

## Human capital acquisition: Constrained choice in a regional labour market

Ann Dupuis, Anne de Bruin and Patrick Firkin

### ABSTRACT

Although sociologists of education and others have strongly criticised the underlying assumption within human capital theory of the unproblematic link between education and training, and individual and national outcomes, labour market policy and programmes have been largely driven by this theory. The current paper draws on in-depth interview data, to demonstrate that individual decision making regarding education and training is best analysed contextually. A tri-level framework was developed for this purpose. The analysis takes account of the macro context of reforms and changes in New Zealand's political economy, the institutional context of employment policy and programmes and the micro level of people's day to day lives and decision making. We examine the constraints on individual choice with regard to education and training at these three levels. The implications for programmes and policy makers are discussed.

### Introduction

The issue of the reciprocal relationships between education, training and economic activity has been vigorously debated by sociologists, economists and policy makers. The question central to the debate has been the extent to which education and training shapes and influences both individual economic advancement and national growth and development (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964; Sobel, 1978). Initially the question was seen as unproblematic, with a positive link between education, training and enhanced individual and national outcomes assumed. In economics, human capital theory supported this position, being used to explain the effects of education and training on both "occupational status and wages for *individuals*" and "aggregate output and productivity for national *economies*" (Rubinson and Browne, 1994:581). In sociology, its counterpart was the dominant functionalist theories of education (Parsons, 1959).

From the 1970s onwards however, challenges developed. Drawing on empirical material from origins-destinations studies, theories of social and cultural reproduction, and more radical class and conflict based theorists of stratification, sociologists of education argued that socio-economic background was the key determinant in students' levels of achievement, and aspirations (Coleman et al., 1966; Jenks et al., 1972; Ilich, 1973; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977; Bourdieu, 1974, 1986; Lauder and Hughes, 1990; Lauder et al., 1992). Feminists too, demonstrated that at a structural and ideological level the link between education and outcomes was far from straightforward (Deem, 1980; Acker, 1994). From a different position, institutional theorists focused on two factors. First, the ideological beliefs associated with the power of schooling and second, the way that mass,

compulsory education has been a mechanism through which the modern state has been able to establish legitimacy (Boli, 1989, 1992; Meyer, 1992; Ramirez and Boli, 1987; Meyer et al., 1992; Ramirez and Ventresca, 1992). During this phase of the debate, the broad conclusions reached from critical, empirical research centred on the lack of economic benefits from education (Rubinson and Browne, 1994:581).

Recently the academic debate has entered a new phase. Rather than being characterised by entrenched theoretical positioning, current theoretical positions tend to be more conditional and nuanced. Rubinson and Browne demonstrate this general shift when, in relation to national growth, they explain that:

rather than ask, Does education contribute to economic growth? the better question is, Under what *conditions* does education contribute to economic growth? (Rubinson and Browne, 1994:594).

Posing questions differently allows for the refashioning of past universalistic theories. One way of accomplishing this, according to Rubinson and Browne is to focus on the social processes highlighted in the range of theoretical positions discussed, in order to argue that "the effects of education on economic growth are a function of when (historically) and where (situationally) these processes operate" (ibid). Shifting the focus away from wider economic growth to individual outcomes, we argue that the effects of education and training on occupational status and educational outcomes for individuals can similarly be viewed as a function of where and when these processes operated.

The aim of this paper is to add to the current debate regarding the education-individual economy relationship by drawing on a body of interview data from a major New Zealand research project, Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation. The interview data were generated as part of a wider study across three New Zealand regional labour markets, which focused on labour market 'transitions' experienced by individuals as they moved from one labour market status to another, such as the transition from unpaid to paid work, from unemployment to work, and from education or training to work. The specific data referred to in this paper, come from interviews with 152<sup>1</sup> people living in the Hawkes Bay area whose work and life event histories were gathered for the years 1985 to 1995.<sup>2</sup>

The framework chosen for data analysis includes elements outlined by Rubinson and Browne above. We too argue for the importance of conditional and nuanced explanations of the relationship between education, training and economic activity. For us therefore, the exploration of the context in which transitions occur is crucial. One means of ensuring an adequate understanding in this area is to ask the 'when' and 'where' questions as Rubinson and Browne suggested. In addition, the nature of our data has allowed us to pose our questions somewhat differently in order to develop a tri-level analysis that attempts to synthesise and extend elements of the theories discussed. Intrinsic in this is our use of the concept 'constrained choice' to inform our analysis. The rationale for choosing this concept is that it allows us to move away from the type of extreme theoretical positions that once characterised the debate as well as retaining key elements of what were previously deemed to be mutually oppositional positions. Constrained choice highlights a key aspect of human capital theory, that of choice, but goes beyond human capital theory in that it recognises the valuable insight from other positions which show that choice is not necessarily made under conditions of freedom, but rather within sets of constraints. Our argument is that that these constraints operate at three levels. First, is the macro level and here we focus on issues of change and restructuring in the wider employment market and ask how these have impacted on individuals' choices regarding further education and training. Second, the institutional level has to do with policies of employment, education and training. The questions asked here concern the constraints, or otherwise, of policies on decision-making regarding employment, education and training. Finally at the micro level we ask what conditions individuals in families and households faced that constrained their choices.

While we have separated out these levels for ease of analysis, there is nevertheless a strong tendency for overlap.

One area in which our work departs from the previous studies mentioned is that it places much more emphasis on transitions in the work histories of adults and their moves in and out of post secondary school education and training. By contrast, either implicitly or explicitly, the theories mentioned above, i.e. human capital theory, theories developed around status, class and gender, and institutional theories, have tended to focus on schooling and often on mass schooling. Our emphasis on adult training therefore, provides an extension of these theories.

The article is organised in the following way. The next section outlines features of human capital theory salient to this paper. The following three sections deal with the macro, institutional and micro levels of analysis described above. Policy implications arising from our analysis are alluded to in the conclusion.

## Human capital theory and beyond

Put simply, human capital theory refers to "an individual's investment in personal productivity" (Light and Karageorgis, 1994:658). Human capital theory as articulated by Schultz (1961), Becker (1964) and many writers subsequently, is a fundamental theory in economics aimed at explaining individual differences. The theory turns on the idea that individuals vary in the extent of human capital they possess. That is, they vary in the qualities they possess that affect their "labour productivities and other abilities pertinent to economic success" (Shanahan and Tuma, 1994:746). The concept of human capital itself, is understood as an amalgam of all the abilities and traits possessed by individuals that make them economically productive in society. From this definition it is clear that what constitutes human capital varies across societies.

It is considered that human capital includes both innate qualities like intelligence, health, personality, attractiveness and so on, as well as acquired skills that come from education, training, and work experience. While work experience obviously cannot be taught, people can certainly invest in their own education and training, or that of others, most often their children, in order to increase their human capital. While the theory is not necessarily underpinned by a principle of equality, in that it recognises innate differences, there is an implicit assumption that at an individual level, investment in human capital is highly correlated to upward social mobility. Implicit too in human capital theory is the notion that compensatory education and training could bring about a redistribution of resources. The post-1984 move from public support for these measures to user pays, clearly indicates the decline in concern at the level of the state for issues of resource redistribution.

The influence of human capital theory on policy makers in New Zealand can be seen in the state's changed responses to unemployment in the post-1984 period. From at least the post-Depression era unemployment was dealt with through public sector job creation schemes, or the use of state owned institutions as vehicles for providing jobs for workers who might otherwise have been unemployed. The strain of such a policy on the economy began to show in the 1970s and was severe by the 1980s. Consequently new measures were needed to address the problem of unemployment that, by the early 1990s, had risen to very high levels. The introduction of a more active approach to training and skill acquisition represented the means through which the state intended to build up an adaptable and skilled labour force to meet the needs of a competitive economy (Mulengu, 1994; Scollay and St John, 1996). The movement to education and training as a means of dealing with unemployment was underpinned at a theoretical level by human capital theory.

## The macro level

From 1984 onwards, New Zealand's political economy has undergone a range of sweeping reforms "driven by the imperative created by a rapidly declining economic performance and shaped by the particular economic philosophy adopted by successive governments to respond to that decline" (Davidson, 1995:99). A major outcome of these reforms has been significant changes in the nature of employment in New Zealand. In turn, these impacts have shaped the perceptions of the participants in our study towards issues of education, training and work. This section of our paper begins with a brief overview of the post-1984 reforms and their impacts in the area of work and unemployment which provides an explanation of macro level change and works as a backdrop to the interview material which follows. Concentration will be on the major reforms undertaken during the decade of 1985-1995, the time period coinciding with the period covered in the interviews from which we draw the empirical component of this paper. From the interview data we demonstrate that the wider context of uncertainty and ambiguity that emanated from macro level changes, impacted on the experiences and understandings of that context, and shaped our research participants' attitudes towards the education, training and employment nexus, so fundamental to human capital theory.

### *(a) Post-1984 reforms*

The post-1984 reforms marked a revolutionary change to New Zealand's political economy (Roper, 1991). Characterised as the 'New Zealand experiment' the fundamentals of the reform programme were summed up as market liberalisation, free trade, limited government, narrow monetarist policies, a deregulated market and fiscal restraint (Kelsey, 1995: 1-2). Early in the period monetary, fiscal and regulative reforms were introduced intended to reduce inflation and overseas debt, increase private sector productivity and public sector efficiency. Driven by the notion of competition being the catalyst for higher productivity and greater efficiency, the intention was to create a 'level playing field' through the reduction or elimination of tariffs, subsidies, import licensing and tax concessions. In addition, labour markets became increasingly deregulated and in 1991 the Employment Contracts Act replaced New Zealand's long established system of national wage awards and collective bargaining, with individually negotiated employment contracts covering both public and private workplaces. In the public sector, private sector management principles were introduced, previous government departments became State Owned Enterprises to be run like businesses (or later sold) and welfare state benefit cuts introduced (Boston et al., 1991; Davidson, 1995; James, 1986; Jesson, 1999).

The reforms outlined had substantial impacts on the areas of work and unemployment, the most apparent of which was a significant rise in unemployment. But other changes in the nature and pattern of employment are also important to catalogue. There was an increase in service sector employment and a decline in the primary, secondary and public sectors. Part time employment increased rapidly reflecting an increasing number of women in the paid work force, young people combining work and study, and the increasing need for more than one income to sustain a family. Flexible work patterns, such as casual and temporary work, flexitime, shift work, weekend work and job sharing also grew in scope (Davidson and Bray, 1994; Davidson, 1995; Perry et al., 1995).

### *(b) Interview data*

Of particular significance to the present study has been the decline in employment in manufacturing industries, where the fall in jobs over the decade of the 1980s accounted for nearly 75% of the net increase in unemployment. As Willis noted, this trend had particular implications for young people who could no longer:

leave school at 15 and get a reasonable job in the dairy factory, freezing works or the Ford Motor Company. These jobs still exist, but they are dramatically fewer in number and there has been an upgrading in the 'skill level' required (Willis 1995:344).<sup>3</sup>

The type of turbulent labour market brought about by the radical changes described above influenced the way participants in our research viewed education and training. Given the volatile context, few failed to recognise the importance of education and training with regard to employment chances for school leavers and young people in the current labour market. As one participant said:

Education is very important today and for people to go ahead they really do need the education to do that. When I first started work there was a job waiting for me when I left school, so that's what I did. I didn't really progress in any great schooling.

Most participants also recognised the significance of education and training for workers other than school leavers. While it is clear these factors were relevant to skilled work, many interviewees also felt that greater education and training demands were being made of unskilled workers. Despite this recognition a strong sense of uncertainty and ambivalence was evident in many of the comments. Two reasons appear to underpin these sentiments. Firstly, people considered that the relationship between education and training, and employment was not always clear-cut or direct. Secondly, they doubted that education and training in themselves were the sole answer to the problem of unemployment. Such views appeared to influence individual decision-making with regard to education and training. They also worked against any simplistic or wholesale acceptance of education and training as the only rational response to an individual's employment dilemmas.

Feelings of uncertainty and ambivalence could be sensed running through two prominent issues raised in many of the interviews. The first concerned the relative importance and value of skills and experience versus education and training. Many participants differentiated between what people gained through education and training and what they acquired through work or life experience. For example, one participant said:

My biggest asset is what I carry in my head. Skills I've learnt to assess stock and in dealing with people and what I know about the people I deal with.

There was a general consensus however, that both education and training, and skills and experience were important and that they were often inter-twined. Also emerging from the interview data was a view that the value of each - separately or together --depended on a range of external factors that were outside an individual's control. Often these came down to little more than employer preference, as in the following quote.

I know that [my husband] worked for a very large international company who did not, on principle, employ tertiary qualified people. They said they wanted people with life skills.

Of course, a preference for experience often meant that even with qualifications a person might still lack the prerequisites to get a particular job. In other instances preferences for specific qualifications were stated. Sometimes both were asked for. People were left to conclude therefore, that in some circumstances education and training might be important, in others it was skills and experience that were crucial, or even a mix of the two that was being sought. Within such a context, determining how to best prepare and equip oneself for work became a difficult task.

Secondly, interviewees seemed aware that in the prevailing economic climate and weak labour market none of these factors - education, training, skills or experience - would automatically guarantee employment. Participants often described cases where they, or others, had successfully completed a course or programme that was helpful and personally encouraging, but which did not lead to work. For example, one interviewee made the following claim:

I know even educated people who are not working at the moment. They have got all the certificates and all the degrees and they can't walk straight into a job.

Other comments, such as the two which follow, reflect the same idea of the problem with the education, training, employment link, but do so in a general sense, rather than by noting specific individual experiences.

Why work in this country when you've got varsity students that are digging ditches because they can't get a job.

These days you have to qualify. ... and then again some of them are qualified and they still don't get a job.

The two issues relating to education and training, and skills and experience were as relevant to the experiences of the research participants who had left school in the 1985- 1995 period as they were to older participants. Of the 23 participants who comprised this group, 11 attended a tertiary institution directly after leaving school. Two of the eleven were still studying at the time of interview and two others did not seek work in the field they trained in. Of the remaining seven participants, the two university graduates found work quite easily, but all five polytech graduates were unemployed after completing their courses. One woman with a horticulture qualification took 18 months to find settled permanent work, and only then in an unrelated field. The others, who had all done office courses, took between six weeks and three years to get work; three of them required New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) work placements to assist them into full time permanent work.

Such experiences, and the issues they illustrate, clearly accounted for much of the uncertainty about any direct correlation between education and training, and employment. Other attitudes and views also had impacts. A smaller, but not insignificant, number of people were more positive about the labour market. This group considered there were more than enough jobs, people simply had to want to work and be willing to take on any type of job.

There are jobs out there, but people are too lazy and too fussy. I know friends who have been laid off and walked into jobs right away. They are not ideal jobs, not what they want, but it is a job at the moment and you can stay there until you get what you want. People are too fussy that is the problem and the other people don't want to work.

There's jobs out there, if people want to go and work, it's out there .... You only have to go out and look at the orchards they are screaming out for pickers ... It is just that [people] don't want to go and do that, because they know that it is a hard job ... and the wages are not necessarily great.

The inference here is that it is not a question of qualifications but a willingness to work that is crucial. If these attitudes predominate then those out of work will not be encouraged into any form of education and training. Certainly some of those who were unemployed expressed and acted on similar beliefs. Others were openly sceptical of these beliefs. They hoped for more rewarding and meaningful work and were careful in their considerations surrounding a return to work.

It can be seen, then, that in a range of ways the broad labour market context had some effect on people's thinking in regard to education and training. People's perceptions of what was happening were influenced in a variety of ways but their inability to get full and perfect information about the labour market contributed to their uncertainty about the relationship of education and training to employment.

## The institutional level

This section moves from the macro to the institutional level of analysis and focuses on the ways in which institutional factors play a role in influencing the way people engage with particular types of study or training. Central to the discussion is the issue of the state's response to the relatively high levels of unemployment that characterised the decade from 1985-1995. We focus on labour market education and training programmes, however, these programmes must be seen as part of a range of ways the state dealt with large scale employment contraction. They cannot therefore, be analysed



in isolation from the social welfare benefits that applied to those not in paid employment, in particular the Unemployment Benefit (UEB) and the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB). The interview data reported below highlights the differences in entitlements between these two benefits. These data also emphasise aspects of the connections and interplay between institutional level responses to issues of work and unemployment and the impacts of these on individual decision making about education and training.

*(a) Post-1984 labour market education and training programmes*

There was a marked alteration in policy responses to unemployment in the post-1984 period. Previously, public sector job creation schemes were the accepted solution to unemployment. From 1985 onwards, the direction of policy shifted to a more active approach to training and skill acquisition in order to build up an adaptable and skilled labour force to meet the needs of a competitive economy (Mulengu, 1994; Scollay and St John, 1996). Key features of the policy shift included:

- modification of the income support or benefit payments system to reduce the attractiveness of unemployment relative to market employment;
- use of the taxation system to provide an incentive to labour market participation;
- moves to decentralise wage bargaining and deregulate the labour market, culminating in the passage of the 1991 Employment Contracts Act;
- a return to favour of active labour market policies as a means of integrating segments of the labour force, particularly the long-term unemployed, into paid employment;
- provision of limited social protection for the low paid in employment; and,
- increased emphasis on education and training in order to meet the nation's need for a highly skilled labour force and to raise skills or prevent skill atrophy for the unemployed.

Of particular concern at this time was the large increase in youth unemployment. It was recognised that the low-skilled jobs, which had once operated as an entry point to the labour market for young people, were no longer plentiful (Ministers of Employment, Education and Maori Affairs, 1985:4). Education and training schemes aimed at skill provision were perceived as an alternative means of securing labour market entry and easing the transition from school to employment. At the time it was argued too that those schemes already existing needed enhanced co-ordination, administrative simplification and provision for the encouragement of progressive training (Catherwood, 1985).

The major labour market training programme implemented in New Zealand in the 1985- 1995 period was the ACCESS training programme that commenced in April 1987. Its aim was to enhance the job prospects of those who were disadvantaged in the labour market and for whom traditional training methods were either unsuitable or unavailable.<sup>4</sup> Although smaller scale training programmes like the Training Assistance Programme, the Young Persons Training Programme and the School-leaver Training and Employment Preparation Scheme, had been operating, the development and large scale scope of the ACCESS programme confirmed training provision as the preferred state response to unemployment.

Under ACCESS, training was targeted to the needs of people identified as being at a disadvantage in the labour market. Its broad goal was to improve the prospects of such disadvantaged individuals and groups while making best use of available resources. Within the overall goal, the Government identified a number of more specific goals:

- to ease individual entry or re-entry into the labour market, by enabling them (the unemployed) to acquire vocational skills;
- to enhance the individual's ability to enter or re-enter the workforce, by promoting the acquisition of skills, necessary for working life; and,
- to provide a skill base for further vocational development, which will enhance long-run employment and earning potential of participants

(AIBR, 1987 G.1:44).

ACCESS training was intended to provide the unemployed with the means to acquire skills in order to secure their own welfare. Programmes were offered by a variety of community, private and public training providers and covered a range of courses including life skills, vocational and work-based training. An ACCESS course was a discrete entity, allocated to the training provider through a tendering process administered by the Regional Employment and ACCESS Council (REAC). This devolution of management decisions to the local level was in line with the current ethos of education administration. MACCESS was the complementary Maori delivery system, constituting around 20% ACCESS training and recognising the demand that Maori should have more control over resources and solutions to their problems (AIBR, 1987 G.1).

*(b) Labour market training programme outcomes*

There is a significant body of literature that shows that government funded training schemes intended to augment existing skills, do little to improve either the job prospects of the unemployed or their earnings capacity. In many cases the performance of training scheme in successful job placement appears to reflect rather than overcome, prevailing economic conditions. In New Zealand, the failure of the ACCESS training programme to lead to successful employment outcomes for many trainees during recessionary times is well documented (Lauder et al., 1988; Boswell and Brown, 1990; Gordon, 1990; Dominick, 1993; Ferguson and Miller, 1993; Mulengu, 1994; Spoonley et al., 1993).

Dominick's study showed that factors improving an individual's chances in the labour market were: attendance at work-based or vocational training, higher levels of education, European ethnicity, knowledge of and opportunity for further training and the provision of links into the labour market by training providers (Dominick, 1993).<sup>5</sup>

The importance of the provision of links into the labour market by training providers has been confirmed by several overseas studies. For example, a summary article in *The Economist* generally questioned the overall effectiveness of labour market programmes. It was pointed out that even in Sweden, whose relatively high spending level on active labour market policies was held up as a model for others to follow, the effectiveness of these programmes was in serious doubt, with research concluding that retraining only marginally increased the chances of employment and it did so at a higher cost and to less effect than much less costlier, simple job search advice (The Economist, 1996).

Analysis of British training schemes too, showed little net benefit from these schemes. For example, it was demonstrated that the Youth Training Programme, which then had an annual intake of around 200,000 sixteen and seventeen year olds, had a disappointing performance record. A 1994 government study of the scheme found that there was a 50% drop out rate before completion, and those who did complete had an unemployment rate of 27%, which was much higher than for the age group collectively. Evaluation of Training Enterprise Councils which are private agencies contracting to government to provide training, also showed that the attendance at training schemes did not necessarily secure employment (The Economist, 1996).

American studies of government training programmes for the labour market disadvantaged have also been shown not to yield much benefit. A study of the largest of these programmes - The Job Training Partnership, found that the training received by under 21 year olds made no difference to whether they got a job or not and may even have caused loss of earnings for young men (The Economist, 1996).

However, not all employment training programmes have been shown to be unsuccessful. Characteristics of successful programmes show they tended to be small and focused, more expensive, and closely linked to local employers. For example, California's San Jose Centre for



Employment Training had individual tailored plans for participants and linked them with employers in the locality. A follow up study revealed that three years later the earnings of these trainees were significantly higher than the average earnings for workers in similar jobs who had not been involved in the programme. Similar evidence comes from Australia's Skillshare programme that showed that those participants who were referred directly to employers were more likely to obtain a job and retain it than those in the programme who were not directly linked to local employers.

LaLonde's (1995) summary of the evidence from American training programmes is "that we got what we paid for", and suggests the development of new, probably more intensive high-cost services, without which, skill improvement for economically disadvantaged and dislocated workers would be limited (LaLonde 1995: 150).

### *(c) Interview data*

The interview data provided information that allowed some clear patterns of engagement with education or training, or lack thereof, to be identified. Of the thirty-three people who had experienced redundancy over the 1985-1995 period, a third were able to transition immediately into paid work or chose not to seek further paid work. Seven people from the remaining two-thirds engaged in some form of education and training. All but one of them was involved in skills based courses<sup>6</sup> or work placements. This man attended a privately run training course for security officers. Although unemployed after being made redundant, he was not entitled to receive the UEB as his wife worked in paid employment. Two others undertook polytechnic programmes but on top of, or following, these other types of courses. One of this pair, who was receiving Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) payments after suffering a serious head injury, did numerous courses as part of unsuccessful efforts to return to paid work. The other had taken a trio of skills based courses after her second redundancy. Having finally found an interest in childcare she commenced a two-year polytechnic programme and was halfway through this when interviewed. In an unusual case, one man's redundancy prompted his wife to retrain and get full time work. They subsequently changed roles and he looked after the family. In summary, about 42% of those made redundant were either, not able to transition to some satisfactory role or, this occurrence did not prompt them, or anyone in their household, to engage in some form of education and training.

Analysing the cases of those who received the UEB at some point during the study period reveals that just over 56% of this group engaged in some form of substantive education and training. However, this figure needs to be broken down further to contribute to this discussion. All but two of these 24 people were involved in work placements or skills training programmes specifically for the unemployed<sup>7</sup>. One of these was the previously mentioned case of the woman who was undertaking the polytechnic course in childcare. The other, involved a married man who decided to retrain, a decision prompted by his inability to get settled, long-term work in the telecommunications industry because of the restructuring this industry had undergone. Consequently he had been forced to take on work as a hospital aide. Recognising the unsatisfactory nature of this in the long term, he and his wife made the commitment that he enrol in a three year nurse training programme. This was despite having two small children and needing to rely on benefits. Once he completed this programme he then faced a sixteen-month period of casual employment as a nurse before he was able to get a permanent position.

If a broader definition of unemployment is adopted, one that is not based solely on receipt of the UEB, and all episodes<sup>8</sup> of training and education are examined, then just over two-thirds of these were associated with, or prompted by, unemployment. Of this proportion, only 11 % were not skills training or work placements. Examples of the exceptional cases have been outlined previously. One additional case involved a man who, while receiving ACC, did a horticulture course at a polytechnic which led to him successfully finding work.

Regardless of whether the participants were made redundant, received the UEB, or could be classified more generally as unemployed, it is clear that a large number of episodes of education and training were associated with unemployment. It is also apparent that a high proportion of those who did some form of education or training were involved in a narrow range of programme types. To help explain why this might be so we need to examine what was affecting people's options at the institutional level. That is, how did agencies and policy influence or proscribe their choices? One of the more pressing and frequently cited concerns in this regard was the inequality between the DPB and other benefits in what was provided for and allowed, in respect of training and education. Alongside the question of entitlements was also one of attitude.

These differences are best illustrated by two examples. In the first case a woman began a three-year nursing course when her marriage broke up. Her children initially went to live with their father. Course attendance resulted in a considerable financial struggle for her in the first year. However, when her children came to live with her she was able to receive the DPB. Although her financial circumstances were still straitened they were less difficult because of the more generous and flexible conditions associated with the DPB.

It was the DPB that supported me for the next two years. ...Actually [the Department of Social Welfare] were very good. They had incentives that I could apply for ... [when] you had to pay your own way and accommodation ... At the beginning of the year you could get about \$300 over and above your benefit cause they saw that as an incentive: You wouldn't be on the DPB. That was their thing to see you out working and I guess if it was going to help you and [so] they gave...

By way of comparison we cite the experiences of the unemployed woman doing the childcare training course. Having been made redundant twice from the apparel industry, she acutely felt the need to retrain despite the New Zealand Employment Service's (NZES) efforts to re-engage her in the same industry. She had done a series of short skills courses and one of these had ignited her interest in childcare. She decided to do more training in this area and enrolled in a polytechnic programme, a course of action that, she claims, did not meet favour with the NZES.

Since I started the polytech course they've been trying to get me into employment that would get me chucked off that course ... But since I've been on this course they've just about had me chucked off a couple of times ... Because they've been trying to find me employment that's going to interfere with this course.

The differences in how training was viewed and supported for people on the UEB and DPB were apparent not only through such attitudes and actions, but were sometimes openly expressed by government agency workers who clearly recognised these inequities. For example, the woman who had twice been made redundant from the apparel industry made the following claim:

Unemployment [NZES] and Social Welfare have both said to me that I should get pregnant and then they would pay for my courses.

Although the NZES supported and provided for her to do some shorter courses (such as thirteen and six-week courses in bar tending and business skills) they seemed to balk at her doing a longer polytechnic based course. She was not able to get as generous financial assistance to go to polytechnic as those receiving the DPB, despite the fact that she had been unemployed for over three years and the short courses had not opened up any employment opportunities. The NZES also seemed not to be interested in her contention that the childcare course offered reasonable prospects for her future employment.

Whilst extreme, the above example clearly illustrates a strong difference in entitlements and treatment that many others perceived and, to lesser degrees, experienced. Certainly there were rare cases of people not on the DPB who managed to achieve favourable support for their training and study. There was, for example, the case of the married man who undertook the nursing course whilst receiving the UEB. Even though he had difficulty getting adequate benefit advice, he was eventually able to get appropriate financial support through the welfare system to complete this programme. However, his case was unusual. In general, those on other benefits felt that they had less access to

such financial assistance and were given very little encouragement or support to consider any education or training, other than skills training courses or work placements. Those on the DPB were aware of their favourable entitlements in relation to others. Some had made use of them already, and others were doing so, or intended to utilise them in the future. Often their programmes of choice were substantial and polytechnic based. Those receiving the UEB, on the other hand, were ushered into skills based training programmes or work placement schemes. Although many people willingly engaged in them, a significant proportion of respondents indicated that there was often an element of compulsion involved. Polytechnic programmes were often geared towards professional qualifications and the potential they offered in respect of employment and future prospects was starkly different from the programmes those on other benefits were restricted to. This can be borne out by an analysis of the outcomes of these programmes.

For those people who undertook skills training courses the outcomes were uniformly poor. These courses did not lead directly on to paid work for anyone except one of the male school leavers who found a job after the end of the course, unrelated to the training he had undertaken. For the majority, paid work after taking these courses was a matter of occasional or cyclical seasonal work.

Some people went on to later take up work placements. Overall, these had more mixed results. Three of the school leavers who had completed polytechnic courses prior to work placements found them valuable bridges to paid work. In general, for the others, work placements were a little more positively associated with helping secure paid work than the training schemes. However, there were often delays in the availability of work after the placement had ended. The links between the types of work done on work placements schemes and later employment were often tenuous, with only two people finding employment that was in any way related to the work undertaken in their placements. While it should be recognised that work placements and other training programmes may have benefits over and above providing immediate and related employment, the failings were not only evident from statistics but also in the comments of those who participated in them. As well, participants sometimes made reference to the poor quality of staff and training course content. For example, one man involved in a carpentry course claimed that all he seemed to do was chop wood.

All it really taught us was basic work ethic, going to work on time, appreciating you've got to be there when someone is expecting you. And after a while you got a bit pissed off with the guys that were taking it, because it felt like they were taking the mickey out of you ... After a while of doing the work based training scheme gaining the experience and feeling pretty crapped on at the end of 12 weeks when you thought there was a job there, and [NZES] say "No, there is not really room for you to be put on there full time". You sort of feel like a slave. You were working for the dole and that was all you were working for and you thought well why bother.

Thus, the state of the labour market, and unemployment in particular, were associated with a large proportion of the substantive education and training that was undertaken. On top of this, institutional factors then played a role in shaping how some people engaged with particular types of study or training. The entitlements that enabled one group of welfare recipients clearly became constraints on others. People's awareness of such factors further influenced their thinking and actions. Outside of this context, participation in substantive education and training appeared low. Of the episodes not associated in some way with unemployment more than half of these were associated with school leavers undertaking polytechnic or university courses directly from school. Aside from these, the episodes where people elected to undertake substantive study or training, as a proactive move, made up only 13.8% of all episodes. Seen another way, of the 141 adults (those who were not school-leavers) profiled in the study, only 9 of them (6.4%) chose some form of substantive study or training that was not associated with unemployment.

## The individual level

While labour market and institutional factors influenced education and training choices for the research participants, other factors, particularly at the level of the individual and household, were

also influential. Intriguingly, some of these factors had their roots at the structural level but were played out and thus evident, at the individual level. Four issues that illustrate these types of factors can be readily drawn out of the interviews. These consider the costs of education and training, women's participation in education and training, the growth of workplace-based education and training, and the impact of age.

*(a) Education and training costs*

Amongst the many large-scale changes that occurred during the decade under study were those affecting the way education was organised and funded. These had implications for costs in a variety of ways. In one narrow context, the moves away from apprentice style training<sup>9</sup> to a stronger emphasis on polytechnic based training undertaken independently from employment, shifted more costs on to students. As an apprentice, people may have had low wages but they were also employed and thus paid, as well as receiving training. Funding changes meant that people had to meet education and training costs themselves, with no guarantees of work.

Now the parents have to pay, or you have got to have the money to go to polytech to learn those skills that most companies used to teach on the job. ... they would leave school at 15 or 16 and be trained on the job, now a few select are going to polytechnic or university and the rest are staying at home.

Alongside this redistribution of costs, the rising level of fees was also of widespread concern. Such increases clearly affected the ability of many individuals to afford education and training or even to consider it. Parents, students and others commented on this issue and how it impacted on decisions to train and study - or not to study or train, as the case may be. However, it was not only young people for whom cost was a factor. Many adults who were thinking about education and training were also considering the implications of increased costs. The prospect of fees in the thousands of dollars was daunting for some, and out of the reach of others. As one participant commented:

It's too dear. Well one of the things I wanted to do you had to pay \$3000 and I thought, "Oh man" ... something to do with old people. I love looking after old people, but I thought, "Oh, I'm not paying \$3000". ... I don't know how long it was but \$3000!

Though only one of many factors that people had to consider when contemplating training, cost certainly appeared to be a major issue.

*(b) Women's participation in education and training*

We have already seen that recipients of the DPB were assisted significantly with the costs of training. Nevertheless, they still had to cope with other demands such as managing childcare.<sup>10</sup> For women who were not on the DPB there were also significant education and training issues. Women who were married or in relationships and caring for children were less likely than men in similar circumstances to undertake substantive education and training. Some themes that emerged from the interviews and that helped explain these disparities revolved around women having primary responsibility for care of children. In certain instances this meant their relationship to the labour market was treated very differently. For example, some women reported that as their husbands were in paid employment or were the recipients of the UEB, their interactions with agencies such as the NZES had significant implications for their access to work and training.

I'm always watching the paper and I'm registered at [NZES], but they more or less told me, you're not on a benefit so there's nothing we can do for you. ...

More generally, the distribution of roles and responsibilities in the home meant that women had to balance any work or training with childcare. In completing a four-year university degree one woman managed to achieve this difficult balancing act. What her comments show however, are the lengths that she had to go to achieve this.

My degree was a nine to three degree; all the papers I did had to occur between nine in the morning and three in the afternoon. Anything I did that was outside kindergarten hours I actually tried using the University creche but she was not happy there. I actually had a lady come into the home on a Monday afternoon and look after her there. As I say, anything outside of kindergarten hours occurred on a Monday and I covered it in one day. ... That certainly had an impact on the papers I did. The problem was compounded for me in that [ my husband] was away over night regularly so I wasn't able to count on him being around for childcare.

Cases like this were the exception. Women often saw no way to accommodate this level of education and training.

On top of caring for children women were often engaged in paid work as well. Some were required to do study or training as part of their jobs. One means that many women employed to manage some education and training with their other responsibilities was to opt for alternative courses or programmes. This trend was evident in that women made up almost three-quarters of the people who did these more flexible or shorter types of education and training<sup>11</sup> The very nature of these meant that they could often be managed with existing responsibilities.<sup>12</sup> Although this was their obvious attraction, completing them still entailed challenges and placed extra demands on women.

I completed two papers plus working and found I just didn't have enough time, quality time [with the family].

The fact that women had primary responsibility for childcare could also affect their choice of programme or course in other ways. While they were out of the paid workforce for periods, work places and practices could change significantly. Therefore, women often chose courses that helped them update their skills, improve their employability and ease the transition back to paid work. Computing courses were particularly popular in this regard. Although she had maintained part time or casual paid work during much of the time that she also cared for her children, this woman still felt at a disadvantage in relation to the changes in technology. The course she did helped her skills and confidence in this regard.

There is no doubt about it that both of [the computing courses] have made a difference in that I am a little bit more confident. If I get into the other computers and into the Windows programme now I just buzz around and look for what I want, whereas before I was too frightened to, it just gives you a little more confidence.

### *(c) The growth in workplace-based education and training*

Of course men also needed to keep their skills up, but as they were generally not out of the paid workforce caring for children they could often access ongoing training and education through the workplace. This allowed them to maintain and improve their skills as change occurred. According to those interviewed, the workplace was a growing site of education and training though not everyone was enthusiastic about or supportive of this trend. Women not in the workplace, often for many years, were excluded from these opportunities and often had to turn to alternative sources of education and training, such as those mentioned previously, to update skills and knowledge. Otherwise they might be forced into types of work other than work they had previously done, been trained in, or preferred to do. Like so many others, this woman responded by doing some training in computing which helped her get into an office job.

I was behind the modern technology. It took me ages. That's why I took the house clearing because there were heaps of applicants [for office jobs] and I found I was being beaten and I think it was because of the computer.

The benefits of workplace training were widely recognised.



Everyone that has [been] left has all been trained, heaps of training, an endless money pit. I am just one of a few people who are being trained in lots of different areas. ...staff working in different areas are all being trained and retrained.

However, as this man's opening remark indicates, such initiatives often came after organisational restructuring. Consequently, those who were made redundant at these times were also excluded from workplace-based education and training. We have already seen that for those in this group who did not get work quickly, any training they were involved in tended to be limited to a narrow range of options with poor outcomes.

#### *(d) The impact of age*

In the discussions on workplace education and training a final theme emerged that is worth noting. Though not affecting large numbers of people, age seemed to act as a constraint for some. Although the man who was doing the security officer course deliberately chose to re-train because of his age - he had been made redundant from a meatworks - his case was the exception. More generally, people who saw themselves as 'older workers' could see the value of education and training for younger, less experienced people, but not for them.

But a lot of the courses they are offering are not relevant to the work that I am doing. I am doing a hands-on job and with my years of knowledge, this is more invaluable than what can be learned in a classroom. A lot of people that are up and coming that are going to come up into the system, they will benefit from those courses. At my age I don't think I could benefit a lot from them.

Older research participants preferred to rely on the knowledge, skills and experience gained over many years in a job or with a company. This was interesting given that elsewhere this group expressed a lot of concern about their vulnerability in the rapidly changing labour market. Unfortunately, the interviews did not canvas in any depth what social or intra-personal factors may have contributed to older people responding to educational opportunities this way.

## **Conclusion**

The debate around the reciprocal relationship between education and training on the one hand and individual income levels and national growth and development has gone through three stages since it emerged in the 1960s. Driven initially by human capital theory, the link between education and training and positive outcomes for both the individual and the economy were viewed as unproblematic. At the level of the individual, education and training is seen as an investment, which will pay off in higher lifetime incomes, even when all the costs associated with the investment are taken into account. At a wider level it is claimed the investment will enhance national growth and development. From the 1970s through into the 1980s, a significant challenge was mounted to this position from a range of theorists including neo-Marxists, feminists, conflict theorists and institutional theorists. Despite the criticisms human capital theory attracted, labour market education and training programmes implemented from the mid 1980s were strongly driven by this theory. Current academic debate however, has tended to move away from both an uncritical, or an overly critical position on human capital theory, to be more conditional, taking account of the context in which the education, training, employment nexus is located.

This paper has focused on, context at three levels: first, the macro context of sweeping reforms to New Zealand's political economy; second, the institutional context which takes into account institutional factors that influence people's choices regarding education and training; and third, the micro context within which individuals live their day to day lives.

The qualitative data drawn on for this paper explored labour market transitions of 164 people in the Hawkes Bay area of New Zealand between the years 1985 to 1995. These transitions include those from unpaid to paid work, unemployment to paid work, unemployment to education and



training and from education and training to paid work. We have argued that the data demonstrate that the education and training, employment link is not as clear cut as suggested in human capital theory. By focusing on the three levels of context we have shown that certainly people do make choices with respect to education and training for employment as the theory would posit. However, as the theory does not recognise, these choices are significantly shaped by the contexts in which people are operating. In turn, these influences significantly constrain people's choices.

From the data presented we can also offer some recommendations to policy makers on the labour market education and training programmes that have been implemented. First, there is now a growing body of literature both from New Zealand and overseas, that has evaluated the success of various types of programmes. The literature has shown that the most successful schemes have tended to be small, relatively costly, focused on the individual and closely tied into the needs of local employers. Policy makers should also pay attention to ensure that recipients of social welfare benefits receive evenhanded treatment whatever benefit they receive, and that the implementation of a wide variety of education and training programmes be encouraged. In addition, even short courses should teach not only work related skills like punctuality and appropriate dress, but in association with local employers, should teach specific work skills. Finally, we suggest that policy makers too take account of context when developing labour market education and training programmes. Contexts vary, especially contexts within which regional labour markets operate. Successful programmes therefore, need to be developed locally to be sensitive to local needs, with more intensive services focusing on integrating programme participants into the economic mainstream.

## Acknowledgement

This research is based on the Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Project. It is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology out of the Public Good Science Fund. The project team currently comprises Professor Rolf Cremer, Associate Professor Anne de Bruin, Dr Ann Dupuis, Professor Ian Shirley, and Professor Paul Spoonley of Massey University.

## Notes

1. A further 12 people were profiled on indirect information from the interviews so that 164 people in all were profiled.
2. Further information on the Hawkes Bay component of the project can be found in Shirley et al., (2000a). See also Shirley et al., (2000b) and Barrett (2000) for further work on the links between labour market changes, policy responses and the impacts of these at the micro level.
3. The decline in such unskilled job opportunities and the generally lower demand for unskilled labour, parallels the trend in other developed economies. Relatively high demand for trained and skilled labour and the lower demand for unskilled (and its impact on relative wages) in the 1980s, has been pointed out by several researchers (see for example Katz and Murphy, 1992; Schmitt, 1994).
4. For a discussion of the origins and development of Access see Gordon (1990).
5. As an explanation for the ethnic differential in labour market outcomes, Manatu Maori (1991) suggested that occupational segregation and employer discrimination may contribute. The Dominick study also appears to confirm this suggestion. The Dominick evaluation stressed that "success of Training Opportunities will depend on the provision of linked courses through which trainees can progressively build on their skills and on the encouragement of more disadvantaged trainees to develop their skills in this manner" (Dominick 1993:128).
6. Of the ACCESS genre.
7. Only those receiving the UEB are included in this discussion. Those who were unemployed but not entitled to this benefit or receiving another form of welfare are excluded.

8. Each separate engagement with education and training is a separate episode.
9. People used the term apprenticeship in a broader way than just as a reference to trades training. They also included cadetships and the 'office junior' within this meaning.
10. All but two of those receiving the DPB were women.
11. In this area we include part time programmes, day courses, extra-mural study, night classes and the like.
12. A significant body of feminist literature exists on the way women bridge the gap between the unpaid work they perform in the home and paid work in the workplace. Much of this literature focuses on the fact that for most women this is a very difficult juggling exercise that not only disadvantages women economically, but can have problematic health and relationship outcomes. (See e.g., Novitz, 1987; Hochschild, 1989; Reskin and Padavic, 1994).

## References

- ACKER, S. (1994) *Gendered Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- AJHR (1987) G.1 *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, Wellington: Government Printer.
- BECKER, G. (1964) *Human Capital*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- BARRETT, P. (2000) *Families, Work and the Welfare State*. Palmerston North: Social Policy Research Centre, Massey University.
- BOLI, J. (1989) *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- BOLI, J. (1992) 'Institutions, Citizenship and Schooling in Sweden', in B. Fuller and R. Rubinson (eds.), *The Political Construction of Education*. New York: Praeger.
- BOSTON, J. et al. (1991) *Reshaping the State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic Revolution*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- BOSWELL, K and BROWN, D. (1990) *At the Grassroots: Community Responses to Unemployment*. Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1974) 'The School as a Conservative Force: Social and Cultural Inequalities', in J. Eggleston (ed.), *Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education*. London: Methuen.
- BOURDIEU, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', in J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- BOWLES, S. and GINTIS, H. (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- CATHERWOOD, V. (1985) 'Young People Education and Employment', *Planning Paper* No. 23. Wellington: NZ Planning Council.
- COLEMAN, J. et al. (1966) *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office.
- DAVIDSON, C. (1995) 'Employment in New Zealand After the 'Revolution': The Outcome of Restructuring in the 1980s', *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 8, pp. 99-115.
- DAVIDSON, C. and BRAY, M. (1994) *Women and Part Time Work in New Zealand: A Contemporary Insight*. Christchurch: New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development.
- DEEM, R. (ed.) (1980) *Schooling for Women's Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DOMINICK, C. (1993) 'The Effectiveness of Access Training and the Job Opportunities Scheme', in P. Morrison (ed.), *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand: Proceedings of the Fifth Conference, November 1992*, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.
- FERGUSON, V. and MILLER, J. (1993) 'Staircasing within ACCESS, a Training Programme for the Unemployed: Fact or Fiction', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 28(1), pp. 43-56.
- GORDON, L. (1990) 'The Right Way to Work: The Development of the Access Training Programme' in S. Middleton, J. Codd and A. Jones (eds.), *New Zealand Education Policy Today*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
- HOCHSCHILD, A. (1989) *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. London: Piatkus,
- ILLICH, I. (1973) *Deschooling Society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- JAMES, C. (1986) *The Quiet Revolution*. Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press.
- JENKS, C. et al. (1972) *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and School in America*. New York: Basic Books.
- JESSON, B. (1999) *Only Their Purpose is Mad*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- KATZ, L. and MURPHY, K. (1992) 'Changes in Relative Wages 1963-1987: Supply and Demand Factors', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107(1), pp. 35-78.

- KELSEY, J. (1995) *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment?* Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books.
- LALONDE, R. (1995) 'The Promise of Public Sector-Sponsored Training Programs', *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 9(2), pp.149-168.
- LAUDER, H., KHAN, G. and McGLINN, J. (1988). *A Report on the Pilot Evaluation of Transition Programmes in Schools, Polytechnics and Private Provider Institutions in New Zealand*. Christchurch: Education Department, University of Canterbury.
- LAUDER, H. and HUGHES, D. (1990) 'Social Origins, Destinations and Educational Inequality', in J. Codd, R. Harker and R. Nash (eds.), *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*. 2nd edition. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- LAUDER, H., HUGHES, D., DUPUIS, A. and McGLINN, J. (1992) *To Be Somebody: Class, Gender and the Rationality of Educational Decision-Making*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- LIGHT, I. and KARAGEORGIS, S. (1994) 'The Ethnic Economy', in N. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 647-671.
- MANATU MAORI (1991) *Maori and Work: The Position of Maori in the New Zealand Labour Market*. Wellington: Economic Development Unit, Manatu Maori.
- MEYER, J. (1992) 'The Social Construction of Motives for Educational Expansion', in B. Fuller and R. Rubinson (eds.), *The Political Construction of Education*. New York: Praeger, pp. 225-238.
- MEYER, J., RAMIREZ, F., and SOYSAL, Y. (1992) 'World Expansion of Mass Education 1870-1980', *Sociology of Education*, 65, pp. 128-149.
- MINISTRIES OF EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND MAORI AFFAIRS (1985) *Skills for Young People: A Discussion Paper on Transition Education and Training*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- MULENGU, A. (1994) *From Job Creation to Training, 1840- 1990: A Descriptive Analysis of the Development and Demise of Job Creation Policy as the Mainstay of State Responses to Unemployment in New Zealand*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Massey University.
- NOVITZ, R. (1987) 'Bridging the Gap: Paid and Unpaid Work', in S. Cox (ed.), *Public and Private Worlds: Women in Contemporary New Zealand*. Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press.
- PARSONS, T. (1959) 'The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society', *Harvard Educational Review*, 29, pp. 297-318.
- PERRY, M., DAVIDSON, C. and HILL, R. (1995) *Reform at Work: Workplace Change and the New Industrial Order*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
- RAMIREZ, F. and BOLI, J. (1987) 'The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European origins and Worldwide Institutionalization', *Sociology of Education*, 60, pp. 2-17.
- RAMIREZ, F. and VENTRESCA, M. (1992) 'Building the Institution of Mass Schooling: Isomorphism in the Modern World', in B. Fuller and R. Rubinson (eds.), *The Political Construction of Education*. New York: Praeger.
- RESKIN, B and P ADAVIC, I. (1994) *Women and Men at Work*. London: Pine Forge Press.
- ROPER, B. (1991) 'From the Welfare State to the Free Market: Explaining the Transition. Part I the Existing Accounts', *New Zealand Sociology*, 6(2), pp. 38-63.
- RUBINSON, R. and BROWNE, I. (1994) 'Education and the Economy', in N. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- SCOLLAY, R. and S. ST JOHN (1996) *Macroeconomics and the Contemporary New Zealand Economy*. Auckland: Longman.
- SCHMITT, J. (1994) 'The Changing Structure of Male Earnings in Britain', in R. Freeman and L. Katz (eds.), *Differences and Changes in Wage Structure*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- SCHULTZ, T. (1961) 'Investment in Human Capital', *American Economic Review*, 51, pp. 1-16.
- SHANAHAN, S. and TUMA, N. (1994) 'The Sociology of Distribution and Redistribution', in N. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- SHIRLEY, I., et al. (2000a) *Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation – The Hawkes Bay Labour Market: General Report- 1998/99*. Palmerston North: Social Policy Research Centre, Massey University.
- SHIRLEY, I., et al. (2000b) *Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation – The South Waikato Labour Market: General Report- 1998/99*. Palmerston North: Social Policy Research Centre, Massey University.
- SOBEL, I. (1978) 'The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development: Its Current History and Status', *Comparative Education Review*, 46, pp. 278-308.
- SPOONLEY, P. et al. (1993) *Mahi Awatea: A Final Report*. Palmerston North: Massey University.
- THE ECONOMIST (1996) 'Training and Jobs: What Works?', *The Economist*, 6 April.
- WILLIS, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. London: Saxon House.
- WILLIS, R. (1995) 'Ten Years of Change in New Zealand Manufacturing', in P. Morrison (ed.), *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand 1994*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.