

TRANSITIONS IN THE HAWKES BAY LABOUR MARKET: UNPAID WORK AND PAID WORK

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INTRODUCTION

One of the major problems for policy makers wanting to address a host of labour market issues is the absence of sound empirical knowledge on the functioning of the labour market at the micro-level of households and firms. Most of the relevant research has been confined to macro economic analyses derived from what is often acknowledged as a limited database, principally the Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS). However, the significance of collapsing or ignoring the differences between individuals and households should not be underestimated. Research that treats the households as a unit tends to under-estimate the actions and aspirations of individuals, as well as the significance of power differentials within the household. Conversely, research that treats households as atomistic individuals, divorced from any collective reality, negates the highly complex rules and practices that govern the behaviour and actions of the household. As in any other social organisation, households involve power differentials which are derived from market and work situations originating from both inside and outside the home and from agreements which are forged between individual members of the household. The organisational behaviour of individuals in households is at the centre of this study, because these behaviours vary between sections of the population and they change over the lifecycle of the household.

Although there is evidence to show that the burden of unemployment falls more heavily upon some individuals and groups rather than others (Task Force, 1994; Shirley et al, 1990), there is limited knowledge of the processes that operate within regional labour markets and even less information on the dynamic relationship between individuals, households and paid employment. We do not know the basis on which individuals make decisions about economic participation and we are not able to say how various factors impact on these decisions. It was this set of deficiencies in labour market information which prompted the current study.

The research programme on Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation, which has been funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST), has been specifically designed to study labour force dynamics and transitions. This was one of the major deficiencies in labour market statistics identified in the 1993 review conducted by Dennis Rose (1993:39). In focusing on the micro-level of households and individuals, the aim has been to generate new data based on an innovative methodology which examines the labour market 'transitions' experienced by individuals as they move from one labour market status to another. Such transitions include those from unpaid to paid work, from unemployment to work, and from training to employment. The reverse transitions are of equal interest. An emphasis on the interface between households and employment has meant that the research programme can explore how individuals make decisions about access to, and participation in, the labour market. Being set within the context of the 'lifecycle' has allowed a particular emphasis on identifying how household attributes, perceptions and incentive structures impact on individual choices and options. As part of this, the influence of factors such as age, education, ethnicity, gender, income, regional location and work experience can be assessed. From a theoretical perspective, the study is aimed at complementing our existing knowledge as to how labour markets clear and why. In relation to policy, it should provide valuable information that can be used in addressing unemployment and in designing targeted labour market policies.

The approach that was used in this study can be divided into two distinct phases. The first phase involved the administration of a structured questionnaire which was designed to gather basic household data (thereby ensuring compatibility with the HLFS administered by Statistics New Zealand on a quarterly basis). This was followed by interviews with individuals drawn from a smaller random sample of the households involved in the initial survey. A life events and work histories matrix was developed during these interviews and in-depth information was gathered on the attitudes and experiences of individuals in the labour market over the ten-year period, 1985 to 1995.

The research programme was conceived as an exploratory study of three distinctive labour markets. In 1995-96, Hawkes Bay was surveyed and this region was followed in 1997/98 by West Auckland and Tokoroa. Each of these regional labour markets appears to be quite distinctive and it is anticipated that each region in turn should provide valuable insights into the functioning of labour markets at the micro level of individuals and households. This report details the findings of the **qualitative** analysis of interviews conducted in the Hawkes Bay region and a summary of the make up of the sample of household and individuals interviewed and profiled is provided shortly. Hawkes Bay is an area with clearly defined geographical boundaries. The target area has a population of approximately 140,000 which is dominated by two cities and corresponds with the area administered by the Hawkes Bay Regional Council. Households in the region are diverse, thereby reflecting an adequate mix of different household types, and a variety of social, cultural and economic groups. It is a structurally diverse region with a mixture of light industry, agriculture, horticulture, aquaculture, forestry and service industries. Over recent years, the local economy has experienced both contraction and expansion as firms and households in the region have adjusted to economic rationalisation and the restructuring of government services. Hawkes Bay is well serviced by local and central government agencies and it contains a wide range of educational services based in the public and private sectors.

As well as detailing the findings of the qualitative study conducted in the Hawkes Bay region, this working paper also canvasses two important facets of the research programme. Firstly, there is an exploration of the concept of transitions, as employed in this study. Then the methodology used to gather and examine the interview data is outlined and discussed. This involved the use of life and work histories, semi-structured in-depth interviewing, and a range of analytical tools. Both of these are considered in greater detail in a forthcoming working paper.

‘TRANSITIONS’ – CONCEPT AND METHODOLOGY

Though the term transition is frequently used in labour market analysis and discussion, what is contained in this choice of word is a wealth of contextual detail. By its very nature, a transitional perspective emphasises the dynamic quality of such markets and focuses on “flows and not stocks” and can “reveal and explain patterns ... during the lifecycle of individuals or groups” (Schmid et al, 1999:268). Thus, although our use of the term transition incorporates the common meaning of the word – a movement or shift from one state or point to another – we develop the concept more fully to achieve such an emphasis and focus. In doing so we seek to identify the array of starting points and outcomes that can make up a transition and unpack the mix of contexts, influences and processes that are integral to any shift. The result is a detailed analysis of change at the micro-level of the labour market.

Such analysis is important for a range of reasons, one being that the labour market itself is undergoing significant change. Schmid et al (1999:268) conceptualise these changes, in part, as a greater blurring of the borderlines between gainful dependent labour market work and other productive activities. They note that the “‘standard labour contract’ is fading, but we do not know yet which new standards will develop”. A transitional focus serves as one approach to analysing these changes. However, since paid work no longer necessarily forms the outcome of, or even the motivation for, some transitions, for approach to be valuable it also becomes necessary to understand work in its broadest sense.

People’s work experiences across any period can be summarised in their work histories that are, in turn, composed of their work profiles – the combination of work activities that they were involved in at any one time. Transitions are changes to those profiles. Whilst thinking of transitions easily brings to mind shifts such as a move from unemployment to paid work, our use of this concept also encompasses more subtle and multi-layered change. Thus, transitions need not only occur when one type of work is substituted with something else or when there is a complete shift from one status to another. Rather, they can be signalled by the changing composition or shifting balance of activities within the mix of people’s various work responsibilities. That is, when a person’s work profile is altered but not necessarily completely changed nor entirely replaced.

The broad notion of work adopted here means that it would be highly unlikely that a person’s profile could be described in terms of just one role. Though many of those interviewed in this study certainly seemed to have a predominant role or responsibility, blurring was evident as each person also took on other secondary roles or activities. Accordingly, when change occurs – at either primary or secondary level – we need to consider how different aspects of a person’s profile complement, compete or conflict with one another as a result of any shift. Importantly, we also need to be alert to continuity. The maintenance of stable profiles and periods without change can be of equal interest and significance. In general, work histories were usually quite dynamic, though there was wide variation in the frequency, nature and degree of any changes, and people often demonstrated phases of relative stability or volatility.

Transitions can occur in a range of ways. In some cases they were forced on people while others were made by choice. Though certain transitions were sudden and complete – such as when a person lost a job – the study also revealed transitioning that was prolonged as people worked progressively towards a longer-term goal through intermediate shifts. Such shifts, though transitions in their own right, can also be seen as parts of a larger process. As such, they could be disjointed and unanticipated or show varying degrees of continuity, coherence and predictability. In each case there is undoubted value in focusing on the intermediate steps – which was, itself, a significant part of this study – but by drawing these into a larger or longer-term picture, equally important insights are generated.

The context in which transitions occur also forms an integral part of understanding and describing them. Context can be viewed on a number of levels and in relation to a range of factors and perspectives. These levels take in considerations beyond the household – to the local community, the industry or sector, and to the regional and national situation. Various perspectives – such as social, cultural, economic and political viewpoints – might be considered at any level. Factors that could be addressed include issues such as gender, class, ethnicity, age and so on. The subjective as well as objective dimensions of transitions – that is, the experience of the transition from the perspective of those involved as well as how it appears to an observer – also need to be incorporated. Even if transitions appear by name to be of a similar kind, their objective circumstances can still be very different. Consider, for example, all the variations possible under the heading of ‘redundancy’. The subjective dimension provides insights into how individuals and their families understand, experience and respond to the transition.

Whilst each person’s transitions, profiles and histories can stand alone and be analysed separately, they also inter-weave to form a larger picture that exposes the intimate relationships between the actions of spouses and partners. It is not hard to see how one person’s transition can affect others in the household. However, there can also be a complex inter-relationship between the transitions of spouses and partners. An obvious example would be how couples organise the care of children and other unpaid work, and consequently engage in paid employment. To adequately account for this, the household rather than just each individual must be considered. Doing so generates more complex but complete pictures.

Having given some depth to the notion of transitions, it is now possible to briefly describe how the interview data were collected and analysed. In considering the methodology employed in this part of the research programme it is worth noting at the outset that both retrospective and prospective longitudinal studies have their own sets of advantages and difficulties (Dex, 1991). A retrospective study – the approach adopted here – creates particular problems in ensuring detail and accuracy in people’s recall that is compounded by the length of any period under study. Against these difficulties such an approach offers the opportunity to gather quite detailed data from an extended time frame during a relatively short interview. To maximise the quality of information it becomes important to develop and employ an interviewing strategy which aims to both minimise the problems associated with this approach whilst building on its strengths.

Using skilled interviewers is one important part of such a strategy, as is the interview process. To create the most favourable circumstances for recall, the interviews began with people recollecting major life events during the preceding ten years. These life events then served as cues to help the person recall their work history over the same period. This allowed a matrix of their personal and work histories across time to be progressively built up. Over the course of the interview more detail was added to the matrix. Such an approach clearly aided people's recall and allowed them and the interviewer to more accurately identify the timing of events and to build a detailed picture of these. It also helped the ongoing checking and clarifying of information.

Following Miles and Huberman (1994) a more condensed matrix that provided a graphical summary of a person's work history across the ten year study period was developed using the interview materials. Recorded on each were the person's work profile at the start of the decade and any subsequent changes. Each person's work history was organised into two parts. Firstly, there were the activities that they engaged in primarily or on a full time basis. Then there were additional or secondary activities. In adopting this approach, though, particular activities were not automatically privileged over others, but each was situated according to the how the person described and 'rated' it. So, paid work, education and training, and unpaid work could all be considered primary or secondary activities depending on the person and the household, as well as their circumstances and perceptions. When the matrices of adults in the same household were combined they created a work history of the household as well.

From the work history matrix we can identify individual transitions. Whilst such a summary format is useful, the detail of these transitions is not apparent in it. To provide this, each transition was described and analysed. A template was developed to aid and standardise this process and it canvassed many of the aspects alluded to in the preceding discussion of the concept of transitions. Table 1 outlines the factors considered in each transition. As is apparent, information was gathered not solely in terms of the individual but also in respect of the household. The wider context was also considered.

General themes, that had some bearing on the concept of transitions, were also identified from the interviews. Quotes that reflected aspects of a particular transition, a type of transition, or that related to the themes were gathered to support and illustrate the analysis. However they were used, quotes were particularly important given that one of the goals of the study was to create a narrative that, whilst focused on labour market transitions, drew heavily on the actual experiences of people.

When applied to each of the interviews this process yielded three distinct yet inter-related summaries for each person:

- the work history matrix for each adult in the household;
- a set of templates that detailed each transition for each person;
- individual/household synopses of key themes and issues.

These spanned the following decades in each area:

- Hawkes Bay – 1985 to 1995,
- South Waikato – 1987 to 1997,
- West Auckland – 1987 to 1997.

Table 1: Factors considered in analysis of each transition.

- ❑ The characteristics and mechanics of the transition – what sort of change occurred and how – are described.
 - ❑ The process by which the transition occurred – how decisions were made, across what timeframe, who was involved and so on – is detailed.
 - ❑ Any factors that may be relevant to the process are acknowledged. These include:
 - Individual and household
 - Attitudes, values & beliefs
 - Milestones (e.g. birth of a child)
 - Individual considerations (e.g. a person's desire to work)
 - Family considerations – not childcare (e.g. elderly relatives needing extra care)
 - Childcare considerations
 - Financial considerations
 - Education & Training
 - Skills & Experience
 - Other Issues such as
 - Age
 - Ethnicity
 - Gender
 - Welfare considerations (e.g. was the person eligible for a benefit or what were the abatement provisions)
 - Structural & Contextual Issues
 - Workplace level
 - Industry level
 - Locally and Regionally
 - ❑ The impact of the transition – what outcomes it generated for the individual and the household (expected and unexpected) are considered. This includes the significance of the transition – what the change meant for the individual, the household, and possibly the workplace.
 - ❑ Quotes from the interviewee or someone else in the household that illustrate aspects of the above points are included.
-

In these forms the data were now accessible for further analysis. This involved, firstly, the progressive drawing together of transitions of a similar kind. Initially, broad categorisations based on the entry or exit points of a transition were developed. The process then moved onto refining these larger categories into groups and sub-groups. These were subsequently analysed to identify common and contrasting characteristics. The comparison was based on the various features captured on the template. As well, sets were broken down further and analysed on the basis of individual (gender, ethnicity and so on) and household characteristics. What is hopefully evident is that a transition could be categorised and examined according to a number of criteria. The outcomes of applying this methodology, as have been presented in various reports, can be broader, more general findings and those that relate to narrower, more specific issues. Having transitions as a unit of analysis enables not only a strong qualitative emphasis but also allows some quantitative analysis, such as a comparison of the numbers and frequency of particular transitions for various groups. The work history matrices of people and households were also a focus of investigation. Like the transitional templates they too could be collated, based on various criteria, and analysed accordingly. Finally, the themes that had emerged in the interviews were considered for how they could enrich aspects of the transitional analysis and provide areas of separate interest and discussion.

REPORT OUTLINE

Using this methodology, a series of detailed analyses were produced that, for practical reasons, have been organised under various headings which are the key types of transitions that emerged from the research. Naturally this approach tends to artificially fragment the continuous lived experiences of individuals and the households they were part of. This is especially true when an extended period of time is being considered such as in this longitudinal study. Across the ten-year study period, any particular transition, regardless of its nature, duration or significance, generally formed only a proportion of a person's total experiences and history. An episode of unemployment, for example, may only cover a few months, with the remainder of the decade characterised by full-time employment. This fragmentation also has the potential to conceal the inter-relationship of particular transitions with other issues under study. Continuing with the example just given, the time out of paid work may also be associated with a period of education and training. Such connections need to be made. In this case, the training might be highly relevant to understanding the person's successful return to work and their subsequent long term settled employment. Thus, despite using a framework built around types of transitions, we have tried to acknowledge to some degree, at least, the wider and longer context of any single transition within any particular discussion. Of course, the danger in trying too hard to overcome these types of problems can be a tendency to repeatedly produce extensive case histories in each section, albeit with different emphases each time. This, in turn, creates its own difficulties, the most significant being that the principal focus of this study – transitions – could be obscured.

To overcome these problems of structure, but not lose the key focus, we have adopted a style that presents shortened or abbreviated case studies framed so as to emphasise a specific issue. Whilst this keeps the focus on transitions, it is hoped that the other two reports in this series will go some way to overcoming the fragmentation – as noted above – that this might cause. In particular, vignettes and quotes – or parts thereof – are often repeated in different parts of each report as are pieces of many individual and household cases. While these are employed each time to illustrate various aspects of the findings, and are framed accordingly, their repetition also offers the reader opportunities to tie together people's varied and diverse experiences. By doing this, they can then generate a more holistic account for each individual and household case across time.

Readers will quickly see that each report draws heavily on the actual words of people from the interviews. This strong reliance on narrative was a deliberate strategy. Quotes are used, not just to add a little colour, but as a core component of each report. Rather than embedding an occasional remark in the analysis, the analysis is instead built on the content of the interviews. Our intention was to ground the findings in the experiences, feelings, opinions, beliefs and attitudes of those who took part.

The study generated analysis on transitions and themes in the following areas:

- ❑ Welfare and Unemployment
- ❑ Education and Training
- ❑ Unpaid Work
- ❑ Paid Work

□ Other Transitions

There are three reports: one each on welfare and unemployment, one on education and training, and one on work, both unpaid and paid. The following discussion reviews the content of all three reports.

(i) *Welfare and Unemployment*

Whilst not always coexistent, these two issues are often closely interrelated. Hence, they are dealt with together. Welfare is examined in relation to people receiving:

- ◆ the unemployment benefit,
- ◆ the domestic purposes benefit,
- ◆ accident compensation¹, and
- ◆ a mix of sundry benefits (sickness, widow's, caring for an dependant relative, and national superannuation).

Transitions involving people moving into or out of welfare are explored, whether from or to employment, education and training, or unpaid work. Two issues that were of special significance to those receiving the domestic purposes benefit are elaborated. They are the stigma associated with this benefit and the special childcare problems this group faced.

A short discussion on the issue of welfare from the perspective of people who, during the ten-year study period, had no experiences of being on welfare is undertaken. Though not exclusively related to the issues of welfare and unemployment, some specific issues that are quite closely intertwined with them are examined in this section. Firstly, the motives people had for working and the impacts of unemployment and receiving welfare are explored. Then some comment is made on how people perceived the job market during the survey period and consideration is given to how this might have affected their employment prospects. Finally, the importance of social networks in getting work is highlighted. A couple of further issues, this time with more specific relevance for those receiving welfare, are then focused on. These include an assessment of the role and actions of the NZES, and a discussion of the interaction of wage rates, benefit levels, and associated abatement regimes. The effect these had on people engaging in paid work is the predominant theme.

(ii) *Education and Training*

A wide range of education and training is canvassed. This includes workplace-based training and shorter courses. The main focus, however, is on longer education and training programmes. These are generally full-time and are of an extended duration. They include:

¹ Whilst there are significant differences between ACC and the other welfare benefits considered here, given the nature of this study, the similarities are sufficient to allow its arbitrary inclusion in this section.

- ◆ Tertiary study: polytech and university based
- ◆ Skills based training programmes (such as ACCESS)
- ◆ Work placement and experience programmes

Transitions into and out of such programmes are explored, as are the outcomes of undertaking them.

The experiences of school leavers are included in this section given their relationship with this topic. However, this part of the discussion is not just limited to looking at their education and training. Whilst their experiences in relation to tertiary courses, skills-based training, and work experience and placements are canvassed, their patterns and experiences of unemployment and employment are also discussed

This report also covers some general discussion on the broad issue of education and training. It ends with a series of themes that emerged in relation to this issue. These are inequity, apprenticeships, costs and technology. The first of these looks at the differences between the DPB and other benefits (particularly the unemployed benefit) in respect of assistance for, and attitudes towards, training. The issue of apprenticeships raised quite a lot of discussion, with many people rueing the demise of this form of training. Next, the broad matter of the increasing costs of education and training is discussed. This is not solely related to school leavers and student loans as older people also commented on the limiting effect that high fees had on their ability to study or train. Finally, the growth and importance of technology in the workplace, how it is changing work, and how people coped with this is canvassed. Also touched on is the importance of adequately preparing children for this.

(iii) Work

(a) Unpaid Work

The first part of this report looks at unpaid work in terms of domestic responsibilities – caring for a home, children, families, dependent relatives and so on. Although the division of household work is explored, in the main, the discussion is focused on the care of children. Women were primarily responsible for this unpaid work. As well as exploring their transitions into and out of unpaid work, how women balanced and co-ordinated their unpaid and paid responsibilities, particularly in relation to childcare, is also examined. Women's experiences of transitioning back into the workforce after being away and caring for children are also considered

A second area that is examined under this heading focuses on unpaid work of a voluntary nature in the community (schools, sports clubs, voluntary organisations etc). A great deal of voluntary work is associated with children so, not unexpectedly, women are heavily involved. The role of voluntary work in equipping people with skills and experience and preparing them for paid work is examined. Again, the balancing of these and other responsibilities is considered.

(b) *Paid Work*

This aspect of this report looks at a range of different forms of paid work and the transitions that are involved. They are self-employment, and paid work that is part-time, casual and temporary, seasonal, or full-time and permanent. Transitions might be into or out of, as well as between, these forms of work.

The examination of casual and part-time work also touches on the issue of casualisation. In the discussion on seasonal work, a particular pattern of employment – that we call the cyclical profile – is featured. This profile involves a pattern of seasonal work between periods of unemployment that some people repeated over many years. Also given special attention in the section on seasonal paid work is the meat industry.

A range of issues relating to paid work are discussed. These are:

- ❑ The growing intensification and casualisation of workplaces through restructuring, new contracts and multi-skilling
- ❑ The persistently gendered nature of paid work, both horizontally and vertically
- ❑ The Employment Contracts Act and the role of unions
- ❑ The attitudes towards, and experiences and impacts of, restructuring and redundancy
- ❑ Specific issues relating to middle aged and older people as well as youth in the labour market

As noted in the report on Welfare and Unemployment, some of the more general issues dealt with there have some relevance to, and could be read in conjunction with, this report.

(c) *Other Transitions*

A number of patterns of transition that are not covered elsewhere are examined under this heading. These include profiles that involve no transitions – where people maintained an unchanged work profile across all, or most of, the ten-year study period. Other profiles that illustrate the complex nature of people's patterns of work are also covered here. As well, this section looks at profiles that involve relocations including time-limited travel (such as the O.E.), relocation within New Zealand, immigration and emigration.

SUMMARY OF SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Phase one of this research programme saw a random sample of 832 households in the Hawkes Bay region drawn from Household Labour Force Survey panels provided by Statistics New Zealand. These were then surveyed using a specially developed questionnaire that was designed to secure information on the labour market behaviour of individuals and households while at the same time ensuring some compatibility with the quarterly HLFS Survey conducted by Statistics New Zealand. The findings of this phase have been reported in detail in a separate working paper, Shirley et al, 1998. From this original sample, a subset were again randomly selected to participate in the second phase of the research programme that involved semi-structured in-depth interviews. These were conducted in 96 households and provided sufficient information to develop 164 individual profiles. Of these, 152 were produced using information directly supplied by the person. The remaining 12 were the result of information supplied by other informants, most usually the person's spouse or partner.

The ethnicity and gender breakdown for these profiles is provided in Tables 1 and 2. Table 3 provides a picture of the household structures at the time of interview. Children (under the age of 16 years or still at school) were present in just under 60% of households at the time of interview, though the percentage would have obviously fluctuated across the study period. Finally, Table 4 compares the distributions of gender and ethnicity between the ethnographic sample, the survey sample, and Census² data for this region.

Table 2: Make Up of Sample by Gender

Male	Female
43%	57%

Table 3: Make Up of Sample by Ethnicity

Maori	Non-Maori
24.4%	75.6%
Notes: 1. Non-Maori is made up of 3 people identified as Samoan, 3 people identified as Dutch and the remainder identified as Pakeha, European or New Zealander.	

² 1991 Census, Statistics New Zealand. Though this includes information on usual residents in the area and residents elsewhere in New Zealand, the latter were not included in these figures.

Table 4: Structure of Households			
Couples			66 (69%)
	<i>Married</i>	60	
	<i>Not married</i>	6	
Single Parents			16 (17%)
	<i>Male</i>	1	
	<i>Female</i>	15	
Single People			9 (9%)
	<i>Males</i>	4	
	<i>Females</i>	5	
Flatting			3 (3%)
	<i>Female + Female</i>	2	
	<i>Male + Male</i>	1	
Other			2 (2%)
	<i>2 Female Flatmates – one with a child</i>	1	
	<i>Female caring for aged parent</i>	1	
TOTAL			96 (100%)
NB: Total of 164 cannot be calculated directly from this table as both partners in a relationship not always able to be profiled, whilst in some households extra members profiled (e.g. adult children).			

Table 5: Comparative Distributions (by percentage) of Gender and Ethnicity			
	<i>Interview Sample</i>	<i>Survey Sample</i>	<i>1991 Hastings Census</i>
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	43	46	48.7
Female	57	54	51.3
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Non-Maori	75.6	86.8	83.3
Maori	24.4	13.2	16.7

UNPAID WORK

Introduction

The nature of this study and the use of transitions as the unit of analysis have deliberately ensured that work is considered in its broadest sense. Adopting such a broad view of work allows this analysis to move beyond just looking at paid activities. This has already been apparent in the preceding discussions around education and welfare. We now turn to the area of unpaid work, which has been broken into two general areas: voluntary work and unpaid domestic work.

Many significant transitions and issues, especially for women, revolve around the latter. These are often, though not exclusively, centred on the care of children. They include the distribution of unpaid work in the household; the giving up of paid work to have and care for children; balancing paid and unpaid responsibilities; and managing a return to paid work after time away from the workforce caring for children. All these are canvassed in the following discussion.

Voluntary work can take on a range of forms and levels of commitment. This make up and its distribution amongst those interviewed is examined. It was frequently associated with children and so had overlaps with unpaid domestic work and is again often associated with women. These issues, together with a look at the integration of voluntary work with other activities and its impact on these, are examined in the following section.

Voluntary Work

As part of the interview, participants were asked about their involvement in voluntary work. Fifty-seven people (almost 35% of all those profiled) in forty-three households (~45%) reported that they were involved in voluntary work of some sort across the study period. This was made up of 36 women and 21 men. A wide range of activities was undertaken through a number of organisations and groups. Participation covered a few months right through to the entire ten year period. Just on half of this group was able to maintain their involvement in some voluntary activity for eight years or more and the involvement of only a fifth of this group in any particular activity was for less than two years. Many people were involved in a number of activities – some taking on more than one at any particular time, others changing their involvement across time. Of course, many people did not have any involvement in voluntary work. This was for a variety of reasons but the comments of one woman undoubtedly summed up the feelings of many.

I don't go onto committees or things like that, some people seem to be superstars and manage to be on all these things but I just haven't been able to manage that.

It is possible, as well, that even though a specific inquiry was made about people's voluntary activities, some people may have considered that what they were or had

been involved in, or the nature of that involvement – transient or very limited participation for example – may not have been worth mentioning.

For those who engaged in some form of voluntary work, children provided one of the principle motivations. Parents found themselves involved in various activities – helping in the classroom, on committees or Boards of Trustees, fundraising, assisting at trips and camps, and so on. Whether it was through school or not, they were also frequently involved in their children's sports. This was a feature right across the age spectrum from kindergartens and Kohanga Reo, through primary, intermediate and then secondary school.

Some differences were apparent between the types and degrees of participation by men and women in voluntary work associated with their children. For men, their involvement was often more sporadic and matched their availability outside of paid work. Thus, they might be part of fundraising activities or 'working bees'. More regular commitments seemed to settle mainly on the coaching of sports. A small number of men and women were on PTA committees or Boards of Trustees which created rewards and challenges, as well as heavy demands. As one woman put it.

It was stimulating being away from the house ... there were a lot of demands but you worked out ... we had a lot of phone calls at night, meetings, you have to go to training and seminars ... there were a lot of late nights.

Because they almost exclusively undertook primary responsibility for childcare, women, it seemed, were more involved in the classroom acting as teacher aides and the like. This, many believed, was an important part of their role.

Just to be involved I suppose and to support the kids. ...It is getting to know their environment and how it works down there. Sometimes I think should I be spending a whole afternoon down here, helping the class, when I could use that two hours to do work at home ... it is getting to know their environment and how it works down there.

I didn't stay at home, I did other things at the school and I enjoyed doing those things. ... I did it because I like it, I didn't do it because I felt that I should be doing it. It was entirely unselfish.

This involvement with schools tended to be quite a regular commitment for the women. Even for those who were working, there was a desire at times to try and accommodate paid work as well as voluntary activities with their children.

I always made time for the kids, even when I was working. If they had a school trip or whatever I didn't go to work, I had the day off .

Outside of an association through children, people were active in voluntary work in a range of other ways. These included membership of organisations that focused on the special needs of certain groups. As well, many carried out some type of community service through, for example, Lions and Probus groups, search and rescue, St John's Ambulance, IHC, Women's Refuge, and so on. Only one person reported involvement in any type of arts orientated activities. Similarly, just one individual helped with what

used to be a significant extra-curricular activity for boys and girls, the scout and guide movement. Membership and participation by adults in sporting groups was also surprisingly low given our view of ourselves as a sporting nation. However, it is reasonable that people who played sport felt they were involved in recreation and that it was other activities in the club – committees, coaching, maintenance, helping out and the like – that were considered to be voluntary work in terms of the questions asked³. Much more significant was the place of churches and religious groups in voluntary activity, with some young people giving up paid employment for a period to fulfil missionary commitments to their church.

Kohanga Reo were the most frequently cited places where Maori were involved in voluntary work. As a later example illustrates, this was also a place where paid work sometimes grew out of voluntary roles or the two merged at times. Small numbers of people acted as Maori Wardens and a few reported being involved on Marae in a variety of ways. It would be interesting to clarify if Maori would associate a lot of their involvement and activities as voluntary work in a European sense.

Undertaking some form of voluntary work did not necessarily mean only joining existing groups. Some people's involvement centred on starting new organisations. These may have been new local branches of existing clubs and groups or starting a new sporting club within a district. Occasionally people were driven to develop entirely new organisations to service a perceived need or gap. One example involved a mother starting a body to co-ordinate services and representation for disabled children who did not comfortably fit into the existing array of organisations.

Filling this perceived need served not only as a particular type of voluntary involvement, but it was also the motivation for it. A range of other reasons and motivations for engaging in voluntary work were given. One Maori couple had a long-standing commitment to the children of their local community, organising activities for the kids to do in the evenings and at weekends.

At the time we were in an area of what they call low socio-economic area, mainly just to give the [local] kids something positive to do. ...I suppose to me it was important, but unpaid important.

A similar sense of community was an apparent motivation elsewhere for other people.

Being a country community you are always involved. ...Once your children start at a country school you can't help but be involved.

This woman went on to identify her preference for community or voluntary work, doubting she would ever choose a full-time paid career. Others expressed similar sentiments, viewing this form of involvement not so much in terms of voluntary work per se, but more as a part of their philosophy and lifestyle.

I've always done voluntary work ... I was secretary of Red Cross ...of Save The Children ... on the parish council of the church. There's always something you do, but you don't really think of it so much as voluntary work, do you?

³ That said, playing sport for a club often also entails involvement in these associated tasks or roles. If the primary reason for belonging to a club was seen as recreational then these other activities may not have been mentioned.

Although tied in with a sense of altruism, other motivations could be more instrumental.

I had time on my hands and wanted to do something useful. ...I had a contact in IHC. ...it was about learning how to deal with them and to feel empathy rather than sympathy for them. ...I think it teaches you about human behaviour. I think you have a lot more tolerance and patience with people who do have a handicap. I realise that I am very lucky.

This young woman used the experiences she gained through this voluntary work to help decide on a polytech course. For some it offered a way to meet people, especially when new to an area. One of the women who relocated around New Zealand a number of times identified voluntary involvement as a key way that she got to know, and be known, in a new community.

When you are in a work situation and you move from one town to another ... you've got your work base and you can move out from there. When you're not working you've got to look for some way else otherwise you're not going to meet people. ... You've actually got to move out into organisations, 'cause you're not sitting in a workplace and meeting people at work. ...I met a lot of people through school and every thing they had on at school I went and helped with just to get to know people.

A retired woman reiterated this. As she was no longer in paid work, she saw becoming involved in voluntary organisations and the like as critical to settling in a new place. So, too, did another woman who recalled how she used voluntary work as an entrée to both a new community and paid work.

I started off at the Public Library ... doing voluntary work but then they said they would pay me. I went in off the street and said I want something to do and ended up being paid for it. The intention was to be voluntary. ...I guess the number on [motivation] has got to be to have some extra dollars coming in, however that is no the only motivation ... [that] was an area where I didn't know many people, and certainly coming back [here] where I could get out and about and reach people.

This association of voluntary work with paid work, an interesting point in relation to the transitional focus of this study, was evident in different ways. The coaching this woman did in her own time was, she believed, important for increasing her skills and standing as a physical education teacher.

You get reflected glory and the other thing is that I think that is the reason I got the job because I am prepared to put the extra work in. It enhances your image in the school if you produce something extra apart from your teaching.

In another case, a woman's substantial involvement in voluntary work had, in fact, led directly to paid employment.

I used to do a lot of work with families from Social Welfare, like some of the families wouldn't allow social workers, they didn't like social welfare ... so I did the follow up ... and as a result they asked me to apply for the position. ...That was only because of the work I was doing with for them, and they knew my experience, so that got me the job.

It also proved helpful to others. Unsurprisingly, one woman saw it specifically in these terms.

I sort of saw [voluntary work] as bridging to me not being in the workforce and finding a full-time job.

Similarly, even if it was not their original intention, the knowledge, skills, experience and contacts that others gained through their voluntary work were crucial to them getting paid work.

I had been umpiring at the sports centre for the last three years and the centre was starting to go downhill and I approached them ... I said that I would be interested in taking over because it is something I enjoy and I didn't want to work unless I enjoyed doing what I did, and I got the job.

This was evident too, though over an extremely protracted period, in the case of the husband of the couple we met earlier who were involved with local children. He was made redundant when a meat works closed. Having no success finding work, he deliberately decided to devote his free time – after caring for his own family – to being involved with local children through a whole range of voluntary activities.

I was still keeping myself occupied but on a voluntary basis. ...During my time off I was spending time with the schools, with the sports teams, with the Maori culture groups.

All this voluntary activity, particularly in the schools, was to eventually lead to some paid work. However, this was not his primary aim and he was unemployed for nearly ten years. After about nine years he got a six-month contract as part of the Task Force Green (TFG) programme.

The principals were impressed, I suppose, with my skills. This principal at this particular school had heard from another principal that I was working with over here. They had a boy who needed one-on-one attention and so I was referred to that job from principal to principal and that is how I ended up with that job.

One of his other voluntary involvements was with the Kohanga Reo that his son attended.

My son attended kohanga ... and the original Kiako and her husband were due to leave town and they needed a replacement at short notice and they knew that I knew a bit of the Reo, the language, and I was able to help.

This was about six months after the TFG placement ended, and he initially helped out on a full-time voluntary basis. However, he was soon appointed to a paid full-time position. As this was a position for a couple, his wife was employed as well. She had previously only managed to get seasonal work. Voluntary involvement was, therefore, a major factor in ending his lengthy period of unemployment.

Other women experienced the metamorphosis of voluntary involvement into paid roles in organisations like the IHC and Women's Refuge. The process was ongoing for some – one woman was involved in regular part-time unpaid teacher aiding which she kept up in the hope it might become a paid position at some stage. Similarly, voluntary involvement could lay a foundation for training and education.

I was in cadets up until 1974 and then I went back into it in 1982 and I left St Johns about 1986 or 1987. ...I am looking at either going into nursing or childcare but at the moment the nursing side of it is more promising ...I have got skills in that sort of line. I have St John's which is a good background to nursing.

In somewhat the reverse of this position, others found that although the experience and skills they had gained through voluntary work might be extensive, they could still be significantly undervalued when applying for paid jobs.

I have run organisations that have been into millions of dollar projects and did it very successfully for years ... I haven't got any certificates to say I can do work and when you turn around into these CVs these days you have to have certificates.

Thus, whilst offering possibilities and, sometimes, opportunities, voluntary work was not a guaranteed entree to paid work. Individual experiences varied. Nor was the connection between paid work and voluntary activities a simple either-or-situation. Men and women often combined their voluntary work with some form of paid work and this was often a tricky and demanding manoeuvre.

Frequently the demands of full-time paid work adversely affected the availability of people for voluntary work. This helped explain why men were often less available for voluntary work. Against the traditional "Monday to Friday, weekends off" pattern of working, the more flexible consumer-driven work environment of recent years was especially demanding in this regard.

I could do without the Saturday morning [work] once a fortnight. ...I try to go with [my son] every second Saturday to his sport, but sometimes [he] comes and says dad are you coming this Saturday and I say I have to work, he gets a bit disappointed but I try to make a point of sharing my time with him. Especially for [my son] I make a point of coaching his soccer team through the winter and I have good contact on two nights of the week with him and with his team plus Saturdays. When I am coaching I change my Saturday for a Sunday so that I am with him.

That said, some people did make significant contributions whilst working full-time. Two prominent examples were women who had children, though in the first case these were older. This woman was a single parent who worked full-time as a social worker – including being on-call at times – yet she still had time to commit heavily to voluntary work with Maori women. In the other case the woman was married with younger children and was also teaching – either full or part-time depending on the availability of work. On top of this she did sports coaching with children. The demands at times were huge.

Especially the year before last, it took an awful lot of my spare time ... I was doing so much and most of my weekends were taken up with fundraising. I think it did affect home.

This quote directs our attention to the impacts voluntary work can have on people other than the volunteer. Demands on their time and energy often meant that they were less available and able to fulfil the roles and carry out the activities they had previously done. These fell to others, often in the family or household. Thus a partner or spouse might have been called upon to do more domestic tasks or assume more childcare responsibility. When such demands were apparent within a household, people did not generally report any significant resistance to the necessary redistribution of workloads. However, in some cases, even with extra demands women just had to fit it all in. If concessions were made it was interesting to note that such changes were seldom maintained once the volunteer was no longer as involved.

Even if a person did not have paid employment, their commitment to voluntary work could still have a large impact on their lives. Voluntary work in these cases became like paid work in all respects but the obvious. It being voluntary, however, can mean that there might be a little more flexibility than if one was working for an employer.

I am area rep. down here and I am on the regional committee down here too so that is involved with the body that runs the [organisation] throughout New Zealand, plus I am on the management committee here as well as just being a volunteer. ...This is not my job, it is my work but it is not paid like in money, but they pay my expenses and my travelling expenses and everything. ...Even now with this area rep. job I have had to travel to Wellington on a regular basis but my mother minds [my daughter] for me because I get 7 am flights and things, but that is even in a voluntary capacity. If I didn't have help, like my mum or [older daughter] being here, I couldn't do it. ...That job is really hard to juggle with a child, on your own, let alone if I was working for a company that if I was actually paid by them you can't finish at 3 pm and you don't have school holidays.

Despite the commitments and contributions that many people made, such as the example above clearly shows, there was a sense by some that voluntary work was devalued or at best undervalued. It was not real – that is, paid – work. Having just outlined a highly responsible and demanding voluntary position, the woman just quoted goes on to illustrate this attitude in how she described her role to others.

I just say to people that this ... is my job, they don't know that it is not a paid job.

The inference is that if they found out it was a voluntary position then they would automatically reassess its value and the worth of her doing it. This is surprising given the amount and type of work her voluntary activities involved. It is interesting too, given her valid observation of the critical importance of voluntary organisations and work to the social infrastructure of this country, and the integral role women play in all this.

I actually think that most voluntary jobs have women doing them. The government says that there is no need for this, that and the next thing, but they are all run by volunteers and they are women. If they had to start paying out wages for all those voluntary jobs it would be millions of dollars. In our particular organisation, yes, it is 95% women that run it.

Though only noted by a couple of people, it was this high association of a great deal of voluntary work with women which was held responsible for its correspondingly low value.

Summary – Voluntary Work

This study found that voluntary work was undertaken by about 38% of all those people profiled, with women almost twice as active as men were. Though males still participated in reasonable numbers, they tended to be represented in a narrower range of activities and contributed on a shorter or more irregular basis than women. A whole range of activities, and organisations were represented. Similarly, a variety of commitments – that is, the duration, degree and nature of the involvement – were reported. People often balanced numerous other demands on top of their voluntary activities. They were motivated to participate in voluntary work for a variety of

reasons. Most prominent was their involvement with activities associated with their children and, given the gendered division of labour, this may help explain women's high level of involvement. Other motives, besides obvious ones such as personal interest or altruism, included skill development, and the usefulness of voluntary work as an entrée to both new communities and paid employment. The last factor sometimes occurred without deliberate planning. In conclusion, it must be acknowledged that differing attitudes and views towards voluntary work may have hindered the capture of data on this issue.

Unpaid Work

Introduction

The focus of this section is on work for which people received no paid income and which occurred in the private sphere, predominantly in the person's own home. This analysis of unpaid work was aided by the posing of some specific questions during the interview to generate discussion in this area. These questions covered two broad areas: the organisation of unpaid work, and the relationship of this to people's association with paid work. The first provided a picture of how unpaid work was organised within households, the various roles and contributions of each member, and their inter-relationships. As well, a sense of the relative value and interpretation that people placed on unpaid work was also discernible. The second isolated transitions involving paid and unpaid work. Such transitions encompassed shifts between the two, various combinations of both, and periods where no transitions occurred.⁴ Once identified, the nature and circumstances of each – including the motives and influences behind them – were examined. So too were the processes by which they occurred (or did not occur). When drawn together, a composite picture emerges of the interaction of paid and unpaid work, of change across time, and of the factors implicated in this.

(i) The Influence of Children in the Organisation of Unpaid Work

The first major issue to arise concerned the care of children. Obviously couples without children still had to organise the unpaid work in their households. However, when children were present in a household they proved to be a clear and substantial influence on people's involvement in paid and unpaid work. In this regard, couples had to resolve a number of crucial issues, some of which were then subjected to ongoing re-evaluation. The first centred on who would care for any children – and, by implication, the home and other people in it as well. Then the practical matters of how this would be achieved needed to be addressed. Alongside matters directly related to the care of children, was the question of whether other activities would be undertaken at the same time and, if so, which would be acceptable, what level of involvement would be appropriate and when this would be suitable. Tied in with this were the roles and contributions of the partner or spouse who was not the principle caregiver.

From the interviews, it appeared that these decisions were fairly easily made. The demarcations seemed to have been determined early in a relationship or marriage. For

⁴ For example, where a woman did not return to paid work after having children for an extended period.

many couples they had a “taken for granted” air about them and the outcome almost uniformly involved women taking primary responsibility for and doing the majority of the unpaid work involved in caring for children, the home and others in the household.

It just seemed practical. ...Logic I suppose. ...We never really sat down and discussed it.

“It” in this instance refers to the woman giving up work and caring for the children. In some cases women spoke of making the decision alone – in which cases the men never showed any reservations about the decision.

I made a very conscious choice in the beginning that I would be full-time caring for my pre-school children and so at no point did I consider that I would be working in that period when I had pre-school children.

I believed in staying home with the kids.

When I had family I said I would be mother and I would be home to take care of them.

I wanted to look after them and not give them to someone else to do. If I can have the children then I have to look after them.

In other instances men seemed to strongly influence – even decree – what happened. In these cases the women accepted this.

My husband wouldn't allow me to go out and work, he didn't approve of me working because he thought my daughter needed me at home and he needed me at home as well. I felt quite happy [about this] ...when our daughter was younger I knew that my priorities had to be based on being home for her and my husband.

I have been really committed to the family, I felt that when the eldest was very young that I would give it my best shot. ...[My husband] didn't require me to work.

Sometimes a joint decision was made though the outcome was never really in any doubt.

I think it was a mutual decision that I would stay home.

Our decision was if we had children or adopted one then [my wife] wouldn't work and that was it.

We made a conscious decision between both of us that [my wife] would not go out to work until all the children were at school, when she had the time and they wouldn't come home to an empty house. This is the thing that has guided us up until now..

We wanted to have children and we thought that I was the best person to raise them, not other people. ...[My husband] was going to have a career and I was going to raise the children.

Thus, these decisions almost without exception reflected and reinforced a gendered division of labour. The comments of one young woman show how such beliefs and values are nurtured and passed on in the family.

Once I get married or have kids I will stop my job and be a housewife. I don't like the idea of going to work and leaving my children. When I was younger mum was always there when I left for school and always there when I got home and I liked that so I will do that for my kids.

That said, there was the hint, very occasionally it must be added, that men were equally able to and could just as easily take on the principle role in childcare.

I believe that a mother's places or a parent's place, whether it be mother or father, is there for their children until they go to school.

Somebody has to be home looking after [the children], mother or father. I feel very strongly about that. Its getting less and less and I am getting more old fashioned as I get older.

Although these comments present the outcome as possibly less predetermined, the actual result in each of these cases – and virtually all the others – was never in doubt: It was women who took on this role. As the comments of the next couple illustrate, talking was very different from action.

We had in fact talked when I was at varsity about having a swap and me working full-time for a while, but when it actually came to the crunch [my husband] didn't really want to do it. In fact I am very happy at home.

(ii) *Other Factors Influencing the Organisation of Unpaid Work*

Though the care of children most often provided the central motif in the organisation of unpaid work, other factors also played a part, acting either alongside childcare or instead of it. Some examples of these factors are drawn from the interviews to illustrate not only the array of possibilities but to demonstrate how differently people responded to similar situations. As has been noted, some couples considered swapping roles, but this eventuated in only a few cases. When it did, it was most often only for limited periods of time and was forced onto couples for varying reasons.

Take the cases of four men who were made redundant. With little likelihood of work one decided to devote his time to helping care for the family and doing voluntary work. However, his wife did not see this as an opportunity for some sort of swap where she would enter the paid workforce. Her strong beliefs regarding her role in the care of their children, regardless of what had happened to her husband, seemed to rule this out.

With the children being so young I didn't really want to work because I wanted to be there when they came home from school, send them to school. That was the only reason why I went out in the apple season, because it was only three months of the year. When you look around this area there is a lot of kids out on the street which I didn't want my kids doing. ...A lot of kids go home and the parents are not there because they are out working, and some have to work to survive.

As is apparent, her husband being home did let her work seasonally. Another of these men also saw little possibility of being employed full-time. While this couple agreed that he helped more, it does not seem that he took on a large role in terms of unpaid responsibilities. To help with their dire financial problems he did do regular seasonal work, as did his wife. Their childcare problems were only compounded when they both worked, however. Another couple described a similar set of experiences after the man was made redundant. They both worked seasonally and this man helped out with unpaid responsibilities, especially if he was not working and his wife was. He was clear, however, that it should not “all” fall to him.

Unlike the others, the final couple in these circumstances saw this as an ideal opportunity for the woman to get some training and return to the workforce.

[The freezing works] closed down so he decided to stay home and I decided to pick up where I left off when I had the boys. ...I always wanted to do something with computers and when I had [the children] I would only go to work seasonal, picking apples. Then he was willing to stay home and he had always worked so we changed roles and I went off and did that computer course and went on from there. ...He had always worked from the day, I suppose when I was first pregnant ... we swapped and I went back.

This was a very successful swap, both in the short and long term. After successfully completing her course the woman easily found work and maintained a consistent pattern of full-time employment even when they relocated to Australia and after they elected to return a few years later. Although the husband worked seasonally and casually for periods, he struggled to get and maintain full-time work. He had recognised that this was likely when he was made redundant, hence his willingness to swap roles. Even when he was in full-time work it appeared that he remained willing to accept joint responsibility for the unpaid work. Together they seemed to develop a dynamic and equitable approach to the sharing of these unpaid roles that suited their changing circumstances.

In another case, redundancy had some other desirable outcomes in respect of childcare. When this woman was unexpectedly laid off she was grateful for the opportunity to re-adjust her priorities.

When I got laid off I thought – well that’s me, I’ve done my bit, I want to be home now. ... I wanted to do things with the kids. I always made time for the kids, even when I was working ... now they are getting a bit older I just wanted to be at home.

For most, as we have seen, it was the male that was laid off and the effects were far from welcome. Whilst some minor re-ordering of the domestic responsibilities these were far from radical and did not seem to be maintained if the man got further work.

Other circumstances besides redundancy also forced this re-ordering. For example, it was serious injuries to one partner that provided the stimulus for change in a couple of cases. In the first, the wife had been working full-time since she returned to nursing when her children went to school. However, she remained primarily responsible for organising their care. Her husband had a longstanding back injury that was not covered by ACC and, finally, when he could no longer maintain paid employment he gave this up and took over the unpaid responsibilities. Although this created a difficult financial situation, it certainly eased the childcare difficulties and the double

responsibilities – of both a paid and unpaid nature – that had fallen to his wife. In the other case it was the woman who was injured. She had earlier voluntarily given up ACC entitlements, but her condition became so bad that she and her husband felt it would be unwise for her to continue trying to work. She reluctantly spent her time looking after domestic responsibilities, which were greatly reduced as the children had already left home.

Often it was a mix of factors that generated particular arrangements. With the birth of their first child another couple seemed to be embarking on a fairly traditional allocation of the unpaid work. The husband, a school principal, continued to work whilst his wife, who was also a teacher, gave up paid work. At the same time they had also begun a business venture with the intention of developing a horticulture enterprise on their lifestyle block. It was their plan that the husband would give up his senior job and work part-time as a teacher whilst building up their business. As the husband recounts, things changed dramatically.

We had an interesting lifestyle on a small block of land, ...planting lots of trees and doing lots of activities on a small scale. I was keen to extend that and see if we could grow flowers commercially. ...I was quite keen to stop working altogether but in the interests of discretion and caution I decided I would take on an ordinary teaching position which would give me time to devote to establishing the flower growing business. ...When we shifted [to our new property] ... the sharemarket had crashed and interest rates had increased tremendously so suddenly there was quite a pressure on us in terms of mortgage repayments that we hadn't expected ...Our budgets were blown a bit and it meant we needed to earn a lot more money than we had thought. We developed the flower growing side ... quickly. Money started coming in but not enough to pay all the bills. I stopped work first of all to actually devote more time to establishing the business and [my wife] started work.

This forced them to completely revise their plans.

[She] was teaching at a primary school. ...I looked after the baby and worked during the day. ...I was also driving the school bus, it was quite a busy time. I would get up in the morning and drive the school bus and then on my way back I would call in at [my wife's] school and pick up the baby and go home and I would work with him, carry him around the property in a wheelbarrow all day. About three o'clock I would go off and drop the baby at [my wife's] school, and drive the school bus and then I would come home and [my wife] would have cooked the meal and then I would start working again.

Although it must have been challenging balancing all these paid and unpaid responsibilities, the husband often mentioned how much he enjoyed looking after their baby.

I really loved having the baby at home with me and I really loved doing all the work at home [though] there was quite a [financial] worry.

His wife loathed the arrangement, however.

[My wife] hated going off to work and leaving the baby at home and the baby hated [her] going off to work and I hated seeing it all.

For a range of reasons, amongst which the woman's feelings were prominent, they eventually abandoned their dream and subsequently assumed and maintained a more

traditional arrangement. Interestingly, it was often women who balanced more complex activities and arrangements like these.

Some couples shared the unpaid work very evenly but this too was more often due to circumstances rather than choice. In two such cases, this was primarily driven by financial motives, and meant that both partners could work full-time. Each couple achieved this by one person working during the day and the other working in the evening or at night. In both cases the wife's time out of paid employment for the birth of the baby was fairly short – two and seven months.

Couple 1

Husband: For the first six months I was more sort of working and [my wife] was looking after [the baby]. But since then [she] works at nights and I work during the day. I've been doing the baby sitting at nights ...She's been working since she was about seven months old. ...We don't see much of each other. As long as we're bringing in the dollars.

Wife: It works out better because its night work so therefore [the baby's] not in childcare so we don't have to pay childcare because [my husband] works in the day, I work at night.

Couple 2

Husband: She had to go [back to work] ... I wanted her to go back ... we wouldn't have been able to manage on my wages alone ... it is difficult to live on one income ... I started looking after him when he was 2 months old... So we tried and it was quite hard for me for a start. Looking after a little wee baby, but I managed. ...She brings [the child] to work and I bring him home. ... And I do the night shift looking after [him] and she does the day. ...I try to fit in with her, help her, I do our meals at night, I do hers and I cook [his]. Help her fold the washing, ironing, and a bit of vacuuming and stuff. Just general things.

The woman in this second couple looked forward to some time off 'between seasons', which would undoubtedly ease the pressure of maintaining this lifestyle for both people. In each case these arrangements had been in place for about eighteen months at the time of interview.

Overall, rather than personally motivated choices, it was external factors and pressures that appeared to prompt any alteration to the traditional organisation and distribution of unpaid work. No couple in the survey voluntarily established the man as having primary responsibility for domestic work and childcare. Instead, women were the principle providers of unpaid work, especially as it related to children. This often meant giving up paid employment and remaining out of such work for varying periods. Consequently, decisions about the allocation and organisation of unpaid work also had implications for people's participation in paid work.

(iii) Other Forms of Unpaid Work

In a small number of cases, unpaid work concerned the care of people other than spouses or offspring. Sometimes this also meant work beyond the family home. For

example, one woman gave up her paid job to care for her increasingly infirm mother. This coincided with restructuring of her job in a government department. Having already reduced her hours as a result of her own ill health and the increasing needs of her mother, she was content to take redundancy rather than retraining when it was offered. She qualified for a benefit once she stopped work and was caring for her mum. In another case, as the children got older this woman's elderly mother required greater care and help. Eventually, the family decided to have the mother move in with them. Though easing some of the logistical problems in looking after her mother, for this woman the move signalled the addition of further unpaid responsibilities within the home. As another woman observed, caring for ageing parents was a significant component of the unpaid work that both she and her husband were involved in. It also influenced her paid work.

My choice of job is not so much influenced by my children now as it is influenced by our elderly parents. [My husband] and I both have elderly widowed mothers, his has turned 81 and mine is 86 ... That is the thing, they are really our responsibility and I have to have time for them. They need to be taken shopping and to doctors' appointments and so forth ... I am fine if I am working part-time but if I was working full-time ... I would have to take time off work. You would end up with conflict and problems then. Part-time will stay.

Though the care of children was still central in the next case, it was in a slightly different context. This couple's family were young adults at the time of interview. However, rather than being free of the challenges that caring for children posed, they now faced them anew as they coped with being the primary carers for two young grandchildren.

(iv) Patterns of Interaction Between Paid and Unpaid Work

It was quite unusual for any participant to spend the whole survey period or the entire time they were married or in a relationship solely occupied with unpaid work and responsibilities. Only a handful of women had this profile. As well, doing the accounts for their husbands' businesses was the only paid employment that a couple of other women did. This gave them a flexible pattern of engagement with paid work that allowed them to commit much of their time to unpaid domestic or voluntary work.

Though secure financial circumstances might seem an obvious reason for an almost total commitment to unpaid work, in fact only those women who worked on their husbands' businesses and one other mentioned this as a factor in their decisions. Whilst one woman was unable to manage work because of the effects of an injury and subsequent illness, for most of the others it was the result of their or their husband's strong beliefs regarding roles and responsibilities. Take this example where the husband was frequently posted to different parts of the North Island as he chased promotion in the public service.

[My husband] was going to have a career and I was going to raise the children. ...I did [have career aspirations] before I had children but that was a decision I made, it was either children or career so I chose children. ...His job meant, for him to get advancement, it meant we had to travel around so therefore I had to be free just to move and if I had of had a career I would not have been able to just up and move with him.

In another family, though the husband experienced lengthy periods of unemployment, could only get part-time work at times, and was retraining for three years, the wife maintained her commitment to her unpaid roles. She recounts the process.

[My husband] was the primary income earner and that that would be the focus for decision making. My focus is very much on child caring, and that was, I regarded it as important. ...I made a very conscious choice in the beginning that I would be full-time caring for my pre-school children and so at no point did I consider that I would be working in that period when I had pre-school children. It was just a choice I had made, so it was focused and joint choices were made on what [my husband] was going to do as primary earner.

Cases where women worked full-time as well as being primarily responsible for unpaid responsibilities such as childcare occurred more frequently than a sole commitment to unpaid work. We have seen that two couples were attempting this when they were interviewed. It is impossible to say how long they would have maintained this life/work style, but the couples who had tried this approach tended in the main to only keep it up for between a few months and a couple of years. During these periods it seemed that partners tended to share more of the unpaid work, as the two cases discussed earlier demonstrate. More often, if there was a mix of unpaid and paid responsibilities then the latter were made up of part-time, casual or seasonal work. The permutations of this mix (combinations, duration, circumstances and changes) that were reported in the interviews were far too many to try and elaborate here. Rather, it is possible, and probably more useful, to identify some trends and issues. They equally apply to women in full-time work. The most prominent of these are outlined and illustrated in the following discussion.

(v) *Influences on People's Involvement in Paid Work*

A range of motivations and pressures for engaging in or staying out of paid work were apparent from the interviews. Some were based on people's values, beliefs and attitudes; others were more practically orientated. Included in any considerations were the numerous impacts that combining paid and unpaid work could have. Importantly, people's responses, even to similar circumstances, were varied. Take the common issue of people's financial situation. Although many families struggled to manage on one income, not all of them made the same decisions about how they would respond to this dilemma. For some, the difficulties did not lead to the woman taking up paid work.

My family comes first, we just do without.

I have been really committed to the family, I felt that when the eldest was very young that I would give it my best shot and I am always home for them. ...[My husband] didn't require me to work. We had hard times because all the kids went to private schools and there were hard times financially

However, for many others, financial imperatives clearly lay behind the woman's engagement with paid work, even if doing so ran counter to personal beliefs or values.

When I went back [to work] after [my daughter's birth] it was financial. ...The financial situation dictated that I needed to do something so it was a

decision between both of us. We both decided but it was my decision to go back to work.

[It's] sometimes hard to live on one wage. ...I would have liked to have stayed home for a year at least with this one but I can't see it happening. ...I got the job because he [my husband] was unemployed. He couldn't get a job so I went out and got one so we could have a better lifestyle. ...At one stage I had three jobs. ... It was a case of having to.

As was seen in their earlier remarks, financial difficulties were what prompted both partners in two couples to engage in full-time employment and share childcare between them.

Some drives were more personal – paid work wasn't something women had to do, but something they wanted to do.

I don't think I could ever [just] be home with children, I don't think I could stand it. I am not the housewife type.

I am at the stage with the girls gone that perhaps I would like something to extend my grey matter, but I haven't found what I am looking for.

It offered this next woman a valuable break from the home routine, contributing to her personal wellbeing.

By going to work I was getting a break really. ... It was lovely for me to get a break at this time. Tea-time, bath-time, with baby it was nice to be out of it.

Women often felt much more comfortable responding to these personal drives as their children got older, particularly after they went to school. Those who chose not to work were also sometimes driven by personal preferences, but in the opposite direction.

I have never felt the impulse to work.

Rather than being driven by just one factor, the decision to take on some paid work was often based on a combination of factors. This was the case for this woman who highlighted just such a mix as she described her husband's reasons for supporting her decision to work alongside caring for their children.

[My husband] has been 90% behind the decision to go back to work every time. I think it is partly financial and partly because he knows that I couldn't stand being at home.

One additional set of considerations regarding the taking on of paid work, even with difficult financial circumstances, concerned its impact on benefits and supplementary assistance. In the cases of low-income families where one person was working, certain supplements and credits were available through the welfare and tax systems. If a woman was to go to work she had to consider the impact of her income on these. Similarly, for those on welfare, income from paid employment could affect benefits through the abatement regimes. Such implications were well worth considering given the demands and difficulties that returning to paid work would involve. Often there were many and, as has been apparent at times, competing motives and pressures. An ongoing process of evaluating and balancing these various considerations emerged.

(vi) *Balancing Paid and Unpaid Responsibilities – A Dynamic Process*

This process was often necessitated by changing domestic circumstances that forced or allowed breaks in or changes to women's involvement with paid work. An obvious and frequent example of this was the effect that the age of children could have. People often preferred to wait until children were kindergarten age or at school before embarking on paid work.

I started off working weekends and when she went to school at five I started working through the week ...I only worked 8 to 12 or something like that.

Someone rang up for a job today and I decided it is [my youngest son's] last year at home, I will bear the financial strain and I will stay at home because he was in day care when I was fruit picking and I was never happy. ... When he is at school I might try and get work between school hours but I would always be home.

I suppose at that time I wasn't ready [go back to work] after 12 months. But when [my daughter] was two years old yes, I was ready to go back to work. ...She was at Kohanga Reo.

Similarly, the make up of any work (hours, days and types of work) was often heavily structured around others, be they children, a spouse or partner, and their needs and commitments.

I only ever worked when the kids were at school, except on a Friday. [Then my husband] looked after the children after school because with glide time he could knock off and pick up the children from school.

My work was Saturdays when [my husband] was home and Thursday nights. ...[He] was home and he looked after the children.

I used to sort of work it so he would be at school ... so I worked it between school hours.

I was working part-time on the night line making electronic telephones. I was also looking after children before and after school. I was also cleaning our local school.

I got a job cleaning [the local] school and I took [my daughter] with me. After school. I'd wait for her, picked her up, and then go do the cleaning.

For this woman, even though she was not involved in paid work, a period of full-time study was similarly structured by her unpaid responsibilities.

I had two terms before she started school and 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 crèche 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.

Being in paid work – regardless of the make up – did not change the primacy of women's responsibility in respect of childcare. Thus, part of the balancing process involved them having to still cope with or make provision for children's illnesses and holidays, for example.

I get so many days sick leave for them ... my mother will look after them if they're sick but occasionally if I need to take them to the doctor or something like that, I'll have a day off and I'll say its for them or if ... I've finished my allocation for them I might say I'm actually sick and do it that way.

[If my daughter is sick] I either take a day off, sick leave or I can swap days with the lady who timeshares with me, or [my husband's] mother, her grandmother, will come and look after her.

I always made time for the kids, even when I was working. If they had a school trip or whatever I didn't go to work, I had the day off.

[If they were sick] I could get time off to look after them, or we lived just around the corner from [my husband's] parents at the time so his mum had them or a friend who was around the corner had them as well, after school and that sort of thing.

It is not hard to see that balancing unpaid responsibilities with paid work often created heavy demands and required remarkable strategies in respect of childcare. Some examples of these strategies illustrate the complexity of the issue and the pressures it places on women in particular.

[My daughter] was starting at morning kindy, so it involved someone picking her up ... for the hour from twelve to one when [she] finishes kindy ... but again I have my mother and mother-in-law... ...And [my son] I take him to school before I get [to work] and I take [my daughter] to kindy and I'm not [at work] till ten past nine, quarter past nine and they're fine about that. And I'm finished at quarter past one. I can still keep up everything at home for a couple of hours before school finishes.

We had to do things like drop the children off at his mother's place at 7 o'clock in the morning because I had to be at work at 7, ...she would give them breakfast and they would walk to school from her place. It was really diabolical the three days he worked.

I went back full-time, the kids came with me. ...Once [my son] started kindy it was – drop him off at kindy and go to work. Basically they spent most of the time at work with me.

I used to finish work about 11am, get him to kindy at 12.30, but by then [my husband] was home in the afternoons so he picked him up from kindy, so there was always somebody there.

Outside of adjusting their work to match childcare demands and having to establish demanding schedules, the involvement of others was critical to enabling women to

participate in paid work. Of course some people simply wouldn't countenance the idea of someone else caring for their child.

I just couldn't have somebody else looking after my baby. I couldn't have coped keeping a house, looking after a baby and working, I realised once it had happened. Before it happened I was full of what I was going to do. When it happens it's different ... I could never have left the children in a day care centre or with someone I didn't know. ...I would have sacrificed things to stay home with the children.

For many others it was a simple case of necessity. Often family were an important source of help and support.

[After school] they went to their nana's, my mother used to live not very far, some days they went to her. ...having mum made a big difference because she would, in the winter time, she would cook a casserole and cook enough for the two families and it made a difference.

Though there could be tensions.

[My husband's] mum was the one that looked after the children mainly. My sister a bit... I think I was probably asking a bit much from [my mother-in-law]. She never said anything to me but I heard through the grapevine that she wasn't that overly thrilled about it. ... but I mean I used to give her money.

Alternatively, people turned to a range of professional care. Here costs often became an issue and proved to be prohibitive in some circumstances.

Having worked full-time the year before you get used to the money coming in and part-time wasn't bringing a lot in with paying for childcare as well.

[I used] Afcare at school and that was really good and they both enjoyed going there. It is geared towards that age group where they can actually do crafts and go swimming, so they were quite happy. ...[It cost] very little, no more than \$25.

I had a person from the playgroup who looked after [my daughter] and [she] loved going there. ...it wasn't expensive, it was a friend and it was a minimal amount.

With teaching I found the money that good I could afford to pay childcare and still come out well from it. The kids were both happy.

I'd have to organise someone to look after the baby and I don't know how I ever did it to be honest. ...I had have to have the kids in daycare and it worked out I was working for about \$2 an hour ... because [my son] wasn't at kindy ... if [he] didn't go back to kindy he was going to get kicked out.

The attitudes and actions of employers could also be influential, though they worked both ways.

Like, school holidays, I could take my son with me because they had a play area out the back. They just didn't mind or anything.

[My other boss] wasn't very sympathetic to it. He knew I had a small child ...he said ...that he didn't mind that I had a child and if the child got sick ...

I would be able to take time off ... but when it came to the crunch he wasn't a very caring boss at all.

There is a certain resonance between the experiences of single parents and the strategies they employed with those presented here. Although these cases involve couples, childcare still posed major difficulties for many and often demanded complex solutions. Having to balance both paid and unpaid responsibilities brought, as we have seen, a host of challenges and demands. Family and friends were important, as were childcare facilities. With the latter, however, cost was always an issue. A high degree of organisation was evident in co-ordinating childcare with paid work or study. As with single parents, childcare was a critical issue for couples to consider in relation to the transitions between paid and unpaid work.

(vii) The Role of Men in Childcare

It is fairly clear that women almost always took the bulk, if not all, of the responsibility for looking after children as well as organising childcare. This is not to ignore the role that men played, but the degree of their involvement was variable. In most cases, men acted as a support for or adjunct to the principal carer, the woman. This was often because they saw their primary role in relation to paid work. However, as has been noted, even when some were out of paid work, this did not always mean a redistribution of responsibilities.

Depending on their work commitments men might pick up children from school or care. However, it was seldom they who organised their work around these requirements; more that their work allowed it. They also sometimes cared for children while their wives or partners worked. Ironically, this occasionally actually added to the unpaid demands of the other party. One husband commented that,

[dinner] is usually done for us. She's good like that. In the mornings if she has to go to work early, most of [the baby's] stuff is ready to go around to the day carer.

And a woman who worked some evenings described similar preparations and demands.

But it just meant my afternoons were [busy] ... I was always had my meals and everything ready before I left.

Occasionally, when changing work patterns allowed men more involvement in caring for children and the home, they found this very rewarding.

When I was truck driving I'd only see them for an hour ... but since I've been on shift work I've seen life. I've taken the kids to school in the morning and doing housework and that while [my wife] goes off and does a few hours gardening. Brilliant and it works out just nice because she comes home in the afternoon and I'm off to work. ... It's changed my life around.

Even this case was simply a fortunate outcome of getting a new job. The man did not consider how it would mesh with his home life, he just needed a job having had difficulty previously getting settled well-paid work.

(viii) *The Implications of Men's Attitudes to Paid Work on Family Life*

The positive gains from spending more time with the family that this man and others experienced were in stark contrast to the sense of loss that was felt by men who had responded to having a family by working even harder and longer hours. As well, the increasing time and energy that men committed to their paid work often placed additional strain on their partner's efforts to balance both paid and unpaid responsibilities. This was seen in a number of cases. Men, themselves, recognised this quite often.

It affected my family greatly because I became obsessed with my work having to keep up with my commitments and over the years we have had a couple of rough times through my obsession with having to do the work which I have taken on.

It did affect us when I had to work the whole weekend. Which at that stage you've got to. We tried to get around that. ...[The family] understood if I worked long hours they reaped the rewards. ...We could survive on what I was earning, but we were surviving and we wanted to live ... It was the requirement of the extras of trying to be able to save, trying to do things to the house, trying to give the kids a little bit extra, trying to give them a holiday.

The money was good. I think the long hours, because there was a lot of overtime involved over and above the set hours and I think that ... socially I think it affected it [home life] quite a lot. ...I would say some of the long hours must have had some time of effect on your children. ...You don't see as much of them. The normal day to day life which included sports on the weekend, it did affect that. So I think the kids had to rely a lot on [my wife] and not so much on me.

The stress of [work] impacted upon me greatly and obviously affected family life.

In this last case the stress of his workplace contributed to this man's decision to start his own business. Though happier in himself, this change created different impacts on his family.

I was doing a lot of evening hours to keep on track ... I tended to work on weekends as well and so we didn't go out and do things, recreation.

Some women described these types of circumstances from their perspective.

[My husband would] often go really early in the morning and at night he'd be on the phone all night with some clients and so really we didn't have a lot of, I guess, quality family time ... we didn't all have dinner together ... I was supervising the homework or something like that.

At that stage [my husband] was working long hours ... and it is all very well to say he can give a hand with the kids but sometimes he was working 50-60 hours a week, it was very difficult to ask him, he certainly never said no, but you can't push it at both ends. You can't say – well I want to work and tough if you are doing 50-60 hours a week, that is your tough bikkie – you can't do that.

[My husband] has got two jobs and he doesn't have time to do washing, ironing and cleaning. He does a lot of cooking though.

Whilst the financial side was undoubtedly important, and was clearly offered as the main reason for this emphasis on work, the effects that a husband or partner working additional hours had on their family may have offset any benefits. Most of the women seemed to accept the situation but this does not mean that it didn't put additional stresses and pressures on them. That some of the men were later to recognise the negative implications of their actions, both for themselves and their families, suggests that it may be a pattern that is worth re-evaluating.

(ix) *The Distribution of Unpaid Work, Other Than Childcare, in the Household*

One result of men devoting more time to paid work was a skewed distribution of unpaid work in the household. In those cases where some detailed description of the division of household work was provided, there was a fairly traditional gender-based breakdown in evidence, though with occasional exceptions. As well as those with children, these comments come from couples who did not have children and others whose children were older and had left home. For some the demarcations were absolute and based on a clear line between paid and unpaid work. This couple described just such a division of labour. The wife did not have any involvement in paid work.

Husband: Before the kids were old enough to do the dishes I always did the dishes, but [my wife] hasn't worked full-time since we started having kids 21 years ago and she is quite happy to do the housework ... That is how we run it, she is happy to do that and I am happy to go out and work elsewhere and everybody is happy. When the kids turned ten they were ordered to do the dishes and dad didn't have to do them anymore.

Wife: I think a few people think I am lazy because I don't go out to work nine to five, five days a week. ...They think [my husband] goes out to work and I don't do anything. Its a lot of support for him too, that is another reason I stayed home, because he works very hard. ...He doesn't have to do, we are a bit old fashioned, he doesn't have to do a lot ... he doesn't have to do shared responsibilities in the housework line. ...We do [the outside] together.

Even if both spouses/partners were working (or if both were not in paid work) there were still boundaries and imbalances.

My wife would do more domestic duties than me.

I make sure the car is maintained and do all the painting and stuff like things outside and [my wife] does the vacuuming. I may pick up the cleaner once every three months and vacuum the house for her if we particularly have got something we want to be doing and she needs a hand to get through stuff. I think every kiwi family is like that.

The general running of the house, groceries and paying your general bills like power and telephone, my wife is responsible for that. As far as any major purchases that is very much a joint thing. ... The general household activities like cooking and cleaning that is very much my wife's area of

responsibility. I focus mainly on the business side of it. I do minor repairs around the house fixing things.

I guess for the running of the house I make most of the decisions. ...He does the lawn and I do the house.

[Housekeeping] was all left up to me. I had full run of the house with meals, dishes, housework. ...[Childcare] was my responsibility. If I went out at night I discussed it with my husband ... he would stay home. As long as I got the dishes done first and got her ready for bed.

The allocation of domestic responsibilities, especially when both people were busy, often became quite contentious.

[My husband] gets quite shitty with me and he plays sport on the weekends and when he's out I go out and mow the lawns. But yes I normally do most of it. He has pulled his weight probably in the last year and done more than what he used to.

[Housework] is a bone of contention because we are both very sporty so we have heaps on, so we tend to split it between the two of us. With me doing part-time I got a lot more done at home but when I was full-time I had a house keeper come in to do the ironing and general cleaning otherwise we wouldn't have got through it. ...He is pretty good.

A more equitable distribution of this work, regardless of what other roles and responsibilities people had, was uncommon. However, as these cases show it did occur.

I try and help the best way I can and [my wife] does what she can. She is a working lady and I can't expect her to do everything. We share in everything. If there is washing to be done, we do it, if there are dishes to be done, we share it.

I do the ironing and the cooking. No. I don't mind doing things inside at all. I do the ironing while I'm watching TV or the vacuuming. ...I do the cooking because I love cooking, so I do most of the cooking. No, [my wife] is very good, she does the washing and that sort of thing.

The tone of these comments are interesting since, as the next remark makes explicit, the men in these cases don't present their efforts as somehow helping their wives out, but as a sharing of joint responsibilities.

[My wife] and I have a relationship of reasonable equality in terms of household chores and child responsibility for the raising of the children. It is not just the tasks that are shared but we also share the responsibility and accountability in what goes on in the raising of the children. Not just helping with the dishes or minding the children but actually caring for the children as if it is my responsibility, not that I am doing her a favour.

Gradual shifts sometimes occurred in the balance of paid and unpaid work. This might be due to people's commitments and circumstances altering over time or as the result of changes in the family lifecycle. This man did far more around home when his hours of work were changed.

Both of us [do housework]. Like when [my wife] was working I would do most of the cooking because I am home through the day and it was easier for me to do rather than wait for [her] to come home at five and do it. ...The rest of the household chores we do, whoever gets the vacuum cleaner first. We both pitch in and do it.

The changes this woman recounted occurred after she and her husband retired.

When [my husband] was working I used to do most because he was so busy but now he is retired we divide them up more. He might do the vacuuming and I do something else and he does the garden whereas I would have done it before. It was really because he was just so very busy all the time. He does the dishes and things like that.

In the next case the wife had built up her own secretarial business and found herself increasingly busy. The couple's children were older and one had left home. Her husband had gradually, over time, increased what he did at home. This eventually led to him cooking the evening meals.

It just evolved I think because I'm so busy here I just say I haven't got time will you do it. And he has become a very good cook. ...I don't even tell him what is happening. He does it all. ...There are not many men that would do that. He doesn't get home till six o'clock and he has pretty hectic days some days. He just doesn't even question he just goes out and cooks it.

Consequently, he also played a greater role in grocery shopping. Whilst not dramatic, for some families such shifts could still be quite significant in helping people manage their various responsibilities. It certainly was important for allowing this woman to devote more time to her business.

(x) *Women Managing the Return to Paid Work*

A great deal of the discussion thus far has highlighted the uneven distribution of unpaid work, with much of it within households falling to women, particularly in respect of childcare. This often meant they had to opt out of paid work, even if only for a short time. The related issue that we now turn to looks at how women managed the transition back to some form of paid employment. For a great many of those interviewed this was a difficult issue and returning to the paid workforce after having been out of it for a time introduced a whole range of considerations. These included loss of skills, lack of training and education, and fears about new technology. Often these were perceived difficulties rather than actual shortcomings. None-the-less they generated anxiety and weakened confidence. Given the nature of the period under study it must also be acknowledged that returning to work within these years meant adapting to a changing labour market and, later, to a radically different industrial relations framework.

A small group of women were not perturbed or affected by any of these matters.

[Being at home] hasn't affected it at all because I have found jobs where I can pick and choose. I haven't ever had a problem getting a job.

Often those who found no difficulties had training or qualifications that they relied on to get work. Alternatively, they may have had extensive experience that they utilised,

or a specific occupation that they returned to. Teaching was a frequently cited example that illustrated all these characteristics.

I don't care if I do [lose my job], there will always be something else. I can always do relief teaching because there are very few PE relievers around.

Before considering full-time posts, women frequently returned to teaching on a part-time or relief basis as the hours often helped with childcare issues. They also had opportunities to move between schools to seek more favourable positions. Banking was another sector where prior experience appeared to be beneficial when a woman was considering a return to work. Of course not everyone found that a previous career was an automatic entree back into paid work. Changes across time within the profession and with the individual often reduced the desire or opportunity to return. There was also an array of other considerations.

I thought I would go back teaching as the girls got older but ... we haven't had the need financially for me to go back to work. ...It got to the stage when I had been out of teaching for so long I couldn't go back to it anyway and then when we set up the business I just did the book work and went from there. ...I had done various bits of relief teaching but not much ...I haven't done any for quite a few years ... it was so abysmal I decided that was the end of teaching. ...The government brought in that you had to be registered, and I didn't bother registering, then they brought in different criteria to be a relief teacher and I just opted out. ...[I always thought] that one day I would go back teaching and then the longer the gap the harder it got to get back the confidence to go in, now at 22years out of the workforce , it is very hard to gain that confidence back. I know I have the ability to do things. ...Then it got to the stage that the gap got bigger and I got less and less confident.

Others mentioned this gap and sometimes it was felt that the best option was to get back into a particular profession or job as quickly as possible. However, as the following exchange between husband and wife shows, while this may help with work issues there is a downside in other areas of life.

Wife: I could have perhaps continued [to work], other people do take maternity leave and keep up to step and get back in there, but you know you have to work quite hard at doing that.

Husband: You sacrifice something else to do that.

Wife: If you take even a minimal number of years ...within that short period of a couple of years radical changes can have taken place in the workforce. Which makes it difficult to get back.

Husband: You have got friends who struggle with [that].

This woman also noted the radical changes that had taken place in her profession in the first few years she was away.

Dental nursing has undergone a metamorphosis in the entire time that I [have been away] ...The nature of the job, in talking to them that are still involved, has changed radically. It has gone so quickly that I don't think I could have at any time stepped back into that work environment. ...We had trained and committed a lot of years of training, but never be able to actually catch up into that same employment situation again was quite daunting.

She goes on to clearly identify the pace and degree of technological change that had occurred. Whilst one is working, you are immersed in those changes. For those out of the workforce and on the sidelines it can be a struggle to maintain or catch up with them.

Your changes with the computing system at work, for a woman to perhaps even take maternity leave and then step back into that, the whole thing has changed before your eyes. When you are in it, it is just a process that you are involved in.

Others recognised this deficit and acted on it.

So I was behind the modern technology, it took me ages, that is why I did housecleaning because there were heaps of applicants and I found I was being beaten and I think it was because of the computer so I actually did a course on computer.

This whole issue of technological change was one mentioned by many people in a variety of contexts.

For those without professions or established careers to return to, the problems were often perceived as related to their lack of skills and/or insufficient qualifications. They had to compete with others on the job market, many of whom seem far more qualified.

I know it would be hard for me to get a job, like this job ... someone rang me up and thought I might be good at it, but up until then I hadn't really looked for anything. Because I have been unemployed for so long it is probably hard to get back into work especially with polytech students coming along. They are more employable than someone who has been out of work for 16 years. ... The fact that you haven't worked for so long, things have changed, technology and everything. ...I could see it being a barrier.

To overcome this disadvantage some recognised the need for retraining, but that, too, could have huge implications and was no guarantee of employment. The whole prospect was daunting.

I think if I had to go and apply for a job, where would I start. ... I've been doing quite a bit of thinking about that lately and that I've got to aim at getting a full-time job one day. I should try and decide what I want to do. Because if I wanted to do something qualified, I would have to start now, like polytech. ... [The gardening] is not as easy as it used to be ... I don't think it's the sort of job that I feel I can do for the rest of my life. I'm sort of looking at what alternatives I've got. You think where do I begin? I've got references from my old jobs but that is 8 years ago. There is a lot of water gone under the bridge since then.

Aside from the woman who undertook a four year university degree whilst caring for her young daughter, no other woman with children who was either married or in a similar relationship, undertook any substantial training or study in conjunction with their unpaid work. Most training was of a fairly short duration and generally involved some skills update or expansion such as in the case of the woman who did the computer course. This is interesting when compared to those on the DPB, some of whom were supported and encouraged to undertake lengthy polytech programmes.

There were, then, a raft of factors implicated in the difficulties women experienced in returning to paid work. As well as the issues already identified, these next remarks introduce the effects of self esteem and self confidence.

You're never quite sure whether you've still got the same skills and ability that you had before. Its self esteem and self confidence is what it boils down to really. I can look back now and say, yes, of course I was competent. I'd done this, this, this and this, before I went back. But you tend not to think of your unpaid work, or your part-time work as being quite the same as full-time, particularly, I suppose too, particularly if you're going into a discipline like say social work, you think what won't I know, you know. But quite quickly you find that you haven't forgotten things and you, as soon as you build up your self confidence you're away again.

I see people, lots of people, who enquire about employment, not just people like me but people who've been out of work just for a while and who are often pretty anxious about just what they can do and not very confident and not quite sure where to look and what to do next and who to approach and how to apply and all those sorts of things. ...I was pretty lucky because I didn't have to go around doing too big a search though to get in. I think your self confidence would take a bigger denting if it took you ten, twenty, thirty jobs to get a job.

In the following case, the woman had worked for a few hours on a couple of evenings each week supervising sports activities at the local YMCA. She then took over organising and running the programme, though still on a part-time basis. Even this transition within the same workplace and doing much the same work was daunting.

After being home for six years with just this little job at the "Y" it was pretty mind-boggling when I went back and hadn't touched a computer. I did find it really hard confidence wise. You know the first month I thought "I'm never going to master this and I'm never going to have the confidence that I used to have", but it's come back and I just love it now. It's just an extension of my life – I think I'm a better person for it.

Despite their anxieties, these women were successful in finding work, as were most of those who elected at some stage to return to paid employment. However, unlike some who picked up careers they had put on hold for children, others were only successful because they accepted work on a casual basis or with a low skill level. Whilst this could have been because of the many factors identified already, it was also quite often because these jobs suited the requirements and demands of their unpaid responsibilities. It may have been, as well, that financial imperatives were of more pressing importance than considerations about the type or quality of work. For these sorts of reasons, working as a cleaner, whether it be in the local school or other people's houses, was not uncommon.

It was a matter of needing the extra money just to pay the bills ...to get these things done I needed work, and as I said I had difficulty getting work so house cleaning was my alternative at the time.

I got a job cleaning [the local] school and I took [my daughter] with me. After school. I'd wait for her, picked her up, and then go do the cleaning. ... And it was always a rush to get home to get tea, because I worked I would try to have certain things ready in the pot before I went, so it was a bit of a pressure.

Over and above simply paying the bills, sometimes taking any sort of work served as a useful means to a number of other ends. These included building confidence, developing skills and accumulating experience.

[The casual work] was just really to get back, I guess, into the workforce. I think it lifts your ego a little bit when you are required, you're needed, to go and work.

It was sometimes part of a graduated return to paid work. This could involve, for example, moving from seasonal or casual work to part-time employment, or gradually increasing one's hours. It is important to note that full-time work was not always the goal, rather it was a matter of continually evaluating the competing demands of both paid and unpaid work and finding a balance that satisfied these. The very fact of having children could itself work against women being easily able to find work.

I'm always looking, but it's hard to fit it in with a child. You would go for interviews and you would say you have a one-year old or a two-year old and they weren't interested. ...They think you're maybe not quite so reliable. ...Like I have applied for many a job and soon as they find out you never hear from them again. ...as soon as the kids came on the scene no-one is interested.

All of the transitions involving paid and unpaid work were occurring, of course, against the background of an ever-changing economy and labour market. Thus, women's employment was sometimes vulnerable to enforced changes such as redundancy. As well, perceptions regarding the economy and job market were obviously important for people involved in unpaid work as they considered any return to paid work. Such factors sometimes influenced their thinking on how long to stay out of paid work and when and how they might return. Occasionally women raised the matter of the job market in relation to their own search for or return to paid work. In this context they had a somewhat negative or at best uncertain view of the job market which reflected more widely held perceptions.

Not only did women have to consider and deal with all these various issues when contemplating or actually moving back into some form of paid work, but some were often confronted with them on several occasions. In families with more than one child women chose either to remain out of paid work until they had had their last child or to return to paid work for a time between having children. Those in the latter group had to manage more than one of these often difficult transitions. Then there were the unplanned pregnancies as well as childcare or children's problems that forced additional transitions out of and then back into paid work. In addition, women had to manage the various changes to the balance between paid and unpaid work that were possible, and that occurred, as children got older.

(xi) *Maternity and Parental Leave*

After the birth or adoption of a child, one way that women managed the transition back to paid work and lessened the dependence on an uncertain job market was

through maternity and parental leave. Ten women⁵ made some reference to maternity leave and how they viewed and used it. Unlike the experience of a woman⁶ from the UK who had had 18 weeks paid maternity leave from her job, in New Zealand this is unpaid leave. For women who qualified there was a maximum twelve month period during which their jobs were protected. Because of its unpaid nature, one woman⁷ took the opportunity of redundancy pay when the firm she was working for restructured, rather than maternity leave. She subsequently took on a high level of casual and part-time work very soon after the birth of her child and was reasonably successful getting full-time work when she was ready.

All four of the women on maternity leave at the time of interview, intended returning to work – three after the full twelve months and one after six months. Monetary concerns lay behind this last woman considering an earlier return.

They have given me a year [on maternity leave] but it is unpaid and I think I will go back in six months or so, for the money side.

Although this was their intention, other experiences illustrated how things changed. One of the women, who had had two episodes of maternity leave, was similarly planning to return to work at the end of the twelve months period after the birth of her first child. However, as this time approached she found she felt very differently.

I suppose at that time I wasn't ready [go back to work] after 12 months. But when [my daughter] was two years old yes, I was ready to go back to work. ...She was at Kohanga Reo.

With her second baby she felt more confident that twelve months would be enough time away from work on this occasion. As the next woman observed, sometimes it was a matter of plans not quite matching reality.

I just couldn't have somebody else looking after my baby. I couldn't have coped keeping a house, looking after a baby and working, I realised once it had happened. Before it happened I was full of what I was going to do. When it happens it's different.

The two women just quoted were the only two who decided not to return to work prior to or at the end of the twelve-month period. Of those who had returned to work, only one had taken the whole twelve months. She returned part-time and gradually increased her hours.

It was just over a year when I went back to work. I started off working four part days a week, because I wasn't really sure how he was going to go in childcare. ... And he now goes three half days to playcentre and he goes to a childcare centre ...and on Wednesdays he goes to a friend's house.

Others were back at their jobs in under a year. For instance, two women went back to paid work after about seven months. One of these women did this on two occasions adjusting her hours from full to part-time on the first occasion and going back to this part-time position on the second. The other elected not to return to her former employer as she hated the work and easily found a full-time job elsewhere. In another case, the woman was only off for two months before going back full-time. These last

⁵ As two of these women talked about the two episodes that they had had, there are twelve episodes to examine.

⁶ Included in the ten cases/twelve episodes.

⁷ Not included in the ten cases/twelve episodes.

two examples were explored earlier in looking at instances where both partners were in full-time paid work and shared the unpaid work and responsibilities.

Maternity leave certainly appeared to be of some use in easing the uncertainty of returning to paid work. However, the fact that it is unpaid seemed to offset some of this benefit as financial pressures sometimes forced women to return before the twelve months were up. Though some were able to negotiate reduced hours when they returned to work, the provision of this leave didn't abolish the difficulties inherent in trying to balance paid and unpaid responsibilities. If women opted not to return to their jobs before the leave period expired, then they later faced the same issues as other women. No men who were interviewed talked about taking any parental leave.

Summary – Unpaid Domestic Work

The findings of this study in respect of unpaid work will come as no surprise to anyone who has experienced or read about these issues. What the preceding discussion has ably demonstrated is that amongst those interviewed, women remained principally responsible for and heavily involved in unpaid work. This was especially true in respect of childcare. Other types of unpaid domestic work (caring for ageing parents or grandchildren for example) were less common but still gendered.

Unpaid work was organised along traditional lines in most households. When children were present they appeared to be the key factor in the process of organising and allocating both paid and unpaid work. Identifying who would have primary responsibility for their care clearly set the 'tone' for the distribution of other roles and responsibilities. Considerations such as being made redundant and not being able to get work were far less influential. This process seemed fairly unproblematic and uncontested in most couples and almost invariably it was women who took on childcare responsibilities. Consequently they also assumed a large proportion of other domestic duties. This was sometimes exacerbated because the male was devoting more time to his role as primary earner. Even in households with no children, there was frequently still an imbalance in the distribution of domestic chores, with women most often shouldering an unequal share. The man's contribution in the unpaid sphere, particularly in respect of childcare, was frequently characterised as one of support.

Such a skewed distribution had important implications for women's transitions between unpaid and paid work, a transition often forced on them by financial circumstances. As a result, women had to contend with an array of issues as well as balance competing demands. To this end they utilised different childcare systems and supports. It is important to note here that even if women were engaged in full-time work they remained the primary caregivers. This meant still being responsible for organising care and coping with holidays, illnesses and other unexpected childcare crises.

Any return to the paid workforce was often contingent on factors such as the length of time they had been out of paid work, their previous experience and qualifications, and anything they might have done to bridge the gap in the interim. Sometimes women took on work that demanded fewer qualifications or little previous experience to ease this transition. A common strategy involved initially engaging in paid work on a part-

time, casual or seasonal basis. This was most often chosen as it offered some better fit with their other responsibilities. Maternity leave appeared useful in providing some job security whilst having time off to care for a new child. However, because it was unpaid financial pressures often meant women felt the need to return to work earlier than they would like. The success that women experienced and reported in managing these unpaid responsibilities as well as negotiating transitions back into paid work seems to indicate that they coped remarkably well with the difficulties, challenges and anxieties they faced. However, it was an ongoing process that had to take account of changing circumstances both within and outside the household. As well, women clearly had to make numerous compromises and weather huge demands.

PAID WORK

Introduction

The generic term work has often been taken to imply only paid employment. However, as is now commonly accepted there are many types of work and an individual's pattern of working can combine many forms, each at different times or in various combinations at the same time. In employing transitions as the unit of analysis for this study one of the aims was to draw out and explore the diversity of work experiences that individuals had. The preceding sections of this report demonstrate the success of this study in that regard. That said, paid work is often still a significant feature of many people's lives and in this study only five people – all but one of whom was female – were not involved in any paid work whatsoever during the ten year study period. One of these was a man who had taken early retirement due to ill health. Another was a woman who had committed herself to caring for children and the household whilst her husband worked full-time. His job in the public service meant frequent relocations around the country in order to gain promotion. By remaining out of paid work this woman made her husband's paid work the primary focus and helped ease the problems associated with these numerous shifts. This was a deliberate strategy.

We wanted to have children and we thought that I was the best person to raise them, not other people. ...[My husband] was going to have a career and I was going to raise the children. ...I did [have career aspirations] before I had children but that was a decision I made, it was either children or career so I chose children. ...His job meant, for him to get advancement, it meant we had to travel around so therefore I had to be free just to move and if I had of had a career I would not have been able to just up and move with him.

The other three people who did not engage in any paid work each received a benefit for some or all of the decade under study. One woman spent a number of years committed to unpaid work in the home as her husband was against her working while they had children. He saw his role as the breadwinner.

My husband wouldn't allow me to go out and work, he didn't approve of me working because he thought my daughter needed me at home and he needed me at home as well. I felt quite happy [about this] ...when our daughter was younger I knew that my priorities had to be based on being home for her and my husband.

When they lived apart for a time she received the DPB. Soon after they reunited he became ill and she cared for him while they received a sickness benefit. One of the other two had retired early with a private pension before qualifying for national superannuation. The last person received the DPB for the ten-year period.

Given that the study was focused on a particular time period, one that happened to coincide with this small group being uninvolved in paid work, it is useful to relate their experiences at this time to a wider context.⁸ This gives us further evidence of the

⁸ Of course, given the central focus of the interviews was the ten year period and that people may have been established in patterns of work for many years prior to this, historical information from prior to

importance and prominence of paid work. The two people who had retired had been involved in full-time paid work prior to this. Two of the other women were considering a return to paid work when their family responsibilities allowed. Although the woman receiving the DPB was resisting efforts by the DSW to take on some paid work, she essentially just wanted to wait until her children were older. Not only did the woman with the sick husband feel a personal desire to re-enter the work force and possibly do some training, she was also driven by practical motives.

But now I want to go out and work ...[my husband] wont be happy for the simple fact that he has always thought it was not my role to be the breadwinner and not the other way around. But when my husband has been crook like he has been crook like he has been, the tables are turned, I want to work to be able to support my husband and to be able to support my daughter.

Only the woman who was married to the public servant was not considering such a move but this was in large part due to her becoming very ill.

Given that only this very small group did not participate in any paid work, the vast majority obviously did have some involvement. This was for varying periods of time from a few weeks to the whole ten years. Often their involvement predated the study timeframe. It also covered a range of experiences in terms of the types of work undertaken and the patterns of employment. In respect of the latter, paid work covered:

- self employment
- part-time work
- casual and temporary work
- seasonal work
- full-time work

The criteria to differentiate between these types of employment are set out in each section. They are not overly prescriptive but set some general guidelines. As always we were guided by how people themselves portrayed their work patterns. Each of these categories are explored in some detail in the following sections. Occasionally people who were in paid employment did not have any transitions during the ten years. These cases are discussed in a later section headed *No Transitions*⁹. Also explored in some detail are a number of more general themes that emerged in respect of paid employment. These were issues that were raised spontaneously or specifically targeted in the interviews. They are:

- intensification
- the gendered nature of paid work
- the Employment Contracts Act and unions
- restructuring and redundancy
- age related issues – ageism & youth employment

1985 was not always elicited or volunteered. More comment was made about future expectations and plans.

⁹ This section is not limited to paid work, however. People sometimes maintained unchanged profiles across the ten years that did not involve paid work – e.g. the woman who was only involved in caring for her family and some voluntary work. These cases are also canvassed in the No Transitions section.

(a) Self Employment

In a quarter of households, in our sample at least one member was self-employed for a period of time during the ten year study period. In one household the husband and wife were both independently self-employed in different enterprises, creating twenty-five ventures. The same number of business principals can be identified in each case. These are the people who were solely engaged in the enterprise and appeared to drive and be largely responsible for the formation and ongoing operation of the business. Four of these principals started second ventures either on separate occasions or involving different businesses, increasing the number of enterprises to 29 over the whole study period. Only two of the principals identified themselves as Maori, and just four were women.

Given that all but four of the households were made up of couples, identifying principals in each case is not intended to ignore the roles of partners and spouses. Their contributions were often vital to the functioning or survival of the enterprise. However, getting a clear picture of the status and connection of people in personal relationships to the business was not always easy. This was often because of the way that the business was talked about – with one party referring to it as ‘my’ business whilst the other talked of ‘their’ company – or how it was organised. Despite these issues, ten partners or spouses were assessed as clearly having an active or prominent role in the businesses in some way. Often this was formalised, such as when they were employees of the business. Similar activities were carried out by many spouses and partners but in a less formal sense within a number of the other businesses. These were most often described in a supportive or ancillary way – ‘helping out’. Children were present in about 60% of households where some form of self-employment was initiated.

A whole range of activities was represented in this selection of enterprises. Some, not unexpectedly, fell into the service, trades and professional categories; many clearly matched the common image of the small business; others were a product of opportunities presented by a particular region and local economy, in this case Hawkes Bay. Table 6 outlines these in more detail. This table also gives the occupation of the principle prior to launching the new enterprise. The fourth and last enterprises may be a jolt but remind us that it is possible for the arts and crafts to offer employment, indeed in this case self-employment, opportunities.

Table 6: Background and eventual self employment		
Previous Occupation	Type of business (1)	Type of business (2)
Mason	Masonry	
Plumber (2)	Plumbing (2)	
Accountant	Accounting	
Office work	Writing	
Engineer	Light Engineering	
Veterinarian	Small Animal Veterinarian Practice	
Steel Reinforcing Worker	Steel Reinforcing	
Businessman	Scrap metal	
Farmer	Farmer	<i>Wool Insulation (Distribution & Franchising)</i>
Electronic technician	Educational Computer Software	<i>Computer Support for Schools</i>
Livestock Buyer	Livestock Trading	<i>Goat & Lamb Meat Specialist Products</i>
Farm worker & Meat worker**	Possum Trapping	Possum Trapping
Engineering Sales	<i>Brake repairs</i>	
Carpentry	<i>Concrete Work</i>	
Office work/secretarial	<i>Secretarial services</i>	
Solicitor	<i>Law Practice</i>	
Farmer	Orchard	
Farm Manager**	Fencing	
Meat Inspector**	Painting	
Draughtsman	Courier Driver	
Hotel Manager	Takeaway Bar	
Painter**	Painting	
School Principal	Flower growing	
Mother	Wood turning	

Notes: **Bold:** business predated start of survey period
 Italics: business was ongoing at time of interview
 Both: business predated AND ongoing
 **,: moved into self employment following redundancy

All but one of the self-employed people came to this type of work from paid employment of some kind. The exception was a woman who was on the DPB and took up wood turning. She turned this interest into a business that supplemented but never replaced her benefit entirely. Four of those who came from paid employment had been made redundant from their jobs but moved immediately into some form of self-employment. Two of these looked upon this as a stop-gap until more permanent work could be found. The other pair had intended to keep up their new ventures but one was forced out of his fencing business by injury and the other found the business side of self-employment was too much and he elected to return to working for someone else. For those who gave up self-employment – apart from the three people who took up new entrepreneurial challenges – all but three went back into some form of paid employment. The latter included the woodturner who remained on the DPB after being forced to give up her craft by a range of circumstances and a couple who retired onto National Superannuation after their orchard venture collapsed. The others went back to a job, trade or profession that they had been in previously.

The lifespan of the various enterprises that people engaged in varied, with some ongoing at the time of interview. The latter applied to a group of twelve businesses, five of which had been established in the 1970s and continued throughout the study period. The principals of these indicated that they foresaw no immediate change to their circumstances. The other seven ongoing businesses had been started during this period and had been in existence for between one and a half and eight years at the time

of interview. Six further enterprises had begun before the study but these ended during the research timeframe. The lifespans of this group were between about four and thirty odd years. In one case the man had owned and worked a farm for many years prior to the study period. After selling it during this time he immediately started his second enterprise. For the eleven businesses that began and ended within the ten-year timeframe, each lasted between four months and four years. One person had run two of these for brief periods when he was made redundant and another two were run by people who subsequently went on to start a second venture. Their first ventures had lasted for between two and six years.

Not unexpectedly, and as can be seen from Table 6, the type of paid work people were involved in prior to self-employment generally had some influence on the type of enterprise they initiated, be that via a direct relationship or a looser type of connection. Thus, we have trades and professional people setting up their own businesses providing the service they were trained in. As well, some went into businesses that they had had some peripheral involvement with. Occasionally people simply used skills that they had picked up in various places such as the farmhand-cum-meat worker turned possum trapper. Perhaps the most intriguing example of a tenuous but influential link between one's background and the choice of enterprise was the former sheep farmer who started a business using wool as housing insulation. Other people applied general management or business skills they had gained to a new venture and a small group ventured into uncharted territory taking on a business that they hadn't worked in previously. Such was the case of the meat inspector who painted houses for a while with a friend, or the draughtsman who went courier driving. Although the schoolteacher who grew flowers commercially had prepared himself for this venture by developing a small lifestyle plot, it was still a radical shift from the classroom.

A couple of people, as has been noted, may have been somewhat forced into self-employment. After being laid off as a farm manager this man felt sure he could get similar work, but eventually had to utilise some of his skills in other ways,

I thought that while I was farming there must have been something there that I could do. ...I had tried to get another farm job but they were just non-existent at the time so I thought I would have a go at fencing. I sort of rang up a few people and got some jobs and it just carried on. ...I had all the gear so it didn't cost me anything to get into it.

Most made this choice for other reasons. Some expressed these drives in the negative such as being tired of working for someone else or feeling in a rut.

Dissatisfaction with the firm I was with ... I was better than the firm I was with and that the firm would never be top rate.

Probably a natural progression really. Having responsibility, needing more responsibility, not happy with the regime. ...I needed more.

I had just had enough really ...I thought there has got to be something better than this.

This sense of disgruntlement often drove people from a secure work environment and into a very different and uncertain direction. Take the educator, disillusioned by the system, opting to move into horticulture,

I felt some disillusionment with the education bureaucracy, political side of it... We had an interesting lifestyle on a small block of land, ...planting lots of trees and doing lots of activities on a small scale. I was keen to extend that and see if we could grow flowers commercially.

Many of these negative forces can easily be categorised more positively. Thus we have motives like seeking more independence, challenge and stimulation, the need for change as well as the chance to do a better job.

[I was] looking for something that suited me a bit more. A bit more intellectual. More challenging, though farming was challenging enough.

It was either [this] or just stay in the comfort zone and get bored and frustrated and probably be dead by the time we were sixty when we may as well be alive when we're seventy five or eighty.

I get the feeling that a lot of people are more willing to bet on themselves. ...the professionals and semi-professionals – that are more willing than they ever used to be to say “Blow it, I know I'm good, I'm going to raise my own standard.

Probably opportunities to benefit our family, better job satisfaction. I think being a better service to your client rather than being an employee.

As is apparent, a range of factors often prompted this decision.

Another motive running through many interviews, sometimes as a clear goal and other times less overtly, was the hope that in the long term self-employment would increase income and rewards.

I guess if you were prepared to work and you get the money for it that's fine. And that is what appealed to me about courier work, I was out there working from 5 o'clock in the morning to 6 o'clock at night, but you were making the money.

Money did have a bit to do with it. I had just had enough really.

I think most people wish to work for themselves, be their own boss and I was just waiting for the time... To be honest I had always yearned to go out on my own ... to earn more basically.

Thus, even though it could be fraught with uncertainty, and we will shortly share in some of the unfavourable outcomes and experiences, there were often hopes that self-employment will offer more financial security long term. This was played out in many ways. The woodturner was not drawn to the craft simply for its aesthetics but the recognition that she wanted to move off the DPB. An older couple invested the proceeds of the sale of their farm into a piece of land they developed into an orchard. This was to be a type of superannuation for their future and a livelihood for one of their adult children who was interested in this type of work.

Aside from these types of motivations, occasionally the motives for self-employment were less tangible. Take the wife of the older couple just mentioned. She believed that self-employment was in the blood or genes, an underlying drive.

Its in somebody's blood ... He came and worked for an agricultural contractor and then we went into an agriculture contracting business of our own and we started from scratch and we saved for the disks and we saved for the harrows and we lived on next to nothing. ...[For me] there is an inborn determination to make even, not material wealth, to manage however difficult. ...Pioneer family I suppose.

For the writer there was an internal force based on a life long passion:

It sort of started slowly, I was sick of office work ...and I had always wanted to write since I was a kid. It just happened.

Overall, the motives for embarking on the path of self-employment showed some common patterns. So too did the processes by which the idea was put into practice. Most people actively engaged in discussion with their spouse or partner, and often other family or friends. A unilateral decision with no involvement by others was evident in only one case:

I was earning wages, I was employed by another plumber, doing the same work. To be honest I had always yearned to go out on my own but I was actually pushed by an upset with my employer and of course from that step I just went on and was lucky enough to get work and I have never looked back since. [I] just left the boss and went looking for work. Came and told [my wife] and she wasn't very happy about it but the next day it was alright and we were onto it. ...I think she felt that we wouldn't have the secure weekly wage coming in and I think it made her a little bit unsure about it, but it didn't take more than a week for her to know, yes, I had work and things were flowing, it was as quick as that. ...I think if you have a skill or a trade or a profession or whatever you advertise and if you are lucky enough to get clients, every thing just falls into place.

As it turned out everything did work out,

Personally, I went and knocked on the door of a main building contractor and asked for work and was simply given it, and 90% of my work for this period of self employment since 1978 has been with one company. I have hardly had to advertise at all. In actual fact I don't need to advertise.

This case appeared to be a clear exception and the co-operation and involvement of others seemed to be a necessary part of the process, though the degree of this varied.

I used to help him on the weekends ... My brother-in-law said "I am a mug, I should be doing this myself and you should be helping me". So we mulled it over for a year and it came to the crunch, he had already started the business up and he got that much work that it was not funny.

I had my brother around and we were talking about different ways it would be good to work for yourself. Everybody talks like that, but you have got to find something you can do different, or you have to search the skills you have and see how you can use them to your benefit rather than someone elses. ...We decided we would set up. ...[My brother] put some money in and I put some money in and my brother was going to come into the business when he could leave his \$40,000 odd plus a year job, and slot straight into here at \$40,000 plus a year. Consequently he never came in. ...It was a case of make a decision and then nothing happens unless you get of your bum and make it happen.

[My wife and I] discussed it for a long time because it was a really risky thing to do. Because it was at that time that we were in a bit of a

depression, things weren't happening on the work front. ...But we weighed up the pros and cons and thought well wife we are going to do it ...we thought about it for twelve months and we planned and we thought okay we are going to have to do this.

As these quotes suggest, most of the projects also had a period of deliberate planning and build up.

I've got to be able to see every thing right, that its going to fall into place correctly before we really start rolling with it. ...You only really get one chance and if you go out there and do it and don't do it right from the start.

Whilst few would not expect long hours and hard work as part of any new venture, this often also applied when people were developing the business. This process involved action as well as thinking and talking. One man made a series of sequential employment changes testing his ability each time to carry clients with him and reaffirming the appropriateness of his long-term plan to go into business for himself. For others it meant saving and budgeting.

We planned and thought okay we are going to have to do this, so lets get some things started and budgeting and lowering our spending so we can get ready for it and borrowed \$12,000. By the time we purchased a vehicle we had \$4,000 working capital.

At some stage, after all the planning and talking – in the above case many years of it – there was the plunge.

[My husband] wanted to do it and that's what happened. ...It had got to a point where we had talked it through and we had got to the point of no return and we had to go on.

I bought myself a small typewriter and photocopier. Went to the bank. Had to borrow \$7,000. Doesn't that sound awful. I thought it was a lot of money. I put an ad in the paper and went from there.

As this woman's remarks show, even though on reflection the water mightn't have been that deep, it was easy for people to feel that they were out of their depth. Both as they prepared for and then embarked on their venture, there were sometimes mixed emotions – excitement, hope, anticipation, and a certain degree of anxiety and uncertainty. The woman just quoted recalled her reactions vividly,

All the time I was saying to [my husband], "It's not going to work, it's not going to work, it's not going to work, I'm not going to do it. I mean he was a lot of support.

She coped with the transition and her feelings in a novel way,

I talked myself into it as a hobby, no it's not going to be a business, it's just a hobby, just while I'm home. And the reason why I'm home is because of the kids. ...That really, probably was the incentive to get cracking and do what I've always liked to have done.

This proved a successful strategy with the business building slowly at a pace she felt comfortable with. Another person summed up the sense of nervousness and ambivalence.

The thought of stepping into the unknown where there was no guarantee of regular income ... meant there was a certain amount of apprehension. It is just one of those things where you just don't know and so it is quite a step.

People responded to this apprehension in a range of ways. As was suggested, one woman chose not to over invest in equipment or expenditure, preferring to 'make do'.

I worked on my sewing table with my typewriter. Just everything and nothing convenient. An old typewriter chair and all the rest of it and how on earth I survived I'm blown if I know.

But survive she did and her business was nine years old in 1995. From the interviews, however, it must be said that even if people were especially careful with expenditure and equipment they were, in general, very personally committed to their new venture. Others coped by preparing or beginning the new business whilst still in full-time employment. Despite being eager to devote himself fully to the new enterprise, one man recognised the value of a careful approach,

I was quite keen to stop working altogether but in the interests of discretion and caution I decided I would take on an ordinary teaching position which would give me time to devote to establishing the flower growing business.

As it turned out, circumstances conspired to see this couple have to alter their plan. The woman took on full-time work while her husband took on part-time work in the morning and afternoon, and cared for their baby during the daytime whilst working at their business. He also devoted most evenings to their enterprise. Another man also described the demands on him and his family that were created by his working full-time whilst also developing a business. This was an often-expressed sentiment.

I was doing a lot of evening hours to keep on track ... I tended to work on weekends as well and so we didn't go out and do things, recreation.

The birth of a business brought with it a range of consequences, many planned for and others unexpected. We have just seen the radical reorganisation forced on the couple who started their own flower growing enterprise. In another example, the faltering and then collapse of a business forced the husband onto the unemployment benefit. Although he immediately set about developing a new but related venture, it was undoubtedly a hard time.

It was a very difficult time for us because with the sole income being from the unemployment benefit and a residual amount from the business we found it very hard, in fact some weeks we didn't know where we were going to get food from. It was a very difficult time and not some thing I would want to live through again.

To help the situation his wife took on part-time and casual employment,

Our business was at a crisis, I had to get some employment.

Given the high demands on her husband, she still maintained most of the responsibility for the home and childcare, as well as playing a support role in the new business as it grew. Interestingly, as is shown in the above quote her husband didn't recognise the vital part her going to work played in their survival. She, however, was clear that it was crucial.

For many of the people interviewed, starting a new business meant having or choosing to devote a huge amount of time and energy to it. Whilst it is not only people in self

employment who are drawn into their work at the expense of other things and people, the nature of working for oneself seemed to lend itself to this tendency in the experience of many of those interviewed. This had implications for families. As noted earlier, 60% of households associated with self-employment had children.

It would be fair to say that the extra hours that I have worked have taken me away from the family and the household. I know there are times when I didn't really enjoy having to do work that was perhaps urgent and on demand that took me away from here.

It affected my family greatly because I became obsessed with my work having to keep up with my commitments and over the years we have had a couple of rough times through my obsession with having to do the work which I have taken on. In actual fact we could have earned a lot less being employed by someone else. I probably would have spent more time with the family, which is something I regret in these latter years.

[He] used to get the weekends, now he is self-employed it is six days a week and he is only home on Sunday. ...You just get one day and that day you are usually doing something for someone else.

Given that the vast majority of self-employed people in this group were men, it followed that the extra share of household responsibilities and involvement with children fell to women. Some actively ordered their lives to account for this,

I think a few people think I am lazy because I don't go out to work nine to five, five days a week. ...They think [my husband] goes out to work and I don't do anything. Its a lot of support for him too, that is another reason I stayed home, because he works very hard. ...He doesn't have to do, we are a bit old fashioned, he doesn't have to do a lot ... he doesn't have to do shared responsibilities in the housework line. ...We do [the outside] together.

Others were bearing the bulk of the unpaid work whilst also coping with paid work, in some form, and, sometimes, voluntary commitments as well. They may also have been active in the business themselves. Of course, not all the changes that result from having someone self-employed in the house were negative. Being occupied with her own secretarial business at home meant this woman often worked into the evenings and her husband had taken over the cooking of the evening meal,

It just evolved I think because I'm so busy here I just say I haven't got time you will have to do it. And now he has become a very good cook. The first few months were a bit grim and it is not even questioned now. I don't even tell him what is happening. He just does it all. ...We do [the shopping] together. But he is the one that fills the trolley. ...I know I'm lucky, there are not many men that would do that. He doesn't get home until six o'clock and he has some pretty hectic days some days. He just doesn't even question, he goes out and cooks it.

In earlier years, working at home had also allowed this woman to be more available for her children.

As we saw earlier, for this woman working at home meant making do with basic equipment set up in a bedroom in the early years. Later, though, the couple reorganised their home to better accommodate what was, by then, a well established business.

This was a garage that was converted into a family room ... although it was a family room it had a piano in it, furniture, whereas now its just an office.

While many people might imagine working from home to be a very positive aspect of self-employment, there are two sides to every story,

I don't think I like working from the home too much. I mean it has its good points but it has its bad points which people don't see. I'm inside all day everyday.

She didn't feel able to get out of her office.

Most of my customers don't ring me up, even though I try and encourage them to ring to make sure I'm here, they just pop round. The only reason why it worked is that I am here.

She also felt quite isolated and cut off at times. Being at home meant that the demarcation between home and work gets blurred which led to longer hours than she would have liked.

I'd actually enjoy going out and mixing and feeling part of the community. I feel very isolated here. Its a back section, the back of the section. I mean my neighbour shifted the other day and I didn't even know. ...I'm down here from half past eight in the morning at the latest, sometimes 7.30, and I don't get out until seven o'clock.

However, any thoughts about moves into the local business area were tempered by the costs involved.

My next incentive, which is what I really want to do is to open up [in the local business area]. But when you look at the rents, I could do two weeks work to pay for the rent.

As another person noted, working at home also demanded extra self-discipline.

You need a lot more self discipline, I mean when you are going to work you have to be there at a certain time to your job you just get up and go. It is much different when you are self employed in a job like writing.

Despite its drawbacks, there were, of course, people who really enjoyed working from home and what it offered. This couple both did so and whilst the wife acknowledged some of the drawbacks she saw many more benefits,

I've got my office inside in the study and he's got his office outside. It works well. No, no problems at all. ...I miss, I still do, I still miss the company of the girls at the office, but then you get used to that. ...There's all the other pluses about having a really nice day and you get your work done quickly and you can go out and garden or something like that. ...And we go away quite often with work ... I'm able to go I don't have to worry about finding someone to take my place like I used to. ...That's a good thing about not having to get up and be out at work at the certain time every day, it certainly cuts down on clothes and shoes, you don't have to get dressed up, you have to be tidy of course for when people come.

As was the case for this couple, having a partner or spouse in self-employment sometimes meant employment for the other person. Of the twenty-four households where at least one person was self-employed, in only four was there not a spouse or partner. Half of the remaining twenty businesses were operated with no involvement

from the partner or spouse. In one household the wife and husband each had their own businesses. The wife helped with her husband's scrap metal business but, logically, he was not involved in her writing. All four women principals either had no partner or spouse, or no involvement from them in their business. Thus we have ten businesses, run by men and involving their wives or partners to varying degrees. In a majority of cases this, at the least, involved the woman 'doing the books'. In two businesses this was done without payment. For those who were paid it was not always clear how this was structured. Sometimes it seemed their remuneration was paid out in returns the business made. Book-keeping is undoubtedly a vital part of any business but the men often seemed to have no willingness or ability to undertake. As one put it,

I just wouldn't know where to start that is why I was never confident at [doing the books]. ...Its one of those cases if [my wife] wasn't here the business would go down hill.

Aside from doing the 'books', the women's roles often expanded into providing all sorts of support services:

You just worked when you were needed, say somebody was off sick ... I would go down and fill in ... or a job might come up and I would think well I will go down and help ... I would be there for an hour or two most days. I would take the lunch down and do the banking and get the mail and do a little work around the place.

These roles often grew with the business.

Because we were both directors in the firm, I suppose to justify salary one has to say you have done something and I was not able to lay bricks. ...[My role] was what evolved really.

It was very small when it first started, it was a part-time thing. ...It [grew] to full-time. ...The banking and some of the bookwork and deliveries.

This woman, as with many others, took on a range of jobs. In her case, this included the wages and accounts as well as secretarial and office work and some deliveries. Occasionally the woman's role grew to a point where they were more fully employed and an integral part of the business. This happened in this case but, interestingly, the woman's job functions still conformed to the pattern she had previously undertaken. Her husband describes the situation.

It just got to the stage where I just couldn't handle everything. ...there's a tremendous amount of book work and faxing and writing up books and doing all those sort of things and if I didn't get out there and move and look at stock and do all these sorts of things well we wouldn't have any income coming in. So [my wife] left her job and with the bit of savings we had left it kept us going for a while. We've run out of those now.

The value of a wife or partner's role was hard to precisely estimate. Certainly this couple found that there were marked benefits for the business from her decision to remain home.

It meant I could keep on top of ... like if [my husband] had phone calls coming in through the day they got personal attention rather than leaving a message on the answer phone and we felt we were able to offer a better service to people. We are looking at all that again now.

From her own experience this next woman felt that the range of roles and activities that they can get drawn into were diverse. She was married to a farmer for many years and they had now embarked on an orchard venture she felt very uncomfortable with. She eventually gave her husband support in physical, financial and emotional terms. Though she does note the irony of the financial arrangements.

The wife in these situations either steps right back from the whole thing and knows nothing about it or she is involved. And she's involved with telephone work and employing labour and going to the bank and going to the accountant and going to the legal things and I was involved in all those. ...But it was not a paid role, except I had to be paid rent for my share of the property.

What is hopefully apparent from these remarks, and was certainly very clear in the interviews, is that the contribution of women to these businesses was, regardless of its exact size and nature, very important.

Sometimes the demands of the business conditioned other decisions within the household such as whether the partner who was not the business principal would take on or give up other paid work. Alongside wanting to spend more time with her daughter as she approached school age, and being aware of the impending restructuring of the government department where she worked, this woman also factored the needs of her husband's business into her decision to give up her part-time job.

The business had got a bit bigger and I wasn't spending enough time helping [my husband] with his business.

Outside of this direct or indirect involvement of "family" in relation to the business, some enterprises actually employed other people. Obviously, in some instances, such as the self-employed writer, the business could not accommodate any employees. However, over half of the businesses employed at least one other person outside of family members. It is hard to give precise figures on the numbers employed for a variety of reasons. In some cases it was not always clear from the interviews how many were employed. The most common difficulty in establishing numbers was that they fluctuated over time for some businesses. This was due to factors such as the nature of the business, the attitudes of owners to employing others, the particular stage the enterprise was going through during its development, the condition it was in, and the state of, or fluctuations in, the market being served. For the very small business there was always the problem of having enough work to occupy and pay for an employee; the equally tricky corollary of this was how to get any time off without help.

You employ somebody, but to employ somebody you have to have continuity of work because you have to pay wages every week. By the nature of this business you are busy and you are quiet. When you are busy you need somebody but you can't get people. If you get somebody to train them, when you are busy it slows you down. ...And if you get somebody to train when you are quiet you are not earning the dollars to pay them. ...I haven't had a holiday since the doors opened.

If and when people did want to take on staff, they were faced with a whole different set of difficulties. Some bemoaned the lack of skilled and/or qualified people to employ.

We have never been able to find trained people. We have had to find people that are good people and train them up. On the odd occasion we have had far too much work and have tried to find trained people and have never been successful.

The issue of apprenticeships and training was relevant here, particularly for tradespeople.

We have had a difficulty with [employing staff]. ...It is just a matter of skill, you just cannot get the skill that satisfies [my husband] at all ...a small firm like us, we found no encouragement whatsoever to employ people or get an apprentice.

As well as skill levels, others mention the costs and risks inherent in employing people.

It was far too costly to have an apprentice, they broke more gear. You had to pay them 50% of a tradesman wage. When [my husband] started bricklaying it was 12% of a tradesman wage. It was prohibitive for a firm our size, to be training somebody up. [My husband] always said, "I should be training someone. Now we have a crisis, there are no tradesmen, there are not tradesmen to do the work.

All these factors occurred within a competitive free market that drove prices down and forced costs to be cut back wherever possible. The training of staff was one obvious area in which to save.

I can't go to a job now and have an apprentice tagging along and expect the owner to pay for his training, when he is just standing there. People just won't have it. The old days are really gone, there is no margins to be able to pay somebody even if you felt a social obligation to train, there is no margins for such a thing any more. ...they have all been encouraged to hold professional people up on a pedestal and the trades are being neglected and therefore there is no-one out there, no apprentices. ...The old dinosaurs, the businesses that had a plumber and a couple of apprentices tagging along has gone by the board because they have priced them out of existence, because the actual market forces have said we can't have you guys because you are too dear, with your overheads we have to get this one man band guy because he's cheaper. ...We travel too fast now to have an apprentice and stop and tell them how to do it. ...It is slowly turning around again and people are looking at training to get a better job, value for money. ...I could probably get government assistance I think to train, but it is all the hassle, I don't have time to deal with the responsibility. ...I have never really looked into having an apprentice.

Those that did employ others often had a precise prescription for the best worker. This was usually the result of experiences in employing others and the varied outcomes that ensued. In particular there seemed to be a disinclination towards younger people.

I feel that there are too many young people who have not been brought up with a work ethic.

Sometimes older people were favoured, or at least those with a few years work experience as opposed to school leavers or students.

As far as young people go, they haven't got the stamina they used to have. I was looking to employ a labourer or apprentice I would look in the area of somebody 45 to 55.

We have found that the best people to employ are about in their mid 20's, because they suddenly find they haven't got a skill, married by that time and are really rather anxious by then to get a skill and they are willing to learn. ...The teenagers are less so.

We employed the best people to be honest, were, married women, church friends, people who were conscientious. ...We employed [student] job search, we found them not good. ...we had a couple of girls we took on to do the trimming and tying in the canopy in the orchard ... and [my son] would find them asleep in the orchard ... it put him off taking job search. ...We had tremendous loyalty and people came back year after, wanting to work for us and he paid more than the award, which I guess we couldn't afford.

The practice of paying good workers well, noted in the last quote, was also a common feature of those who had found and wanted to retain preferred employees.

Occasionally owners who did employ others in their businesses were faced with the unpleasant job of laying off staff if business fell off or the whole enterprise failed.

I took on full-time staff in 1992. ...Toward the end of 1992 I took on a part-timer and then early 1993 I took on two more part-timers and then in the middle of 1993 the business collapsed. ...[I] fired all the staff. ...[Told] them I couldn't afford to pay them anymore.

This was another factor that prevented or restrained some entrepreneurs from employing people.

Difficult circumstances could also have implications for the entrepreneur and the business. Indeed, eighteen of the 29 enterprises (62%) stopped operating during the ten-year study period. Five of the ten businesses that began prior to the study period ceased operating and thirteen of the nineteen (68.5%) that started during that time ended. A range of factors was implicated in these demises. For some the reasons were far from sinister – a couple of businesses had only been intended as short-term ventures (one being taken up twice, each time the person was made redundant) and three more were sold on to other people. Two of the four who engaged in a second venture did so out of choice as they were looking for new challenges or were trying to find an area of greater interest or a niche. Injury played a role in a couple of cases. For the remainder financial or economic factors were the primary or a significant consideration. In the case just quoted above, although the business was immediately very successful, it seemed to grow too quickly and with little planning. Whilst the original business failed the person was able to straight away resurrect a new enterprise from the ashes, as it were. Being in dire financial straits was obviously disastrous but, as was the case here, it was a valuable learning experience ensuring that the same mistakes were not repeated in the future.

I think the experience of the initial business going bust and learning from mistakes has been a very positive experience. [It was] painful but there has been a lot to learn ... I am building it gently and slowly ... doing it well and getting it going well.

Another business was wound up when one person found out that his partner was defrauding him. Inland Revenue played a part in the demise of another company. Although this man had been successful in operating the enterprise, he had struggled with the business side.

I owed them [IRD] about \$7,000 and I had that but they kept adding things on because I was late, later putting it and they just kept on and on. When they kept adding more I couldn't afford it so I just carried on and declared myself bankrupt and then all the paper work goes on for 2 years and went to court for 5-10 minutes and that was it.

Similarly, a self-employed painter felt that he could easily manage the work, but he recognised that he couldn't cope with the business aspects and so returned to working for someone else. For an older couple who had set up an orchard as a retirement investment it was a combination of factors that ultimately lead to them selling up at a loss. These included poor health, failed investments, poorly performing products, bad weather, and the deteriorating economy after the sharemarket crash. This last factor was crucial in others decisions and outcomes. In the case of the couple growing flowers it forced a major rearrangement of their plans.

When we shifted [to our new property] ... the sharemarket had crashed and interest rates had increased tremendously so suddenly there was quite a pressure on us in terms of mortgage repayments that we hadn't expected ... Our budgets were blown a bit and it meant we needed to earn a lot more money that we had thought. We developed the flower growing side ... quickly. Money started coming in but not enough to pay all the bills. I stopped work first of all to actually devote more time to establishing the business and [my wife] started work. ... [She] was teaching at a primary school. ... I looked after the baby and worked during the day. ... I was also driving the school bus, it was quite a busy time. I would get up in the morning and drive the school bus and then on my way back I would call in at [my wife's] school and pick up the baby and go home and I would work with him, carry him around the property in a wheelbarrow all day. About three o'clock I would go off and drop the baby at [my wife's] school, and drive the school bus and then I would come home and [my wife] would have cooked the meal and then I would start working again.

The demands of this lifestyle, the dissatisfaction – particularly for the wife who had to be away from her baby at work – and the desire to have more time together to devote to their family eventually lead to this couple giving up their business. The economic climate, both locally and nationally also affected other small businesses such as this veterinarian.

By about 1985 interest rates were absolutely horrific. They were about 23, 24% per annum. ... Then from 87 to about 1990, things were very tight, there was no growth. Farmers didn't have much money. The employees around here didn't have so much money and, as mentioned before, Whakatu closed, and I, we had opened a branch practice [in a suburb] where a lot of people employed in the freezing works and of those, about somewhere between a third and half who had been employed at Whakatu suddenly became unemployed. ... And it was really shattering for Hawkes Bay and made a difference to us.

This meant lower than expected earnings. The promise of a much higher income as an employee saw him sell his business and go to work for a government agency.

Other reasons for ending self-employment were varied. One woman felt she had been duped in the purchase of a takeaway bar and it was not as profitable as she had been lead to believe. Often a number of factors were at play. For a courier driver, the continual reorganisation of the franchised courier runs meant his potential earnings kept shrinking and, after becoming increasingly frustrated, he quit the business in

disgust. Finally, like most employees, one man simply decided to retire and so sold his scrap metal business.

Summary – Self-Employment

Self-employment proved an attractive option for a fifth of people who were profiled, with four of these starting two businesses during the study period. However, this group was distinctly male and non-Maori. Women were only just over a fifth of those involved in self-employment while Maori made up only 12% of this group. A wide range of enterprises were founded by those interviewed. Most of them tended to retain a very small structure. Often they were one person or family operations. About a third of the businesses predated the survey period – a few by many years – though only half of these would survive this time frame. Of those that were wound up they had lifespans of between 18 months and over 25 years. The remaining two-thirds of business were started up during the survey period but of these only about 40% were still operating at the time of the interviews. The other 60% had a lifespan of between four months and four years. Businesses ended for a range of reasons, though financial considerations were prominent.

People entered self-employment for a variety of reasons. They were often disgruntled with their current work situation, especially life as an employee. They often sought more challenge, stimulation and independence. The hope of financial rewards also played a large part. The work background of people often had some connection to their choice of business. Though there were exceptions, most businesses grew out of careful planning and preparation and were carefully nurtured. The presence of a family did not appear to be a deterrent to starting up a business even though there were high risks and uncertainty.

The role of partners or spouses in the business was a complex one. In some cases this was formalised but most often the relationship was less structured. However, the contributions these people made to the business were vital. These could be directly – through acting as a worker – or indirectly – through their contribution to family and domestic responsibilities. The pressures and demands of self-employment often meant that people often had little time for family and that the bulk of domestic responsibilities fell to their partners/spouses.

(b) Part-time Paid Work

Part-time work was a popular form of paid work for those interviewed. For our purposes it was employment of less than 37.5 hours per week for any one job.¹⁰ Naturally people who had more than one part-time job might work total hours equal to or in excess of 37.5 hours. They are still considered in this section as each job is engaged on a part-time basis. Though there may be similarities, part-time work is differentiated from seasonal and casual employment which are discussed later.

Jobs and episodes are both considered. A job is continuous part-time employment in a particular position and for the same employer. An episode is uninterrupted part-time employment across a period of time. A whole range of combinations of jobs and episodes are possible. For example:

- an episode could be continuous even if a person moved from one part-time job to another
- a person could hold two separate jobs in the same episode or time period
- a person could maintain a job but work at it across two episodes broken by, say, maternity leave.

One or more people were involved in at least one episode of part-time employment in 55 of the survey households. In 47 of these only one person met this criteria; in seven there were two such people in the household; and one household where three people were employed in this way. This gives a total of 64 people who had worked part-time during the study period.

Two strong impressions emerge from an initial analysis of these figures. Firstly, non-Maori more often undertook this work – only a little under 13% of people involved in this type of work identified themselves as Maori. Secondly, this form of work was overwhelmingly female. For example, only ten of these 64 (15.6%) people were men and in only two of the 55 households were women not involved. In 84% of households where one or more people worked part-time, it was only women who did so. In three cases this was the daughter of a couple and there were six other single women. Eight women, one of whom was a flatmate of one of the single women, were employed part-time during periods they were receiving the DPB and in a further case, the widow's benefit. In all the remaining households except one, the woman who worked part-time was married or in a de facto relationship and the couple had children. The exception was a household consisting of a married couple without children.

One man who was interviewed made some perceptive observations as to why, in part, this heavy bias towards women might be so. He worked in a government department that was now a State Owned Enterprise.

It is very different [now]. If anything there is more women in the place now, because they have now changed to part-time work, rather than full-time work that it used to be. ...For example, the afternoon work is done in a four hour shift and any time from 4.30 to 6, it gives then the flexibility to work those hours, while husband minds the kids.

¹⁰ Whilst 40 hours per week is commonly considered to be working "full-time", some occupations, such as clerical workers, have full-time hours of 37.5 per week. Hence this latter figure is accepted.

This man clearly identified that change within the workplace was a key factor. Whilst a whole range of other issues are also important, he hints at another key factor – the role that women’s unpaid responsibilities and work have in conditioning their paid work experiences. This highlights the important role that part-time work can play in assisting the return of women to paid employment after a period devoted entirely to unpaid work. A more detailed discussion of the inter-relationship between unpaid and paid work and the experiences of women making the transition between the two is undertaken in the section on unpaid work. Aspects of that discussion will be reinforced and further explored here.

As if to immediately reinforce this connection an analysis of what people were doing prior to moving into part-time work shows that the majority of people were involved solely in unpaid work or were receiving the DPB¹¹ prior to this move. These were all women. A few had also been employed casually or seasonally and were looking to increase their hours but most were moving from a position of having no paid employment. A small number of women were employed full-time and through choice or circumstance made the transition to part-time work. The rationale behind such choices included wanting to spend more time with the children or to take up full-time study; circumstances that forced this transition included redundancy and being fired. Men tended to be in part-time work either as a result of becoming unemployed or as second paid job.

Whether it was a male or female who worked part-time the overriding motivation for taking on this form of employment was financial. However, the reasons why part-time was chosen, as opposed to other forms of paid employment, did vary. So too did the influences that conditioned when a person engaged in part-time work, the type of work they did and the hours they were employed. Given the relative rarity of a man in part-time work, it is perhaps simplest to begin by examining this small group and, if useful to the wider discussion, the households they were part of.

The impact of financial imperatives is clear in the first example that is considered. Difficult economic times had badly affected this couple’s attempts to set up their own horticulture venture. As was discussed in the section on self-employment the wife was working full-time and her husband was working at home on the business while caring for their young daughter. In addition he also drove the local school bus part-time in the mornings and afternoons. After about a year of this they gave up on their business, the husband returned to full-time work and the wife gave up paid work.

Money was also the driving force in the only two households where a female was not involved in part-time work and in both cases the couple was married with children. Each man worked a part-time job as secondary employment to his full-time position. The motivations in both cases were clear as one of them explains.

We could survive on what I was earning, but we were surviving and we wanted to live ... It was the requirement of the extras of trying to be able to save, trying to do things to the house, trying to give the kids a little bit extra, trying to give them a holiday.

¹¹ This is not to infer that people receiving the DPB are not involved in unpaid work but rather to differentiate them from two parent families.

Whilst one man continued his job throughout the interview period, the other became self employed as a courier driver, an opportunity he had become aware of through this part-time job.¹² In another family the husband also worked part-time but so did his wife. Like the others, his five year stint of part-time secondary employment was to earn extra money. These instances where men worked second jobs can be tied in with an issue discussed in the section on unpaid work. It is the impacts, most often negative, of men committing themselves to extra paid work when they have a family. Although it brings financial benefits, women and men (though not as frequently and usually after the event) often recognised that there was a price to pay which involved spending less time with the family and making a smaller contribution to the running of the household. It also had the effect of increasing the burden on their spouse or partner. Consequently, men sometimes regretted such a move.

Tertiary study was another reason for the choice of part-time work. In an unusual scenario, though, it was the husband who took on a second part-time job while his wife was studying full-time at university and looking after their daughter. Although he had to travel away a lot with his full-time job he still managed to work two evenings and one weekend day each week for four years. This was so his wife could concentrate on study and not have to worry about their finances.

That was where I actually worked part-time as well because we needed the extra money. ...[My wife] could then study full-time without having to do part-time work as well. ... Well I thought if I had to contribute something, as long as I was contributing money, because working away a lot I couldn't contribute actual time at home, but as long as there was money in the bank so that there wasn't that worry.

In the family where all three members had at some time been employed part-time, the young son had just left school and started at polytech. Like so many others in his position, the part-time job he had secured at a local supermarket was a necessary part of this transition.

I've finally got a job and I can tell everyone. ...Its good to have a good job and its quite good money and I can save up for my goals and things like that.

In another case, the man had worked part-time in response to a variety of circumstances. At one point he was doing this whilst retraining as a nurse. This was an additional income for his family as he had two small children. He kept this part-time maintenance job at a local fast food outlet for a number of months after the course started but it eventually all proved too much.

I was going to polytech, I was coming home and going straight off to McDonald's [to work] and I wasn't spending a lot of time at home and I thought for the amount of money I was getting it was just not worth keeping on doing it ...[it] wasn't worth all the stress and pressure.

Like others, his further experiences of part-time work centred on periods of unemployment. The first was whilst he was waiting to start the three-year nursing

¹² This man was separated and divorced during the ten year period. Information is available on the work history of the partner he is now in a de facto relationship with. However no details of his former wife's work history are reported so no profile can be constructed. This man's part-time work occurred during his marriage.

course. During this time he was reluctant to take on a full-time job that he would have to give up when polytech started so he worked part-time. This was the job he carried on with for a time while studying. Once he qualified the vagaries of nursing employment meant he could not get a job.¹³ After a short time unemployed he took a part-time position as a phlebotomist just so that he could keep in touch with what was happening and what jobs were coming up at the local hospital. That the money was better than the unemployment benefit was an added incentive. After a few months doing this he moved into casual nursing at the hospital which lead, after a further year, to a full-time position.

For the father of the young man who had just started polytech, part-time employment was also associated with unemployment. He had been made redundant after the company he worked for was 'downsized'. Although unemployed and seeking work he was not entitled to receive the unemployed benefit for a time as he had received a considerable redundancy given his lengthy service. This was a stressful time for this man and his family as he struggled to find work. It was also a difficult time financially. Although he was an electrician and did a little 'under-the-counter' work, he did not seriously consider self-employment as he felt he was too old and there was too much competition. Eventually, after 19 months out of work, an acquaintance who was expanding his business offered him part-time work as a clerk-cum-storeperson-cum-salesperson. At the point of interview he had held this job for over two and a half years. He still hoped to return to his trade but was grateful for the chance to get into paid work again. As well, he had learnt a raft of new skills.

Part-time work also had a relationship to unemployment in a couple of other cases. In one instance it allowed another man to reduce his dependence on the unemployment benefit and eventually get full-time work. It was a protracted process, however. He too had been made redundant and spent about 18 months receiving the unemployment benefit alone during which time he went on a three month placement through the Task Force Green scheme. As he was a builder by trade this placement involved maintenance work at a local school. Some time after this he got two part-time positions – one as a maintenance person-cum-caretaker at a school and the second, a little later, as a school cleaner. Each was the result of his time on the scheme and the networks he established. He kept both up for about four years during which time his unemployment benefit was abated accordingly. At the end of this time the maintenance position was expanded to full-time. In another case, the husband had worked part-time doing maintenance at the meatworks for a number of years during the 'off season'. This allowed him to maintain full employment all year. Of course, this ended when the meatworks closed and he was made redundant.

The small group of women without children, all but one of whom was single, engaged in part-time work for a range of reasons. There was a retired nun who kept up a part-time involvement in the social service organisation she had previously been director of. Her extra free time was devoted to personal interests. Another older woman had gradually reduced her hours from full-time throughout the survey period.

I dropped [my hours] it was my choice each time, it wasn't the firm and they were quite happy to go along with it. ...[it was because of] ill health.

¹³ This man's experiences are examined in more detail in sections of the report on Education and Training (Shirley et al, 2001b).

These moves coincided with the restructuring of the government agency she was working for which included her role as a telephonist being phased out. She also began caring for her increasingly infirm mother late in the period and eventually gave up paid employment altogether after taking redundancy. This allowed her to devote herself more fully to this role.

The reasons that some of the other women in this group gave for working part-time have more of a resonance with the men's motives. Whilst unemployed, one woman could only find part-time work. She took this as she was keen to get off the benefit and it was in a field that she was both experienced and interested in. Though only part-time it paid better than the dole. As with some of the men, after about a year this job led to a full-time position with the same employer. Similarly, another young woman got a part-time office position having been unemployed after finishing a polytech course seven months earlier. Although the job lasted only three months she was offered more permanent full-time work but did not take up the offer as she intended to travel. Five others worked part-time whilst studying. One of these reduced the hours of her full-time job to facilitate her studies. Another was unemployed and receiving the unemployment benefit as well as studying childcare at polytech. To both supplement her benefit and to satisfy course requirements she got casual work in day-care centres. For six months she was employed part-time on a temporary contract. The part-time job in a shoe store one young woman had while at school became full-time over the summer holidays as she waited to start a polytech course. At the time of interview she was considering further part-time work but had to consider its impact on her studies. Having left school at quite a young age, one young woman had a part-time job helping a disabled person as well as some casual work. She did these jobs through her last year at school and continued them whilst doing a couple of skills based courses and when she started polytech. The final woman in this group was the only one in a relationship but without a family. She worked part-time at two jobs whilst completing her teacher training and a degree.

From the discussion thus far we can summarise that for men, and the women without children the more common motives for working part-time were:

- as a job in itself
 - to earn extra money, say whilst studying or as a supplement to the unemployment benefit
 - as a secondary job on top of full-time employment
- because it might somehow lead to
 - increasing hours or other work
 - a full-time position

We now turn to the bulk of this group – women who were in households with children as part of a couple or as single parents. Included here are the wives or female partners of some of the men who worked part-time and whose cases have just been discussed. For this large group, the over-riding drive to take on some part-time work, as with most people who worked part-time, was financial. Some women indicated more personal interests and reasons as additional motivations. These included wanting a break from household routines and environments, not wanting to be only involved in unpaid work, wanting to maintain a career, and seeing part-time work as a way to

return to paid work or to progress to full-time employment. Occasionally they also identified an unusual motive. For this woman, her part-time work satisfied a range of goals.

I started off at the Public Library ... doing voluntary work but then they said they would pay me. I went in off the street and said I want something to do and ended up being paid for it. The intention was to be voluntary. ...I guess the number on [motivation] has got to be to have some extra dollars coming in, however that is not the only motivation ... [that] was an area where I didn't know many people, and certainly coming back [here] where I could get out and about and reach people.

This was the woman whose husband had worked part-time whilst she completed her university degree. These periods of part-time work were deliberately intended to help settle into a new community. They also fulfilled her personal desire to work and, importantly, they meant she could balance these other objectives with caring for her children. Indeed, for this group of women the influences on their part-time work – when they decided to take on or give up part-time work, what hours they worked and, often, the type of work they did were all conditioned by their primary responsibilities for childcare. A review of some of their experiences will illustrate these issues.

Having made a deliberate decision to commit all her energies to looking after their children and supporting her husband, one woman only took up a few hours (3-6 per week) gardening in the last couple of years of the study period. This was despite some difficult financial times earlier in the period. Indeed, her husband was the man who retrained as a nurse and as we have seen he experienced periods of unemployment both prior to and after qualifying, and during his study they had equally difficult times financially. Despite this she remained focused on her role, as she saw it and as they had agreed, and was not tempted to seek extra work. She only engaged in part-time work once the children were older and she felt they needed less of her time. It also coincided with her husband finally being in full-time employment. The nature of her work and short hours also helped her cope with the shifts that he worked, as they were able to spend time together during the day. Another couple also had strong views on the mother being available to care for the children and so her part-time work did not occur until the youngest was at kindergarten. Even then, she was not actively seeking a job when it came along.

The job just came upon me, it was offered to me so it just fell into my lap. It wasn't a definite decision that now I am going to work.

Given the couple's beliefs, the work was necessarily limited to a few hours when the children were not at home. Housecleaning was a type of work she could easily get and that met these requirements. Four years later, with the children older, she increased her part-time commitment to 20 hours per week working in a garden centre. Any work she undertook still had to not have an adverse effect on the children.

The part-time work of other women was also clearly organised on such premises, though there were variations in how it was actually structured. One woman began part-time employment once the youngest child was firmly established at school. She was a primary school teacher and returned to this on a relieving and then part-time basis. However, she found the part-time work inconsistent and unpredictable, as was the workload. Thus, three years after starting back part-time, she took up an offer of full-time teaching and was in this type of employment when interviewed. The cost

may have been additional demands on her but the bonuses were not only extra money but more consistent work and better access to training. She also found it very rewarding. In another case, even when her children were young this woman took on some part-time housecleaning. At four hours per week this was organised to not interfere with her primary role caring for the house and family, particularly the children. It also provided a little extra money, which was especially important during her husband's period of unemployment. Matching a familiar pattern, she looked to increase her work commitments once their children were older and she got more part-time hours working in a dress shop. The additional income was again very welcome. After two years this position became full-time.

As we saw, when the couple who were trying to establish a horticultural business eventually gave up, they returned to a fairly traditional pattern of the husband working full-time and the wife caring for their baby. Following the birth of their second child she took on some part-time work as she described herself as someone who couldn't just stay home all the time. She was able to arrange or afford childcare whenever she was working and later her job hours had some match with times their children were at school or day-care. Being a teacher she was able to initially get work in a primary school. The next year she began a four-year stint at a bilingual teacher training unit. She left for a variety of reasons and although not desperate to work she soon saw a job advertised for a university tutor that appealed. After about four years she was keen to do some additional tertiary study, herself, and spend more time with her growing family so she gave this job up.

As well as these selected cases, the section on unpaid work has given a detailed analysis and numerous additional examples of the relationship between unpaid and paid work and how the former conditions participation in the latter. Some key conclusions of that section are worth reiterating in this context as they apply to this discussion of part-time work.

- childcare responsibilities were almost universally the primary domain of the woman in a couple
 - this was the result of a mutual decision or one the woman made herself
- the timing of entry to and exit from paid work, the type and hours of work and changes to these were often conditioned by unpaid responsibilities, particularly childcare
 - the previous experience, qualifications and training a woman had were also influential
- part-time work was often chosen by women as a way of trying to balance unpaid responsibilities with the need or desire to be involved in paid work.
 - part-time work was seen as more compatible with unpaid responsibilities both in terms of total workload for the woman and other issues such as:
 - hours can suit children's school or day-care hours
 - compatibility with school and other children's activities (such as sports)
 - as they are virtually always the person who must be available to care for children when they are sick or on holiday part-time work is a little easier to integrate this with

- part-time work also served as a way of returning to paid employment after a break
 - it sometimes was the basis of a graduated return to full-time work
 - it sometimes led to full-time work

Even though part-time work offered some compatibility with unpaid responsibilities, its being conditioned in large part by these meant that combining the two still created significant challenges for and demands on women. This has been inferred in the examples given already. It was seen in the experiences recounted in the earlier section on unpaid work and the strategies that women and families employed. Similar experiences and strategies were also recounted in the section dealing with women receiving the DPB. How women balanced paid and unpaid work varied from case to case and shifted across time as the numbers and ages of children changed. Indeed, it was the highly dynamic nature of unpaid work and the adjustments that women must make to accommodate the changing domestic demands on them that helps explain their often fragmented pattern of paid work, especially when all forms (part-time, casual and seasonal work) are taken together.

With regard to working part-time, women described positive and negative experiences. Given that women predominated in this type of employment, it was not surprising to find one woman whose working life was helped by the presence of other women in similar circumstances.

We're all part-timers, so that makes it nice. We sort of help each other out. We manage well the hours.

The business where she worked was increasing their operation to include evenings and weekends. As a result, the mainly women employees were trying to organise their hours to cause the least hassle for each person. Other women emphasised more negative issues. As one observed, part-time work meant not being there every day, which created some problems.

[There was] lots of frustration because it was part-time and I wasn't there every day. I'd go back and say I went back to work on a Wednesday, a day and a half of happenings had been happening while I was gone and so things might have been resolved or might have been a way further down the track and I was always coming into things half cocked and there was not a lot of information. So a lot of the time I was having to ask people, what's happened here, what's happened there, where are we up to with this one. So a lot of time was spent re-establishing where I slotted in. By the time I got on to doing it there was, I felt, a lot of time had been wasted. So not a lot of job satisfaction.

Others noticed that the workload, responsibility and expectations on many part-time workers were increasing. This woman struggled to fit her work into the prescribed hours and each year her hours would have to be increased so she could cope.

Every year ... I have had to work harder and for longer hours to keep the same proportional employment that I started with ...you have to work harder in the jobs than you used to.

Another found full-time work easier in some respects.

I started off part-time ... but the workload just seemed to increase and then in the finish it was more sensible to apply for a full-time position than do the bitsy job I was doing, because in actual fact the full-time job that I had gained was easier than the part-time job I had then. ...a lot of part-time

teachers, they'd tell you the same thing. Your workload can be greater and you are responsible for a greater number of children and answerable to someone else for them.

There was also the odd account of animosity towards part-time staff because of their employment status, especially in these days of workplace and workforce restructuring.

[T]here has been from time to time a bit of discrimination because a lot of the full-time staff feel that the part-time staff get it easy. ...I think because we only work a few hours a day, but generally speaking it's the part-time staff that get to do the bulk of the work. If there's customers to be served the full-time staff will sit back and let the part-time staff do twice as much and of course our hourly rate probably works out a bit higher than theirs too.

Of course women were not the only ones to experience these negative aspects of part-time work. Some of these issues fit with themes that are discussed elsewhere in this part of the report, particularly casualisation and intensification.

People most commonly had one or two part-time jobs or episodes of part-time employment across the ten-year period under study though a small group of women did have between two and six episodes or jobs. An equally small number managed to maintain this type of employment for most if not all of the study period. As was noted earlier, one man maintained his part-time secondary employment in the same position for the whole ten years. The only other person to do this was a woman who did the accounts in her husband's business. A couple of other women had very lengthy and stable patterns. One did part-time teaching for most of the ten-year period. She took a full-time position a year before being interviewed. Another woman maintained employment in the evenings throughout the study period through work in fish and chip shops. She did experience a small number of shifts, as she had to occasionally change employers in order, amongst other reasons, to maintain the hours she preferred. Near the end of the study period she added a Saturday morning job as well. Though less stable in terms of employers, a final woman was able to work part-time for almost all of the survey period. She was on a widow's benefit and for six months opted not to work, as it hardly seemed financially worthwhile given the abatement regimes. Apart from this break she was in part-time work for the balance of the study period. This included working two jobs for five years and three jobs for two and a half years. She also did casual work as well. All these jobs were cleaning related and each amounted to a few hours per week. She was careful to work up to the allowed maximum for her benefit so as not to have problems with her benefit again.

Aside from those that spanned all or much of the study period, single part-time jobs or episodes lasted between three months and about eight years. Over half of the episodes lasted between three months and two years, and three quarters were of three years or less duration. The average total involvement (considering all episodes) in part-time employment within the study period for over half the people was three years or less, and five years or less for three quarters of people. It should be noted that many of these people were engaged in ongoing employment at the time of interview. Individual jobs provided work of between three and 32 hours. Regardless of the number of jobs involved, in about half of the cases people worked around 25 to 30 hours part-time per week.

A handful of women balanced two part-time jobs at one time and, as noted, in one case the woman had three at once. Integrating two or three jobs to make up or approximate a full-time equivalent posed even greater challenges and demands.

I was working part-time on the night line making electronic telephones. I was also looking after children before and after school. I was also cleaning our local school.

This woman continued this pattern for a number of years while married but gave up paid work for a time once her marriage ended and she went onto the DPB. Another woman worked two part-time jobs together on two occasions. In each instance she was teaching part-time and then firstly worked after school in a care programme and then later as a sports co-ordinator during lunchtimes and out of school hours. She talks here about the difficulties integrating these last two positions.

They did clash a bit because they expect you to work lunch times as sports' co-ordinator and with teaching you are teaching before and after lunch. It was too much.

As was so often the case, financial imperatives drove such decisions, though this woman also admitted a personal preference to be working. It was a matter, it seemed, of continually evaluating the situation. In order to ease the pressure on themselves, a couple of women organised their second job for the evenings when their partner was available to care for the children. Some of the women with one part-time job did this as well. Though helping in one respect it undoubtedly made for a long day.

In terms of the types of part-time work that were undertaken, cleaning was one of the more common jobs. It was second only to office work.¹⁴ A collection of activities under a 'caring for others' banner¹⁵ claims a similar frequency to cleaning with work in childcare facilities the most preferred in this category. Part-time work in shops and supermarkets was almost as frequently undertaken as cleaning and 'caring'. Although only a handful of women got part-time work as teachers, this proved to be a very useful background for getting work that was readily available, that suited unpaid responsibilities and that often lead to full-time employment. It did have the downside of placing high demands on people out of hours. Restaurant work, though not hugely popular overall, was occasionally a source of evening employment. Other evening work included supervising recreational facilities and working in rest homes. A whole host of other types of part-time work featured far less frequently in the interviews. Men's part-time work often centred on retail activities.

For those who had completed a period of part-time work the reasons for giving up were varied. Occasionally redundancy, relocation or the end of a contract took the decision out of the individual's hands. The stress of a particular job or managing both paid and unpaid responsibilities was cited in a couple of cases. A few people swapped part-time for casual work which suited them or their other responsibilities better. Some went onto full-time work. While a small number did something completely different, most of the people who went onto full-time employment saw their part-time job expand to full-time or they moved into similar work but with another employer. A couple of women went into self-employment through their own or their family's business. Those who swapped one part-time job for another did so for what they

¹⁴ This encompassed clerical, secretarial and accounting type activities.

¹⁵ This included aged care, after school programmes, and day-care and sports programmes for children.

described as a "better job" and increased or more convenient hours. Many gave up part-time work to become solely involved in unpaid responsibilities. This might be due to the arrival of a new baby, or by choice so as to spend more time with children at critical times. Similarly the demands of elderly parents also had an impact on involvement in paid work.

Summary – Part Time Work

As we have seen, engaging in part-time work was primarily driven by financial imperatives. Some men and women were involved in it whilst unemployed or studying. For other men who were already working full-time, it meant taking on a second job and in such cases we have seen that this raised other considerations, such as the effect on spouses and partners. Part-time work was, for many women, a critical factor in being able to manage paid employment alongside their unpaid responsibilities. Indeed, this factor clearly explained the strong bias towards women's participation in this form of employment, though their engagement in it – the timing and duration of episodes as well as the type and hours of work – was still heavily conditioned by their unpaid responsibilities. For men and women, then, this form of work was often crucial to their re-entering the paid workforce. It was, depending on their circumstances, a bridge between unpaid and paid work, a means to transition out of unemployment, and a stepping stone to increasing participation in the paid workforce.

(c) Casual and Temporary Paid Work

Unlike part-time work, casual paid employment is considered to not have regular set hours. The phrase "on-call" and the term "temp." capture some of what is meant by this type of employment. It often involves being available to work as and when necessary. The days and hours one works are all flexible, and the amount of warning given is often minimal. There is, therefore, a degree of uncertainty and unpredictability in casual employment. Thus, the frequency of employment and how long one works in any one stretch can vary. For example a casual employee might do a few hours every now and then, or find themselves working a full eight hour day for a week and then not be required for a fortnight. Consider the experiences of this woman who had been working full-time up to the birth of her first child. Soon after she returned to the same job but on a casual basis.

I was working from home doing all the baking and I was on call when anyone was sick. ...I would go for three months without hearing from her then all of a sudden I'd get a phone call and you're back there working on and off and then you wouldn't hear from her for another three months.

As well as these considerations, conditions of employment and pay rates are sometimes different for casual employees.

Despite such drawbacks, some people opted specifically for this type of work. They found its very nature an attraction and easily coped with the difficulties. Others were far less enthusiastic. Those in the former group often enjoyed being busy for periods and then having time to themselves, as well as being able to pick and choose when they worked. For the latter group, not knowing when and how much work would be

available in the future was unsettling, as was having to reorganise one's routines unexpectedly. This woman found both positive and negative aspects of casual employment. As a bank teller she liked the different expectations on casual staff as compared to full-timers.

I like going back casually because you are not expected to meet any targets
... so I can work without any pressure.

Her experience of casual employment in supermarkets was less favourable. Here, she found that casual (and part-time) staff were expected to work very hard.

I thought the expectation was a little bit too much and it put a lot of pressure on, especially a lot of the young school girls. ...the only thing as a check out operator, an automated machine. They expect you to press the button at what ever time you go on and release it when your time is finished. ...We worked flat out.

Thus work for this group was becoming intensified, an issue that will be explored in a later section.

Despite these and other negative features and because of its attractions, people in thirty-seven households (38.5% of all households) engaged in some form of casual work during the ten-year study period. Having two households with two people involved at some time gives us 39 people (23.8% of all those profiled) in this category. Twenty-eight of these were women. Although not as heavily biased towards women's involvement as part-time work, females are still over-represented, making up over 70% of the total group. Casual work also appeared to be the province of non-Maori with just under 11% of this group identifying themselves as Maori compared to more than twice this proportion in the sample.

Overwhelmingly, the majority of people (80%) were involved in only one episode of casual employment. Those with more than one episode included seven people with two episodes and two people with three. Whilst most of the people maintained one job throughout their single episode, one woman worked two jobs during the four and a half year period she worked casually, and another mixed a range of jobs into her one year episode. The shortest period of employment was about four weeks, and, at the other end of the spectrum, two people (both women) were involved in the same casual work throughout the ten-year period. Overall, most people tended to be involved in casual employment for three years or less, with just under half the group working for 18 months or less. Seven people were engaged in ongoing casual work at the time of interview. In a handful of cases, as was the situation with part-time work, casual work was undertaken in addition to full-time employment. Another set of six worked casually in addition to their part-time jobs. In the remainder of cases casual work occurred by itself.

Although this form of work was not as strongly feminised as part-time work, the still high prevalence of women in casual work seemed to be due in large part to the compatibility of this form of work with women's unpaid responsibilities. Indeed, women most often undertook casual work when they were primarily involved in unpaid responsibilities such as the care of children and the home. Similarly, a small number also took this on while receiving the DPB and the Widows' Benefit. The only other accompanying circumstances during which women took on casual work was whilst unemployed, receiving national superannuation or in conjunction with some

study. The proportions in these latter groups were quite low. Offering an alternative explanation, though still related in a broad sense to how paid and unpaid work is organised in society, this woman infers that forms of work may be gendered, and that casual work by its 'nature' may not suit men.

The Telecom job was more suited to a woman because it was only two weeks a month and men tend to like something a bit more permanent.

Like part-time work the motivation for casual employment, whether it was men or women doing it, was primarily financial. Thus, it was used to provide some income or additional earnings when other work was not available or a person was receiving a benefit or studying. Alternatively, it could be a second income in a household or a second job for an individual.

Some women also mentioned personal motivations and about a third of women used casual work as an entree to further paid work.

[The casual work] was just really to get back, I guess, into the workforce. I think it lifts your ego a little bit when you are required, you're needed, to go and work.

As was the case here, this was usually after a period out of the workforce whilst caring for children. In many cases this transition involved a move into more regular work in a similar area to that in which they were employed casually. A complete change in the type of work occurred in a small number of cases. The process involved a variety of combinations: most often it was a progression to part-time and then full-time work; slightly less often it was a move only as far as part-time work; and occasionally directly to full-time work.

Sometimes this transition to more settled work was prompted by the unsettled nature of casual work.

I could have carried on doing just relief teaching but I wanted something a bit more permanent and [this school] offered me something part-time.

Such a move was still most often conditional on women's unpaid responsibilities, in particular children getting older and going to school. As it was for part-time work, one of the strongest influences on women for choosing casual employment and determining the type of work and the hours they did – and subsequent changes to these – was their unpaid responsibilities, particularly childcare.

Whilst one man did casual work to supplement his national superannuation, all the others did casual work whilst "between jobs". That is, they had been in full-time employment and this ended. Only one man showed a preference for casual work; the others viewed this type of work as both a source of income and as an interim measure while they actively sought out more settled employment as these examples show. When he was unable to find work after returning from overseas, one person worked

casually whilst receiving the unemployment benefit. Another man took casual jobs on top of his possum trapping business. This business was also only a “stop-gap” measure after he was laid off. Casual work proved useful as this next man searched for other more permanent employment. He had given up being self-employed as a courier driver because of dissatisfaction with the franchise company. In another case the man used it to ‘pay the bills’ as he took some ‘time out’ from his full-time job.

Though he had just trained as a nurse, this next man was forced to take casual nursing work in order to try and secure full-time work in his chosen profession. His wife, in talking with her husband, describes the dilemma he faced having only recently completed his training.

You were also aware that the longer you left it that you were not employed in an ongoing situation, even casually, the less chance you had, unless you had the experience that they would always bypass you, so [casual work] was the only hope at all. It was very scary. ...There were some in your class not even able to get casual work, not able to get the experience, not able to get jobs. And now they are unemployable because they have been too long since they graduated.

Casual employment was part of a strategy he decided on to get full-time work. It allowed him to maintain a presence in the workplace.

I realised that the only way to get employment was to be in these people’s faces the whole time and they said that, that the people who will get the jobs are the ones who crowd us out and will not take no for an answer and I realised that in my position, I was 35 at that stage, probably a bit older and I just had to push hard to get a job.

I got down to applying for every job that came along and that was the first job I got. I think I did put in about 30 job applications in that first year. I think I only got two interviews.

As far as getting work and overcoming the vagaries of casual employment, this man seemed to succeed. However, it was a demanding and uncertain process to begin with.

Basically to get work I had to ring up every single day to say – I am available. ...have you got anything, and if they didn’t I would say – well ring me back as I am available this afternoon. ...From day to day really, week to week you did not know what you were going to be working. ...It worked very successfully as eventually I knew I could get work and then it got to the point where one fortnight I could have worked 22 duties out of 10 and I was starting to pick my days off and I was having to turn work away.

Even though he proved to be very successful at getting work, his wife adds a cautionary observation.

It was still very uncertain though and you didn’t have an actual permanent job.

He also experienced one of the paradoxes of casual employment.

You know when they are really hard up for staff, like they were short and they were busy they were quite happy for you to work there as a casual, but when it actually came down to making a commitment to employing you they weren’t interested.

Eventually this approach and his persistence paid off and he got a full-time permanent position.

Overall, for this group casual employment proved a reasonably successful strategy for filling in until full-time work was found or in actually aiding this transition. Admittedly it did take one man a series of three jobs in one three and a half year episode to reach this point. Others maintained the single casual job for periods of between one month and two and a half years.

Those working casually undertook a variety of work. Amongst women the most popular was 'caring for others' and office work, followed by work in shops and supermarkets, teaching and gardening. As noted elsewhere in this report teaching offered people casual, part-time and full-time opportunities. This allowed a graduated return to work and more compatibility with childcare needs than other types of work. In this case, the woman had done all three forms of teaching, taking work as and when it was available. She had a full-time job at the time of interview but, as she notes, casual teaching was always there.

I don't care if I do [lose my job], there will always be something else. I can always do relief teaching because there are very few PE relievers around.

A range of other types of work had some minor representation. Men did an array of jobs, though manual labouring and office work were two more prominent areas.

Casualisation, Feminisation and Intensification

As part of the development of a more flexible labour market there has been increased use of casual, temporary and part-time workers in place of full-time staff or at times of high workload. Such a casualisation process becomes feminised when it is characterised by disproportionate numbers of women. This process was apparent, to varying degrees, in the experiences of women in this study who worked casually, part-time or seasonally. Clearly it was important in many households that women engaged in paid work. However, they most often needed to do so in conjunction with their unpaid responsibilities. Thus, they were attracted to jobs that allowed this fit. Though only occasionally visible in this study through the experiences or comments of workers, the other side of this equation involved employers who benefited from having a more flexible workforce and so structured it to this end. Whilst there have always been jobs other than full-time ones, and women with children wanting to engage in paid work have always been confronted with difficulties, the contemporary trends show a marked increase in non full-time employment that is all too often associated with insecurity, poor conditions and low pay (Davidson, 1994).

One negative aspect of casualisation identified in the study was that, by its very nature, employees are expected to work extremely hard or are faced with the busiest periods when at work. Though not the only way this can occur, this is one way in which work is being intensified. Some examples of the intensification of part-time positions were apparent in remarks presented in the previous section. One is worth expanding.

I started off part-time ... but the workload just seemed to increase and then in the finish it was more sensible to apply for a full-time position than do the bitsy job I was doing, because in actual fact the full-time job that I had gained was easier than the part-time job I had then. ...a lot of part-time teachers, they'd tell you the same thing. Your workload can be greater and you are responsible for a greater number of children and answerable to someone else for them.

The issue of intensification, as raised by people in relation to their paid work, is discussed in more detail as a separate theme in a following section. Here, the focus is on the increasing use of casual labour.

This man, like others, recognised the growing casualisation of the workforce. Although he offers some rationale for this shift, he is also ambivalent, to a degree, regarding it. In particular he bemoans the loss of security for people, and the sense of power that companies have over individuals. However, he notes that it does offer some people new opportunities.

You really struggle to get a company that employ people on a permanent basis. I was employed on a part-time basis because if the work dries up they want to be able to flick them off as quickly as possible. ...I think a lot of companies want to be very flexible, if they want a hundred staff then they want a hundred staff and if they want ten staff then they want ten staff and the ninety staff have got to go without, no redundancies or anything. That is the way they want to be, totally flexible and I think that is the way a lot of companies are going, when they don't want you that is it, they don't want to go down the track with employment contracts and redundancies etc. ...It is a lot harder and that is why I think if you have some skills then you don't mind being flexible, you can work for different companies. ...A lot of those people might have three different part-time jobs and just work among the three companies when they are needed.

The experiences of this woman illustrate how temporary positions were sometimes part of the drift towards casualisation. This trend sees a high number of jobs set up as temporary appointments.

It took me a really long time to get a permanent position. There was a lot of temporary work around but to get a permanent job was really hard. ...That was only a temporary job and it sort of got extended all the time and then a job came up ... and so I applied for that. I got it and that made me permanent. ...I started on a six week contract and I kept, it got extended on a temporary basis for over a year, and then I just got made permanent.

In two instances she managed to turn temporary positions into full-time work. Many others weren't so lucky.

Even though he was working full-time, this man directly experienced moves to casualise the workforce when new owners took over the business he was employed in.

The new guy didn't want any more permanent workers on it. He just wanted it to go all casual there, but I told him I was on permanent ... and he said no I wasn't, that I was casual. I don't think they wanted to pay out the redundancy and all that. ...They would just tell you to go when they had no work on.

Eventually he could no longer stand the ongoing dispute and left, taking up the offer of work elsewhere. In another case, a woman also experienced such a shift as a result of restructuring, this time in the banking industry. She felt that it was part of a wider trend.

The bank is being restructured again and it was to have been a higher degree of casuals they employ. A lot of big organisations now, run by part-time and casual employment.

Whilst restructuring can lead to higher use of casuals, on the other hand, as this woman describes, it can also mean a particularly uncertain and vulnerable time for such employees. She chose to pre-empt a restructuring and find more settled work elsewhere.

Restructuring was just coming into the IRD and it was about the time they were talking about building the big processing centre and all the tax returns all get done down there ... nothing is keyed here like it used to be. It meant that there was going to be big staff losses and I thought well I am only casual so I decided to look in the paper.

Finally, although not personally involved, this person recounted what she had heard about the casualisation process through friends and acquaintances. Her remarks reflect the increasing use of casual staff in many areas.

People only take, they take now for the time they need them. You just don't carry them. ... I know people who have worked at the hospital in the sort of enquiries area and they work on a temporary contract so that if they're not needed, if things get slow, then they might not come in and I guess that applies to all sorts of things really. ...I've met several bank tellers lately who, they're casual relief, so the bank will hire a few more people and have them all working when its busy and when its not busy put them off. It seems to me to be a lot more employment like that.

Summary – Casual Work

Many features from the discussion on part-time work are also relevant to this examination of casual employment. Though not quite as skewed as part-time employment, there is still a strong over-representation of women in casual work. Rationales for this draw on the same arguments as with part-time employment. Similarly, motivations and constraints as well as types of work demonstrate some strong similarities. As was the case in part-time employment, Maori were also under-represented in casual work. Casual work, like some part-time work, is heavily implicated in casualisation, feminisation and intensification processes, as illustrated through the experiences of a range of people.

(d) Seasonal Work

The Hawkes Bay economy is characterised by a significant number of sectors and industries that offer a diverse range and significant amounts of seasonal work. This type of work is episodic employment determined by the needs of different industries that fluctuate according to cyclical patterns. It may involve full-time, part-time or

casual employment and the key to differentiating it is its cyclical nature with particular types of work becoming available at various times during the year and with labour demands shifting accordingly. Though this type of work is often characterised by a vulnerability to external factors there is still a sense of predictability about when and for how long particular work will be available. Although intrinsically time limited and often low paid, seasonal work allowed people, of whom many had few other work options or openings, the opportunity to be in paid work for periods.

One of the key external factors that seasonal work was particularly susceptible to was the weather. This could affect things like the length of the season and the number of jobs available. Given that many of the industries that employed seasonal labour, particularly within sectors, were interrelated, negative events in one could impact on others. Thus, for example, a poor season in the fruit sector – perhaps due to hail – could have a negative flow on to the activity and employment patterns in related seasonal industries such as canning or packaging.

Seasonal work has already featured frequently in other areas of this report. These numerous references indicate that for the people interviewed this was an important form of employment in the Hawkes Bay region across the ten-year period under study. They also highlight the diverse ways seasonal employment interacted with people's lives. While the focus in these other sections has been varied and the comment on seasonal work has been in relation to that other focus, this section is aimed at providing some consolidated analysis with seasonal work as the central feature. This will also allow the observations and remarks of those interviewed about seasonal work to be presented more coherently.

This particular category of paid employment covered a vast array of settings and types of work. The jobs required a range of skill and experience levels. Pay rates tended to reflect this mix of work type, skill and experience. The length and timing of employment also varied depending on the industry and the job. Various functions were carried out at specific times of the year or season and created work for a few weeks or months at a time. Those interviewed in the study spoke about or were involved in seasonal work associated, in the main, with the growing of a variety of fruit (predominantly apples), some vegetables, and grapes. In these horticultural and viticultural enterprises people were employed at various times to pick, grade and pack produce, and at other times to do pruning and maintenance. Combining various seasonal tasks (for example, picking fruit and then later going on to pruning) allowed some people to increase their overall time in paid work. At various times across the ten-year period some people were involved in different forms of seasonal work and, as will be seen in the section on cyclical profiles, others were extremely creative and resourceful in their use of seasonal opportunities. Other seasonal industries besides horticulture and viticulture that people spoke about or worked in included meat processing, canning and the packaging. These tended to offer longer and more settled seasonal opportunities, though the first was subjected to massive restructuring and redundancies during the study period.

In an unusual addition to the traditional and expected seasonal employers we have included the Inland Revenue Department and a community swimming pool. One woman worked for three 'seasons' during the IRD's busy period following the filing of personal returns. Although outside the normal sectors and industries, this has been

added as it was a cyclical pattern of employment that was full-time, but not for a full year, and was in response to a predictable and regularly repeated pattern of increased workflow. This could not be coped with by the usual levels of staff and necessitated employing people for time limited periods to do particular work. For similar reasons the case of a man who worked at the local swimming pool as a lifeguard over the summer months is also considered in terms of seasonal employment. Naturally, given this broadening of the definition of seasonal work other employment could be so defined. However, these were the only two 'alternative' forms that were mentioned in the interviews.

Seasonal work was a feature in thirty-three households, and was undertaken by forty-two individuals. Although women still predominated (26 females, 62%), this form of work was not as strongly feminised as casual or part-time work. This percentage is only marginally above their proportion in the sample. Of more pronounced significance is the finding that whilst Maori were under represented in part-time and casual work, as compared to non-Maori, they are over represented in seasonal work making up 48.6% of this group. This is almost twice their proportion of the whole sample.

Those who had a pattern of repeated seasonal employment in two or more successive years formed the largest sub-group of seasonal workers. They are explored in the next section on *cyclical profiles*. Four of this group also did other isolated single episodes of seasonal work during the ten-year period under study. They appeared to be people willing to take on a range of seasonal employment in the fruit, meat and packaging sectors. A slightly smaller group of 14 people were involved in a single season of this type of work at some point in the ten years. Only three people who did not have cyclical profiles did more than one episode of seasonal work. These were spread randomly throughout the decade of the study.

Regardless of the duration or number of episodes, people came to this type of employment in a variety of ways. A man and two women were established in their cycle of seasonal work at the start of the ten-year period. Two women went directly from school into seasonal work after being unable to get any other sort of work. Four men and a woman gave up other paid jobs to take on seasonal work in the hope of better pay or more interesting work. Ineligibility for a benefit because of redundancy payments or age forced two men and a young woman into this type of work. Some time later this woman also did a spell of seasonal work whilst receiving the unemployment benefit. One man took on seasonal work after returning to New Zealand from a period in the country of his birth. He had previously worked in the meat industry when he was last resident in New Zealand.

Aside from these instances, the more usual circumstances of those who engaged in seasonal work were that they were receiving a benefit and not in any other paid work, or they were primarily responsible for unpaid work. Of those in the first category, nine men and five women were on the unemployment benefit. Two other women were on the DPB, one of whom did three seasons picking apples at various times. For those on benefits, seasonal work could provide a supplementary income (depending on their income level and number of dependants) and their benefit was abated accordingly. Alternatively, it could replace their benefits, with these being either temporarily suspended during the season or stopped entirely. The latter required that the person re-

apply whilst the former allowed the benefit to resume uninterrupted. The various permutations certainly seems to have required some close liaison with NZES to ensure the appropriate process was followed and entitlements were correctly calculated. One young man unhappily reported that his mother had incorrectly notified NZES of his involvement in a season's fruit picking and he had had to stand down for a two-week period when he finished rather than have his benefit payments immediately restarted. Occasionally people in these circumstances were compelled to take on seasonal work. To not accept this when it was offered would jeopardise their benefit entitlement. As one person put it,

Regardless whether you like it or not if [NZES] say you've got to go and pick fruit, you've got to go and pick fruit. ... [or] your dole gets cut.

All of the people who took on seasonal work in association with unpaid responsibilities were women who were married or in relationships and, all but one, cared for children. In this exceptional case the woman had adopted a self-imposed role as a "housewife" – her word. She made the astute observation that she could earn as much in four months full-time seasonal work as she could working part-time the whole year. Regardless of whether their husband or partner was employed or on a benefit these women saw this work as a viable way to earn extra dollars, money that was often vital to the household budget. In addition it was seen as a way to get out of the house and meet people. Importantly, because it was generally of a short term, seasonal work often appeared attractive to these women as a way of balancing some paid work with their unpaid responsibilities.

With the children being so young I didn't really want to work because I wanted to be there when they came home from school, send them to school. That was the only reason why I went out in the apple season, because it was only three months of the year.

However, whilst the timeframes may have been relatively short, like any woman who undertook some form of paid work as well as being primarily responsible for childcare, those who chose seasonal work were still faced with certain conflicts, demands and problems. These issues and the ways women responded to them are outlined in the discussion on unpaid work elsewhere in this report. As these women note, the relaxed nature of some seasonal work often meant creative solutions were possible.

I had an outside sitter that I used to pay. Drop the kids off to her, pick them up after work. ...but that was working out too expensive. ...And so [my husband] took them out to the orchard with him.

I took them to work with me. ...All the whanau took their children with them.

As another woman observed, this was a short period of difficulty weighed against the opportunity to earn extra money. Outside of these periods she elected not to work to make up for the impact on her daughter who had to be minded in the evenings and at weekends while mum worked:

I just felt I had had 3 months and weekends without [my daughter] and I thought I owed her.

In general, money was the main motivation for adopting seasonal work. The extra cash was welcomed even by those compelled to do such work. This is interesting given the low pay rates, which several people allude to:

I think why a lot of people don't go to work is that they get really useless wages. ...When young people go to the orchards they get student rates, boy are they wicked. ... go and work in the orchard and get the same rate as a paper run.

It is a hard job ... and the wages are not necessarily great. If the wages were a hell of a lot better you would get people out there because of it.

From her own experience, one woman felt that seasonal workers were a fairly vulnerable group. Despite these reservations she voluntarily chose to be a seasonal worker each year since it offered, as we have seen, the chance to not work for the remainder of the year.

We are all on employment contracts out there because its seasonal. We have no idea really the range they can offer us. We take what you're given. You have no choice. If you say no, that's not enough money, they say, oh well, see you. ...You sign a contract and you get told what you're getting. ... When you are seasonal, 4 or 5 months of the year, you have got no option but to accept what they give you.

One man who had done a large amount of seasonal work offered some possible explanations for why pay rates were so low, and he also considered the interaction of such low wages and benefit levels on people's involvement in seasonal work. His ideas echo the thoughts of some others on these matters.

There are a lot of vacancies that are not being filled even in the flush of the season. [Because of] lack of qualifications, lack of pay by the employer. The employer can only pay as much as the budget allows him, granted some of them have got the money to pay extra, but there are a lot of them out there that just haven't got the money and just can't pay top dollar for the seasonal worker. ...That is why a lot of them don't bother to work. You have to give them an incentive to go out and do something and if they are only going to get \$50 over and above the dole then they might as well stay home. That is the way it is. I have seen it in the past five years that I have been back down here. That's what I didn't see back in the '80's. A lot of people just won't go and work because of that. That is not the only reason but that is one important thing that I have seen. If the orchardist is not going to pay them enough money then they are not going to bother.

Despite these observations, many people acknowledged that the rates of pay were often still better than a benefit and a welcome addition to any other income. Regulations changed during the study period to increase the allowable earnings before a benefit was abated, making seasonal work more attractive. The lack of other opportunities was often a reason for taking this work.

Even though Hawkes Bay is noted for its high unemployment, I still feel it's got a lot more opportunities for people than other areas. The seasonal aspect anyway. [There are] lower wages for orchards and that but, I think if you want money, even if it is a lower hourly rate, you've got to do it. Its better than the dole.

Prior to '85 we'd been out picking and here in Hawkes Bay it's the only thing you can do. Nothing else. You have to take what's there.

There also seemed to be a common attitude amongst this group that work was important and that one could not be too picky

There is always jobs around. Just three or four months during the winter is the hard part ... there's always something to earn a bit of money ... Some people are a bit too lazy to get out and do seasonal work ... because you have to work for your money, you can't have a holiday out there ... I know quite a few people that would rather just sit on the dole and be happy.

I would prefer [full-time work] yes, in the orchard it is pretty hard to get full-time right through. ... I would do other kind of work but being in the Bay here, well orchard work is the number one job around. ... When I am working everything seems to be a lot better than when I am just sitting around at home on the unemployment benefit.

Seasonal work is OK. Without seasonal work it would be pretty hard unless you had some skills behind you.

[Fruit picking] was better than sitting at home doing nothing. You had to get out and mix with other people. It was the boredom that got to you mostly with nothing to do. I just took on anything that went.

These remarks acknowledge the personal and social value of work. In other remarks there was also the sense, though it may have not been made explicit, that even if others did not see it, many seasonal workers considered themselves skilled at what they did. This was particularly true of those with cyclical patterns of seasonal employment and is neatly captured in the remark from one woman who had a nine-year history of seasonal work in orchards.

A lot of people thinking working in a orchard is just another job but there is an art to fruit packing.

That said, others were less enthusiastic about their 'art'.

Everything was good but the work itself. The money, the people so you could put up with the work.

Even those not involved in this type of work recognised that this region had a high level of seasonal employment. However, although there may have been jobs, there were also more people wanting them according to one man who had for four years been involved in seasonal work.

When I came down here first time in the Bay 1980, I was only here for two days and I had a full-time job. I had no experience at the time. It is not the same now. I told the manager I had no experience and he spent the time teaching me the thinning side of orchard work. Now if anyone comes down this way for an interview to get orchard work, 99 out of 100 they won't get it.

This increase, according to some, was due to higher levels of unemployed both regionally and nationally. As a result, not only were more people in Hawkes Bay wanting this form of work but so were people who travelled from outside the region. People also noticed higher numbers of new immigrants offering themselves for this type of work. Despite the demand for jobs, it was often commented that there were still many unfilled seasonal vacancies. Low pay rates have already been suggested as

one reason for this. The man just quoted also suggested that seasonal employers were interested in experience more than they used to be.

Seasonal work seldom appeared to lead directly onto other long term or full-time work. This is not unexpected given its very nature and make up and the industries where it is most prominent. Whilst it did provide some employment experience, people who had done this type of work at some stage and later went onto full or part-time paid work almost always went into unrelated areas. Thus, seasonal work often served as just a stop-gap or fill in measure for those who were unemployed and/or looking for paid work. This is particularly and not unexpectedly true for people who were involved in only one season of such work and those who did an 'occasional' season. This young woman was unable to find work after completing an office systems course at polytech. She took on some apple picking as an interim measure. However, the way she and her family view this type of work is readily apparent when she remarks,

My family just wanted a good job for me, not like picking apples or something.

Similarly, another woman made her view of seasonal work apparent in these comments. She too was unable to find full-time employment despite completing a polytech course.

I think it was pretty much a *wasted* year. I was just doing people's gardening and housework and looking after children and doing odd jobs like stock taking at town for a day ... worked in an orchard for about three weeks at a time. I think November was my first *proper* job (emphasis added).

These views are in stark contrast to those held by many of the people who adopted a cyclical pattern of seasonal employment. If the cycles were to last many years then this group were far less likely to see seasonal work in a transient and negative sense. Having made numerous references to this particular sub group of seasonal employees they are now discussed in more detail.

Cyclical-Seasonal Profiles

As we have seen, the availability of seasonal work within the Hawkes Bay region offered a wide range of employment opportunities for people. What it also allowed for some people was the development of a pattern of employment that we have termed *cyclical-seasonal profiles*. These involve repeatedly engaging in the same pattern of seasonal employment across successive years. Twenty-five people – nine men and sixteen women – qualified for this categorisation. Maori made up almost 64% of this group, giving them an even greater over-representation in this sub-group than among seasonal workers as a whole where, as we have already seen, their representation is still high. A threshold of two successive annual cycles was set for inclusion in this group. Although low, this threshold allows some interesting profiles to be included and is sufficient to suggest that seasonal work was more than just a one-off or fill-in.

In reality, many of those who had cyclical profiles repeated their patterns of employment across many years. The average length of time for maintaining any one pattern was just over four years and the most common length of a single cycle was

three years. Those with cycles of greater than two years continued their patterns for between three and ten years. Three men and a woman managed two separate cycles of seasonal work. One of the men had two cycles of two years each whilst the two others had cycles of two and three years, and two and seven years. This gives cumulative periods of cyclical seasonal employment of four, five and nine years respectively. The only woman had two cycles of four years giving eight years in total. The break was so that she could have time at home with her new-born baby. It should also be noted that as well as their cyclical seasonal employment a small number of this group also worked for odd seasons at other workplaces. These individuals seemed willing and able to take on a variety of seasonal work in a range of settings.

In six cases, people managed between two and seven consecutive seasons working in meat processing. This industry tended to provide the longest periods of seasonal employment but, as is discussed shortly, it also proved to be unstable and uncertain during the study period. Another area to offer reasonably long periods of seasonal employment was canning. One woman managed nine years doing this type of seasonal work with only one season missed as the result of an injury. Packaging also provided stable and lengthy periods of work for a few people. Despite these other forms of seasonal work offering longer employment, almost a third of the group maintained cycles spanning between four and nine years solely within the horticultural sector, mostly in picking, packing or grading of fruit though a couple of people did similar work with vegetables, berries or grapes. The timeframe was generally between six weeks and four months each season. A few people were able to increase this by also doing thinning, pruning and maintenance work. This involved an extended period of work or a second period each year, increasing the time in work to around six months. As well, the two unusual areas of ‘seasonal’ work included in this study – the pool lifeguard during the summer holidays and the returns processing with IRD over their seven-month ‘busy period’ – provided cyclical employment for the people concerned.

Three men were able to generate a full year’s worth of work through creative use of seasonal opportunities. For a number of years two of them had worked at one of the meatworks and were able to be employed during the off season doing maintenance and other such work. This demonstrates the possibilities with a single employer. The third man’s case is more complex in that two different employers were concerned. This person worked in packaging plants in Napier and Hastings. He travelled to Napier from his home in Hastings for the period December to August as that plant increased production in response to local demand. For the balance of the year he was able to get work during the busy period at the Hastings plant. After keeping this up for three years he was rewarded with full-time job offers in both plants. As such, he was one of the small number of people to get full-time employment directly from seasonal work.

Much of what has been noted in respect of seasonal work in general applies equally to this sub-group. This includes the reasons and motivations for doing this type of work, the circumstances people were in when they undertook such employment, and the positive and negative aspects of it. However, some additional points need to be made and others are worth reiterating in respect of those with cyclical profiles.

As with other seasonal workers, those in this group took on this work for a variety of reasons. Financial motives were prominent. For some it provided a supplementary

income to the unemployment benefit or the usual family income. Alternatively, others used it as a short-term replacement for the former. As we have seen in previous sections, many women were attracted to paid work that was not full-time in order to cope with their unpaid responsibilities. This was also true for cyclical seasonal work which some women chose to do each year. Other people used it as a fill in whilst seeking full-time or permanent employment. Very occasionally this work did lead directly onto such opportunities. Often, because other work did not eventuate, this fill-in or short term initiative became extended and was repeated. Thus, while most people worked seasonally for financial reasons – though we have seen that other factors also played a part – a group became established in this cyclical pattern out of choice or, most often, due to circumstances.

For those forced into these cycles, there was the sense that the longer they remained employed this way, the less likely it was that other opportunities would arise. Of course, not everyone was dissatisfied with this pattern and, importantly, not all seasonal can be viewed in the same light. People who engaged in the fruit-harvesting sector were prominent amongst those looking for other work, making up 90% of these job seekers. Half of the fourteen people who were content with their cyclical pattern of seasonal employment were in other industries – meat processing, canning, and packaging. Of the remaining half although four were involved in the fruit industry, all expressed the view that their current seasonal work suited their personal or family circumstances. Five of this latter group were women who also balanced the care of children with their paid work.

Women in these circumstances, like so many others, faced numerous and often significant dilemmas and demands. Even though seasonal work was not permanent, these same issues were no less evident or problematic for the duration of any such employment. Those women who were involved in cyclical seasonal work reported being confronted with and having to respond to them each year that the cycle was repeated. That said, the time limited nature of seasonal work meant that such difficulties only had to be managed for short periods. This seemed to balance out the negative aspects.

Despite the dissatisfaction that some people felt with this type of work and the negative aspects of it, as the following examples show, patterns of cyclical seasonal work were still extremely important for generating work opportunities and income. At an individual level, repeated periods of seasonal work often represented a substantial portion of some people's engagement with paid employment over the whole study period. For example there were the three men with two differing cyclical profiles during the ten-year survey period. One worked at both meat processing¹⁶ and, when the works closed, berry picking. Another of this trio, after two seasons as a lifeguard, also spent seven seasons picking fruit later in the research period. In the final case the man worked in packaging for two years and when this fell through due to the flow on effects of a hail affected fruit season, he moved into picking other types of fruit for another three years. Then there were the five households where two adults were cyclically employed in seasonal work. Whilst one household featured a parent and an adult child the others involved spouses.

¹⁶ He held this job for many years prior and for two years subsequent to the start of the study.

As was mentioned in the general discussion on seasonal work, the very nature of this employment meant that seasonal workers' jobs were as vulnerable as the seasonal industries they worked in. As well, they had to be particularly conversant with benefit entitlements and regulations and comfortable with dealing with welfare agencies. These issues had to be managed every season and not just on a one-off basis. On a positive note, given that members of this group were involved in successive seasons of work, this often meant that they were seen as skilled, experienced and valued employees. Accordingly the same employers usually offered them work. These links were important as they might mean promotion or seniority within the workplace, thereby contributing to their status within this group of employees and possibly enhancing their earnings.

A Specific Case – The Meat Industry

Because the whole Hawkes Bay region is characterised by a range of primary sector industries that provide a great deal of employment, they were naturally seen by many of those interviewed as a vital part of this economy.

Things are pretty tough in Hawkes Bay ...If the primary producers don't do well the country doesn't do well. I think as far as that goes we should help the primary producers.

The meat industry was recognised as one of the significant primary producers and employment in this industry was often of a seasonal nature. However, this industry has experienced, both in this region and elsewhere in New Zealand, a great deal of upheaval and uncertainty, change and restructuring. During the ten-year study period two major meat processing plants in the Hawkes Bay region closed. These were large employers. The first, Whakatu closed at the beginning of the decade and the second, Tomoana, nearer the end. Such was the importance of the meatworks and so significant were the effects of these closures that many people had experienced them in some way and spoke of these events.

Naturally many people had been directly affected through the loss of jobs. However, others were affected more peripherally, such as through the flow on effects to other businesses. Some simply recognised the significance to the region of what had occurred. A veterinarian who had opened a practise just prior to the demise of Whakatu explained the implications of such a closure on the wider community and his practise in particular.

By about 1985 interest rates were absolutely horrific. They were about 23, 24% per annum. ... Then from '87 to about 1990, things were very tight, there was no growth. Farmers didn't have much money. The employees around here didn't have so much money and, as mentioned before, Whakatu closed, and I, we had opened a branch practise [in a suburb] where a lot of people employed in the freezing works and of those, about somewhere between a third and half who had been employed at Whakatu suddenly became unemployed. ...And it was really shattering for Hawkes Bay and made a difference to us.

The business never fully realised his hopes and after many years of struggle he sold up to work for a government department.

Eleven people were more directly affected through the loss of work. All but two were married at the time so the effects flowed onto families as well. Eight of these people were associated with Whakatu. Apparently some warning was given of this impending closure. Some of those affected were not recalled from the off-season whilst others were laid off having already returned to their jobs. Redundancy was paid to the workforce and people reported that conditions of the settlement meant that the payments did not affect their entitlements to welfare benefits. The circumstances of the Tomoana closure were vastly different. For this group there was no warning. People found out via the media or as they arrived for work and were turned away. One man graphically recalls his personal experience of this.

We didn't know Tomoana would be closed. See the next morning I woke up and ready to go to work and, hello, ready to hop in the car and go to work, and the news come out and Tomoana is closed... I went over there and everybody is just outside on the road, the gate is shut. We don't know what was going on...It hurt because that was where I got the money to pay the mortgage and buy the living for the family. It really affected...I really felt like packing up and going home. We had just bought this home and couldn't afford to just let it go.

Unlike the Whakatu workers, those laid off from Tomoana received no redundancy. The various emotional and practical experiences of both these groups – for individuals and their families – are recounted in other parts of this report. In summary, only three of those who were made redundant moved straight into other full-time jobs. The remainder struggled with varying periods of unemployment and other seasonal or short-term temporary work. All but two of those who wanted full-time work – one of whom was still retraining – eventually found it. Whatever the outcome, being part of these closures undoubtedly caused major stresses and changes for the people involved and the households they lived in.

For those directly affected and for the community as well, these two closures were significant events. Though extremely hard on those involved, some in the sector felt that the closures were necessary for the survival of the industry. To them the region appeared to have weathered the storm and the future looked more promising.

It seems that jobs are getting fewer, but at the same time there are still jobs around. I've seen two major freezing works in this area close down and yet 80% of them still move on to find secure permanent jobs.

Hastings affected a lot more by unemployment due to the collapse of the meatworks, but however there are good signs on the horizon.

Whilst feeling less optimistic, another woman made the important observation that these closures weren't just about the meat industry but were major signals that the nature of work more generally and the shape of the economy and labour market were changing.

I think that, definitely, unemployment is higher. Jobs are much more short term and a lot of the big employers have disappeared. Places like the freezing works and even places like the Council have changed the way they operate.

Evidence of such changes emerged in many of the interviews and looking at how people responded to these was a major focus of the study. In terms of the meat industry these shifts were apparent in various ways. For example, though fewer in

numbers, people continued to be employed in the meat killing and processing sector. New jobs arose through the restructuring and diversification of the industry such as in the case of a man who was laid off from the meatworks at one point but later got work processing venison. Similarly, there was talk of one of the plants being refurbished for an entirely new business.

Summary – Seasonal Work

Given the make up of the Hawkes Bay regional economy, it is not surprising that seasonal work was a significant source of employment. A wide range of industries provided this type of work and an array of jobs was on offer. Though there were obvious peak periods, different jobs were also available at other times of the year. Of those who were engaged in this type of work Maori were over-represented as a group. People used seasonal work in various ways. Though a form of employment in its own right, it also served as an alternative or supplement to welfare. Some used it as a stop-gap measure whilst looking for other work. Yet again, women saw this as an option to help them balance some paid work with their unpaid responsibilities. As the discussion of cyclical profiles shows, a group of people made very creative and repeated use of this form of employment. Whilst the importance of seasonal work in any labour market is fairly obvious, the make up and size of a group that rely repeatedly on such work is interesting. Given the Hawkes Bay region's high concentration of seasonal work, it would be valuable to determine the presence and characteristics of such a group in other regions. A short discussion of the meat industry highlights aspects of this sector, particularly in relation to the closures of Whakatu and Tomoana Meatworks.

(e) Full-time and Permanent Paid Work

In this section, we examine paid work that is full-time. As noted in the section on part-time work, a full-time job is for 37.5 hours or more per week. To be part of this discussion, it is necessary for the person to be employed on a permanent basis – thus casual, temporary and seasonal work is not considered even though by hours per week they might qualify.¹⁷ The transitions that involved paid full-time work were in the form of movement

- between full-time jobs
- into full-time employment from welfare, education and training, other paid and non-paid activities or a combination of these
 - this included an increase in hours if already in paid work
- out of full-time employment into welfare, education and training, other paid and unpaid activities or a combination of these
 - this included reducing one's hours if already in full-time paid work.

¹⁷ The lengthy periods of full-time work offered by certain seasonal industries such as meat processing, canning and packaging raises an interesting question as to whether they should be considered full-time in terms of this section. As some people noted that they were able to get truly full-time permanent work in such industries and others acknowledged lay off periods, a differentiation can be made which excludes the latter from this particular section. These experiences are considered in the section on seasonal work.

Over a quarter of the people (27%) for whom profiles were drawn had no experience of full-time paid work during the study period. However, certain provisos need to be attached to this figure to make more sense of it. Firstly, the breaking up of paid work into categories has meant the use of a somewhat narrow definition of full-time paid work here which has, in turn, created some rather artificial distinctions. Thus, some people who worked full-time hours but in self-employment, and casual or seasonal work are not included. Secondly, many of those who had no experience of full-time work still engaged in paid employment of some description, say part-time for example. The reasons for this work never being full-time were varied. Sometimes this was by choice – it was all the person wanted – whilst on other occasions the reverse applied – it was all the person could get. A couple of young people were studying, which only allowed them to work part-time whilst for those on benefits, full-time work would have exceeded earnings restrictions and affected their welfare payments. Only a handful of people had no involvement with any form of paid work during the study period. For a couple of women this was because of their commitments to caring for children and family. Ill health and retirement accounted for the others.

The proportion of Maori in the group who had no experience of full-time work was, at 29%, only marginally above their representation in the sample. Just over three-quarters of this group were women, well above their proportion of the sample. However, but for a couple of exceptions, all of these women did engage in other forms of work. The key factor that influenced this weaker participation in full-time work was once more the issue of childcare. Preceding sections give more detailed analysis of the distinct problems and demands that women faced in relation to childcare and work transitions. The effect of this issue on women's participation in full-time work is apparent in that just over half the women who experienced some change in their patterns of full-time work acknowledged that this issue influenced at least one transition. For a small group it was more than one transition and some noted it as a factor in transitions in both directions (into and out of work) during the ten-year period. Factors related to childcare may have forced them out of full-time paid work, for example through the birth of a child. Alternatively, they may have had to adjust their hours of work, for example reducing to part-time in order to provide childcare or to help overcome problems in this area. In other cases, some women's return to full-time work occurred only when their children reached a certain age. As has been illustrated in the sections on unpaid work and part-time and casual work, women's return to full-time work was often a staggered process conditional upon these types of issues. Childbearing and childcare, then, were important factors in relation to women's participation in full-time as well as other forms of work. Besides not participating, a woman's involvement in full-time work could be affected in terms of the length of time she was able to maintain such employment as well as the timing, frequency and motivations of any changes.

The motivations for, and the importance and value placed on paid work have been explored in relation to unemployment in the part of the report looking at Welfare and Unemployment. The circumstances of transitions involving full-time work (and indeed any transition for that matter), were made up of a range of factors: some that could be seen as being of an involuntary nature, others of a more voluntary type, and some that combined various features. As well as childcare responsibilities and changes that

occurred to those responsibilities, some of the factors that influenced transitions involving full-time work included:

- Redundancy, dismissal and the end of a contract
- Injury and sickness
- Relocation and travel

The “O.E.”

Relocation within N.Z and overseas for a variety of reasons (family, lifestyle, work opportunities etc)

- Prior to or following an education or training course
- Workplace factors
 - Changes to owners, employers, conditions, wages etc
 - Setting up own business and if that business failed
- Choice and preference

Improved pay and conditions

Better opportunities, promotion & advancement

- Preferred or change of work
- Change in personal/family circumstances
 - Children getting older
 - Other relatives needing care
 - Break up of a marriage or relationship¹⁸

These factors, alone or in combination, were the principle reasons that people identified for giving up full-time work or reducing their hours, changing full-time jobs, and taking on full-time work or increasing their hours.

Even if a mix of factors were at play, from the interviews it was usually possible to identify, in general terms at least, the main circumstances of a transition. Some simple analysis can therefore be made about the nature of these moves. Of all the transitions that involved full-time work, about a fifth involved people moving between full-time jobs. The remaining transitions are split fairly evenly between people transitioning out of or into full-time employment, though the former occurred slightly more frequently. Of the latter, people appeared to be forced out of full-time work in about 42% of instances, whilst they seemed to exercise choice in around 34%. A fifth of transitions out of full-time work were the result of having a baby or childcare issues¹⁹ and the remaining 4% were the result of lifecycle factors – say people retiring. In respect of the former, over half (52%) of the transitions into full-time work seemed to be primarily the result of personal choice. Again it should be noted that a mix of factors can influence some decisions so that a woman may elect to return to work but this decision might be the result of balancing care of the children, personal motives and financial considerations. In only 6% of instances did people appear to be ‘propelled’ unexpectedly into having to transition into full-time work. Some examples of this include the break up of a marriage forcing a woman to take on full-time work, or being fired or made redundant from part-time work. Factors such as leaving school or

¹⁸ Even though this could be seen to fall into the childcare responsibilities category, it is specifically included as such an event can demand radical changes to people’s employment that would not be necessary if they were in a relationship and sharing care of a family.

¹⁹ In order to clearly differentiate childcare issues, these are not considered part of the enforced or chosen categories, even if elements of these decisions were voluntary or involuntary.

finishing a course of study or training preceded around 13% of moves into full-time work whilst just under a third (29%) followed a period of job searching whilst a person was unemployed. Transitions between full-time employment were predominantly the result of choice (just under 70%) and a range of factors drove these. Although some people were forced out of full-time work by redundancy, some immediately found other work and about 30% of transitions between jobs fitted this type. Occasionally spouses were forced to change jobs because their partners relocated.²⁰

As alluded to, the most significant difference between men's and women's motives for giving up full-time work was related to having or caring for children. Only one man moved from full-time work to take on responsibility for childcare, after his estranged wife took ill. The reverse also applied with women more likely to be returning to full-time work from either receiving a single parent's welfare benefit or out of unpaid work (occasionally with part-time or casual work). The other very noticeable disparity occurred in relation to movements between full-time work and self-employment. Whilst this occurred in 12 instances for men, women only made one such move. Similarly, going from self-employment into full-time employment again showed a strong bias towards men, this time with a 7:1 ratio. A minor variation was seen in the slightly increased likelihood that women would give up full-time work in order to take on education and training as compared to men.

A dozen people – ten men and two women – maintained full-time employment in one position throughout the ten year period, though some were promoted or changed the precise job they did within a company or organisation. These cases are explored in some detail in the section on *No Transitions*.²¹ After arriving in this country a couple of years into the study period, another woman was employed in the same position for all this time. The No Transitions section also includes a brief look at the people that had only a small number of transitions. Apart from those without transitions, people had between one and seven transitions – either between jobs, or into and out of full-time work. Just over 40% of people had only one such transition whilst around 15% were in each of the two, three and four transitions categories. The remainder experienced between five and seven transitions²².

Interestingly, people made few specific comments about full-time work. Certainly, some did make observations about full-time employment in relation to other experiences - say of unemployment or unpaid responsibilities. However, full-time employment appeared to be considered the norm and did not generate many specific observations, per se, compared to the experiences of people in casual or part-time work for example.

²⁰ Obviously some transitions could fit more than one category, particularly those where people became unemployed but found work very quickly. If the transition was fairly seamless (and this was not uncommon) then they were treated as a move between jobs rather than out of one, into unemployment, and then from this to work.

²¹ This section analyses people who had no transitions whether they were employed full-time or otherwise throughout the ten year period.

²² The last category had only one person in it.

Summary – Full Time Work

In a deliberate juxtaposition, the area of paid full-time work – often what is implicitly meant by the use of the term “work” – has been left to the final section in this report. Much of the preceding discussion has firmly established the rich variety of paid and unpaid activities that are rightly incorporated under that term. Despite its prominence in most people’s lives, not a great deal of specific comment was made regarding their participation in full-time paid work, though the themes that are examined in the following section address some such issues. A little less than three quarters of all the people profiled had some experience of full-time employment during the study period²³ though the provisos noted at the outset need to be kept in mind regarding this figure. If, for example, people who were retired, out of the workforce for health reasons or studying after just leaving school are considered this figure climbs to just over three quarters. It would be even higher if seasonal, casual and temporary workers as well as the self-employed with full-time hours were included. Importantly, the quarter without this experience most often still engaged with paid work but in other forms. Around three-quarters of those who had no experiences of full-time work were women, a circumstance largely explained by the gendered division of (domestic) labour. A group of a dozen people maintained a single full-time job throughout the entire survey period. About a fifth of the transitions involving full-time work were between such positions while the balance were fairly evenly distributed amongst shifts into or out of full-time jobs. Whether it was out of, into or between full-time jobs, once again, issues relating to childcare were the distinguishing features of many women moves. Aside from this, the most significant imbalance saw men moving from full-time work into self-employment, and the reverse – far more often than women.

Paid Work – Issues

Many of those interviewed commented on the following issues either spontaneously or in response to specific questions. Although they are presented in relation to paid work, they often have some connection with other areas of this discussion. For example, redundancy was frequently related to experiences of unemployment. In the same sense, themes canvassed in other areas of this report have obvious inter-relations with paid work. Specifically, issues relating to people’s experiences of and attitudes towards work, unemployment, the local job market, the New Zealand Employment Service are examined in the section on welfare and unemployment. A closer look at benefit and wage levels as well as abatement regimes is also presented in that section, as is a discussion of the importance of networks for people finding work. The section looking at education and training also has a selection of themes with relevance to paid work. These include an assessment of the quality of certain training programmes and the inequity between different benefit regimes in respect of training allowances and support. Issues relating to the costs of training and shifts in how training is organised are also explored, as are the implications of the growth of technology in the workplace. The issues canvassed in this section are:

- The intensification of paid work

²³ Given that we have focused a ten year piece of people’s lives, many of those without this experience would have had this before or after the study period.

- The gendered nature of paid work
- The Employment Contracts Act (1991) and the role of unions
- Age related issues: ageism and youth employment
- Restructuring and redundancy

(i) *Intensification*

People have always worked hard and some have been willing to work extremely long hours for a variety of reasons. For some of those interviewed who were starting or running their own businesses working long hours or two jobs was just accepted as normal or necessary. Similarly, some jobs were characterised by intense periods of work. Consider the harvesting of some crops which sees employees working seven days a week for 14 hours a day during the season. There was, however, a sense from several of the interviews that contemporary work patterns were increasingly characterised by an intensification of work – people were being required to work longer or harder. In summarising these type of changes to work one person made the following observations.

I think you tend to have the unemployed and over employed and management. So there is a real problem with that sort of set up, where if you are actually employed you are doing too much work to the detriment of your family and yourself. Whereas if you are unemployed you are seen as a dole bludger, or a drain on society and just given enough to get by on. I think that system only promotes advantages for a very small portion of the community.

This has echoes of the core-periphery model. Although the previous person spoke generally, this next man draws on his own experiences to illustrate another way that work is being intensified.

I think it is becoming apparent in N.Z. that the employers want you 24 hours a day, not to work 24 hours a day, but to be available, and the push is coming for the... to compete with the overseas market, when they want them at the same rate. The weekends as we know it in N.Z. are vastly beginning to go.

Intensification can take many forms. Sometimes people experienced it as simply the pressure to perform at a high level for extended periods of time. This woman felt this was the case for check-out operators and worried about the effects on the large numbers of young people employed in this work.

I thought the expectation was a little bit too much and it put a lot of pressure on, especially a lot of the young school girls. ...a check out operator [was like] an automated machine. They expect you to press the button at whatever time you go on and release it when your time is finished. ...We worked flat out.

Others experienced intensification in relation to other issues such as being employed on salaries instead of wages, coping with on-call demands, and falling wage rates. The first change caused problems when people had to work longer hours to get a job finished, but because they were on a salary they got no extra pay for the additional time. As examples of this consider the cases of a couple of men who had shifted from being wage earners to salaried employees when promoted to a supervisory position. Both found they were working long hours to get all the work done that their job

entailed. This was well in excess of their standard paid hours, but neither was reimbursed for most of this extra time. As one of them put it, doing extra hours can easily become an insidious feature of one's pattern of work.

If I worked my official hours are 37½ hours per week. So you can add another 10. Workload can be quite a funny thing with it. Not that I am paid for all that time either. I don't book the extra hours, as I am not even aware that I am working those hours.

Although only one person mentioned the demands of being on-call, as her case illustrates, it can be a huge drain on people.

So during the week we have from five [pm] to eight in the mornings, and on the weekends we are on 24 hours. ..and we don't get paid for it. ...We just clock up all our hours and you take it off. ...Thank goodness for the family that they understand, mum's on duty and she can be gone all hours.

Though not strictly on-call, the second set of remarks quoted in this section indicates a related issue: the increasing expectations of employers for their workers to be more available to meet work demands. Finally, lower wages often contributed to intensification through people working longer hours to maintain earnings since their ordinary and penal rates had been reduced. The latter were often eliminated all together.

The most common ways for intensification to occur were through multi-skilling and reduced staffing levels. The latter can have obvious implications for increasing demands on existing workers as this woman recollects from her time in the office of an SOE.

It is the staffing levels that put them under stress, as they have a high stress load. ...Supervisors, well they have got rid of those and as for the case managers, they require more. ...[They need] more staff.

A more favourable view was provided by this man from his experiences of the restructuring of the gas company he worked for.

There is now only 27 of us instead of 53 and what has changed now is that all the top management were laid off so now we are doing twice as much work. Basically that is what has changed we have to work a lot harder and a lot more efficiently, which we are doing and it has taken twelve months to do that and I feel it is great, marvellous what has happened.

Sometimes it was a case of extra staff not being employed when work volume increases significantly.

When I am in packing, most of the time I am the only person working there and if things pick up and we can't find a part-timer to come in I have to deal with the load myself. ... sometimes I start at 3 in the morning and work really late at night. The latest I ever worked was 10 o'clock and I started working at 6. ... [It's] really tiring.

Multi-skilling involved individual workers being trained in and expected to carry out a wider range of work activities.

You see to have to be multi-faceted. Not just good at one thing, good at a whole lot of things. And be very flexible. That's the sort of people we look for our jobs. That's because nothing stays the same; our jobs change every few months - what we're expected to do and how we do it and that sort of thing. ...You have to adapt and be flexible.

Reduced staffing and multi-skilling were sometimes inter-related. As staff numbers dropped the remaining employees become multi-skilled to cover all the jobs previously undertaken by others. This was on top of their existing jobs. With fewer staff they were also often required to increase their work rate so that output was unchanged.

When they restructured one lady got laid off and now one lady does two people's work, running around like a maniac. She is able to do it though.

There used to be three brewers in there but there is one now and he is doing three men's jobs.

[Radio stations] tend to work their staff a hang of a lot harder than they used to. ...people have to be multi-skilled now. ...But now I think it may be getting a little bit too hard, I think they are working some of the staff a wee bit too much.

Many people felt that multi-skilling has always been around, as this man observed.

I was always multi-skilled but now they are giving me the tools to be able to do that. When the network engineer is not there I have to do his job as well, which I am capable of filling in to do, so I am multi-tasked. I can do any job in the company now, almost. ...[management] want everyone to back everyone up.

However, it appeared that the degree of this had increased along with expectations as to how much each person would cope with.

As we have seen from the comments of people in a variety of jobs intensification occurred in all manner of work settings, across industries and sector, and occurred at all levels of an organisation. It also happened to people who were not employed full-time. This woman worked part-time in a teaching setting.

Every year ... I have had to work harder and for longer hours to keep the same proportional employment that I started with ... you just need more qualifications, you have to work harder in the jobs than you used to ... you have to work harder and longer hours and be better qualified.

Not only did she struggle to fit increasing workloads into set hours, the demands of her job meant she had to also find time to maintain ongoing education which was deemed necessary for her work. In the earlier section on casual work the casualisation of work was briefly explored. Some reference to and evidence of the tie in with the trends towards intensification were also made.

This man's comment, in summing up a sense of discontent at the creeping intensification of work, is an appropriate way to end this section.

The other gripe I have is our standard week is 45 hours. Where did the old 40 hours go. Where did all these strive and struggle to the 40 hour week is 45. ...How can they do that; why has it changed? Historically people have literally struggled and were working all these horrible hours and they had 40 hours and now its creeping and next year it could be 48 hours.. We have to do all the hours they want us to do. ...So the work is there it had to be done. Perhaps their staffing structure needs to be changed.

Summary - Intensification

An apparent intensification of work was reported by some of those interviewed. This occurred in a number of ways, particularly through staff reductions or multi-skilling. Sometimes both these processes occurred as a result of organisational restructuring. Intensification was an issue of significance in relation to transitions. Firstly there were the obvious implications for those who lost paid work as a result of restructuring that was premised on redistributing workloads to remaining staff in different ways. Secondly, there were the impacts on those who retained employment but had to cope with changes in their workplaces, job descriptions, workloads and conditions. These impacts and implications affected not only the individual worker but their family as well. Although some of those who retained their jobs after restructuring were positive about the redistribution of work and roles, others in similar circumstances were more guarded in their assessment and sometimes quite negative. Those who lost jobs had a predictably negative reaction.

(ii) The Gendered Nature of Paid Work

This study has already looked at aspects of the relationship between gender and work. A particular focus has been the gendered nature of unpaid work and how this affected women's involvement in paid employment. To compliment and extend the discussion so far this section looks at the how gender impacts on paid work. This is done in two ways. Firstly, the experiences and comments of those interviewed as to the gender make up of work that they were involved in are examined. Secondly, the attitudes of interviewees in respect of the sort of work that men and women can and should be involved in are explored.

Two overriding themes emerged in this analysis. Ironically, each appears to contradict the other. The first was a sense that changes were occurring: women are more involved in paid work, in a wider range of activities and at all levels of employment. There were of course variations in the degree of change and the nature of the process. Men and women commented on this.

I can see a big difference from 1969 with 1996 today. I can see, as I said before, I am a man, I am not trying to run other men down but I can see the ladies play a better role than men, in many ways.

Although I think lots of women hold really good jobs and they are proving themselves to be just as capable as a man. I think men feel they are a bit better than women. I don't know they are all really good at their jobs and that a woman would do it just the same.

There are a lot more women in the workplace and they are also in the higher paid jobs.

Not the men's side of it, but I would say the women's side of it has changed a lot. They are able to do a bigger variety of work now that what they were doing when I first started in the Bay. They are doing more pruning, bus driving, driving trucks and tractors. ...people leaving their doors open and giving people a chance I suppose, the employers. ...There has been a bit [of demand from women themselves] ... around here the

employers seem to think if they can handle it give them the chance. ...There is some others there that wont change but there are a lot more that have changed.

I think once you get one woman doing a job that has been traditionally a man's field it does actually starts a snowball effect, where other women say if she can do it, if she can be a firefighter, so can I.

One time women were not allowed [in the meatworks] but then came this equality thing and so they were allowed. ...[Women] have been given the opportunity because it is against the law not to give them that opportunity now.

These changes were part of a process that is ongoing. For many of those interviewed it revealed itself as slow and uneven at times. The circumstances of this man neatly illustrate this. They also show that, occasionally, discrimination can work against men. He had considered training as a nurse when he was younger.

We were talking the other day and two of my, things I really wanted to do when I was 15,16 or 18 was to be a nurse and one was to work on the telephones. And I guess I actually applied to go nursing when I was 18, but there was the social stigma attached to male nurses at that stage, only sort of queers and really odd people or guys went nursing ...That was 22 years ago.

Now in much different times he finally completed his nursing training. However, he had some difficulty getting full-time work. After a period working casually he was offered a permanent position in the neo-natal special care unit. Here he met some resistance from other staff.

Male nurses don't always particularly fit into [certain areas]. ... There were people who particularly did not think I was the right choice of person to work there. ... I had been working with women for a long time, it just didn't bother me at all, so there was no uncomfortableness on my behalf but there certainly was when I started working [there]. ...There had actually been another male there before but he had worked there about 3 months and they had managed to scare him off. ...I have worked there for two years and there is still some staff who think I shouldn't be there.

His wife adds her own observations.

[He] was the first male nurse to be employed by the [baby unit] so that did have quite a rough transition time because it had been such a stereotyped thing. ...Mainly on gender basis, especially for some of the long-term women.

As mentioned, the second theme to emerge ran somewhat counter to the first. Against the perception of change apparent above, this theme centred on a strong prescriptive feel as to how men and women viewed work that they should be involved in. This was also evident in how they explained these biases. Traditional demarcations appeared to still be the basis of this horizontal segregation. In particular physicality was a dominant factor in identifying men's and women's work. The last woman quoted above who noted the growing presence of women in the meat industry ended her remarks with the following declaration.

I categorically say the meatworks is a man's domain.

She went on to explain her rationale for this claim.

The whole complex of the meatworks were men's jobs. This is probably why I ended up with RSI because I was doing work which was intended for men. There are some things that men can do and that women can do but in some ways men are physically competent to do that work because their bodies are made that way, women can do them but are not meant to. ...Sweeping the women can do that, but on the slaughterboard itself and those repetitive jobs are men orientated jobs because men are physically able to do them.

The work these next three men were involved in all seemed to be considered "men's work", although it is only particular aspects of the first job that were treated this way. Like the woman above, each clearly identifies the physical aspects of the work as being the key factor, a position supported by their experiences of women attempting such work. The first two give examples to verify this. Other factors are never considered. The last man initially seems to think that hygiene factors would rule women out of his type of work but then seems to talk himself into it being because of the job's physical aspects and risk.

There are certain jobs that some women can't do like windows. We do ... all the outside windows ... and you have to get out on a ledge and hang out the window, one foot on the ledge and one foot inside. You can't expect women to be out there doing that sort of thing[Our boss] has had women there but they have not lasted long. Some of the houses are two storey houses and there is a lot of ladder work. ..It is [pretty physical].

[Working on power lines] is a manual job and it is only men that are employed. We had one female who we took on as a trainee and she could not do the work, it was too physical for her. Too heavy. ... she was expected to do the same thing as any other man, but physically a woman can't do it and men were covering for her.

There is no women involved in [wool pulling]. ...It is just because it is unhygienic, not because a woman can't do it, although they might not be able to do certain aspects of it. There is a lot of lifting and acid involved.

In the next example, this woman was critical of the division of labour that she obviously felt was based on misguided beliefs about what men and women should do. It also meant that the women had to do more for less pay!

At the packing job, the guys it was like they had the easy job. They had to stack and we had to pack and stack at the same time, but they just had to stack. The boxes were heavy but we could have done it. But just because they were heavy the guys had to do it and we didn't think that was very good ...They [also] got more money.

One remark perhaps summed up this general philosophy regarding what is or isn't suitable for women to do. Whilst conveying the idea that women can and should be involved in a wider range of jobs, for this man the key factor remains related to women's (in)ability to manage the physical demands of certain work.

There is some of the jobs that women could do, some of the jobs weren't physically hard work. ...Just the change of working ethics with women, they can do anything as long as it is not physically demanding.

This is interesting given that women have become involved in many physically demanding jobs. This man recognised this himself when he observed earlier, that women had become firefighters. As if to emphasise how hard attitudes can be to shift, his own experience has still not completely convinced him.

In actual fact you see now that women are doing those [physically demanding] jobs. The hay contracting business that I had has been sold to another couple and I saw their tractors going down the road with two women driving the tractors.

In the interviews conducted for this study, the physical nature of any work seemed to be the strongest means used to evaluate whether women should be able to undertake it. Intriguingly, both men and women occasionally reported work where jobs that were accepted as suitable for women often incorporated quite heavy physical work!

Pet food wise, they are 30kg bags of pet food, we have got to carry those. We do 6 at a time, but the men are not allowed to do that, that is not a man's job we have been told, so we do all the heavy lifting.

I have worked with some women who have been marvellous workers. ...I admired those women. At times the work was heavy, but as long as everyone was prepared to buckle down and do the work they did it.

After the physical aspects, the type of work or job and the nature of the work – what sorts of things are done – also appeared to be important considerations. The very specific nature of some work was certainly used as the basis for reservations by men in regards to women's expanding involvement in particular types of work. Take this prison officer's feelings regarding women in frontline roles.

The department has changed over a period of time with the prisons and they have tried to bring a woman into a job that I feel they are not equipped to do successfully. The management side possibly yes, but the day-to-day dealing with inmates, no. ...For the simple fact that women cannot strip search male inmates. It is in the law they cannot do it, therefore they can never do the full job of a prison officer. ...It probably stops some of the male officers doing their jobs properly, so instead of trying to handle a situation they are trying to protect a female officer.

In some cases, of course, the opposite gender often surprised incumbents with their abilities in non-traditional work. This man readily accepted women into his field.

Like now you get women butchers but in 1985 there was no such thing as a woman butcher, there could have been women labourers that was as top as they could get. ...It is really good [now] it has nothing to do with gender on who is working because they can handle those jobs the same as men.

So too did this woman, though interestingly she felt that the men themselves viewed their participation in a field usually reserved for women as unsatisfactory. She was a telephonist in the public sector.

The [men] that I have had with me have been very good. The odd one or two really stood out. I also think they thought a little bit that they should be doing something better but no they were good.

What this hints at and was confirmed by others is that many people still feel that men's and women's make up and attributes make them more suitable for certain jobs.

Consider how these women evaluated their own jobs in this respect. The first two were involved in secretarial work.

Probably not at ACC where a lot of it was reception, I don't think [men] would be keen on doing that....Because some of it is answering phones and some of it was over the counter work dealing with people. I don't see why they couldn't do it, but.

In not finishing her last sentence this woman signalled that there shouldn't be such barriers to men doing certain work but acknowledges that, for whatever reasons, they still exist. A similar feeling can be gained from the next woman as well.

I doubt that it would be the type of job that a man would be employed to do. It is a bit like asking a man to be a ... like a man as private secretary is unusual isn't it, well the same applied in my job, it would be unusual for a man to be sitting at a keyboard.

Work involving the care of others was also sometimes viewed as not suitable for men. The first quote relates to an after school programme and the next one concerns care of the elderly. In the final pair each woman tries to explain why more women are involved in these areas compared to men.

Especially the work at Afcare would be totally unsuitable for a male. It is like a parent to 16-17 kids at a time and sometimes up to 30 kids and I don't think men cope with those demands. A lot of men are not good with young children, I think it is a woman's job, we cope a lot better.

Unless [the men] are nurses they don't do this sort of job. It is mainly women that look after the elderly.

I think males are a bit frightened of people who aren't perfect. They don't know how to cope. Males are disabled in their outlook.

I think women are more concerned with health, particularly at the ground level.

In looking at the make up of particular jobs, other clear-cut examples of these gender divisions as readily apparent. Outside of veterinarians, for example, the care of animals was reported to be confined to women. What this next quote illustrates is the pervasive nature of attitudes rather than discriminatory practises.

With the clerical staff and so on, although we never advertised for women we only ever had women for two reasons. One is that clerical staff always seemed to be women and secondly when you ask for veterinary nursing staff it is young girls who seem to want those jobs. So the only applicants we ever had for any job were female and there was no indication of wages and that in our advertisements. There may have been an assumption by males that it was a females job. But it was not one that we made.

The unanswered question is how they would have responded if a male had applied. According to this woman, who had been involved in market research for many years, this work was predominantly, though not exclusively, done by women. To try and explain this she offered some possible explanations.

I don't know of any males working [in market research]. Most of them seemed to be females. A lot of males don't like that sort of work and I do think women come across better on the phone anyway. And probably just

deal better with the public. They're used to dealing with family and husbands. They're used to dealing with households.

Women were, at times, considered more suited to certain types of work, particularly if they were of a repetitive, tedious or dextrous nature.

Most of it is women because men get bored, and they have said, "I don't know how you girls can do it. They do other work around, cleaning, running things.

The women were more reliable than the men, because it is a very monotonous job.

Grading is a tedious job. I don't think any man would want it.

The jobs that women tend to be given they do better than men anyway ... They sometimes are quicker thinking. They are quicker with their hands.

Pay and conditions also featured as evaluative factors.

The Telecom job was more suited to a woman because it was only two weeks a month and men tend to like something a bit more permanent.

The pay is not great either. It wasn't a good job for a married man with a family.

Only women were employed in the meat packing section of this supermarket butchery, a fact that this woman put down to the rates of pay.

I think it is the wages, the wages are not that bright and probably wouldn't be, the only men that are employed in that department are the butchers. ...[We are] very low paid for what we do.

Whilst low wages may have indeed deterred men, no consideration was given to the possibility that the wages may have been low because women predominantly did this work.

Within the workplace the type of work each did often mediated relationships between men and women. In several cases people spoke of working in settings where professionals were supported by ancillary staff. In most cases the professionals were men and the support staff were women. Often the women spoke of feeling devalued in the relationship. This is but one example.

It was sole charge, so I had to do everything from answering the phone right through to doing statistical stuff. ...I know that I was seen by the sales reps as the girl in the office, but I didn't see myself in that role, I saw myself as being a lot more important than that ... that was other people's interpretation of my role, not my own.

Such unequal relationships also occurred in other circumstances. Once again there is the suggestion that women were suited to certain types of work. The organisation of this workplace did not seem to favour women.

I had control of three machines and on those three machines were nine women... most of the machinery was all operated by girls ... I think they were more suited to the job, a bit more patience in some cases. ...I think another thing that came into it too was the wages they [women] got paid ...

They got paid wages a lot lower than the men's and engineering, they were tobacco workers. ... when I changed over from Tobacco Worker to Engineers [Union] I went up \$2.30 an hour. ...The girls were a darn sight lower down the scale than we were.

The printing industry yielded other examples of work arrangements with strong internal demarcations, generally established by men.

In the past typesetting was mostly done by women, because of their typing skills I suppose. ...[Now] it has changed. There is a mixture now ... there are not as many typesetters now, or there won't be because of the restructuring. ...I know when I started there the first time it was an extremely well paid job for a woman, a typist. Apparently the reason was that the printers had kicked up a bit of a fuss because they maintained the industry was getting in cheap labour to do the work, getting women and paying less. They then insisted that the women would get paid basically the same rates as men. It never worked out quite like that, you always got less, but we were not employed as cheap labour, we were paid for our skills. ...That was [the Printers' Union's] way of securing their pay.

It appeared, however, that things were changing, despite some resistance.

I know there was a certain amount of resentment when they started taking on girl apprentices. I don't think the guys in paste-up liked that very much. ...If anybody showed initiative and talent ... if there was any promotion it was those ones that got it and it didn't matter if they were men or women.

Two other areas that were commented on quite often in the interviews provided further examples where women were fewer in numbers or consigned to particular roles. The first was the information technology sector.

It was certainly apparent at varsity when I started my degree [in 1986] and I started majoring in computer science there were only four women in my year. Maybe it is the maths, I don't know what it is but certainly in management in the computer world there are more men than women. ...Because of my era, of my age, there are not a lot of women that have been involved in computing. ...probably younger there are, but women in their 30's and 40's that really wasn't something we did a lot of.

Again, things might have been changing but some aspects seemed to be holding fast.

[Women] are not in abundance [in electronics] and I know from the local polytech that runs the training courses associated with the kind of work I do, they still get the major majority of males as applicants.

In particular there were certain areas that appeared to be predominantly staffed by one genders.

For some areas there is probably equal number of females to males but in the area of technicians and where people are actually mending the hardware, I don't think I have ever seen a female technician, so that would probably bring the ration back quite significantly. ...It is a bit like a mechanic really, you don't see many female mechanics either. In the areas of customer support and programmers and things, females seem to be just as suited to the job as males.

Traditionally the technical roles have been much more attractive to males.

Banking was also reported to have a complex internal division of labour which this woman described drawing on her own experiences. Other people alluded to aspects of this structure.

[T]he customer side of things predominantly female. In the larger branches you might find the odd token male in the customer services area. If you move into the consultants side which is your personal sector, in some branches it is 50-50. In other branches it is more female. If you are looking at career banking, that's where you'll find your guys also start off if they haven't been to university and those that have been to university you find in the commercial sector or rural sector. And that is where you will find a predominantly male take-over from the female ratio and you will have more bias. In promotion well basically the whole things changed. You get promotion within the sector unless you desperately want to change and then you've got to prove, and now you have got to have a degree behind you to move into, perhaps the commercial area or the rural area, unless you can prove otherwise.

What this case also introduces is the notion that promotion and seniority – vertical segregation – can also have a gendered basis. For example, a male lawyer acknowledged the imbalances in his profession at senior levels. He offered a partial and unsatisfactory explanation for why this was so.

Women [lawyers] are very hard done by. In Hawkes Bay there are only two women partners, there might be three. ...Probably more women than men do law [at university]. ...A lot of them would get jobs as staff solicitors, they might progress to associate status – which is really quite meaningless – the remainder fall by the wayside, either leave, get married or have families.

Even in female dominated services such as voluntary organisations women may not necessarily be in the most senior positions. This woman was an executive member of a large NGO.

We've got quite a few women managers in that, that's the level below the senior management team. There's no women senior managers but that's probably only a matter of time, it's not because the place isn't disposed towards them, it just isn't, there haven't been any gaps lately.

Whilst she seemed to suggest that changes were possible, there were no guarantees that women would be appointed even if vacancies came up. Though she had risen to a supervisory level in a government social agency, the next woman raises the point that these organisations are usually heavily staffed by females but predominantly managed by men. As a step towards rectifying this situation she notes that more women may now be at least thinking about applying for senior positions.

For the last few years I have been the only female supervisor out of five men and myself. ... I am just thinking of the other major government departments around here, most people in senior positions would be men. ...I think it is changing. I do think it is. I think more women are actually feeling assertive enough to apply ... I have noticed that within my own team, we are an all women team ... that in the beginning I would encourage people and say why don't you apply for that job and – Oh no – but now people say well maybe I should.

The field of teaching (predominantly primary level) offered some valuable insights into the gendered character of vertical segregation. A woman who had taught for some

time and achieved promotion recalled the preconceptions that surrounded certain senior positions. Indeed, they were so strong that they influenced her performance.

There was just that assumption that deputy principals would be good at sport and males ... and I remember in the first few months [as a deputy principal] humping around this huge great marker for the field for a particular sports day because I was determined not to be seen not to be the real kind of deputy principal you should be.

In terms of the teaching hierarchy, this man, who had been a teacher for a time but who was then involved in another area of the education sector, put it quite unambiguously.

Males are more prevalent in management positions.

He described a system of advantage for men right from the selection process for teacher's college. Though this might be explained in terms of the shortage of men in teaching it does not follow that it need persist into promotion and the selection. He felt that this was changing.

[Now], it is not so much always thinking it is a male, they are thinking more of who is the most appropriate person for their school and at that time, whereas under the old system it just used to be years of service and have you got so far up, which was a lot harder if you did have broken service. ... Where I taught for my second school had an active policy of trying to show women in positions of authority, to show these role models to the children, that women were just not ... and that was a deliberate policy.

His wife who was a teacher agreed, though with some provisos

You can get so far and then if you are a female it is a hell of a lot harder although it is changing a little bit. It is still very much parents talk about the *Headmaster* and even though they are corporate principals.

In his allied profession a substantive shift had also occurred.

More recently in the last 5-8 years there has been a noticeable swing, particularly in an organisation like ours which is very conscious of promoting women and ethnic minorities, there is a big shift. ...In our area and in our organisation all the managers since the organisation has been running for the last five years, have all been women.

Overall, it seemed that while people recognised that women were often disadvantaged in respect of seniority and promotion, there was the sense that change was occurring in this area too. As this woman summed it up,

There are a lot more women in the workplace and they are also in the higher paid jobs.

In agreeing that change was occurring, another younger woman offered her own explanation.

I think men have for a long time men have held those sorts of positions [owners and bosses] and they think that women can't hold those positions. I think basically it is generally accepted that the man does that sort of thing. Although I think lots of women hold really good jobs and they are proving themselves to be just as capable as a man. I think men feel they are a bit better than women. I don't know they are all really good at their jobs and that a woman would do it just the same.

Summary – Gendered Work

In summing up this section, it is appropriate to restate the two themes that this discussion was premised on. The first gave some sense that changes were occurring: women were more involved in paid work, in a wider range of activities and at all levels of employment. The second focused on the provisos and resistance to these changes. Both were explored through the actual experiences of those interviewed as well as the attitudes, beliefs and values they expressed. What emerged were the persistence of very traditional boundaries as to what work men and women should do, thus contributing to horizontal segregation. These were largely determined by factors such as physicality, as well as the type and nature of jobs and tasks. Pay and conditions were also factors. Some examples of imbalances in the workplace were also offered to demonstrate other aspects of horizontal segregation. Finally, people's experiences of vertical segregation were presented to illustrate this feature of the labour market. While some examples have been given that show how imbalances sometimes worked against men, the majority of this discussion has been focused on the experiences of women.

(iii) The Employment Contracts Act and the Role of Unions

The two inter-related issues of the Employment Contracts Act (ECA) and the role of unions were commented on in quite a few interviews. In doing so, people drew on their views and opinions as well as, in many cases, their personal experiences and those of their families and friends. Whatever their opinions and views were, they expressed them with some passion. Whilst in some cases people seemed to wrongly attribute change or negative outcomes to the effects of this legislation, some people's experiences that were definitely attributable to the ECA were quite incredible, and a few were obviously of dubious legal standing. Overall, the vast majority of opinion regarding the ECA was negative. In respect of unions the picture was less clear-cut. More mixed views and experiences were represented.

The general concerns regarding the ECA centred on its individualising of the negotiation process which was seen to disempower and isolate people, offer few protections and safeguards, and pit one worker against the other; it was also seen to discourage union membership or involvement.

Things are supposed to be getting better. This contract thing is not making things better. It was better when they used to have unions.

The [ECA] act that you mentioned earlier on, I think that has forced people to think of themselves only ... people have become very self centred, looking after number one.

If we go on to individual contracts, teachers will clam up and wont share their ideas because they want to be better than the other people they are working with.

I reckon you should be allowed to like be in unions and if they sort of do it like, I don't think it should be compulsory, 'cause most employers now actually discourage you to join the unions and actually there are employers out there who won't hire you if you belong to the unions. They want you to do the private contracts. And the only reason of that is because they can push you around, and that's a simple fact.

It was a case of either you liked it or you lumped it, with the employment contracts there was nothing. There was no written contracts. It was verbal, it was very loose. ...No [unions].

Often the deterioration in wages and conditions as well as a poor job market were linked with the piece of legislation.

Well since Employment Contracts I think job prospects have gone down... the simple reason is like less security, they can pay you pittance for really hard work ... the conditions for work have gone down ... because it's gone now with the Employment Contracts they can pay you whatever you like. ... You've got to fight for everything. And then if you fight too hard, you stop getting work from them. ... [It's] harder for workers, good workers, to get a fair deal. ... I mean you've got some employers out there that will give you a fair deal ... but there are a lot of places out there, especially if you want a specialised skill...there are a lot of employers out there who are just not willing to pay you what you said or treat you with proper respect. ... I don't expect a fortune but a decent hourly rate, what you're entitled to and a few incentives, you know.

I think it is a pretty weak environment as far as [jobs] goes. ...The restructuring and the wage contract [ECA]. That has a lot to do with it. ...All I can say is I am pleased I am not working now.

There is a drop in wages now and I think it maybe come out with the contracts, those employment contracts. ...You sign those contracts and they can charge any wage they want to, the employers. If they want to go down to \$5, and some kids are getting less than that. That is dreadful.

Once the contracts come in, all your penal rates went out. ... Now the employer is saying when you sign the contract you get the hourly rate for over time and there goes signing it or there's the door. ...Some people were told, if you don't sign it, they would withhold their wages, which they couldn't do. ...[T]hey filled out this contract, I signed it, I lost all my penal rates.

As was signalled, it was also felt that the balance of power within the employment relationship was seen to have shifted to favour the employer.

Over the last ten years or so the right wing, the far right, the business people who have got the power back and they are exploiting the average guy in the street as bad now as it was before the depression. They've lost everything they gained, overtime and all this, sure wage rates can make a difference to business profitability but when you see the profits toasted by different organisations ...to pay them a decent wage wouldn't break them. They don't have to now, and they are making use of that and while there is a shortage of labour they can use you and abuse you and if you don't like it, sorry, because you don't really negotiate your employment contracts ...[they] say 'this is our contract, you sign it', there is no negotiation, you don't sign it you don't get the job. The greedy are getting greedier.

I think contracts [ECA] are terrible. It just doesn't leave much scope for the person at all ... if you offered [employees] work and they turned it down you were within your rights to withhold work from them and it was written in the contract, so its basically saying that if you don't jump when we say jump don't expect to jump ever again and I think that's rather bad.

This is what the Employment Contract did, you didn't have a leg to stand on, and you got the choice of either that or down the road ... we told our boss that he couldn't do that ... unless we agreed to it ... but he just said 'take it or leave it'. ...He cut the overtime when that Contract came in.

We are all on employment contracts out there because its seasonal. We have no idea really the range they can offer us. We take what you're given. You have no choice. If you say no, that's not enough money, they say, oh well, see you. ...You sign a contract and you get told what you're getting. ...You might [negotiate] if you are in a full-time job that is annually reviewed and you might have a say ... When you are seasonal, 4 or 5 months of the year, you have got no option but to accept what they give you.. ...if you are a young person or a quiet person how are you going to be forthcoming in your rights for an employment contract.

Despite the strong negativity towards the ECA, there was a small sense, as exemplified in these remarks, that some balance might be returning to the situation.

I think before the employees had a lot of say on [pay and condition] whereas now, although its getting better when I first started at [this place] it was like we had no say, the employment contracts had come out ... I think the employers are starting to realise it takes the two of you to make [the company] grow. Its a really good company to work for.

There was also the odd case where employees felt comfortable – empowered rather than disempowered – with the new negotiation processes

Now it is a one on one basis. I don't mind the one on one basis, I have a good understanding with my employer ... whereas before with the union we would just go and talk to our union delegate and he does it.

Strong support of the ECA, such as the above remark, was harder to find than negative perceptions. Only a very small number of people expressed entirely positive views about it. This man felt apprehensive about the ECA when it was first introduced.

I wasn't afraid that I wasn't going to get more than somebody else but it used to hurt me that there were people there who would say why I should go any faster.

These fears of the ECA – that others would negotiate better wages ad that he would be forced to work harder and longer for the same money – helped convince him to launch his own business. Given that one of his main complaints was workers who turned up, did as little as possible, and still got paid the same as everyone else, he had come to believe that he would have coped well in the new environment and possibly even benefited. Thus he was a strong advocate of the ECA.

I used to say you should be paid according to your output not a flat hourly rate that everyone gets Now I wish I had stayed in some respects because it is a lot more competitive and if you are not up to scratch you will be put down the road.

His wife maintained her preference for collective bargaining despite his arguments to the contrary. One of the other main protagonists of the ECA was clear about his reasons for favouring it.

I think [the Employment Contracts Act] has been beneficial in that you no longer, you are still liable to a certain number of requirements, but not the same amount. I suppose employees would say it is no good because we are now not able to demand a set wage but there are minimum wages you have to pay and minimum holidays and sick pay which you have to give. ...You won't get the sack if you do your job properly and if you prove your worth then you have got nothing to worry about, it is only the lead swingers that have got a real problem. There are people would cite cases of rogue bosses and I think there are rogue bosses, but there are rogue employees too but we don't hear about them.

Interestingly both of these men were self-employed when interviewed and the latter clearly adopts the perspective of an employer. His remarks regarding the minimum standards and protections are interesting given the many negative experiences of employees presented earlier.

As will have already been apparent, many of the comments regarding unions were often made in relation to the ECA. Hence the reason they are dealt with together. Some thought that unions offered more protections and were particularly useful during negotiations; others held the opposite positions. People had varying experiences of unions, often over extended periods and this readily influenced their opinions. Some were happy that they were no longer compulsory and did not wield the power and influence they once did.

In the lead up to the Employment Contracts nobody knew what was going to happen and then the government said, "Right, well there is no more union or union membership is voluntary". So there was a big thing with the unions – are you still going to be in it or are you out. We would just say it was a big hassle anyway, they ruled you with an iron fist. You would never get a pay rise because of the union.

At the time [when I first started] it was strongly controlled by the unions. ...I was involved in the union and was a delegate, but I never stood for re-election because they didn't really solve anything.

They were trying to push me into joining the union... And I thought blow you, the days of being a black leg because you don't join the union are gone. ...I think the unions got too powerful and they got their comeuppance. And now these people just shy away. There is a lot of people there ... that have never been in the union, like 50-50.

The man quoted earlier, who now enjoys the one-on-one negotiation with his employer, relates this directly to the ECA and the demise of unions.

Well the basic change is there is no more unions. I had worked 12 years with a strong union. Now ... there is no unions about, there is no one to push and get behind you and help you with your struggles. Now it is a one on one basis.

In direct contrast with these views others saw that some people were not as well equipped to successfully negotiate these changes and needed assistance in this regard.

I have never been a strong unionist, ever, [but] they are a necessary evil.
You have got to have some bargaining power.

As if to illustrate this, one man described the struggle he and other workers were having defending their conditions. Although he recognised that they may ultimately still have to concede, at least the presence of the union was currently holding off these negative moves.

They are trying to bring in this 5 out of 7 [roster] out there and we had a vote on it and threw it out the door ... Then they tried to bring in an in house agreement ... well we voted that out too. That was going to give them complete control of us and put the union out the door and we didn't want that. [Another subsidiary] voted for an in-house agreement and now they are going on strike, their wages have dropped dramatically ... I daresay [the parent company] will have something to say about this ... I daresay in 12 or 18 months we could be doing it whether we like it or not.

A small group of people who experienced workplace disputes and were not in unions regretted not having such support. Take this case.

[I feel] ripped off ... Basically my own fault for not getting into a union and not having a say when my first job finished ... [If I'd been in a union] I would have got a nice little pay out. [Instead] I just got what was owing to me holiday wise and they gave me a weeks wage and that was that and I had no job to go back to and had to go on the dole.

Of course even with a union there was no guarantee that people would necessarily feel able to confront problems or have them resolved. This appeared especially true in small workplaces and for those workers who felt particularly vulnerable. Given some of the experiences detailed earlier in relation to the ECA this is unsurprising. This woman and her colleagues were in dispute over a new roster system unilaterally imposed on them by their employer. Having already made it clear that his employees could "take it or leave it", only one other worker was prepared to join her to challenge this.

[The boss] knew everything, but when you are by yourself and you have got no backing there is nothing much you can do about it. I could have gone to the union but I would have been out in the cold sort of thing so I never bothered ... It would have made life very uncomfortable ... When there is only two of you it depends on what backing you can get.

The presence of a union made little difference in their case.

Judging by people's comments, union membership seemed to have fallen. This was obviously in large part due to the ECA, but other factors, such as the negative opinions and experiences canvassed earlier, also played a part. A few people mentioned that cost was a factor in not belonging to the union and this was particularly so for those on low incomes. Ironically, they may be the very groups who might benefit most from membership. Whilst most people did not appear to want a return to the days of compulsory unionism, some did wonder if a more active role for the unions was not a good way to balance the current situation, particularly if there was a sense of choice and their role was clearer.

I reckon you should be allowed to like be in unions and if they sort of do it like, I don't think it should be compulsory, 'cause most employers now actually discourage you to join the unions and actually there are employers out there who won't hire you if you belong to the unions. They want you to

do the private contracts. And the only reason of that is because they can push you around, and that's a simple fact.

You don't need the union to do all that much, but you need to have your rights as to what you should be earning. And say that is the level I should be getting. ...I presume ... the union would come in to make certain the basic stuff were there. Wage scale and what they thought were was necessary for the well being of staff.

Summary – ECA and Unions

In strength and weight of opinion people were overwhelmingly negative in their evaluations of the ECA. This was most frequently the result of its impact on how contracts were now negotiated, as well as people's pay rates, conditions of work, and employment stability. They also recognised that the impact of ECA on union membership. Despite people's clear reservations and dislike of this piece of legislation, this did not automatically translate into support for unions. Certainly some felt that unions were essential to redress the imbalances that have arisen with the ECA. More often though, people seemed ambivalent or cautious about the nature and degree of any new role for unions, feelings which appeared to arise out of their unfavourable past experiences.

(iv) Restructuring and Redundancy

The decade under study was associated with major changes at all levels of New Zealand's economy. This dramatically altered, for example, the structure of the economy, public service and welfare system. The private sector was also the scene of a great deal of radical change. This included many companies re-organising how and where they did business. The inter-dependence of various sectors and industries often meant that change in one area had a flow on effect. Restructuring became a catch-cry of this period.

Redundancies were often a companion of restructuring, though this was not always the case. Instead titles, roles and activities could change. This is nicely demonstrated by the experiences of this bank employee. She also shows that even without job losses it can be a difficult transition for some staff depending on how the company manages the changes and the capabilities of individuals.

The way trading banks operated changed dramatically... we became relationship managers. ...It was a change of name and a change of job role because you were expected to do everything including lending and international and anything else that might go. ...Some were left to flounder a wee bit and sort of work it out for themselves. At that stage it was self-learning.

As we have seen in the section on intensification, restructuring could also mean people taking on multi-skilled roles. If people were to be laid off, the restructuring process could have a detrimental effect in the workplace even before this happened.

There is a lot of heartache and animosity and people get uptight not knowing what is going on, never being told anything. Even some of the

management don't know, everyone says they don't know what is going and you just don't know from one day to the next what is going to happen. It make people testy, it is just not very nice. ...You are owned by a big company that doesn't give a damn, that is how you feel, that they don't give a damn about people. ...I am one of the lucky ones I have still got my job, I have been moved to a different department but basically doing the same sort of work, so I have been lucky.

Given that very nearly one third (32%) of the households surveyed were affected by redundancy, this was clearly a major issue. In two households, both partners were made redundant at some point making a total of 32 people, or 20% of those profiled, so affected. Of these, six people were made redundant twice and one person three times during the ten-year period. Twenty of this 32 (62.5%) were men.

Redundancy occurred in a couple of ways. Sometimes it was the result of a business – or a part, division or subsidiary thereof – closing and therefore having to lay off staff. Usually it meant a pay-out calculated according to various factors. As an employer, however, this man viewed the current redundancy provisions as unbalanced.

The whole redundancy issue, to me that is just a laugh because if a fellow leaves me he doesn't have to pay me redundancyIf I put him off they jump up and down and say you can't do that.

Occasionally the circumstances – the financial inability of a company that was closing down to make such payments – meant no such pay-out. The closure of Tomoana meatworks was one such instance. Those who were laid off from this meatworks reported in the interviews that they received no redundancy. Nor did the workers get any warning of the impending closure. With warning workers have an opportunity to consider options and make plans as this example shows.

Restructuring was just coming into the IRD and it was about the time they were talking about building the big processing centre and all the tax returns all get done down there ... nothing is keyed here like it used to be. It meant that there was going to be big staff losses and I thought well I am only casual so I decided to look in the paper.

As well as full closures of a business, such as at Tomoana, redundancies were also associated with a reduction in the numbers of workers. As noted above, this was often the result of a business restructuring and as such it affected people at all levels of organisations. Of those surveyed some experienced a number of episodes of restructuring in one or many of the places they worked in. Sometimes they survived, and at other times they were not so lucky. Restructuring was reported to be particularly common in the public service and this sector was often characterised as being in a state of constant change.

Most often, redundancy was enforced on people, though occasionally people voluntarily took it. This woman opted for redundancy rather than retrain during the restructuring of the government department she worked in. She made this decision for a number of reasons – her own health, having to care for a sick parent, and the stress that retraining and coping with new challenges at her age would mean.

I took enhanced early retirement because I had lost my position, my job went, it wasn't just being put off, my actual position was being disestablished. ...I will get some money because I am only working shorter hours I therefore didn't get as much but at least I got something. ... [A

different position] was offered but I was not trained, because I have been a telephonist for 18 years. I wasn't trained in clerical and the stress level would have been horrific to have gone into a clerical position.

For some, redundancy meant becoming unemployed and receiving a benefit. This was the most frequent outcome for those made redundant. For some, a redundancy payment meant they were not entitled to welfare for a certain period.

I had a lump sum, but ... no wages or unemployment benefit, so for that three months we were relying on my redundancy plus what my wife could bring in ...so we found ourselves with less money to pay the same bills, so we really struggled.

Those who were supported by a spouse or partner in full-time work were also not entitled to any welfare payments. Similarly, those with a spouse or partner in other forms of paid work that was not full-time often had their UEB abated depending on the level of this other income.

Some people quickly found other employment. For others the transition was more protracted. Occasionally people took the opportunity to opt out of the paid workforce to concentrate on unpaid responsibilities. A couple of men worked for themselves for a time as a fill in before getting full-time work as employees. A small number of people were able to make a seamless move from redundancy to further paid work, be it part-time, casual, or full-time. These people often had marketable skills or trades as the case of the man who was made redundant three times illustrates. Whilst working in some areas of construction can be uncertain, as his record demonstrates, having a trade such as carpentry can also mean opportunities. Hence, each time he was made redundant he quickly got work elsewhere.

The restructuring of the public service generated some strong views from amongst those interviewed, particularly those who had been or were state employees when surveyed. We begin with some negative perspectives. The first set of remarks is from a woman who had been nursing for a number of years. She found that things had changed dramatically upon her return from her OE.

New Zealand seemed to be so changed in the two years I was away anyway. ...But just the whole economic situation of New Zealand seemed to have changed. It was badly in debt, there were a lot of changes going. While I'd been overseas the government had managed to sell off many departments and break them up and name changes ... and the job situation just wasn't the same which was really amazing for nursing because it had never been a problem. I had always counted myself lucky that I'd swapped and changed jobs and had never had a problem. I always got what I applied for and it was quite a shock when I came back to NZ and finding even though they were short staffed they weren't willing to employ. ...I'd been able to pick up a job whenever I wanted to and it hadn't been a problem. I couldn't get a job up at the hospital again which I was quite surprised about because I'd never had that problem before.

Another woman who worked elsewhere in the public service also witnessed, but survived, management level cutbacks.

They were flattening the structure out, still keeping the majority of the jobs at the lower grades but less jobs at the higher grades, sort of flattened it out at the top, so there was less advancement up.

Next we have the observations of a man who had worked for many years in the Prison Service. Like the previous woman, he was affected by the restructuring of certain levels of management and had concerns about the long-term consequences. Notice his use of similar terms – “flattening, flatter” – to describe this process. As he was not someone who embraced the changes, he also talked about the risks that taking such a stance held for him.

In a lot of respects it was once more a political decision, the whole restructuring was to save money. They said it was to make things more workable but since that time it has failed, but they're still persevering with it. ...Making a flatter structure and as a consequence all the middle management were got rid of ... They were taken away and they created a few more specialised senior management positions and then the bottom level was put in which was unit managers, so instead of having a 6 or 7 stage hierarchy it was flattened to 4. ...I chose not to apply for demotion ... It was a risk but there was obligations in the department that they would negotiate individually with each person who was not put into the new structure to get the best possible job for them. The department up to today had failed to do anything along those lines. ... [People are] there for the money because there is no career path, there is no hierarchy that they can actually go up ... and where people used to get qualifications now they are not. ...Their staff problems over a period ...[are] because of the type of people they are attracting to the job. They are there for the power and the money rather than because it was a professional career choice. ...Under the private prisons thing which they are trying to push at the moment they are trying to force salaries down even further by letting contracts out to private enterpriseMaking them cost efficient it is actually forcing down the professionalism of the whole structure.

He was also clearly critical of much of the restructuring right across the public service.

[The basic free market philosophy is] not working for any social organisation, an we are looking at hospitals, schools, prisons, probation, all those types of social organisations.

Others echoed this sentiment. Take this man's view. He, too, was a public servant but in the education sector.

I think you have a group that drive for change over the top of the rest of the organisation or community, so the people are in charge of the change own the process and are paid well to subjugate everyone else to whatever they come up, whatever the agenda is. ...[Take] the health system for example. We were in a hospital recently ... and we pressed the wrong button on the lift, there was a huge corporate atmosphere with suits and everything and we knew we were on the wrong floor, no work was going to be done there. The rest of the hospital was very run down and holes in the walls etc, etc, and that was where the work was done. I think that has been a problem over the last decade where you have got restructuring continually occurring. [It's] based on political pressure to be seen to be doing something different from the previous administration, and no chance of actually being consulted about properly and developed properly and in fact ever being accountable because things are changing so quickly. ...The real problem is if you are just trying to do the job and all this other stuff is happening around you, to try and maintain your focus. People caught up in all that especially in the public sector have suffered under job stress. ...We have tried to play private business on top of public need and they don't fit well together.

Some more examples of people's actual experiences of the restructuring process highlight the uncertainty and powerlessness people faced. This man was in the administration side of education and was made redundant from his job.

We basically had no say in the matter, I rather felt the government could have offered us more input into their decision to rehash the entire system. ...we were given six months notice that the government was going to rehash the system, but initially we didn't know just how far it was going to go ... it was [later] that we actually knew that we were going to close ... we were given first choice in any other jobs in the educational sector ... We were offered retraining opportunities if we wanted them, apart from that, that was basically it.

Whilst this next man had survived successive rounds of change, the uncertainty continued. He was reasonably positive, however.

The government is cutting back on all the government workers. Since 81 and 82 we had 22 staff in the survey section in Lands & Survey at the moment we have got 6 and one is leaving on Friday and he won't be replaced. ...Because they are splitting [the Department] up, we don't know what is going to happen. ... On the 1st of June I might be a bit worried but like I say we have a couple of plans either way depending on what happens ... I won't move until July just in case there are redundancies and that.

Sometimes people survived episodes of restructuring but such was the pace and degree of change during this period that they were often confronted with possible redundancy on subsequent occasions. One of the former state employees who experienced this ongoing or repeated change process was able to maintain his employment for some time, albeit in a variety of different forms, before eventually succumbing.

Of course not all those interviewed were critical of the restructuring of the public sector. A small number supported many of the moves. As a state employee this man was frustrated at the problems he perceived within the government department he worked for and he left just prior to the major restructurings. Once they occurred he applauded them.

There was far too much older people settling in positions and not allowing the younger person to progress because they were quite happy to sit there for 40 or 50 years or until their pension. ...If you are good at your job, you should get promotion, whereas in the Post Office if you are good at talking you got promotion. ...You had these bright young guys coming out of school with University Entrance, they start at the bottom ...instead of teaching them and boosting them along. They just used them for their own benefits. ...In the end I think it was the best thing that actually happened was the redundancy and they came around and got rid of them. Whereas now you go, you work for Telecom and you do a good job, you move on, you're going upwards.

Similarly, another state worker who remained employed throughout the period of change, even managing to be promoted, was positive about what had occurred.

I like my job, all of my job. It is a very challenging job now, because of the restructuring within NZ Post, it is sort of changing all the time and it takes quite a while to keep up with at times. There is a big challenge in the job and I enjoy a good challenge.

When asked about what aspects of his job he did not like he gave, considering the remarks he had just made, a rather incongruous reply.

All these changes. ...You just get something in place and they change it.

This was, perhaps, indicative of a persistent sense of uncertainty and ‘change-fatigue’ that many people experienced. To them, change was a constant feature of many workplaces. As the wife of another man observed, periods of restructuring were stressful for all.

It was pretty tense for a while because he wasn’t keen on the change but he knew it was either that or nothing, but he’s got there. Now that he knows what he’s doing.

Naturally, change was not just a feature of the public sector as this woman discovered. Like the nurse quoted earlier, she too had returned from overseas to find things very different and her industry – banking – undergoing significant reorganisation.

I found it was harder to get a job when we came back from Australia, there wasn’t as much offering. Jobs had dried up quite a bit and where I’m working they’re moving towards reducing staff numbers as technology improves and everything becomes computerised. They’re actually working towards keeping customers out of the Branch with most of their banking needs so that there won’t be as many staff required. We’ve had one major restructuring in the last couple of years and I can see them doing it again in maybe a year or so and more staff being dropped. ...[But] probably not the part-time staff. When we restructured last time the full-time staff they wanted to lose were offered part-time work, so they’re moving towards that.

Just as people had varying views of the restructuring of the public sector, so they had a range of opinions about restructuring in general. Whether these opinions were negative or positive tended to depend on how they affected people.

Those people whose employment conditions deteriorated or who had lost jobs tended, not unexpectedly, to be negative. One person specifically mentioned the lower wages and poorer conditions that had resulted in their case. Those who benefited were, in the main, more up beat. As this man’s situation shows, there can indeed be positive effects from restructuring and those who survive the process often felt it was worthwhile and had created a better workplace.

It is a Japanese company. [The previous owners] were terrible and since the Jap[anese] have taken over ... the place is more stable and the unions have not locked horns as much with management. As much as I hate to admit working in a Japanese firm. ...I love to go to work. ...[The previous owners had] numerous lockouts and stop works all the time. The Japanese philosophy is obviously a happy workforce is a good workforce and there is no pressure. They have updated all the machinery. You know all about the future instead of being told next week that the mill is going to close. ...They have spent \$50 million out there on the saw mill alone, starting some time this year, just spent about \$30 million in the pulp mill and they are spending another \$3million on the effluent. They are cleaning up the effluent that goes into the Bay. They are just so good. ...I’ll see my retirement there. ...The money is there, the job security is there, no pressure. They’re happy. There is obviously a profit at the end of the day for them. ...We have a very good General Manager, for a start. They have obviously looked through the ranks and found this particular General Manager. He has the mana, a very high mana. He walks in the mill and he knows the last worker to the top accountant by name and he is very good. ...[Before] there was nothing for 20, 30 guys a year to walk out of jobs

there. Now if one guy resigns it is the talk of the whole site. That is the difference to start.

Though in another industry altogether and highlighting different aspects of the process, this man was also extremely positive regarding the outcomes of his company's restructuring

In the past 15 years the industry I am in has basically stayed the same ... in the last 12 months it has really changed ... with deregulation the gas industry has really grown up ... and definitely the customer is benefiting from it. ...We are all given the opportunity to supply a product and really help the customer out, it is all customer focused now. All the course we have been on, this Kiwi Host thing, how to deal with customers and things like that, it is all geared to the customer, which is great and is what we should have been doing many years ago. ...I think, in my opinion, that all the people who are left are happier, they are all working really hard but are getting rewards for it, not necessarily monetary rewards, probably better satisfaction in the job. There are monetary rewards but we are also being treated for what we are capable of doing ... everyone had been allowed to express their own knowledge and experience. They are able to say hey I can do that and what about this ... The people who work with me as a team, not under me, I think they are three times happier. ...It is all a team effort, it sounds corny but that is exactly that is what is happening in our company anyway.

Just like becoming unemployed, the effects of redundancy ran deep in many cases. This woman had been made redundant twice. The first time was the result of a company closure and the second instance occurred in the context of a restructuring. However, in the latter case she also felt that her fate was partly sealed by her union organising activities.

It kicked me, it knocked me over for a six, eh? ... I'd never been fired before ... that was a real kick ... It took a lot of effort [to go to a skills training course) – for the first couple of weeks I was late every day. I'd be plodding, and all it was straight down and across the field and down the road, only about a fifteen/twenty minute walk, I still used to be late. ...I actually went through depression and I thought I'd better hurry up and do something about it so that's why I went straight on the course. It was more for self-esteem. I had no idea what I wanted to do I just knew I didn't want to go back into a sewing factory.

The courses she did proved a vital ingredient in her 'recovery' despite her initial reservations.

I thought "Oh no, I can't pass anything, I never was any good at school" ... It was just really good. I ended up top of the class. I started at the bottom of the class and ended up at the top.

The effects were felt not only by the individual concerned, but also by their family.

I don't think I have got over it even now and I don't think I ever will. Being pushed out somewhere is completely different than leaving. It feels as if you are not quite adequate. ... I would never use that word [loyalty] again in any job because I would never trust management higher again for any reason. ... In a big company, if I ever get into a big company I will be looking after myself. . I will not be worrying about loyalty to anybody else. I've learnt that. ...[My family] really found it hard to accept because I had been there such a long time, but they were very supportive. I think it had a detrimental effect on [my son] for a while there. Because he couldn't work

out why I was still at home when I should have been out working. It was understanding at that age. ... it was something he found very hard to accept.

Though people found ways to help deal with these effects and, of course, getting work was obviously positive – from both an emotional and practical perspective – some residual effects occasionally persisted, as was the case for this man.

Summary – Restructuring and Redundancy

As can be seen, restructuring and redundancy were often, though not always, inter-related. Whether the latter resulted or not, the former often involved adopting new ways of working and organising work, which might involve issues such as intensification, casualisation, and the introduction of new technology. Improved efficiency was a primary goal and workers were extolled to become more flexible. High unemployment and changes to labour laws, particularly the introduction of the ECA, were key components as well. Age often had a bearing on decisions and outcomes in respect of redundancy. Thus, as we can see, a number of other issues already or to be discussed are closely related to restructuring and redundancy. They are also important to consider in their own right in relation to the notion of transitions. Whilst the respondents gave mixed views of the restructuring process, often heavily shaped by their experiences, there tended to be a much stronger negative than positive reaction to these issues.

(v) Age Related Issues – Ageism and Youth Employment

People in over a quarter of households raised issues of age in relation to two broad groups: the “middle aged” or “older people”²⁴, and “young people”. “Older people” seemed to incorporate those from around the age of 50 up to retirement. On the other hand, “young people” referred to those under twenty, but was predominantly used to describe those who had just left school or completed some educational or training programme immediately after completing their secondary education. Intriguingly, though at different ends of the age spectrum, people often saw similar problems for, or some inter-connection between, these groups. As one illustration of this, take the remarks of this woman.

It is very difficult for young people, there is not much work out there for young people. Most of our friend's children are working but just what you read in the paper. ...I have friends whose husbands have been involved with the freezing works in management and out of work, so I think it seems to be very difficult for the young and for around 50's, too old to be employed, nobody wants them at that age. I don't know how bad it is, I'm just thinking of some of my particular friends whose husbands are having a lot of trouble getting jobs and keeping them, in their field of work.

The primary problem identified for middle aged people was their vulnerability to losing their jobs or being overlooked for promotion – particularly with restructuring – and the difficulties they faced getting subsequent employment. That these issues were frequently the result of a preference for younger workers was often noted. It was

²⁴ Terms that were used in interviews.

another way, albeit an oppositional one, in which these groups were interconnected. Such preferences hinted at a devaluing of age and experience.

Cutting down on staff and trying to bring in younger ones... Us older ones are not very good. I know its against the law but they do it ...They are trying to bring in younger ones that have got UE or even tertiary education, to work on the line and get bored stiff. They just can't cope with it ... where us older ones still work away ... and still do our job. They are trying to bring these in and its not really going to work. Management have to find that out for themselves.

I went and saw our production manager and said I am thinking of applying for this [promotion] ... but I get the feeling I will be told I am too old. He told me straight that I was too old ... only two people applied for that [promotion] and they turned them both down ... They told one chap, he had a lot of experience ... and they told him he didn't have enough experience. Yet the people they have taken on have never had any experience ... They look for young people between the ages of 18 to 25 for the jobs that come up here.

There was a good and sufficient reason for [being passed over for promotion] actually. It just wasn't to do with me hitting the sixty mark. But another bloke was younger than me he was seriously thinking of leaving and they thought if they gave him the job he might stay on.

Ironically, the “younger bloke” didn't stay, leaving some six months later! In the next case this woman was working in the rapidly changing printing industry. Restructuring and redundancies in her workplace saw many people lose their jobs, and she foresaw more to come. She worried about how many in certain age groups would cope if they were laid off.

Some of the men there who are in their late 50's, not quite retiring and of course retiring age is getting further away, what are they going to do?

The combination of age and redundancy often proved a difficult one for many people. After 18 years with a company this man, a qualified electrician, was made redundant.

I'm trying to get back into the trade ... [but] I know myself that my age is against me.

Having spent so much time working for one company and in a narrow area of his trade he realised how restricted he was in terms of skills and experience with which to get another job. The next man had worked in the meat industry but was also made redundant.

Right now I am getting too old, I had better go and learn a different skill, but if I could get a job at ...any freezing works or any other places I would take it.

Although he thought he might be getting too old for such physical work he also acknowledged that at his age getting a job full stop was important and he couldn't afford to turn down any sort of work. As it turned out he was not able to find work in this area and was retraining in a new field. Others recognised that not only their age, but a lack of qualifications or their physical health might be an added barrier to employment.

I am really moping around all day it is really very tough. I find it hard. ...I have looked and been through the employment section and there is nothing there because at the end of the day, because of my age and my injury.

I did have a little bit of trouble [getting work]. ...I sort of sat back and looked at a couple of jobs I'd missed out on and I thought it's because of my age. ...[then] maybe it wasn't, perhaps I wasn't qualified enough.

Even for those willing and able to re-train there were practical considerations as this person so acutely observes.

As we change a lot of people are frightened. Especially, it's not so bad with the younger ones where they have time on their hands to re-train, but the older ones can see by the time they re-train they are going to be finished anyway. There is sometimes a battle going on.

Having recognised that this situation was occurring, a younger woman was determined that she would not be a victim and was taking on some university training to better equip herself for the future.

I can't bear the thought of just doing menial jobs and trying to make the most of what I could do because people don't want older women or men, they want younger people ... That is why I thought the only thing to do was get my brain cracking. There is always a solution.

Though, as the earlier example of the man who was an electrician shows, even qualifications are no guarantee. Despite not even being "middle aged", and regardless of the skills and qualifications he had, this man considered that his age was already an issue.

I find my age now [is a problem]. I'm 45. I've applied for a few jobs recently and what I thought I had the qualifications they really wanted. I know there was a lot in for the job I never got an interview. It was a job they were actually starting up, it was a new branch. They wanted younger people to train them.

In another case, because he also felt suitably qualified and experienced as a mechanic, one man believed his difficulties getting work must be due to his age. His efforts not to make it an issue did not resolve his problems however.

I think there was an age problem. I tried to get an appointment over the phone ... and they wouldn't give me one because I wouldn't tell them how old I was.

Despite the obvious illegality contained in many of these situations, discrimination related to age was clearly occurring and significantly affecting some people. The recognition that this was happening created a sense of fear and uncertainty for others.

The difficulty some "older" people had getting work and the preference for youth described above did not seem to translate to a glut of work for young people.

It is harder for kids leaving school to get jobs listening to a lot of teenage kids. They are finding it quite hard to know what to do before they leave school if they don't want to be unemployed.

I think a lot more kids are probably staying at school now. It's a fact that more kids are staying at school in that seventeen/eighteen year age bracket. Because there's no employment out there for them. A lot of kids of the

same basic ability level, or lack of it, would have been gone. They'd rather have money in their hand and be out working. That is certainly a factor of the social economic situation, especially with, say, the closing down of the works. That had a huge impact on schools. ...They're staying here, yes. I think so. There's not just the employment around that there used to be and when the freezing works actually closed down, you know that had a huge impact.

These difficulties are in stark contrast to the experiences of people some years ago. These two women – one in her late thirties and the other in her late fifties – reflected on the very different job situation that confronted them when they left school as compared to young people today.

I remember when I left school I had a choice of three jobs and I had no university, I had just gone through school. It was just so easy to pick up jobs at that time it didn't matter if you didn't have anything significant in the way of training, jobs were just there. Now, especially after being back [working] at the high school and seeing the trauma the kids went through coming to the end of their secondary education, there was just no work out there for them.

This is your life, you have to live on the benefit, but I feel maybe I am at the end of my life, not the beginning ... I don't mind not being able to find work if I think younger ones have the opportunity to work. I worked in my single days and work was there, you could take your pick.

This second woman had brought up two children on a widow's benefit and some part-time work as a cleaner. Once she was on her own she had struggled to find any other work or opportunities and continued to manage on a meagre income. As a beneficiary she felt particularly aggrieved after the 1990 budget cuts. Despite her altruistic attitude it didn't appear that many others her age wanted to opt out of paid work to make way for others.

A difficult labour market often meant that young people faced uncertain prospects when they left school. Accordingly, some chose to stay at school or, as we saw in the section on education and training, take on courses to try and better equip themselves for getting work or as an alternative to unemployment. Age limits on welfare eligibility saw some forced into extremely low paid work. The low level of wage rates for young people in general was also of concern. This woman's lengthy experience at the coal face of social work well qualifies her to comment. She rues free market policies such as the ECA that had driven wages down.

Some kids are getting less than [\$5.00 per hour]. That is dreadful. When you want to work you have to take what is offered. And some of the kids want to work. It is exploitation and I feel sorry for them.

Youth rates might mean that young people got some priority with employment, but another couple worried about what happened when they reached "adult rates". The woman had seen dubious practises when she worked in the retail industry.

They have that work experience until they are on senior rates and all of a sudden they haven't got a job because there is a lot of people who they can pay youth rates to. ...They still have a job because their hours are cut right back because it is on such casual rates.

Summary – Age Issues

As can be seen, the issue of age was, in a variety of ways, highly relevant to the notion of transitions. This was true for individuals and households given that the latter might sometimes be made up of people in both groups. Issues arose at both ends of the labour market age spectrum – the “middle aged” or “older” worker as well as the “young” person. Sometimes these were inter-related. Thus, the former group felt vulnerable to redundancy and often struggled to find further work if this occurred. This vulnerability was due, amongst many factors, to the cost effectiveness of employing young people over long-standing employees and, sometimes, a clear bias against older workers. Despite this bias, younger people entering the workforce still faced many problems and challenges. The highly volatile labour market during the study period undoubtedly contributed to difficulties for both groups.

OTHER TRANSITIONS

(a) No Transitions

One particular group to emerge during the analysis of transitional patterns was made up of people whose work profiles were wholly or largely unchanged across the entire survey period. These people are considered to have made *no transitions*. As suggested, there are two categories in this group. The first includes those who had no significant changes to their profiles. The second covers people who were in paid work and had some change in the role they carried out, the type of work they did, or to their status; it also includes those predominantly involved in unpaid work but who experienced some minor changes to those unpaid roles. Such profiles were reported in 18 households (~19% of all households canvassed) and in three of these both the husband and wife maintained an unchanged work profile throughout the survey period. This gives a total of 21 (13%) individuals, fourteen of whom were men, who fulfilled the criteria for having no transitions. Only one of these described themselves as Maori. She was a single parent. Interestingly, most of the profiles were well established prior to the beginning of the survey period.

All but one of the men maintained this pattern through paid employment; the outstanding individual retired due to ill health before the start of the ten-year period. Of those in paid work, three were self employed and ten were in full-time work. In this latter group, one even managed to hold down a part-time job as well throughout the whole period. There was no particular occupational pattern to this profile with a range of jobs represented.

Nine of the men could be viewed as being in the first category of this group with no real changes to their roles or status. This included the man who was not working and the three who were self-employed. These three reported having adopted and being committed to their work direction, in part, to ensure a better future for them and their families. A desire for stability was also inherent in this philosophy. Of the other five in paid employment two reported no real opportunities for changes or advancement, two others were content with their current work, whilst another had actively refused any promotions or other openings in order to remain in the area he lived in. He saw this as beneficial to his children and family's lifestyle.

Because of my fortunate position of living [here] and liking the area and the schools are available here with a young family to accept promotion and have to have transfers. And I prefer to stay where I am and forgo the promotion.

The other five men had profiles that included some changes in the type of work they performed across the survey period, an alteration in their status, or both. For a variety of reasons (personal initiative or company restructuring for example) their role may have altered, they may have become or required to be multi-skilled across a wider range of responsibilities and/or they may have been promoted. These changes occurred, however, within the context of the same employer. In illustrating these types of internal shifts, one man talked about the outcomes of the restructuring of the company he worked for. He viewed it very positively not only for the business, but

also for the staff and customers. His comments are particularly useful for illustrating how working for the same employer can change radically.

With the restructuring of the company we are now more efficient but we have got different tools now, computers and things. ... 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. ... I was always multi-skilled but now they are giving me the tools to be able to do that. When the network engineer is not there I have to do his job as well, which I am capable of filling in to do, so I am multi-tasked. I can do any job in the company now, almost. ...[management] want everyone to back everyone up.

Another example exemplifies how much people were willing to do and sacrifice in order to achieve promotion and advancement whilst working for the same employer. This man was a prison officer and he had undertaken a great deal of study and willingly accepted three relocations during the ten years under study in order to get promotion. His wife had remained out of paid work to care for the family and ensure they were easily able to relocate as and when her husband's job required. They were one of the couples who both maintained this stable pattern of no transitions. Despite their efforts and commitment, a major restructuring of the service had resulted in his position being disestablished. When interviewed he was embroiled in a difficult dispute with his employers. Although this man was clearly the most dissatisfied of this group, most of the men seemed reasonably content with their work situation. That said, there was a sense, however, that many of those employed found themselves working quite hard – for example: 12 hour days, six or seven day weeks, working extra hours not accounted for by a fixed salary, or having two jobs. Of course they were not alone in this as the section on intensification highlighted. However, this did seem to be a recurring feature of men in this group. There certainly seemed to be pressure on the self-employed to always be available and two of these men talk later of how this affected their family.

The women who had no transitions throughout the survey period showed a wider range of profiles than the men. Four of these women could be categorised as having no substantive changes to their profiles. One was on the DPB throughout the period and, despite the low level of income and some encouragement on the part of DSW, she did not engage in any paid work, but remained fully committed to caring for her children. Another of this group had been retired for the entire period and heavily involved in voluntary work. Her husband retired a few years after her. This couple had no children and the woman's lengthy employment at a senior level of the public service had allowed her to retire "early" by choice. The third woman was married to the prison officer mentioned above. As was noted she had committed herself exclusively to caring for the family and supporting her husband in his paid work in any way she could. Also involved primarily in unpaid work was the last woman in this sub-group. This increased somewhat when her elderly mother came to live with the family. She also did the accounts for her husband's business.

The remaining four women had some minor alterations to their profiles. Like the previous case, one of these women was principally involved in unpaid work caring for her family as well as doing the books for her husband's business. In addition she also managed some part-time and casual teaching but this markedly reduced over the study

period. The husbands of both these women also had profiles with no transitions and all three of these couples are discussed shortly. Of the others, one gradually reduced her casual involvement in the family business. This had been alongside her writing career. As such, she was the only woman who was self-employed. Pursuing this career had been made easier, she said, as she and her husband had not had any children and her husband owned a successful business in which she occasionally helped out. In the final case, the woman had her full-time work altered somewhat across the study period as a result of industry wide restructuring. Her children had left home the year before the survey began which eased her transition back to full-time work. Having a “trade” also helped this, though she also had to survive some major changes in the printing company she worked for.

I had worked there once before in the early sixties and then I left to have my family. ... I had worked there once before in the early sixties and then I left to have my family. ...I had worked there before and I liked the work and the children were growing up a little at that stage and I thought now would be good time to get a full-time job. ...because the children were getting older I felt I needed to move on. I knew the maintenance was not going to last so basically yes it would be financial. ...I am one of the lucky ones I have still got my job, I have been moved to a different department but basically doing the same sort of work, so I have been lucky.

Apart from two men and two women who were either separated or divorced, all the other people in this category were married. As noted, both partners in three couples qualified for inclusion. In each of these households the men were in full-time employment. Two were the self-employed men whose wives did their accounts. They were paid for this work. In addition, one woman had also worked part-time and casually as a teacher. Her husband had worked long hours in his business, a situation that had caused some problems.

It affected my family greatly because I became obsessed with my work having to keep up with my commitments and over the years we have had a couple of rough times through my obsession with having to do the work.

The other self-employed man made a similar concession.

It would be fair to say that the extra hours that I have worked have taken me away from the family and the household. I know there are times when I didn't really enjoy having to do work that was perhaps urgent and on demand that took me away from here.

Other men (who were not part of the group with no transitions) described similar circumstances and a discussion of the impact of this on their home life is presented in the section on unpaid work.

There was a strong sense in each of these three households (as it was in many others) that one parent should be home with children. Thus, “doing the books” allowed the wife to earn a small income (which also saved the firm money), and could be tailored to suit the needs of the children and her husband. Because the husbands tended to work long hours, as noted above, the availability of the spouse to take on the additional responsibilities and tasks was essential. As one woman put it:

I think a few people think I am lazy because I don't go out to work 9 to 5, 5 days a week ... they think [my husband] goes out and earns all the money and I don't do anything ... another reason I stayed at home, because he works very hard. While I am here it gives him moral support and he doesn't

have to do, we are a bit old fashioned, he doesn't have to do a lot ... he doesn't have to do shared responsibilities in the housework line ... we share the outside work.

Her husband acknowledged this:

Before the kids were old enough to do the dishes I always did the dishes, but [my wife] hasn't worked full-time since we started having kids 21 years ago and she is quite happy to do the housework ... That is how we run it, she is happy to do that and I am happy to go out and work elsewhere and everybody is happy. When the kids turned ten they were ordered to do the dishes and dad didn't have to do them anymore.

The longer she remained out of paid work the harder it seems to be to get back in – a recurring theme throughout the research for many women. Although a trained teacher she felt,

It got to the stage when I had been out of teaching for so long I couldn't go back to it anyway.

Of course, other couples – even if they shared similar values and beliefs – managed similar circumstances in different ways. Most often this meant a more mixed or fragmented pattern of work for the woman.

The other couple who both had unchanged profiles presented a similar picture. The husband has remained a prison officer throughout but had to relocate several times in order to get promotion or due to restructuring. At the outset his wife had established her role in support of his career needs by being responsible for the home and childcare and involving herself in voluntary work through the children. Her disinclination towards paid work was, in part, so that there would not be additional ties should her husband have to relocate.

[My husband] was going to have a career and I was going to raise the children. I did [have career aspirations] before I had children but that was a decision I made, it was either children or career so I chose children. His job meant, for him to get advancement, it meant we had to travel around so therefore I had to be free just to move and if I had of had a career I would not have been able to just up and move with him.

Even in those remaining cases where only one partner in a relationship qualified as having no transitions, it seemed that the other partner still had a relatively stable pattern throughout the survey period. For the men, their wives had remarkably few transitions. Those who already had children tended to be in part-time work when their children were school age, or full-time work once they were older. If children were born later in the survey period, the wives had generally given up full-time work. The husbands of women with no transitions also tended towards stable patterns with most only having one change in their profile over the whole period.

As a way of drawing this particular discussion to a close it is useful to explore how many people had only one significant transition. Fourteen additional households had members with only one transition and in three of these this was true for both members. This was the result of retirement in two such cases. Four members of the above households could also be included here, giving a total of 21 people in this group. This means that, in conjunction with those above, there were some 32 households where 42

individuals have had, at most, only one major work transition. This indicates a fairly stable history for about a quarter of the people profiled in a third of households canvassed. Given that the study period encompassed increasingly turbulent times, it would be interesting to consider how this level of stability compared with earlier periods when people's work profiles were assumed to be quite static. Similarly one wonders at how this would measure against the current situation after more than 15 years of significant change in most areas of life, including work and employment, and where flexibility and restructuring are two catch-phrases of contemporary working life.

Summary – No Transition

A reasonable number of people experienced no transitions during the study period or had only minor alterations to their work profile during this time. Both partners in three couples were part of this group. Indeed fairly stable patterns seemed to be a feature of such households – when one partner had no transitions, minor changes or only one transition, the other often appeared to have a similarly steady histories. Two-thirds of these cases were men and in all but one instance they maintained this stable pattern through paid work. The women had more diverse profiles though some component of unpaid work was prominent for many of them and some mixed this with paid employment of some sort. If those with only one significant transition are included then almost a quarter of all people profiled and a third of all households surveyed can be considered as having quite stable transitional patterns. Overall, this finding is all the more remarkable given the volatile years that formed a major part of the survey period.

(b) Relocations

Not everyone remains in the same geographical area during their working life. For example, people travel for periods, predominantly overseas. Others move to and from their country of origin either for specific timeframes or with the intention of settling permanently. Finally, there are some who relocate within a country. All such moves are captured in this research via transitions that involve some relocation. These have been explored using the following categories:

1. Relocations within New Zealand
2. Immigration
3. Emigration
4. Time limited travel

Obviously our sample does not include those who elected to relocate permanently outside the Hawkes Bay region, be it to another part of this country or overseas. Consequently we cannot hear their reasons and motivations. Instead, we are able to hear from those who moved into the region, and interestingly, those who travelled away but elected to return after a time. This gives us some insight into the motives and considerations that surround a decision to undertake a significant transition such as a relocation and, in some cases, what might affect a decision to return.

1. Time Limited Travel

Five people travelled overseas during the period under study. One man engaged in a two-year mission for his church after a period of seasonal work following leaving school. After graduating with a university degree in social work a woman journeyed back to the country of her birth for a year. Her family had immigrated to New Zealand when she was a child. The other three people kept up a kiwi tradition and went on their 'big OE' to Europe and the UK. They were away between 21 months and four years. Except for the university graduate, this entire group was in full-time paid work, prior to travelling.

She was the only one, however, to easily find work upon returning to the country. Immediately after arriving back in the country she was offered a social work position by one of the supervisors she had had whilst training. Although keen to get work upon his return, the young man who had been abroad with his church struggled to do so and was forced to resort to seasonal work. Of the other three, one woman who had been an administrator in a bank gladly took a short-term job in a staff canteen upon her return, which she got through her mother who also worked there. Contacts were important for these two people in re-establishing their work patterns. Another of this trio, who was a factory worker prior to travelling, had a major struggled upon his return and was forced on to the dole for six months before finding work. Although as a nurse the final person had enjoyed relatively favourable employment conditions prior to leaving the country, she also struggled to get work upon her return. Financial and restructuring pressures meant they even though hospitals were short of nurses they were not hiring and she was unemployed for a couple of months before reluctantly accepting work in the private sector. As the ten-year period under study encompasses a time of great change in New Zealand, most people who travelled, did so against a background of uncertainty as to what they would return to. The impressions of the nurse sum up the reactions of most upon returning:

New Zealand seemed to be so changed in the two years I was away anyway. ...But just the whole economic situation of New Zealand seemed to have changed. It was badly in debt there were a lot of changes going, while I'd been overseas the government had managed to sell off many departments and break them up and name changes ... and the job situation just wasn't the same which was really amazing for nursing because it had never been a problem. I had always counted myself lucky that I'd swapped and changed jobs and had never had a problem. I always got what I applied for and it was quite a shock when I came back to NZ and finding even though they were short staffed they weren't willing to employ. I'd been able to pick up a job whenever I wanted to and it hadn't been a problem. I couldn't get a job up at the hospital again which I was quite surprised about because I'd never had that problem before. ...I think, partly, that people were beginning to learn that you needed to hang onto your jobs otherwise you might not get one, so there wasn't the changeover like there had been up until then.

2. Relocation Within New Zealand

Some people, for a range of reasons, chose to relocate within this country. In the context of this study we are able to examine these internal relocations, predominantly to Hawkes Bay, but also some where people moved away from and then back into this region. Six individuals and fourteen couples made such moves.

Two of the individuals would relocate to another part of New Zealand and return to Hawkes Bay later in the ten-year period. Whilst most people made a voluntary decision to move, the only male spent some time living in his home district to fulfil obligations to his whanau.

I didn't make the decision, my family made the decision ... they had problems up there so I had to go back. I was the only one that could go back home. ...It seemed more appropriate for me to go back because my brother being married, the one down South Island and another one in Australia, married and with family. It seemed more appropriate for me seeing as how I am single and easier for me to move.

To do this, he had to give up the full-time job that he had had for a number of years and go on the unemployment benefit. After being away and unemployed for four years he returned and, despite significant efforts, could only get seasonal work. This was a pattern of work he would maintain for the remaining four years of the study period. Whilst home he became involved in the Maori warden movement, a role he carried on once back in Hawkes Bay. The other single person was the nurse discussed in the previous section. She moved to Auckland to work for a time prior to travelling overseas.

The other individuals relocated to Hawkes Bay for diverse reasons. Two women came as they felt it offered a more affordable market to purchase a home. Both were single parents and they were able to fulfil this ambition although one did have the advantage of being offered a relative's home to purchase. Like another woman with children, one of the homebuyers had relocated following the break-up of her marriage. All three single parents were on benefits with one managing an array of voluntary and casual work with ongoing education. The final individual moved in the hope of finding better employment opportunities after having been made redundant. She was rewarded with full-time employment. Her move was made easier by being the friend and flatmate of one of the homebuyers. Thus lifestyle, family, housing, financial and work motives were behind these people's relocations. Whilst in the short term they seem to meet their goals, over the longer term some experienced some ups and downs. For example, the woman who relocated after being made redundant was again laid off whilst working in the Hawkes Bay. She eventually embarked on some study to retrain. However, none indicated that they considered going elsewhere or that they regretted the shift.

A surprisingly high number of couples were involved in some form of geographical movement within New Zealand during the study period. Whilst eight of these couples were involved in one straightforward relocation to the Hawkes Bay area, the moves of the remainder were many and varied. Of the former group one couple retired to this region. As the husband had been a minister they were somewhat used to relocating periodically. This was very much a planned move from the South Island with them having bought the property in the Hawkes Bay during the early 1980's. Others elected to move to Hawkes Bay to be closer to family.

So it was come down here to make a new start and be in close proximity [to family], almost halfway between our parents. ...About four and a half hours to my parents and four hours to hers.

One family was motivated in part by the need to provide a healthier climate for a sick family member and a married man returned to his home district after a work contract in the South Island ended. His wife had moved back a little earlier.

Work itself was often a motive for moving to this region. As this man declared,

I was in a rut work wise ... and this opportunity came up by word of mouth.

This was quite fortuitous as his line of work limited his options to certain localities. For others it was a more deliberate yet uncertain choice. Having just been made redundant, one man moved into the area in the hope of finding work. This family also used their redundancy to put a deposit on a home. It was to be a several months before the move paid off and he found full-time permanent work. He was also to move, by himself, out of the region during a period of marital difficulties. After 10 months in his home district, during which time he was unemployed, the difficulties were resolved and he returned to Hawkes Bay and got full-time work.

In another case the couple moved, not only because of their dislike of the region they lived in, but also in an attempt to improve the husband's work chances. This included the possibility of him undertaking some retraining. It was quite a risky undertaking as he had left a full-time job, they already had small children, and his wife was pregnant. However, he got a range of temporary work and later, after much deliberation, he undertook and completed a three-year nursing course. They talked about their various motivations and considerations

Wife: I made a very conscious choice in the beginning that I would be full-time caring for my pre-school children and so at no point did I consider that I would be working in that period when I had pre-school children. It was just a choice I had made, so it was focused and joint choices were made on what [my husband] was going to do as primary earner.

Husband: We were content and in this time 87 to 88 there would have been a growing discontentment in thinking if we don't do something about moving, about getting another job, about trying to get a better house ... if we didn't do something about it [all] we would just get stuck here.

Wife: We had some family here which was a factor at that time.

Husband: [Brisbane] was our first choice of destination. ...Our second choice was to come to Hawkes Bay which has really worked out all in all to be the best thing we could have done. We got out of that situation we were in because one of the factors was that there was a bit of a financial recession at that time. The money in Taranaki wasn't so available, there was more people unemployed ... the place I was working at has now been closed altogether.

Wife: We had a sense of those things so we felt it didn't have a lot to offer us bringing up children.

Wife: [My husband took the first job] of a necessity at the time, not as a long term, this is what we wanted to do and then stop to think about what would happen beyond that. Realising that retraining, or a new direction would be appropriate at that point.

It would be some time after qualifying he got permanent full-time work in his new profession but the move, with its attendant risks and hardships, was eventually very worthwhile. This uncertain and fragmented process was in stark contrast to another couple who had completed degrees and training at Otago University. The husband had a specialised qualification much in demand and so was able to pick and choose where he wanted to work. As his wife was trained in a related field he was able to negotiate work for her as part of his package:

Wife: We decided together where we would like to live ...If they took [my husband] they had to take me.

Husband: They wanted me to come to Hawkes Bay and I said well if you want me you need to get a job for my wife, so they did.

Some motives for relocating were a mix of factors – seeking work and a better lifestyle for example – but whatever the reasons, almost all those involved were able to get some form of paid work immediately or shortly after arriving. Indeed, most people were keen to have employment organised before the shift. This was achieved, on occasions, through contacts, friends or family. More often, people would search local newspapers and apply from a distance. Sometimes people took “make-do” type jobs until they settled and could search out more appropriate work. Even the husband of one couple who had moved with no job organised was able to get full-time work after a couple of months. The exception was a man unemployed for near on six months.

Although people were quite successful at organising work, maintaining employment was not always without complications. One man, having relocated from the South Island, was forced to leave his family to get work outside of the region. Although his original job upon arriving in Hawkes Bay lasted nearly four years, he had no luck getting work in his area of expertise once he was made redundant. After six months being unemployed he reluctantly spent 12 months working in Tokoroa while his family remained in the Hawkes Bay region. He was eventually able to live and work in the Hawkes Bay again but only after being laid off and unemployed once more.

Given the prominence of employment considerations in any relocation the discussion has focussed mostly on one member of the household. Aside from the couple quoted at length and the retired couple mentioned earlier, this person has usually been the one in paid work. However, some brief observations and comments can also be made about the circumstances of the other people in the households. At the time of the relocation all but one of these other families had children. The wives or female partners were not in paid work and were the principle caregivers. In the remaining family, the woman was pregnant and the move coincided with her giving up paid work. Once settled many of these women took up some form of employment, be it part-time or casual, across a range of timeframes.

Some occupations made demands on people to be mobile in order to gain experience and promotion. However, one man experienced the reversal of such demands for flexibility – mobility was no longer required and advancement could be achieved within a region. As he explains,

In those days ... you went somewhere for a little while and then you moved on, which was sort of a plan. ...Then the system changed and then it became no advantage to move and in fact you could get promotion easier through staying where you were and developing that and so we ended up staying here.

Whilst his couple may have been saved the somewhat nomadic existence of relocating in order to chase advancement and promotion, a group of six other couples relocated on a number of occasions, often in relation to these sorts of reasons. The first three cases involve a set of moves away from and back to Hawkes Bay. A fairly straightforward set of relocations, but with an interesting sub text, was undertaken by one couple who moved to Auckland at the insistence of the male partner. They were involved in the selling of illicit drugs and this relocation offered the opportunity to make enough money to put a deposit on a house. They continued to also receive some benefits. Having achieved this goal after two years away, the couple and their children returned to Hawkes Bay and bought a house. Subsequently they have both engaged in a variety of paid work though still drawing on benefits. At times they continued to sell drugs.

Although divorced when interviewed, one woman had been married when the ten-year period started. When her husband got work in Wellington, she moved there with him and their two school age boys. Prior to the move she had been in full-time work in childcare. She was able to get a job in Wellington, within the same sector, by canvassing the papers before the family moved. However, she was forced to give up what proved to be a challenging and enjoyable job when the family returned to Hawkes Bay a year later following the husband's transfer back to this region. Their marriage broke up soon after and she began receiving the DPB, devoting much of the early period to helping her sons cope with the break up, and later spending considerable time in voluntary work which would eventually lead to full-time paid employment.

The third couple raised some interesting motivations and considerations. Prior to the first move they had purchased a property which they intended to develop as a horticultural venture. However, with the worsening economic climate some changes were forced upon them. The original plan involved the husband working part-time at teaching and part-time on the property, while the wife remained at home caring for their baby and helping out with the business. Rising interest rates demanded they develop the property faster to make higher returns sooner; they also needed additional income. The wife went back to full-time work while the husband worked on the business, drove the school bus twice a day and cared for their child whilst the wife was at work. This created a lifestyle of high demands and stress with little personal time or time together. The wife found being forced out of the primary childcare role very hard to cope with. The husband had originally been attracted to this new enterprise as he was disillusioned with teaching. However, he had inadvertently become involved with local education issues that had rekindled his interest in this field. All these factors combined to drive the couple to reorganise their lifestyle so that the wife could remain at home and the husband would return to full-time work.

I really found a lot of fulfilment when I was looking after the baby at home, I really liked it but I could see [my wife] was extremely unhappy in not having that involvement and leaving her, so I made the decision to swap roles in terms of me going back to work, so she could have her turn.

His controversial stance on local education issues and his background at senior level meant that he felt uncomfortable living and working in the local area.

As time went on I decided I didn't really want to work or live in that area with those sorts of values and attitudes. It was quite an important factor.

Thus he approached other regions for work and he got a temporary position in the Wellington area for three months. His wife left work and took up full-time responsibility for the care of their child. This return to teaching was a positive experience and he decided to look for a permanent position. He was appointed to a new educational facility back in the Hawkes Bay area. Although necessitating another move for the family, it was one they all seemed happy to make. The restructuring of roles created by these two moves also allowed them to achieve their goal of having another child.

As is apparent in this discussion so far, many moves were the result of the male partner's employment situation and required a willingness and freedom to move on the part of the woman. One couple illustrated this situation very clearly and begin our look at couples with more complicated patterns of shifts. They had two children at the start of the survey period and a third during many of the shifts. The man was a prison officer over the ten-year period. He had decided to seek promotion that demanded he be willing to relocate. Thus, he and his wife organised their lives accordingly:

His job meant, for him to get advancement, it meant we had to travel around so therefore I had to be free just to move and if I had of had a career I would not have been able to just up and move with him. ...I did [have career aspirations] before I had children but that was a decision I made, it was either children or career so I chose children. ...[My husband] was going to have a career and I was going to raise the children.

This arrangement was obviously vital. Originally employed in the Wellington region he gained his first promotion by moving to the central North Island. Ten months later that prison was closed and the family was moved to the Manawatu. This move also featured a promotion. After five years in this area further promotion was achieved with a transfer to the Hawkes Bay region. Within this prison, the man was able to get a further internal promotion. As part of his career plan he also undertook university study extramurally achieving post-graduate qualifications. Other considerations also played a part in decisions to move. Initially, the couple was happy to put some distance between them and their extended family and they were, as a family, unhappy in one of the postings. Such additional factors blended into decisions to seek transfer even if the primary motivation was promotion. The tragedy of this case was played out late in the survey period when the process of government restructuring somewhat overtook the efforts and intentions of this man and his family. The final promotion he achieved was a sideways one, as there appeared no real place for him in the new prison organisation.

Wife: You worked for your MBA and then became a problem because he is overeducated and they don't know what to do with him.

Husband: Basically I became a project officer ... they did not know what to do with me. I had a lot of skills and I retrained just before that in 1991. ...In a lot of respects it was once more a political decision, the whole restructuring was to save money. They said it was to make things more workable but since that time it has failed, but they're still persevering with it. ...Making a flatter structure and as a consequence all the middle management were got rid of ... They were taken away and they created a few more specialised senior management positions and then the bottom level was put in which was unit managers, so instead of having a 6 or 7 stage hierarchy it was flattened to 4. ...I chose not to apply for demotion ... It was a risk but there was obligations in the department that they would negotiate individually with each person who was not put into the new structure to get the best possible job for them. The department up to today had failed to do anything along those lines.

When interviewed he was on extended leave caring for his wife, whose illness they in part put down to the stresses generated by his deteriorating working situation. Having both made significant commitments and sacrifices across the time of his employment, both were now bitter and angry at what all this had come to. Court action was pending to resolve this matter.

Another two cases illustrate different responses on the part of the female partner even though the various moves were still driven by the male's work. In the first case the couple originally moved from the South Island to Auckland so the man could take up a new job in broadcasting. They had only recently got together as a couple after the break up of his marriage. Despite the newness of the relationship and although the woman was running a successful business in the South Island, she felt 'burnt out' and was happy to leave. In this next quote she sums up her role in the relationship and her attitude to this and a later move.

[He] sort of gets these jobs around the place and I sort of patter along...but he had a career at that point whereas I didn't so its slightly different.

In Auckland she quickly got temporary work in a store before buying a small food outlet. This was far from successful and so she moved into managing a drycleaning store. Just as she was to take over a roving management-cum-trouble-shooting role for the drycleaning chain her husband got a new position. After three and a half years he had become disillusioned with the management of the station in Auckland and was effectively headhunted for a challenging post in Hawkes Bay. Although willing to make the move, the woman was uncertain what sort of work she would be able to get. She was reluctant to take up his idea of working in radio at his station as she felt it would put them in an awkward working relationship. However, with few other choices she eventually took up the challenge and began in radio sales, an area she had no experience of but one she seemed to do well in. Her husband left the new station after a dispute and when interviewed had intermittent work on skills training programmes. The conflict of interests she had anticipated did occur, and she continued in full-time sales but at another station.

The second of these couples and the final one we will look at in this larger group demonstrated the most complex pattern of shifts. The husband had been made redundant shortly after the start of the research period. Through contacts he found work almost immediately – a fortunate occurrence given his specialist field of work. However, this new job was located in the Waikato region. In reflecting on having to

make this move they freely talked about the wrench of having to leave the Hawkes Bay area, something very few others touched on.

It was a tough decision [to move] because Hawkes Bay was our home.
...Even though moving away from home was not good there were also opportunities there.

The wife was herself working full-time so the move meant breaking a whole range of ties. They also had a three-year old daughter. It was to prove to be a fortuitous move for both of them. Initially, the wife decided to commit herself to caring full-time for their little girl. However, she soon decided to make use of the opportunities that presented themselves and undertake university study. She completed a four-year degree in computing – the area she had been working in – balancing this with childcare responsibilities. As there was the strong possibility that the husband could get transferred back to the Hawkes Bay region once she finished her degree, the couple decided to work towards this goal. Thus, the wife elected to go ahead, find somewhere to live, get their daughter settled in, and find paid work for herself. She achieved all this getting full-time employment as an information systems manager in the health sector. However, unexpectedly, her husband was promoted and transferred to the Manawatu region. This disrupted their plans and consequently they decided to spend some time apart evaluating the various opportunities offered to each by their jobs. After a difficult year the wife decided to re-unite the family. The major component of her job was completed so she felt comfortable leaving and it seemed that her husband's position offered him sound long-term prospects. It was a decision undoubtedly influenced by the effects that being redundant had on her husband and the consequent negative evaluation he made of his future prospects if out of work. His wife explained

I think [my husband] worries that he has no education beyond school certificate and I don't think I am being presumptuous in saying this, he feels a little concerned about that and he has never actually had to apply for a job since then, he is cautious.

Having joined her husband in the Manawatu, she was able to get part-time work in the local library and devoted more time to their daughter's upbringing. Interestingly she commented that she originally only intended to get voluntary work in the library as a way of settling into the new community.

I started off at the Public Library ... doing voluntary work but then they said they would pay me. I went in off the street and said I want something to do and ended up being paid for it. The intention was to be voluntary. ...I guess the number one [motivation] has got to be to have some extra dollars coming in, however that is not the only motivation ... [that] was an area where I didn't know many people, and certainly coming back [here] where I could get out and about and reach people.

After eighteen months her husband received another promotion and transfer, this time to Hawkes Bay. Naturally both were happy to be returning to where they felt was home. Again the wife was able to get part-time work in a public library for a few months before getting full-time employment in a school library at which she continued until the birth of the second child about 14 months later. At the close of the interview period the husband remained employed by the same company. No further moves were in prospect.

3. *Immigration*

One family who had immigrated to New Zealand during the ten-year period was interviewed. This was a Samoan couple and their teenage daughter. They had previously lived and worked in New Zealand before returning to Samoa for a time. Now that their other adult children were all in this country they decided to return here to be near to them. The husband and wife had extensive experience in the meatworks and canning industries respectively. They were able to quickly get work back in those sectors upon their return at the beginning of 1987. Whilst his wife would be able to maintain full-time work throughout the remaining period, her husband was to be made redundant with the closure of the Tomoana Meatworks. He spoke of the relative ease with which he could pick and choose a job upon his return and the shock at being made redundant:

I went to [a company] and they says – OK come back you have got a job. But I saw a rich man bought the company and there had been a big change, new systems running, so then U go and look elsewhere. ...When I came [here] it was much easier, see some old fellows there, a sixty year old still boning. So I said OK ... it was a bit less money but it was better ... they put me in boning straight away. [At the other] I have to be a labourer. ..We didn't know Tomoana would be closed. See the next morning I woke up and ready to go to work and, hello, ready to hop in the car and go to work, and the news come out and Tomoana is closed... I went over there and everybody is just outside on the road, the gate is shut. We don't know what was going on...It hurt because that was where I got the money to pay the mortgage and buy the living for the family. It really affected....I really felt like packing up and going home. We had just bought this home and couldn't afford to just let it go.

As his wife was in full-time employment he was not able to claim the unemployment benefit. Recognising the unpredictable nature of the meat industry and his advancing years he felt the need to retrain,

Right now I am getting too old, I had better go and learn a different skill.

Initially he thought of purchasing a takeaway bar but this fell through. He then took on some training in the security industry where his role would be in liaison with the Samoan community helping them to understand their obligations regarding credit contracts and the like. This fitted nicely with the family's commitment to the Samoan community in New Zealand that was most strongly expressed through their voluntary church work. Occasionally this man also worked in his son's signwriting business. In addition, as part of the family's efforts to survive financially they had converted a garage into a small sewing workroom which was primarily under the control of his wife. It was a co-operative family affair:

[Our family] play a big part of that too. They come here and help. ...when we have a bit of work to do we call them and they come along ... and do their bits and pieces and work together ...I just help along and do a bit of cutting.

Their youngest daughter completed her schooling in New Zealand. She then went on to polytech and did a course in office work but struggled to find employment after this. It was six months before she got a short term, part-time office position and

another few months before she settled in a permanent position. Her experiences are discussed in more detail in the section on school leavers.

Two other individuals immigrated to New Zealand – a man and a woman. Both met New Zealanders in the UK whom they would eventually marry. The woman was already married and had a baby when she arrived with her husband in late 1987. Wanting to get a “feel” for this new country she was quite happy to work anywhere despite being a trained physical education teacher. Thus, she took part-time work with Telecom, a job which also suited her childcare requirements. She continued this for a time and then made herself available for relief teaching, which not only paid well but which she could arrange around the needs of her child. After the birth of their second child she worked casually and full-time at various stages and was heavily involved in voluntary sports coaching. Overall she seemed to find the transition from the UK relatively smooth.

The other immigrant moved to New Zealand in 1992. He travelled with his future wife upon her return from her O.E. They would marry a couple of years later. Both struggled for a time. The wife found that she had returned to a very different New Zealand after her O.E. Her husband experienced some difficulties with a new working environment. Firstly, as he was not married when he arrived, regulations required that he had to wait six months for a work permit. After this he was able to find work in his trade as a diesel mechanic fairly easily, though his first job would end acrimoniously after a couple of years. Following a period of unemployment he eventually found more another permanent position.

4. *Emigration*

Four couples emigrated during the period under study, all to Australia. Given that relocations to this country are often given prominence by the media and politicians, this section is of particular interest. The time away from New Zealand varied for each couple – one was only gone three months, the others for three, four, and five and a half years. Two couples went with school age children, one had a child soon after arriving, and the last couple – who were only away a few months – did not have children at this point.

It was apparent from the interviews with these couples that each hoped the move would mean new opportunities or a better lifestyle. There was also a desire for change and new challenges.

We just wanted a change. We got to the point where we had everything we wanted, we had a house and two cars, things were just ... there was no change. ...Well [my husband] has got family over there, an uncle, and I had just come back from a holiday in Sydney so I was all hyped up about Australia. ...We were pretty confident, [our family] said there was money to be made and we were pretty confident he could get a job and he got one straight away.

You know, you think the grass is greener somewhere else. We just wanted some sort of new experiences or something.

Individual circumstances also influenced these decisions. The husband in one couple had been made redundant from the Whakatu Meatworks a year or so before and had been unable to find full-time work aside from seasonal fruit picking. His wife had retrained and was working full-time and they had undertaken somewhat of a role reversal with him taking on responsibility for childcare. Despite being in work, his wife was keen to try their luck overseas. In another case, wider considerations were at play and the husband reflected specifically on the impact the state of the New Zealand economy had on their decision. He willingly gave up full-time employment to relocate across the Tasman.

That was the time of the wage freeze and the so-called price freeze which never did work out, did it? Certain sectors were getting wage rises and keeping up with the price increases and other sectors weren't ... mortgages were spiralling upwards too so your commitments were getting higher but there was no likelihood of getting a wage increase of course unless you changed jobs, and jobs weren't that easy to get. ...I could have got work around Rotorua but I am still in the same boat, I am lumbered with a mortgage I can't afford to pay because the mortgage rate went from about 13% to 21½-22%.

Although all were committed to 'making a go of it' in a new country, the two couples with their own homes retained ownership but sold up everything else. There was a sense of 'hedging their bets' in case the move did not prove to be as worthwhile as they thought. As one couple put it,

We sold everything here except the house ... I left \$4000 invested here so if we ever got stuck we knew we had our airfare back, so we just had to pick up the phone.

Two of the couples had family in the Australian city they went to, which helped them settle in, find work and arrange accommodation. However, one couple did note that they felt they were imposing on these relatives. They were to return after only a few months and it was these feelings plus other factors – the woman found out she was pregnant, they had relationship difficulties, and both had problems getting work – that contributed to the decision to return.

One couple's move was based on the husband having already arranged a work contract in Australia. His wife gave birth soon after their arrival and did not work during their stay. Of the others, none of whom had any employment arranged, we have already seen that one couple struggled and returned after a few months. In contrast, the husband in another case found work almost immediately. His background and experience in engineering sales seemed to open up numerous opportunities and he had a couple of sales positions before he eventually took on the management of a small company. His wife worked part-time in a store for a few hours per week for about two and a half of their four years away. This helped with their financial situation and fitted in with her husband's work. The other couple had mixed work success. The husband got work quickly but it was only casual employment in a family moving business. This pattern of intermittent casual work continued, albeit in different jobs (building and factory work) for over three and a half years before he got full-time factory work. When not working he assumed responsibility for childcare as his wife got full-time work after about five months. She had wanted to settle the family in and was forced to look for full-time work sooner than she had planned because of her husband's employment difficulties and their financial situation. She continued in this work at the

IRD until they returned home five years latter. When both were working they had to rely on older children to care for the younger ones. These childcare challenges were a complete contrast of the close whanau support they had enjoyed in New Zealand. One of their older teenage children elected not to relocate with the family but remained in New Zealand studying at boarding school and staying with other family or travelling to Australia for holidays.

As we have seen a mix of issues brought one of these families very quickly back to New Zealand. The other families remained longer and returned for a variety of reasons, though family considerations were paramount in all cases. One couple felt they had achieved their financial goals. Their family was growing up and they wanted to spend more time with them in New Zealand before they left home. They were also keen to reconnect with the whanau they had left behind. Family considerations also prompted the return of the other two couples,

My father is too ill to travel and the five young children we thought we would let them share their grandparents – they are dead a long time, so we came back. ...And also our last one was very sick when she was born and we were alone and didn't have family ... over there.

My father was very sick with cancer and I wanted to spend some time with him and we had some problems while we were over there and I just decided that I'd had enough over there and I didn't think we were going to get any further in a great hurry there so I decided to come back.

In the last case, the woman's husband completed his contract and followed three months later.

Upon returning to New Zealand these couples had reasonably good success finding work. The men found full-time work almost immediately, though one man did have a self imposed holiday after having worked particularly long and hard in Australia. He was on the unemployment benefit whilst he considered his options, and eventually started his own business. Whilst most of the women did not work straight away after returning, instead spending time resettling the family, they appeared to get work without too many problems once they began actively seeking it. One woman clearly remembered how different the situation in New Zealand was upon their return.

I found it was harder to get a job when we came back from Australia, there wasn't as much offering. Jobs had dried up quite a bit and where I'm working they're moving towards reducing staff numbers as technology improves and everything becomes computerised..

Summary - Relocations

A small group of people travelled out of New Zealand for a variety of reasons, mostly as part of their "OE". Regardless of these reasons, each was confronted with a very different country upon their return. This was most apparent in the difficulties that all but one had in finding employment upon their return. It was not just a matter of people lacking personal qualifications. As the nurse's case shows, significant and widespread change occurred during this decade and this resulted in a very different and difficult labour market.

Outside of travel, some people made more long-term relocations. For one group this occurred within New Zealand. Though lifestyle factors played a part in some decisions, most relocations were prompted by work considerations. When moves involved a couple, it was most often the work priorities of the male that took precedence. The women made a variety of adaptations to fit with these shifts, be they in the unpaid role they adopted or in how they structured their own paid work. Given the impacts on partners and children of such relocations, it would be hoped that the outcomes match with expectations. Whilst this seemed to be true in the majority of cases, a small number of shifts failed to bring forth the expected benefits. Even if things did eventually work out, for some it was still a long and difficult road for a time. This group of people clearly illustrates the complexities of relocations even within New Zealand, and the implications for transitions.

A second group of four couples relocated outside of New Zealand. We also capture their return to this country. Some common themes in respect of these relocations are apparent in their motivations to leave and return, as well as their choice of destination. Apart from the couple who was away only a few months, none seemed to regret their decision and they appeared not to have been disadvantaged by the move. Drawn back, in the main, by family ties they also seem to have coped well with the return to New Zealand. Given the emphasis that people relocating to Australia is often given this section is of particular interest.

Only a small group of emigrants were identified from the interviews. A Pacific Island family came to live in New Zealand for a second time. They had originally spent many years in this country working and bringing up their family but had returned to Samoa for a time. They found a very different country upon their return and the husband and his daughter had employment difficulties. The other two people in this group came to New Zealand from the UK. They each married New Zealanders. The woman made a fairly easy transition but the man had some work related problems and took some time to settle.

Though each group is relatively small, this section has provided an interesting glimpse of these people's motives for and experiences of travel and relocation. The positive and negative implications on employment have also been drawn out. Indeed, work was often a prime consideration in prompting such a move

Other Profiles

The aim of this section is to review some interesting profiles in terms of both the nature and make up of work within some households. Readers may recognise profiles from other sections of this report where aspects of them have been described or used to illustrate an issue under discussion. The selection of these profiles is not based on some quantitative or qualitative judgement that marks out some people as working harder, or having lives that are busier or more demanding. It was not uncommon for people who were interviewed to have been working full-time and part-time, or, perhaps, at two full-time jobs – for example while they were starting up their own businesses. Nor, given the gendered division of work, was it unusual to find women balancing a range of often competing roles in paid and unpaid work. To try and order

or weight these cases would be not only impossible, it would also be meaningless. Rather, these profiles were ones that stood out as the wider analysis was undertaken and were selected to illustrate the various complex combinations of work that some people undertook. They also illustrate how the profiles of both partners in a household influence each others and how they are often inextricably intertwined, thereby increasing the complexity of the case as a whole.

Not unexpectedly the majority of examples involve women. This reflects the way work in our society is structured and the impacts and demands this places on women, particularly when they have to balance paid and unpaid work responsibilities. Financial motives were often behind the addition of some form of paid work to these already complex profiles. Where it has been apparent from the interview and is appropriate, some comment is made on what the adoption of this profile by particular women has meant for their spouse or partner.

As has been seen elsewhere in this document, many people combined voluntary work with other responsibilities. The work of a chair to a school Board of Trustees was a particularly demanding voluntary role.

It was stimulating being away from the house ... there were a lot of demands but you worked out ... we had a lot of phone calls at night, meetings, you have to go to training and seminars ... there were a lot of late nights.

At the same time this woman was involved in lots of everyday school volunteering (teacher aiding, school trips, fundraising and so on) as well as working as a school cleaner for a couple of hours each weekday. She also had primary responsibility for the care of two school age children and the home. This continued for three years. During the final year she became pregnant and also took on responsibility for doing the books in her husband's fledgling business. Naturally, given the amount of time required by her voluntary work, particularly with the Board, extra demands were placed on her husband to care for the children. This was somewhat difficult given the long hours he was devoting to his new business and the resultant pressures. The prospect of trying to cope with all this and a new baby prompted this woman to not seek re-election and to later give up her paid work. Another woman displayed a similar pattern though it had only been established for a few months at the time of the interview. Her voluntary work revolved around the school and sports activities of her five children and she worked a few hours two or three evenings a week. Interestingly she too did the books for her husband's business. Once again this pattern required that her husband adopt more child care responsibilities in the evenings and she had to call on extended family at times in order to cope.

These two examples illustrate a frequent pattern of women trying to balance being primarily responsible for the care of the home and children with important and regular voluntary work, alongside paid work commitments. Even without voluntary work, some women coped with extraordinary demands. As in the cases above, money was often a major factor in driving these arrangements. In one family the first business that the husband set up collapsed after too rapid an expansion. He went onto the unemployment benefit and set about reconfiguring what was salvageable from the original enterprise. Money was naturally tight with tension and uncertainty high in this household, even when the second venture appeared to be taking off. The wife had

worked with the first business doing despatching, deliveries, office work and the accounts. She continued these type of activities in the second as well. In fact, given that much more care was being taken in keeping costs down, her contribution was vital to the future success of this subsequent enterprise. It was undoubtedly a difficult time financially.

It was a very difficult time for us because with the sole income being from the unemployment benefit and a residual amount from the business we found it very hard, in fact some weeks we didn't know where we were going to get food from. It was a very difficult time and not some thing I would want to live through again.

To help ease their financial difficulties the wife worked in the evenings at a rest home, up to seventeen hours a week, and took in casual child minding during the day. As her husband devoted virtually all his time to their businesses she was also responsible for looking after the home and caring for their three teenage children. It was fortunate that the children were older and required less direct care as her husband, who was at home in the evenings when his wife was at work, was devoting much of this time to the business.

I was doing a lot of evening hours to keep on track ... I tended to work on weekends as well and so we didn't go out and do things, recreation.

Although both these people acknowledged this as an extremely difficult time, the husband made no mention of the various contributions his wife had made to their income, as well as the business and home. She, on the other hand, felt her contributions were pivotal to their survival. At the time of interview she had been maintaining this profile for about a year and intended to continue for a while yet.

As we have just seen, self-employment, especially early in the life of a business, can place high demands on the people involved and their families. Longs hours, small returns, sacrifices and trade-offs can all be part of setting oneself up in business. In this next case it was the husband, however, whose work profile reflected these effects. Less apparent but no less significant were the emotional effects that his wife coped with. The husband outlined their circumstances.

I felt some disillusionment with the education bureaucracy, political side of it. ...We had an interesting lifestyle on a small block of land, ...planting lots of trees and doing lots of activities on a small scale. I was keen to extend that and see if we could grow flowers commercially. ...I was quite keen to stop working altogether but in the interests of discretion and caution I decided I would take on an ordinary teaching position which would give me time to devote to establishing the flower growing business. ...When we shifted [to our new property] ... the sharemarket had crashed and interest rates had increased tremendously so suddenly there was quite a pressure on us in terms of mortgage repayments that we hadn't expected ...Our budgets were blown a bit and it meant we needed to earn a lot more money that we had thought. We developed the flower growing side ... quickly. Money started coming in but not enough to pay all the bills. I stopped work first of all to actually devote more time to establishing the business and [my wife] started work. ...[She] was teaching at a primary school. ...I looked after the baby and worked during the day. ...I was also driving the school bus, it was quite a busy time. I would get up in the morning and drive the school bus and then on my way back I would call in at [my wife's] school and pick up the baby and go home and I would work with him, carry him around the property in a wheelbarrow all day. About three o'clock I would go off and drop the baby at [my wife's] school, and drive the school bus and then I

would come home and [my wife] would have cooked the meal and then I would start working again.

The extraordinary make up and choreography of this couple's profiles certainly make this case worthy of mention. Given the earlier examples, such a routine would not appear to be unusual for a woman. That in this case it was the man's profile that was so complex, makes it especially interesting. Throughout the interviews it was clear that many men worked extremely hard, but often at the expense of their families and their efforts were concentrated in paid work. Indeed this theme is discussed elsewhere in this report. Many women also worked incredibly hard, but often they had to incorporate, rather than suspend, their duties and responsibilities to the home and family with any other activities. The value of this case is that it demonstrates that such circumstances need not, as if by some predetermination, be the lot solely of women. Although he coped and felt he enjoyed the experience, after about a year of this pattern, a range of forces were to see them make changes. These included the negative emotional effects for the wife in having to work full-time.

I really loved having the baby at home with me and I really loved doing all the work at home [but] there was quite a [financial] worry. ... [My wife] hated going off to work and leaving the baby at home and the baby hated [her] going off to work and I hated seeing it all.

Future considerations were also an issue.

The other factor was that we had had a baby and we wanted to have another and it seemed unlikely that we would have another child while we were working so hard and needing to earn that amount of money. We didn't want that gap of time and connected with that was our ages and we were reasonably mature to start having children ... We were conscious of that pressure on us, we wanted to have another child and we were going to run out of time.

In this next example the family's financial situation was, once again, the driving motivation behind a woman's demanding work and life style. She too was married. A year after the birth of her first child she returned to full-time work after the part-time position she had was expanded. After about six months of full-time work she also got a part-time position in the evenings, stacking shelves for about fifteen hours per week. At this time she also took on casual work gardening at the weekends. As her husband was himself in full-time work the couple used paid childcare during the day and were fortunate to be entitled to subsidies for this. In the evenings and at weekends her husband was able to look after the baby. They had a second child after about nine months of this woman's demanding work programme, which saw her give up her full-time job but maintain some part-time and casual work.

Other drives can also lie behind demanding and complex work profiles. Up until 1988, one of the women interviewed was a single parent with two teenage children. She was on the DPB and also heavily involved in voluntary work with the Maori Women's Welfare League and the local Citizens' Advice Bureau. This unpaid work was, she said, virtually a full-time social work-like role. Out of this work she was to be offered and take on a full-time paid position,

I used to do a lot of work with families from Social Welfare, like some of the families wouldn't allow social workers, they didn't like social welfare ... so I did the follow up ... and as a result they asked me to apply for the

position. ...That was only because of the work I was doing with for them, and they knew my experience, so that got me the job.

This was not your usual 9 to 5 job, however,

So during the week we have from five [pm] to eight in the mornings, and on the weekends we are on 24 hours. ..and we don't get paid for it. ...We just clock up all our hours and you take it off. ...Thank goodness for the family that they understand, mum's on duty and she can be gone all hours.

Despite the many and various demands of her job she continued to also be heavily involved in a range of unpaid activities based on her strong commitment to people and particular communities of interest. This included being on the executive of one organisation and often involved travelling to other regions. As a result she noted that, quite often, her paid and unpaid roles blurred. On top of this, her employer was now requiring her to gain formal qualifications in her area of work. To this end they were funding the three university papers she was doing extramurally. Balancing her numerous commitments had had a major impact on her family and demanded much from them as well as her. These demands continued even though her children were now older.

Summary – Other Profiles

In conclusion, it is important that the comments made at the start of this section in respect of how and why these cases were chosen are kept in mind. In essence these half dozen cases have tried to show the complexity of many people's work profiles. They have also been presented to illustrate the demands that such profiles place on people and the implications they have for others in the household. From the perspective of transitions they also show how important it is to consider the interaction of the profiles of both parties in a household. In this way their inter-dependence and the influence they exert on the other is apparent. These are important considerations when examining transitions.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to those theoretical and empirical studies that are based on micro-economic constructs and national trends, this research programme focuses on the way in which labour markets function at the micro-level of individuals and households. The development and utilisation of a broader concept of transitions as the unit of analysis in this study was central to achieving this focus. As has been shown it is a complex and versatile idea that proved ideally suited to the various aims of this research. Specifically, it has allowed an emphasis on relations within the household and between individuals, households, and the labour market, allowing us to explore the decisions or choices which are made with respect to economic participation and, as a consequence, making it possible to identify a range of factors which either promote or impede labour market participation. To achieve this also required the development of a methodology that established a strong framework within which to firstly capture and then analyse the interview data so as to address the key questions which this study set out to answer. Whilst much of what has been presented here will likely only reinforce what is already well established in the existing literature, statistics and research, the strength and value of this report lies with the detailed accounts of people's actual experiences which have been tracked across a considerable period of time. As the various parts and sections of this and the other reports have been summarised already, it is not intended at this point to revisit that material. Rather, by way of conclusion, a series of themes which emerged from people's experiences and which had a recurring presence in all the Hawkes Bay reports are presented as a final response to the research questions .

Given that this study examined many dimensions of work, it provides an intriguing insight into the multi-faceted nature of people's work profiles and histories. Even when this was of a fairly 'standard' or usual pattern, it could still mean that people maintained a range of activities and responsibilities, and the interaction of these was often complex, with various components complimenting or competing with one another. Despite this diversity, the importance of paid work was still very evident. Whilst demonstrated in many ways, it was especially apparent when people lost jobs. The impacts of this, both on individuals and their family, as well as the efforts they made to get new work, all emphasise the value placed on paid employment. The attitudes and actions of most of those receiving welfare and/or who were unemployed were in stark contrast to the popular and usually negative perceptions of people in these circumstances. Consequently, they often felt frustrated by what they perceived as obstacles to their getting a job. These included welfare abatements that acted as disincentives, difficulties and inequalities accessing quality training and education, and the ineffectiveness of the state employment agency. Against this last issue, a major positive influence on any transition into paid employment, regardless of the circumstances, was a person's social network.

The ten year period over which data was retrospectively collected was characterised by change and uncertainty both at the local level, as well as nationally and internationally. This was borne out in a number of ways and at various points of the analysis. Hawkes Bay as a region experienced both localised and more general effects of these turbulent times. The former was most apparent as a result of a major downturn and restructuring in the rural sector, which was particularly evident in this study through the closure of two large meatworks. Restructuring was felt in many

other areas as well. As a consequence, the shape of the labour market changed considerably and people were forced to adapt accordingly. These adjustments were often hard to make, though some people appeared little affected by what was occurring and they maintained very stable work histories, whilst others flourished in new work environments and sizeable numbers risked self employment. When there were negative impacts, these were often unevenly distributed. Redundancy was all too common an experience and some people had frequent and/or lengthy experiences of welfare. Most of those interviewed felt negative or at best unsure of the prognosis for this region. Many had difficulty getting a true feel for the state of the labour market and local economy, though some positive signs at the time of the interviews were noted. Changes such as the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act, which prompted greater restructuring of workplaces, alterations in conditions and wages, as well as greater casualisation and intensification of work, only added to the unsettled nature of this period.

The uneven distribution of negative impacts was most apparent in relation to Maori. Reflecting findings elsewhere, those interviewed in this study were over-represented in the group of longer term or more frequently unemployed. In response to this many opted or were forced into seasonal work, often repeating this cycle – of unemployment to periodic employment and back to unemployment – across a number of years. Though their higher representation amongst those taking some form of education and training appeared to provide a positive note, this is somewhat diffused by their prominence in training schemes for the unemployed. The quality and value of such programmes was questioned by many of the participants, a position supported by their poor outcomes.

The reference to education and training, made in relation to Maori, signals a prominent feature of this study. However, whilst people viewed this as a critical and growing component in relation to someone's employability, they still recognised the influence of others factors in contributing to this. Though some form of education or training was often undertaken as a response to the changing labour market, skills and experience were still seen as important. Even more fundamental was the availability of jobs. As noted earlier, despite its importance in relation to unemployment, the limited nature of programmes and courses for those out of work, together with their poor quality and outcomes was of concern to many who took them. Access to training and education seemed unevenly distributed across the welfare system creating what some saw as disadvantage amongst groups. More generally, questions regarding access and cost were raised and the loss of a sound apprenticeship programme was bemoaned by many people. Alongside full-time and part-time programmes, there was a growing emphasis on workplace based education and training. One clear reason for the general growth of education and training came out of the recognition and first hand experience of the spread of technology.

Another major theme in this study was gender. This had several facets. The gendered nature of work was still very evident, both in the workplace and the home. In respect of the latter, women were still responsible for the much of the housework and remained the primary caregivers in relation to children. Their responsibilities regarding children had significant effects on their participation in paid work. For example, they often disengaged from paid work for periods and then had to manage a return to employment. This might have to be done several times. When working they

had to balance paid and unpaid responsibilities, and managing these proved highly demanding in many cases. Because any paid work was often conditioned on their unpaid responsibilities, part-time and casual employment were prominent amongst women. If education and training was used as a means to aid a return to or to enhance opportunities in paid work, part-time courses were the norm, with women again strongly represented in the group doing these. Whilst producing benefits, this was another activity to balance with their unpaid responsibilities and sometimes with paid work as well. So too was their prominent role in voluntary work. This was the result once again of their primary role in relation to child care, as much of this work was associated with children. It should be added that this voluntary involvement sometimes generated opportunities in paid employment. In contrast, men usually accorded their paid role the highest priority and any unpaid work was secondary to this. Paid work was seldom predicated on their other responsibilities, though men often responded to becoming a father by increasing their involvement in this. Considering these various issues from another angle, childcare can be seen as a highly influential factor in relation to the distribution of work within and outside households, and between men and women.

As to gender and paid work, two contradicting trends emerged. On the one hand, changes were clearly occurring in relation to gender-based work role segregation. This was practically evidenced by people's work experiences. Of course there were varying degrees and types of change. However, against this, people's attitudes still revealed clear and persistent prejudices in relation to what was considered appropriate work for men and women to do. The physical aspects of any job seemed to be a major means of delineating work by gender.

Though the issues were consolidated at either end of the spectrum, age proved to be an important theme. Older people described feeling quite insecure in today's labour market. This usually arose from a combination of their vulnerability to being laid off, often during restructuring and sometimes in favour of younger workers, and their subsequent difficulties getting further employment. Despite more emphasis on workplace training and the benefits it might have for their employability, older workers seemed less inclined than others towards this growing trend. Low rates of pay and difficulties getting work were issues confronting younger people. The latter was often compounded for some by having few qualifications, and more generally by a lack of experience and difficult job market. This is borne out by the experiences of the group of school leavers, almost all of whom were unemployed at least once during their early working lives. Even those who did tertiary study struggled to get jobs.

Finally, the focussing of this study on the Hawkes Bay area, creates another central influence on people's experiences that is worth considering. The vulnerability of this region to the impacts of the downturn and restructuring of the rural sector have already been noted. It also had to adjust, like the rest of this country, to the broader application of economic rationalism including the restructuring of government services. These various factors had detrimental affects on the local economy and employment, and consequently, on people's experiences. However, this region is also structurally diverse with a particular strong mix of agricultural, horticultural, aquaculture, and forestry industries. Though vulnerable in many respects, these industries provided ongoing and developing opportunities within the changing local economy. A

prominent feature of these industries and this region is a heavy reliance on seasonal employment, which created both benefits and disadvantages for people.

Given this focus on Hawkes Bay, one of the interesting tasks that lie ahead is a comparison of the qualitative findings from all three regions. This will not only illustrate common areas but will also throw up contrasts between areas. While many findings will likely be applicable across all the regions and beyond – like those relating to gender, as outlined above – others will no doubt more specifically reflect the region under study. Such a comparison will follow the production of reports for the South Waikato and Waitakere City areas.

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