

Experiences of young adult workers

Summary

John Buchanan and Tanya Bretherton

**Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and
Training**

- An increasing number of young adults are facing insecurity in their employment arrangements.
 - Part time employment has more than doubled for young adults, between 1988 and 1998 (ABS)
 - Casual density among young adults doubled between 1984 and 1996 (ABS)
- The growing insecurity of employment is reflected in young adults' attitudes to work.
 - Young adults appear to feel alienated from the decision making processes at their workplaces (almost half reported they had not been consulted at all about workplace changes) (AWIRS 1995).
 - A significant proportion of young adults reported increasing levels of job stress, and almost half stated they had inadequate career paths associated with their current jobs (AWIRS 1995)
 - Overall, young adults have low levels of union membership, however they reflected high support for unions in the abstract (ABS, Newspoll 1997).
- An increasing number of working young adults are combining work and education roles. One quarter of all employed young adults now combine work with study, compared to 16% ten years ago (ABS).

Experiences of young adult workers

John Buchanan and Tanya Bretherton

**Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research
and Training**

Contents

The experience of work	1
The changing work situation of young adults	1
Hours of work	5
Attitudes about work	7
Involvement with and views on unions	11
Conclusion	14

Tables

Table 1: Overview of work situation for young adults, Australia 1978-98	2
Table 2: Casual employees aged 20-24 years who are students, as percentage of all employees in that age group, Australia, various years	3
Table 3: Full time students aged 20-24 years, by permanent and casual work status, Australia, 1996	4
Table 4: Job mobility rates, Australia, February 1998	4
Table 5: Job duration by age, Australia, 1998	5
Table 6: Part time workers who would prefer more hours, Australia, August 1998	5
Table 7: Incidence of underemployment among part time workers by age and sex 1981-1997 (%)	6
Table 8: Hours worked per week (expressed as a percentage), by age, Australia, 1993	6
Table 9: Changes in hours, per week, in the last 12 months, Australia 1995	7
Table 10: Attitude to current hours, Australia, 1995	7
Table 11: Do you think your present job is safe? Percentage of respondents who said 'safe', Australia 1984-1997	8
Table 12: Workers views of changes related to work in the last 12 months, expressed as percentage (1995)	9
Table 13: Trade union membership (expressed as percentage), Australia, 1996	11
Table 14: Attitudes to unions - all age groups, Australia 1997	12
Table 15: Issues ranked by 18-24 year olds as important for unions to address, Australia 1997	12
Table 16: Satisfied with management treatment, Australia 1995	13

The experience of work

This paper complements the chapter on the labour market for young adults by examining the experience of work for young Australians. It does so through an analysis of relevant statistics. It begins (Section 1) by identifying the number and changing proportions of young adults actually in work. The story here is one of stagnating employment opportunities that are becoming increasingly casual and part time in nature. Over a quarter of young adult workers now combine education with employment, up from 16 per cent a decade ago. The length of hours worked is then examined (Section 2). While the proportion of part-timers has increased, many also work extended hours. Approximately one quarter want either more or fewer hours of work. An examination of broader attitudes about work (Section 3) reveals declining levels of job security, but a strong work ethic. On other key issues, including attitude to workplace change, young adults express views similar to those of other age groups. Young adults' involvement and views concerning unions are then examined (Section 4). Union membership among young adults has fallen, but this does not necessarily mean low levels of support for unions. The potential for increased unionisation amongst this age group is considerable. The major challenge for policy concerns the changing mix of work and education (Section 5). To date the growing proportion of young adults involved in formal study has occurred in an ad hoc fashion. The key challenge is to achieve a better fit between work and education to see if activities in these spheres can be mutually reinforcing, instead of coexisting in totally unconnected ways.

The changing work situation of young adults

Any examination of the experience of work must begin with some consideration of how many young adults actually work, study and combine the two. Details of these issues are provided in the paper by VandenHeuvel and Wooden and need only be summarised briefly here. The essential features of the work situation are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of work situation for young adults, Australia 1978-98

	1978 (‘000)	1988	1998	Change from 1988 to 1998 (‘000)
Overview				
Total number of young adults	1195	1306. 3	1352. 4	+46.1
As % of total population aged 15 years and over	11.3%	10.2%	9.1%	
Not in labour force	260.1	221.7	256.7	+35
Labour force	935	1084. 6	1095. 8	+11.2
Labour force participation rate	78%	83%	81%	
Total working	849.5	966.8	964.9	-1.9
Employed as % of total young adult population	71.1%	74%	71.3%	
Education and work				
Total combining education and work	***	155.2 *	242.3 *	+87.1
Working students as % of employed young adults	***	15.9% *	25.1% *	
Working students as % of student young adults	***	63.8% *	63.5% *	
Total in education	***	243.1 *	383.7 *	+140.6
Part time share of employment				
Male	6.2%	7.8%	20.1%	
Female	16.2%	18.6%	34.5%	
Total	10.5%	12.6%	26.9%	
Casual employment				
**Proportion of young adult employees who are casual	1984 14.2%	1993 24.3%	1996 28.4%	

Sources: *Figures from Transition from Education to Work - various issues (These figures are 1987 & 1997)

**Casual statistics taken from unpublished data, compiled from supplementary labour force data - Labour Force, Weekly Earnings of Employees (Distribution) Australia, Trade Union Members.

***Education and work figures not available prior to 1983

Remaining statistics from Labour Force Australia August, various editions (1978, 1988, 1998)

As is evident from this table, over the last ten years young adults have faced stagnant employment opportunities. While their absolute number has increased by 46,000, those in employment have fallen by 2,700. Most dramatically, the number combining work and study has jumped by 87,100. The proportion of students working has remained pretty constant: 63.8 per cent in 1988 and 63.5 per cent in 1998. The more dramatic change concerns the proportion of young adult workers now involved in formal education. A quarter (25.1 per cent) now combine study with their work, up from just 15.9 per cent a decade ago.

How has the nature of these employment opportunities changed? As is well known, Australia has a very high rate of casual employment. Between 1984 and 1996 it rose from 15.8 per cent to 26.1 per cent of employees (Campbell 1998). Table 2 summarises the growth in casual employment for young adults. It reveals that casual density amongst young adults doubled between 1984 and 1996. This growth has been virtually identical for those combining work with study, and those who are not also students.

Table 2: Casual employees aged 20-24 years who are students, as percentage of all employees in that age group, Australia, various years

Study status	1984	1993	1996
Student	4	7.5	8.6
Non-student	10.2	16.7	19.8
TOTAL	14.2	24.3	28.4

Source: Campbell 1998 drawn from ABS unpublished data (various sources)

Amongst full time students, the combination of work and study roles is more prevalent amongst casual than permanent employees. Table 3 shows that a much greater proportion of casual employees are full-time students than permanent employees. Only 2 per cent of permanent employees are studying full time, while 30 per cent of casual employees are studying full time. Amongst casual employees, a greater proportion of women are studying full time (35 per cent) than men (25 per cent).

Table 3: Full time students aged 20-24 years, by permanent and casual work status, Australia, 1996

Work status	Male	Female	TOTAL
PERMANENT			
Student	5471	8624	14 095
Non-student	367 788	309 552	677 340
Total (Perm)	373 258	318 176	691 435
(% students)	1.4%	2.7%	2%
CASUAL			
Student	33 674	49 858	83 532
Non-student	101 294	90 034	191 327
Total (Casual)	134 968	139 892	274 859
(% students)	25%	35.6%	30.4%

Source: ABS Trade Union Members Australia 1996, Catalogue no. 6325 (unpublished data)

While levels of casualisation have been increasing Wooden has noted that job mobility and duration have remained remarkably stable (Wooden 1998). It is interesting to note, however, that stability levels are amongst the lowest for young adults, compared to most other demographic groups. This is particularly evident in the material on 'job mobility' summarised in Table 4. It reveals young adults have the highest proportion of 'job mobile' workers (ie workers who changed employer, business and/or locality in the last year).

Table 4: Job mobility rates, Australia, February 1998

Age (yrs)	Female	Male	Total
15-19	17.3	17.9	17.6
20-24	26	24.4	25.2
25-34	17.6	19.2	18.5
35-44	10.9	12.8	12
45-54	8.1	9.2	8.7
55-69	4.7	5.2	5

Source: ABS Labour Mobility, Catalogue no. 6209 February 1998

*It is important to note that job mobility statistics include persons who ceased a job, for whatever reason, during the year ending February 1998

While data on movements captures the flow dimension of stability, material on job duration provide a measure based on stocks. Material on job duration for different demographic groups is provided in Table 5. As expected it reveals that job duration tends to increase with age. Amongst young adults, 71.2 per cent have less than three years job duration. This is lower than that prevailing for teenagers (91 per cent) but significantly higher than for other demographic groups. The most obvious explanation for this material concerns 'stage of life' factors that characterise young adulthood.

This could include transitions from apprenticeship/traineeship to work, university to work, and perhaps a greater willingness of young people (who are often yet to have dependants) to move between jobs and localities.

Table 5: Job duration by age, Australia, 1998

Duration	15-19 years (teenage)	20-24 years (young adult)	25-54 years (prime age)	55 years+ (mature)
< 1 year	50.4	37	18.2	8.4
1 & < 2 yrs	24.9	18.4	10.9	5.6
2 & < 3 yrs	14	15.8	9.9	5.3
3 & < 5 yrs	9.3	20	14	9.4
5 & < 10 yrs	1.2	8.8	19.8	17.1
10 years +	<1	<1	27	54.1

Source: ABS Labour Mobility February 1998, Catalogue no. (unpublished data)

Hours of work

One of the most significant labour market changes identified by VandenHeuvel and Wooden has been the growth in part-time work. Its growth has been even more dramatic than that in casual work. Between 1988 and 1998 it grew from 12.6% to 26.9% for this demographic group. Currently 20.1 per cent of young adult males and 34.5 per cent of young adult females work on a part-time basis.

It is important to recognise that a growing proportion of young adults working part time do so involuntarily. Table 6 shows that the problem of involuntary part time employment is particularly acute for young adults, as about two in five part timers want to work more hours. This is compared to one quarter of teenagers and one quarter of prime age workers who indicate they are currently underemployed.

Table 6: Part time workers who would prefer more hours, Australia, August 1998

	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-54 years	55 years +
Prefer more hours	25.8%	40.1%	25.7%	14.2%

Source: ABS Labour Force August 1998

When looking more closely at time series data, it is evident that the trend of underemployment has been an upward one. At the beginning of the 1980s, only a quarter of part-time workers in this age group reported a desire to work more hours. Amongst women there is a higher proportion of such young adult part time workers than any other group. Amongst males only the prime age grouping has a higher proportion of involuntary part-timers. Further details are summarised in Table 7.

Table 7: Incidence of underemployment among part time workers by age and sex 1981-1997 (%)

	1981	1986	1991	1996	1997	1998
Males						
15-19 years	21.1	20.8	26.2	29.3	28.2	26.4
20-24 years	28	39.9	45.4	44.5	41.6	45
25-54 years	26.2	35.6	49	47.6	52.1	51
55 years +	4*	11.5	17.6	19.2	18.4	16.8
TOTAL	20	26.5	35.4	37	38.4	37.7
Females						
15-19 years	21.2	23.1	26.4	23.7	23.7	25.4
20-24 years	22.6	26.4	36.4	35.6	37.5	36.8
25-54 years	9.5	13.8	19.2	19.6	20.2	20.4
55 years +	5*	5.1	9.4	8.7	10	5.2
TOTAL	11.5	15.1	20.8	20.7	21.5	21.9

*Relative standard error may be greater than 25%, so estimate may not be reliable.

Source: Wooden 1998a. Updated using ABS Labour Force, August 1998.

While the growth in part-time employment has been significant, it is important to remember the bulk of young adults still work on a full time basis. How then do young adults differ on the basis of different lengths of hours worked?

Details of this issue are provided in Table 8. Just over half (52 per cent) of young adults work 35-40 hours per week. Interestingly one in ten young adults works in

excess of 48 hours per week. Again, the strong proportion of part time work is reflected in the data, with just over one-quarter of young adults working less than 35 hours a week.

Table 8: Hours worked per week (expressed as a percentage), by age, Australia, 1993

Hours	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-54 years	55 years +
< 35 hours	43	27	25	28
35-40 hours	45	52	45	50
41-48 hours	7	11	14	10
>48 hours	5	10	16	12

Source: ABS Survey of Training & Education 1993 (unpublished data)

When considering the distribution of hours worked, it is important to note the changes in the number of hours worked. Material from employees covered by the latest Australian workplace industrial relations survey (AWIRS) reveals that in the year prior to the survey, just over a quarter of young adults (28 per cent) reported their hours increased, and one in ten that they decreased. Further details are provided in Table 9. In this trait, at least, their experience of work is similar to that of prime age adults.

Table 9: Changes in hours, per week, in the last 12 months, Australia 1995

Hours	15-20	21-24	25-54	55 years+
Gone up	34	28	25	12
Gone down	15	10	8	6
No change	49	61	66	82
Don't know	2	1	<1	

Source: AWIRS 1995

The same survey revealed that 23 per cent of young adults were unhappy with their hours of work. They were equally split between those preferring more or less hours of work. On this subject they differ from younger and older demographic groups. A significant proportion of younger workers want more hours (23%), and almost one-fifth of prime age workers want less hours. Details are provided in Table 10.

Table 10: Attitude to current hours, Australia, 1995

	15-20 years	21-24 years	25-54 years	55 years+
Happy with hours	74	77	74	83
Prefer less hours	3	11	19	12
Prefer more hours	23	12	7	5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

Source: AWIRS 1995

Attitudes about work

Preferences concerning working hours raises questions about the attitude of young adults to other work related issues. Time series opinion poll data reveals that insecurity is at historically high levels, but security levels do fluctuate. These trends are evident in Table 11. For the young adult age category (identified by Morgan Gallup polls as 18-24 years). Throughout the 1990s, the proportion of young adults indicating their present job to be 'safe' has been at historically low levels (ie. generally below 80%).

Table 11: Do you think your present job is safe? Percentage of respondents who said 'safe', Australia 1984-1997

Year	14-17 yrs	18-24 yrs	25-34 yrs	35-49 yrs	50 yrs +	Poll no
1984	71	77	85	79	88	616
1985	57	79	82	79	81	698
1986	80	81	81	78	78	772
1987	85	80	78	81	77	870
1988	93	83	80	79	79	936
1989	82	84	83	79	85	993
1990	81	77	67	71	62	1059
1991	84	73	70	67	75	1121
1992	70	77	69	64	75	1171
1993	66	75	70	74	73	1255
1995	90	81	74	72	70	1351
1997	65	75	75	70	74	1452

Base - working full time or part time.

Source: Morgan Gallup polls 1984-1998 (data for 1994 & 1996 not available).

Reliable times series data on attitudes and perception is hard to find. A more nuanced account of these issues can be obtained from employee respondents to the AWIRS survey. This survey gathered information on such issues as job satisfaction, workplace change, consultation and prospects for career advancement. The key findings on these issues are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12: Workers views of changes related to work in the last 12 months, expressed as percentage (1995)

	15-20 yrs	21-24 yrs	25-54 yrs	55 yrs +	All
Change in level of job satisfaction, over last 12 months					
Increased	41	37.5	29	20	30
No change	38	35	40	54	40
Decreased	19	25.5	30	25	29
Don't know	2	2	1	1	1
Impact of workplace change					
Better off	44	39	29	25	31
Same	41	39	42	49	42
Worse off	9	17	26	24	24
Don't know	6	5	3	2	3
Consultation about workplace organisation					
A lot	7	7.5	12	15	11
Some	12	16	24	22	22
A little	21	28.5	23	16	23
None	60	48	41	47	43
Don't know	<1	<1	<1	<1	1
Chances for promotion					
Satisfied	24	23	20	16	20
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	26	28	24	17	24.5
Dissatisfied	20.5	30	33	20	31
Not relevant	21	14	18	42	19
Don't know	8.5	5	5	5	5.5
Stress on the job					
Increased	32	47	52	41	49
No change	51	43	40	52	42
Decreased	14	8	7	5	7
Don't know	3	2	1	2	2
Work effort over last 12 months					
Increased	58	62	59	47	58
No change	35	33	36	49	36
Decreased	4	4	4	3	4
Don't know	3	1	1	1	2

Source: AWIRS Employee Survey 1995

The overall picture of young adults' experiences at the workplace level includes some disturbing features. Young adults reported high levels of dissatisfaction with a number of aspects of their employment.

Firstly, young adults appear to be alienated from decision-making processes at the workplace level. A minority indicated that they were consulted about the management and workplace issues that directly affected them. The majority of young adults reported low levels of consultation about issues related to the management and organisation of the workplace. Only 7 per cent said they were consulted 'a lot', and almost half stated they were not consulted at all. The remaining 44 per cent reported 'some' or 'a little' consultation.

The consequences of a lack of consultation are, not surprisingly, a general dissatisfaction among young adults about their current workplace. The effort required at work for young adults also appears to be intensifying. In 1995, young adults indicated increasing levels of job stress, static or declining levels of job satisfaction, and the group appear to be working harder and longer hours. In 1995, almost two-thirds reported that work effort had increased in the last twelve months, and one-third reported that work effort had not changed. Only 4 per cent reported a decline in work effort. Job stress also appears to be on the rise for young adults. Almost half indicated an increase in the level of job stress, 43 per cent said the levels remained static and only 8 per cent stated that job stress had decreased. In comparative terms, young adults do appear less likely to suffer from job stress overall, than prime age workers.

AWIRS results also give insight to how young adults view potential career paths in their current job. Almost half of the young adult respondents were either dissatisfied (30 per cent) or stated that career opportunities were 'not relevant' (14 per cent) to their current job position. Less than one-quarter indicated they were actually satisfied with their current promotional opportunities.

Not surprisingly, the overall comment by young adults on job satisfaction is not a generally positive one. In 1995, 60 per cent reported that job satisfaction over the last twelve months had either not changed (35 per cent), or had actually decreased (25 per cent). Just under one-quarter stated that their level of job satisfaction had increased. This was a slightly more positive picture than that painted by older workers.

In summary, and on a more positive note, young adults still remained more optimistic about the process of workplace change, than workers in other age categories. More than three-quarters reported being either 'better off' from workplace change (39 per cent) or 'the same' after the process of workplace change (39 per cent). Thirty per cent of prime age adults and one-quarter of mature age workers reported being better off after this process. Seventeen per cent of young adults actually indicated being 'worse off', and this was significantly lower than for workers aged 25 years and over. From this pattern, it appears that employee confidence in processes of workplace change declines as workers get older.

Involvement with and views on unions

Consideration of attitudes about work raises questions about how young adults negotiate issues at work. Engagement with unions provides a useful indicator of this issue.

Data on union membership levels are summarised in Table 13. It shows that membership levels are lowest among younger workers, grow as workers reach 'prime age', then drop radically as they get older. It also reveals a steady decline in membership levels for the young adults group, but one that is no more dramatic than occurring amongst other demographic groups. Despite this overall decline, union membership grows between the 15-19 age group and the 20-24 age group. Compared to other age groups membership levels for young adults are very low and falling. Prima facie this is indicative of a declining commitment to collectivism.

Table 13: Trade union membership (expressed as percentage), Australia, 1996

Age (yrs)	Full time			Part time			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
15-19	20	11	16	21	18	20	20	16	18
20-24	27	22	25	20	22	21	26	22	24
25-34	34	29	32	15	20	19	32	26	29
35-44	39	40	39	20	26	25	38	34	36
45-54	41	36	39	14	26	24	39	32	36
55-59	43	48	45	17	25	23	40	36	39
60-64	37	28	36	13	16	15	33	21	29
65+	25	22	25	4	9	6	15	12	14

Source: ABS Trade Union Members 1996, Catalogue no. 6325.0

Details of how membership levels vary by full time and part time status and gender are also provided in Table 13. The pattern of union membership for male and female part-time workers is slightly different. Membership among part time workers tends to be higher for women, than men. This trend appears to begin with young adults, and is maintained thereafter. The only exception to this trend is the 15-19 year age group, where union membership is higher among part time men.

Do these low membership levels reflect a declining level of interest in unions and the principles of unionism? Contrary to what the membership figures indicate, young workers appear to have more positive perceptions of unions than older workers, despite the low and apparently declining rates of union membership. In 1997, Newspoll conducted a nationwide survey into union attitudes among Australian workers. The Newspoll results are summarised in Tables 14 and 15.

Table 14: Attitudes to unions - all age groups, Australia 1997

Statement	Agreed (%)			
	18-24 yrs	25-34 yrs	35-49 yrs	50 + yrs
Trade unions don't effectively look after their members	27	51	40	44
If you were totally free to choose you'd rather be in a union than not in one	61	42	41	36
Australia would be better off without unions	14	31	22	26

Source: Newspoll 1997

Young adults were much more likely to express positive perceptions of unions generally, and indicated a greater propensity to join a union, compared to older workers. A little over one in four (27%) of young adults agreed with the statement 'trade unions don't effectively look after their members', compared to half of 25-34 year olds and more than 40 per cent of workers aged 35 years and over. Just over 10 per cent of young adults agreed that 'Australia would be better off without unions', compared to almost one-third of workers aged 25-34 years and approximately one-quarter of respondents aged 35 years and over. An overwhelming 60 per cent of young adults stated they would prefer to be in a union, than not be in one. Less than half of all workers aged 25 years and over indicated a willingness to join a union.

Table 15 provides insight to the issues young adults believe unions should prioritise.

Table 15: Issues ranked by 18-24 year olds as important for unions to address, Australia 1997

Issue	Ranking (%) Most important	2 nd most important	Issue ranked either 1 or 2*
Wages & conditions	34	28	31
OH & S	24	19	21.5
Training/career development	15	25	20
Job security	17	12	14.5
Workplace stress	1	11	6
Work & family	7	4	5.5
Don't know	2	1	1.5

Source: Newspoll 1997

*Note: This column is derived by adding columns 1 and 2 and dividing by 2.

Respondents were asked to nominate the two most important issues for unions to address in Australia. Seven possible alternatives were offered: Job security; improving wages and conditions; occupational health and safety; training and career development; balancing work and family; workplace stress; and don't know.

- Approximately one third nominated wages and conditions the most important issue for unions to address.
- Almost one-quarter nominated occupational health and safety as the most important issue.
- Job security was ranked first by only 17 per cent of young workers. Interestingly, job security is increasingly ranked as the most important issue by workers as age increases.
- Balancing work and family and workplace stress was ranked first by only 7 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

Material on young adults' views of management confirms that declining union membership rates do not necessarily mean satisfaction with or trust in management. Far from it. As Table 16 reveals less than half young adults were satisfied with their managers and just over a third trusted them. Prima facie this indicates that if workers could leave their managers as easily as they could leave their unions, we would be talking of a crisis in management.

Table 16: Satisfied with management treatment, Australia 1995

	15-20 years	21-24 years	25-54 years	55 years +
General satisfaction with management				
• Satisfied	56	44	43	55
• Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	24	28	26	21
• Dissatisfied	18	26	29	19
Management are trustworthy	50	36	32	43

Source: AWIRS 1995

Conclusion

Overall this material reveals that the work situation for many young Australian adults is changing dramatically. While employment opportunities have stagnated over the last decade, what opportunities are available are increasingly part time and casual. They also often appear to involve young adults undertaking study. Amongst part-timers, many want more hours, amongst full timers a significant proportion want less. Their attitudes to work indicate rising job insecurity.

This raises a number of important questions. Does an increased tendency for young adults to combine work and study indicate that young adults are being pro-active in the creation of career pathways? Do young adults who combine work and education recognise that the career opportunities once available through full time work are shrinking? Are these young adults more focused on developing their skill base through education, not their current job? In other words, is a part time or casual job defined primarily in financial and not career terms?

Despite low levels of union membership, there is also high support amongst young adults for unionism in the abstract. In short, it is a group that is working increasingly in marginal jobs that combine this form of employment with education. Their views about work, management, and unions reveal they are a potential source of union growth and renewal. Whether this potential is realised is an open question.

From a public policy perspective the prime work-related issue for policy would appear to be establishing a better of matching of employment and education arrangements. To date, the large growth in young adult workers undertaking study appears to have grown in an ad hoc fashion. The challenge appears to be achieving a better fit between work and education, to see if activities in these spheres can be mutually reinforcing, instead of coexisting in totally unconnected ways.

References

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) *Labour Force Australia* Catalogue no. 6203.0 (various editions) ABS Canberra
- ABS 1998 *Labour Mobility* Catalogue no. 6209.0 (unpublished and published data from various editions) ABS Canberra.
- ABS 1993 *Survey of Training and Education* (unpublished data)
- ABS *Trade Union Members Australia* Catalogue no. 6352 (unpublished and published data - various editions) ABS Canberra
- ABS *Transition from Education to Work* Catalogue no. 6227 (various editions) ABS Canberra
- ABS *Underemployed Workers* Catalogue no. 6265.0 (various editions) ABS Canberra
- Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (AWIRS) 1995 Employee Survey (unpublished data)
- Campbell I 1998 Labour restructuring and the growth of casual employment in Australia, 1982-1996, Unpublished thesis, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne
- Lauritsen J 1995 'Un and under employment' *Youth Studies Australia* 14, 2, Winter: 32-36
- Roy Morgan Research, Morgan Polls 1984-1997
- Newspoll Market Research 1997 (unpublished results)
- Peetz D 1997 'Why bother? Union membership and apathy' *Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion Paper no 357*, January, Australian National University CEPR Canberra
- Peetz D 1997a 'The Accord, compulsory unionism and the paradigm shift in Australian union membership' *Centre for Economic Policy Research Discussion paper no 358*, January, Australian National University CEPR Canberra
- Senate Employment Education and Training References Committee 1995 *Report on the Inquiry into Long Term Unemployment* October Canberra Commonwealth of Australia
- Wooden M 1998 'Is job stability really declining?' *ABL* 24, 3, September: 186-193
- Wooden M 1998a 'The labour market for young Australians' *Australia's Youth: Reality and Risk*, Dusseldorp Skills Forum, Sydney, March: 29-50