> which works against school-leavers gaining employment at times of economic 'restructuring'.

Whilst the above explanation for the high level of school-leaver unemployment, is based on the economic labour-market determinants of the capitalist economy itself, alternative theories have also been proposed from the schooling context which have accounted for the development of Transition education. Concomitant to the view that labour market has become increasingly segmented, has been the proposition that the State directed education system has increasingly sought to realign the products of education (school-leavers) to the requisite skills, norms, values attitudes and beliefs of the capitalist segmented labour market. Given that the State has primary responsibility to the interests of capital, at times of recession State expenditure on education is not perceived as directly productive—if it were not spent on schooling it could be utilised to finance capital investment, and is thus reduced. However, given that the reproduction of labour power is essential, and that the individual's transition from the family, through the schooling institutions and onto the labour market need to be maintained, the State cuts back on educational expenditure whilst simultaneously pushing for a new and increased emphasis on those aspects of schooling which are more directly attuned to the work-place and as such indirectly more productive. The \$2.5 million invested in Transition education, at a time of increasing cut-backs on general educational spending has to be seen in this perspective. Similarly no matter what the subjective motivations of people (and politicians) making attacks on standards, internal assessment, raising the school-leaving age, all have the objective effect of furthering the drive to make schooling more cost efficient.

Thirdly, at times of economic crisis and specifically great youth unemployment, the control functions of the State become

very important. The threat of large numbers of young people being unoccupied and dissatisfied with the existing capitalist system forces the State, through the DOE to 'keep control' of greater number of young people. In this light, Transition education is perceived by the alternative theorists as a means to effect the 'social control function'<sup>101</sup> of the State. In such circumstances, the 'hidden curriculum' becomes more stricter,"for example, with the deskilling of jobs in the workplace a less intellectual form (that is Transition education) of education is required. The hidden curriculum may become more obviously the real curriculum, with training for such qualities as punctuality, tolerance of physical confinement, adherence to authority,"<sup>202</sup> being the essential features of Transition education. Whilst these features are already part of the existing education system, if for more people deskilling means less job satisfaction and lower morale, then , then through Transition education these aspects of schooling are made to become 'more important'.

Finally, the alternative perspective perceives Transition education as reflecting and continuing the basic inherent contradictions between the educational and economic sectors in the Capitalist State. For example, one of the implications of current changes in the labour process is that school-leavers are over qualified as well as under qualified, and there is little connection between the qualifications employers seek and the tasks the young school-leaver can expect to perform. Transition education, in such a situation only serves to maintain the 'myth' of better qualifications are needed to gain employment. Increases in the length of schooling (useful for reducing the supply of labour) lead to increased expectations about employment prospects which, given the essentially limited number of jobs under the present economic situation leads to a very contradictory situation. Similarly, a severe 'dislocation in the reproduction process occurs if there is not a rapid transition from schooling to regular work. The longer the period

of transition, the greater the dislocation. The hitherto existing socialisation effected by the family and the school becomes increasingly irrelevant to the objective and subject reality of the unemployed youth. At the same time, Capital demands that there exist an ever-ready reserve army of labour and the State responds with renewed emphasis on careers and vocational education to bolster the work ethic and to make the school 'products' more attuned to the demands of the labour market. However, all this does is to make school-leavers more competitive in a static and redundancy-prone labour market. Thus Transition programmes enable those with 'lower abilities' to gain some skills and those with some credentials (School Certificate and University Entrance) to get more job-relevant skills, whilst net aggregate of employment opportunities remain deficient. In such circumstances, Transition education exemplifies the futility of teaching for jobs that don't exist.

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