

Australia's Youth: Reality and Risk

Youth Incomes

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Summary

- There was great diversity in the activities and income levels of 15 to 19 year olds.
- Many have no income at all and are dependent on their parents. This proportion increased significantly between 1982 and 1994-95.
- The average income of those 15 to 19 year olds receiving some income was \$150 a week in 1994-95, and had fallen significantly in real terms since 1982.
- There was a large increase in the proportion of 15 to 19 year olds studying and also a large increase in the proportion of 15 to 19 year old students working.
- Incomes of all part-time workers in the 15 to 19 population (including students) fell by nearly 30 per cent between 1982 and 1994-95.
- The incomes of full-time workers also fell, but by much less than part-time workers. There was a big drop in the number of 15 to 19 year olds working full-time.
- Teenage unemployment has increased and the proportion of them with no income has also increased, as the eligibility criteria for government payments have become more stringent. For those unemployed 15 to 19 year olds receiving an income, real income levels have fallen slightly since 1982.

Introduction

Collecting and analysing income data about young people is notoriously difficult. Young people tend to be under-represented in sample surveys, particularly in income surveys, which have always tended to have higher non-response rates than the monthly labour force survey. The non-response is also selective; the surveys include more couples and families with children and fewer single people (Landt et al 1994)¹.

More importantly, the incomes of young people tend to fluctuate over the course of a single year. Young people are more likely to move between activities – studying, employment or unemployment – than are those in older age groups. This is because older people tend to have a more stable existence due to the pressures associated with family and career not generally faced by young people. This report examines the incomes of 15 to 19 year olds in 1994-95, using data from the most recent income survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for which detailed data are available. The populations referred to when calculating average incomes do not include respondents with zero or negative incomes unless otherwise specified. Where possible comparisons are made with earlier income survey data from 1982².

The next section discusses the incomes of all 15 to 19 year olds in receipt of an income. The incomes of young people, as with the rest of the population, vary according to their labour force status, or for young people more specifically, according to their employment/study status. In the sections that follow, young people's incomes are analysed in terms of their employment/study status. Because the circumstances of those 15 to 19 year olds who are still at school are often different to those teenagers who have left school their incomes are examined separately in this paper. The incomes of school students are excluded from the analysis in the other parts of the paper which examine the incomes of those are working, students studying at tertiary institutions and those who are

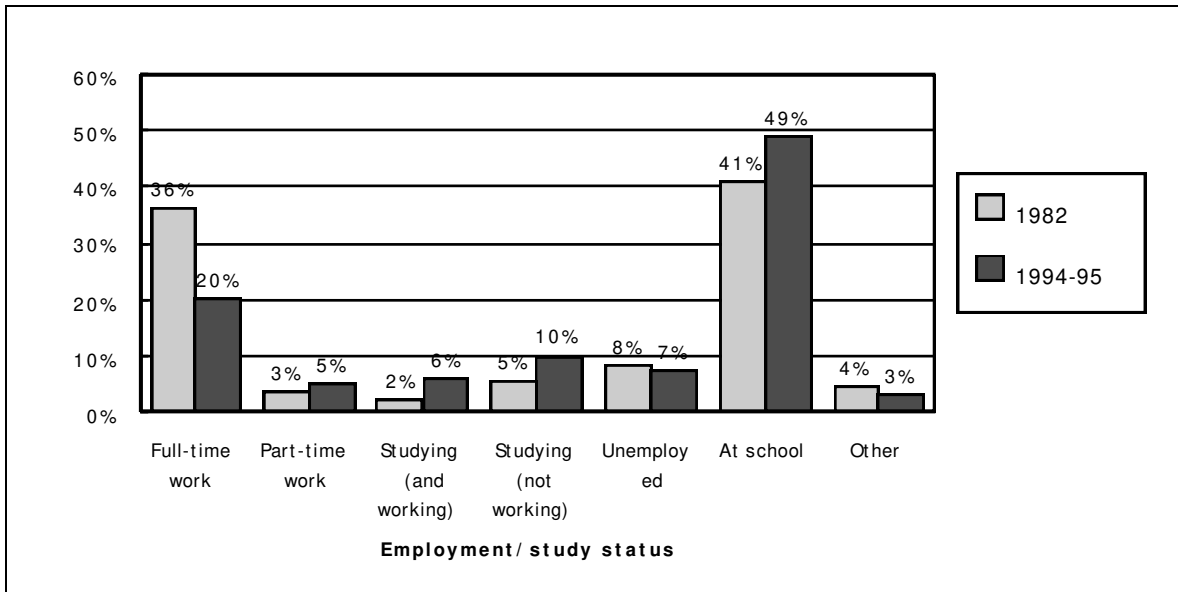
¹ The 1994 ABS Income Survey shows 1,215,144 persons aged 15 to 19. The ABS Estimated Resident Population at June 1994 shows 1,278,842 (which also included people in institutions who are excluded from the Income Survey). The ABS seeks to correct the non-response by reweighting the records according to age, sex and state of residence. It is likely however, that the higher non-response among young people may introduce some non-quantifiable bias into the Income Survey data regardless of the reweighting carried out.

² Unfortunately it was not possible to compare the 1994-95 incomes with data from the 1990 Income Survey, as it was not possible to isolate 15 to 19 year olds in the 1990 data. In the 1982 Income Survey income data for school students was not collected. It needs to be noted that another difference between the current weekly income data for 1982 and 1994/95 is that the 1982 current weekly incomes were collected in the December quarter, whereas the 1994/95 current weekly incomes were collected throughout the year.

unemployed³.

Figure 1 shows that there has been a significant fall in the proportion of teenagers working full-time, while during the same period there has been a rise in the proportion of teenagers working part-time. Structural changes to the labour market and a reassessment by employers and policy makers of the occupational skills required have fundamentally altered the types and expanded the range of decisions young people entering the labour market must make. The increase in the proportion of young people studying at tertiary institutions provides further evidence of the changes that have occurred during the last 15 years. Significantly, the proportion of young people who continue their studies as full-time students after leaving school more than doubled between 1982 and 1994-95.

Figure 1: Proportion of 15 to 19 year olds by employment/study status 1982 and 1994-95



Source: ABS 1982 and 1994-95 Income Surveys, Unit Record Files

Incomes

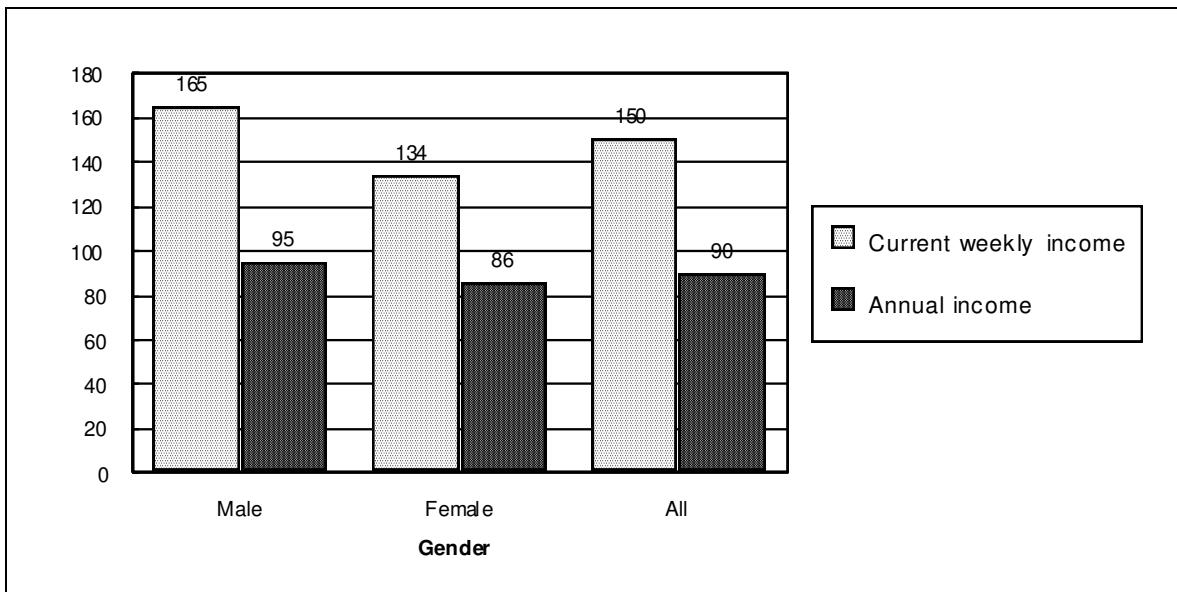
When analysing young people's incomes it is important to capture the diversity of the activities undertaken by 15 to 19 year olds. In this report, we analyse weekly rather than annual incomes, and relate these incomes to the

³ There is some overlap between the populations of 15 to 19 year olds who are working and those studying at a tertiary institution where people were studying *and* working during the reference week. In the Income Survey tertiary education refers to any educational institution offering post-school courses (including TAFE).

circumstances of young people during that same weekly period. By using current weekly incomes we have sought to avoid some of the difficulties associated with the use of average annual incomes.

Because average annual incomes refer to income received during the previous year, rather than reflecting the situation of the respondents at the time the survey was administered, the relationship between the income and the current labour force status of the respondent is not always clear⁴. Young peoples' labour force activity tends to be characterised by a relatively high degree of fluidity as they move in and out of the labour force. When examining the incomes of young people, in particular, it is important to attempt to account for this fluidity rather than disguise any variance in incomes that may be associated with labour force activity, particularly the move to an independent income or from education to employment. As Figure 2 shows, the annual incomes of both male and female 15 to 19 year olds are much lower than their weekly incomes during the periods in the year they are receiving some income, as the annual incomes include periods when little or no income may have been received.

Figure 2: Average current weekly and annual incomes of 15-19 year olds, by gender, 1994-95



Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

Table 1 compares the current labour force status of 15 to 19 year olds with their labour force status six months earlier, and shows significant movements between work, unemployment and study (the majority of those identified in table 1 as

⁴ No detailed information is collected about changes in the study or labour force status of the respondent during the previous twelve months.

'not in the labour force'). Significantly, 30 per cent of all 15-19 year olds changed their main activity at least once in only a six month period.

The overall level of unemployment remained largely unchanged during the period examined. However, only a quarter of those identified as unemployed in the first period were still unemployed six months later. This fluidity between activities is a significant cause of the generally low average incomes of young Australians.

Most 15 to 19 year olds live in multi-person households. Table 2 shows the majority (61%) still live with their parents as a dependent child, many of these teenagers are still at school. There are, in addition, others who are single but not dependent on their parents. Those living at home will often receive support from their parents in the form of cash transfers, while nearly all will receive in-kind transfers in the form of food and accommodation. The full value of these transfers between family members living in the same household is not captured in the income survey and therefore, cannot be included in the analysis presented here. Likewise, others may receive little assistance – and as a result be struggling (at school or elsewhere), but we are unable to separately identify them from young people receiving support that is not disclosed in the income survey data.

The impact of these transfers on consumption patterns and decisions regarding entry into (or exit out of) the labour market is often significant. Being able to enjoy the luxury of having few or no expenses will often negate the need for a regular income. However, those who receive little assistance (particularly those who are not living as a dependent child with their parents but have, instead, decided to pursue personal and financial independence outside the family home) are confronted with a set of pressures that make the need for regular income imperative. The fact that so many young people continue to live at home with their parents differentiates them from the rest of the population, and further highlights the difficulties that characterise any analysis of the incomes of young people.

Table 1: Current (1994-95) labour force status of 15 to 19 year olds compared to labour force status six months earlier

	Labour force status six months earlier			All %
	Working	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	
	% of 15-19 year olds			
Current labour force status				
Working	34	3	5	41
Unemployed	5	3	3	11
Not in the labour force	10	6	32	48
All	48	12	40	100

Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

Table 2: Income characteristics of 15 to 19 year olds by family status, 1994-95

Family type	Proportion of 15 - 19 year olds (%)	Proportion with zero income (%)	Current weekly income* (\$)
Dependent child living with parents	61	28	71
Member of couple with dependent children	1	0	181
Member of couple without dependent children	1	0	231
Sole parent with dependent children	1	0	254
Single person	36	4	223
ALL	100	32	150

Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

* 15 to 19 year olds with zero incomes are not included in the average incomes.

Without longitudinal data and/or data that clearly relates the incomes of young people to that of their parents, regardless of whether they are living at home or not, it is difficult to undertake comprehensive analysis of youth incomes in the same way, or in the same detail, as for the rest of the population. Because of the large numbers of young people who receive little or no income, conventional approaches to the analysis of income inequality or poverty have only limited application. By most standards someone with no reported income, or with an income considerably lower than the median income, is regarded as 'poor' or 'in poverty'. To analyse the incomes of young people in isolation from the incomes of their parents would produce misleading results about the number of young people who are poor or below traditional poverty standards, unless the income and resources of the income unit of which they are a part are also analysed and unless the extent of intra income unit transfers is also ascertained. For these reasons many studies of poverty or income distribution exclude young people (particularly those living at home).

Consider, for example, the resources available to a student or an unemployed youth receiving government assistance who has left the security of home to go in search of work in another area to those available to a comparable young person continuing to live at home. Despite receiving little or no regular income from external sources the young person living at home is often able to enjoy the benefits of the greater pool of resources available to the household or income unit of which he or she is a part. Of the 61 per cent of 15 to 19 year olds still living at home more than a quarter do not receive any income, while less than 5 per cent of those living away from home independently and virtually none of those with children or living as a couple, receive no income.

While living at home generates little need for income, the perception, and the reality, of low incomes for young people, and disincentives in the form of often very limited access to government assistance, must act as a strong inducement for many young people to remain at home and seek support from their parents despite the difficulties this may create for the parent(s) and/or the young person. The policies of government, particularly changes to access to government benefits and AUSTUDY lend weight to the view that this prolonged dependence is something successive governments have been keen to encourage. Simultaneously they have supported the view that the responsibility for the education and welfare of young people should fall on the individual or their family and not the state.

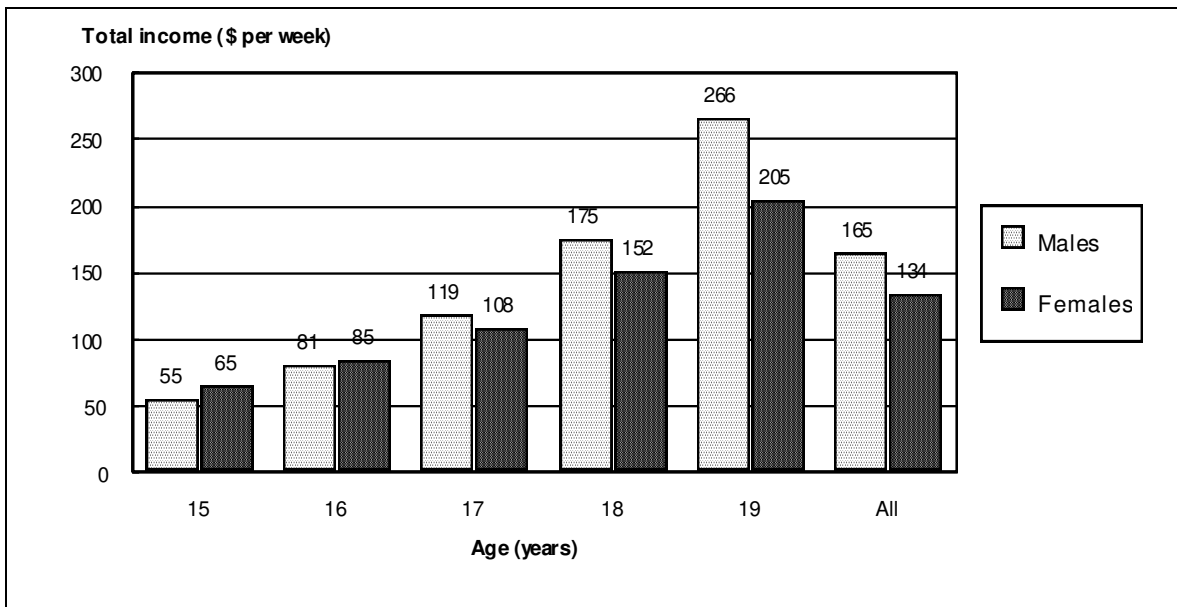
During 1994-95 Australia's 15 to 19 year olds received incomes of \$150 a week on average⁵. Young men had higher average incomes than young women (\$165 a week compared to \$134 a week - see figure 3), and older teenagers had higher

⁵ The average incomes exclude zero and negative incomes.

weekly incomes than younger. In the 15 to 16 year age group females had higher average incomes than males – this is the only instance where women have higher average incomes than men of the same age. By age 17 average male incomes are higher, as they are for all other age groups across the life cycle.

Of all those aged 15-19 years in 1994-95, 68 per cent received some income. However, only 32 per cent of 15 year olds received some income, compared to 85 per cent of those aged 18-19. There was little difference in the proportions of males and females who received some income. The proportion of 15 to 19 year who had left school⁶ and had no income increased from 9 per cent to 15 per cent between 1982 and 1994-95.

Figure 3: Mean weekly total incomes of 15 to 19 year olds receiving income, by age and gender, 1994-95



Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

⁶ As no income information was collected from school students in 1982, they are not included in this comparison.

Table 3 compares the incomes of young people according to their employment or education status, and shows the diversity in the levels of income received by those in the 15 to 19 population. Young people who are working (but not studying) have the highest average incomes (\$269 a week), followed by those in the 'other' category many of whom are part-time students, and those combining work and full-time study (\$142 a week). The income levels of those just studying (\$71 a week) and the unemployed (\$90 a week) reflect the comparatively low level of government income support provided to young people and the effect of parental income tests. Additionally, 22 per cent of those at school, 5 per cent of the unemployed and 4 per cent of those studying (but not also working) have no incomes at all⁷.

Table 3: Mean weekly total incomes and proportions of 15 to 19 year olds receiving income, by age group and employment/study status, 1994-95

Age	At school		Studying (not working)		Studying (and working)		Work only		Unemp'd		Other		Total	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
15	45	8%	.	.	10	1%	172	1%	.	.	.	.	60	9%
16-17	62	23%	43	2%	116	1%	195	8%	77	2%	192	3%	99	38%
18-19	77	5%	78	7%	148	7%	303	21%	97	5%	258	7%	204	52%
All	60	36%	71	9%	142	9%	269	29%	90	7%	238	10%	150	100%

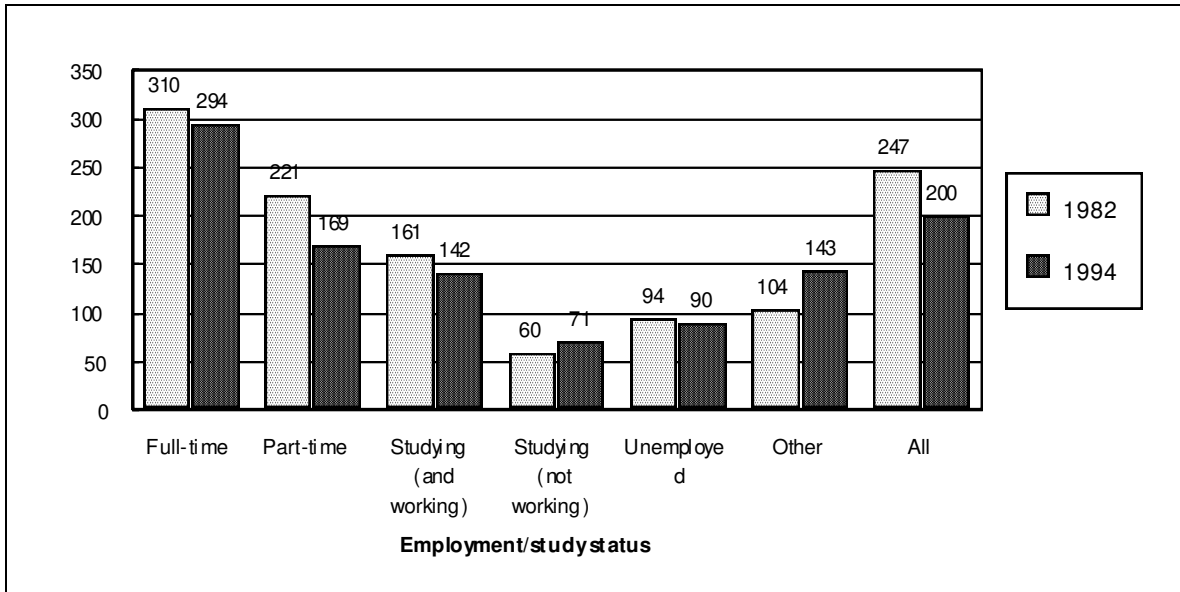
Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

There has been a marked decline in the average real incomes of 15 to 19 year olds (excluding school students) between 1982 and 1994-95. Figure 4 shows that in 1982 the average income of 15 to 19 year olds was \$247 a week⁸, by 1994 this had fallen 19 per cent to \$200. This earnings erosion has impacted most severely on the incomes of part-time workers; the average income of part-time workers in 1994-95 was 24 per cent lower than in 1982. The average incomes received by students in higher education who were not also working in 1994-95 were 17 per cent higher than those earned by students in 1982, the only case where incomes actually increased over the period (aside from those in the 'other' group).

⁷ These records were not included when calculating the average incomes shown in the table.

⁸ Income values for 1982 have been converted to 1994 dollars.

Figure 4: Estimated real average current weekly incomes of 15-19 year olds receiving income and not attending school by employment/study status, 1982 and 1994-95 (\$1994-95)



Source: ABS 1982 & 1994-95 Income Surveys, Unit Record Files

At school

Around 50 per cent of 15 to 19 year olds are still at school, and half of this group (25 per cent of the total 15 to 19 population) reported nil incomes. Those who were still at school had the lowest average incomes of all 15 to 19 year olds. This was most true for the younger members of this group where average current weekly incomes (of those reporting some income) were only \$50 for females and less than \$40 for males.

The vast majority (95%) of those still at school live at home and, in many cases, have little need for an independent income in order to live as their weekly expenses are low and most of their basic needs are paid for by their parents. Despite living at home and often enjoying the support of their parents, around half of those still at school and living at home do earn an income, averaging \$60 a week (table 4). The principal source of this income was wages and salaries.

Table 4: Mean weekly total incomes and proportions of 15 to 19 year olds at school and receiving income and proportions with zero income, by gender and age group, 1994-95

		Proportion with zero income (%)	Proportion of 15 to 19 year olds at school (%)	Current weekly income (\$)
Male	15	15	20	38
	16-17	11	27	60
	18-19	1	5	86
	All	27	51	59
Female	15	12	18	50
	16-17	11	27	64
	18-19	0	4	68
	All	23	49	62
All		50	100	60

Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

Around a third of all school students had part-time employment and earned on average \$62 a week. Female school students with part-time jobs earned slightly more than males and more women than men had jobs (particularly in the younger age groups).

Many of the school students who did not have jobs still received some income - the principal source being AUSTUDY or ABSTUDY. The average incomes of this group, at \$16 a week, were significantly lower than for those in employment.

The ABS income surveys did not collect any income information from school students prior to the 1994-95 survey. Thus it was not possible to compare the incomes of school students in 1994-95 with earlier data.

Working

Around a third of the 15 to 19 year old population who have left school are working either full or part-time, and a third of those who are working are also studying. There has been a very large increase in the proportion of the youth population combining work and study since the early eighties (see Figure 1).

Table 5 shows that two thirds of those in employment are employed full-time and one third part-time. A higher proportion of males than females are

employed full-time, and a higher proportion of females than males are employed part-time.

Table 5: Mean real weekly wages and salaries and proportions of 15 to 19 year olds employed full or part-time, by age group and gender, 1982 and 1994-95 (\$1994)

		Full-time				Part-time				Total			
		Mean weekly wages and salaries (\$)		Proportion of 15 to 19 year olds working full-time (%)		Mean weekly wages and salaries (\$)		Proportion of 15 to 19 year olds working part-time (%)		Mean weekly wages and salaries (\$)		Proportion of 15 to 19 year olds working (%)	
		1982	1994	1982	1994	1982	1994	1982	1994	1982	1994	1982	1994
Male	15	225	171	1	1	.	.	.	.	225	171	1	1
	16-17	249	217	17	10	176	90	1	2	244	197	18	12
	18-19	359	319	31	32	168	123	3	10	342	272	34	43
	All	319	291	49	44	170	118	4	12	308	253	53	56
Female	15	202	228	1	1	111	39	.	.	176	173	1	1
	16-17	234	208	13	7	161	111	2	4	223	172	15	11
	18-19	329	327	25	15	189	133	5	17	306	225	30	32
	All	295	287	39	23	178	127	8	21	276	210	47	44
All		310	290	88	67	174	123	12	33	293	234	100	100

Source: ABS 1982 and 1994-95 Income Surveys, Unit Record Files

Table 5 also shows average wages of those in employment. In 1994-95 wages made up around 95 per cent of the total incomes of this group. The table shows that males and females employed full-time had similar average wages (\$291 a week for males and \$287 a week for females) in 1994-95 but that in 1982 women earned 8 per cent less than men aged 15 to 19. As expected, average wages are much higher among the older age groups. For both males and females, the wages and salaries of those in the 18 to 19 year group are significantly higher than those of younger teenagers. In 1994-95 average part-time wages were around two-fifths the level of full-time wages, whereas in 1982 average part-time wages were over half the level of average full-time wages.

At \$290 per week in 1994-95 the average full-time wage of 15 to 19 year olds is

very low in comparison to the rest of the population. In August 1994 the average weekly earnings (AWE) for all adult persons working full-time was \$661 a week – more than double the average wages and salaries of 15 to 19 year olds working full-time.

In 1994-95 young working people tended to be concentrated in service related industries (69%). Around 40 per cent of all 15 to 19 year olds were employed in wholesale and retail trade while only 14 per cent were employed in manufacturing.

The types of jobs that young people gain as they enter the work-force often do not require formal qualifications and are casual part-time jobs. Most of those aged 15 to 19 either do not have any post-school qualifications or are in the process of acquiring them. The decline in the availability of full-time jobs and the corresponding increase in the availability of part-time employment opportunities is generally perceived as having negative consequences for young people, in particular for those not studying and who would in earlier times have been able to gain full-time employment. In contrast to the certainty that the inevitability of full-time employment once brought their parents, the labour market experiences of these young people are often characterised by casual insecure forms of employment.

Not only is the employment insecure but many survive on only a part-time wage when they would prefer full-time work despite their living costs (including cost of work costs such as clothing and transport) being the same as those of full-time workers. Part-time employment may also limit young people's attachment to the labour market, and make it harder for them to become permanent participants in the labour force, while opportunities for work-related training are usually more limited for part-time and casual employees.

For many young students income from employment finances their studies. In a period where the access to government assistance, like AUSTUDY, has been tightened as a result of wider and tougher means testing and narrowing eligibility criteria, employment has become a vital source of income for many, and the source of additional stress for those students with heavy study requirements.

Overall, 33 percent of employed 15-19 year olds were working part-time in 1994-95, but in the wholesale and retail trade industries and the accommodation, cafes and restaurants industries 51 per cent and 67 per cent respectively were employed part-time, compared to only 17 per cent in the manufacturing industry.

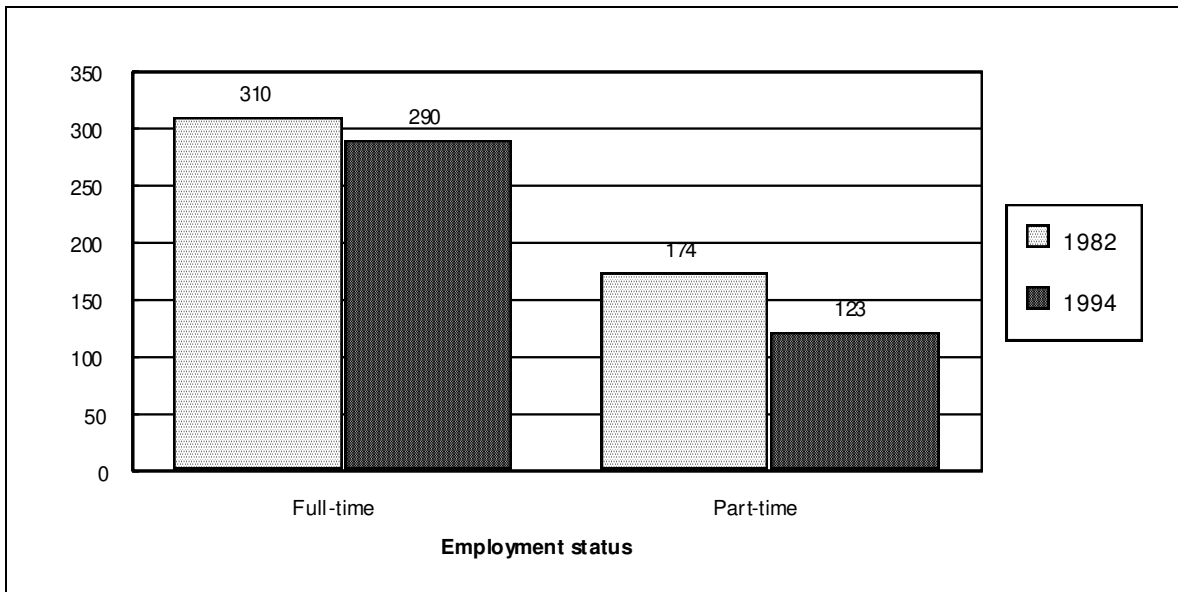
Figure 5 shows there has been a significant fall in the real wages and salaries of young people between 1982 and 1994-95. This overall fall had a greater impact

for those working part-time, with wages and salaries falling by 29 per cent⁹. The average wage of full-time workers aged 15 to 19 in 1994 was 6 per cent less than it was in 1982. In contrast, the average incomes of *all* wage and salary earners aged 15-64 actually increased during the same period. The average real wages of all persons working full-time increased by 6 per cent, and wages and salaries of all part-time workers rose by 1 per cent. There is currently much debate about the main reasons for falls in the earnings of young people (see Wooden, 1996). The decrease may reflect changes in the type of employment young people are now engaging in (principally the shift toward employment in the service sector), or changes in hours worked, or changes in the age at which young people commence employment (particularly full-time employment) or possibly a decrease in the bargaining power of young people in the workplace (for instance when competing for part-time jobs with people for whom part-time employment is optional).

It also needs to be noted that the real declines in the wage levels of young people have occurred despite the increase in casual employment – which often involves the cashing out of leave entitlements.

The reduction in the average incomes of teenagers highlights the effect of increased reliance on part-time workers by employers and the negative effect this has had on the earnings of young people.

Figure 5: Estimated real average wage and salary incomes of employed 15-19 year olds by employment status 1982 and 1994-95 (\$1994-95)



Source: ABS 1982 & 1994-95 Income Surveys, Unit Record File

⁹ Figure 5 refers to average weekly income from wages and salaries, the data in figure 4 refers to average current weekly income from all sources.

Studying

This section focuses on the 40 per cent of the 15 to 19 year olds who have left school and in 1994-95 were studying at a tertiary institution. Seventy-two per cent of all tertiary students were studying full-time and 28 percent were part-time in 1994/95. Around half of all students were also working (Table 3). There has been a massive increase in the number of students studying full-time between 1982 and 1994-5, more than doubling from around 93,000 to 194,000¹⁰.

Table 6 shows that there are significant differences in the main income sources of the full and part-time students. Part-time students are virtually totally reliant on wages for their main source of income, whereas the full-time students have a range of principal income sources.

Because parental support to students living at home is not included in the income survey data, the most common principal income source of full-time students is wages (received by around a third of full-time students), followed by government study assistance and other income sources including assistance from other family members¹¹. Over a quarter of the full-time students disclosed no income at all, compared to less than 1 per cent of the part-time students.

The proportion of full-time students with no income has marginally decreased since the 1982 income survey. This small change is, however, the net outcome of some large changes in the pattern: the large increase in the proportion of students working and receiving wages, which has outweighed the effects of tighter eligibility conditions imposed on study assistance payments.

As outlined earlier the real income levels of students who were also working fell between 1982 and 1994-95. In contrast the incomes of students who were not also working increased in real terms due to real increases in the level of government assistance (although this assistance was rationed more tightly)¹².

Table 6: Principal income sources and proportions of 15 to 19 year olds receiving income in full and part-time study, by age group, 1994-95 (%)

¹⁰ Part-time study was not identified in the 1982 income survey.

¹¹ This is only recorded on the income survey data for those students living away from home.

¹² In real terms there was an increase in the potential amount of income assistance provided to full-time students between 1982 and 1994. In 1982 the maximum weekly rates were \$60 (in 1994 dollars) for those living at home and \$94 (in 1994 dollars) for those living independently. In 1994 the maximum standard rate for dependent students aged under 18 was \$66.15 per week or \$109.20 for those living away. For those aged 18 or more the maximum standard rates in 1994 were \$79.55 at home or \$120.75 for those living away from home.

		Zero income	Wages and salaries	AUSTUDY-ABSTUDY	Persons not living in the same house	Other income	Total
Full-time	Male	10	11	6	3	4	34
	Female	10	12	11	1	4	38
	All	19	23	18	4	8	72
Part-time	Male	.	16	.	.	1	17
	Female	1	8	.	.	2	11
	All	1	24	.	.	3	28
All		20	47	18	4	11	100

Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

* For those students living at home there was no data recorded about transfers within the household.

Unemployed

Around 12 per cent of the 15 to 19 year population covered by the 1994-95 income survey were unemployed (around 148,000 persons). Table 7 shows the average income of those receiving some income was \$79 a week. Nearly half of those who were unemployed had no income (47 per cent) and were nearly all living at home with their parents, despite their parents having lower average incomes than the families of other 15 to 19 year olds.

The proportion of unemployed 15 to 19 year olds with no income had more than doubled since 1982, when only 22 per cent had no income. This decline is primarily due to the more stringent eligibility criteria for unemployment benefits introduced progressively since the mid-1980s. For those living at home the income and assets of their parents were included in assessing their eligibility and the real value of payments fell (Whitlock 1993, p.79). For those living away from home, more stringent assessment of independence from family was applied, which reduced the numbers receiving the payment, but payment rates were increased in real terms (Whitlock *op cit*). Overall, the real incomes of those unemployed 15 to 19 year olds receiving some income fell by around 5 per cent between 1982 and 1994-95.

It needs to be noted that the proportion of the unemployed with no income is partly the result of the transitory nature of unemployment amongst the young, which was described earlier. Some of those with no income are between jobs, others are waiting for social security payments to begin.

Table 7: Mean weekly total incomes and proportions of unemployed 15 to

**19 year olds receiving income and proportions with zero income,
by age group and whether living at home or away, 1994-95**

		Percentage of unemployed 15 to 19 year olds (%)	Percentage with zero income (%)	Mean total income of those with some income (\$pw)
At home	15 years	12.5	12.5	0
	16-17 years	40.1	21.5	67
	18-19 years	40.6	12.7	74
Away from home	15 years	0.0	0.0	.
	16-17 years	0.5	0.0	108
	18-19 years	6.2	0.7	139
All		100.0	47.4	79

Source: ABS 1994-95 Income Survey, Unit Record File

Conclusion

This report has highlighted the great diversity in activities and income levels of 15 to 19 year olds.

Many have no income at all and are dependent on their parents. This proportion increased significantly between 1982 and 1994-95.

There was a large increase in the proportion studying and also a large increase in the proportion of 15 to 19 year old students working.

Incomes of all part-time workers in the 15 to 19 population (including students) fell by nearly 30 per cent between 1982 and 1994-95.

The incomes of full-time workers also fell, but by much less than part-time workers. There was a big drop in the number of 15 to 19 year olds working full-time.

The proportion of unemployed 15 to 19 year olds with no income increased as the eligibility criteria for government payments have become more stringent. For those unemployed 15 to 19 year olds receiving an income, real income levels have fallen slightly since 1982.

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