EMPLOYER DEMAND FOR SKILLED WORKERS IN CHRISTCHURCH

A report prepared for the

MAYORAL TASKFORCE ON POVERTY

by

DR PAUL DALZIEL
(Senior Lecturer in Economics)

DR JANE HIGGINS
(Lecturer in Sociology)

MICHAEL DRUMMOND
(Tutor in Economics)

University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800
CHRISTCHURCH

(April 2001)

The authors are pleased to acknowledge financial support from the Christchurch City Council and from the University of Canterbury in preparing this report. We are grateful in particular to Mary Richardson, Kath Jamieson, George Clark and Karilyn Smith for their assistance. The views and interpretations expressed in the report are the responsibility of the authors, and should not be attributed to either the Christchurch City Council or the University of Canterbury.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF TABLES

TABLE OF FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

In early 2001, there was widespread concern that a shortage of qualified and experienced workers was restricting employment and business growth in Christchurch. Appendix 1 of this report, for example, reproduces a lead story in the *Christchurch Press* of 9 February, which contains statements by local employers indicating difficulties in filling vacancies for skilled employees. Responding to these concerns, the Mayoral Taskforce on Poverty in Christchurch commissioned a survey to quantify the extent of the shortage.

The survey was undertaken by a team of researchers at the University of Canterbury. Dr Paul Dalziel is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics, and is a member of the Christchurch Mayoral Taskforce on Poverty. Dr Jane Higgins is a Lecturer in the Sociology Department, and has undertaken previous research on youth employment in Christchurch. Michael Drummond is an Honours graduate and tutor in the Department of Economics and was employed for five weeks to carry out the survey and analyse the responses.

This report documents the results of the survey and sets these results within the context of wider New Zealand and overseas research on the issues that survey raises. While overseas research must be treated with caution when applied to New Zealand contexts, nevertheless there is substantial literature on the key issues addressed in the survey, particularly in relation to the qualifications and experience that employers are seeking from job applicants. This wider research context is intended to offer insights into the Christchurch situation and may indicate useful directions for future research.

The report begins by explaining the nature of the survey. It then goes on to analyse employers' responses in terms of the nature of the jobs advertised, the qualifications and experience that was sought from job applicants and the ease or difficulty that employers had, or expected to have, in filling each position. The report concludes with a consideration of the most significant factors to emerge from the survey.

2 THE SURVEY

The research team decided to use, as their survey population, employers who advertised one or more vacant positions in the *Christchurch Press* on Saturday the 20th of January. These employers were contacted by telephone, fax, e-mail or post and asked to complete a short survey. The response rate was very high (78.3 per cent), indicating perhaps just how important this issue is for Christchurch employers.

The survey results offer a particular snapshot of the job vacancy situation in Christchurch at the beginning of 2001. Using vacancies advertised in the newspaper carries with it the obvious limitation that not all vacancies are advertised in this way. Employers may use other sources of advertising such as the internet, specialist magazines or simply word-of-mouth. The latter is particularly likely to be used to fill casual or unskilled vacancies. Thus it is possible that skilled and permanent positions may be over-represented among the vacancies considered in this survey relative to unskilled and casual vacancies available in the city. Given that the focus of the survey concerns skill shortages, this may not be a problem. In addition, the timing of the survey, at the beginning of the year, may have led to an over-representation of permanent positions relative to temporary or casual positions insofar as employers may be more likely to seek permanent staff at the beginning of a year.

Despite the limitation of the survey not being able to cover all vacancies, the large number of vacancies identified and the very high response rate are good reasons to consider the results of the survey useful.

The way in which information for the survey was gathered depended on the contact details in the advertisement. If only an address was given, then a cover letter explaining the purpose of the survey was posted to that address with a copy of the survey and prepaid envelope. Similarly if an e-mail address or fax number was given then a cover letter and survey was sent via either e-mail or fax. If a phone number was provided with the advertisement then direct contact with the employer could be made. When a phone call was made an explanation of who was calling and the reason for the call was given. It was also stated that the survey would take about two minutes to complete. The brevity of the survey was designed to elicit a high response rate among employers. In view of the research focus on skill shortages, questions focused on whether successful applicants would require experience and/or qualifications for the job, and the degree of difficulty employers had found, or expected to find, in filling a position. A copy of the survey questionnaire is presented in this report as Appendix 2.

3. THE ADVERTISEMENTS

On Saturday the 20th of January 2001, there were 801 non-executive advertisements in the *Christchurch Press*, including farm vacancies, educational vacancies and health vacancies. Of these 801 advertisements, 65 were excluded for the reasons given in the top half of Table 3.1. The three main reasons for exclusion were: the advertisement was an invitation to register for possible future vacancies (22); the job involving selling on commission only and did not, therefore, involve payment of a wage or salary (15); or the work involved employment that the Department of Work and Income would not require of jobseekers, such as working for an escort agency or as a topless waitress.

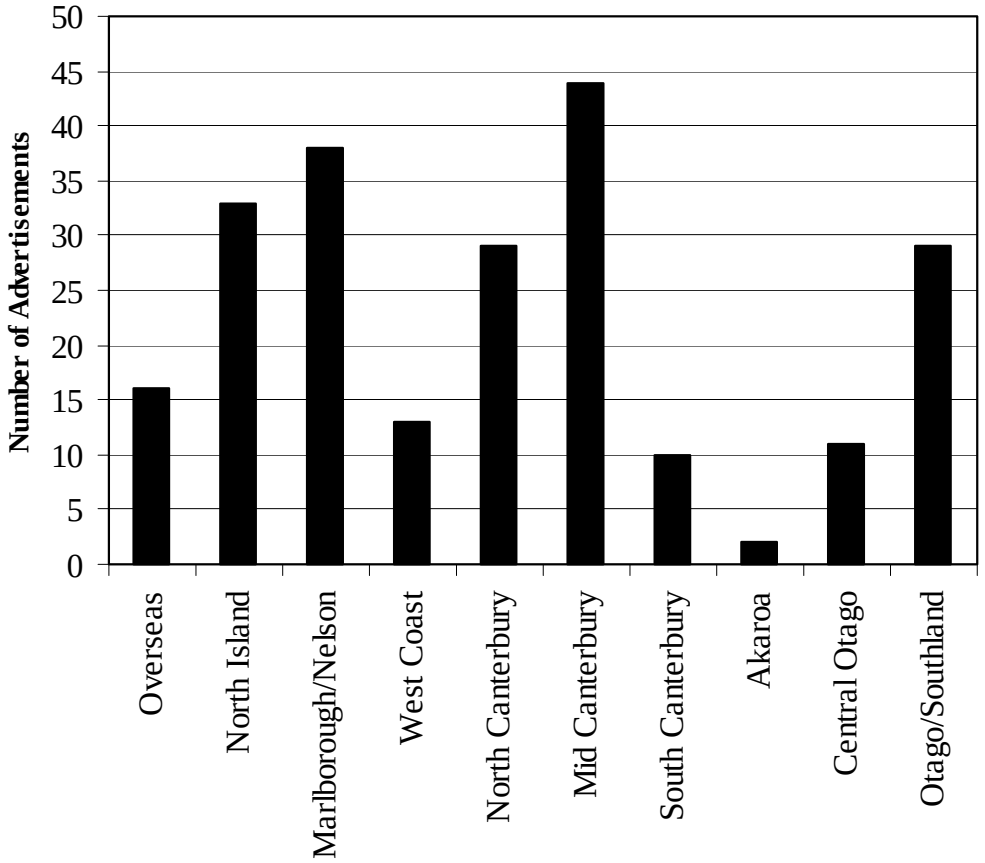
A second group of advertisements, amounting to 225 advertisements in total, were excluded because they involved jobs outside the city of Christchurch. The second half of Table 3.1 lists where these excluded jobs were based. Figure 3.1 presents this information in the form of a bar chart. As might be expected, mid-Canterbury is the most represented region, although 33 North Island employers and 40 employers in Central Otago, Otago and Southland advertised in the *Christchurch Press* that day. There were also 16 advertisements for jobs based overseas.

This means that there were 511 advertisements from Christchurch employers in the survey. Before discussing the results of the survey, it is important to explain the difference in this report between advertisements, occupations and vacancies.

TABLE 3.1
Total Number of Advertisements
***Christchurch Press*, 20 January 2001**

Excluded from survey		
Calls for registration	22	
Commission sales	15	
Escorts/Topless	13	
Business/Training/Executive	4	
Sport/Music	4	
Marginal	4	
Volunteers	3	
		65
Outside Christchurch		
Overseas	16	
North Island	33	
Marlborough/Nelson	38	
West Coast	13	
North Canterbury	29	
Mid Canterbury	44	
South Canterbury	10	
Akaroa	2	
Central Otago	11	
Otago/Southland	29	
		225
Christchurch		**511**
Total Advertisements		**801**

FIGURE 3.1
Advertisements Outside Christchurch
***Christchurch Press*, 20 January 2001**



4. THE ADVERTISED OCCUPATIONS

In total there were 511 Christchurch job advertisements in the *Christchurch Press* on 20 January 2001. Many of the advertisements by a single employer, however, were for more than one occupation, and several of the advertisements offered employment in two or more vacancies involving the same occupation. To give an example, one of the advertisements offered several positions for registered nurses and nurse aides. In the analysis that follows, this was treated as one advertisement, as two advertised occupations (the occupation of registered nurse and the occupation of nurse aide) and as at least four vacancies as the employer was seeking more than one person for each of the two occupations. Following this pattern, the total number of advertised occupations was 577 and the total number of advertised vacancies was at least 742 (see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1
Advertisements, Advertised Occupations, and Positions Available

511	**Advertisements**
577	**Advertised Occupations**
742	**Number of Vacancies (minimum)**

The research team classified the advertised occupations using Statistics New Zealand's Standard Classification of Occupations 1999. This classification system uses 9 major groups ranging from Legislators, Administrators and Managers (Major Group 1) to Elementary Occupations (Major Group 9). For this project, the occupations were categorised to the two-digit sub-major group level. The titles of these sub-major groups are listed on the next page in Table 4.2, and the number of advertisements for each sub-major group is presented in Figure 4.1 below.

FIGURE 4.1
Advertised Occupations When Grouped Into Occupational Codes

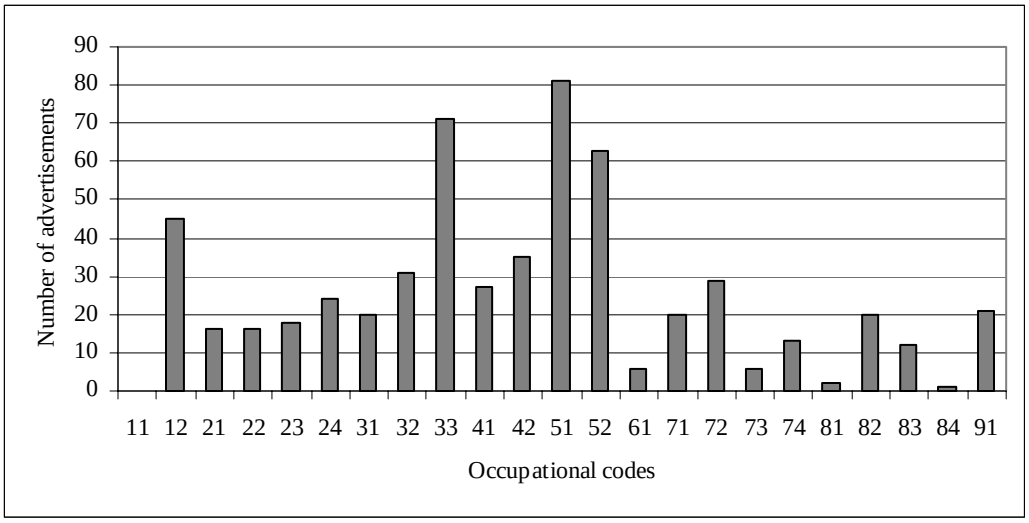
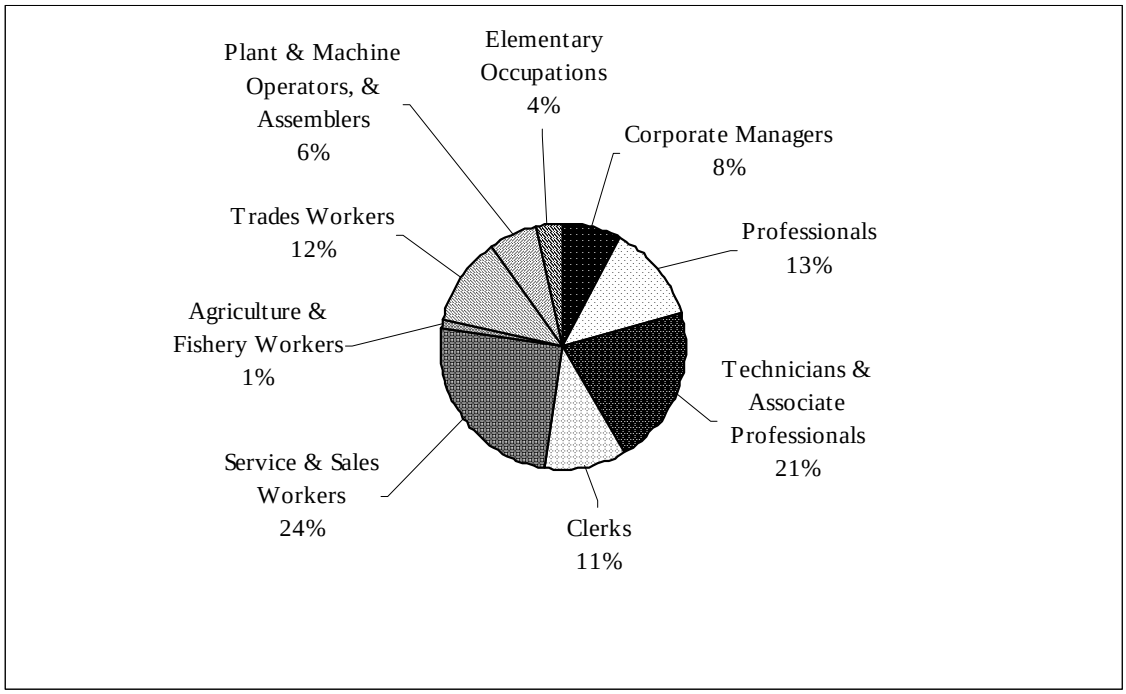


TABLE 4.2
Occupational Titles

Code	Title
11	Legislators and Administrators
12	Corporate Managers
21	Physical, Mathematical and Engineering Science Professionals
22	Life Science and Health Professionals
23	Teaching Professionals
24	Other Professionals
31	Physical Science and Engineering Associate Professionals
32	Life Science and Health Associate Professionals
33	Other Associate Professionals
41	Office Clerks
42	Customer Service Clerks
51	Personal and Protective Services Workers
52	Salespersons, Demonstrators and Models
61	Market Oriented Agricultural and Fishery Workers
71	Building Trades Workers
72	Metal and Machinery Trades Workers
73	Precision Trades Workers
74	Other Craft and Related Trades Workers
81	Industrial Plant Operators
82	Stationary Machine Operators and Assemblers
83	Drivers and Mobile Machinery Operators
84	Building and Related Workers
91	Labourers and Related Elementary Service Workers

Figure 4.2 presents an analysis of the advertised occupations to the single-digit major group. (Note that there were no Legislators and Administrators represented in the survey, and so Major Group 1 has been renamed as Corporate Managers). The figure shows that agricultural and fishery workers are under-represented as is to be expected in a survey restricted to the Christchurch metropolitan area. Because the number of agricultural and fisheries vacancies is very low, this category (Major Group 6) is excluded from the rest of this study. The share of elementary occupations is also very low, perhaps reflecting the fact that very unskilled jobs are not generally filled through newspaper advertisements.

FIGURE 4.2
Advertised Occupations When Grouped Into General Categories



5. THE RESPONSES

The response rate for the survey was very high with 78.3 percent of surveys being completed. Table 5.1 shows the number and percent of responses for each major occupational group. Note that the reduction in the number of advertised occupations from 577 to 571 is due to the exclusion of Group 6 (which had 3 responses to 6 survey forms sent out).

TABLE 5.1
Responses to the Survey

Major Occupational Group	Title	Number of Advertised Occupations	Number of Responses	Number of Non-Responses	Response Rate %
1	Corporate Managers	45	38	7	84.4
2	Professionals	74	62	12	83.8
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	122	93	29	76.2
4	Clerks	62	46	16	74.2
5	Service & Sales Workers	144	112	32	77.8
7	Trades Workers	68	58	10	85.3
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	35	25	10	71.4
9	Elementary Occupations	21	13	8	61.9
	Totals	**571**	**447**	**124**	**78.3**

6. PART-TIME/FULL-TIME AND PERMANENT/SHORT-TERM

The first section of the survey asked whether the position was full-time or part-time. If the job involved more than 30 hours per week it was regarded as full-time. If it involved less than or equal to 30 hours per week it was regarded as part-time. Out of the responses 325 were full-time, 120 were part-time and two did not know. Thus, 72.7 percent of advertised occupations were full-time positions. Figure 6.1 shows the number of full-time and part-time positions. This ratio of part-time to full-time work is in keeping with trends in the Christchurch labour market as a whole over the last twenty-five years. Census data indicates that in 1976 about one job in eight was part-time; by 1996 this had risen to about one job in four (Higgins 2001).

FIGURE 6.1
Number of Full-time and Part-time Positions

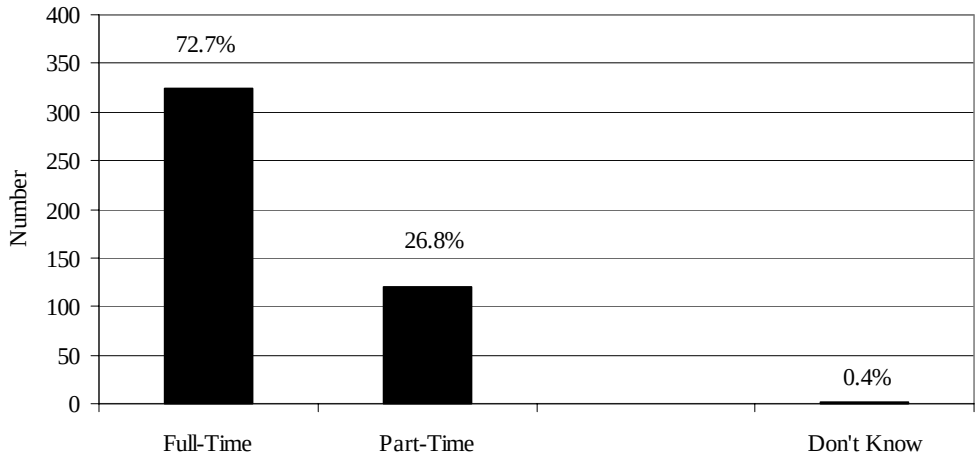


Table 6.1 analyses the aggregate data by major occupational groups. The numbers do not always sum to 100 per cent because some respondents did not know or did not answer this question in the survey.

TABLE 6.1
Full-time and Part-time Positions

Major Group	Title	Full-Time		Part-Time	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	Corporate Managers	35	92.1	2	5.3
2	Professionals	49	79.0	13	21.0
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	63	67.7	30	32.3
4	Clerks	30	65.2	16	34.8
5	Service & Sales Workers	64	57.1	48	42.9
7	Trades Workers	56	96.6	2	3.4
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	21	84.0	3	12.0
9	Elementary Occupations	7	53.8	6	46.2
	Totals	**325**	**72.7**	**120**	**26.8**

In keeping with the complex nature of part-time work in modern service-based economies, part-time vacancies range across the occupational groups. There are, nevertheless, proportionately more part-time jobs being advertised in areas that are generally regarded as semi-skilled or unskilled. This has some implications for the development of a skilled workforce in Christchurch.

6.1 Part-time Work as 'Bridge' or 'Trap'?

In a strongly service-based economy such as Christchurch the concentration, in the part time labour market, of jobs that are relatively low skilled, low paid and unlikely to offer many opportunities for promotion is to be expected (Sassen 1994, Esping-Andersen 1996). The highly skilled, knowledge based jobs that are often associated with the term 'knowledge economy' inevitably co-exist with 'an infrastructure of low wage, non-professional jobs and activities' (Sassen 1994:123) many of which are part time.

Individuals take up these jobs for a variety of reasons ranging from a desire to earn some money for household 'extras' to the need to earn a basic livelihood. Among the latter group are many who combine several part-time jobs in an effort to increase their hours of work. There is clear evidence that many part time workers would prefer full time work: in the mid-1990s Else (1996) reported that one in six women and one in three men working part time would prefer to work full time.

In terms of developing a skilled workforce the question of importance here is whether an individual taking up part-time work that is semi-skilled or unskilled is able to use this work as a bridge for upward mobility in the labour market or whether such workers become trapped in this low wage sector in the long term with few opportunities for developing their skills (Tam 1997). As Esping Andersen (1996:259) observes:

> even if postindustrial society is bound to offer a large amount of inferior low paid jobs in consumer and social services, such jobs will not become life cycle traps if citizens are guaranteed the chance to acquire adequate skills.

There are two ways, relevant to this report, in which such jobs might be expected to act as 'bridge' rather than 'trap' within the labour market. These relate to their links to qualifications and to work experience:

- individuals may use these jobs as a way of financing their involvement in further education or training, and so gain the qualifications necessary to improve their labour market status – provided, of course, that there are skilled jobs for them to take up as a result of this involvement.

- individuals may use these jobs as a way of gaining work experience that may enhance their employability in terms of better paid, more skilled work.

The results of this report, along with other local and national research cast some doubt on the capacity of such jobs to assist workers in these ways. Some of the reasons why are detailed below in relation to young workers – a group that has become heavily concentrated in part-time work in Christchurch over the last two decades.

6.2 Young Workers and Part-time Work

Recent research on the Christchurch labour market (Higgins 2001) indicates that young workers, in particular, are heavily concentrated in part-time work in the city, and especially in semi-skilled and unskilled work in this sector. In the development of a skilled workforce these young workers form a group for whom this kind of work should, arguably, not be an end in itself but rather an opportunity to gain qualifications and work experience that will be useful for future upward mobility in the labour market.

For some this is the case, particularly in relation to financing participation in further education. New Zealand-wide data (Ministry of Education 1999) suggest that an increasing proportion of the 20-24 years cohort is involved in education (from 18% in 1990 to 27% in 1998)[1] and that over half of these students are active in the labour force. Most of this cohort, however, are active in the labour force without any involvement in formal tertiary education or training (61% in 1998)[2]. Thus, a substantial proportion of the youth labour force appears not to be using employment, part-time or full-time, to finance concurrent participation in further education or training.

In considering why this might be so, three factors are particularly important:

- access to further education and training in New Zealand generally requires some ability to pay (e.g. living costs while studying/training, tuition fees, course fees) and often it requires a willingness to take on a student loan;

- many people leave school without acquiring the upper level school qualifications necessary for entry into tertiary courses;

- access to on-the-job training requires employment in a job that offers such training.

These are very real restrictions for many people, the young in particular. Sections 7 and 8 discuss these restrictions in more detail with respect to qualifications and experience respectively. They suggest that the result of limited access to tertiary education and training is an enormous wastage of talent with serious implications for the individuals involved and, more generally, for the city's future development as a centre of skilled work.

Before moving on to discuss qualifications, however, some comment should be made about the possibility that semi-skilled and unskilled part-time work (of the kind that many students are involved in) may offer opportunities for valuable work experience. In this survey two thirds of responding employers indicated that successful applicants needed to have had *previous experience in a similar job.* This suggests that generic work experience in low wage, low skilled jobs may be of only limited value for later job search, as employers are seeking work experience that is specific to the job vacancies that they are advertising. This issue is discussed in more detail in Section 8.

---

1 Includes courses at Tertiary Education Institutions (universities, polytechnics, colleges of education, wananga) and Training Opportunities Programmes at private training establishments.

2 This does not include training through Industry Training Organisations. Per thousand employees in the 20-24 years cohort, seventy five are engaged in ITO training (Department of Labour 2001).

6.3 Permanent and Short-term Work

The next section in the survey asked whether the positions were permanent or short-term. If the job was expected to last longer than twelve months then it was regarded as permanent and if less than 12 months, then short-term. From the responses back nearly all of the positions advertised were permanent ones: 411 were permanent, 29 were short-term and seven did not know. That is, 91.9 percent of advertised occupations were permanent. Figure 6.2 shows the number of permanent and short-term jobs.

FIGURE 6.2
Number of Permanent and Short-Term Positions

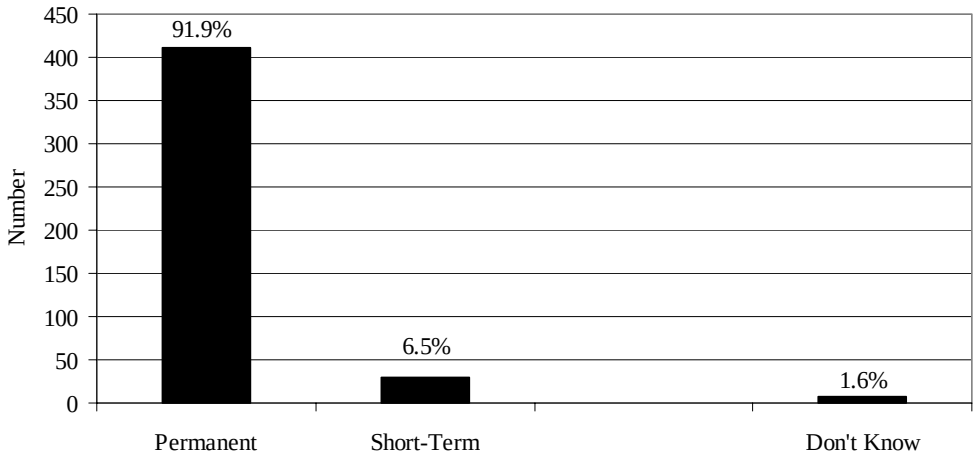


Table 6.2 on the next page analyses this question by major occupational group.

Two factors that may have influenced the high proportion of permanent jobs relative to short term work indicated here include:

- the timing of the survey (early in the year when employers may be more likely to be establishing or filling permanent positions), and

- the likelihood that short-term positions are filled in more informal ways than through newspaper advertising.

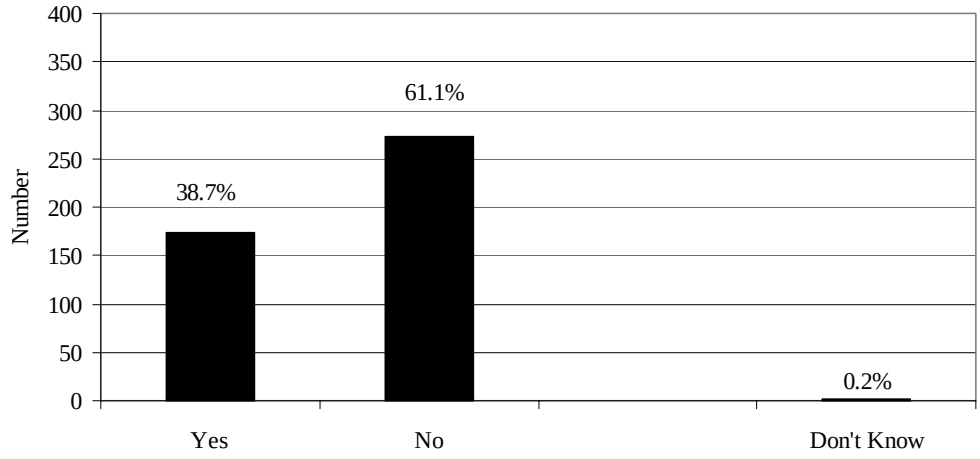
TABLE 6.2
Permanent and Short-Term Positions

Major Group	Title	Permanent		Short-Term	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	Corporate Managers	35	92.1	2	5.3
2	Professionals	55	88.7	5	8.1
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	83	89.2	8	8.6
4	Clerks	42	91.3	4	8.7
5	Service & Sales Workers	105	93.8	6	5.4
7	Trades Workers	56	96.6	2	3.4
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	24	96.0	1	4.0
9	Elementary Occupations	11	84.6	1	7.7
	Totals	**411**	**91.9**	**29**	**6.5**

7. QUALIFICATIONS

Employers were asked what specific qualifications applicants needed to have for the job. 173 employers said that the applicant needed a specific qualification, while the majority, 273, said that no specific qualification was required. One response did not know. This is shown in Figure 7.1.

FIGURE 7.1
Qualification Needed?



The type of qualifications applicants needed for the job varied from just needing a driver's licence or forklift licence through to needing a trade certificate or a university degree. Many responses indicated specific skills or knowledge, including specific previous experience, which the applicant needed to have. A list of the different qualifications sought by employers is provided in Appendix 3.

Table 7.1 reveals that there were some important differences in this part of the survey. Nearly four-fifths of the professional occupations (major group 2) and half of the trades workers occupations (major group 7) required qualifications. No more than one-fifth of the clerk positions, service and sales positions and elementary occupations required qualifications.

TABLE 7.1
Qualification Needed?

Major Group	Title	Yes		No	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	Corporate Managers	14	36.8	24	63.2
2	Professionals	49	79.0	13	21.0
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	42	45.2	51	54.8
4	Clerks	5	10.9	41	89.1
5	Service & Sales Workers	23	20.5	89	79.5
7	Trades Workers	30	51.7	27	46.6
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	8	32.0	17	68.0
9	Elementary Occupations	2	15.4	11	84.6
	Totals	**173**	**38.7**	**273**	**61.1**

This distribution reinforces the comment made in Section 6 above concerning the co-existence, alongside the developing 'knowledge economy', of a range of low wage, non-professional jobs that require few, if any, post-school qualifications. While the availability of such employment is important for those lacking qualifications, policy-makers may have an interest in fostering the former, rather than the latter, range of jobs.

In considering how the creation of a skilled workforce operating within a high skill, high wage economy might be achieved, it is important to examine the particular context of Christchurch city because this context shapes the demand and supply of both jobs and labour. These factors are considered briefly below.

7.1. Demand for Skilled Work

Christchurch experienced significant deindustrialisation during the 1980s and 1990s: full time manufacturing employment fell by over one third in the period 1976-1996 and many skilled trades jobs disappeared during that time (Higgins 1993). The city experienced some compensatory growth of skilled work in business and financial services over this period, but by 1996 this industry only accounted for 12.6% of full time employment. This reflects the fact that, despite its size, the city has never been an important head office location relative to other metropolitan centres in New Zealand.

At the end of the 1970s less than one quarter of New Zealand public companies located head offices in Christchurch and those that did were from a relatively narrow range of industries reflecting the city's close links with agriculture (Canterbury United Council 1984; McDermott 1981). During the intense take-over and merger activity that characterised the 1980s Christchurch could not compete with the economies of agglomeration offered by Auckland and cities in Australia. Thus, between 1976 and 1991 approximately one third of Christchurch companies employing more than one hundred staff lost head offices from the city to metropolitan centres elsewhere in New Zealand and Australia (Higgins 1993).

Meanwhile the city has grown as a service economy. By 1996 almost one half (46%) of full time employment in Christchurch was in community/social/personal services and wholesale/ retail/restaurant services. As manufacturing has shifted elsewhere in New Zealand and offshore, importing and distribution have become more important, with warehouses and retail outlets for manufactured goods taking the place of many factories. In terms of professional work, the growth in services also reflects the development of the city as a centre for education and health care.

Given the deindustrialisation of the 1980s and 1990s and Christchurch's relatively weak position as a head office location, a path of 'least resistance' for the city could be towards development as a relatively low-skilled, low productivity service economy in which employment is based heavily in the retail and hospitality sectors, alongside some pockets of highly skilled manufacturing (such as Tait Electronics and Hamilton Jet) and professional employment (in the health and education sectors, for example)

From such a base it is unlikely that a 'knowledge economy' that engages a large proportion of its labour force in skilled work will develop without a pro-active stance on the part of both local and national governments to attract investment that will offer this kind of employment to a large number of people.

An important part of attracting such investment is, of course, the development of a well qualified workforce, discussed below.

7.2 Supply of qualified workers

Two of the most important findings to emerge from New Zealand educational research in recent years have been:

- that the creation of a highly qualified population begins early: early childhood education appears to be crucial in the development of childhood competencies and the capacity for children to do well in school.[3]

- that gaining qualifications, whether at school or tertiary levels, is strongly influenced by the socio-economic status (SES) of an individual's family and school.[4]

The lack of participation in tertiary education by young people from low decile schools has been commented on in several nation-wide studies in recent years. The Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education (1999) found that:

> In 1997, for example, only 8% of students entering New Zealand universities were from low decile schools, compared with 52% of students from high decile schools. … The socio-economic gap in participation also applies to New Zealand polytechnics.

The same study found that, in 1997, 59% of students from high decile schools left with seventh form qualifications but that this was the case for only 26% of students from low decile schools.

These findings are echoed at a local level by the work of Lauder and Hughes in the Christchurch School Leavers Study (Hughes and Lauder 1991; Lauder and Hughes 1990). Examining twenty Christchurch secondary schools in the 1980s, they found a marked disparity in qualification outcomes among these schools. They identified a strong correlation between the mean socio-economic status of a school's student population and the level of academic achievement attained within that school.

> While 35.6% of those from SES Group 3 [lowest socio-economic status] left without qualifications only 10.9 per cent of those from SES Group 1 [highest socio-economic status] were completely unsuccessful in the examination system. Conversely, 31.2% of the SES Group 1 students got a bursary or scholarship while only 7.5 per cent of the SES Group 3 students obtained the highest qualifications available (Hughes and Lauder 1991:12).

The study found that students attending schools with a low mean SES rating required higher levels of ability (measured in PAT and IQ tests) than their counterparts in high SES schools to gain the same level of qualification.

> Pupils who are gaining five School Certificate and Sixth Form Certificate 'passes' in the five schools with the highest mean SES are of the same ability as those leaving school without qualifications in the lowest SES schools (Lauder and Hughes 1990:52)

---

[3] The Competent Children study from the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (e.g. Wylie, Thompson, and Kerslake Hendricks (1996) and Wylie, Thompson, and Lythe, (1999)) has shown that early childhood education has lasting benefits for children's competency levels.

[4] The NZCER study found that family resources - especially family income and mother's education - are the key factors associated with differences in children's competency levels. For longitudinal New Zealand research on this see Fergusson and Woodward (2000) and Caspi *et al.* (1998).

This amounts, as Hughes and Lauder observe, to a huge wastage of talent among the young of the city (and, by extension, the nation). Polarisation along socio-economic lines in the school system fosters significant segmentation within the tertiary sector, to the extent that that sector is accessible by means of school qualification. The flow-on effect from this is the intensification of segmentation within the labour market itself – not according to ability but according to socio-economic status.

There are complex issues here for policy at a national level regarding socio-economic inequality generally and its impact on education more particularly: the main policy recommendation drawn by Lauder and Hughes from their study concerns encouraging more balanced SES mixes within schools, that is to say, diminishing polarisation among schools. At a local level policy makers might consider ways to enhance the economic wellbeing of communities with low socio-economic status, paying particular attention to resourcing their schools, to retention rates within these schools, and to the availability and accessibility of early childhood education facilities in those communities.

While lack of school qualifications may often be a barrier to tertiary education and training it is not always a barrier to employment, although it may be a barrier to good employment. At least one overseas study of post-school employment assistance programmes has found that completing one's secondary education increased the long term probability of success for job searchers by a considerable margin (O'Connell and McGinnity 1997). By contrast, the same study found that participation in post-school training schemes of a general nature were of limited value in assisting people into long term work.

Of course many students leaving secondary school to embark on tertiary education must then negotiate a variety of financial obstacles associated with tertiary fees and living expenses while studying. Again many of the issues raised by this are national rather than local concerns, although at the local level it should be noted that if students are able to find work during the summer the financial burden of study during the rest of the year can be substantially reduced.

8. EXPERIENCE

While this study found, not surprisingly, that qualifications were important for many of the employers involved, one of our most significant findings was that far more employers required applicants who had work experience in a similar job than required applicants with qualifications. A large number required both experience and qualifications.

Employers were asked whether or not applicants needed experience in a similar job, perhaps at a lower level: 305 said yes, 141 said no, and one didn't know. Thus, 68.2 percent of employers needed applicants to have had previous experience. Figure 8.1 shows the results. In both the telephone and postal surveys, a number of employers noted that although previous experience was not necessary, it was preferred.

Experience was required for more than 80 per cent of the occupations classified as corporate managers (major group 1) or as trades workers (major group 7). All of the occupational groups required experience in more than half the responses, except for the small number of elementary occupations in major group 9 (see Table 8.1).

FIGURE 8.1
Experience Needed?

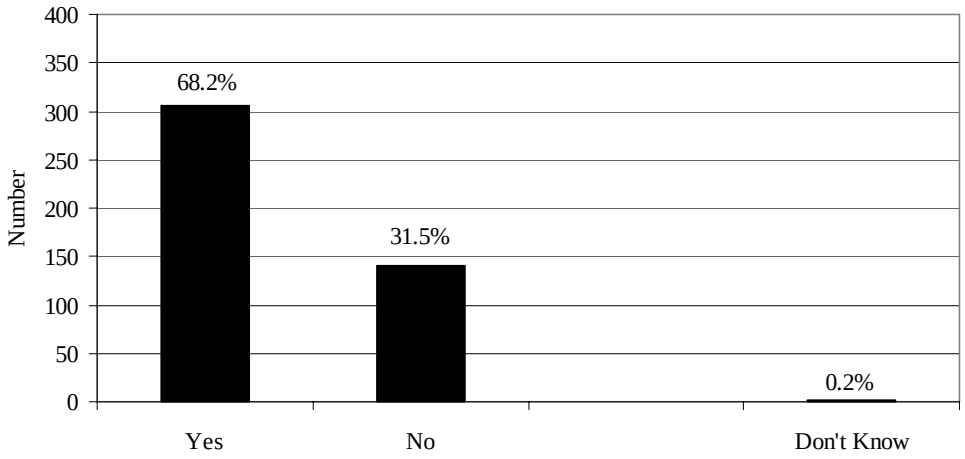
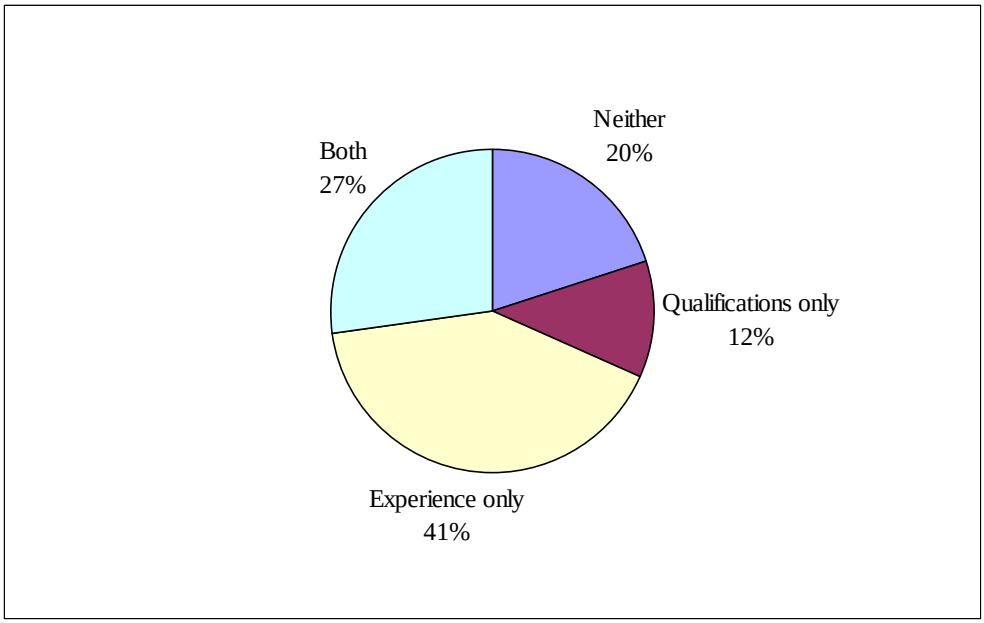


Figure 8.2 is a pie chart showing the distribution of advertised occupations: 89 respondents stated that they required neither qualifications nor experience; 52 respondents said that they required qualifications, but not experience. There were 183 replies saying that experience was required without qualifications and a further 121 replies requiring both experience and qualifications. The two responses who did not know for either of the two questions are not included in the figure.

TABLE 8.1
Experience Needed?

Major Group	Title	Yes		No	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	Corporate Managers	31	81.6	7	18.4
2	Professionals	42	67.7	20	32.3
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	63	67.7	29	31.2
4	Clerks	33	71.7	13	28.3
5	Service & Sales Workers	69	61.6	43	38.4
7	Trades Workers	49	84.5	9	15.5
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	14	56.0	11	44.0
9	Elementary Occupations	4	30.8	9	69.2
	Totals	**305**	**68.2**	**141**	**31.5**

FIGURE 8.2
Does the Position Require Qualifications or Experience?



8.1 Job Seekers, Experience and Labour Market Connections

The finding that the majority of employers were seeking people with previous experience *in a similar job* suggests not only that work experience is important for job seekers, but that employers are looking for experience of a specific nature. This amounts to something more than general work experience of the kind that might be offered through a workfare ('work for the dole') programme or through makework schemes such as those offered in many of the job creation programmes of the early 1980s. This finding is consistent with findings from a large and growing body of international research that links successful employment search with real work experience.

This body of work indicates that forms of employment assistance that are not directly linked into the labour market (for example, training schemes that offer generic training, and work experience programmes that are not associated with real, on-going employment) are unlikely to be of much help to job seekers.

For example, O'Connell and McGinnity's study of employment assistance programmes in Ireland, cited earlier (1997), explored four different types of scheme designed to assist job seekers.

- training in the workplace in firm-specific skills;
- the provision of wage subsidies to workers already in employment;
- general training schemes;
- direct job creation schemes in which employment is created outside the needs of the market.

The researchers found clear evidence that participants in the first two types of scheme were more likely to find employment, *and to remain employed in the long term*, than participants of general training or direct job creation schemes. The key point seems to be the concrete link into real employment that the first two types of scheme offer.

Likewise, Raffe's (1990) work in the United Kingdom has shown that young people engaged in the Youth Training Scheme[5] found the marketable value of their training to be minimal unless they were in the Scheme with the sponsorship of an employer. Others have established similar findings in other countries (Adamski and Grootings 1989; Bynner 1991; Holbrook 2000; McDonnell, et al. 1998; Miller and Rosenbaum 1997).

The value of schemes with links into real work appear to be twofold:

(i) Most obviously, they place individuals in actual jobs. Even if these are only temporary, the office, shop or factory floor environment facilitates access to networks of employers and fellow workers through which new recruits are able to gain knowledge about work opportunities and became known as workers in an industry. Such networks are well known to be important in helping job seekers to find employment and in helping employers to find workers (Miller and Rosenbaum 1997; Rosenbaum and Binder 1997; Windolf and Wood 1988). Indeed, recent New Zealand based research indicates that the industry networks established by tutors in Private Training Institutions may be more important in successful job placement for graduates of their Training Opportunities or Youth Training programmes than the qualifications gained through the programmes themselves (Strathdee and Hughes 2000).

(ii) In addition, Brown (1996) argues that, alongside specific occupational competencies that may be learned on- or off-the-job, there are tacit skills that workers learn on-the-job that cannot be taught in a classroom situation. By this, he means much more than general work habits, such as those covered in generic 'life skills' courses (punctuality, dress and so forth). Rather, he is referring to skills that are associated with understanding the culture of particular workplaces. These include, for example:

- an understanding of the quality of work that is expected;
- knowledge of what is thought to be reasonable in terms of how hard an employee is expected to work in that workplace;
- awareness of the range and depth of responsibility that an employee is expected to undertake and the rewards that can be expected for this and so on.

These are forms of knowledge specific to the culture of particular types of work and often of particular workplaces. Roberts (1997) observes that in the United Kingdom, many YTS trained recruits fail to last long in new workplaces precisely because the generic, non-work based training they have undertaken has left them ill-equipped to understand the culture of the workplaces into which they have eventually moved. For their part, employers may not understand that these tacit skills are an important *learned* part of the job for which patience and understanding are required.

[5] YTS was the main training programme for young adults in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, involving both on and off the job training. It continued as Youth Training (YT) in the 1990s.

In summary, it is clear, both from this survey and from an extensive range of international research, that work experience in real work is very important for job seekers. Employers regard it as an indicator of suitability for an advertised position and, for both employers and workers, it offers access to networks within the labour market through which information about work and workers circulates.

Three final points should be made in relation to this finding.

(i) Young job seekers
First time job seekers are clearly at a disadvantage when it comes to work experience although by the time they come to look for their first full-time job many young people already have some years of part-time work experience behind them, particularly in service sector work in the retail and hospitality industries. How useful is this work experience? Given that employers have indicated that they are seeking workers with experience in a job similar to the one being advertised, it may be that part-time experience in the service sector is less useful than might be assumed. This takes us back to the discussion about part-time work as 'bridge' or 'trap' in Section 6 above. Policy responses to this situation might consider forms of assistance that will encourage employers to take on young people and first time job seekers and train them in the workplace.[6]

(ii) Career paths
It is frequently asserted that workers must expect to move through several, even many, different jobs in course of a lifetime. This survey suggests that some caution should be exercised in relation to this claim. If employers are seeking workers with experience 'in similar work, perhaps at a lower level' then general training to equip workers to take on many different jobs may not, in fact, be as useful to them as training in a specific area. The affirmative response to this question by so many employers suggests that career paths still exist within particular workplaces and particular occupations. There may be some important implications here for employment assistance policy particularly in terms of training in specific skills on the job, rather than in generic skills in classroom situations.

(iii) Rewarding experience
Given the importance that employers attribute to experience, and the reported lack of appropriate experience in many of the job candidates covered by this survey (Table 8.1 above), employers may need to consider the extent to which they are prepared to reward experience, both at the time of appointment and in terms of retention of experienced workers. In the language of economics, experience is a quality in short supply and so its price (the wage for skilled workers) should increase in order that experienced workers will be attracted to where their experience is most highly valued.

[6] Some forms of assistance like this already exist. For example, assistance is available for those training through an Industry Training Organisation. Unfortunately, the participation levels of young people in such training have been have been fairly low compared with their older counterparts (Department of Labour 2001; Skill New Zealand 1999). This suggests that both employers and young people may need particular encouragement to engage this group in training in the workplace.

9. NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS AND OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF DIFFICULTY

Respondents were asked about the number of applicants and how many of these had the qualifications and experience being sought. 50 respondents did not know the total number of suitable applicants, and these responses have been excluded from the data in Table 9.1. The 397 remaining responses reported receiving 7,571 applications, or 19 applicants per advertised occupation. However, only 2,566 of these applicants were thought to be suitable. 36 respondents reported that there had been no suitable applicant.

The analysis by occupational group reveals that the employers of major occupational groups 5, 7 and 8 (service and sales workers, trades workers, and plant and machinery operators) had the smallest numbers of suitable applicants per advertised occupation. This observation (which confirms reported comments by the Canterbury Manufacturers Association, Christchurch *Press*, 19 March 2001, p. 1) is discussed in more detail in Section 9.1 below.

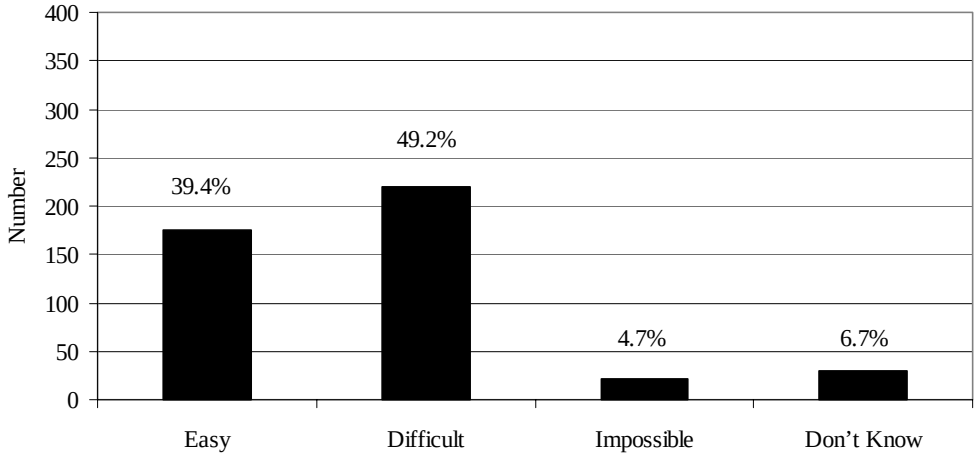
TABLE 9.1
Number of Applicants

Major Occupational Group	Title	Number of Responses	Average Number of Applicants	Average Number of Suitable Applicants	Percentage %
1	Corporate Managers	32	38.2	8.6	22.5
2	Professionals	49	16.6	6.7	40.4
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	84	20.2	6.7	33.4
4	Clerks	42	31.3	11.0	35.2
5	Service & Sales Workers	99	13.9	4.5	32.4
7	Trades Workers	57	11.3	4.8	42.6
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	23	9.1	2.4	26.3
9	Elementary Occupations	11	27.1	14.5	53.4
	Totals	**397**	**19.1**	**6.5**	**33.9**

Finally, employers were asked whether the vacancy was easy, difficult or impossible to fill with a suitably qualified or experienced person. Because not all employers needed a qualified person for the job, often the telephone survey question asked was how easy, difficult or impossible it was to fill the position with a suitable person or suitably experienced person. 176 employers found it easy, 220 found it difficult with only 21 saying it was impossible to fill the position. 30 said they didn't know with 20 of those saying it was somewhere between easy and difficult. Figure 9.1 displays the results.

Some care needs to be taken when interpreting responses to these questions in the survey. The survey results indicate that employers frequently use a wider definition of 'suitability' than qualifications or experience alone in choosing among applicants and in deciding that some applicants will not 'fit the bill'. For example, 89 respondents stated that the position required neither qualifications nor experience, and yet reported that 1,728 applicants out of 2,417 were not suitable (71.5 per cent). To have explored this broader understanding of suitability would have required a more extensive survey using open-ended questions, and/or more qualitative interviews. It is possible that this would be a useful direction for future research to take.

FIGURE 9.1
Overall Assessment of Filling the Vacancies



9.1 Shortages in the Skilled Trades

Table 9.2 suggests that employers were having the greatest difficulty in attracting suitably qualified or experienced trades people and plant and machinery operators. In the trades group, 55.2 per cent described the situation as difficult and a further 13.8 per cent described the situation as impossible. Only 20.0 per cent of employers of plant and machinery operators described it as easy.

This is not surprising given the widespread closure and relocation of manufacturing that took place in Christchurch during the 1980s and, to a lesser extent, the 1990s (Higgins 2001). This was a significant process of restructuring with consequences beyond the immediate impact of the closures and redundancies that marked the period. For example:

- It is likely that the restructuring led to the relocation (to other centres and/or to other industries) of skilled trades workers.

- It is possible that this deindustrialisation influenced the decision making of school leavers regarding the long term viability and rewards of training in a trade.

- It is possible that the availability of experienced labour, as a result of redundancies during the 1980s, acted as a disincentive for some employers to invest in training new workers. This cohort of experienced labour is now beginning to retire.

This small survey cannot identify the extent to which any of these factors has contributed to the shortage of trades workers in Christchurch in 2001 – further research would be necessary to do that. It is clear, however, that the levels of training and experience that a skilled trades worker can offer to any workplace are not produced overnight and that the development of a skilled manufacturing workforce in the city is a long term matter that is likely to require consultation and co-ordination among a number of groups including government (both national and local), industry and worker organisations and educational institutions.

It may be that some of these issues will be addressed by the Industry Training Review that is currently being carried out jointly by the Department of Labour and the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with Skill New Zealand (Department of Labour 2001).

TABLE 9.2
Overall Assessment of Filling the Vacancies

Major Group	Title	Easy	Difficult	Impossible	Don't Know
1	Corporate Managers	15 39.5%	22 57.9%	0 0.0%	1 2.6%
2	Professionals	22 35.5%	36 58.1%	2 3.2%	2 3.2%
3	Technicians & Assoc. Profs.	43 46.2%	36 38.7%	5 5.4%	9 9.7%
4	Clerks	24 52.2%	15 32.6%	0 0.0%	7 15.2%
5	Service & Sales Workers	44 39.3%	59 52.7%	3 2.7%	6 5.4%
7	Trades Workers	17 29.3%	32 55.2%	8 13.8%	1 1.7%
8	Plant & Machine Operators, Etc	5 20.0%	15 60.0%	2 8.0%	3 12.0%
9	Elementary Occupations	6 46.2%	5 38.5%	1 7.7%	1 7.7%
	Totals	**176** **39.4%**	**220** **49.2%**	**21** **4.7%**	**30** **6.7%**

9.2 Applicant Suitability and Employer Hiring Practices

While the difficulty in finding skilled trades labour has reasonably clear historical origins it is not so clear why there should be difficulties in finding suitable workers in some of the other occupational categories. In the absence of more qualitative data from employers than this survey can provide it is impossible to know what criteria of suitability, beyond qualifications and experience, employers applied in judging job applicants. There is an extensive international literature on employer hiring practices but unfortunately no local research on this matter. Nevertheless, a brief comment on the wider literature may be useful for indicating directions that future investigations might take.

Miller and Rosenbaum (1997) survey the (mainly United States) literature on employer hiring practices and reach the following conclusions:

- Employers often report that high school graduates are unsuitable because they lack work habits and basic skills in mathematics and English. Despite these concerns, employers tend not to reward high school graduates' academic skills through offering better jobs or better pay for those who offer these skills.

- Employers often do not trust (and so do not use) official channels of information about the suitability of job candidates (such as references from teachers or former employers, employment agency referrals, tests).

- In the absence of information that they regard as trustworthy, employers make decisions about suitability on the basis of their own judgements of candidates in interviews. These judgements tend to be strongly influenced by candidates' general demeanour, speaking styles and communication skills, non-verbal behaviour, dress and general appearance.

From their own research with employers Miller and Rosenbaum (1997:511) conclude that employers' mistrust of outside information often leads them to make decisions on the basis of interviews alone:

> In sum, interviews are the primary determinant of hiring. From interviews employers believe that they can infer which applicants have the requisite attitudes, interpersonal skills, and academic grounding to do the job. … Moreover, employers base their inferences on the most superficial traits including posture, dress and style of speaking.

The researchers, and some of the employers in their study, voiced concern that such practices were 'unlikely to provide much information about whether a person is diligent on the job, has a good attitude, or knows basic maths or English' (ibid.).

Moreover, through such practices, unintended (or, indeed, intended) bias can creep into the hiring process. The example offered by Miller and Rosenbaum is that members of some ethnic groups in the United States consider it disrespectful for a young person to engage in direct eye contact with an older person. The researchers observed that employers in their study often regarded this as 'shifty', when in fact the applicant may simply have been trying to be polite. This situation could apply in New Zealand in the case of Pacific Island job applicants.

Employers in the Miller and Rosenbaum study voiced their own concerns that trusting their 'gut instincts' in an interview often did not lead to a good result – that they hired 'good interviewers rather than good workers'. But, in the absence of other information that they believed to be trustworthy they continued to rely on information gained through the interview.

It may be useful to pursue these questions in the local context. If lack of reliable information about candidate suitability is found to be a concern among employers, it may be useful to consider what sources of information, about school leavers for example, employers would regard as reliable and how the availability of information from these sources might be facilitated.

9.3 'Suitability' and Work Attachment

Finally, it is noteworthy that so many people applied for jobs even though they lacked the required qualifications and experience. Starting with the benefits cuts in April 1991, changes to government fiscal policy throughout the 1990s were designed to provide stronger incentives for unemployed workers to look for and accept employment. The tax reduction and social policy programme of 1996, for example, sought to encourage participation in paid work by increasing the financial margin between work and benefit incomes, by lowering benefit abatement rates, by reducing tax rates for people in employment, and by introducing the Independent Family Tax Credit. Initiatives implemented after the Employment Task Force imposed greater obligations on beneficiaries to prepare themselves and search for work.

These policies appear to have worked in terms of encouraging people to apply for work, but it appears that an unintended consequence is that large numbers of people are applying for jobs for which they lack the requisite skills and experience. In Table 9.1, only one-third of applicants were described as suitable for the vacancy. Such a high ratio of non-suitable applicants is likely to be imposing costs on employers that ought to be considered when designing work tests for people receiving income support from the State.

As well as the 'push' factors described in the previous paragraph, a 'pull' factor that draws people into employment is attachment to work both as a source of income and an important component of identity. Despite a high level of public rhetoric about the failure of young people, in particular, to adopt a work ethic there is considerable evidence to the contrary, both in New Zealand and overseas. As noted in Section 6, many young people engage in employment while still in the education system. Indeed, there is a large literature, particularly from North America, about student involvement in employment

Paradoxically, perhaps, given general concerns about young people and commitment to work this literature is now beginning to consider the issue of a trade-off between the immediate rewards of employment and the long term benefits of education. In relation to this, concern is being voiced about the effects of students becoming more attached to employment than to education, with possibly detrimental effects on the latter (see McNeal 1997, for example).

A substantial amount of research has also been carried out to explore work attachment among young people in general: this includes research in the United Kingdom (MacDonald 1998; Rudd and Evans 1998), Canada (Andrew, et al. 1999), Scandinavia (Danielsen, et al. 2000; Nyyssola 1997) and New Zealand (Sultana 1990). This range of research indicates considerable attachment to paid work by many young people, even in contexts where unemployment is very high and the chances of employment are correspondingly low. For example, MacDonald's research with three hundred working class young people and adults in the industrial city of Teeside in the United Kingdom found that 'those locked out of the formal labour market are remarkably persistent, enterprising and resilient in their search for work' (MacDonald 1998:168). This echoes a theme that has emerged throughout this report: that it is not general training or make-work that job seekers are looking for, but actual employment.

10 CONCLUSION

This report was initially commissioned by the Christchurch Mayoral Taskforce on Poverty, reflecting its view that productive employment remains the most important way in which most individuals and families support themselves and participate in the civic life of the community. Difficulty in finding or maintaining employment at good wages is a primary cause of poverty. The findings of this survey point to the apparently paradoxical situation that, while a large number of people are looking for such work, employers are simultaneously reporting difficulty in filling vacancies with suitably experienced and qualified people.

Such an outcome is not uncommon in industrialised economies. It illustrates the potential for 'labour market coordination failures' that lead national and local governments to become involved in labour programmes of one sort or another. These programmes can range from data collection and information sharing (of which this report is an example) to seeking to encourage job-rich, high technology economic growth (a primary objective of the Canterbury Development Corporation, for example).

The importance of this labour market coordination role for local government is hard to over-emphasise. If a city is able to maintain a well qualified and experienced work force and at the same time is able to expand the high productivity employment opportunities for its workers, this is likely to create a beneficial spiral of rising incomes and prosperity. On the other hand, it is also possible for a region to decline economically over time if the trend is for high productivity industries to be replaced by generally low skilled jobs in the services sector.

This report has presented the results of a survey of Christchurch employers in January 2001 about the qualifications and experience they look for in new staff. The principal results can be summarised under five headings.

1. Christchurch city is creating a large number of good quality jobs

- The Saturday edition of the *Press* produced on 20 January 2001 contained advertisements for at least 742 non-executive vacancies.
- 73 per cent of the positions were described by survey respondents as full-time; that is, involving more than 30 hours of work per week.
- 92 per cent of the positions were described by survey respondents as permanent; that is, lasting for longer than 12 months.
- Only 20 per cent of the positions were described by survey respondents as requiring neither qualifications nor experience in a similar job perhaps at a lower level.

2. Qualifications are important for many jobs …

- 39 per cent of the positions were described as needing a qualification.
- This was particularly true for professionals (79 per cent) and trades workers (52 per cent).
- Qualifications being sought by employers ranged from a drivers licence to specialist tertiary degrees.

3. … but experience is even more important.

- 68 per cent of the positions were described as needing experience in a similar job, perhaps at a lower level.
- Experience was particularly important for corporate managers (82 per cent) and trades workers (85 per cent).

4. Most applicants are considered to be not suitable for the position.

- Overall, only 34 per cent of the applicants were described by their employers as suitable for the position.
- Even for the positions requiring neither qualifications nor experience in a similar job perhaps at a lower level, 72 per cent of applicants were described as not suitable for the position.

5. There appears to be a shortage, but not a severe shortage, of skilled workers in Christchurch

- 49 per cent of the survey respondents reported difficulty in filling their advertised positions with suitably qualified workers.
- 5 per cent of the survey respondents reported that it was impossible to fill their advertised positions with suitably qualified workers.
- The greatest shortages are suitably qualified trades workers (69 per cent reported difficulty or impossible) and plant and machinery operators (68 per cent).

The report has also drawn on overseas and local research to comment on how central and local government might encourage a beneficial spiral of rising incomes and prosperity, paying particular attention to how it can help develop and maintain a skilled and experienced workforce.

(i) Fostering a well qualified workforce begins early: social investment in quality early childhood education is particularly important.

(ii) Likewise, social investment in low income suburbs, particularly in relation to education, is important for enabling young people to achieve their educational potential. Engagement with these communities, their schools and organisations is vital for exploring the best ways in which such social investment can be made.

(iii) Policies designed to encourage further training should consider financial disincentives that may inhibit individuals from taking on tertiary education. For example, some of the financial strain of studying could be alleviated if students are able to earn an income over the summer through various job assistance programmes. Also, many people would like to upgrade their qualifications by undertaking study at the same time as employment. Consultation about the problems associated with this (finding childcare, for example) may be very useful in identifying how best to overcome these barriers.

(iv) Likewise, some of the disincentives to employers of taking on and training people might be explored. The Modern Apprenticeship system, for example, is one way in which this is being addressed nationally.

(v) Employment assistance programmes appear to be most effective when they have strong links to actual workplaces. This is consistent with the finding of this survey that very often employers value experience more than they value qualifications.

(vi) These supply-side policies must be complemented with ongoing efforts to attract investment that will offer skilled, high productivity jobs to workers.

The findings of this research also raise questions for employer groups, trade unions, educators and community groups. Two issues in particular require further attention.

(i) The research has highlighted the importance of experience for potential employers. There has been a tendency for careers advisors to emphasise the likelihood that workers will have several jobs over their lifetime, but this report's survey suggests there is still an important place for workers who succeed in building up experience in a particular occupation or industry. From the perspective of employers, greater attention might need to be given to career paths within firms or industry that provide higher rewards to workers with experience, reflecting their greater productivity and value to an employer.

(ii) The research has found that a large number of job applicants are being rejected as not suitable, even for jobs requiring neither qualifications nor experience. This suggests that government policies designed to encourage job search have been successful in their objective, but may not have necessarily provided any extra benefit to either jobseekers or potential employers. It also suggests that employers might benefit from re-evaluating their hiring practices to ensure they are not rejecting good potential employees, perhaps for lack of good external information about their suitability for a particular position.

The core findings of this report are that unemployed workers are applying for jobs even when they do not have the required qualifications and experience, while at the same time employers are finding it difficult to find suitably qualified employees, particularly in the skilled trades. Employer groups, trade unions, advocates for unemployed workers, educators, academic researchers and a wide variety of community groups all have important expertise and resources that could contribute to finding workable solutions to this labour market coordination problem. The Christchurch City Council should therefore be encouraged to continue facilitating stronger relationships within and between these interested groups as part of its work to address the problems that gave rise to this report.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: "Jobless cut, skilled staff hard to find" *Christchurch Press*, Friday 9 February 2001, p. 1.

Appendix 2: Copy of the survey form.

Appendix 3: List of qualifications employers sought in applicants.

SURVEY FORM

Job Vacancy Number:

Please circle the appropriate response, or fill in the blanks.

1. a. Does the job involve more than 30 hours per week? **Yes / No**

   b. Is the job expected to last for longer than 12 months? **Yes / No**

2. Has the job been filled? **Yes / No**

3. What specific qualifications for the job, if any, does the successful applicant need to have?

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. Does the successful applicant need to have previous experience in a similar job (perhaps at a lower level)? **Yes / No**

5. a. Approximately how many people applied for the job? ☐

   b. Approximately how many of those people had the qualifications and experience you were looking for? ☐

6. Overall, would you say that the vacancy was (please circle a, b or c):
   a. easy to fill with a suitably qualified person;
   b. difficult to fill with a suitably qualified person; or
   c. impossible to fill with a suitably qualified person.

Thank you for your time. I expect the results of the survey will be published by the City Council in March or April this year.

Please return this form by 19 February to:

Dr Paul Dalziel
Department of Economics
University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800
CHRISTCHURCH

The following qualifications were listed by employers in their responses to question 3 of the Survey Form. Where more than one response mentioned the same qualification, the number of times the qualification was mentioned is given in brackets.

Accountancy skills -level one
Accounting Technician
Advanced Trade Certificate in Factory Maintenance
Anaesthetic qualification
Apprenticeship (x4)
Architectural degree or Urban Design qualification
Authorized Vehicle Inspector Certificate
Authorized Vehicle Inspector Certificate + Trade Certificate
Authorized Vehicle Inspector ticket plus A-grade mechanic qualification
Bachelor of Commerce in Accounting
Bartender Certificate
BE, B App Sci, B Tech, BA (Geog), or B Sc, OR preferably Masters and above
CAD Software qualification
Carpentry/Joinery or similar trade background
Canterbury Carers Certificate
Certificate (Gas Filling)
Chef qualification - 75/3 CPIT
Class 2 Licence with Hazard Certificate
Class 2 Truck Licence
Cooking qualification
Cooking qualification - courses 751/2 (x2)
Currently studying nursing or nurse aide experience
Degree (x2)
Degree & CA qualified
Degree in commerce or similar
Diploma of Special Needs or equivalent qualification
Diploma of Teaching - Early Childhood (x2)
Drivers Licence (x4)
Drivers Licence (P) (x4)
Drivers Licence (T & T)
EFL teaching qualification
Electronics Tech NZCE or equivalent
English & Maths qualification
Enrolled Nurse (x4)
First Aid Certificate
First Aid Certificate/NZ Pool Lifeguard Award/Water treatment and pool management certification
Food Hygiene Certificate
Food Hygiene NZQA 167 & 168
Forklift Certificate (x2)
Health/Social Science tertiary level
Law Degree
Level B social work or counselling qualification or psychology degree
Nursing degree
Nursing qualification
Nursing, Social Work, or Health related qualification (x2)

NZ Registered Dietitian
NZ Registered Occupational Therapist (x3)
NZ Registered Physiotherapist with experience in paediatrics
NZ Sign Language qualification
NZCE
NZCE (Electrical) or BE (Electrical)
NZCE minimum or similar overseas qualification
NZCE or B.Eng (Mechanical) (x2)
NZCE or equivalent/Electrical registration/Trade|technician training
NZIMLS
Practical &/or technical training
Professional Counselling qualification
Psychology – post graduate
Qualified Accountant (partly or fully)
Qualified Baker
Qualified Butcher
Qualified Diesel Mechanic
Qualified Hairdresser (Senior)
Qualified Nanny
Qualified Physiotherapist
Qualified Plumber
Qualified Teacher
Qualified Tradesman
Qualified Tradesperson (Joiner)
Real Estate Certificate of Approval NZIRE (x3)
Registered Comprehensive or Psychiatric Nurse
Registered Electrician
Registered Nurse (x8)
Registered Nurse - General/Comprehensive Registration
Registered Nurse (Mental Health) + post graduate qualification or working towards one
Registered Nurse with experience in brain injury work
Registered Occupational Therapist
Registered or Enrolled Nurse
Relevant tertiary qualification (x8)
Sales Manager & Sales courses at Polytech
School Certificate
School Certificate - English, Maths
School Certificate in Maths & English - minimum
School Certificate, University Entrance
School or tertiary qualified
Science school subjects or engineering qualification
Seventh Form or higher
Sixth Form Certificate or above
Specialist nursing experience in Orthopaedics
Specialist qualification (x3)
Strong Management/Human Resource/Marketing background
Study of children's learning styles & processes & behaviour management
Teacher (Primary and Secondary)
Teacher/Childcare Certificate
Teaching

Teaching Certificate
Teaching Certificate and Registration
Teaching qualification (primary or secondary)
Tech qualified (Mechanical)
Technical Certificate
TEFL Certificate
Tertiary qualification (x2)
Tertiary qualification in Law or Commerce
Tertiary qualification in Marketing, or Business with a Marketing focus
Tertiary qualification in Resource Management, preferably at Masters level
Tertiary qualification preferably in Architecture, Conservation, Art History or a related discipline
Tertiary qualified (Software) either University or Polytech
Tertiary qualified eg B Eng, B Tech, B Com (Manufacturing)
Trade Certificate (x10)
Trade Certificate & Electrical Service Technician Licence
Trade Certificate (Butchery)
Trade Certificate (Fitter/Turner) (x2)
Trade Certificate (Fitter/Turner/Fitter Welder)
Trade Certificate (Hairdressing) (x2)
Trade Certificate (Welding) (x2)
Tradesman & Apprenticeship
Trinity or RSA Certificate (x2)
University degree & teaching certificate & teacher registration
University degree & teaching qualification
Working towards qualification to at least Associateship level

REFERENCES

Adamski, W. and Grootings, P. (eds) 1989 *Youth, Education and Work In Europe*. London: Routledge.

Andrew, L., Anisef, P., Krahn, H., Looker, D. and Thiessen, V. 1999 'The Persistence of Social Structure: Cohort, Class and Gender Effects on the Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Canadian Youth', *Journal of Youth Studies* 2(3): 261-282.

Brown, R. K. 1996 'Unemployment, Youth and the Employment Relationship', *Youth and Policy* (55): 28-39.

Bynner, J. 1991 'Controlling Transition: Review Article', *Work, Employment and Society* 5(4): 645-658.

Canterbury United Council 1984 'The Service Sector of the Canterbury Region: Canterbury Regional Planning Scheme, Scheme Four: Regional Development.' Christchurch: Canterbury United Council.

Caspi, A., Moffitt, T.E., Wright, B.R., Silva, P.A.1998 'Early Failure in the Labor Market: Childhood and Adolescent Predictors of Unemployment in the Transition to Adulthood', *American Sociological Review* 63 (3): 424-451.

Danielsen, L. M., Lorem, A. E. and Kroger, J. 2000 'The Impact of Social Context on the Identity-Formation Process of Norwegian Late Adolescents', *Youth and Society* 31(3): 332-362.

Department of Labour, 2001 *Skills for a Knowledge Economy: Nga Mohiotanga mo te Kohanga Whai Matauranga. A Review of Industry Training in New Zealand*. Department of Labour and Ministry of Education in association with Skill New Zealand, Wellington.

Else, A. 1996 *False Economy: New Zealanders Face the Conflict Between Paid and Unpaid Work*. North Shore City, N.Z.: Tandem Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (ed) 1996 *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*. London: Sage in association with U.N. Research Institute for Social Development.

Fergusson, D. and Woodward, L. 2000 'Family Socioeconomic Status at Birth and Rates of University Participation', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 35(1): 25 - 36.

Higgins, J. 1993 'Beyond the Ideology of Upskilling: The Theory and Practice of Skill Trends Analysis', Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago.

_____. 2001 'Young Workers in a Deindustrialising Economy: The Case of Christchurch, 1976-1996', *New Zealand Geographer* 57(2): 5-16.

Holbrook, A. 2000 'Revisiting the Connections Between School, Work and Learning in the Workplace', *History of Education Review* 29(2): 1-19.

Hughes, D. and Lauder, H. 1991 'Human Capital Theory and the Wastage of Talent in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 26(1): 5-20.

Lauder, H. and Hughes, D. 1990 'Social Inequalities and Differences in School Outcomes', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 25(1): 37-60.

MacDonald, R. 1998 'Youth, Transitions and Social Exclusion: Some Issues for Youth Research in the UK', *Journal of Youth Studies* 1(2): 163-176.

McDermott, P. J. 1981 'Development Directions for the Canterbury Region', Christchurch: Prepared by McDermott Associates for the Ministry of Works and Development, Town and Country Planning Division for presentation to the Canterbury United Council.

McDonnell, L., Harris, A. and White, R. 1998 'Multiple Economies and Youth Livelihood', *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 33(1): 37-58.

McNeal, R. B., Jr. 1997 'Are Students Being Pulled Out of High School? The Effect of Adolescent Employment on Dropping Out', *Sociology of Education* 70(3): 206-220.

Miller, S. R. and Rosenbaum, J. 1997 'Hiring in a Hobbesian World: Social Infrastructure and Employers' Use of Information', *Work and Occupations* 24(4): 498-523.

Ministry of Education 1999 'New Zealand's Tertiary Education Sector: Profile and Trend, 1998', Wellington: Ministry of Education, Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga.

Nyyssola, K. 1997 'Young People and Flexibility of the Labour Market: The Willingness of Unemployed Finnish Young People towards Flexible Employment', *Acta Sociologica* 40(1): 3-15.

O'Connell, P. J. and McGinnity, F. 1997 'What Works, Who Works? The Employment and Earnings Effects of Active Labour Market Programmes Among Young People in Ireland', *Work, Employment and Society* 11(4): 639-662.

Raffe, D. 1990 'The Transition from YTS to Work: Content, Context and the External Labour Market', in C. Wallace and M. Cross (eds) *Youth in Transition: The Sociology of Youth and Youth Policy*. Basingstoke: The Falmer Press.

Roberts, I. P. 1997 'The Culture of Ownership and the Ownership of Culture', in R. K. Brown (ed) *The Changing Shape of Work*. London: Macmillan.

Rosenbaum, J. E. and Binder, A. 1997 'Do Employers Really Need More Educated Youth?', *Sociology of Education* 70(1): 68-85.

Rudd, P. and Evans, K. 1998 'Structure and Agency in Youth Transitions: Student Experiences of Vocational Further Education', *Journal of Youth Studies* 1(1): 39-62.

Sassen, S. 1994 *Cities in a World Economy*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press.

Skill New Zealand 1999 'Brief to the Incoming Minister of Education', Wellington: Skill New Zealand.

Strathdee, R. and Hughes, D. 2000 'Social Networks and the "Training Gospel"', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 35(2): 131-143.

Sultana, R. 1990 'Breaking Them In? School Kids in the Twilight Economy', *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations* 15: 19-33.

Tam, M. 1997 *Part-time Employment: A Bridge or a Trap?* Hong Kong, Singapore and Sydney: Avebury.

Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education 1999 'Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education', Auckland: University of Auckland.

Windolf, P. and Wood, S. 1988 *Recruitment and Selection in the Labour Market*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Wylie, C., Thompson, J. and Kerslake Hendricks, A. 1996 'Competent Children at 5: Families and Early Education', Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Wylie, C., Thompson, J. and Lythe, C. 1999 'Competent Children at 8: Families, Early Education, and Schools', Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.