

***Navigating Occupational Norms:
Explaining the Employment Mobility
Patterns of Australian Mothers***

Tanya Carney

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Management,
Australian School of Business, University of New South Wales

2013

PLEASE TYPE

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Thesis/Dissertation Sheet

Surname or Family name: Carney

First name: Tanya

Other name/s: Maree

Abbreviation for degree as given in the University calendar: PhD

School: School of Management

Faculty: Australia School of Business

Title: Navigating Occupational Norms: Explaining the Employment Mobility Patterns of Australian Mothers

Abstract 350 words maximum: (PLEASE TYPE)

This thesis presents a study of the micro dynamics of labour market segmentation, through an exploration of occupational variations in the differentiated patterns of mothers' employment mobility. The study seeks an answer to the question: How do Australian mothers retain occupational access within a segmented labour market? While Australia has comparatively high rates of part-time employment internationally, not all Australian mothers access part-time work as a means of maintaining labour force attachment during periods of care responsibility. One third of employed mothers, with responsibility for a child under 16 years of age, work full-time. In contrast, for mothers who do access part-time work, the interlinking patterns of working hours, employment mode and occupational mobility often make altering working hours alone difficult.

This study draws on a theoretical framework examining the interplay between choice and constraint at the individual level, exploring the occupational variations in enablers and barriers that mothers navigate in order to maintain both employment and occupational access. The thesis presents a longitudinal analysis of 5 waves of data from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia (HILDA) Survey (2001 - 2005), presenting two integrated studies. The first study examines the shape of employment, that is the pattern of norms relating to the terms and conditions of employment, including hours and location of work and contract mode; and how that shape varies both in appearance and strength for 64 occupations in the Australian labour market. The second study explores variations across 64 occupations in the patterns of navigation of Australian mothers between 2001 and 2005. This study explores the micro dynamics of employment mobility at the individual level, illustrating the impact of the shape of employment in both constraining and enabling the avenues of choice available to mothers attempting to combine work and care.

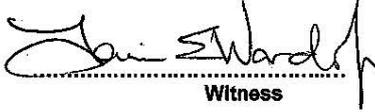
Based on the empirical evidence in these studies, I argue that how a mother navigates her employment access is enabled and constrained by the shape of employment accessibility - the pattern and strength of occupational norms defining the available forms and modes of employment allowing occupational engagement.

Declaration relating to disposition of project thesis/dissertation

I hereby grant to the University of New South Wales or its agents the right to archive and to make available my thesis or dissertation in whole or in part in the University libraries in all forms of media, now or here after known, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I retain all property rights, such as patent rights. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

I also authorise University Microfilms to use the 350 word abstract of my thesis in Dissertation Abstracts International (this is applicable to doctoral theses only).


Signature


Witness

5/4/13
Date

The University recognises that there may be exceptional circumstances requiring restrictions on copying or conditions on use. Requests for restriction for a period of up to 2 years must be made in writing. Requests for a longer period of restriction may be considered in exceptional circumstances and require the approval of the Dean of Graduate Research.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Date of completion of requirements for Award:

THIS SHEET IS TO BE GLUED TO THE INSIDE FRONT COVER OF THE THESIS

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

'I hereby grant the University of New South Wales or its agents the right to archive and to make available my thesis or dissertation in whole or part in the University libraries in all forms of media, now or here after known, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I retain all proprietary rights, such as patent rights. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis or dissertation.

I also authorise University Microfilms to use the 350 word abstract of my thesis in Dissertation Abstract International (this is applicable to doctoral theses only).

I have either used no substantial portions of copyright material in my thesis or I have obtained permission to use copyright material; where permission has not been granted I have applied/will apply for a partial restriction of the digital copy of my thesis or dissertation.'

Signed Tanya Looney
Date 5/4/13

AUTHENTICITY STATEMENT

'I certify that the Library deposit digital copy is a direct equivalent of the final officially approved version of my thesis. No emendation of content has occurred and if there are any minor variations in formatting, they are the result of the conversion to digital format.'

Signed Tanya Looney
Date 5/4/13

ORIGINALITY STATEMENT

'I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at UNSW or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UNSW or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.'

Signed *Tanya Garry*.....
Date *5/4/13*.....

*For my Mother,
The first woman I knew who traded job security for the flexibility of part-time work...
to care*

*And my Father,
Who always encouraged me to never stop
learning.*



Reprinted with Artist's Permission

In 2001, the first year under study in this thesis, I was a single mother with two children in preschool. After stepping out of the labour market to have children I was now looking for a way 'back in'. I didn't want to go back to the types of jobs I held before kids, plus I wanted the flexibility to be able to combine work and care. Ironically going to uni and studying gave me just that.

In 2002, my eldest started kindergarten and the talk in the school car park soon turned to employment. "So now you have a child at school are you looking for a job? What did you do before (kids)? Will you go back to that? So you are already working, what are you doing? Is that part-time?" At the same time my old school friends were just embarking on their journey of navigating employment during motherhood. They weren't stepping out of employment while their children were young as I had done, but trying to combine paid employment with the unpaid care of babies and preschoolers, intermittently moving between periods of part and full-time employment.

All of these mothers, my friends, are the inspiration for this study. This thesis maps the patterning of *their* navigation of unpaid care and paid employment, illustrating the different trades they make between accessing employment flexibility and security, and their similarity of experience – that, it is all in the name of care.

Acknowledgements

Submission of this thesis is the culmination of 12 years of study. While the first six of these were spent as an undergrad, for my family and close friends there is little distinction to be made between undergraduate and postgraduate study. I have simply been at uni for a very long time. I have truly enjoyed every minute of it – even underneath all the stress at the end, and for that I have a number of people to thank.

First, thank you to all my friends, particularly Monica Jones, Karen Regner and Anita Hutchison, and my sister Melissa Carney. You have always been encouraging, supportive and interested in what I do even if you had no real idea what it was. Also thank you for supplying ample opportunities for ‘study breaks,’ both the alcoholic occasions and the more mundane cups of tea. Liss, thanks for the proof reads of early assignments, it was nice to have my little sister show the ropes of university study.

Thank you to Phillip Kennedy for never complaining - within my hearing – about my going to uni and studying for the last 12 years. I am sure it was annoying at times to have your ex-wife studying instead of working full-time. Your patience is greatly appreciated.

Also thank you to Lance Burchard, Phillip’s one time partner. You also could have complained but instead gave nothing but your support.

Thank you to Anne Junor, Sarah Gregson and the late Carol Healy for encouraging me to tackle a PhD. Without your support I would never have embarked on this journey.

To my supervisors, Anne Junor and Ralph Hall, I cannot thank you enough. Ralph, you helped me through the minefield of longitudinal data analysis, and you were also a voice of calm whenever I got panicked. Anne, you challenged me to improve my writing and clarify my ideas. Your knowledge of women’s employment is just phenomenal and I am forever grateful to you for all your help and, your faith in and support of this research.

Ethan and Danyon, for as long as you can remember you have had a mum who goes to uni. While that meant I could often go to your school events and be home during school holidays, it also meant that at times I was rather neurotic studying for exams and trying to meet a never ending stream of assessment and progress deadlines. Thank you both for simply being the wonderful sons that you are. Danyon, thank you for the many wonderful nights when you cooked dinner. Ethan, thank you for washing up.... and for understanding what this thesis is about.

Most importantly thank you to Margaret and John Carney, my mum and dad. I could not have done this if it were not for you both. You cared for Ethan and Danyon while I was studying, but you also cared for me. You have kept me afloat financially, physically and emotionally, and for that I will eternally be grateful.

Abstract

This thesis presents a study of the micro dynamics of labour market segmentation, through an exploration of occupational variations in the differentiated patterns of mothers' employment mobility. The study seeks an answer to the question: How do Australian mothers retain occupational access within a segmented labour market? While Australia has comparatively high rates of part-time employment internationally, not all Australian mothers access part-time work as a means of maintaining labour force attachment during periods of care responsibility. One third of employed mothers, with responsibility for a child under 16 years of age, work full-time. In contrast, for mothers who do access part-time work, the interlinking patterns of working hours, employment mode and occupational mobility often make altering working hours alone difficult.

This study draws on a theoretical framework examining the interplay between choice and constraint at the individual level, exploring the occupational variations in enablements and barriers that mothers navigate in order to maintain both employment and occupational access. The thesis presents a longitudinal analysis of 5 waves of data from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia (HILDA) Survey (2001 – 2005), presenting two integrated studies. The first study examines the shape of employment, that is the pattern of norms relating to the terms and conditions of employment, including hours and location of work and contract mode; and how that shape varies both in appearance and strength for 64 occupations in the Australian labour market. The second study explores variations across 64 occupations in the patterns of navigation of Australian mothers between 2001 and 2005. This study explores the micro dynamics of employment mobility at the individual level, illustrating the impact of the shape of employment in both constraining and enabling the avenues of choice available to mothers attempting to combine work and care.

Based on the empirical evidence in these studies, I argue that how a mother navigates her employment access is enabled and constrained by the shape of employment accessibility - the pattern and strength of occupational norms defining the available forms and modes of employment allowing occupational engagement.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xv
List of Abbreviations & Terms	xvii
Chapter 1	
Introduction	1
1.1. Mothers, Occupations and Navigation: The Central Theme	1
1.2. Research Questions.....	2
1.3. Central Argument: From Patterns and Processes	
to the Dynamics of Mothers’ Labour Market Participation	3
1.4. Explaining the Conditions of Mothers’ Employment Participation:	
Levels of Analysis.....	4
1.5. Research Strategy and Design.....	10
1.6. Key Terms and Definitions.....	12
1.7. Contribution.....	14
1.8. Limits and Limitations	15
1.9. Chapter Precis.....	16
Chapter 2	
Navigating Accessibility: Conceptual Foundations	19
2.1 Theoretical Framing of the Research Problem	19
2.2 Debates and Issues	21
2.2.1 Gender or Mothers	22
2.2.2 Mothers and Paid Work – Structure and Agency	23
2.2.3 Choice, Barriers or Constrained Choice.....	25
2.3 Theorising the Work of Mothers.....	25
2.4 Theorising Labour Market Participation by Mothers	27
2.4.1 Occupational Choice	27
2.4.2 Occupational Segregation - Norms.....	29
2.4.3 Labour Market Segmentation.....	30
2.4.4 The Standard Employment Relationship and Non Standard Employment.....	32
2.5 Theorising the Jobs of Mothers	33
2.5.1 Equality, Opportunity, Disadvantage, Discrimination – Male Norms	33
2.5.2 Flexibility	35
2.5.3 Part – Time Work.....	39
2.5.4 Insecurity	41

2.5.5	Job Quality	42
2.6	Theorising Mothers' Mobility.....	44
2.6.1	Careers	44
2.6.2	Transitions over the Life Cycle	45
2.6.3	Transitional Labour	46
2.6.4	The Contours of Employment and Job Accessibility	47
2.7	Summarising the Theoretical Terrain	48
2.8	New Ideas – The Research Model.....	49
Chapter 3		
Contexts of Australian Mothers' Employment Access, 2001-2006		53
3.1	Australian Women's Labour Market Participation:	
	Comparisons over Time and Place.....	53
3.2	Institutional Context.....	56
3.2.1	Industrial Relations Regulation.....	58
3.2.2	Regulation by Industrial Relations or Legislation	
	– Child Care and Parental Leave.....	61
3.2.3	Regulating Firm Behaviour	
	– Anti-Discrimination and Equal Opportunity Legislation and Practice	62
3.2.4	The Welfare State and the Regulation of Work and Families.....	65
3.3	Part-Time Work: Enabling and Contouring Mothers' Employment.....	67
3.3.1	Australian Forms of Part-Time Employment: Casualisation.....	69
3.4	The Occupational Basis of Mothers' Labour Market Access.....	74
3.4.1	Contours of Occupational Access	77
3.5	Summary and Conclusion	84
Chapter 4		
Research Method		85
4.1	Introduction	85
4.2	The Research Design.....	87
4.3	The HILDA Data Survey.....	91
4.4	Data Requirements.....	93
4.5	Measuring Accessibility.....	96
4.5.1	Defining an Occupational Case.....	96
4.5.2	Mapping Occupational Norms and the Shape of Employment	99
	4.5.2.1 Variables.....	99
	4.5.2.2 Measurement.....	102
4.6	Mapping the Contours of Employment Accessibility	104
4.7	Measuring Navigation	105
4.7.1	Defining a Case of Employment Change.....	105

4.7.1.1	<i>Measuring Navigational Pathways</i>	106
4.7.1.2	<i>Measuring Occupational Transitions</i>	107
4.7.1.3	<i>Measuring Change in Employment Shape</i>	107
4.7.1.4	<i>Measuring Motherhood Status and Motherhood Stage</i>	107
4.7.2	Mapping Navigational Pathways.....	108
4.7.3	Examining the Process of Navigation.....	109
4.8	Summary of Research Method.....	110
Chapter 5		
Occupational Accessibility: The Shape of Employment		113
5.1	Introduction	113
5.2	Defining the Shape of Employment	114
5.3	Measuring Occupational Norms.....	115
5.4	Occupational Norms - Findings	117
5.4.1	Working Hours	118
5.4.2	Flexi-place Employment.....	122
5.4.3	Work Scheduling.....	122
5.4.4	Employment Mode	122
5.5	Occupational Variations in the Shape of Employment	123
5.5.1	The Ideal Worker and the Standard Form of Employment.....	124
5.5.2	Extension of the Ideal Worker and SER Norms.....	128
5.5.3	Part-time Employment the Antithesis of the Ideal Worker and SER.....	132
5.5.3.1	<i>Short Hours Employment</i>	133
5.5.3.2	<i>Participatory Part-Time Employment</i>	138
5.6	Conclusion.....	142
Chapter 6		
The Contours of Accessibility		143
6.1	Introduction	143
6.2	Contours - The Nature and Shape of Employment.....	144
6.3	Occupational Norms as Enablements and Constraints.....	145
6.4	Modelling Accessibility	148
6.5	Models of Occupational Accessibility.....	151
6.5.1	Casual Part-Time Employment Model	152
6.5.2	Permanent Part-Time Employment Model.....	155
6.5.3	Flexible Full-Time Employment	157
6.5.4	Inflexible Full-Time Employment Model.....	160
6.5.5	Very Long Hours Employment Model.....	163
6.6	Summary of Trades	166

Chapter 7
Navigational Pathways	169
7.1 Introduction	169
7.2 Navigation - The Nature and Shape of Employment Transitions.....	171
7.3 Modelling Navigational Pathways.....	172
7.3.1 Measuring Employment Transitions.....	172
7.3.2 Classifying Transition Patterns.....	175
7.3.3 Typology of Trades	176
7.4 Navigational Pathways	178
7.4.1 The Transitions and Trades of Women	178
7.4.1.1 <i>Forfeiting Flexibility for Security</i>	179
7.4.1.2 <i>Constrained Flexibility</i>	183
7.4.1.3 <i>Risking Security and Flexibility</i>	184
7.4.1.4 <i>Risking Working Time Security for Mobility</i>	184
7.4.1.5 <i>Risking Security for Flexibility</i>	185
7.4.1.6 <i>Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility</i>	186
7.4.2 The Navigational Pathways Used by Mothers	186
7.4.3 The Relationship between Navigational Pathways	191
and the Shape of Employment	191
7.5 Conclusion.....	195
Chapter 8
Navigation – Constrained Choices	197
8.1 Introduction	197
8.2 Navigation – Choice and Constraint	198
8.3 Examining Constraint.....	199
8.3.1 Measuring Constraint	200
8.4 Constrained Choices.....	201
8.4.1 Navigating Casual Part-Time Employment.....	203
8.4.1.1 <i>Cleaners</i>	206
8.4.1.2 <i>Sales Assistants</i>	207
8.4.2 Navigating Employment Based on the Permanent Part-Time Model.....	208
8.4.2.1 <i>Education Aides</i>	211
8.4.2.2 <i>Primary School Teachers</i>	212
8.4.2.3 <i>Nursing Professionals</i>	213
8.4.3 Navigating Flexible Full-Time Employment.....	215
8.4.3.1 <i>Secretaries and Personal Assistants</i>	218
8.4.3.2 <i>Social Welfare Professionals</i>	219

8.4.4	Navigating Inflexible Full-Time Employment.....	220
8.4.4.1	<i>Factory Labourers</i>	223
8.4.4.2	<i>Accountants and Related Professionals</i>	224
8.4.5	Navigating Very Long Hours Employment.....	225
8.4.5.1	<i>Shop Managers</i>	228
8.4.5.2	<i>Secondary School Teachers</i>	228
8.5	Summary.....	229
Chapter 9		
Navigating Occupational Norms: The Key Findings, Developments, Implications and Conclusion		
233		
9.1	Contributions to Knowledge.....	233
9.2	Empirical Findings: Explaining the Mobility Patterns of Mothers.....	235
9.3	Theoretical Developments: Reproduction of Gender Segmentation..... through Interaction of Choice and Constraint.....	241
9.4	Methodological Developments: Dynamic Relationships and Frameworks of Analysis.....	244
9.5	Implications for Policy	245
9.6	Limitations.....	247
9.7	Further Research.....	247
Appendix A		
249		
A.1	Norms Excluded from Analysis	249
A.2	Measuring a Statistical Norm	260
A.3	Measuring Normative Strength	260
A.4	Additional Measures of Residual Variation.....	261
Appendix B		
267		
B.1	Averages for Occupational Norms, 2001-2005.....	267
B.2	Average Measures of Strength for Working Hours Norms	272
Appendix C		
277		
C.1	Distribution of Women by Transition.....	277
Reference List		
283		

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Model of Explanatory Levels	9
Figure 3.1 Female Labour Force Participation Rates, Australia, 1978 – 2010.....	54
Figure 3.2 Female Labour Participation Rates by Age Group,	55
Figure 3.3 Weekly Hours Worked – Men and Women, Australia 1985 - 2012	56
Figure 3.4 Regulation of Jobs in Australia: Institutional Layers	57
Figure 3.5 Female Full-Time and Part-Time Employment Trends, Australia 1978-2011	68
Figure 3.6 Percentage of Women Employed Part-time by Age Group, 1986 - 2006	69
Figure 3.7 Employment Mode by Gender, Australia, 1992-2011	72
Figure 3.8 Distribution of Employment Shares across Occupations by Gender and Motherhood, Australia, 2001	76
Figure 3.9 Concentration of Men, Women WoDRC and Mothers, within Occupations, Australia, 2001.....	78
Figure 3.10 Distribution of Jobs within Occupations by Gender, Motherhood Status and Working Hours, Australia, 2001	80
Figure 3.11 Distribution of Jobs within Occupations by Working Hours and Employment Contract, Australia, 2001.....	82
Figure 3.12 Occupational Groups: Share of Employment by Gender and Motherhood, Working Hours and Employment Contract, Australia, 2001.....	83
Figure 5.1 Computer Professionals.....	125
Figure 5.2 Human Resource Professionals	126
Figure 5.3 Receptionists	128
Figure 5.4 Secondary School Teaching.....	129
Figure 5.5 University Teachers.....	130
Figure 5.6 Legal Professionals.....	131

Figure 5.7 Checkout Operators and Cashiers.....	135
Figure 5.8 Other Elementary Service Workers	136
Figure 5.9 Cleaners	137
Figure 5.10 Sales Assistants.....	139
Figure 5.11 Primary School Teachers.....	140
Figure 5.12 Nursing Professionals	141
Figure 6.1 Casual Part-Time Employment Model	154
Figure 6.2 Permanent Part-time Employment Model	156
Figure 6.3 Flexible Full-Time Employment Model	159
Figure 6.4 Inflexible Full-Time Employment Model	162
Figure 6.5 Very Long Hours Employment Model	165
Figure 7.1 Navigational Paths used by Women, by Motherhood Status, 2001 - 2005.....	188
Figure 7.2 Navigational Paths used by Mothers, by Motherhood Stage, 2001 - 2005	190
Figure 7.3 Navigational Paths used by Women, by Shape of Employment, 2001 - 2005.....	193

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Key Concepts, Constructs and their Measurement.....	90
Table 4.2 Sample Size & Attrition	92
Table 4.3 Wave 5 Individual Response.....	92
Table 4.4 Occupations Studied and their Status (ANU4 Score).....	98
Table 4.5 Variables used to Measure Occupational Norms.....	100
Table 4.6 Variables Used in the Cluster Analysis Mapping the Contours of Employment...	105
Table 4.7 Transitions and Areas of Trade	109
Table 5.1 Numerical Summary of Occupational Norms	120
Table 5.2 Numerical Summary of Occupational Norms (continued).....	121
Table 6.1 Enablements and Constraints Created by Occupational Norms	146
Table 6.2 Variables Used in Cluster Analysis	149
Table 6.3 Cluster Analysis Comparison Chart:	150
Table 6.4 Characteristics of Casual Part-Time Employment,.....	152
Table 6.5 Characteristics of Permanent Part-Time Employment.....	155
Table 6.6 Characteristics of Flexible Full-Time Employment,	158
Table 6.7 Characteristics of Inflexible Full-Time Employment, HILDA Data Set 2001-2005	161
Table 6.8 Characteristics of Very Long Hours Employment,.....	164
Table 7.1 Enablements and Constraints on Employment Participation.....	173
Table 7.2 Transitions and Trades	174
Table 7.3 Comparison of Cluster Models	176
Table 7.4 Table of Outcomes.....	177

Table 7.5 Classification of Trades.....	177
Table 7.6 Model of Trades.....	180
Table 7.7 Patterns of Transitions.....	181
Table A.1 Measures of Occupational Norms, Strength and Concentration Excluded From Analysis, 2001.....	250
Table B.1 Occupational Norms, their Strength and the Concentration of Women and Mothers,.....	268
Table B.2 Norms and Normative Strength for Measures of Working Hours, 2001-2005	273
Table C.1 Distribution of Women’s Occupational Transitions.....	277
Table C.2 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Employment Participation.....	277
Table C.3 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Working Time Flexibility and Working Time Security	278
Table C.4 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Working Time Mobility.....	278
Table C.5 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Employment Security.....	279
Table C.6 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Contractual Mobility	279
Table C.7 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Care Security	280
Table C.8 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Scheduling Mobility.....	281
Table C.9 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Care Flexibility	281
Table C.10 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Flexi-Place Mobility	282

List of Abbreviations & Terms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics.
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions.
Accessibility	The ability of workers to alter the terms and conditions of their employment.
Active Mothers	Women with dependent resident children aged less than 16 years.
FaHCSIA	Australian Government Department of Family, Health, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.
HILDA Survey	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia Survey.
Ideal Worker	A term used by Joan Acker (1990), applied at firm level, to signify a standard form based on the model of a disembodied worker which owing to the sexual division of household labour, only male employees are capable of filling.
Navigation	The occupationally constrained process of selecting a pattern of transitions in labour market participation, occupational change, working hours, work scheduling, access to flexi-place employment and contractual mode which will enable the combination of paid work and unpaid care.
Non-Active Mothers	Mothers (employed women aged 16 years or more) with children that are either not dependent, not resident or are aged 16 years or more.
Occupational Norms	The statistically 'normative' terms and conditions of a job with which workers must comply for employment, within a given occupation.
Shape of Employment	The combination of working hours, work scheduling, contractual mode and access to flexi-place employment which is the statistically normative form of employment within a given occupation.
Standard Employment Relationship (SER)	A term used by Leah Vosko (2007, 2008) to describe national labour relations and welfare systems, a legacy of the family wage era, that provide comprehensive protections to full-time male workers and minimum protections for 'non-standard' workers (women, immigrants, workers outside core industrial sectors).
Women WoDRC	Women (employed, aged 16 years or more) without children who are either not dependent, not resident or are aged 16 years or more.
Women WoAC	Women (employed, aged 16 years or more) without any children.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Mothers, Occupations and Navigation: The Central Theme

In Australia, being the mother of dependent children, and caring for them in a household, often necessitates some form of shift in employment. It may be as obvious as an occupational change or as subtle as a change in an aspect of working arrangements within a job. This thesis is about the variety of such shifts in Australia at the turn of the twenty-first century. Its focus is the employment consequences of motherhood, rather than of gender, and the agency of mothers as they negotiate the specific shapes of occupations and jobs that contour the labour market, in order to manage both care and work.

Navigating the shifts required by motherhood means more than charting an individual career course. It means negotiating the restructured labour markets that are emerging from a quarter-century of social and economic change. Some theorists place shifts in gender relations at the centre of such changes (Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009, p. 1). Others see families as being in the midst of a 'collision' between changing patterns of production, consumption and community on the one hand and more slowly changing household and labour market norms on the other (Pocock, 2003). This study focuses on mothers, rather than on gender or families.

In Australia, as elsewhere, despite the rise of dual earner households, the division of childcare labour still leaves the majority of mothers with most of the responsibility for care provision. This, in conjunction with the increased participation of women in paid labour over the last forty years, has placed most Australian mothers (and smaller numbers of men) in the position of attempting to navigate their paid employment around caring commitments. At the same time, dramatic labour market shifts have involved not only a restructuring of the distribution of occupations, but increasingly diverse work arrangements within them. Occupations are now characterised by the interlinking of patterns of working hours, rosters, and locations with a range of contractual modes. Mothers' navigation of the labour market may involve a range of types of employment shift between and within occupations as they attempt to *access* a degree of flexibility to fulfil the need to both work *and* care, and also to *maintain* a degree of economic security and lifecycle stability.

This thesis explores the navigation of paid work and care by a cross-section of Australian mothers in 64 occupations over a five year period between 2001 and 2005. Its purpose is to identify barriers and pathways presented to mothers in a labour market contoured by varying occupational norms of flexibility and security, and to map mother's constrained agency in navigating these norms. By identifying how mothers access or trade away key aspects of job quality - such as part-time work, flexible hours, secure employment, and career opportunities, the thesis has been able to shed light on major theoretical debates over the gendering of occupations and sources of mothers' employment disadvantage.

1.2. Research Questions

The thesis examines how mothers (women aged 16 years or more) responsible for the care of resident children aged under 16 manage their attachment to paid work, within the institutional context of the Australian labour market. The starting hypothesis was that different occupations have their own 'normative forms' of employment - sets of employment arrangements based on occupational norms, and that these vary in both character and strength across the labour market. These normative forms of employment shape employment mobility for mothers in particular, owing to their role as primary care providers in Australian society. From this starting point, through a cumulative process of data exploration, theory rebuilding and theory testing, four research questions were developed and explored:

1. What are the 'normative forms' of employment in Australia and how do they vary across the labour market?

What are the most common forms of employment within the Australian labour market?

What are the key occupational norms in the Australian labour market?

How do occupational norms vary in nature and strength?

How do these norms and their strength relate to the concentration of mothers within occupations?

2. How is the Australian labour market contoured by patterns of occupations with varying normative forms of employment?

How do these patterns shape employment access?

How do different patterns of norms act as barriers and bridges to the employment mobility of mothers?

How are mothers distributed across occupational clusters?

3. What pathways of navigation do women and mothers use to maintain employment access?

What patterns of transitions do mothers make?

What trades between flexibility and security are implicit within these patterns of transitions?

How do these transitions and trades vary between mothers and women without the responsibility for the care of dependent children?

How do these transitions and trades vary across different employment shapes?

4. How do mothers use these pathways to navigate occupational access?

How does the use of navigational paths vary between occupations?

Do mothers utilise the same navigational pathways as women without dependent children?

Do these pathways lead to maintaining occupational security or trading occupational access for flexibility?

How do these pathways reproduce patterns of gender segregation or segmentation in the Australian labour market?

1.3. Central Argument: From Patterns and Processes to the Dynamics of Mothers' Labour Market Participation

Exploration of these questions led to the finding that motherhood is a critical basis of the gendered occupational patterns that characterise the Australian labour market. In Australia at the turn of the twenty-first century, occupations were found to be shaped by combinations of norms for dimensions of job quality. The norms and their strength were found to be related to occupational concentrations of mothers that were not necessarily hierarchical but that did result in varying patterns of exclusion within and from jobs and occupations. In the debate between structure and choice, this evidence favours structure: 'What distinguishes segmentation from mere division is that each segment functions according to different rules' (Michon, 1987, p. 25, cited in Peck, 2000). But the evidence suggests that structuring is a product of time and place, and emerges from the specific, differentiated and more or less flexible ways in which employers, regulatory institutions and families interact to shape the labour market in patterns that are perhaps better called '*contours*' of normative job characteristics (Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009). Crucially, this dynamic structuring involves the agency of mothers.

In Australia, maintaining paid employment during motherhood requires an artful *navigation* of labour market contours. A shift (*transition*) in employment may involve adjusting working hours; altering employment mode between permanent, casual or fixed

term employment contracts; changing occupation; or some combination of all three. This is because altering a single dimension of employment is far from a simple process in the Australian labour market. Every occupation has institutionally based norms, of varying strength, for working hours, working arrangements and contractual modes. These norms are packaged together in different ways in different occupations, requiring *trades* among the different types of *flexibility* and *security* (elaborated in the empirical chapters), that help determine *job quality*.

Because of this packaging, the process of mothers' employment *navigating* is an exercise of constrained agency involving available trades between various forms of flexibility and security in order to maintain or improve *access* to some combination of care giving and employment. These trades result in labour market *transitions* of various kinds. While mothers are able to make choices over the trades they make to maintain employment participation while caring, this choice is limited by the types of trades available within their occupation, and these trades are shaped by the pattern and strength of occupational norms. As a consequence, the navigational paths available to mothers shape their occupational distribution and hence contribute to the gendering of jobs, occupations and the labour market.

This study thus identifies some hitherto under-theorised mechanisms that help explain the dynamics of mothers' occupational *mobility*. At the individual level, these mechanisms are navigational processes in which mothers' agency is exercised within a context shaped by combinations of more or less inflexible employment norms. Whilst such norms and their strength are in the long run open to institutional change, in the short term, mothers must navigate the labour market through the choices and trades accessible to them, even when such choices help to maintain patterns of inequality in the distribution of paid work and care.

1.4. Explaining the Conditions of Mothers' Employment Participation: Levels of Analysis

Over the past three decades, efforts to explain the conditions of mothers' labour market participation have burgeoned at almost the same pace as mothers' employment. Much of the focus has been on women, rather than mothers, although there is now a growing literature pointing out the key differences between 'mothers' and 'others' (Waldfogel, 1998). Indeed in a recent UK collection marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Women and Employment Survey, two of this book's four sections and half the final 'Ways Forward'

section were devoted to mothers, to work/life interactions and to the dynamics of work and family across the lifecourse (Scott, Dex, & Joshi, 2008).

In labour economics, sociology and political science, women's, and more specifically, mothers', employment has been debated since the 1970s between methodological individualists and adherents of a variety of structural theories, whether at the level of households, work organisations, industry sectors, labour markets or the regulation of rights and standards. Key conceptualisations of segregation, stratification and segmentation have been well-canvassed and are referred to chapter 2 only where relevant to this thesis (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973). This is also the case for the well-trodden debate over whether the processes generating these patterns, and outcomes generated by them, are to be conceived in terms of individual choices and behaviours (Hakim, 2002) or in terms of new understandings of interlocking structures of labour supply, demand and state regulation (Peck, 2000; Rubery, 2006a; 2009).

Gender equality has been framed in terms of women's advancement, empowerment, or emancipation (Lombardo, Meier, & Verloo, 2009). Both at regulatory and firm level, it has been conceptualised in terms of the removal of disadvantage, and in terms of career mobility in organisational or occupational hierarchies. Whilst the distinction is not hard and fast, more individually-based concepts of equal employment opportunity have focused on eliminating direct discrimination – the differential treatment of women or mothers – and more structural notions of equal outcomes have focused on removing indirectly discriminatory barriers. Again, Chapter 2 canvasses these debates only to the extent that they provide conceptual building blocks relevant to theorising mothers' employment.

The most significant understandings for the purposes of this study are those based on the recognition that equality implies a standard from which inequality is a departure. Early equal opportunity measures involved a requirement that women conform with standards that were implicitly male and unencumbered by caring responsibilities. Appraisals of the politics of difference and diversity that ensued from this recognition are briefly canvassed in Chapter 2 (Strachan, French, & Burgess, 2010), including critiques of the individualism of the assumption that maternity is a lifestyle preference (Ginn, et al., 1996). Of more direct relevance is the firm-level critique of the 'ideal worker' developed by Acker (1990). In seeking to explain how gender is institutionalised within firm based processes, Acker argues that the standard form or shape of employment is based on the model of a disembodied worker which owing to the sexual division of household labour, only male employees are capable of filling.

This thesis draws more heavily, however, on the concept of the Standard Employment Relationship (SER) as elaborated by Vosko (2007; 2008). This transcends the firm and is the product of interlocking national systems of labour market and welfare regulation. A legacy of the post-war boom, when the family wage was being shored up in Canada and Australia, it provides comprehensive protections to full-time male workers and minimum protections for 'non-standard' workers (women, immigrants, workers outside core industrial sectors). Its heyday occurred at the very time when family structures were diversifying and employers were introducing flexible employment structures. New employment forms, developed outside the protections of the SER, were thus particularly subject to insecurity (Campbell, Whitehouse, & Baxter, 2009). But to accept the security offered by the SER, even if women are able to access the occupations where it is prevalent, involves hours that are incommensurable with caregiving, particularly in countries whose reproduction system is based on a residue of the Anglo-Saxon male breadwinner female caregiver model. Part-time work in Australia is available largely in poor quality jobs, mainly casual, that offer little security and limited careers paths.

Two questions then arise. Firstly, is part-time work a pathway to better quality jobs, or is it a trap? (Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008; O'Reilly, Cebrian, & Lallement, 2000; O'Reilly & Bothfeld, 2002). This question is addressed in the transitional labour market literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Schmid, 1995; 2010). The second question is whether the quality of part-time work is inevitably poor.

Much of the more recent debate on the conditions of women's, and implicitly mothers,' employment participation has focused on access to job quality. While many writers acknowledge that the concept of job quality is multifaceted (Boulin, Lallement, & Michon, 2006; Faganini & Letablier, 2004; Pocock & Skinner, 2012; Charlesworth, Strazdins, O'Brien, & Sims, 2011), few have looked beyond the combination of working time and employment contract and fewer still, have looked at patterns of mobility across these multiple dimensions. There is ample documentation of the general 'conditions' of women's employment participation as work of low socio-economic value, work that is part-time, and work that is insecure because of a lack of employment benefits attached to the contractual modes in which women find themselves employed. However, in attempting to explain why women work under such conditions, the debate in its simplest form centres on arguments of choice and constraint. Do women, through their decision to become mothers, make choices of how they engage in paid work that are commensurate with the sexual division of labour within households? (Becker, 1985; Hakim, 1998; Polachek, 1981). Or are these choices shaped by wider institutional forces that constrain the options available to women?

Figure 1.1 illustrates where this thesis is placed in regard to the development of theories of structure and agency that might explain the conditions of mothers' employment participation. Institutional approaches start with the premise that mothers do not make employment decisions within a vacuum. A wide range of institutions shape their labour market choices. The starting point of institutional theory has been to explain both these differences in the terms and conditions attached to job forms and the differences in who works under which conditions. In contrast theories of choice only seek to explain the latter question of difference in who works under which conditions. Why there are differences in the conditions of employment, differences in working hours and contractual modes, and other terms and conditions that are attached to jobs such as work scheduling, opportunities for training and promotion, supervisory responsibilities, rates of remuneration and so on, are largely ignored.

Despite their disagreements, institutional theories in economics and neo-institutional theories in sociology, economics, politics and organisational studies both recognise that individual projects occur within the context of institutions and institutional norms. Referring to the USA, Friedland and Alford (1991), for example, identify the core social institutions as being the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, families, democracy, and religion. It is the interplay of these institutions, however, that requires theorisation. Esping-Anderson's (1990) typology of the inter-relationships between welfare regimes, markets and the sphere of 'decommodified' care is probably the most widely cited analysis of such an interplay. It has, however been critiqued on feminist grounds for its compartmentalisation of women's care. Again with a comparative European perspective, Rubery (1994b; 2006a) has provided a model, on which I draw in Figure 1.1, of how institutions are regulated and interact in national systems of production, labour markets, consumption and reproduction. Rubery defines the production system as involving industrial organisation, wages and skill structures, the labour market system as framing patterns of participation, training and careers; the consumption system as based on patterns of income and distribution; and the reproduction system as involving family organisation, welfare and education. For the purposes of this analysis, I have located the labour market system within national systems of production, consumption and reproduction, in order to take account of how the norms regulating motherhood flow through all levels, from the labour market, through occupational structures and the management of firms, to the shape of jobs.

Whereas much institutional theory focuses at firm level, and focuses on how the specific shape and nature of work is designated at the level of the firm, this thesis explores how the

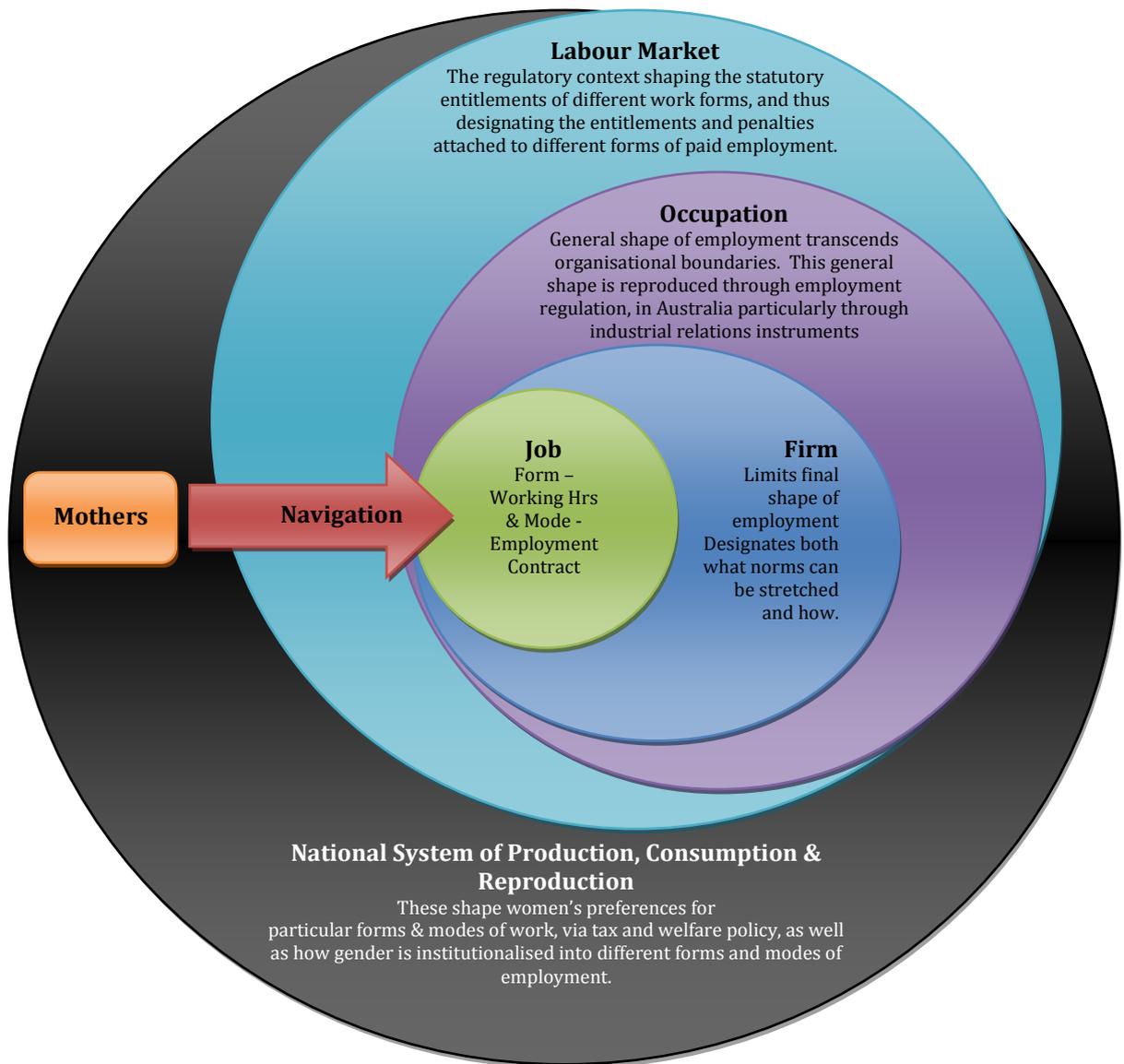
nature and shape of women's employment conditions transcend organisational boundaries. It finds occupations to have institutionally-defined norms of working hours, work arrangements and employment contract types, which are linked to gender concentrations of employees in ways which are the subject under investigation.

Figure 1.1 sets out the macro-level institutional structures that are assumed and described in Chapter 3 but not the focus of the thesis, the meso-level occupational structures whose contouring of the Australian labour market is the subject of the first two data-analysis chapters, and the micro-level parameters of firm-specific jobs. The final two data chapters provide a micro-level description of how these parameters shape the navigation of transitions within and among jobs during the phase of motherhood that involves care for children up to age 15.

To the outer circle of Figure 1.1 can be applied Connell's (2002: 54) conceptualisation of the gender order of Australian society. This order is often reflected in the gender regimes that pattern institutions such as work organisations and family, although these regimes may also depart from the dominant gender order. Using a different terminology, Gatens and Mackinnon (1998) identified gender itself as an institution. Connell sees social orders and institutional regimes as constituted by relations of power, production, emotion, symbolism and so on, and subsumes reproduction and care under relations of production. In this thesis, the institutionally-patterned relations of mothering are theorised in their own right.

In Figure 1.1 the project of motherhood enters into all three systems – production, consumption and reproduction. For example, mothers' preferences for particular forms and modes of work are shaped by tax and welfare policy, as well as how gender is institutionalised into different forms and modes of employment (Rubery, 1994b). It is at the national and meso levels of labour market and employment relations regulation that structural or system change, rather than individual navigation, must occur. For example, labour law may regulate or fail to regulate child care costs, or change statutory entitlements to the right to care for a sick child or to move flexibly between full-time and part-time work. While such provisions may be the regulation-derived norm in certain industries or occupations, it is at the level of the job that individuals must negotiate access to them, and it will be shown that such negotiation may involve trades between security and flexibility.

Figure 1.1 Model of Explanatory Levels



Whilst a range of such flexibility/security trades will be documented in Chapters 6-8, it will be shown that working hours, and especially the Australian norms governing part-time work, are of particular salience. In Australia, the quality of the majority of part-time jobs is not high, measured according to various standards of security, including security of capacity to care (Burgess & Campbell, 1998a; Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009).

The quality of women's part-time jobs is constituted differently in different countries, depending on how their systems of labour market regulation and social reproduction are inter-related (Rubery, 2006a; 2009). Pfau-Effinger (1989) identifies a male

breadwinner/female carer institutional model; a dual breadwinner/state carer model, and a dual breadwinner/dual carer model. As Pocock (2005a, p. 43) argues,

... Australia's institutions (especially our labour law and workplace structures) have channelled much of women's paid work effort into either insecure part-time work or full-time jobs in the image of the care-free male worker, while unpaid labour has not changed much at all

Thus Australia has moved from a male breadwinner/female carer model (Whitehouse, 2004) to a 'modified breadwinner' model (Pocock, 2005a). It is for these reasons that Pocock (2005a, pp. 41-44) has characterised Australia's work/care regime model as being based on an 'institutional lag'.

The key question in social theory is the extent to which institutions structure or shape individual and collective agency. This question can be expressed in terms of mechanisms of enablement, constraint, elaboration, reproduction and structural change/transformation (Bhaskar R. , 1989, p. 94; Archer, 2003, p. 3). The contribution of Archer (2003) in defining agency is her identification of a form of subjective reflexivity which she calls 'inner conversations':

Courses of action are produced through the reflexive deliberations of agents who subjectively determine their practical projects in relation to their objective circumstances (Archer, 2003, p 141)

This is a good description of the process which I describe in the chapters that follow as mothers' labour market navigation: their employment choices are active but not free: they are based on artful trades between types of flexibility and types of security.

1.5. Research Strategy and Design

This thesis is a study of mothers' employment mobility between 2001 and 2005 in an occupational and Australian labour market context. It is a study of two types of cases, jobs – and the terms and conditions of employment attached to jobs at the occupational level; and mobility – the patterns of transition that women make at different stages of their life course. As several research methodologists have noted, the case study approach to research is 'not a method but a research strategy' (Hartley, 2004; Stake, 2003). Silverman (2005, p. 126) cites Punch (1998) to argue that the defining feature of the case study approach is detailed analysis, using 'whatever methods seem appropriate' in developing 'as full an understanding of that case as possible'. It is generally assumed that qualitative data provide rich detail, and that quantitative analysis of survey data sacrifices richness for generalisability. For this

thesis, however, two data sets were compiled that combined extensiveness and detail. Both were based on the use of secondary data – the selection and aggregation of elements drawn from an empirically rich and dynamic panel survey tracing linked patterns of individuals' household and labour market experiences over time. The first data set allowed the profiling of clusters of 64 occupations, whose defining norms, based on combined impact, were derived, analysed, and classified into a five-fold typology of occupations. In a sense, the groups of occupations so profiled became quasi-'cases'. The second data set was that of women without dependent resident children and mothers. A comparative analysis was undertaken of the patterns of transitions made by the two groups within and between jobs. Individual 'cases' (spreadsheet rows) were also drawn out, in order to track patterns of care and work over five survey waves.

The analysis utilised data from the first five waves of the *Household, Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia Survey (HILDA)*, 2001 - 2005. This survey is a household based longitudinal panel study commissioned by the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs and managed by the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research (University of Melbourne). The data from HILDA enabled a number of aspects of women's lives to be followed over time. Primarily, the HILDA data enabled the tracking of changes necessary for this study.

The research design used multiple statistical procedures to triangulate findings on labour market characteristics with findings on the employment mobility of mothers. Statistical norms were measured by identifying modal response categories for different characteristics of employment in each of 64 occupations. These characteristics initially included working hours, access to flexi-place employment, employment contract, work scheduling, whether the job involved a supervisory role, size of the workplace, gender concentration of the workplace, union density of the occupation, gender concentration of the occupation, concentration of mothers within the occupation, concentration of parents employed in the occupation and age of those employed within the occupation. The strength of these norms was measured using an inverse measure of the index of qualitative variation.

Not all variables were found to be related to the concentration of mothers employed within occupations and these variables were removed from further analysis. Cluster analysis was then used to model the main contours or patterns of norms enabling employment access. Patterns of transitions are also modelled using cluster analysis to identify the main patterns of mobility utilised by mothers. These patterns of transitions map the combinations of employment change that occur across six dimensions of employment change: occupation; working hours; access to flexi-place employment; employment contract; work scheduling;

and employment break. The relationship between these patterns of mobility and patterns of occupational norms was then explored through a series of contingency tables using chi square to test for independence and the contingency coefficient to test for relationship strength.

Thus the analysis began by differentiating five main occupational shapes, each with similar patterns and strengths of norms, but each presenting mothers with different opportunities, barriers and penalties in combining care and employment. Through cluster analysis, a range and combination of dimensions of accessibility, flexibility and security was identified for each occupational shape. The second stage of the research involved a systematic exploration of the different patterns of trades between these different forms of flexibility and security. Finally, in Chapter 8, the concept of labour market navigation as trade was illustrated through vignettes of individual experiences drawn out of the data set, illustrating the processes of navigating access to paid employment, undertaken by mothers with dependent children of different ages in occupations of different shapes.

1.6. Key Terms and Definitions

Theories explaining mothers' employment participation alternately emphasise the role of agency or constraint in shaping employment outcomes. However few studies attempt to reconcile the dialectical relationship between these two dynamics. The concept of navigation explores the interrelationship between a mother's agency and institutional constraints in shaping variations in the location, time and place of mothers' employment.

A mothers' *career* can be understood as her long-term patterns of navigation within and between jobs. Because of the emergence of new working arrangements and modes within jobs, particularly part-time and casual work, the nature of career navigation has changed since Dex' (1987) first path-breaking study of UK women's *career mobility*. Career mobility is the outcome of the process of navigation: it is the accumulation of transitions and their impacts. The question posed by Dex (1987, p. 1), how do women move between jobs over their lifetime? is beyond the scope of the present study.

Rather than taking a long-term perspective on the lifecourse of women, the present study applies a zoom lens to processes, rather than outcomes. It investigates single stages of *mobility* based on the navigation of transitions - the pattern of enablements and constraints to both care and work that were packaged in the flexibility and security norms of their occupations.

Whether mothers can combine paid work with care depends on whether they can make a transition – between full and part-time employment, between permanent and casual work, between accessing the flexibility to work in part, from home or not, and or whether they are able to alter their work schedules around the need for care. The nature of these transitions and how reversible they are, has implications for the future employment and career paths of mothers in paid employment.

The concept of *transition* in this thesis has a wider sense than that used by early writers. It includes, but extends beyond, labour market re-entry following childbirth or family formation (Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; Rubery, Smith, & Fagan, 1998). It also extends beyond the navigation of pathways between part-time and full-time employment (O'Reilly & Bothfeld, 2002). The term 'transition' can be applied to all shifts (including both mobility and maintenance) in formal employment arrangements, within or between jobs and occupations.

Barriers to transition occur through restrictions on *accessibility*. Access to the working hours that provide secure care giving is often interlinked with the employment conditions in such a way as to make altering working hours, alone, difficult without changing employment mode as well. Part-time jobs are mostly casual, but are also often found within a particular group of occupations which are mostly of low socio-economic status or value. In contrast full-time permanent employment is more likely to be found in a different set of occupations, which have a higher socio-economic value. The location of different kinds of employment within particular occupations can make altering employment to accommodate care difficult, limiting the range of options open for navigation.

It is important to understand how mothers attempt to *navigate* the retention of their employment access to the Australian labour market, in particular how patterns of navigation might vary between different occupations. The decisions mothers make to shift from one type of employment to another *or* maintain current working arrangements are an indication of the accessibility of paid employment within a given occupation. For some mothers reducing working hours to access part-time work will be a priority, even if it necessitates a change in contractual status to casual employment, a change in occupation or perhaps a change in both. Alternatively, not all working mothers will want to work part-time. For these mothers retaining occupational *access* may be a priority, and their employment may alter in other ways, such as taking work home or reducing long working hours to a more manageable full-time load, in order to accommodate the needs of care during motherhood. The term *trade* is used to describe the constrained choices and their

attendant risks in the sacrifices of flexibility and security, which mothers make as they attempt to combine paid employment with unpaid care over their life course.

Thus the thesis explores the obstacles and limitations to *maintaining occupational access* that mothers experience in the Australian labour market, through examining their occupation and how that *location defines employment* access and subsequently impacts on the way in which women *navigate maintaining employment access during motherhood*.

In exploring these obstacles and limitations I have expanded the definitions of both flexibility and security, applying the terms to both *care and employment*. Mothers do not only require flexibility and security in employment but they also require flexibility and security to enable care to be combined with paid work. Access to part-time work enables working time flexibility in employment however it also enables the flexibility for *time to care*. Similarly the ability to take work home from the office enables the flexibility to *combine both paid employment and care*.

Mechanisms for security can impact on the ability to care also. The lack of employment benefits attendant on casual contracts or the lack of ongoing employment security attendant on fixed term employment not only impact on the security of employment but the *security of being able to combine care with paid work*. Lack of access to sick or holiday leave may force mothers to forfeit employment and subsequent income when children are sick or on school holidays. Similarly the rostering of work schedules impacts on *care security*, irregular or unsocial work hours can make organising alternative care arrangements more difficult particularly when work hours fall outside regular school hours or hours when formal day care is available.

Thus the process of navigation is more than simply making trades between employment flexibility and security but a more complicated process of trading between care flexibility and security, and employment flexibility and security. Mothers may forfeit access to part-time work and retain the employment security of a permanent contract but access care flexibility through the ability to take work home instead. Or, mothers may access employment flexibility through access to part-time work and forfeit employment security through changing to a casual contract but stop short of forfeiting care security by changing to an irregular or unsocial work schedule.

1.7. Contribution

The research has contributed to theoretical model building. It has allowed the demonstration of a methodology for classifying occupations according to their prevailing

occupational norms - the key arrangements governing working time, place and contracts. Importantly, it has demonstrated how it is the strength or weakness of these norms, and the way they are packaged together, that allow occupations to be classified into five shapes that help explain whether mothers are going to be able to access or stay in occupations of this shape.

The research has also provided an empirical approach to resolving the debate over whether any particular feature of mothers' employment (or indeed employment more generally), is a trap or a pathway. In Australia this debate is most urgent around part-time employment. The thesis provides a systematic, empirically-derived extension of the concepts of flexibility and security, applying them to both paid work and care. It shows how occupations of different shape offer mothers different levels of accessibility, requiring different trades between particular dimensions and combinations of flexibility and security.

In this way, the labour market is shown to be contoured for mothers. By documenting the processes of trade between dimensions of security and flexibility, the thesis develops a concept of navigation that provides an approach to resolving the debate over mothers' work and family choices.

1.8. Limits and Limitations

Empirically, the thesis restricts the scope to Australia, and to classifying the contours of the labour market for mothers during a five-year period from 2001 to 2005. This time period was chosen for several reasons. The first five waves of the new HILDA Survey were available at the data analysis stage of the research project, and in themselves provided a wealth of transitions for analysis. The years 2001 to 2005 provided a discrete and relatively stable period for analysis. By contrast, as explained in chapter 3, the period from 2006 has been characterised by significant institutional change, including two new industrial relations systems, and a new welfare-to-work regime affecting mothers.

The focus on only five waves of panel data would be an obvious limitation if the purpose of the thesis were to measure mothers' career mobility or the lifecourse impacts of transitions. Neither of these, however was the objective of the study: instead the purpose was to apply a lens to individual acts of transition within and between occupations, the immediate trades entailed, and their institutional basis. The methodology lays the foundations for future extension of the timescale over which transitions are mapped, in order to ascertain the direction, reversibility or accumulation of their impacts.

A range of equality and job quality issues for mothers were implicit but outside the scope of the study – most notably issues of income, skill recognition and development, and health and safety. These await inclusion in a study extending the thesis methodology.

1.9. Chapter Precipis

Chapter 2 locates the thesis within existing debates on labour market disadvantage. The chapter largely focuses on institutional theories explaining the generation of employment forms in the labour market. The modelling of employment forms is used to identify barriers and bridges not only to employment outcomes, but also to employment mobility. The chapter argues for a nuanced theory of the dynamics of employment mobility, one that not only identifies mechanisms enabling employment access but emphasises how these mechanisms enable employment access to be combined with unpaid care. In developing such a theory, the chapter draws on the work of Dex (1987; Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; 2008; Joshi, Macran, & Dex, 1996; Scott, Dex, & Joshi, 2008) conceptualising mothers' employment mobility, on the work of Burgess (1997; Burgess & Campbell, 1998a; Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008) to develop a framework for understanding flexibility and equal opportunity; the work of Acker (1990) and Vosko (2006; 2007; 2008; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009) in understanding how such mechanisms become 'normative' or 'standard'; and the work of Rubery, Smith and Fagan (1998), Pfau-Effinger (1989), Esping-Andersen (1990) and Connell (1987) in understanding how these mechanisms are part of a larger pattern reproducing notions of gendered care giving throughout national systems of welfare and employment, and through social attitudes to mothers' participation in paid employment and unpaid care. Motherhood is defined as the intersection between work and care, and through overviews of theories of mothers' work, labour market participation and employment, concepts that will be used later in the thesis are clarified. These include choice, constraint and norms; segregation and segmentation; equality and disadvantage; security and flexibility; and mobility and transitions.

Chapter 3 provides a review of the context of the Australian labour market. It begins by identifying key legislative and industrial relations decisions that provided the institutional basis of the labour market confronted by Australian mothers between 2000 and 2005. It then provides a comparative context for the study, through static snapshots of the location of mothers within the Australian labour market various times over the past 35 years, and of in other nations. It draws out the particular importance of part-time employment

Chapter 4 details the research design. It specifies the limitations and benefits of using the HILDA survey and provides comprehensive detail on the selection and reconfiguring of data

sets from within the HILDA Survey data for each stage of analysis. The chapter also elaborates on the statistical procedures used in each stage of the analysis in addition to how the results were triangulated, first by drawing out occupational patterns and then by tracking the transitions of mothers within and between occupations, in aggregate and individually,

The results of data analysis are presented in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 5 begins with the derivation of occupational norms governing four key employment parameters based on hours, working arrangements and contractual modes, and an analysis of their variation across the labour market. It emphasises that it is the way these norms and their relative strength, work in combination as a package that enables or constrains occupational access for mothers. It shows how particular patterns of norms and their strength impact on mothers' occupational participation, demonstrating for example how access to flexibility may not enable the participation of mothers, particularly when the cost to security is high

In chapter 6, five models or shapes of employment access are identified, using cluster analysis to draw out the main occupational norms and their strength for 64 occupations and model the contours of employment access not only for mothers but all workers. These models illustrate both the fracturing of the Standard Employment Relationship (SER) within the Australian labour market and the diversity of conditions which mothers must navigate in order to maintain paid employment while providing care. In this chapter a number of hypotheses are developed with regard to how mothers might navigate the maintenance of employment access under each model or employment shape. The analysis helps explain some otherwise surprising occupational concentrations of mothers: they may be navigating combinations of care and non-standard rosters or even long hours if other norms, for example of where work is done, are flexible.

Chapter 7 examines the process of navigation. In this chapter patterns of transition are modelled into six navigational pathways. For each pathway the combination of transitions across six dimensions of employment change are mapped. These dimensions are the four key parameters and the trades between flexibility and security these transitions entail, are outlined. I illustrate that while there is a difference between the navigational paths which mothers utilise compared to women without children, and there are subtle variations in the use of these pathways by mothers as their children grow and mature, the impact of a mother's occupation on her choice of navigational pathway is shown to be greater when her dependent children are older.

Chapter 8 demonstrates the process of navigation as one of constraint. It systematically illustrates subtle variations in the use of navigational pathways by women at different

lifecourse stages, comparing mothers to women without any children and women who no longer had the responsibility for care of dependent children, but most importantly how the use of these pathways vary between occupations. This discussion starts with the different contours of access to flexibility and security derived in Chapter 6 and examines the navigational paths within segments of the labour market shaped by these contours, showing how the contours of each shape constrain navigation. A number of occupations indicative of each shape are then selected to illustrate further variations in the impact of the combination of occupational norms on the process of navigation for mothers. Lastly vignettes are selected from the panel to illustrate the types of transitions that individual mothers made between 2001 and 2005, using each of the pathways within a particular occupational context.

The last chapter discusses the implications of these findings for theoretical development and further research. Understanding the combined effects of packages of norms for key employment parameters is argued to be a first step in understanding the operation of labour market structuring processes in which the care-giving demands of motherhood, rather than gender, are a key dynamic.

The conclusion highlights the important contribution that detailed empirical evidence can contribute to theoretical debates over gender segmentation, based on a mapping of transitions and trades made by mothers in the endeavour to combine paid employment with unpaid care. It also highlights the theoretical contribution made by this thesis in developing a framework for understanding how mechanisms of security and flexibility interact to *enable* the combination of paid employment with unpaid care, a framework which not only supports a theory of constrained choice but illustrates how care-giving helps reproduce patterns of gender segmentation within national labour markets. Segmentation is seen as a flexible and shifting process, depending on the strength and interaction of occupational norms, allowing varying degrees of navigation. Contouring is perhaps a more accurate image, signalling both barriers and pathways to mobility, without denying that access may be attended by very real disadvantages that fall short of outright occupational or labour market exclusion. The conclusions provide a starting point for further research on mothers' careers and, the long term consequences and reversibility of the effects of transitions and trades. They point to the limitations of relying on mothers' individual navigations, and to the need for institutional change, if new standards for equality and quality of work and care are to be achieved.

Chapter 2

Navigating Accessibility: Conceptual Foundations

2.1 Theoretical Framing of the Research Problem

This study places under the microscope the dynamics of Australian mothers' labour market participation over a six-year period at the turn of the twenty-first century. It draws on, and hopefully contributes to, attempts since the 1970s to theorise contemporaneous shifts in the gendered relations of unpaid care and paid work, and in the structure of labour markets. In focusing on the employment transitions of a cross-section of mothers of children under 16, the study requires a conceptualisation of how these transitions were part of a longer-term pattern of continuity and change in the relationship between household divisions of labour and patterns of labour market participation. These participation patterns were marked by concentrations of mothers in occupations of relatively low level status and pay and limited employment security, linked to shorter working hours. This occupational structuring, in which conditions disadvantageous to women have been coupled with hours compatible with gendered caring roles, has been conceptualised in a range of ways. It has been described as the result of the choices or, 'preferences' for career and/or family, made by individual women, including mothers. It has been seen as the result of discrimination by individual employers, as the unintended indirect or systemic by-product of employment arrangements based on reduced hours, and as a segmentation of labour markets emerging from labour relations contests. It has been explained in terms of the interaction of welfare state and labour market regimes or institutions, and as one manifestation of a gender order or gender contract in which individuals, families, employing organisations and the state are all implicated.

Each explanation has different policy implications for those concerned about disadvantage. If mothers choose their own forms of labour market participation, then they can be seen as determining their own labour market outcomes and thus as instrumental in perpetuating their own disadvantage. Alternatively, if institutions, social conventions or norms regulating employment shape, govern access to occupations and employment modes, then mothers' job choices and outcomes can be seen as constrained by structural barriers. Understanding the mechanics of these barriers then becomes the key to remedying the

adverse labour market outcomes variously conceived as inequality, unintended or indirect or systemic discrimination, occupational segregation or labour market segmentation.

The standpoint of the thesis is that of the individual mother confronting the labour market. Hence access is the key theme. As mothers are seen as exercising varying degrees of agency in steering a course between and within the structures of work and family, the term 'navigation' is used. The thesis is about patterns in the individual negotiation of barriers and enablements embodied in the abstract norms of working motherhood. The purpose of the chapter is to highlight the main conceptual building blocks that have informed an understanding of mothers' work; their labour market participation; their access to jobs; and their employment mobility. The concepts so derived are sufficient to enable a more nuanced understanding of different mothers' navigation of the labour market. The theoretical review is by no means exhaustive, and further conceptual detail is embedded where appropriate into each empirical chapter.

This chapter reviews theoretical perspectives on mothers; paid employment that are drawn from a diverse range of disciplinary fields including sociology, political economy, labour economics and organisational theory. Nevertheless, the theoretical framework for this thesis is based on a narrower core literature, which is used to inform the development of two key concepts, accessibility and navigation. The concept of accessibility is derived in large part from labour market segmentation theory. It is based on Rubery's (1994b) premise that the norms governing job quality and employment access are not only shaped by institutions at the micro level of the organisation but by institutions governing wider systems of production, consumption and reproduction. The work of Acker (1990) and Vosko (2006; 2007; 2010), has been used to explore how such institutions might shape employment access, with the terms and conditions of employment being explored as embodying either an organisational ideal or regulatory standard that generates a social norm. The work of Standing (1993; 1997; 2011) and Burgess and Campbell (1998a) has then been used to conceptualise the dynamics of accessibility, an analytical frame that reflects the interaction of a multiplicity of working arrangements in generating the varying degrees of employment flexibility and security that mothers require in order to retain access to employment.

The concept of navigation is also largely derived from labour market segmentation theory, in particular the work on transitions by Schmid (1995; 2010) and O'Reilly, Cebrian and Lallement (2000). This body of work views the labour market structures which facilitate full employment as an average state of continuous employment over the life course rather than a static state at any one point in time. However the concept of navigation as developed

here does not discount the role of agency and thus recognises the work of both Becker (1975; 1985), Polachek (1981) and Hakim (1998; 2000; 2002) in acknowledging the role of 'choice; and 'preference' (albeit constrained) in shaping mothers patterns of employment mobility.

The chapter begins by outlining issues that need clarification or resolution at the outset: whether the analysis is to be based on gender or motherhood, how these concepts are to be defined as social processes; and questions of structure, agency and choice. It then overviews theorisations of mothers' work, both paid and unpaid, of their labour market participation, and of their jobs. In the process, a range of concepts is clarified: occupational and job segregation; social and statistical norms; processes of labour market segmentation; standard and non-standard employment relationships; equality, opportunity, disadvantage and discrimination; flexibility and (in)security, and job quality. Part-time work is discussed as a site of many of these contested notions. In the penultimate section, two aspects of women's employment mobility are discussed: careers and transitions. The key concept, 'contours of accessibility' is derived, and a model of mothers' navigation of these contours is drawn together in order to derive the four key research questions.

2.2 Debates and Issues

Debates on the causes of mothers' employment outcomes pivot on two central questions. Are they due to gender or motherhood? Are they due to a mother's own agency or determined by the institutional structures which she inhabits? The first question explores whether it is still the case that motherhood, potential, actual or past, structures the labour market experience of women in general. Alternatively, is it just one part or role or stage in some women's experience, with few lingering labour market consequences? Are the labour market navigation patterns of women without dependent resident children more like those of mothers, or more like those of men? Motherhood and fatherhood both involve responsibility for dependent resident children: are fathers' labour market navigation patterns shaped by paternity? The second question explores the extent to which mothers, if they constitute a coherent category, are accountable for their own employment outcomes. To what extent are women free to choose their own form of labour market participation, and to what extent are their choices shaped by social norms and conventions with regard not only to employment but to unpaid care?

2.2.1 Gender or Mothers

It will be argued that motherhood, rather than gender, embodies the friction between the worlds of paid work and care. As Standing notes (2011, pp. 62, 124-127), work-for-reproduction, embraces many forms of family and community support, including elder care, and increasing numbers of men are becoming home-carers. Nevertheless, responsibility for the care of young children still falls primarily to mothers and so motherhood is used here as a proxy for the social sphere of reproduction and care.

The term 'mother' in this thesis is used narrowly and statistically as a designation of women with dependent resident children aged under 16. The term covers both birth and adoptive mothers. Occasionally, the available statistical data may force a reliance on categories such as 'married woman' when carrying out historical comparisons (for a UK example Scott et al., 2008: 4-6). This term of course excludes single and lesbian mothers and can largely be avoided. Since 1990, use of the gender-neutral terms 'parental leave' and 'worker with family responsibilities' expresses an aspiration towards a more even distribution of care, but obscures the still-current reality of the primary care-giving responsibilities of mothers.

Does the term 'mother' apply across the boundaries of class, disability and ethnicity? If occupational stratification is used as a statistically convenient indicator of class (setting aside theoretical debates), then the class-differentiated experience of mothers is indeed the focus of this thesis. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for disability and ethnicity. Australia was chided, in the 2010 United Nations Review of its compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), for the low labour market participation of immigrant women and for their concentration in low-paid occupations (YWCA, 2011, p. 54). As noted in the 2009 *Making it Fair* Report (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 2009), lack of statistical data on immigrant and Indigenous women's labour market experience is still an unresolved problem. It was beyond the scope of this study to help remedy it.

Theorists such as Gatens (1998), Walby (1988) and Pateman (1988) have equated womanhood with motherhood. For Gatens sexual differences are "embodied differences that have far reaching effects on the way individuals are able to engage with institutions" (Gatens, 1998, p. 1). Social institutions are norms, recurring patterns of behaviour that restrict an individual's behaviour to act outside the norm. For Gatens gender is an institution,

...a set of regulatory norms which are diachronically reinforced and if necessary corrected by all the other institutions that interpenetrate the

family...educational institutions, the labour market, the welfare system.
(Gatens, 1998, p. 4)

Gender norms construct what it is to be a man and what it is to be a woman, and embodied within each norm are roles of provider and carer. Thus to be a woman is eventually to be a mother and to engage in unpaid care; to fail to do so is to fail to be a woman (Gatens, 1998). These gender differences are embodied in norms and embedded into a sexual contract which underpins all forms of social, economic and civil life (Pateman, 1988).

In contrast, for writers such as Connell (1987) and Crompton (1999; Crompton & Harris, 1998), gender is not so much an institution as *institutionalised*:

The social relations of gender are not determined by biological difference but deal with it.....gender in this conception is a process rather than a thing.
(Connell, 1987, p. 140)

Whether mothers, and or women in general, act as carers, economic providers or a combination of both is determined not by their sex but by how gender roles are structured socially through the institutions of the family, the state and 'the street' (Connell, 1987). The practice of gender is constrained but how gender is practiced may be different between mothers and women without children.

2.2.2 Mothers and Paid Work – Structure and Agency

The debate over structure and agency pivots on the degree of choice and constraint mothers experience in their decisions to participate in the labour market or not, and the form of that participation. Theories of household economics (Becker, 1975; 1985; Polachek, 1981) and preferences (Hakim, 1996; 2000; 2002) hold that women have some agency in these decisions. For Becker and Polachek a mother's agency is limited to *how* she participates in the labour market. That a mother will participate in unpaid care is assumed, and her decisions with regard to the form of labour market participation and occupational choice reflect the sexual division of household labour, with its assumed responsibility for unpaid care. *Preference Theory* argues that women exercise choice: their labour market behaviours reflect aspirations and preferences for a particular work/family lifestyle. The choices, while free, are limited. While the majority of women are happy with some combination of the roles of paid worker and unpaid carer, this choice of roles affects employment outcomes. Thus women voluntarily and actively 'choose' their predetermined roles. Social structures (if acknowledged), are patterns created by these individual choices.

Critiques of this view do not deny a mother's agency in determining her own employment outcomes. Instead they focus on how institutions *shape* employment outcomes. Theorists

have varied in how they view these institutions: gender (Connell, 1987), citizenship (Esping-Andersen, 1990; 2006), societal system (Rubery, 1994b; 2006a) or specific parts of that system such as working time (Fagan, 2001; Figart & Mutari, 2000; Rubery, Smith, & Fagan, 1998).

For Connell (1987) the 'gender order' is how gender is institutionalised within society. The 'gender regime' is how gender relations are organised differently within different institutions and contexts (Connell, 1987). A mother's engagement in paid work is shaped not only by how gender is institutionalised within her family life with regard to the sexual division of household labour and unpaid care, but how gender relations are institutionalised by the state in regulating paid work and women's engagement within it.

In contrast, for Esping-Andersen the principal lens by which to view institutional structures is citizenship. Esping-Andersen (1990; 2006) defines a welfare state regime as the set of relationships establishing the terms on which rights to citizenship and social provision, are given. These terms are generated by the interrelationships between the state's activities and the market and familial roles in the provision of household income (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Mitchell, 1998). Critical to these interrelationships, particularly for mothers, is the extent and manner of labour de-commodification (Orloff, 1993; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998). How do mothers qualify for social provision: on the basis of being citizens; mothers, workers who are not in the labour market; or the wives or partners of employed men? The answer to this question signifies, in part, the constraint mothers experience in deciding their means of accommodating both work and care. The greater a mother's access to state-supported sources of economic provision, the less her reliance on either a husband or partner, or the labour market. The right to social provision can enable mothers partly to de-commodify their labour and also to uncouple it somewhat from the sexual division of household labour. The extent and terms of this de-commodification are important to understanding both the participation of mothers in the labour market and the location of that participation.

In comparison the 'societal systems' approach focuses on the institutional frameworks supporting employment and economic production. It argues that systems, whether of education, employment or industrial relations, operate to some extent independently, and can be modified by social action. They both shape and are shaped by social behaviour. (Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998; Rubery, 1994b; 1988). This approach focuses on the interrelationships among production, consumption and social reproduction: mothers' labour market participation is shaped by the nexus of employment regulation and welfare policy and the way in which gender has been constituted within each of these institutions.

Dissonance may arise between institutional systems: for mothers, it usually manifests itself as a conflict over time allocation between the roles of economic provision and household care (Cousins & Tang, 2004). This conflict has been explored through examination of a nation's 'working time regime' (Fagan, 2001; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998; Figart & Mutari, 2000), that is, the hours men and women work, the scheduling of those hours and the absence or presence of regulatory standards governing the allocation of working time within employment contracts. Fagan argues that these regimes 'bear the imprint' of how family economic provision is organised, and there are important variations in their form. (Fagan, 2001, p. 245).

2.2.3 Choice, Barriers or Constrained Choice

Understanding mothers' employment participation is seen in this thesis as a matter of understanding the extent to which 'women actively construct their work-life biographies in terms of their historically available opportunities and constraints' (Crompton & Harris, 1998, p. 119). This involves understanding both how mothers' employment is shaped *and* how they are able to work around or within the shaped contexts of work, the labour market and jobs.

Freely chosen combinations of work form and unpaid care can only be enabled in the context of access to a choice among or combination of three things: comprehensive child care provision; part-time work which has the same access to social protections as full-time employment; and the legal right to paid parental leave which fully substitutes lost income (Pfau-Effinger, 1989; Lewis & Giullari, 2005). It is the extent to which institutions provide these supports for mothers to engage in care, in paid employment or in some combination of both, that provides mothers with real choice, with constrained choice or with barriers not only to paid employment but to enacting the role of caregiver as well.

2.3 Theorising the Work of Mothers

Concepts such as welfare regimes, family economic models, the de-commodification of paid labour and commodification of care, as well as the balance, articulation or incommensurability of work, life and family time, have been used to examine particular aspects of the institutional support frameworks for mothers' engagement in paid employment. This body of theory examines the interaction between policy and regulation which enables mothers' engagement in the labour market on the one hand and support unpaid care within the home on the other. Pocock (2003) and Dex (1987), among others, point to a dissonance between institutions in the provision of effective support for women,

resulting in problems for women of reconciling dual roles in the 'collision' between work and family life (Pocock, 2003) .

Theories of welfare regimes and family economic models attempt to classify the basis on which rights to social provision and citizenship are enabled and how these rights are gendered. Some seek to redress criticisms of Esping-Andersen's model, that it ignored women's participation in domestic unpaid labour (Rubery, 2009; Mandel & Shalev, 2009; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998). Family and taxation policy, and the availability of maternity leave and childcare all shape a mother's degree of access to the labour market, prescribing how effective a mother's income is in contributing to the household or her own autonomy, the timing of a mother's return to paid work and the number and schedule of hours likely to be worked (Fagan, 2001; O'Reilly & Bothfeld, 2002).

Though state frameworks could promote work-life balance, gendered patterns of economic provision and caring persist, maintaining strong residues of the male breadwinner/female carer roles. Varying models have been proposed of the role of nation states in shaping work/care regimes. The male breadwinner/female home-maker model was dependent on the family wage. For it "produced a 'compact' covering the sexual division of labour, the economic support of family members, the distribution of time and the regulation of marriage and parenthood" (Creighton, 1999, p. 519). With the demise of the family wage in the late 1960s in Australia this compact has been breaking down but not clearly replaced. Pfau-Effinger originally classified four basic models of family economic arrangements: male breadwinner/female carer, dual breadwinner /state carer, and dual breadwinner /dual carer (Pfau-Effinger, 1989). Revisions to the typology have included frameworks which examine the potential of part-time work to enable employment, and the potential of state policies to enable care. Variations of the family economic model which incorporate a dual role for women enabling both paid employment, primarily part-time, and unpaid carer suggest a 'gender compromise' whereby women are granted partial access to labour market participation. (Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998; Plantenga, 2002; Cousins & Tang, 2004). Pocock (2005b) calls this the 'modified breadwinner' model.

However breaking down barriers to employment is only part of the answer to the problem. The flip side is breaking down barriers and enabling supports for men to engage in care (Bjornberg, 2002). One model is Leira's (2002) three way typology of single male earner/female carer; sequential care - built around women's life cycle. Another is the dual earner/dual carer model. A third is the model by Appelbaum et al. (2001) of dual earner/valued care. All emphasise not only the supports required to enable care but also the value placed on care provision. Care and work practices need to be not only shared but the work

of unpaid care needs to be valued and assisted by institutions regulating employment thus enabling access to good quality jobs (Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2001).

The emphasis on valuing care is a theme that is taken up again in discussion of the collision or articulation of work/ family life. Pocock (2005b) argues that Australian women have a greater share of total labour than Australian men. Patterns of work and family life, particularly the extent of women's participation in both paid and unpaid labour, mean that women are working a 'double day' (Pocock, 2005b). The work/life 'collision' involves a daily mismatch between cultural norms, institutional supports and individual behaviours and preferences (Pocock, 2005b). However "there are real limits to the pursuit of a full adult worker model based on the commodification of care" (Lewis & Giullari, 2005, p. 76). Care work cannot be fully commodified because care is both an active and passive relationship: these writers emphasise that it is more important for care to be valued than shared or commodified. It is therefore necessary to look to the labour market to accommodate the sphere of care.

2.4 Theorising Labour Market Participation by Mothers

Theory examining mothers' labour market participation has focused on attempts to explain mothers' occupational location in the labour market. Armstrong (1990) notes that occupational segregation can be attributed to one of two causes: biology – the functional reality in the workplace; and ideas – the role differentiation between men and women. How mothers come to be located within a limited range of occupations has been theorised as a result of women's choices (Becker, 1975; 1985; Polachek, 1981; Hakim, 1998), the way gender norms are translated into labour markets both socially (Dex, 1987) and into job forms (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973; Dickens & Lang, 1993; Rubery, 1994), and the institutionalisation of these norms by regulatory instruments (Vosko, 2007).

2.4.1 Occupational Choice

Advocates of choice explain the employment patterns of women through the sexual division of household labour. Theorists such as Becker, Polachek and Hakim argue that women choose the shape of their employment either via their occupational choices (Becker, 1985; Polachek, 1981) or preference for part-time work, in occupations where it is available (Hakim, 1991; 1996; 1998; 2002). In an early formulation, Becker and Polachek saw occupational choices as based on the assumption that women will take on the majority, if not all the responsibilities for care, so that women's expectations regarding employment

over the lifecourse are adjusted in accordance with that assumption. Women, particularly those assuming that they will one day become mothers, invest less in human capital – the accumulation of education, experience and training; and are generally less productive because of their responsibility for household labour (Becker, 1975; 1985). To be relevant in the light of women’s present-day educational participant levels, this theory has required modification.

For Hakim (1998; 2002), the changing patterns of women’s workforce participation witnessed in the last twenty years have seen this assumption evolve into more contemporary form. The growth in women’s education, part-time work and private child care has seen more women move into occupations of high socio-economic value, fewer women step out of the labour market at the onset of motherhood, and the length of absence from paid employment post child birth grow shorter. Rather than assuming that women will take on the majority of care responsibilities, Hakim suggests that the differences in women’s patterns of employment participation are more intimately tied to their ‘preference’ for a particular work/family lifestyle (Hakim, 1998; 2002). Women may be home centred, work centred or adaptive, and their labour market participation and outcomes reflect the extent to which paid employment is placed ahead of unpaid care.

Critiques of ‘choice’ theory, draw attention to the extent to which it ignores both social context (Ginn & Arber, 1998; Fagan, 2001) and the capacity to choose (Crompton, 1999), resulting in major flaws in its conceptualisation of agency. Both Becker and Hakim assume that women have freedom of choice, of labour market participation, of a particular occupation, or of a particular employment form such as part-time work (Crompton, 1999). These assumptions ignore the extent to which skills are socially defined and evaluated (Gaskell, 1986); the fact that women must choose between occupations where intermittent employment is or is not tolerated; and employers’ unchallenged assumptions that a preference for part-time work may indicate lower commitment levels (Crompton, 1999). Women must still appear to choose between roles of motherhood or dedicated employee as there are still assumptions that the two roles cannot be reconciled effectively (Jenkins, 2004). Critics of occupational choice theory accept that women have a degree of agency in shaping their labour market outcomes, but they recognise that women’s preferences for work/life balance are as much a reflection of what society expects from mothers engaged in paid employment and unpaid care, as they are of individual choices.

2.4.2 Occupational Segregation - Norms

The word 'segregation' appears to apply racialised social divisions to sex-based divisions of labour. It can, however be used in a more descriptively neutral sense, to signify gender concentrations, or to refer to the structuring of labour markets so that women and men perform different types of work, and occupy different types of positions. This structuring may be horizontal, based on occupational location or vertical, based on a hierarchy within or between occupations, or both (Blau F. , 1975). A number of researchers have noted that segregation is stronger at job and workplace level than in an occupation as a whole (Walby, 1988, p. 3). In Australia, such segregation has been remarkably enduring over time (Preston & Burgess, 2003, p. 512), and new service occupations have also quickly tended to become gender-typed.

At its most basic, segregation theory offers an empirical challenge, both to notions of choice and to assumptions that the labour market operates freely to match labour demand to skills supply. Statistically, segregation may be measured in terms of occupational or job concentration, that is the distribution of women 'across jobs relative to their share of total employment' (Preston & Burgess, 2003, p. 511). Attempts to measure distributional differences have been based on the construction of indices or profiles, such as Duncan's D (an index of dissimilarity) (Duncan & Duncan, 1955) or its inverse (Watts, 2003). These measures are derived from approaches such as the hypothetical modelling of the proportion of an occupational or job group who would need to 'switch' in order to remove disproportionate concentrations. Indices or profiles of segregation have been matched with indicators of outcomes such as inequality to measure disadvantage or statistical discrimination. Bridges (2003) has applied statistical measures of horizontal and vertical segregation to indices of outcome inequality, in international comparisons suggesting that vertical segregation is a bigger factor than horizontal in Anglophone countries, whereas the reverse is the case in less developed European labour markets.

Thus views diverge as to whether segregation, defined in terms of gender differences in horizontal and vertical labour market position, reflects aggregate individual behaviour or social processes. Early work on stratification focused largely on the agency of individuals, in generating their own occupational outcomes, with poor family background, lack of skill and low education being seen as tied to poor occupational outcomes (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Mincer, 1974; Sewell & Hauser, 1975; Sorensen, 1984; Blossfeld, 1986; Becker, 1975). Hakim (1992) is a recent advocate of the view that segregation reflects aggregate differences in history, skill or life preferences (Hakim, 1992). On the other hand, Walby (1988, p. 1) describes vertical segregation as 'central to issues of gender and stratification'.

Segregation has been linked to inequalities of earnings, status, entitlements, career opportunities (Siltanen, Jarman, & Blackburn, 1995), or chances of labour market re-entry (Bukodi, Dex, & Goldthorpe, 2011).

Sociologically-oriented theories have attempted to explain horizontal segregation - women's concentration within a limited number of occupational categories - in terms of how the sexual division of household labour translates into norms and expectations with regard both to occupational choices and forms of employment (Dex, 1987). Women are mainly concentrated in occupations of service or care which replicate in a different arena the tasks that may be performed at home such as nursing and teaching. Women are also more likely to be employed in occupations where part-time work is available, enabling women to maintain the sexual division of paid and unpaid labour. Dex notes that while the extent of segregation increases when taking part-time work into consideration, this is not necessarily due to part-time work but due to women being employed, to start with, in the specific occupations where part-time work occurs (1987).

Segregation theories emphasising the impact of social institutions, for example the role of the welfare state in supporting the gender division of labour between market and reproductive work, shade over into segmentation theory, such as conceptualisations of how labour market demarcation strategies support standard forms of employment based on the male version of normative employment behaviour (Kreimer, 2004). One of the main empirical tasks of this thesis will be to assess the relationship between the strength of gender concentration in occupations, and the statistical strength of key institutional norms, such as working arrangements that might facilitate or inhibit access, strengthening or weakening occupational concentrations of women and mothers.

2.4.3 Labour Market Segmentation

The essence of labour market segmentation theory is not simply that "the social space of the labour market' is subdivided, but that "the rules governing labour market actors differ from one segment of the labour market to another" (Peck, 2000, p. 220). Early segmentation theory located the reproduction of differences in job quality in the institutions and rules within firms (Cain, 1976; Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Osterman, 1975; Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973). Originating in the United States, segmentation theory attempted to "explain persistent labour market inequalities" (Reich, 2008). Women's location in different jobs was not necessarily indicative of poor choices but a lack of choice (Armstrong, 1984). Job quality was conceptualised in terms of economic value (remuneration, training, and the socio economic value of occupations); security (access to career progression and contractual

modes designating benefits and entitlements to various forms of leave and protection from dismissal), and flexibility (such as part-time employment and short term contracts). The focus however was on labour flexibility for employers rather than employment flexibility for employees. These firm based rules and institutions were theorised to generate two non competing pools of labour – a primary and secondary labour market – where good jobs were found in the primary market and jobs of poor quality were found in the secondary market (Kerr, 1954; Osterman, 1994; Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973).

While gender was not the original focus of early segmentation theory, it was widely noted that women were most likely to be employed in jobs belonging to the secondary or peripheral markets (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973; Cain, 1976; Dickens & Lang, 1993; Rubery, 1994). The location of women and mothers in the secondary market was explained by their lack of employment stability. The need to be available for care prevented mothers from meeting requirements for participation in primary market work, namely that workers be available for full-time, continuous employment. For segmentation theorists it is the particular behavioural rules and requirements for employment within different jobs that act as the mechanism for dividing the labour pool (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973; Cain, 1976; Rubery, 1978). While segmentation theory originally located the generation of these rules and requirements within firm based practices, later work by Rubery (1994; 1994b; Rubery, Smith, & Fagan, 1998) has emphasised the role of organisational responses to political and economic forces, in creating these behavioural rules. While

External conditions provide the constraints and the opportunities which determine firms' room for manoeuvre... [the] problem with the employer centred approach is a tendency to overstress the autonomy of employer action... neglecting the cumulative and aggregative effect of employer policy on the organization of labour markets. (Rubery, 1994, p. 39)

The focus within segmentation theory on the rules and requirements which generate different labour markets with distinctly different job qualities are core tenets that have been carried through subsequent theoretical developments. What has altered with each new theoretical revision is the identification of where these rules and requirements are made, the explanation of how they are attached to particular work forms, and the extent to which these rules are gendered. Rubery (2006a) argues that early Anglophone theories underestimated the different ways in which production, consumption, reproduction and labour market institutions interact in different national systems. One way in which tensions among these systems are manifested is in the incomplete transition from the family wage

settlement reflected in norms of labour market regulation at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

2.4.4 The Standard Employment Relationship and Non Standard Employment

In both Australia and Canada, the latest wave of theoretical development, centred on the form of employment and its qualities, has been in the work of Vosko on the Standard Employment Relationship (SER) (2006; 2007; 2008). This work highlights the importance of the link between 'normative' employment forms and the employment contract as a regulatory 'standard' (Vosko, 2006; 2007; 2008; 2010, Burgess & Campbell, 1998a; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009).

The focus of this work is on jobs that are considered 'bad' or precarious and how these job forms relate to regulatory standards. Precarious work is work that provides "limited social benefits and statutory entitlements, job insecurity, low wages and high risks of ill-health" (Vosko, 2006, p. 3) and while not limited to women, it is female concentrated (Vosko, 2008). In defining precarious employment, Vosko not only re-specifies the qualities of 'bad' jobs outlined by segmentation theory but also emphasises the institutional reproduction of these qualities within the form of employment. In particular, Vosko's model of the SER takes the concept of normative employment espoused by Acker's Ideal Worker (see following pages) one step further by emphasising the link between 'normative' or *descriptive* models of employment and, 'statutory' and *prescriptive* employment forms. The particular form of the 'ideal worker' is given a legal basis within national contexts. It pivots on a masculine conception of the lifecycle, assuming, on the one hand, continuous labour force attachment, typified by a long-term employment relationship with a single employer from the completion of formal education until retirement and, on the other hand, women's ongoing responsibility for biological and social reproduction.' (Vosko, 2008, p. 132).

The distinction between the 'normative' employment model and the SER is important. The ideal worker is just one model of normative employment, yet it is a model based on the concept of a social wage that provides a statutory right to all that that entails. In contrast, precarious employment is also a model of normative employment but one that arguably exists outside of the social wage framework. The SER does not just underpin the standard 'ideal' model of employment but also underpins the employment characteristics and job qualities that are considered non-standard. Vosko points out that the model of the SER does not simply specify the terms and conditions of standard employment but specifies, mostly by omission, the terms and conditions of precarious employment that are non standard. Inherent in the 'casting' of a normative model is the concurrent creation of a *counter-relief*, a

'flipside' model. "By their nature, norms and the material realities they aim to reflect, foster exclusions" (Vosko, 2006, p. 8) and these exclusions form the basis of precarious employment. As a 'flipside' model, precarious employment is a model of employment disadvantage, unprotected employment or jobs of 'bad' quality that is generated through specifying the terms of standard employment. In addition where the standard employment model is engendered as typically male employment, the non standard or precarious model is most often engendered as typically female.

2.5 Theorising the Jobs of Mothers

Understanding the nature and shape of jobs, as well as of occupations is central to understanding women's labour market outcomes. Occupations are important because of the patterns of occupational segregation that are evident within national labour markets. (Dex, 1987; Rubery, 2006b). Jobs are important because of the way in which women become located in work of particular forms (Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009).

2.5.1 Equality, Opportunity, Disadvantage, Discrimination – Male Norms

The large-scale entry of women, including mothers, into industrialised countries' labour markets means that labour market participation is now the social and statistical norm, and non-participation is penalised. It is probably an unquestionable tenet that women's equality with men is based on economic independence: the question is the extent to which this independence has been made contingent on forms of labour market participation characterised by inequality.

As argued by Lombardo, Meier and Verloo (2009), gender equality is a term that has been 'fixed', 'shrunk', 'stretched' and 'bent'. It has been 'fixed' or defined in terms that, however desirable, make alternatives unthinkable. Thus it comes as a shock when Standing (2011, p. 60) complains that since the 1980s the social equity agenda has been fixed on narrow objectives such as "reducing discrimination and gender-based wage differentials", whilst ignoring the major structural changes that have increased the inequality and disadvantage of many women. An example of the 'shrinking' of a wider equality agenda is the focus on women in management in some EEO programs. Another example of 'shrinking' is the narrow focus, in Australia, on specific and often individually-bargained 'work/life balance' measures that fail to take account of the wider context. Burgess et al. (2007), in providing a critical analysis of the limitations of formal equal opportunity programs in delivering work/life balance, emphasise that it is informal negotiations between employers and

employees that are likely to be effective. Such arrangements, however depend on mothers' bargaining power, and are available on a vertically-stratified basis.

Examples of 'stretching' and 'bending' include the eclipse of equality into 'diversity management' objectives – the pursuit of which in Australia, according to Strachan et al. (2010) is largely left to managerial prerogative. As argued in Chapter 3, whilst Australian anti-discrimination law covers indirect and systemic or structural discrimination and allows for class actions, it is based on redress mechanisms initiated by individuals or groups after the event. The role of the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency is important in setting best practice standards (EOWA, 2012), but its legislated focus is restricted to firms employing 100 or more people, and much discretion left to managers to define equality. This raises questions of the site, or centre of gravity at which gender inequality is to be addressed.

Acker (1990) locates the reproduction of the form of employment, and implicitly job quality, at the level of the organisation. Concepts of equality require a norm, and Acker's theory of the ideal worker is based on an implicit male norm. She pays particular attention to the gendered aspect of job forms. She argues that "...organizational structure is not gender neutral... [and that] assumptions about gender underlie the documents and contracts used to construct organizations." (1990, p. 139). These documents and contracts include "written work rules, labour contracts, managerial directives and other documentary tools" which contain "symbolic indicators of structure" that gender employment forms (Acker, 1990, p. 147) and thus implicitly the job qualities that are attached to them. The employment contract, as an initial point of contact between the abstract job and the embodied worker, not only defines the job - or position to be filled, but in specifying the terms and conditions of employment attached to engagement in a particular job within the organization attaches job quality and engenders the employee.

Acker argues that the terms and conditions attached to employment are built upon a gender bias inherent in the implicit norm of an 'ideal worker'. The ideal worker is the characterisation of a disembodied worker within organisational logic. Organisations seek these disembodied workers to fill positions where the employee is to be available to work when specified by the employment contract however consideration of gender, responsibilities outside the organization and how time outside of work is spent, is irrelevant to the work conducted within the organisation. Hypothetically the worker could be either male or female. Yet the specification of the terms and conditions attached to a position within an organization, in particular working hours and work scheduling, engenders the hypothetical disembodied worker. As Acker points out,

...the closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of this personal needs and his children. (1990, p. 149)

Job forms, because of the qualities that are inherent within them, shape employment access because of the way in which they enable or constrain unpaid care.

Tienari et al suggest that the particular model of ideal worker espoused within organisations is neither static nor universal (2002). What is considered ideal can vary in terms of: the qualifications needed for the job; the degree of emphasis on availability for full-time work; and work orientation – to career development, self interest in work quality, motivation, and commitment to the work group or organisation (Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998). Similarly the model of the ideal worker may vary across societal contexts and change over time due to contextual changes such as organizational reforms (Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002). These variations in the ‘norming’ of the form of employment produce differences in gendered outcomes across time and place (Benshop & Doorewaard, 1998; Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002).

While the application of ideal worker theory has centred mainly on differentiated jobs within organisations, this does not preclude the application of the theory to occupations in order to explore either horizontal segregation or segmentation. Acker makes clear the distinction between occupations and jobs, defining an occupation as “a type of work” and “a job as a particular cluster of tasks in a particular work organization” (Acker, 2006, p. 446) Employment contracts, as instruments defining the terms and conditions of employment have just as much power to gender occupations as they do jobs, particularly in Australia, where the legacy of collective bargaining and industrial awards has often embedded terms and conditions of employment not only into legal systems of industrial and occupational regulation but also into our perception of how work in different occupations should be conducted.

2.5.2 Flexibility

Like other concepts in this chapter, flexibility is multi-layered. It has different meanings at the level of the labour market, the firm, the job and the individual worker-mother who is required to be ever-responsive and adaptable. It also has different meanings, depending on whose interests are served by a particular form of flexibility. The critical question for this study is the extent to which there are forms of flexibility that minimise the friction between paid work and care.

At the level of national and international labour markets, flexibility is synonymous with liberalisation, the 'dis-embedding' of the economy from national regulatory institutions, and the dominance of global market coordination over other social formations. Within this context, there is no doubt that, models are emerging which provide very one-sided forms of flexibility to employers. Standing (2011, pp. 26-29;37) argues the emergence of global labour markets in which organisations face few regulatory restraints on their pursuit of *numerical flexibility* (taking on and shedding workers at short notice) and *functional flexibility* (shifting workers and production processes around). *Flexible work arrangements* include variable-hours and zero-hours contracts that provide extreme *wage flexibility* to employers. In the US and elsewhere, Standing (2011) has noted the stripping of benefits including superannuation, child care, and paid leave out of wage packets. Hourly-paid casual work in Australia fits this mould of wage flexibility: the wage 'loading', often of 20 percent, does not fully compensate for lack of leave and other benefits. Such practices represent a partial return to a commodified 'spot' exchange of work for money. Harvey (1999) has applied the term 'block time' to engagements involving the purchase of so many hours' work. This is quite different from the wage system in an employment relationship, where the employer accepts the necessity to contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of labour power by funding the recreation and family care needs of employees, for example through paid leave entitlements.

Another extreme form of labour market flexibility is *the uncoupling* of the relationship between employer and employee through a new triangular or displaced form of work contract, mediated by employment agencies. Burgess and Connell (2006) describe the growing use of temporary work agencies as a source of labour flexibility, for example through, on call and temporary agency employment. Recruitment services firms, in addition to conventional job search functions, also supply workers on a temporary contract basis (though such work may continue for some time). The intermediary role of the agency creates ambiguity as to who carries employer responsibilities: as a result agency workers risk alienation in the workplace, lack of clarity as to who carries employer responsibilities, and lack of access to training and career development. Citing Peck and Theodore (1998), Burgess and Connell argue that this triangular relationship is about more than providing 'warm bodies': it is now a long-term way of working.

The growth in labour market flexibility is linked to changes in patterns of labour demand, based on new organisational forms. The earliest and now somewhat over-used model of organisational restructuring is Atkinson's 'flexible firm', with its core of functionally flexible workers and its numerically-flexible peripheral layers of part-time and casual employees,

agency temporaries, and dependent and independent contractors (Burgess, 1997). This ideal type model was never intended to suggest that any one firm would use all these employment modes: rather it was an ideal-type depiction of available labour management strategies. Nevertheless empirical studies such as those by Marchington et al. (2005) indicate, that there are certainly empirical examples of organisational boundaries being blurred through the use of a wide range of outsourcing, franchising and sub-contracting arrangements, with the effect of 'disordering organisational hierarchies' through a dismantling of internal labour markets and career opportunities. These writers refer to a 'fragmentation' of organisations and employment relations.

The question to be answered, then, is the extent to which mothers pursuing the flexibility to combine work and care find themselves obliged to resort to such forms of engagement. The work and employment arrangements described above are forms of *substantive flexibility*. They represent a strong reassertion of managerial prerogative, guaranteed by *procedural flexibility* – the reshaping of labour laws to reduce intervention by governments or unions in the direct relationship between individual worker and employer. Procedural flexibility is a regulatory construct, not an absence of regulation. This is illustrated in the case of Australian casual employment. Campbell and Burgess have argued, that this employment mode is based on an 'officially-sanctioned gap in protection'; a 'startling example of social exclusion at the very heart of the labour regulation system' (2001b, pp. 171;176-178). Burgess, Campbell & May (2008, p. 168) comment: "Put simply, casual employment has developed since it is legal to do so and there are few restrictions placed upon it through the system of labour regulation in Australia".

So the next question to answer is whether there are forms of procedural flexibility that empower mothers to negotiate for family-friendly forms of substantive flexibility. The main form of procedural flexibility that has characterised Australian employment relations, like those in other industrialised countries, over the past quarter-century, has been the lowering of the centre of gravity of bargaining, to the enterprise or workplace level. Collective bargaining coverage has declined, in part because of the growth of non-standard employment among workers who have been beyond the reach of collectively-determined minimum labour standards and their enforcement (Quinlan & Sheldon, 2011). In part, too, particularly between 1996 and 2006 in Australia, this decline in collective coverage was actively fostered by the regulatory means outlined in Chapter 3.

At the level of the workplace, the job and the individual, we see that the relationship between procedural flexibility and *temporal flexibility* is complex. As Lehndorff (2007) argues, work-time, along with pay, has been the main union concern for a hundred years,

and has been centrally regulated. In Australia a 40-hour week, and weekends clear of work, became part of the standard employment relationship in 1948 and the 38 hour full-time week became the national norm after 1981 (Donaldson, 1996). With the weakening or demise of this regulatory standard, what sort of temporal flexibility emerges, and what are the options for individual mothers, for whom standard hours are incompatible with care, but who must individually negotiate an alternative?

Lehndorff (2007) argues that employers' desired working time flexibility, where individuals fit their hours to those required, to manage fluctuations in business demands over the week, year or business cycle: Junor (1998) adds daily and monthly rostering variability to this list. It is by no means certain that mothers will be well served by unsocial, irregular or unpredictable hours. Lehndorff notes:

'... self-managed working-time entails a greater time pressure and, in many cases, longer hours than contractually stipulated ... The implication of 'individualised' hours may be very simple: 'the job has to be done, and 'there is no other way to cope with it' (Lehndorff, 2007: 21).

Flexibility of workplace, sometimes called '*flexi-place*', is the final form of flexibility to be discussed here. Working from home diminishes the pressure to distribute hours between paid work and care, allowing the two sets of responsibility to be combined, although in the execution of tasks it is not always easy to discharge both. While the ramifications of working from home are widely disputed (Burgess & Connell, 2006b; Wight & Raley, 2009; Quinlan & Bohle, 2008; Rasmussen & Corbett, 2008) the emphasis in this thesis will be on the portability of work as one of a range of negotiated flexibilities. It is argued that the ability to perform certain tasks or, work a portion of the day or working week from home, either as a regular or irregular arrangement, acts as an enablement of care (McDonald, Guthrie, Bradley, & Shakespeare-Finch, 2005, p. 486). The ability to work from home in this manner enables *care flexibility*, the flexibility to care for children when they are sick, the flexibility to be home in the afternoon for children after school, or the flexibility to catch up on work of an evening, while providing supervisory care to children.

One of the central motifs in this thesis is that work flexibility is not free-form: it based on norms and their negotiability. It is intertwined with the norms governing motherhood, at the point of intersection of systems of production and reproduction. Thus a focus of investigation is the degree of convergence between employer and employee desires for flexibility, the extent to which individually-flexible working time arrangements are linked to unfavourable employment modes, the extent to which mothers are subject to, or protected

by, more widespread and perhaps collective norms or standards industrial or occupational standards, and the degree of flexibility available to adapt these standards to individual need.

2.5.3 Part – Time Work

Both in Australia and the United Kingdom, as women moved into part-time employment as an alternative to taking time out of the labour market to raise families, debates shifted to examine the quality of part-time work as an employment form (Baxter, 1998; Smith, Fagan, & Rubery, 1998). Differences in the quality of jobs available as full-time and part-time employment were examined but part-time work as a ‘job quality’ in its own right was under explored. Instead the focus of debate was on the comparative quality *of* part-time work, the quality of the part-time employment as a specific work form rather than on flexibility as a desirable job quality. The flexibility of part-time work to enable the combination of paid employment with unpaid care was assumed and the quality of part-time jobs in terms of economic value and security was the focus of examination.

Chapter 3 provides a statistical documentation of the characteristics of part-time and casual work in Australia. Here the focus is on how these employment modes have been theorised. As a specific work form part-time work is seen as being generated by an intersection of ‘managerial prerogative’ and the ‘legal, social and economic environment’ (Smith, Fagan, & Rubery, 1998). Smith et al. specify five factors which determined the creation of part-time work: “the production system, competitive conditions in the product market, labour regulation, government and union activity, and labour market conditions” (1998, p. 44). Following this line of argument, the gendering of this work form occurs not only at the micro level of the firm but also at the macro level of national systems of regulation.

The legacy of early segmentation theory’s assertion of two non competing markets has been incorporated into analyses of part-time work and the same distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ jobs applied to the pool of part-time labour. ‘Quality’ part-time work enables access to employment security and work of high economic value. Such part-time work is seen as a retention strategy, enabling employers to retain valued groups of employees who prefer the reduced hours, such as employed mothers (Tilly, 1992) (Junor, 1998b). As a retention strategy part-time employment was envisaged as temporary, and the reduction of working hours hypothesised to be reversible. Such jobs are categorised as part of the primary labour market - they required a degree of skill, continuity of employment and paid relatively high wages. In contrast ‘bad’ part-time jobs are located in the secondary market and characterised by low pay and skill levels and few prospects for advancement.” (Walsh, 1999, p. 181)

In debates over part-time work, the job qualities particularly identified as attached to part-time work include insecurity and low economic value. These debates include the contested attribution of 'lack of commitment' to part-time jobholders and the impacts of this perception on the location of part-time jobs outside career tracks (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005; Junor, 1998b; Lane, 2004). It has been noted that part-time work is more prevalent in occupations afforded low socio economic value work (Smith, Fagan, & Rubery, 1998; Baxter, 1998; Junor, 1998b) and in jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy (Junor, 1998b; Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2005). The possibility of a systematic 'historical' undervaluation of these jobs, on the basis of the links among gender, part-time hours, and the under-recognised skills of care-giving, has recently been acknowledged in Australian equal remuneration law (Fair Work Australia, 2010-2012).

In Australia, accessing part-time hours may require changes in employment mode, leaving part-time employees classified as casual and therefore lacking access to standard employment benefits such as annual and sick leave (Baxter, 1998). The interrelationship between part-time work and casual employment is a critical aspect of the debate on quality part-time work in Australia. While the availability of part-time work suggests implicitly the enablement of flexibility to engage in both paid employment and unpaid care a large part of this debate centres on the degree to which casual employment is temporal or irregular (Burgess & Campbell, 1998b; Wooden & Warren, 2004). As an employment form casual employment may lack security because there is no legal entitlement to employment benefits such as sick and annual leave, nor is there any prior notification of retrenchment (Baxter, 1998) although many employees in this form of work remain with the same employer on a casual contract for long periods of time. However the definition of employment security has evolved from an emphasis on employment continuity and availability, to incorporate notions of permanence, predictability and regularity of working time and scheduling (Walsh, 1999). These job qualities are of particular benefit to mothers attempting to combine paid employment to unpaid care.

There is ambiguity as to whether part-time employment should be categorised as a standard form of employment or as non standard. In Australia, it is mainly a part-time worker's status as casual that prescriptively defines them as being in non standard employment even though they may descriptively be working the employment norm. This raises the question of whether permanent part-time work "crosses the divide from 'non-standard' to 'standard' employment" (Junor, 1998b, p. 80) or whether part-time employment is a distinct employment form with its own divisions of standard and non standard.

2.5.4 Insecurity

The concept of insecurity used in this thesis is one that draws largely on the work of Standing (1993; 1997), and Burgess and Campbell (1998a) for whom precariousness or employment insecurity has many forms. Precariousness or insecurity is not theorised as a singular job quality but as a collection of job qualities which manifests in different dimensions of employment that are inherent in particular job forms. These qualities include but are not limited to

Employment Insecurity – when employers can dismiss or lay off workers, or put them on short time without great difficulty or costs;

Functional Insecurity – when employers can shift workers from one job to another at will or where the context of the job can be altered or redefined;

Income Insecurity – when earnings are unstable, or when transfer payments are contingency based and not guaranteed, or when earnings are close to established poverty lines;

Benefit Insecurity – where access is limited or denied to ‘standard’ non-wage employment benefits including those covering sickness, holidays and retirement;

Working Time Insecurity – when hours are irregular and at the discretion of the employer, or where hours are insufficient to generate a minimum wage.

(Burgess & Campbell, 1998a, p. 7 adapted from Standing 1993 p 425-426)

What these job qualities have in common is that they provide workers with employment that “[lacks] protective regulation, short or uncertain duration, lack of ‘standard’ employment benefits, and ambiguous or unprotected legal status” (Burgess & Campbell, 1998a).

In addition to these forms of insecurity Carney (2009) adds *occupational insecurity*. Occupational insecurity occurs where the terms of trade between flexibility and security embodied by the shape of employment are unfavourable, and generate occupational changes in which workers not only lose socio-economic status but risk loss of occupational skills, knowledge and experience. This backward slide down the occupational ladder is epitomised in discussions regarding the trap of part-time employment, where access to part-time employment is sequestered in occupations of low skill and low socioeconomic status, and mothers who are employed in occupations where there is great pressure to work

long hours may need to forfeit occupational access in order to gain working time flexibility (Burgess & Campbell, 1998b; Connolly & Gregory, 2005; Dex, 1987).

Common to all the precarious employment literature is its focus on how, work forms impact on the security of *employment*, not necessarily the security of *enabling care*, or the security of being able to *combine work and care*. Thus a further form of insecurity can be added to the list: *care insecurity*. While mothers engage in paid employment, alternative arrangements need to be made for children under their care. These arrangements may vary in the degree of care required, depending on the age of the child, from the supervision of school age children to the care of babies or children with special needs such as disabilities. How work is scheduled can have a significant impact on the security of these arrangements. Depending on family arrangements, the scheduling of paid work hours may be less of an issue than the regularity or irregularity of such scheduling. Regular night shifts may preclude most formal child care arrangements whilst allowing family members to provide care, but rotating or irregular hours may disrupt the security of both formal and informal child care (Auer & Elton, 2010; Millward, 2002; Grosswald, 2003; Smith, Clissold, Milia, & Accutt, 2002).

One approach to attaining the advantages of flexibility whilst mitigating its effects on security is the European *flexicurity* agenda. This seeks ways of replacing one-sided flexibility with models that reduce asymmetries between non-standard and standard employment. Instruments include labour standards regulation, social security and life-long learning. The goal is to improve *transition security* (European Expert Group on Flexicurity, 2007: 5). This agenda allows employers the *numerical flexibility* to adjust and redistribute hours and employee numbers and the *functional flexibility* to change work content or reallocate employees. At the same time, it provides a safety net of *economic security* through income support and training during transitions between jobs, as well as a social safety net such as health insurance. It also provides *individually-flexible* or customised solutions through training and job transition assistance, replacing job security with employment security. This model of low job security and high social security offers relatively high levels of income support (reportedly, up to 80 percent of wages in Denmark) to people in transition (Kalleberg, 2011: 183-185). The distance between such a model and the quality of transitional jobs in Australia is addressed implicitly in the next section, and in Chapter 3.

2.5.5 Job Quality

Theories of gender segregation and labour market segmentation highlight a dualistic divide in access to jobs based on 'job quality' which is largely gendered in nature. Job quality is

multifaceted. Quality may be evaluated in terms of job-task, skill development, work life balance (Gallie, 2007), employment stability, contractual status (Gallie, 2007; Burgess & Campbell, 1998a), absolute and relative pay rates, benefits, safety, employee voice (Burgess & Campbell, 1998a), opportunities for learning and career progression, job security – access to benefits, working time arrangements, social versus unsocial working hours, or poor spatial or temporal fit with the rest of life (Pocock & Skinner, 2012). Most attempts to measure job quality focus on a more limited combination of four employment dimensions: remuneration, career advancement and progression, security, and flexibility. Different occupations are characterised by different combinations of these dimensions.

Much of the research on the relationship between gender and job quality, has defined job quality in terms of flexibility and security. The work of Acker (1980; 1990) and Vosko (2006; 2007; 2008), in particular, focus on modelling the form or shape of employment based on these two dimensions of job quality and their interrelationship with gender.

In contrast to the notion of working-time flexibility, the concept of working time mobility draws on the work of Schmid (1995), and O'Reilly, Cebrian and Lallement (2000) who conceptualise part-time employment modes as a double-edged mechanism for employment mobility that can either enable or constrain full employment over the life cycle. While mothers may prefer to reduce their working hours, active motherhood is a life cycle stage, limited to when healthy and able-bodied children are under 16 years of age. As care demands lessen, mothers often reach a point where they wish to return to full-time employment: thus mobility to move between a range of working hours is an important part of working time flexibility. The direction and extent or range of working time mobility is important. Mobility that is limited to moves between different modes of part-time employment can indicate working time insecurity (Standing, 1993; 1997; Burgess & Campbell, 1998a).

The combination of part-time work and care in Australia is facilitated for many mothers by welfare provisions that subsidise the drop in income resulting from shorter working hours. The inability to return to full-time employment as care needs lessen and these provisions no longer apply, places women reaching the end of active motherhood at risk of working time insecurity. At the other extreme, mobility that is limited to long or very long working hours can indicate occupational insecurity based on the exclusion of options for working time flexibility to care (Acker, 1990; Carney, 2009). Where available working hours are concentrated in modes of long or very long working hours, accessing part-time employment or even full-time employment may place mothers at risk of occupational exclusion.

Considerable work has been done in Australia on a 'quality part-time work' agenda (Pocock, Buchanan, & Campbell, 2004b; Charlesworth & Chalmers, 2005). This agenda advocates the regulatory use of improved minimum labour standards and their extension to insecure employment through a comprehensive safety net. This would prevent the ongoing engagement of part-time workers on a casual basis by applying strict irregularity/intermittency criteria to the latter and imposing time limits on its duration, by mandating universal entitlements to sick leave, family leave and recreation leave; and by extending pension rights. It would also improve the quality and reversibility of part-time employment, by ensuring that its pro rata conditions made it different from full-time work only in hours; and ensured two-way mobility to and from full-time work. Part of this agenda would be to ensure that restrictions were placed on the normalisation of very long hours in full-time work – a practice giving mothers few options but to 'choose' to go part-time. (Lyonette et al., 2010, pp. 53-5).

2.6 Theorising Mothers' Mobility

Theorising mothers' mobility is a complex task, primarily because there are so many dimensions of employment that may change. Traditional notions of mobility focus on occupational mobility and career, however for mothers a key criteria for mobility is access to part-time work and the mobility to move between full and part-time modes in order to maintain employment over the life course. Yet these are not the only dimensions of employment which may alter as mothers change jobs. For mothers it is not only which dimensions of employment change that are important but how these patterns of changes unfold over the life course.

2.6.1 Careers

A generation ago, concepts of occupational mobility and career originally reflected male norms as women rarely engaged in paid employment outside the home to the extent to which it could be said that employment was their primary focus (Dex, 1987). Research on occupational mobility initially followed the conception of occupation as either class or status. Occupational mobility, was defined as the ability to move from one occupation to another, and was used as a proxy for social mobility, with early research focused on exploring inter-generational occupational change (Payne, G and J Payne, 1983; Blossfeld, 1986). Research on individual career paths initially followed this conceptualisation. The 'traditional' career was conceptualised as a firm based career where firm loyalty was exchanged for job security and promotional opportunities. 'Traditional' careers were built

on firm specific skills, with success measured on pay, promotion and status (Sullivan, 1999). Differences in career paths were attributed to individual characteristics such as family background, ability or education; or labour market structure such as occupational groupings, social class, organisational size or industry classification (Blossfeld, 1986; Sorensen, 1975; Carroll & Mayer, 1986).

However the traditional conceptualisation of career is difficult to reconcile with women's working lives, given its assumptions of continuity, and steady upward mobility, if not always within internal labour markets. These assumptions shape gender differences in career priorities: for men the focus may well be on building a career while for women the focus may be on family, and balancing work and family or career (Hakim, 2002; Brush, 1992). Theorisations of a 'protean' (self-defined), 'boundaryless' (subjective) or 'kaleidoscope' (rapidly changing) career emphasise independence from the traditional organizational career arrangements and allows for career interruptions due to family reasons (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Arthur, 1994). Careers may span multiple firms and career success may be measured by what is considered psychologically meaningful to the individual worker (Sullivan, 1999). Whilst these formulations have the advantage that they move away from the male norm, to the extent that they interpret careers as inner-directed and a matter of individual responsibility, they absolve firms from the necessity to set in place the ladders, pathways or stepping stones that would support a non-linear model of career mobility. Accepting that a woman gives primacy to care work and then defining this as a value-choice, may very well be an individual *ex post facto* rationalisation and a poor use of human resources.

In comparing British men and women born 21 years apart, in 1943-5 and 1958, Dex et al (2008) found in the younger cohort that there was some, albeit incomplete, convergence of career progression between men and those women in gender-mixed occupations who took only very short childrearing breaks. This they attributed in large part to the introduction of statutory maternity leave. On the other hand, the career penalties for longer breaks or shifting to part-time work seemed to have increased amongst the younger group.

2.6.2 Transitions over the Life Cycle

In comparison the conceptualisation of women's employment mobility is more about how women move between jobs over their life time – a compilation of their work histories. (Dex, 1987) The tendency of this strand of research is to explore the transitions which occur around critical life events such as child birth (Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; Joshi, Macran, & Dex, 1996) or the individual causes of transitional decisions such as education,

(Baxter, 2004) or attitudes (Scott, 2008). In addition others have drawn attention to the key role of policy factors such as maternity leave availability and duration (Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; Whitehouse, Hosking, & Baird, 2008), and the quality of employment arrangements following return to work without a career break (Baird & Charlesworth, 2007).

This life events approach has broadened to explore the long-term cumulative career or income effects of maternal transitional employment arrangements such as career breaks or part-time work (Breusch & Gray, 2004; Chalmers & Hill, 2007; Rimmer & Rimmer, 1994). As Rubery, Horrell and Burchell (1994) point out women move between full and part-time over the course of their life cycle and this approach is both compatible with analyses that locate women's experiences within a life stage (Warren & Walters, 1998) and in conjunction with life events. "Differences in life cycle stages may thus mean that women's work orientations including those to part-time work are not necessarily homogenous but complex and multi stranded as suggested by Crompton and Harris (1998) and (Walsh, 1999)

2.6.3 Transitional Labour

The work of Schmid (1995), and O'Reilly, Cebrian and Lallement (2000) conceptualises mobility as a function of part-time employment. Part-time employment is viewed as a possible transitional mechanism enabling access to full or continuous employment over the life course. Schmid's work seeks to create a dynamic labour market theory. For Schmid, full employment is not a static employment state but an average state of continuous employment over an employee's life cycle. Transitional employment is conceptualised as a mode of employment with working hours shorter than the full-time standard, that allows for the combination of employment with other important life events such as study, family formation and retirement. (Schmid, 1995). O'Reilly et al (2000) have built on this concept by classifying transition types. Integrative transitions allow transitional labour to be used as a bridge back to full-time employment. Maintenance transitions occur when transitional labour simply enables continuous labour market participation. Exclusionary transitions occur when transitional employment is interspersed with periods of unemployment.

While the accepted concept of transition primarily refers to changes in modes of working time and the ability of women to utilise the part-time mode to maintain employment participation (Schmid, 1995; O'Reilly, Cebrian, & Lallement, 2000; Carney, 2009) changes in other parameters of employment are just as important to the effectiveness of the part-time mode as a transitional mechanism. Changes in forms of employment contract have been explored by Baxter and Renda (2011) and Charlesworth et al. (2011), and the relationship

between these and occupational transitions by (Carney, 2009). In addition the combination of flexible work with access to transfer payments under different welfare state regimes has been examined by Dingeldey (2007)

Transition patterns have been shown to vary, depending both on national differences in the labour market/welfare system interface (Alexander, Whitehouse, & Brennan, 2010; Gash, 2008; Rubery, 2008) and on workplace differences in the availability of existing family-friendly arrangements (Burgess & Campbell, 1998a). Changes in mobility patterns in different age cohorts have been identified and linked to policy changes such as the introduction of maternity leave (Dex, Ward, & Joshi, 2008). Patterns of mothers' inter- and intra-occupational mobility have also been shown to differ sharply according to occupational and class location (Crompton & Lyonette, 2008; Dex, Ward, & Joshi, 2008). These patterns emerge clearly when mothers' careers are tracked to the point where children reach school age (McRae, 2008). In an effort to move beyond an analysis of these different patterns of occupational maintenance, inclusion or exclusion, to the processes that generate them, the accessibility of separate factors, such as flexi-time and flexi-place, have been mapped qualitatively in different UK occupations (Fagan, McDowell, Perrons, Ray, & Ward, 2008).

These perspectives need to be brought together to provide a comprehensive answer to key questions asked in transitions studies, such as 'Can part-time work be a stepping-stone not a trap?' (Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998) and 'Can flexibility and security be combined?' (Lewis & Plomein, 2009). Navigational shape as a fully multidimensional concept is yet to be explored.

2.6.4 The Contours of Employment and Job Accessibility

In the debates over whether certain employment forms constitute 'bridges' or 'stepping stones' or 'traps', the labour market is often described using the metaphor of a terrain traversed over time. Any transition within this terrain depends on being able to gain a foothold in a new job. Thus employment and occupational mobility depend on job accessibility. The terms 'segregation' and 'segmentation' suggest that certain jobs are cordoned off, or that the labour market consists of subdivisions fenced off from each other. Thus the terrain is *contoured* by career pathways and accessibility barriers.

Vosko, Macdonald and Campbell (2009) define the *contours* of employment as both the '*nature* and *shape* of employment' (my emphasis). The *shape* of employment pertains to the actual form that employment takes, the terms and conditions of employment delimited by the employment contract. In comparison the *nature* of employment refers to its character

or effect. For Acker (1990) the nature of employment is characterised by gender: the working hours specified in the employment contract have a gendered effect on who participates in employment, and on who participates in which jobs. For others, (Vosko, 2006; 2007; 2008; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009; Burgess & Campbell, 1998a; Campbell, Whitehouse, & Baxter, 2009) the nature of employment is characterised by security or precariousness. The effect of the Standard Employment Relationship (SER) is not only to shape employment access along occupational lines, but also along lines of employment security.

Thus the labour market does not have the contours of a level playing field. Travel through this terrain involves costs that require negotiation. Choices carry penalties. Some of the terms and conditions that shape jobs and occupations may be needed to be traded for others. The thesis will examine the patterns of trade, particularly between security and flexibility that are made by mothers in different occupations as they navigate the terrain of the Australian labour market.

2.7 Summarising the Theoretical Terrain

From this literature review, an understanding of mothers' employment participation, location and patterns of mobility emerge as a complex dialectical interplay between concepts of: gender and motherhood, agency and constraint, paid work and unpaid care, bridges and traps, flexibility and insecurity. From this emerge two questions: what are the key factors shaping mothers' employment access, and how do these interact?

To answer the first question research and theoretical discussion has primarily focused on the extent and origins of a mother's agency and or constraint in decisions on the form of her employment participation. The debate on whether motherhood is to be equated with gender or a distinctly different state is at the foundation of the debates which follow. If caregiving is implicit in the sexual contract that underpins social, economic and civil life then a woman's agency in employment does not vary regardless of whether she has children to care for or not. The premise that caregiving will be required at some point in the life course is built into any agency or constraint on her employment decisions. This is the foundation of the arguments of Becker (1985) and Polachek (1981): that the sexual division of household labour limits women's agency to a choice of the form any such participation will take. For Hakim (1998; 2000; 2002) motherhood and womanhood are not necessarily synonymous as mothers choose their role - whether home-centred, adaptive or career centred. While Hakim's roles are not specifically aligned to the roles of womanhood or motherhood, they do recognise differences in the way in which women's roles are enacted,

roles that differentiate between the time investment of women in unpaid care and paid employment.

In comparison theories of constraint allow greater latitude in the debate over the convergence between womanhood and motherhood, as these theories focus on how and where such roles are institutionalized. Connell (1987) and Gatens (1998), among others, acknowledge that the definition of the role of women and/or mothers permeates all levels and areas of life. The question then becomes one of the areas of life in which women actually experience constraint, to what extent and on what basis - care or gender. The interrelationship between gender and care has greatest impact in economic life. Here the theories of Esping-Andersen (1990) on social provision and citizenship, and Rubery (1994b) on systems of production, consumption and reproduction are important as they illustrate both the interrelatedness and pervasiveness of constraint. But the assumptions underlying specific elements of economic production are also important: working time, flexibility, employment insecurity, job quality, mobility, career progression, occupational access, and employment regulation. How the assumptions within many of the above listed elements of the system coalesce has been theorized by both Acker (1990) and Vosko (2008; 2007) in terms of ideals, standards and norms. Both the ideal worker and the SER are the embodiment of our assumptions about participation in paid employment, in its most basic forms. Primarily there is an assumption that there is a tension between the demands of work and care, that to do both is difficult as there are irreconcilable differences in the requirements between each of these roles. Patterns of segmentation are seen as indicators of how these assumed tensions coalesce and impact on employment access, resulting in differentiated gender concentrations among jobs. It is the aim of this thesis to understand the extent to which, if at all, this differentiation can be identified at the occupational level.

2.8 New Ideas – The Research Model

As Dex (1987) pointed out a quarter century ago and, Pocock and Skinner (2012) have pointed out more recently, our understanding of patterns of segregation is still incomplete and has remained so despite the conceptual developments that have taken place. For Dex (1987) the key to further breakthroughs lies in understanding women's patterns of mobility. For Pocock and Skinner (2012) it is in understanding the dynamics of job quality across: different levels of context – job, workplace, industry, labour market; and how these interact within larger social contexts; at different life stages; and within different labour market locations. This study attempts to fill a gap in conceptual understanding by bringing these perspectives together, using an empirical analysis of transitions within and between

occupations with varying norms of job quality. Its purpose is to measure mothers' access to a range of job qualities that may enable them to combine work and care, on an occupational basis, and to understand how this access shapes their mobility over the course of motherhood.

Job quality is explored not only in terms of what is important to workers generally but also in terms of what is of potential value to mothers in paid employment. These job qualities include: flexibility - working time and work location (flexi-place); and security – contractual and work scheduling arrangements; career advancement and progression and occupational change.

The concept of accessibility explores how these qualities are packaged together in an employment shape which may be gendered. This concept draws largely on the work of Acker (1990; 2006) and Vosko (2007; 2008; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009). Both Acker's 'ideal worker' and Vosko's 'standard employment relationship' (SER) draw on the differences in the overall form or package of terms and conditions attached to employment, between the jobs in which men work compared to the jobs of women or working mothers. Acker emphasises that a firm's job offer is attached to specific terms and conditions of employment and it is through the parameters of employment contained within these terms and conditions that jobs become male or female, ideal or non-standard. Similarly, Vosko's construct of the SER embodies a similar notion of employment shaping, but locates it at the macro level via employment regulation. The concept of accessibility explores how the variation and extent to which job qualities are statistical norms and how these norms are packaged together as a specific employment shape within occupations. What is important is not necessarily how the shape of mothers' employment differs from that of men, but how the shape of employment varies occupationally and how this in turn impacts on mothers' employment access, reproducing patterns of gender segregation.

The process whereby patterns of gender segregation are reproduced will be explored utilising the concept of navigation. Navigation is defined as the pattern of employment mobility resulting from the exercise of individual agency within the boundaries of existing labour market structures – which in this study are occupationally based. The dynamic between agency and constraint is explored by examining the relationship between the pattern and strength of occupational norms and their relationship to mobility. In some jobs, a mother's care-related divergence from norms of working time and place is tolerated; in others, it is not. The questions, both, of which norms are flexible and of the degree of tolerance for departures from the norm, will vary between occupations. Thus for mothers, the shape of employment for any occupation is critical. The shape of employment not only

defines the parameters of job access but in doing so, enables and constrains the pathways for navigation available to mothers attempting to adapt to the changing needs for care over the life course. The exercise of mothers' agency is limited to choosing whether to change occupation in order to access part-time employment, accepting the change in contractual mode which may be attached to part-time employment access, or foregoing access to part-time work for the ability to work full-time and to some extent at home. These decisions will be defined and explored in terms of mothers making trades, encountering barriers, and falling into traps.

Thus this thesis attempts to understand the 'collisions' between work and care, by exploring the dynamics of mothers' employment accessibility and navigation. In doing so it asks four questions:

- 1. What are the 'normative forms' of employment in Australia and how do they vary across the labour market?**
- 2. How is the Australian labour market contoured by patterns of occupations with varying normative forms of employment?**
- 3. What pathways of navigation do women and mothers use to maintain employment access?**
- 4. How do mothers use these pathways to navigate occupational access?**

Chapter 3

Contexts of Australian Mothers' Employment Access, 2001-2006

3.1 Australian Women's Labour Market Participation: Comparisons over Time and Place

Patterns of Australian women's labour market participation have changed dramatically over the last 40 years. Cross-sectional trend data derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics Household Labour Force Surveys indicate that women's paid employment has grown faster than the labour market: in 1978 women made up 36 percent of a workforce of 6.4 million; in 2010 they comprised 45 percent of a workforce of just under 12 million. In 1976 only 40 percent of the female population aged 15 and over were engaged in paid employment; by 2010 this had increased to 66 percent of the female population aged over 15 (Vosko, 2006; ABS, 2011a). Figure 3.1 illustrates this long-term trend, locating the focal period of this thesis within it. Through the period 2001-2005, the proportion of Australian women aged 15 and over who were employed or unemployed and looking for work, was 55 percent, compared with a corresponding figure of 72 percent for men. For women, this figure was part of a long-term secular increase in participation, from 44 percent in 1987 to 50 percent in 2010.

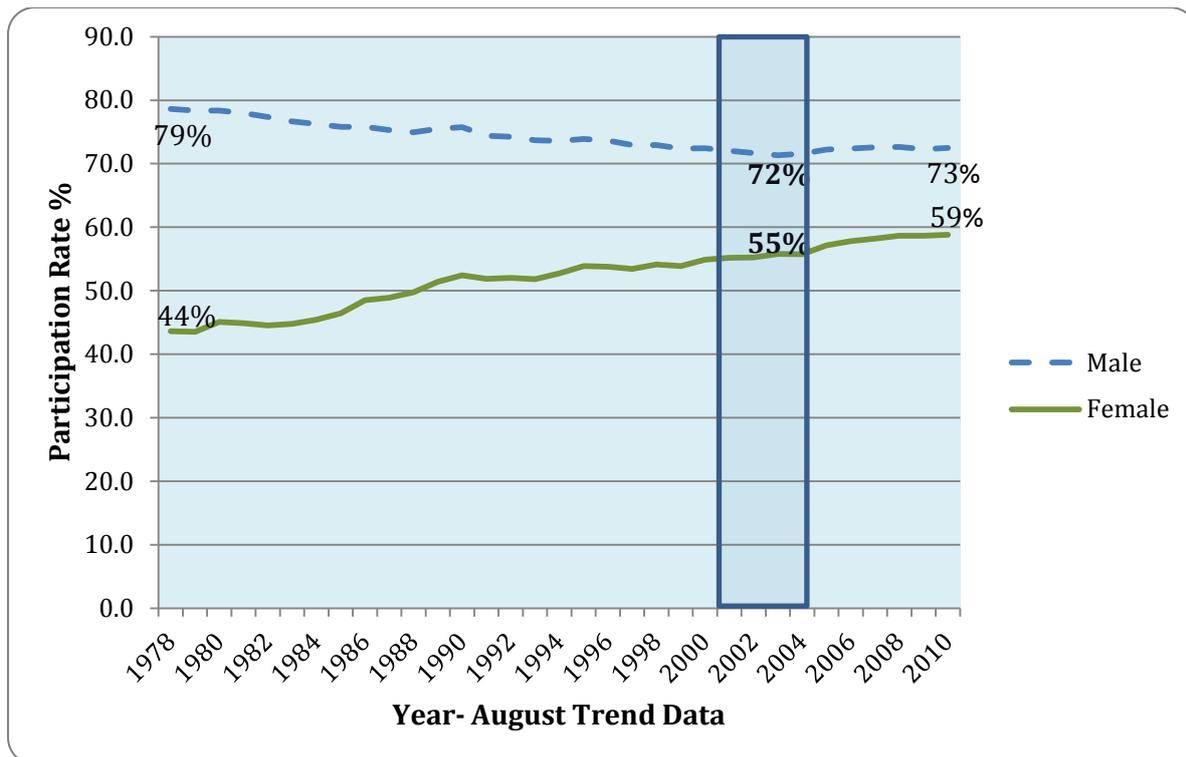
The trend was possible only through growing levels of labour market participation by women 25 to 44 years old, – that is, in the age most closely linked to active care-giving for children aged under 16. Figure 3.2, drawn from full household Census data at 10 year intervals between 1976 and 2006, illustrates the changing patterns of labour market attachment of four cohorts of women. Overall participation rates between ages 25 and 54 were higher in each decade than in the one before.

Figure 3.2 also illustrates another alteration in the employment participation of women over the life course since 1976.¹ In the mid-1970s and 1980s, women's participation exhibited the classic "M" shape. Employment participation peaked at 20 to 24 years of age,

¹ Tracking the employment participation of mothers is often difficult owing to the limited availability of data. Women of child bearing age, between 25 and 35 years, is used as a proxy for mothers.

fell to a low during child bearing at 25 to 34 years of age, and peaked again between 35 to 44 years, before beginning to decline towards retirement. However, over the last 10 years this pattern has changed: women’s participation now declines much less during child bearing age, plateauing at 20 to 25 years of age, remaining relatively constant through child bearing, and peaking at 45 to 54 years of age before falling towards retirement.

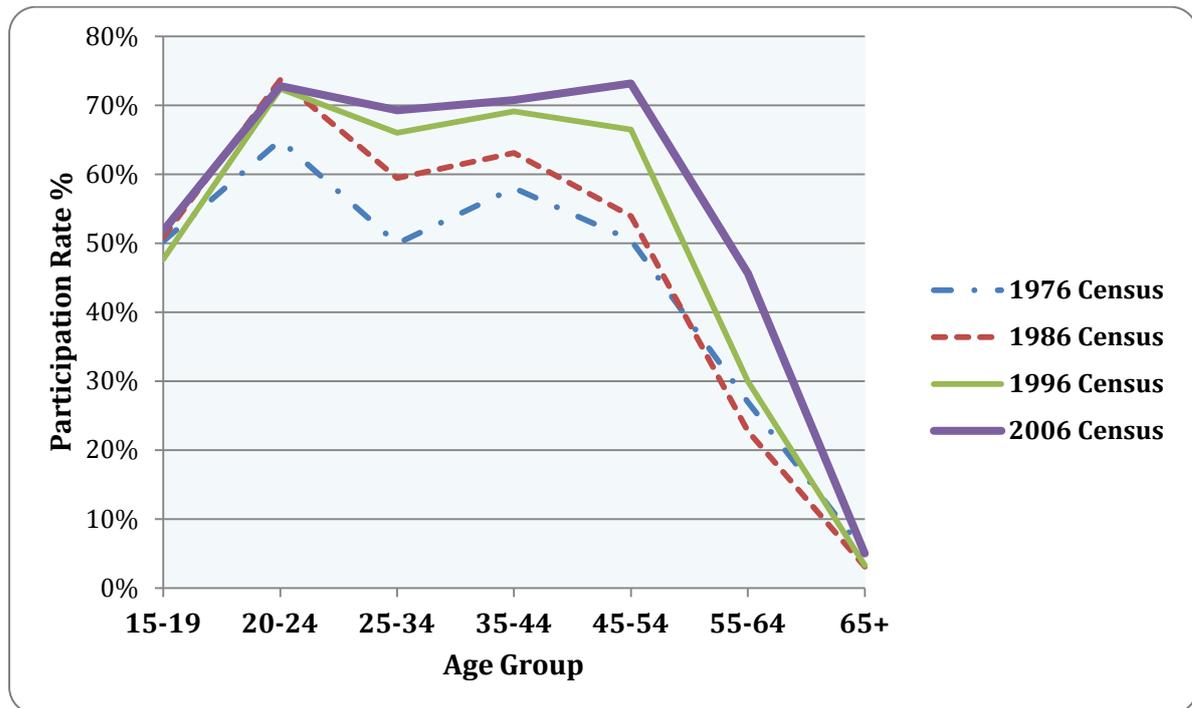
Figure 3.1 Female Labour Force Participation Rates, Australia, 1978 - 2010



Source: ABS (2010d)

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) family data support the interpretation that it is not just women of child-bearing age, but specifically mothers, whose participation in paid employment has increased. Sixty-six percent of mothers from couple families and 58 percent of sole mothers with a child under 15 were in the labour force in 2006, a rise from 61 percent and 50 percent respectively in 1996 (ABS, 2010b; ABS, 2008). Australian mothers, no longer leave paid employment permanently or even for long periods temporarily, in order to raise a family but are much more likely to attempt to combine care with paid employment. However in comparison to international standards, Australian mothers’ labour market participation remains on the low side. Abhayaratna and Lattimore (2006) have noted that Australia ranked twentieth out of thirty OECD countries for workforce participation of women aged 25-44 (Abhayaratna & Lattimore, 2006, p. 69).

Figure 3.2 Female Labour Participation Rates by Age Group, Australia 1976-2006



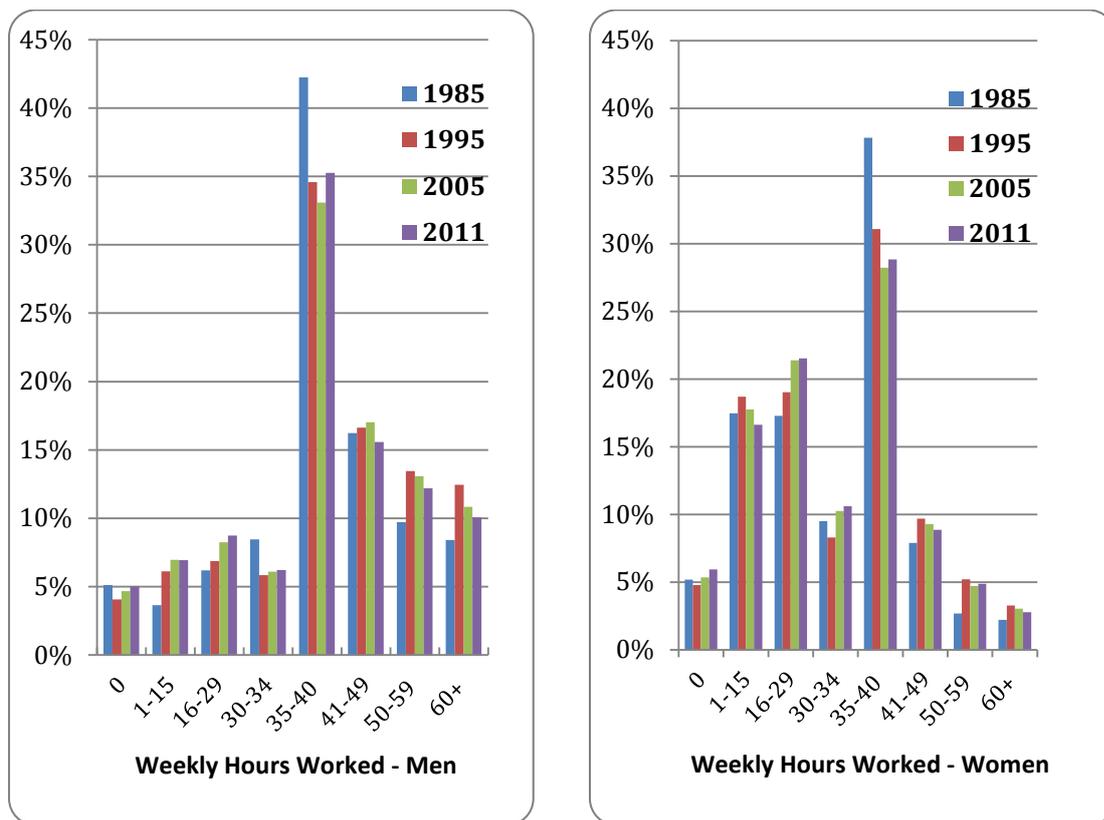
Sources: - ABS (ABS, Labour Force Status by Age by Sex by Place of Usual Residence, 1978)1978, 1988, 2011b.

Whilst unemployment rates suggest labour market barriers on the demand side, it is likely that the allocation of care responsibilities in households was also affecting mothers' labour market activity from the supply side. Over the past twenty years, attempts to renegotiate the division of labour within households have had to swim against the tide of rising weekly hours of men's paid work. Figure 3.3 uses ABS quarterly Labour Force survey data from 1985 to 2011, to indicate trends in the hours worked per week by men and women in Australia. August quarter data are used to minimise the impact of holidays. The data for employers and those working in family businesses are excluded, but own account workers are included to capture the growth in dependent contracting via labour hire and outwork (Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008; Underhill, 2006) as well as the promotion of work from home as a means to work/life balance, for example Dawson & Turner (1990).

Figure 3.4 demonstrates the declining strength of the full-time norm for a working week of between 35 and 40 hours per week, and the opposite directions in which departures from this norm have been trending for women and for men. Over the past 25 years, the proportion of men working 35 hours or more a week declined slightly from 77 percent to 73 percent, but within that group, the proportion working more than 40 hours a week grew to a peak of 41 percent in 2006, before falling back slightly to 38 percent in 2011. As the hours

of 'full-time' work have grown incompatibly with care, the proportion of women working part-time has risen from 44 percent in 1985 to 49 percent in 2005 and 2011 (ABS, 2012a). These figures suggest a labour market based on a 'modified breadwinner' model (Pocock, Prosser, & Bridge, 2005), and we turn now to its institutional basis.

Figure 3.3 Weekly Hours Worked – Men and Women, Australia 1985 - 2012



Source: ABS (2012a)

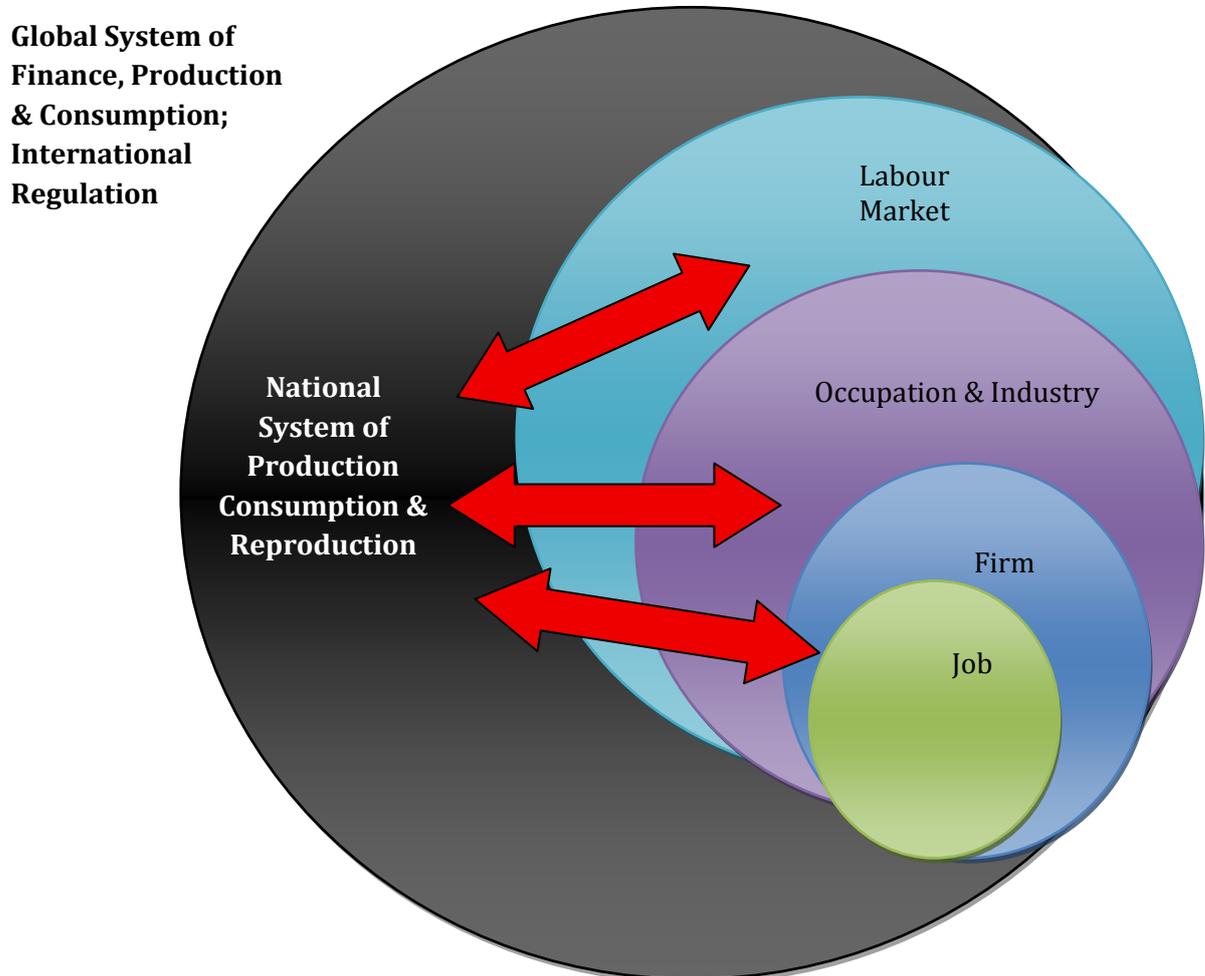
3.2 Institutional Context

Whitehouse (2004) attributes the growth in women’s employment to changes in social context (such as the impact of feminism during the 1960’s and 1970’s, and the availability of contraception and women’s control of their fertility) in conjunction with changes in labour market structure (such as the expansion in service sector employment). There was an institutional lag between these social changes and the regulation of production, consumption and reproduction (Pocock, Prosser, & Bridge, 2005).

Figure 3.4 returns us to the multi-level model (Figure 1.1) of the institutional contexts creating contours of job accessibility. The three main institutional levels that are the focus of Chapter 3 are: national systems regulating work and family, the labour market structures

and firm-level behaviour that they shape, and occupational norms. As Figure 3.4 suggests, all of these shape the quality and accessibility of jobs.

Figure 3.4 Regulation of Jobs in Australia: Institutional Layers



In Australia, particularly in older, male-concentrated sectors, the relations among state, capital and labour have been organised industrially as well as through occupational labour markets. The two-way arrow in Figure 3.4 represents adjudication (or more recently endorsement) by industrial relations regulatory bodies of the outcomes of contests between employer organisations and employee unions over modifications to the Standard Employment Relationship (SER) based on flexible work arrangements. At the level of the firm, there has been some limited state regulation of the conditions of women's and mothers' employment, through anti-discrimination legislation and case law depending on individual complaints, and through largely voluntary reporting-based compliance with a menu of options set out in equal opportunity legislation (Burgess, French, & Strachan, 2009). The outcome has been a system of production, consumption and reproduction characterised by fragmented labour markets, and gendered care patterns, with many

fathers working long hours and many mothers working part-time, often in poor quality, insecure jobs

3.2.1 Industrial Relations Regulation

The Australian version of the SER derives from a system of social protection established in the first decade of the twentieth century that delivered welfare largely through the wages system (Castles, 1994). To an unusual degree, Australia has historically relied on arbitration rather than a legislative approach to labour standard-setting. Industrial relations instruments called awards were made by quasi-judicial industrial tribunals at national and state level under Australia's federal system: they had industry or occupation-wide reach and state tribunals tended to 'flow on' the effects of significant national test cases. State powers were finally absorbed into a national system as recently as 2009.

Between 1908 and 1968, this system administered a family wage, earned by all men, based on their idealised role of financial support for a female caregiver and two or three children. It required job segregation, to prevent the under-cutting and displacement of men by women paid at a lower single rate, initially 54 percent of the male rate, rising to 75 percent by 1950. It also required high tariff protections against competitors in lower-waged countries. Standard family hours were established in 1948 at 48 per week and progressively reduced to 38 by 1982, with protection of weekends and paid overtime and penalty rates for family-unfriendly hours (Donaldson, 1996). The family wage had been opposed by some feminists and unionists from its inception. It was inconsistent with Australia's 1951 ratification of ILO Convention 100 on Equal Remuneration and response to union applications, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission awarded equal pay for equal work in 1969 and widened this in 1972 to equal pay for work of equal value. These decisions redefined women as independent wage-earners in their own right. Nevertheless, by the turn of the twenty-first century, Australian women employed full-time were still on average earning just over 80 percent of the average full-time male rate, and if part-time rates are included, they were still being paid the historic 'two-thirds of a man' (Ryan, 1984; Smith & Lyons, 2006). This created an economic pressure within households for a perpetuation of the traditional gender division of care giving and paid work.

Nevertheless the 1980s were a decade of significant increase in the labour market participation of mothers, who were employed particularly in the growing service economy. They entered a labour market in which tariff reductions and the floating of the Australian dollar in 1983-84 exposed Australian workers to international structural adjustment pressures. The union movement cooperated with the government (Ewer, Hampson, Lloyd,

Rainford, Rix, & Smith, 1991) to protect national debt servicing capacity. Wage restraint meant that further efforts to close the gender pay gap stalled, and from 1987, productivity bargaining displaced union efforts to reduce standard working hours. A new Commonwealth *Industrial Relations Act 1998* was drafted, preserving a tribunal with powers of arbitration, renamed the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC) (Isaac & Macintyre, 2004). Both the 1988 Act and a further significant revision of it in 1993 attempted to preserve a renovated award system combining productivity bargaining with employee protections, in the face of the growing strength of a flexibility agenda led by employer organisations and enacted in some state jurisdictions. This agenda introduced substantive flexibilities by using the rhetoric of family-friendliness to legitimise a diversity of working hours, rostering and contractual arrangements such as on-call work, twelve-hour shifts, annualisation of hours and the use of hourly paid contracts in ongoing positions (Junor, 1998a; Strachan & Burgess, 2000; 2001).

From 1991, both employers and unions pursued a 'procedural flexibility' agenda involving the decentralisation of collective bargaining to workplace or firm ('enterprise') level (Figure 3.1). Following early 1990s experiments in radical de-collectivisation in various state-level industrial relations jurisdictions, the Commonwealth *Workplace Relations Act 1996* was introduced. Its principle object was to provide a 'cooperative' framework for unmediated employer-employee negotiation, and one means to this end was 'assisting employees to balance their work and family responsibilities effectively through the development of mutually beneficial work practices with employers' (*Workplace Relations Act 1996*). The individual negotiation of work/care harmonisation was thus presented as an unproblematic way of resolving what in Chapter 2 was called the 'collision' (Pocock, 2003) between demands of paid work and care.

Escalating the trend to decentralised and individualised bargaining, the *Workplace Relations Act 1996* instituted, alongside enterprise-level collective agreements, a new form of individually-negotiated Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs). Firm-level agreements over-rode industry awards, whose contents were in 1998, restricted to twenty 'allowable' matters. AWAs were legitimated by the argument that they would allow workers to negotiate their own individualised family care arrangements directly with employers. In the event, by 2002, only 2 percent of the workforce were covered by AWAs, in part, because employers already had ample flexibility to deploy an expanding casual workforce in jobs whose quality was poorly-regulated (Baird, Hancock, & Isaac, 2011; Isaac & Macintyre, 2004; Nankervis, Compton, & Baird, 2005, p. 96; van Barneveld & Arsovska, 2001).

The *Workplace Relations Act 1996* set the standards for the employment relations regime under which the mothers in this study were navigating the labour market. Nevertheless, the context is completed by briefly outlining subsequent developments. The *Workplace Relations (Work Choices) Amendment Act 2005* provided employers with further flexibility, allowing AWAs to be offered as a condition of employment, and further reducing the allowable content of awards. Agreement-making was no longer subject to a test of ‘no disadvantage’ relative to the award and employers’ dismissal powers were deregulated except in cases of unlawful discrimination (Fenwick, 2006; Stewart, 2008; Waring & Burgess, 2006). Public concerns led to the 2007 restoration of a ‘fairness’ test in 2007, administered by the new Workplace Ombudsman, with powers to investigate and prosecute employer breaches – an individual redress mechanism. In effect, mothers were amongst those pitting their individual bargaining power against that of employers as they navigated the labour market.

With the electorate rejecting ‘Work Choices’ in 2008, the incoming government’s new national employment relations system under the *Fair Work Act 2009* established a floor of Modern Awards and legislative minimum labour standards, phased out AWAs and introduced an adjudicated collective bargaining mechanism in the low-paid sector. Nevertheless in the absence of supports for strong employee voice and good faith bargaining, there is limited empowerment of workers such as mothers navigating labour market transitions (Barnes & Lafferty, 2010)

In the regulation of the employer/employee relationship in Australia, industrial relations mechanisms have survived alongside the simultaneous rise of market and individual mechanisms. Figures 3.1 to 3.4 map the labour market outcomes to which this regulation contributed, and can be matched to statistics on changes in methods of determining pay and conditions between May 2000 and May 2010. During this decade, the coverage of collective agreements, mainly enterprise-level, increased from 37 percent to 43 percent of the workforce and the proportion of employees whose pay and conditions were set by an individual arrangement also increased, from 34 percent to 37 percent. The proportion of employees whose pay was set by award only dropped from 23 percent in May 2000 to 15 percent in May 2010 (ABS, 2011a). These figures illustrate not only the extent of decentralisation and individualisation of employment relations, but also the operation of different norms in different labour market sectors – the indicator of segmentation favoured by Michon, cited in Peck (2000).

3.2.2 Regulation by Industrial Relations or Legislation – Child Care and Parental Leave

Mothers' labour market access, transitions, and career mobility are all crucially shaped by their access to parental leave, their income support during leave, and their rights relating to return to paid work following leave. The gender division of household work is crucially shaped by the nature and duration of partner's leave. For working parents, the availability of quality, affordable child care is critical. In these areas, where both legislation and the industrial relations system have played a role, Australia has demonstrated institutional lag.

In the 1970s the Federal government instituted the first provisions for child care fee relief in non profit child care centres with the introduction of the *Federal Child Care Act, 1972*. During the 1980s, when the federal government dramatically increased the funding for childcare places, particularly for long day care (Lee & Strachan, 1998). Support was extended in 1993 to cover services provided in the care of children, up to 12 years of age.

Australia's first scheme for paid maternity leave in 1973 applied to Commonwealth Public Service employees. In the 1979 *Maternity Leave Test Case* the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission awarded 12 months unpaid maternity leave to women who were permanently employed (FaHCSIA, 2012). In the following decades, paid maternity or parental leave was patchily introduced in the public sector and some large private sector organisations. With the retreat from arbitration and the fragmentation of bargaining, the introduction of a universal paid parental leave scheme was a matter that could only be resolved by legislation. Such a scheme, the Paid Parental Leave (PPL) was finally legislated in mid-2010, and came into effect for parents of babies born after 1 January 2011 (Australian Government Family Assistance Office, 2012). In 2012, further legislation was announced to provide two weeks' Dad and Partner Pay, again at the National Minimum Wage rate, at the time of birth or adoption, available to all new parents, including in same-sex couples (FaHCSIA, 2012). These initiatives occurred too late for their impact on women's labour market participation to be identified in this study.² As a result, differences in paid parental leave availability before the legislation may have made some contribution to the distribution of mothers across occupations, discussed in the final section of this chapter.

² It is interesting to note that the introduction of paid maternity leave has been provided to workers on the basis of a workforce participation test and not on whether they are employed full or part-time, nor on a permanent or casual basis. Australian women are highly likely to work both part-time and/ or casually. Casual employment usually excludes workers from leave provisions. Thus the participation requirement extends the coverage of paid leave to many more mothers than might otherwise have been achieved.

In the decades between 1979 and 2012, there was a gradual extension of longer-duration unpaid parental leave in a child's first two years. In 1990, following Australia's ratification of ILO Convention 156 on Workers with Family Responsibilities, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) ran a Parental Leave Test Case in the AIRC. This established twelve months' unpaid leave as a norm and broadened eligibility by including paternity and adoption leave. The leave could be shared between mothers and fathers, although not simultaneously, and extended two years on a part-time basis. The Test Case provisions became a legislated entitlement, regardless of award coverage, for permanent employees covered by the Commonwealth *Workplace Relations Act 1996*. Casual employees were not included until a 2001 arbitration by the AIRC, and then only if they had twelve months' continuous service with one employer and were covered by a federal award. In 2005, a Family Provisions Test Case was run in the AIRC. Whilst again necessarily restricted to award-covered employees, it provided that where a parental leave entitlement existed, parents would also have the 'right to request' certain conditions. These included both parents taking leave together for up to eight weeks after a birth; working part-time between returning to work and the child reaching school age; an extension of unpaid parental leave for up to 12 months; and two-way communication between employer and on-leave employees concerning changed workplace or care arrangements (Charlesworth, Baird, & Whitehouse, 2009).

For any entitlement that is based on an individual's 'right to request', enforcement is a problem. This was the main critique of the 1990s legislation predicated on individual workplace-level negotiation of conditions. But parental and family leave are by their very nature entitlements that must be claimed on an individual basis. In Australia the industrial relations regulatory framework provides enforcement mechanisms through an inspectorate that helps individuals claim award and agreement entitlements without costly legal action. Nevertheless, particularly when jobs are insecure, parents must sometimes navigate employment access and retention in a context where they risk victimisation or exclusion, however unlawful. We turn now to the role of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation and practice, to identify its role in regulating the interface between firms and families.

3.2.3 Regulating Firm Behaviour – Anti-Discrimination and Equal Opportunity Legislation and Practice

Since the late 1970s at state government level and 1984 at federal level, anti-discrimination and equal opportunity laws, alone or in combination with other aspects of employment and labour law, have been part of the regulatory context within which firms have managed

mothers' paid employment (Figure 3.5). Anti-discrimination regulation belongs largely in the terrain of individual redress and deterrence based on case law. Smith and Riley (2004) argue however that they also serve as normative, public policy statements of rights. Equal employment opportunity regulation attempts to shift organisational culture by mandating that large firms report on measures contributing to the career advancement of women and mothers, and to the 'management' of workforce diversity. Burgess et al. (Burgess, Henderson, & Strachan, 2007) note the voluntarism and indeterminacy of this approach.

National discrimination and equal opportunity legislation derives from Australia's 1981 ratification of ILO Convention 111 Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation and its 1983 ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The resulting obligations were implemented through the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986* (subsequently re-named the *Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986*). The *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* has been successively amended to include protections of the rights of working mothers. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (now known as the Australian Human Rights Commission), set up under the 1986 Act can report discrimination to Parliament and serves a policy advisory role: in the early years of this century its Sex Discrimination Commissioner played an active role in advocating paid parental leave.

Unlike more recent legislative models that impose an equality duty on employers, for example, UK Home Office (2012), Australian anti-discrimination law is reactive and based on individual claims to have been disadvantaged because of a protected personal trait. Although family responsibilities are the most relevant trait Smith and Riley (2004) show that sex and pregnancy have also been used as successful grounds for achieving more family-friendly working conditions, building up a body of case law precedent. The Federal Court case of *Thomson v Orica* is an instance of a successful discrimination claim, based on transfer to a position involving loss of status (but not of pay) following return from maternity leave. Another is the Western Australian Equal Opportunity Tribunal pregnancy discrimination case of *Bogle v Metropolitan Health Services Board*, where a supervisor applying to return to her position on a part-time basis following maternity leave was told that part-time positions were available only at lower levels (Junor & Coventry, 2001, p. 88).

Involving material and emotional risk, individual discrimination cases are far from being a common or feasible form of labour market navigation for mothers. Class actions are rarely possible and when they are taken, they escalate the risk that the employer will appeal. Rees et al (2008, p. 30) note the very high propensity of Australian appeal courts to overturn

discrimination findings. In the case of *NSW v Amery*, the union-supported claims by 14 teachers of career and salary disadvantage resulting from parental leave were fought back and forth for ten years, ending with a High Court defeat. Rice notes the expostulation of the dissenting judge, Kirby J:

This case joins a series, unbroken in the past decade, in which this Court has decided appeals unfavourably to claimants for relief under anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation (Kirby, J., cited in Rice, (2010, p. 204))

Australian industrial law has been cross-referenced to discrimination law with mixed results. The *Industrial Relations Act 1988* required the AIRC to 'take account of' the principles of the *Sex Discrimination Act*. In the 1993 amendment, to the 1988 Act, protection was extended to cover dismissal on the grounds of family responsibilities and the AIRC was required to ensure that labour standards met Australia's international obligations under CEDAW and other treaties. In 1995, discrimination on the grounds of potential pregnancy was added. These provisions carried through the *Workplace Relations Act* era, but the growth of poor quality insecure jobs meant that their potential reach was narrowing (Charlesworth, 2010).

The final pillar of regulation has been a reliance on cultural change to encourage firms to emulate each other in providing best practice human resource management (Braithwaite, 1993). The origins of this Equal Opportunity practice are the *Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986*. Unlike overseas equal opportunity practice, it targets the private sector, but its reach is limited to firms with 100 or more employees and universities. Its original aim was to remove structural workplace barriers that resulted in women's concentration in poorly paid and low status occupations with limited career paths (Braithwaite, 1993, p. 328). Following some employer resistance, the legislation was replaced by the *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999*. This relies on a 'soft regulation' approach in which organisations report annually on a program for eliminating workplace discrimination. Through the preparation of a workforce profile, they analyse equity issues for women, and identify priorities for action. Organisations report on these actions and comment on their effectiveness with those judged to demonstrate effectiveness or consistent good practice rewarded with reduced reporting requirements and 'Employer of Choice' recognition. Burgess et al. (2007) convincingly argue that this is a liberal and voluntarist approach that has no outcome requirements.

Nevertheless, for organisations that are actually committed to improving outcomes, the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA) offers a wealth of useful resources. This approach to eliminating discrimination also avoids the individualism of the

complaints-based approach outlined above. It defines equal opportunity broadly to include but extend well beyond career opportunities: the work matters on which firms report include provisions to assist mothers combine work and the care of young children (EOWA, 2012). Nevertheless, as Burgess et al. (2009) argue, the impact of Australian Equal Opportunity practice has been further dissipated by the 'good for business' 'managing diversity' approach – an example of the 'bending equality' concept discussed in Chapter 2. Apart from the problem of whether inequity should be applied to stand if its redress is unprofitable, is the individualism that has resulted from the 'diversity' approach. This was designed to address the SER problem of the male-normed comparator, to replace deficit models of disadvantage with affirmations of positive difference, and to take account of differences in sexuality, ethnicity and disability and so on. But, particularly in the face of the proliferation of low-quality jobs, it has also served to obscure the realities of disadvantage and unequal outcomes. In a number of firms, studied by Burgess et al., "[t]here was a lack of engagement with the intersection between work and care responsibilities for women workers" (2007, p. 421). Firms can win 'Employer of Choice for Women' awards without having reported on any formal program to help workers meet family commitments.

3.2.4 The Welfare State and the Regulation of Work and Families

The institutional shaping of the welfare state between 1996 and 2006 strongly influenced mothers' choices in navigating work and care, and did so differentially for single mothers and mothers in two-parent families. There was an apparent 'disconnect' (Hill, 2006) between government rhetoric of support for a diversity of work and family choices, and its reinforcement of the female caregiver model, albeit only for women in two-parent families. New tax/transfer provisions, introduced in 2000, meant that mothers in the panel sample were navigating choices described by Hill as more akin to 'work or family' than 'work and family'.

In July 2000, a new Family Tax Benefit system was introduced, under which, mothers continued to face very high effective marginal tax rates on transition into the labour market. The 2004 Budget provided a substantial family assistance package, delivered through a combination of income tax cuts, family payments and government superannuation co-contribution. The greatest benefit, however, went to families where the 'secondary earner' contributed no more than 20 percent of household income. This was both a disincentive to the equitable redistribution of unpaid household care-work, and an incentive to mothers to shift to the type of short-hours or low-paid work that was likely to be found in low-quality casual jobs (Hill, 2006). The 2004 Budget also introduced a Maternity Payment, available

universally regardless of work arrangements, and foreshadowed significant increases in it through to 2008. This was a substitute for a government-funded paid maternity leave scheme, for which there was mounting pressure (Baird, 2004). Moreover increases in the Child Care Cost Benefit, the policy instrument most likely to benefit mothers in the labour market, were considerably more modest, amounting to 20 percent between 2002 and 2006 from an already low base (Hill, 2006). Further as a rebate scheme it was retrospective, arguably regressive and of benefit only to those already able to access child care.

These policy approaches tended in the opposite direction from recommendations in the 2006 Productivity Commission research paper discussed in Section 3.1 above. This paper identified the three initiatives most likely to enhance productivity by improving the labour utilisation of women aged 25-44: more neutral tax treatment of second income earners; childcare subsidies and paid maternity and parental leave (Jaumotte 2003; cited in Abhayaratna & Lattimore, 2006, pp. 58-59). Instead, in 2005, participation requirements were enforced through a new welfare to work system imposing strict new job search tests. Partnered parents were now eligible for a parenting payment only till their youngest child turned six, single parents until their youngest child turned eight. But the shift to unemployment benefits for those unable to find work after this time involved a less generous taper between transfer payments and wages. The Australian Human Rights Commission (2012) argued at the time that the Welfare to Work requirements would significantly reduce the flexibility of single mothers to navigate their return to paid work, in a context where the WorkChoices legislation now allowed employers to make the offer of a job contingent on acceptance of the terms of a non-union individual contract

This completes the general overview of institutional arrangements. The majority of Australian mothers who are the focus of this study were aged 25 to 44 in 2000 to 2005. Many were not yet born or in their infancy when the first institutional challenge to the male breadwinner/female caregiver model occurred. Most of the mothers in the study were teenagers when the Australian economy and labour market were being opened to global competition and when *Sex Discrimination* and *Affirmative Action* legislation was enacted in the mid-1980s. They were finishing their education and entering the labour market during the recession of the early 1990s, at a time when competing meanings of labour market flexibility were vying for ascendancy. This was a time when part-time employment, most of it insecure was growing as the main, and feminised enabler of family care, flexible working arrangements were extending men's working hours even while the *Parental Leave Case 1990* was defining men as potential carers. The decentralising and after 1996, the individualising of employment relations bargaining, occurred as many women in the study

panel were embarking on family formation: this was the context in which they were negotiating job transitions and balancing paid work and care in 2001-2005. The next section provides a more detailed analysis of the shaping of part-time work in Australia - the main avenue for mothers' labour market participation.

3.3 Part-Time Work: Enabling and Contouring Mothers' Employment

Several factors have already been described that help explain why part-time employment has been the main avenue for mothers' employment access in Australia. The lengthening of hours in the 'model' full-time working week has reduced the accessibility of this employment form to mothers, delaying Australia's departure from the male breadwinner model and making it harder to renegotiate the traditional household division of labour. To accommodate this ongoing gendering of household care work, a high proportion of Australian mothers have relied on part-time jobs. The result has been the emergence of a one-and-a-half breadwinner plus female caregiver model. It has been reinforced by the primacy given to part-time work in employers' accommodation of care responsibilities. The threshold income and work participation hours required by social welfare arrangements have also shaped part-time work. Yet the majority of Australian part-time jobs remain available on a non-career 'casual' basis. These points are illustrated in turn.

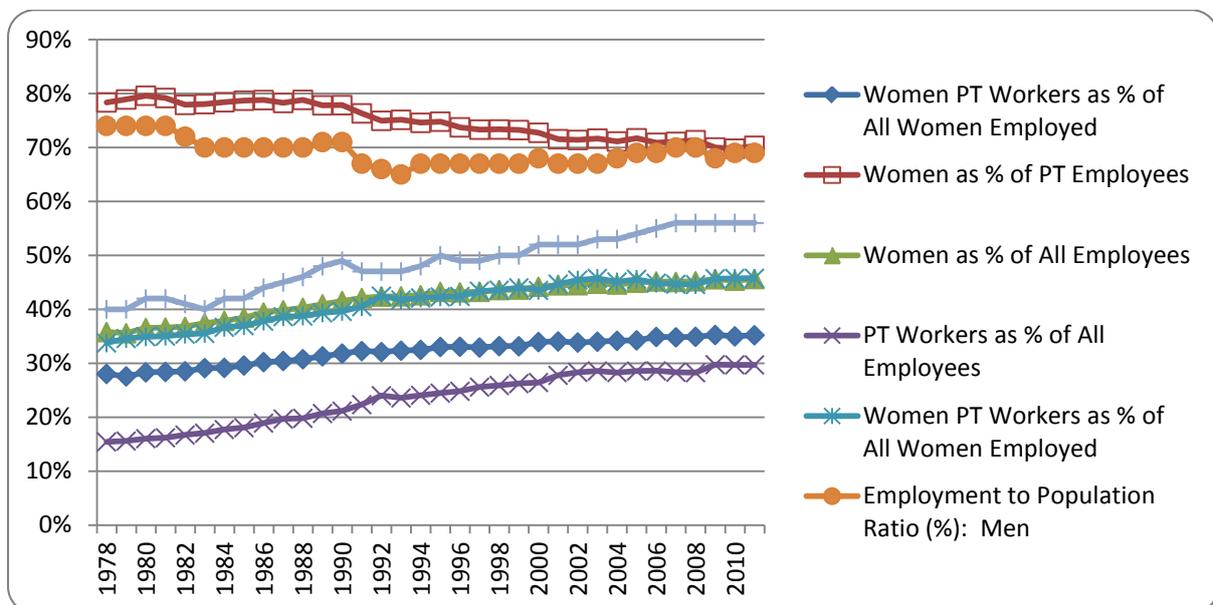
We begin with broad historical patterns of gendered employment in Australia, using the ABS Labour Force trend series, based on monthly household surveys. Figure 3.5 suggests a slight weakening of the male breadwinner model in Australia since 1978: women's share of employment grew from 36 percent to 46 percent between 1978 and 2011, largely as a result of the increased labour force participation of women of child-bearing age. This shift was reflected in a slight decline in the male employment to population ratio, from 74 percent to 69 percent and a rise from 40 percent to 56 percent in the female employment to population ratio. The employment to population ratio, which measures the proportion of those aged 15 and over in paid work, was chosen as the basis of this gender comparison rather than the participation rate, which tells a broadly similar story but includes unemployed job-seekers, and thus reflects employer demand as well as labour supply.

The contribution of part-time jobs to these changes is, however, not simply a gender story: rather it reflects a broader structural change in the labour market. As Figure 3.5 indicates, across the labour market, the proportion of jobs that were part-time doubled between 1978 and 2011, from 15 percent to 30 percent. The proportion of part-time employees who were

women actually declined from 78 to 70 percent during this time, while the proportion of full-time employees who were women actually increased, from 28 to 35 per cent. Thus the growth of part-time work needs to be analysed, not simply in terms of whether it was designed to accommodate mothers' working hours needs, but in terms of a wider employer labour market flexibility agenda - a point considered below, in a discussion of the emergence of insecure forms part-time work and the price being paid by mothers for family-friendly hours.

Nevertheless, Figure 3.5 indicates that the rapid overall growth in part-time employment has meant that the proportion of the female workforce employed part-time has grown at almost the same rate as women's share of overall employment. It cannot be doubted that the growth in women's employment was driven in part by the growth in part-time employment, consonant with government policy advocating part-time employment as a means for mothers to combine work and care (Whitehouse, 2004). While the majority of Australian women work full-time, and have done for the last 40 years, the proportion of women in full-time employment has dropped from 66 percent to 54 percent of all female jobs and the part-time share of female employment has increased correspondingly, from 34 percent in 1978 to 46 percent in 2011.

Figure 3.5 Female Full-Time and Part-Time Employment Trends, Australia 1978-2011

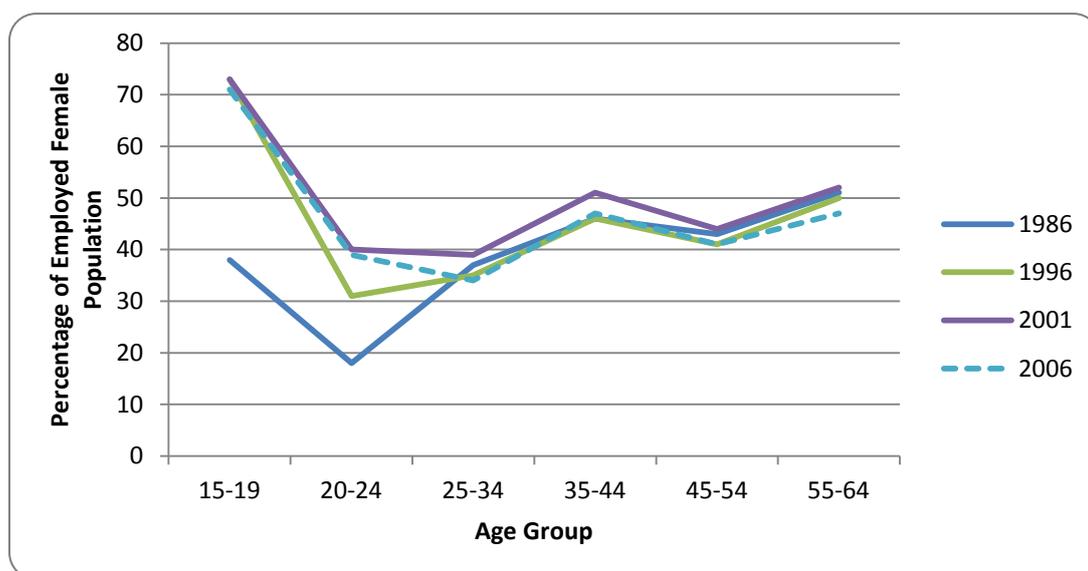


Source: ABS (2012b)

Figure 3.6, using Census data, suggests how integral part-time work has been to the employment participation of women over the life cycle. While women experience high rates

of part-time employment both at the start and end of their working lives, part-time employment also peaks during parenting, between 35 and 44 years of age. This pattern of peaks and troughs in the use of part-time work has been relatively consistent over the last 25 years, suggesting a lifecycle pattern of usage in relation to raising children.

Figure 3.6 Percentage of Women Employed Part-time by Age Group, 1986 - 2006



Source: ABS (1988; 2011b)

3.3.1 Australian Forms of Part-Time Employment: Casualisation

While part-time work has enabled the employment participation of Australian women during motherhood, this enablement has not come without adverse consequences. Much of the available part-time work in Australia is offered on a casual basis. The Australian Bureau of Statistics describes three main forms of employment: permanent employment in jobs with paid annual and sick leave entitlements; engagement in fixed-term contract jobs with some leave entitlements but with a fixed end date; and casual employment as jobs with higher rates of pay, to compensate for lack of permanency and leave entitlements (ABS, 2006). As discussed in Chapter 2, a fourth form of employment has also emerged in some industries and occupations: own-account work by independent contractors or contractors dependent on one or two employers or on labour hire firms that broker their services. The growth of fixed-term and various forms of own-account work in Australia has been concentrated in specific occupations and industries.

Casual work is the most common and most widespread form of what was identified in Chapter 2 as 'recommodified' employment in Australia. Campbell, Whitehouse and Baxter (2009, p. 62) have described it as '...a particularly degraded form of temporary

employment', Campbell and Burgess (2001b) have argued that it is most unusual by international standards. Casual work is defined by its lack of access to paid leave (including annual leave, sick leave and pay for public holidays) and is often paid by the hour, but these features are often just the start of the differences in terms and conditions of employment between permanent and casual work.

Commentators such as Pocock, Buchanan and Campbell (2004a), and Watson (2005) describe casual employment as an inferior mode of employment without access to leave entitlements, particularly annual and sick leave, but with generally low rates of hourly pay, despite the inclusion of leave loadings, lack of employment security, lack of access to notice of termination and severance pay, reduced access to unfair dismissal rights, and increased propensity for irregular work schedules. Whether these differences matter has been challenged by Wooden and Warren (2004) who question the inferiority of both casual and fixed term employment by pointing out that fixed term employees are more satisfied with their working arrangements and that the only unsatisfied casuals are males working full-time. However they neglect to note that in Australia it is mostly women employed part-time who are employed as casuals.

For many Australian mothers, utilising part-time work to maintain employment access is likely to mean that they must work as casuals in jobs whose poor quality stems largely from the lack of all or most of the forms of security set out in Chapter 2 and above. Casual work is defined legally as 'irregular', short term or 'on call', not requiring commitment on the part of either employer or employee to define hours, days or rosters. This is a legal fiction, as the casual jobs in which an employee can decide whether or not to attend work on a given day or at a given time are few and far between; and where such jobs exist, they do not provide a stable income. Most casual work is in reality regularly scheduled and much of it is of long duration: Owens (2001) has drawn attention to the oxymoron of the 'permanent casual'. In reality, therefore, casual work is work that is both regular and ongoing, but characterised by an employee's lack of protection in the face of the regulatory license it offers employers, who are free to vary the terms of engagement without negotiation or warning. Casual workers who have been engaged for less than a year have no protection against short-notice of termination and no redress against unfair dismissal. Even when an engagement has lasted longer than a year, an employer can vary the number or span of casual hours, or their distribution across the day, week, month or year. Such one-sided flexibility is likely to be incompatible with mothers' care commitments, including their capacity to manage child care arrangements.

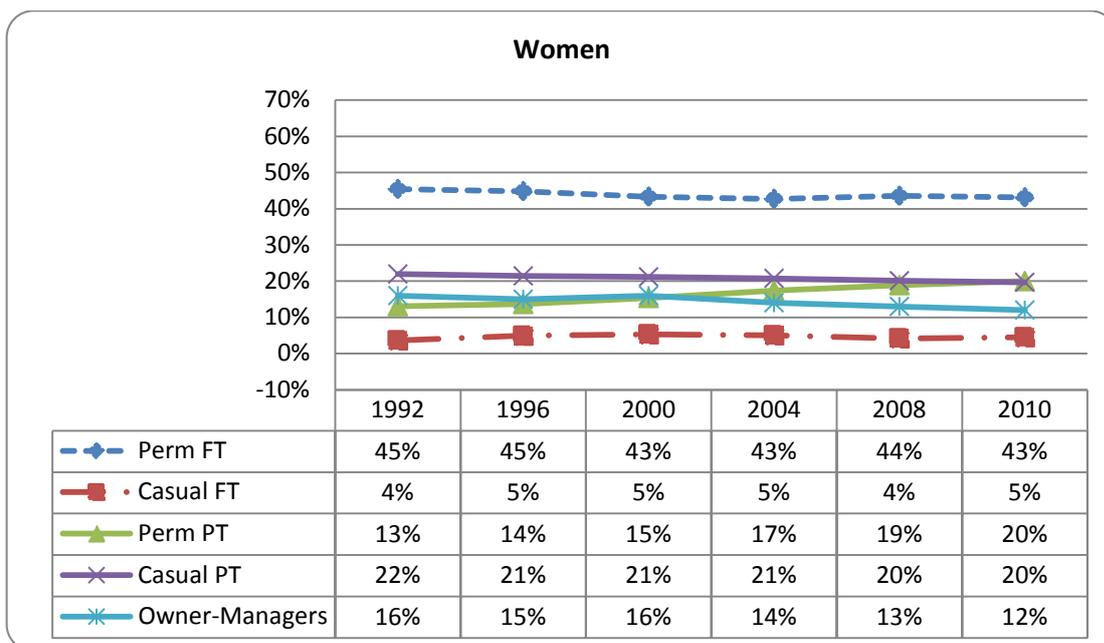
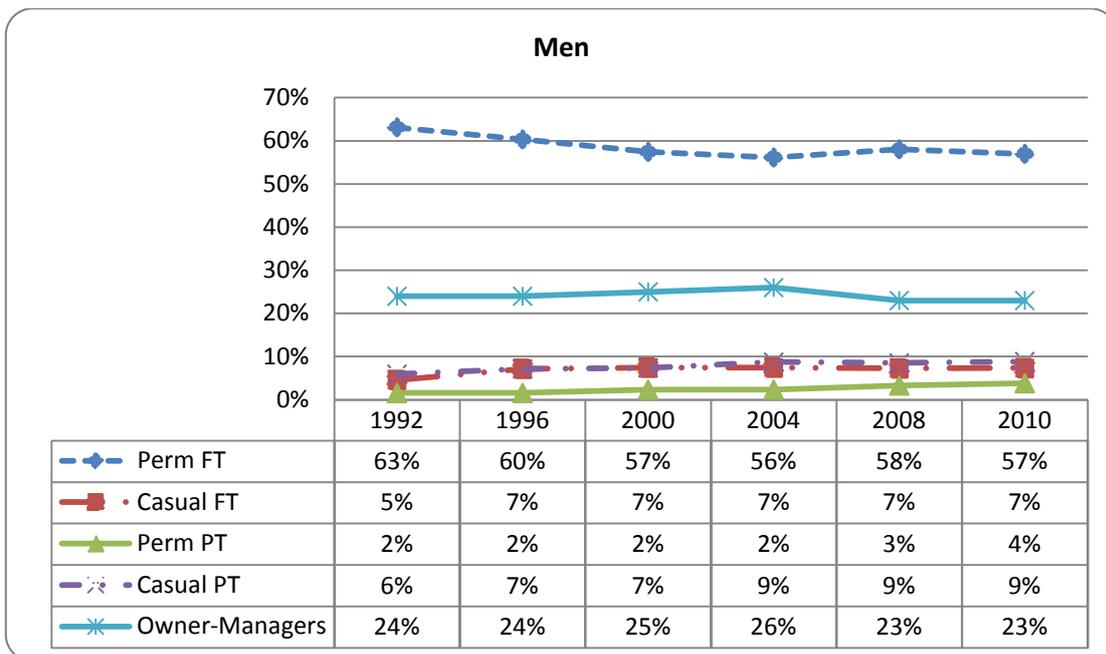
In addition to the lack of regulatory protection, casual employment has also been shown to invoke a range of adverse health and life course poverty effects. These effects are not the central concern of this thesis however they can be briefly summarised as follows: adverse health and safety impacts indicating higher injury rates, exposures to hazards, diseases and work related stress (Nossar, Johnstone, & Quinlan, 2003; Quinlan, 2003, p. 6); differences in physical and mental health (Burgard, Brand, & House, 2009); higher rates of stress (Briar, 2009) with attendant links to depression (Le, Munoz, Ippen, & Stoddart, 2003; Piccinelli & Wilkinson, 2000; Nolen-Hoeksema, 2002); loss of life time earnings (Breusch & Gray, 2004; Armstrong, 2007); and loss of superannuation earnings (Bateman, 2010; Jefferson & Preston, 2005).

Figure 3.7 summarises trends and shifts between 1992 and 2010 in the distribution of the modes of men's and women's employment in Australia (ABS, 2010c)³, and indicates some reduction in the security of full-time employment, for both men and women. For men, the proportion working full-time dropped from 68 percent to 64 percent, and the composition of full-time employment altered slightly, from 5 percent to 7 percent casual. The main form of insecurity in the male labour market has continued to be the proportion of contractors and sub-contractors among own-account workers, whose labour market share hovered around a quarter from 1992 to 2004 and fell slightly to 23 percent in 2010. Male part-time employment increased from 8 percent to 13 percent of all male employment between 1992 and 2010, and while the permanent part-time share rose from 2 percent to 4 percent, the proportion of men employed in casual part-time jobs rose from 6 to 9 percent over the period.

Over the past two decades, the structure of the female labour force was sufficiently different from the male structure to warrant the use of the term 'segmentation'. The full-time share of women's labour force declined marginally from 49 to 48 percent, with casual full-time jobs contributing between 4 and 5 percent. The proportion of employed women who were owner-managers dropped from 16 percent to 12 percent between 1992 and 2010. This means that the proportion of employed women working part-time has increased from 35 percent to 40 percent in this time. The one reassuring indicator is that for women, the proportion employed casually appears to have declined marginally, from 22 to 20 per cent,

³ Between 1992 and 2003, the ABS generated this series by combining household Labour Force and Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership data; since 2004, an annual supplement to the November Labour Force survey has been used.

Figure 3.7 Employment Mode by Gender, Australia, 1992-2011



Source: ABS (2012b)

while the proportion employed on a permanent basis has increased from 13 percent to 25 percent. It is very likely that some of the growth in permanent part-time work has been a result of the introduction, in 1990, of the right of parents employed on a permanent full-time basis to request a return to work on a part-time basis following unpaid parental leave. Nevertheless, not all permanent part-time work offers career or even job security. Junor pointed out that in the 1990s a form of segmented permanent part-time work had emerged in some occupations within industries such as banking and call centres. This offered no

right of transfer to full-time hours, and was being used in combination with 'averaging' of hours in order to create flexible rosters, allowing hours of engagement to be 'flexed' up or down according to workflow peaks and troughs, without the need for overtime pay (Junor, 1998a). The ACTU-initiated Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia (ACTU, 2012, p. 16) cited ABS data indicating that 37 per cent of all part-time workers have no guaranteed minimum number of hours a week: this figure must include some permanent part-time workers, along with casuals.

In 2007, 29 percent of the female workforce in Australia lacked leave entitlements and 26 per cent of this group self-identified as casuals. The corresponding figures for men were 22 per cent and 19 percent. Yet only 37 per cent of women and 22 per cent of men without paid leave entitlements had hours that varied from week to week (ABS, 2009). Over half had worked for the same employer for over a year and over 15 per cent had been in their job for over five years. The essential characteristics of casualness – the absence of a firm advance commitment to employment duration, or to a timetable of days or hours of work – did not apply to them (Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia, 2012, p. 30). Yet as indicated in Chapter 2, they are excluded from a range of regulatory protections:

...the entitlement to paid annual leave and personal leave, a presumption of continuity in their work, protection against unfair dismissal, predictability of hours and income, and access to training and career pathways or a say in the workplace (Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia, 2012, p. 29)

Using longitudinal data from the Household, Industry and Labour Dynamics (HILDA) Survey as an alternative data source, we find that from 2001, at the start of the period under analysis in the empirical chapters of this thesis, overall 25 percent of those employed were employed on a casual contract with 60 percent of these casual positions filled by women. Although the majority of casual positions were filled by women without children, 32 percent of all employed mothers from the sample worked casually. For these mothers, as for workers generally, casual employment was synonymous with part-time work. Also, in 2001, 59 percent of all part-time employment was offered on a casual basis, compared to just 9 percent of all full-time positions. It is this close association between casual and part-time employment that impacts on Australian mothers. 54 percent of female part-timers were employed casually (HILDA Survey, 2001).

Overall, 84 percent of Australian mothers surveyed in HILDA utilised one of three main approaches to access employment during motherhood. The first approach involved working as a permanent full-time employee. Only 27 percent of mothers worked in

permanent full-time employment while the overall full-time employment rate for mothers was 34 percent. This is a stark contrast to the full-time employment rate for women without children, 58 percent. The second and third approaches involve part-time work. Most employed mothers, 66 percent, worked part-time, although the consequences of part-time work for mothers were mixed. 47 percent of employed mothers were able to take the second approach, where part-time work involved working on a permanent basis. The remaining 44 percent of employed mothers took the third approach, and worked casually. (HILDA Survey, 2001)

While these broad patterns tell us much about how mothers were employed in the labour market during the period 2001-2005, some of the possible effects of part-time and insecure work, and how much or little this has changed in 2012, they tell us little about the occupational basis of the contours of labour market segmentation. The rest of this chapter draws on the data set that will be used in the empirical chapters of the thesis, in order to provide a baseline mapping of occupational distribution by family status in 2001, the year from which women's occupational transitions will be analysed in subsequent chapters. The data come from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) study, for reasons outlined in Chapter 4. Tables 3.9 to 3.13 bring together information that is otherwise scattered or hard to obtain, linking occupations with gender, family status and modes and conditions of employment. Whilst some are rather compressed, they summarise patterns that will be drawn out more clearly and explored over time in the rest of the thesis. The reasons for using now-superseded Australian Standard Classification of Occupations ASCO categories are explained in Chapter 4.

3.4 The Occupational Basis of Mothers' Labour Market Access

It was noted in Chapter 2 that the increase in Australian women's paid employment over the past 40 years, has had little impact on women's occupational segregation (Preston & Whitehouse, 2004). Women's increased education participation at secondary and tertiary level, overtaking men's rates (Le & Miller, 2002), has not translated into a diversification of women's occupational locations. By 2001, women remained largely employed in clerical,

sales and service work, (45 percent), and 17 percent where in health and education professions (HILDA Survey, 2001; ILO (International Labour Organisation), 2012) .⁴

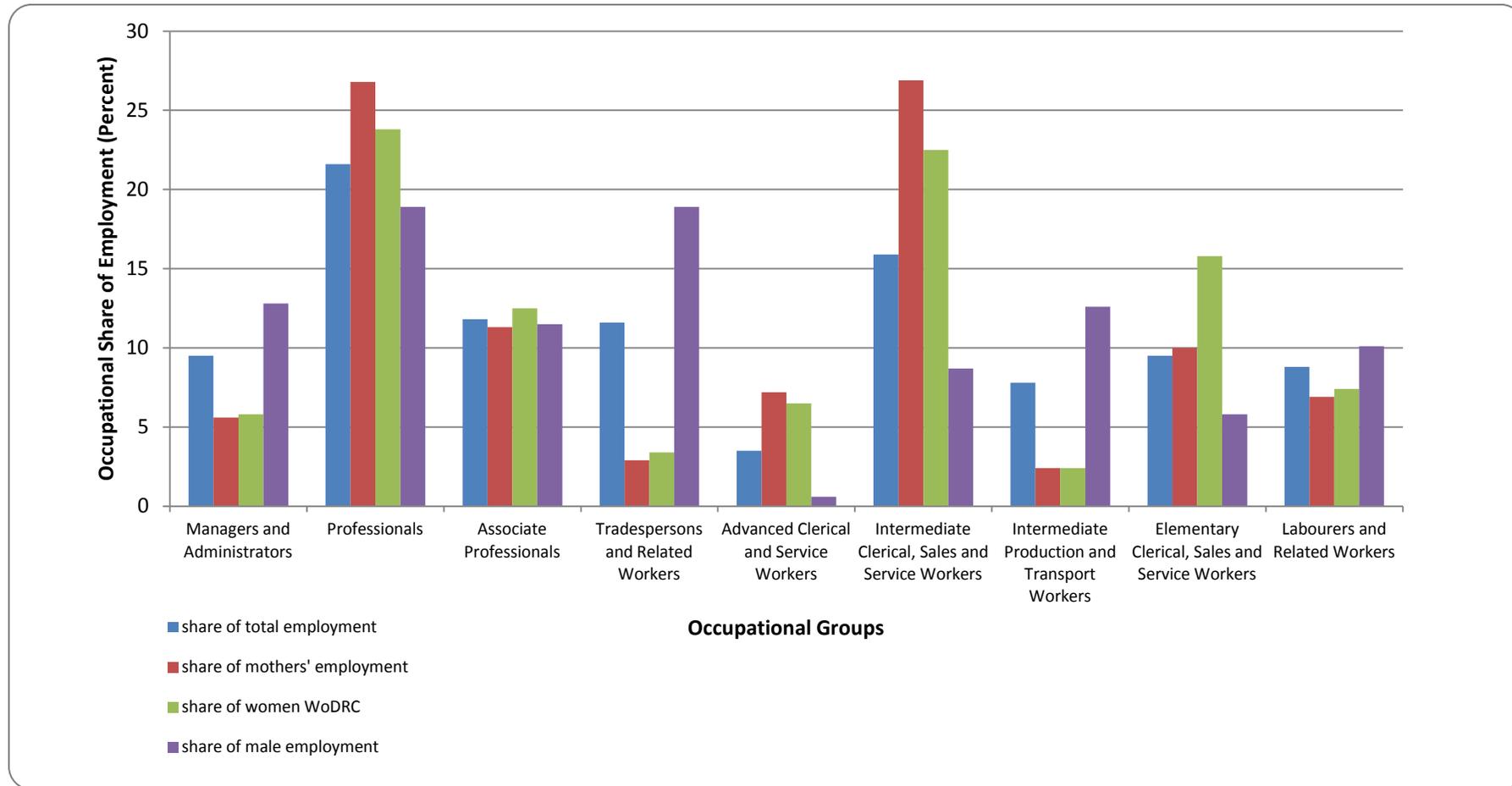
It is important to pay attention to contrasts among mothers, women without dependent resident children (WoDRC) and men, before attempting to understand the differences in the contours of mothers' occupational access. Figure 3.8 illustrates the differences between occupations in their relative shares of the employment of these three groups of workers in 2001. Overall just under 10 percent of the employed workforce were Managers and Administrators, whereas 13 per cent of men but only 5 per cent of women WoDRC and a marginally smaller percentage of mothers had jobs in this occupation. In some occupational categories, such as Associate Professionals, the three groups were very similar to each other. For most others there were marked differences. Men were relatively over-represented amongst Tradespersons and Related Workers, and mothers had above-average concentrations among Intermediate Clerical Sales and Service workers, and to a lesser extent among Professionals (HILDA. 2001).

In 2001, Professional workers accounted for 22 percent of total employment and Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service accounted for 16 percent; whilst Trades and Related Workers and Associate Professional workers each made up 12 percent. In contrast over half of employed mothers were located in just two of these occupational categories: 27 percent as Professionals⁵, and another 27 percent as Intermediate Clerical Sales and Service workers. Overall, professional employment accounted for the largest share of employment for women WoDRC, at 24 percent, and one of the largest shares of employment for both employed men (19 percent) and employed mothers (27 percent). Many employed mothers (27 percent) and women WoDRC, (23 percent), also accessed employment in Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service work. For employed women WoDRC employment in Elementary Sales and Service work also comprised a large share of employment. In contrast, for employed men, in addition to employment in Professional work, a large share of employment was in Trades and Related work (HILDA, 2001)

⁴ Tracking changes in occupations is made somewhat difficult due to numerous changes in the systems of classification used to categorise occupations. These statistics are compiled from the ILO Laborstat database and HILDA. They are based on a comparison of 3 different systems of occupational classification, the Classification and Classified List of Occupations (CCLO) and the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO) First Edition and ASCO Second Edition.

⁵ Over two thirds of these mothers work as either: health professionals, 9 percent, or education professionals, 10 percent.

Figure 3.8 Distribution of Employment Shares across Occupations by Gender and Motherhood, Australia, 2001



Source: HILDA Survey 200

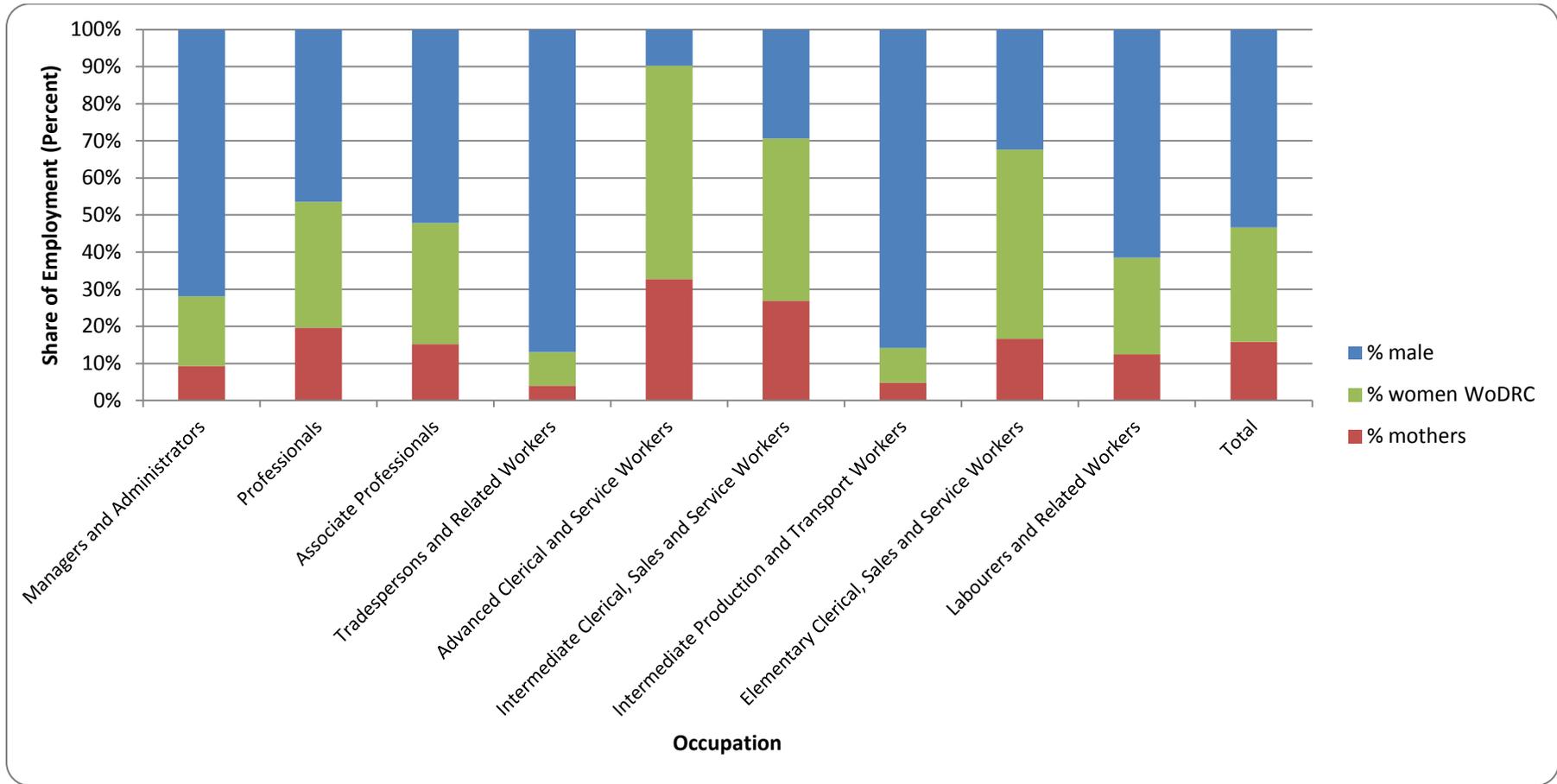
Thus not only were women's patterns of occupational access different from men's but there were differences in the occupations that mothers accessed compared to women WoDRC. This highlights the importance of understanding how the shape of employment may differ for mothers across occupations *and* how the shape of employment may differ between mothers, women WoDRC and men within occupations. It is the contours of occupational access that are likely to have shaped how mothers retained employment access, not their general patterns of labour market participation. An investigation of these contours is the subject of this thesis

3.4.1 Contours of Occupational Access

Unravelling the contours of occupational access is key to understanding mothers' patterns of employment participation and occupational retention. Whereas Figure 3.8 mapped the distribution of men, mothers and women WoDRC across occupations, Figure 3.9 illustrates their concentrations within each major occupational group in 2001. For the most part, while relative gender concentrations varied widely across occupations, the concentration of mothers as a proportion of employed women did not vary quite so widely. Mothers on average comprised 34 percent of women's employment and 16 percent of total employment. In occupations such as Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service work, and Trades, mothers comprised a smaller proportion of women's employment (24 percent and 30 percent respectively), even though clerical work was female concentrated and trades were male concentrated. Similarly in occupations such as Advanced and Intermediate Clerical Sales and Service, and Professional work, mothers comprised a larger proportion of women's employment – 36 percent, 37 percent and 38 percent respectively – yet once again Clerical, Sales and Service work was female concentrated while Professional employment was gender neutral. Thus mothers' occupational access was not invariably linked to gender concentration (HILDA, 2001).

Similarly, working hours were not simply linked to gender or motherhood. Understanding occupational patterns of working hours and the complexity and diversity of ways in which they intersected with patterns of gender concentration is a first step to understanding the contours of mothers' occupational access. Figure 3.10 illustrates the occupational distribution of employment by working hours, gender and motherhood status in 2001, demonstrating the importance of occupational variations in working time patterns, particularly for employed mothers. Employed men were most likely to work full-time regardless of their occupation, although their access (or relegation) to part-time work varied according to occupation, with men employed as managers and administrators much more likely to be employed full-time than men employed as labourers and related workers.

Figure 3.9 Concentration of Men, Women WoDRC and Mothers, within Occupations, Australia, 2001



Source: HILDA Survey 2001

For employed women, whether they were mothers or women WoDRC, their occupational location determined whether they were more likely to be working full-time or part-time. Most employed women WoDRC worked full-time yet in occupations such as Elementary Clerical Sales and Service work, more women WoDRC were working part-time than were working full-time.

In contrast more employed mothers were working part-time than full-time, although employed mothers who were working as Managers and Administrators were more likely to work full-time and those who worked as Professionals were just as likely to work full-time as part-time (HILDA, 2001). These contours of employment access illustrate the importance of the occupation in shaping access to part-time work for employed mothers. The hours a mother worked were not shaped by gender and motherhood alone.

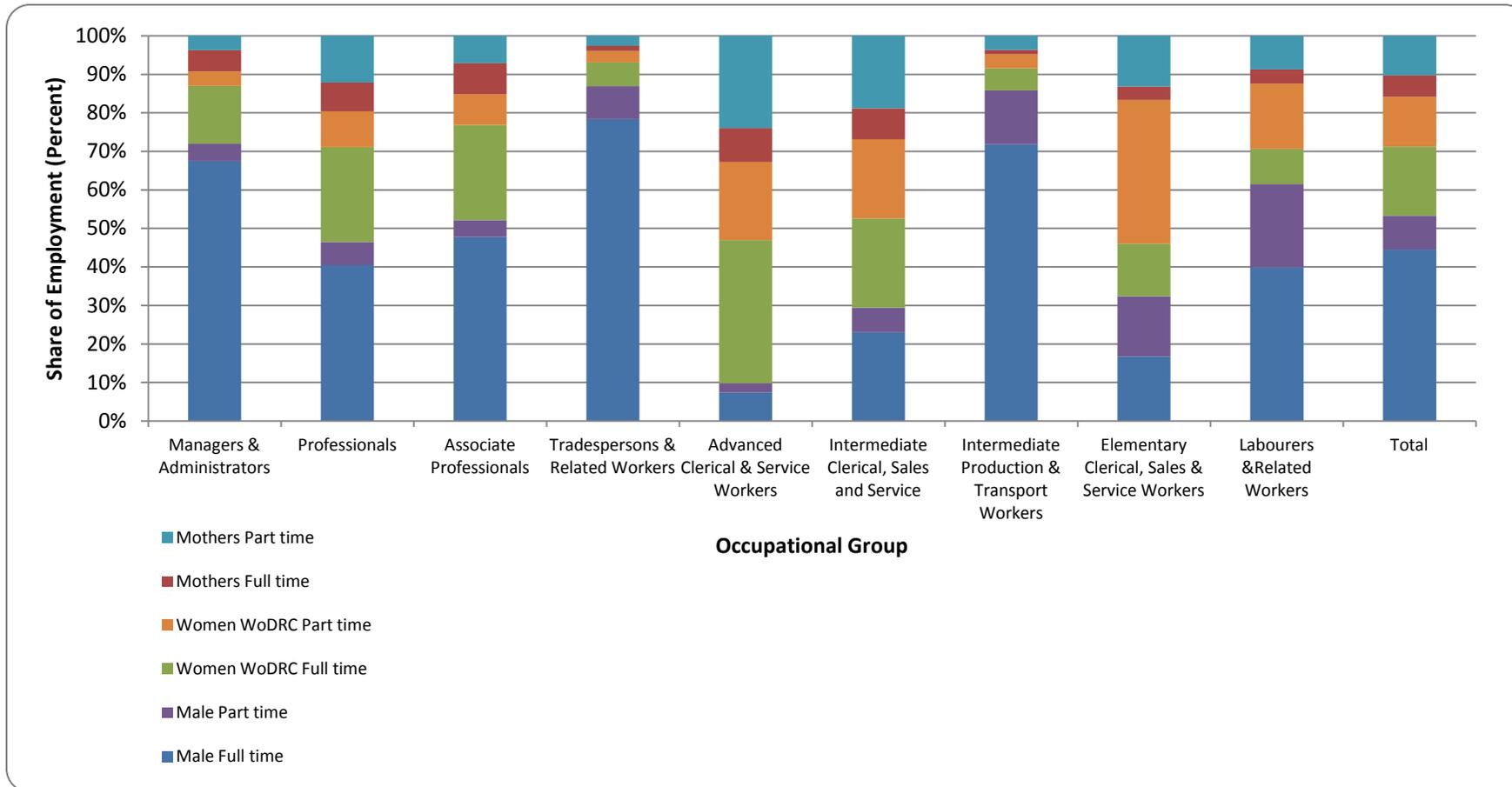
For employed mothers, who move between part and full-time employment over the lifecycle, the ways in which these contours shape patterns of occupational retention are important. Venn and Wakefield (2005) found that 13 percent of employed mothers move to an occupation of lower skill⁶ when moving from full to part-time employment. Carney (2009), found that 29 percent of employed mothers moved to an occupation of lower status⁷ when changing from full to part-time employment and an even higher proportion of employed mothers, 39 percent, moved to an occupation of lower status when changing from part-time to full-time employment. These patterns of retention suggest that mothers' differential patterns of occupational access may cause problems in attempting to navigate their employment over the life cycle as they move between periods of part and full-time employment.

Likewise, the distribution of casual employment across occupations demonstrates a similar pattern of variability, in Figure 3.11. While casual employment is generally synonymous with part-time employment this is not the case in all occupations. Conversely, for some occupations, much full-time work is also now casual in nature. By 2001, permanent full-time employment was not the dominant norm in all occupations. While full-time permanent employment comprised over 80 percent of Managerial and Administrative work, in Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service it comprised as little as 25 percent of employment. There were wide occupational variations in the relative proportions of full-time fixed term

⁶ Skill level was measured over the 5 grades implicit in the ASCO second edition classification.

⁷ Occupational status was measured using the ANU4 scale, which ranks occupations on a scale from 1 to 100

Figure 3.10 Distribution of Jobs within Occupations by Gender, Motherhood Status and Working Hours, Australia, 2001



Source: HILDA Survey 2001

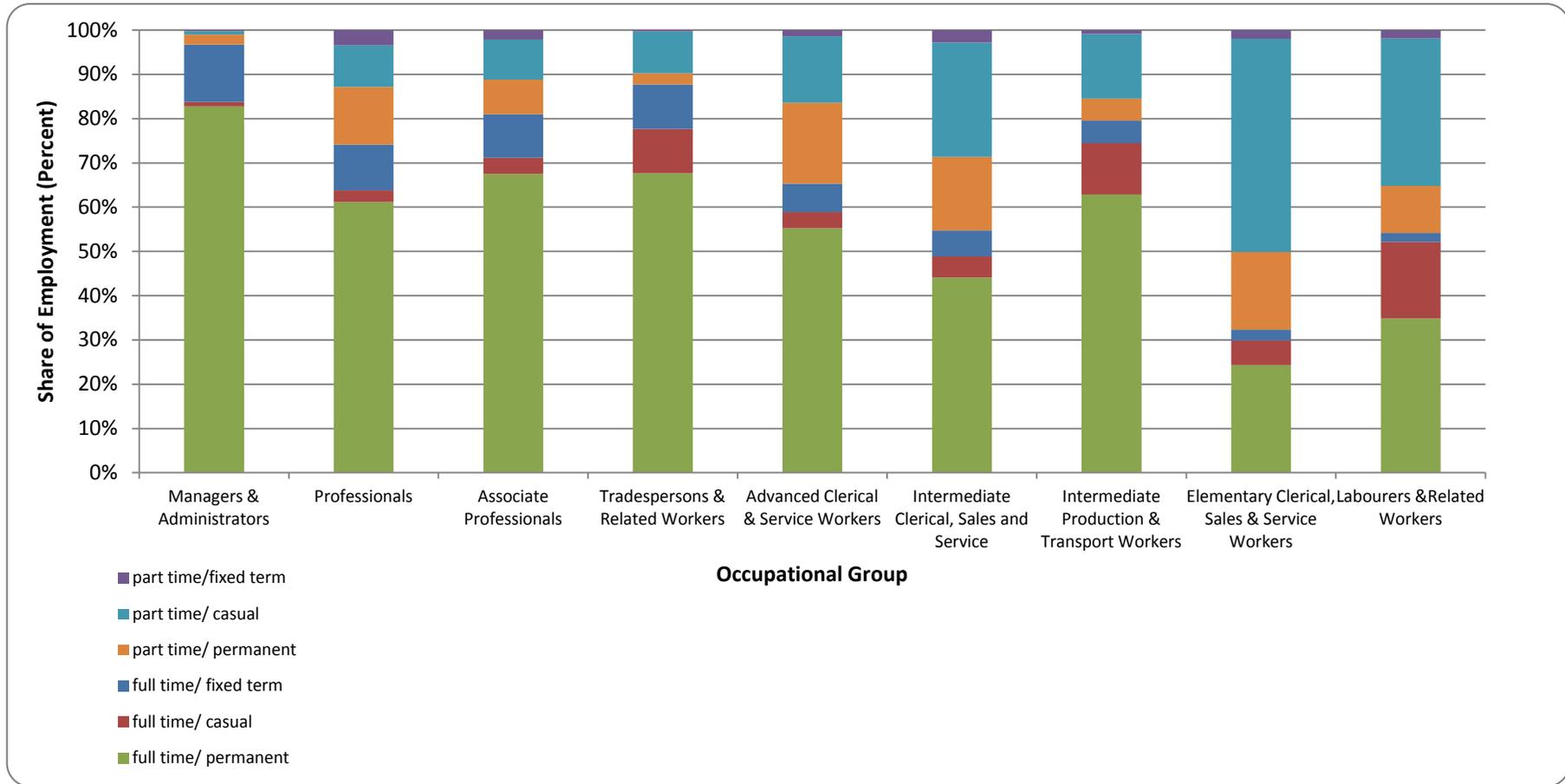
employment and full-time casual employment. Fixed term employment played a greater role than casual in enabling full-time employment in high status occupations such as those of Managers and Administrators, Professionals, and Associate Professionals. In contrast casual employment played a greater role in enabling full-time employment in low status occupations such as those of Intermediate Production and Transport workers, Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service workers and Labourers and Related Workers.

While part-time work is mostly casual, in high status occupations such as Managers and Administrators, and Professionals, it was mostly permanent. Among part-time Advanced Clerical and Service Workers, and Associate Professionals, casual contracts were just as common as permanent. While mothers were able to access part-time work, whether or not they were penalised for it in terms of occupational status, and whether they were casually or permanently employed, depended on the occupation.

Adding gender and motherhood into this mix demonstrates just how much the shape of employment can vary between men, women WoDRC and mothers within an occupation. Figure 3.12 illustrates the variations in the occupational contours of employment by gender and motherhood in the HILDA dataset in 2001. The variations in the contours of employment, between groups of workers, appear to have had no relationship to the gender concentration of the occupation nor, necessarily to normative patterns of employment for the groups themselves. Instead, both where and, how mothers' accessed part-time work appears to have varied according to occupational context – that is the contours of employment within the occupation.

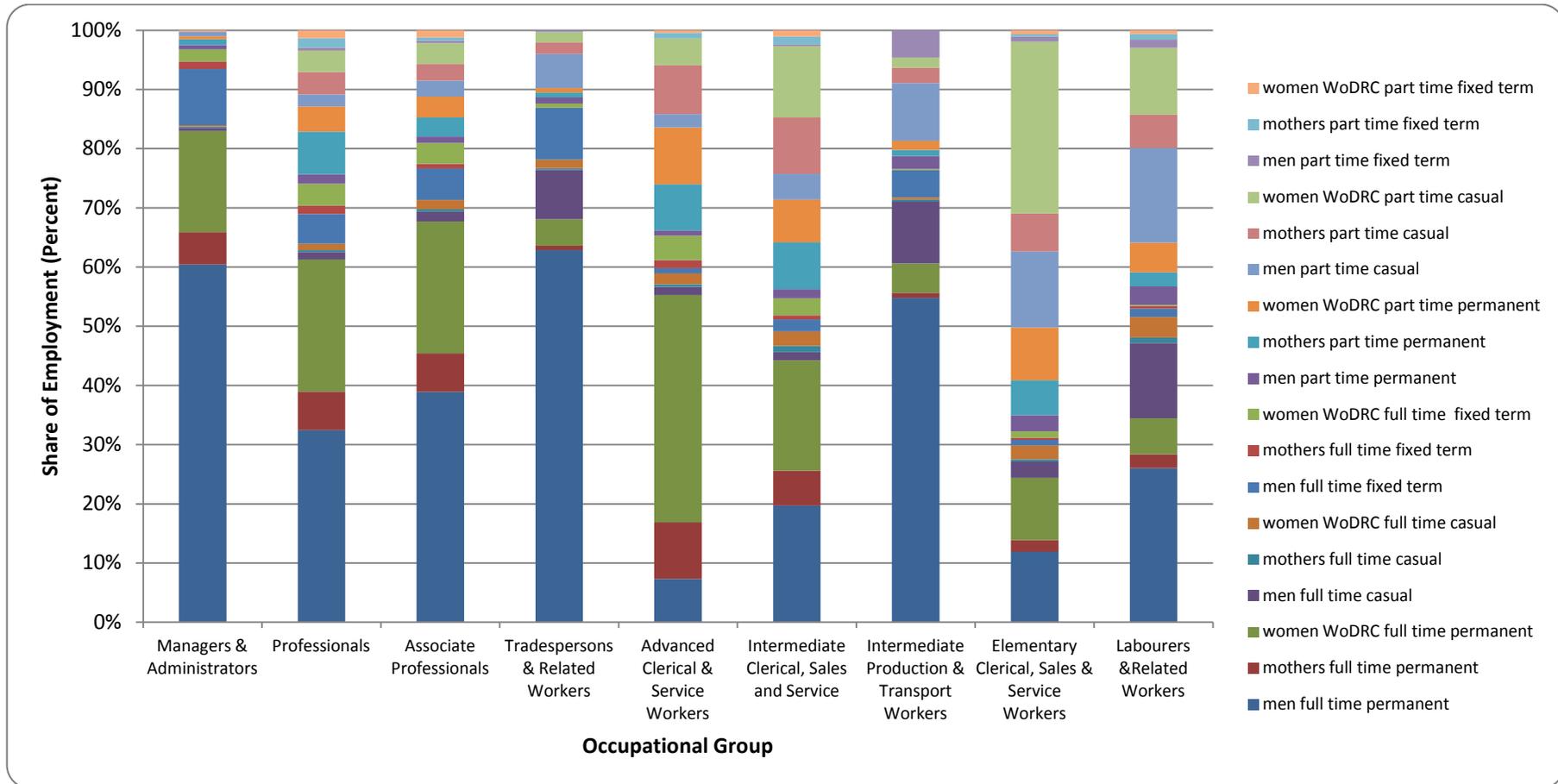
Extrapolating from Figure 3.12, we can postulate that whether mothers access full-time permanent employment depends on the occupation in which they are working. Second, the shape of employment that mothers access within a given occupational group does not appear to be related to the gender concentration of the occupation, but appears to be a linked in some way to the normative patterns of employment for the occupation. Third, the shape of employment that mothers access differs from the shape of employment which women WoDRC access, in nearly all occupations in both form and mode. This can have important consequences for women as they move through motherhood. Securing ongoing employment within an occupation may mean not only breaking with traditionally male employment norms but also means working a distinctly different pattern of employment from that of women without children, dependent or otherwise. However the impact such differences may create for working mothers may have more to do with whether mothers are breaking traditional, occupationally based patterns of employment, rather than going against the traditional male form of permanent full-time employment (Carney, 2009).

Figure 3.11 Distribution of Jobs within Occupations by Working Hours and Employment Contract, Australia, 2001



Source: HILDA Survey 2001

Figure 3.12 Occupational Groups: Share of Employment by Gender and Motherhood, Working Hours and Employment Contract, Australia, 2001



Source: HILDA Survey 2001

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate that cross-sectional analysis can raise questions to which it cannot provide definitive answers. There is a need for longitudinal analysis of mothers' employment mobility, particularly focusing on variability in occupational retention. In this way, two hypotheses can be explored. The first, is that part-time employment is an accessibility mechanism that allows for the possibility of labour market retention but not necessarily occupational retention. The second is that occupational variations occur in both the extent to which part-time employment is available and in the employment shape to which it contributes. In short, these hypotheses suggest that there are occupational variations in the contours of employment access for working mothers.

The evidence presented suggests that while mothers' employment is enabled by part-time work, its use is dependent on lifecycle stage and in Australia can be potentially problematic, owing to the high rates of casual employment associated with part-time work. Employed mothers traverse three different avenues of employment participation: permanent full-time employment, permanent part-time employment and casual part-time employment. How these particular employment shapes relate to occupational access and occupational retention is largely unknown. The occupational access of women and more particularly mothers is generally narrow in scope, but more importantly women WoDRC have different patterns of employment access from those of mothers. This raises questions about what happens occupationally, when women's responsibilities for children change. Access to both part-time work and permanent employment varying across occupations and also change within occupations, varying between different groups of workers – mothers, and others. Our knowledge of the impact of occupational contours on employment access is still quite limited. The occupational data presented here was based on the broadest occupational categories. Occupational differences in contours of employment may be more fine-grained, for example varying among professional sub-groups. Also, these patterns while suggestive of employment access do not illustrate the complexity of mothers' patterns of employment navigation. Longitudinal analysis is needed. The next chapter outlines the data and methodological requirements for such longitudinal analysis, in order to map how contours impact mothers' patterns of employment mobility and occupational retention.

Chapter 4

Research Method

4.1 Introduction

This research is a study of Australian mothers' employment mobility in 64 occupations between 2001 and 2005. It applies the concept 'contours of employment access', to features of occupations that help explain the employment mobility patterns of the cross-section of women at different lifecourse stages who worked in the 64 occupations examined in this study. Of primary concern are the differences in patterns of employment change made by mothers (women with dependent resident children under the age of 16 years) compared to women without dependent resident children (WoDRC), both non-active mothers (mothers with children who are either not resident, dependent or under the age of 16) and women without any children (WoAC). These differences are explained by exploring the dynamics of employment mobility resulting from the capacity of jobs from different occupations to accommodate gendered care giving. My working hypothesis is that the occupationally-differentiated patterns in the Australian labour market that are variously described as gender concentration, gender segregation or gender segmentation are predominately linked to *gendered care giving* rather than simply gender.

In order to understand the mechanisms which reproduce these gendered patterns of labour market segmentation I have explored the answers to two questions.

- 1. How do mothers navigate their labour market attachment in different occupations?**

and

- 2. What explains occupational differences in mothers' navigational patterns?**

Such a study first requires a longitudinal focus. In order to understand how these employment patterns are reproduced in the Australian labour market I identify the overall patterns of employment change by a sample of women in 64 occupations, during the five year period, between 2001 and 2005. I then survey the patterns of employment mobility of women in this sample. The study takes a snapshot, both of patterns of gender concentration over a five year period, between 2001 and 2005, and of women's patterns of employment mobility within this same period. It explores the interrelationship between patterns of

gender concentration, employment mobility and gendered care giving during motherhood. This is not, a cohort study nor a study of mothers' transitions over the life course in the usual sense of these terms. The longitudinal dimension of the study is limited to tracking employment change as sequences of singular transitional events within the employment history of a sample of women of different ages, within a five-year period of their lives. These transitional events are cross referenced to both motherhood status and stages of motherhood.

In addition, these transitional events in the labour market are not measured in relation to key life events such as childbirth (Dex, Joshi, Macran, & McCulloch, 1998; Joshi, Macran, & Dex, 1996; O'Reilly, Cebrian, & Lallement, 2000) but for a cross-section of mothers at different stages of active parenting – that is of caring for children aged under 16. The impact of motherhood on paid employment does not cease when women return to work post the birth of a child, nor does it cease when children reach school age. As children grow and mature the nature and extent of demand for care changes. This study explores the capacity of jobs from different occupations to accommodate the changing employment needs of mothers experiencing different demands for care. Women are divided into three cohorts: *care active mothers* - women with dependent resident children under the age of 16 years; and two groups of women without dependent resident children (*WoDRC*) - women without any dependent or resident children (*Women WoAC*); and *non care active mothers* who are without the primary responsibilities of care because their children are either non resident, not dependent or are at least 16 years of age.

Mothers are further divided into four groups based on the age of the mother's youngest child and implicitly that child's demand for care. These groups include: *mothers of babies* (child aged 0-1 year); *mothers of preschoolers* (child aged 2-5 years); *mothers of primary school children* (child aged 6 to 11 years); *mothers of high school children* (child aged 12-15 years). These stages coincide with the development of the youngest child and are taken to be indicative of required support for care-giving experienced at various stages of motherhood. However a women's motherhood status, motherhood stage and the employment transitions that are tracked, are not necessarily timed in conjunction with specific life course events such as re-entry to employment post birth, or when a child first enters school. Instead motherhood status and motherhood stage are used as approximations of the way in which unpaid care may compete with paid employment, and how this may change as children develop and mature.

The research design incorporated two stages of analysis. The first was to examine the similarities and differences between the norms of employment on an occupational basis,

while the second was to empirically test the hypothesis that occupations are an institutional layer that shape mothers employment mobility – patterns of employment change - and thus employment outcomes. How these two stages of analysis fit together is explained in section 4.2 The Research Design. Both stages of analysis draw on the same key variables from the same data set, the *Household, Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia (HILDA) Survey*, details on sampling and attrition rates are discussed in section 4.3. The benefits and limitations of using this data set will be explained in section 4.4 Data Requirements. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 detail the procedures and measures used for each stage of analysis. Section 4.5 describes how the rules and norms were measured for each of 64 occupations while section 4.6 outlines how the relationship between these occupational norms and the shape of mothers’ patterns of employment mobility – navigation - were explored. Lastly, section 4.7 summarises the key points of the chapter and introduces the empirical chapters that follow.

The discussion of method in this chapter presents an overview of the research design for the thesis as a whole. The analysis presented in each of the four empirical chapters not only utilised different statistical techniques but also different sets of data from the HILDA Survey, 2001 – 2005. Rather than over-complicating the exposition of method with a particularly dense chapter on method, I have left discussion of the specifics of the analysis at each stage, ‘in situ’ within each empirical chapter. The aim of the present chapter is to outline the overall research design and the key components and issues that arose throughout the whole study.

4.2 The Research Design

The methods of data collection and data analysis in the present thesis, are quantitative, and designed to explore the transitions within a five-year period, of a group of mothers extracted from the larger HILDA data set. These transitions are analysed, not for the purposes of generalisation, but for the purposes of theoretical model-building (Yin, 1993; 2009). This purpose is to explore the data for indications of barriers and enablements that would explain patterns of occupational distribution, and to compare these explanations with existing theories, whether of choice, concentration, segregation, disadvantage, discrimination or segregation. Thus generalisation in this thesis, as in case study methodology, is not to statistical populations, but to theory. The methodology of the thesis meets Yin’s (2009) triangulation requirement, by drawing a new and more targeted sample from the same overall panel and waves, and using it to ask different questions and carry out a second form of data analysis, focusing not on occupational clusters, but on the pathways of

specific women among selected occupations within them. The data set provides sufficient evidence for the analysis to be ‘taken forward’; and the evidence is analysed in a way that meets ‘the burden of persuasion’ - there is a preponderance of clear, consistent and (in this instance) statistically-tested evidence that is woven into a cohesive theoretical model to explain a phenomenon and shows that it is applicable more broadly (Taylor, Dossick, & Garvin, 2011, p. 309).

The thesis attempts to build a theoretical model which explains the generative mechanisms behind the occupational differences in mothers’ patterns of labour market attachment. While this model bases these generative mechanisms on the interaction between a mother’s agency and institutional constraints, the research design focuses particularly on exploring the impact of institutional constraint on employment navigation at the occupational or meso level. *Navigation* is the process of enacting employment change in response to managing labour market attachment over the course of motherhood. Navigation is the combination of changes in employment, such as changes in occupation, working hours, employment contract, work scheduling and access to flexi-place employment that mothers make as they attempt to combine paid employment with unpaid care. I have hypothesised that navigation is a process which is constrained by occupational accessibility. Occupational *accessibility* is the particular form or shape of employment that *all* workers access when they are employed within a given occupation. Accessibility is enabled by the particular pattern and strength of occupational norms which specify how those in paid employment work. These norms encompass working hours, work scheduling, contractual status and access to flexi-place employment. That mothers seek out employment that enables flexibility to accommodate unpaid care has been well-established. However, in exploring occupational accessibility I examine the capacity of an occupation to accommodate a mother’s need for flexibility and the concomitant loss of security such access may precipitate. I hypothesise that these norms are occupationally embedded, forming specific occupationally based employment shapes that enable and constrain not only occupational accessibility but also the process of navigation for mothers in paid employment.

The first stage of analysis is designed to explore the concept of *accessibility*. I map the shape of employment for 64 occupations in the Australian labour market, and explain how different combinations of norms and their strength enable and constrain accessibility for Australian mothers. The second stage of analysis is designed to explain the reproduction of gender patterns by demonstrating how accessibility enables and constrains navigation. I analyse patterns of women’s employment change, focusing on three types of change. First, I examine navigational pathways – the overall combination of changes that are made by

women in terms of their working hours, work scheduling, employment contract and access to flexi-place employment. These patterns of mobility describe the nature of the trades between flexibility and security that mothers may make when they change their employment. Second, I explore the change, or not, that women may make in their occupation; and third any change, or not, that women may make in the shape of their employment. These patterns of mobility illustrate the reproduction of patterns of accessibility and barriers that, I conclude in the final chapter, contribute to gender segmentation. Thus the thesis redefines segmentation, not in terms of rigid structures, but in terms of ongoing processes that may include either changes to, or reproduction of, institutionally based norms as a result of individual acts of navigation.

Table 4.1 charts the measurement of the key concepts and constructs used in this thesis. It is important to note that both the definition of what constitutes a case and the sample from which these cases are drawn differ in each stage of analysis, thereby meeting Yin's triangulation requirement. The shape of employment measures the concept of accessibility on an *occupational* basis, thus a case is an occupation. In this study occupations are classified using the ANU4 socioeconomic status scale. The shape of employment is constructed by measuring occupational norms and also the strength of these norms. The shape of employment is built on the foundation of four key parameters of the employment relationship which are of particular importance to employed mothers: working hours, work scheduling, the portability of work or place where work can be conducted (access to flexi-place employment), and the mode of employment contract. These terms and conditions of employment were identified as the most critical in enabling and constraining mothers' employment when the needs of paid employment and unpaid care conflict (this is discussed in Section 4.4; see also Appendices A and B).

Navigation is explored at the case level of *transition* where employment change is measured each time a mother alters her employment in one or more of the following terms of employment: occupation, employer, working hours, work scheduling, portability of work, or employment contract. For each instance of employment a woman's motherhood status and motherhood stage is measured. For each instance of employment change three constructs are measured: navigational pathway, occupational transition and change in employment shape. The construct of a navigational pathway measures the combination or pattern of transitions that occurs across six variables measuring dynamics of employment: occupation, length of any employment break, working hours, work scheduling, portability of work and employment contract. In contrast, occupational transitions measure change in only one dynamic of employment - namely, occupation. Occupational transitions indicate the change

Table 4.1 Key Concepts, Constructs and their Measurement

Concept	Case Level & Sample	Constructs	Measurement	Variables
Accessibility	Occupation (All employed workers)	Shape of Employment	Occupation	Occupational status ANU4 Score
		Occupational Norms	Modal Category	Working Hours, Work Schedule, Portability of Work, Employment Contract
		Normative Strength	Inverse Score for the Index of Qualitative Variation	
Navigation	Individual (All employed women classified into three cohorts: mothers with dependent resident children aged less than 16 years ; non-active mothers without dependent resident children aged less than 16 years; and women without any children)	Employment Change	Change in Employment for any one or more of 7 variables	Occupation, Employment Break, Employer, Working Hours, Work Schedule, Portability of Work, Employment Contract
		Navigation Pathway	Change in employment for any of 6 dimensions of employment	Occupation, Length of Employment Break, Working Hours, Work Schedule, Portability of Work, Employment Contract
		Occupational Transition	Change in occupational status	ANU4 socioeconomic status score
		Change in Employment Shape	Change in the contours of employment access	Five employment shapes are modelled: Casual part-time employment, Permanent part-time employment, Flexible Full-Time employment, Inflexible Full-Time employment, and Very long hours employment

or potential loss of skills, knowledge and experience that occurs at the individual level with a change in occupation (Carney, 2009). Occupational transition is measured by ANU4 grading change in the socioeconomic status of the occupations in which a worker is employed. Lastly, change in employment shape measures change in the contours of a mothers' employment access. A key point in the explanation of how patterns of gender segmentation are reproduced is that institutions generate processes which cause women to gravitate to employment with contours of access that enable unpaid care (Rubery, 1994b). The measures of change in occupation and change in employment shape attempt to capture this idea through tracking whether mothers stay, move *to* or move *out* of occupations of a particular employment shape.

4.3 The HILDA Data Survey

The HILDA Survey is a household based panel study. The survey collects data annually on labour market and family dynamics, and economic and subjective well-being. It is the data on the first two topics which is of interest to this thesis. Adult household members are interviewed annually, with panel members followed over time, even if they leave the household. New household members can also be incorporated into the panel and followed in future waves. The first wave of data was collected in 2001 and the study is still ongoing with funding guaranteed until 2016.

A multi-staged sampling approach was used to select the households to be interviewed. First, a sample of 488 areas was selected from the list of 1996 Census collection districts. The districts selected were stratified by State, and within each State by population – metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions. This sampling approach aimed to provide a representative sample of the Australian population.

Second, a sample of 22 to 34 private dwellings was selected from each Census collection district. Selection of dwellings followed a skip pattern of five dwellings in urban areas and 2 dwellings in rural areas. Interviewers followed a designated route, and the dwellings selected were based on this skip pattern. Within more remote areas a block pattern was used to subdivide the census collection district into a smaller geographical area and minimise excessive time and travelling costs associated with interviewing. Skip patterns were then applied to selecting dwellings from that geographical block.

Third, up to three households could be selected from each dwelling to be included in the sample. A household was based on the ABS definition as “a group of people who usually reside and eat together”. Important to this study was how the residence of children was

treated. Children were considered resident in the household in which they spent the greater period of time in residence. Where children attended boarding school, this was discounted and their home address was considered their place of residence. Further details on sampling method can be found in HILDA Survey Technical Paper Series (Watson & Wooden, 2002)

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 give an indication of sample size and attrition, and wave on wave individual response. Attrition of respondents is generally low and has been steadily reducing with each successive wave. Attrition from the study is also comparable with the British Household Panel Survey across the initial 5 waves of data collection.

Table 4.2 Sample Size & Attrition

	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5
Number of Households Interviewed	7 682	7245	7 096	6 987	7125
Individuals Interviewed	13 969	13 041	12 728	12 408	12 759
Wave on Wave Attrition Rate	---	13.2%	9.6%	8.4%	5.6%

Compiled from data contained in Hilda Survey Annual Report 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006

Table 4.3 Wave 5 Individual Response

Wave First Interviewed	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5
Wave 1	13 969	11 993	11 190	10 565	10 392
Wave 2	---	1048	705	594	572
Wave 3	---	---	833	543	482
Wave 4	---	---	---	706	494
Wave 5	---	---	---	---	819
Total	13 969	13 041	12 728	12 408	12 759

Table taken from HILDA Annual Survey Report 2006

4.4 Data Requirements

Both the theoretical model, outlined in chapter 2, and the research design, outlined in the previous section, impose a number of requirements on the data utilised to conduct the research. The model describes how a mother's pattern of employment navigation will vary owing to occupational differences in employment accessibility. I have defined employment navigation as an interactive process between worker agency and institutional constraints, located primarily at the occupational level. This process manifests in particular patterns of employment change that vary on an occupational basis. Thus in order to test the hypothesis espoused by the model, the data set that is utilised must meet three essential requirements. First the data must enable a longitudinal study so that patterns of employment change can be analysed. Secondly, the measures of employment access must be comprehensive. Thirdly, the employment data must include a detailed occupational designation. These requirements will be discussed more fully over the following pages.

To meet these data requirements the *Household, Income and Labour Dynamics of Australia* (HILDA) survey was utilised. This study is a longitudinal study commissioned by the Australian Federal Government through the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA) run by the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne. The *HILDA* survey has been in progress since 2001. Data is collected annually and currently there are 10 waves of data available to users. The study used the first five waves of data from HILDA Survey, 2001 – 2005.

The study was limited to using the first 5 waves of HILDA data from 2001 to 2005. There were two reasons for this, as explained in Chapter 1. Firstly, these were the only data waves available when analysis began in mid 2007. Secondly, as outlined in Chapter 3, major changes occurred in Australian employment regulation in 2005 through the introduction of the *Workplace Relations Amendment Act 2005*, colloquially known as *Work Choices* and again in 2009 with the *Fair Work Act*. There were also changes to the social welfare system, impacting on mothers. These changes would have necessitated the establishment of a second quasi-experiment, using a second data set, still open-ended at the time of the research. Whilst it will be worthwhile subsequently to conduct comparative studies based on later waves under different institutional regimes, this would have added complexity that would have clouded the theoretical model-building which is the objective of the thesis.

The first requirement of the research design was that the data utilised be a longitudinal study that enabled the tracking of the employment of *individuals* over time. The construct of

employment change related to change in the parameters of employment for individual workers, primarily mothers. A number of workplace based panel studies have been conducted in Australia, including the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (AWIRS) and the Business Longitudinal Database by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. These surveys have collected detailed employment data, but were not suitable because the panel under study was based on businesses and workplaces not individual workers and casual employees were excluded (Morehead, Steele, Alexander, Stephen, & Duffin, 1997) (ABS, 2011c). Thus these studies do not allow scope for the individual to be tracked when they changed workplace, or employer. In contrast both HILDA and the Negotiating the Life Course Survey (NLCS) track individuals. The NLCS collects data on both family and employment variables, but respondents are surveyed every three years, with limited data collected on employment history (The Australian National University, 2009). Thus the scope to track changes in employment over time is limited. However HILDA is a household based survey which is conducted annually, designed to expand the number of respondents surveyed as the composition of households change. New household members are included in the survey and household members that move are followed where possible (Goode & Watson, 2007). This potentially allows not only for a larger group of working mothers to be tracked than is possible in workplace based survey designs, but also enables the tracking of employment changes that occur within a smaller time frame.

Secondly, both the first and the second stages of data analysis required detailed data on employment circumstances. Table 4.1 indicated the employment details required to measure both employment change and occupational norms. The parameters of employment analysed under the construct of occupational norms required identification for any period of employment of an employee's occupation, working hours, work scheduling, place of work and employment contract. In addition the construct of employment change measured a number of changes in employment circumstances. These included change in occupation, working hours, work scheduling, place of work, and employment contract, as well as any change in employer. Ideally, all changes in employment should be tracked. However, the HILDA data while noting intermediary changes in employment between waves of data collection did not collect all the required data necessary to measure employment change. Therefore only employment changes from one wave to another were measured.

The last data requirement was also necessary for both stages of analysis. The research design required detailed occupational data. The majority of Australian studies that examine women's employment change either look at a single occupation or organisation individually or classify occupations into broad occupational categories (Duffield, Aitken, O'Brien-Pallas,

& Wise, 2004; Esposto, 2011; Metz & Theranou, 2001). Excluding reasons pertaining to specific design issues, one reason for tracking employment change in this way is to make the data analysis more manageable. The most commonly used occupational classification in Australia is the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO). During the early waves of the HILDA survey ANZSCO was not available, and the survey used the 2nd edition of the earlier Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO). ASCO identifies over 340 occupational titles and classifies them according to skill level and skill specialisation (ABS, 1997). The hierarchical construction of ASCO does allow for occupations to be classified more broadly and thus a smaller range of occupations to be analysed. The early waves of HILDA classified occupations at the ASCO 2 digit level, which allowed for a maximum of 35 occupational categories at the sub major group level or a maximum of 9 occupational categories at the major group level. For the purposes of this study too much explanatory power would be lost by restricting analysis to just the 9 occupational categories defined at the major group level or the 2 digit classification with 35 occupational categories. At the major group level the schema is based only on skill while at the sub major group level the schema is based on skill and very broadly on skill specialisation. Neither schema was detailed enough to explore the subtle variations in norms between occupations.

In addition to ASCO, HILDA also included an alternative classification of occupations, the ANU4 scale. The ANU4 scale is not strictly speaking a classification of occupations but primarily a measure of the socio-economic status of occupations (Jones & McMillan, 2001), specifically the ANU4 scale is “a socioeconomic index based upon linkages between education, occupation, and market income” (IPUMS International, 2009). However the ANU4 scale provides two major benefits over using ASCO. First, ANU4 classifies a selection of ASCO occupational titles, at the four digit level, into a more manageable set of 114 occupational categories. This means that occupations are classified at a much more detailed level than at ASCO sub major group level, according to skill specialisation. Second, the inclusion of a socio-economic index provides a better basis by which to approximate the potential economic loss in skills, knowledge and experience that may occur during an employment change than the framework of skill level and skill specialisation inherent in the ASCO classification.

In the ANU4 scale,

...occupation is conceived as a social engine that converts educational inputs into monetary outputs... Occupational scores are chosen in such a way as to maximize the indirect effect of education on earnings (via occupation) while simultaneously minimizing its direct effect on earnings. (IPUMS International, 2009)

An important component in this study was to grade the changes in occupational access that mothers experienced. If mothers were able to access flexibility and maintain occupational access, then they were at the very least maintaining any human capital investment they had made. In comparison if mothers changed to an occupation of lower socio economic status in their attempt to access flexibility than they would experience an economic loss in the skills, knowledge and experience they had accumulated in their previous occupation. Thus the ability to use the ANU4 scale within the HILDA survey was of major benefit in conducting this study.

4.5 Measuring Accessibility

The first stage of analysis centred on mapping the accessibility of employment within a given occupation in the Australian labour market and understanding how these shapes form contours of employment access for mothers in paid employment. First accessibility was mapped by statistical measures of norms and their strength. The aim was to model different occupational shapes in terms of accessibility. In measuring accessibility a number of key terms and conditions of the employment relationship were measured. Of particular interest were those terms and conditions which related to indicators of employment flexibility and security. In addition both the gender concentration and concentration of mothers employed in each of these occupations was noted in order to build a description of who was employed in each of these occupations. Second, the contours of accessibility were examined. Cluster analysis was used to identify key similarities and differences in the shape of employment across different occupations. The findings from this first stage of analysis were then used in the second stage to establish the relationship between these occupational norms and the contours of accessibility they create, and patterns of mother's employment navigation.

4.5.1 Defining an Occupational Case

In the first stage of analysis, occupations, not individuals, were under investigation. This study analysed 64 occupations that were classified using the ANU4 scale. As indicated above, the ANU4 scale is a socio-economic index of occupations that ranks 117 occupational

titles over a hundred point scale on the basis of the income-generating ability of the education required for employment in the occupation (Jones & McMillan, 2001). The sample of occupations drawn from the ANU4 scale was selected on the criteria of the number of employed respondents (not including the self employed) in the occupation during wave 5, 2005. For most of the occupations selected, the required number of employed respondents was set at a minimum of 60 individuals, however for a number of high status occupations this minimum was reduced to 40 individuals. These minimum criteria were implemented to improve the reliability of both the measurement of occupational norms and the validity of the sample of occupations, as a broad representation of occupations in the Australian labour market. The reliability of the mode as a measure of an occupational norm will be discussed in the next section. However the validity of the sample will be discussed here.

As stated previously the ANU 4 scale scores occupations on a scale from 0 to 100. Using the criteria of a minimum of 60 employed individuals per occupation, 59 occupations were included in the analysis. However of these occupations, the occupation with the highest socio-economic status was secondary school teachers, with a socio-economic score of 89.70. This meant that a number of high status occupations in the fields of law and medicine, in particular, were missing from the study. Thus to improve the validity of the sample the minimum respondent criteria was lowered to 40 respondents for a select number of high status occupations. These occupations included: Engineers, 83.80; Other Health Professionals, 94.50; University Teachers, 95.70; Legal Professionals, 96.00; and Medical Practitioners, 100.00. This increased the final number of occupations in the study to 64. The final list of occupations and their corresponding score for socio-economic status can be seen in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Occupations Studied and their Status (ANU4 Score)

Score	Occupation	Score	Occupation
12.40	Factory labourers	44.10	Other intermediate service workers (higher)
14.00	Truck drivers	46.30	Farmers & farm managers
17.10	Mining, construction and other labourers (higher)	46.50	Office managers
18.30	Cleaners	47.80	Other advanced clerical workers
19.00	Storepersons	48.40	Other sales & service managing supervisors
19.50	Kitchenhands	51.20	Health & welfare professionals
22.70	Miscellaneous Labourers	56.20	Building associate professionals
24.50	Checkout operators and cashiers	58.90	Other business associate professionals
24.80	Other elementary service workers	62.00	Sales and related professionals
24.90	Other intermediate sales workers	62.40	Human resource professionals
26.20	Intermediate stationary plant operators	63.00	Sales & marketing managers
26.70	Bar attendants	63.00	Other professionals (lower)
27.30	Other intermediate production & transport workers	63.20	Engineering & processing managers
27.40	Sales Assistants	63.20	Finance associate professionals
28.30	Other horticultural workers (lower)	73.10	Resource managers
30.10	Receptionists	73.20	Social welfare professionals
31.30	Fabrication engineers & tradespersons	74.80	Other professionals (higher)
31.60	Education aides	75.30	Nursing professionals
32.20	Car delivery drivers	76.40	Business and organisation analysts
34.70	Elementary clerks	78.50	Computing professionals
34.90	Secretaries & personal assistants	80.00	Other specialist managers
35.40	Children's care workers	81.40	Accountants & related professionals
35.50	Special care workers	84.30	Other education professionals higher
36.10	General clerks	84.50	Primary school teachers
36.40	Waiters	86.20	Natural Science professionals
39.50	Carpenters and joiners	89.70	Secondary school teachers
39.50	Bookkeepers		
39.90	Metal fitters and machinists		Occupations of Interest with Small Samples
41.00	Shop managers	83.80	Engineers
41.10	Inquiry & admissions clerks	94.50	Other health professionals
41.20	Sales representatives	95.70	University teachers
41.50	Accounting clerks	96.00	Legal professionals
42.80	Electricians	100.00	Medical practitioners

4.5.2 Mapping Occupational Norms and the Shape of Employment

The first step in mapping accessibility was to describe the shape of employment for each occupation under study. This involved measuring occupational norms, statistically, for each of the four parameters of employment: working hours, work scheduling, the place of work (flexi-place) and employment contract; as well as measuring the strength of these norms. In addition to identifying this employment shape, a description of the general characteristics of who was employed was also modelled. These characteristics included measuring the gender concentration, the concentration of parents and more specifically mothers, the age of workers and union density. The aim was primarily to identify variation in the common terms and conditions of employment across occupations and, in addition, to describe the typical worker employed in the occupation.

4.5.2.1 Variables

Occupational norms were measured for four parameters of employment. These were: working hours, work scheduling, the place of work (flexi-place employment) and employment contract. Each of these variables was measured at the nominal level. Both the variables and the classification of data are tabulated in Table 4.5.

Working Hours

Working hours were classified into 5 categories. Only the respondents usual working hours associated with their primary job were used. The rationale behind classifying working hours across a more detailed framework was to enable a greater understanding of working hours as a key dynamic in employment accessibility. While the recognised 'normative' form of employment is full-time, the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 suggests that this norm is more of a statistical average. There has been a flattening of the distribution of working hours over the last 10 years which has seen not only growth in part-time employment, particularly short hours, but also growth in long hours employment.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) makes a distinction between full and part-time employment, defining part-time employment as less than 35 hours per week, and full-time as 35 hours or more (ABS, 2007). However welfare policy at the federal level has effectively placed a minimum or floor on the definition of part-time work for some groups of workers. Policy developments in the area of welfare provision have

Table 4.5 Variables used to Measure Occupational Norms

Variable	Categories
Working hours	Short hours: 1-14 hrs
	Participatory part-time: 15 – 34 hrs
	Standard full-time: 35 – 40 hrs
	Long hours: 41 – 49 hrs
	Very long hours: 50 + hrs
Work scheduling	Regular daytime schedule
	Regular evening schedule
	Regular night shift
	Rotating shift
	Split shift
	On call
	Irregular schedule
	Other
Place of Work	Can work from home
	Cannot work from home
Employment Contract	Fixed term
	Casual
	Permanent

incorporated a minimum of 15 hours per week work as a ‘participation’ requirement in order to receive welfare benefits. The targeted benefit is the parenting payment (single) which is a benefit paid to single parents of low income to assist in the costs of raising children (Centrelink, 2012). While single mothers are not looked at specifically in this study, this ‘participatory’ sub division of part-time employment was included in the analysis, for comparative purposes with future studies. Standard full-time employment in this study is defined as working hours between 35 and 40 hours per week. Australian average weekly working hours have been increasing since the 1980’s and this range of hours reflects this change (Campbell, 2007). In addition, long working hours were divided into two categories, in order to make a clear distinction between long hours and very long hours (Campbell, Whitehouse, & Baxter, 2009).

Work Scheduling

The variable for work scheduling was taken directly from the HILDA data set and the coding for this variable is illustrated in Table 4.3. The scheduling of work is an important criterion of employment access particularly for working mothers with primary care responsibilities.

The availability of alternative care whether from formal or informal sources is time dependent. Formal arrangements are most often available during normal business hours while informal arrangements may be more easily secured outside normal business hours. Thus how the scheduling of work interacts with the scheduling of care is an important dynamic in the shape of employment for working mothers.

Flexi-place Employment

The variable 'flexi-place employment' measured the portability of paid work. This variable was constructed from the HILDA variable asking "Are any of the usual working hours worked at home?" The definition of working from home included both informal and formal arrangements. However it did not include workers who were self employed unless they were designated an employee of their own business.

Employment Contract

The classification of employment contract categorises workers into 3 groups: fixed term contract, casual employment, and permanent or ongoing employment. Importantly the classification scheme does not classify all workers but only employees. Thus some groups of self employed workers are omitted from the analysis. The inclusion of self employed workers in the study depended on their designation as an employee. Employment status was classified into 4 categories, employee, employee of own business, employer/own account worker, and unpaid family worker. Only workers who were either, employees, or employees of their own business were asked about their contractual status.

These classifications of employment status are based on the ABS classification which combines a worker's self perception of their employment relationship with their legal status (ABS, 2007). It is the legal distinction between owners of incorporated and un-incorporated businesses which contributes to the ambiguity of self employment in Australia. There has been extensive debate regarding the classification of the category of employer/own account worker and employee of own business in Australia. This debate centres on the growth in self employment as a means by which employers devolve the risk and responsibilities of hiring on to workers themselves (O'Donnell, 2004; van Wanrooy, Jakubauskas, Buchannan, Wilson, & Scalmer, 2008). Thus including self employed workers and the characteristics of their employment into the study is potentially problematic, particularly regarding the study of occupational norms for occupations that are being traded. The assumption of constraint inherent in the concept of accessibility is at odds with the ambiguous position of the self employed on the point of whether they have control over the terms and conditions of employment or whether they are determined in the first instance by their employer.

Unfortunately the ability of the self employed to re model their own occupational norms is a question that was not able to be addressed in this study.

Characteristics of Workers

In addition to these employment parameters, a number of other characteristics of the workers typically employed in the occupation were noted. These characteristics included: the concentration of females employed, the concentration of mothers, the concentration of parents, union density and the general age of workers. These characteristics of the workers employed were measured as ratio level data, by calculating the relevant percentage of respondents employed in the occupation for a designated category.

Other Variables

A number of other norms were measured for occupations which did not end up being included in the analysis. These norms related to further job characteristics and also to the organisational characteristics of where these jobs were located. The additional job characteristics not included in the analysis related to norms of supervisory responsibility, specifically whether the statistical norm was for a worker to act in a supervisory role or not. Norms relating to organisational characteristics included: the sector of employment, workplace size, and the gender concentration of the workplace. The norms for these variables were not strongly related to the concentration of either women or mothers within occupations and were therefore removed from further analysis. This is particularly surprising with regard to organisational characteristics such as workplace size and gender concentration of the workplace which have been found in past studies to correlate with gender concentration. They may be redundant in this study because the concept of a norm required the categorisation of continuous data in these instances and thus the strength of the relationship between these variables and the concentration of both mothers and women within the occupation was weakened substantially. With regard to norms for supervision and sector of employment, their redundancy is more likely to relate to the overlap of these characteristics with those implied by the occupational classification. For example identifying that the norm for sector of employment is education for primary, secondary and university teachers is somewhat redundant. The sector of employment is implied by the occupation. A full compilation of these norms for the 64 occupations in 2001 is tabled in Appendix A.

4.5.2.2 Measurement

The measurement of an occupational norm was based on identifying the modal category for any given parameter of employment. While use of the modal response makes identifying

occupational norms relatively simple, the usage of the mode is not unproblematic. For a number of occupations it was likely that the distribution of responses might be approaching bi-modality. It was for this reason that a measure of normative strength was included in the analysis. The measure for normative strength was based on the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV). The IQV is a measure of the dispersion of a distribution measured at the nominal level. The IQV is a ratio of observed differences in the distribution compared to the maximum possible differences, where a score of 0 indicates no variation and a score of 1 indicates perfect variation. The IQV is calculated as follows.

$$IQV = \frac{\sum [(x_1x_2) + (x_1x_p) + \dots + (x_2x_p) + \dots]}{2k(n^2(k-1))} \quad 0 \leq IQV \leq 1$$

where

x is the frequency of the category

p is the pth category

n is the total frequency

k is the number of categories

To convert the IQV into a measure of normative strength an inverse score for the IQV was used. Inverse scores can be either additive or multiplicative. In this thesis I use the additive inverse throughout, 1 minus a proportion, 0.X, (eg 1-0.X) rather than the multiplicative inverse of one over the value of X, (eg 1/X). Thus normative strength was calculated as follows.

$$\text{Modal strength} = 1 - IQV$$

Both the norm and normative strength were calculated only for variables measuring parameters of employment, that is working hours, work scheduling, the ability to work from home and employment contract. In addition, two other measures of strength were calculated in relation to working hours. These norms measured the strength of standard full-time employment as a norm, and the strength of standard full-time employment as a benchmark or minimum standard of employment within a given occupation. The calculation of these two measures of strength was also based on the IQV. The measure for

the strength of standard full-time employment became redundant during the analysis, although the measure of the benchmark norm was found to be important to employment navigation.

The benchmark norm of standard full-time employment measured the extent to which working at least standard full-time was a minimum requirement for employment in the occupation. Thus the measure of the benchmark hours compared the variation occurring between full-time hours, long and very long hours, to the variation occurring between participatory part-time and short working hours. It is important to note that this measure is not a simple proportion as it compares the variation occurring on one side of the benchmark or reference point (of 35 hours per week) to the variation occurring on the other. More details on the calculation of benchmark norms can be found in Appendix A.

4.6 Mapping the Contours of Employment Accessibility

The second step in analysing accessibility was to map the contours of employment access across the sample of 64 occupations. Cluster analysis was used to model common patterns of occupational norms and strength across occupations. I hypothesised that these patterns of norms would form contours of employment access that enabled and constrained the participation of Australian mothers in employment. Primarily, the analysis sought to test the prevalence of a particular set of contours, those designated in the constructs of the ideal worker and the standard employment relationship.

Two stage cluster analysis using the log likelihood criterion was used, this method being suitable for data sets containing both categorical and continuous variables. The variables used in the cluster analysis are listed in Table 4.6, and include measures of both the norm and the strength of the norm for each of the 64 occupations sampled. In addition, the variables used measured the occupational average for 2001 – 2005. While measurements of these variables had been taken for each year, there was little change between norms and the strength of these norms, from year to year. Thus the use of an ‘average’ measure was deemed appropriate.

Table 4.6 Variables Used in the Cluster Analysis Mapping the Contours of Employment

Categorical Variables	Continuous Variables
Working Hours Norm	Strength of Working Hours Norm
	Strength of Full-time Benchmark Norm
Work Scheduling Norm	Strength of Scheduling Norm
Flexi-place Norm	Strength of Flexi-place Norm
Contract Norm	Strength of Contract Norm
	ANU 4 Socioeconomic Status Score
	Percentage of Women Employed
	Percentage of Mothers Employed

4.7 Measuring Navigation

The second stage of data analysis measured patterns of navigation and examined the relationship between these patterns and the contours of accessibility that had been mapped for the 64 occupations sampled in stage 1. Navigation was conceptualised as the process of employment change which women experienced as they attempted to combine paid employment with unpaid care. The shape of employment was hypothesised to enable and constrain women’s employment mobility over the life course, particularly during motherhood. Thus the first step in understanding navigation was to map patterns of women’s employment mobility. The second step was to examine the relationship between these patterns of mobility and the shape of employment.

4.7.1 Defining a Case of Employment Change

The analysis of navigation was based on measuring three basic patterns of employment mobility:

- change in the overall pattern of employment arrangements including, occupation, employment break, working hours, work scheduling, access to flexi-place employment and employment contract;
- change in occupation; and
- change in the shape of employment.

However the foundation for each of these measures of employment mobility was based on identifying a case of employment change. A case of employment change was identified each time a woman altered any of the following employment circumstances:

- working hours,
- work scheduling,
- portability of work,
- employment contract,
- employer
- occupation or
- experienced a break in employment

Employment changes were measured for all women in the HILDA data set who met the following criteria:

- had all requisite data for two jobs, sequential in time, for which transitions could be measured
- were employed in at least one of the 64 occupations under analysis either pre or post employment change.
- the employment change was completed between 2001 and 2005

Employment changes were not only limited to changes occurring over consecutive years. Women could experience an employment break, spending any number of years out of employment. For these women data on their last job prior to their break was used. Women could generate more than one instance of employment change. Both motherhood status and motherhood stage was measured separately for each instance of employment change, thus a woman could be a woman without any children for her first employment change and be a mother for her second and third employment changes. In total, 15 349 cases of employment change were recorded. For each case of employment change three different patterns of mobility were measured: navigational pathways, occupational change and change in employment shape.

4.7.1.1 Measuring Navigational Pathways

Navigational pathways measured the combination of transitions and trades which occurred with each instance of employment change. With each instance of employment change, change could occur across any one of six dimensions of employment. Women could change their working hours, or pattern of work scheduling, alter their access to flexi-place employment, change their employment contract, change their occupation, and/ or experience an employment break. A mother's navigational pathway measured the overall combination of these changes or transitions that women made when they experienced a change in employment.

4.7.1.2 *Measuring Occupational Transitions*

Occupational transitions were measured by calculating the change in the ANU4 socio economic index for each instance of employment change. Occupational transitions were classified into three possible types of change: no change in occupation, change to an occupation of higher status, and change to an occupation of lower status.

4.7.1.3 *Measuring Change in Employment Shape*

The analysis in chapter 6 models the contours of employment accessibility for five key shapes of employment. These employment shapes were based on common patterns of norms across the 64 occupations sampled. The variable change in employment shape measures mobility between contours of employment access. When women changed their occupation, they might potentially change the shape of their employment and thus the contours of flexibility and security which that particular shape of employment enabled and constrained. By measuring job mobility within and between employment shapes the process of navigation as a process reproducing patterns of gender concentration within occupations can be illustrated.

4.7.1.4 *Measuring Motherhood Status and Motherhood Stage*

For each instance of employment change motherhood status and motherhood stage were measured. Both of these variables were measured at the end of an instance of employment change and as such represent a woman's status post employment stage.

The care demands and requirements of women differ over the life course, thus the measures used in the study were designed to capture these differences both over the life course and over the course of motherhood. In classifying motherhood the primary distinction was based on the presence or absence of dependent resident children under the age of 16 years. Women without dependent resident children were then divided into two groups based on whether they had had any children or not. Women who had either dependent children who were not resident or who were no longer aged less than 16 were placed in a separate category. For these women the demands of care have already had an impact on their paid employment or the current care demands are much less in comparison to women with dependent resident children aged under 16 years.

Motherhood status was classified into three categories:

Care active mothers
(active mothers)

Women with responsibility for dependent resident children
less than 16 years of age

Non care active mothers (non mothers) Women with children that are either not dependent, not resident or are aged 16 years or more.

Women without any children (women WoAC) Women without any children.

Motherhood Stage was classified into five categories in order to measure the changes in the impact of the demands of care as children matured. Motherhood stage was defined as coinciding with the development of the youngest child and taken to be indicative of required support for care-giving experienced at various stages of motherhood. Thus motherhood stage was determined based on the age of the youngest dependent resident child. and coincided with. However motherhood stage was not necessarily timed in conjunction with specific life course events such as re-entry to employment post birth, or when a child first enters school.

The classification of motherhood stage is as follows:

Mothers of Babies	Youngest child aged 0-1 year
Mothers of Preschoolers	Youngest child aged 2-5 years
Mothers of Primary School Children	Youngest child aged 6-11 years
Mothers of High School children	Youngest child aged 12-15 years

4.7.2 Mapping Navigational Pathways

The analysis of navigation first involved modelling the main navigational pathways utilised by women, between 2000 and 2005. Modelling these pathways involved using two stage cluster analysis to identify common patterns of transitions across all six dimensions of employment change from the sample of 15,349 cases of employment change.

Each of these transition patterns was a navigational pathway that not only described what transitions women made when they changed employment, but also described the types of trades they made between flexibility and security. For example women who moved from full-time employment to part-time employment and also changed from a permanent employment contract to casual could be described as forfeiting working time security and benefit security in order to gain working time flexibility (see Table 4.7 below). Cluster analysis was used at this stage of analysis to model the main combinations of these

transitions and the trades between flexibility and security they entailed. These transitions and areas of trade are listed in Table 4.7. The relationship between the use of navigational pathways and motherhood status, motherhood stage and the shape of employment was then explored to see if particular groups of women were more likely to utilise a particular navigational path.

Table 4.7 Transitions and Areas of Trade

Transition	Area to be Traded
Working Hours	Working Time Flexibility (access to part-time employment)
	Working Time Security (access to full-time employment)
	Working Time Mobility (access to both part-time and full-time employment)
Flexi-place Employment	Care Flexibility (access to portability of work that allows for the combination of work and care)
Employment Contract	Benefit Security (access to employment benefits and leave provisions)
Work Scheduling	Care Security (access to regular work schedules that allow for the arrangement of alternative care)
Occupation	Occupational Security /Accessibility (access to employment that utilises a workers skills, education and experience)
Employment Participation	Employment Security (access to full employment over the life course)

4.7.3 Examining the Process of Navigation

The last step in the analysis of navigation was to examine the relationship between the shape of employment and employment mobility, specifically to examine how the shape of a mother’s employment constrained her options for navigating employment access through motherhood and thus led to mothers making changes to their employment which reproduced patterns of gender disadvantage. This step of the analysis utilised a case study approach where navigation was first explored within a particular instance that is, within occupations of a similar employment shape. The central argument of chapter 6 is that similarities in the shape of employment create contours of employment access which mothers navigate during active motherhood. By analysing navigation within occupations from each of these key employment shapes I examined how these contours of accessibility enabled and constrained mothers’ navigation. Second a select number of occupations were examined in further detail to illustrate subtle variations between occupations of similar

employment shape. The central argument of chapter 8 is that the package of norms shaping employment access is an occupationally based institution. By analysing navigation at the occupational level I demonstrated the validity of an occupation as an important institution shaping mothers employment access and navigation. Third, vignettes were drawn from the sample to provide examples of how mothers navigated their employment access within these occupations.

The analysis made comparisons in mobility between active mothers and women without dependent resident children, both non-active mothers and women without any children. These comparisons examined the differences in mobility including the use of navigational pathways - to illustrate constraint, and the occupational transitions and changes in employment shape women made - to illustrate how patterns of segmentation are reproduced.

4.8 Summary of Research Method

This chapter has outlined the design of this study. This study incorporates two distinct analyses, the first, a study of occupational norms and their strength across 64 occupations in the Australian labour market, between 2001 and 2005 and second, an investigation of patterns of mobility for Australian women during the same period. Thus the first phase of the study examines employment accessibility, and the second, the process of navigation.

The structure of the research design effectively divides the analysis into four steps. The findings from each of these steps of analysis are presented in the four empirical chapters which follow. The first two empirical chapters explore the concept of accessibility. Chapter 5 presents the analysis based on a mapping of occupational norms and their strength across 64 occupations in the Australian labour market. Occupational cases were defined using the ANU4 socio-economic scale. For each occupation, norms were measured using the mode and norm strength was calculated as an inverse measure of the index of qualitative variation. In Chapter 6, similarities in employment shape within the model were identified using cluster analysis. Common patterns were modelled into basic occupational shapes of employment which highlighted the contours of employment accessibility.

The second stage of analysis focused attention on the process of navigating these contours and involved mapping patterns of mobility for Australian women, measuring them for each case of employment change. Employment change occurred each time a woman changed any one of the following: her working hours, work scheduling, access to flexi-place employment, her employment contract, occupation, or her employer. For each case of employment

change three types of mobility were measured: navigational pathways, occupational transitions, and change in shape of employment. Navigational pathways were modelled using cluster analysis to identify similarities in patterns of employment change and the results of this analysis are presented in chapter 7. The relationship between employment accessibility and patterns of navigation are explored in chapter 8. This chapter utilises an approach where patterns of mothers' employment mobility are compared to patterns of occupational mobility for groups of women without dependent resident children, non-active mothers and women without any children. The focus of the analysis in this chapter is twofold: to understand how the shape of employment enables and constrains the process of navigation for Australian mothers and secondly to illustrate how these enablements and constraints link occupational contours to gendered care.

The methods used to analyse the data are appropriate to the study's goal of building a dynamic theory that can begin to explain the process of labour market segmentation in Australia. The concept of an occupational norm required a novel approach to measurement, the inverse measure of the IQV, while the complexity of inter-relationships between gender and terms and conditions of employment discussed in Chapter 2 required a broader range of mechanisms to be examined. Cluster analysis was an appropriate method for exploring these interrelationships because the analysis focused on identifying groups for which different rules or norms needed to be followed. Similarly, cluster analysis was also suitable for analysis of transitions, the focus of this analysis was to identify similar patterns of transitions and trades in flexibility and security. An approach was used that involved the study of two types of cases, drawn from statistical data at the occupational and individual unit level respectively, in order to examine the interaction between occupational norms and employment mobility, the process of labour market segmentation. In the first approach, the unit of analysis was clusters of occupations. In the second approach, the study was of aggregate and finally individual cases or instances of mobility, transition and trade, within in particular occupational context at a particular point in time.

Together, the data collected and analysed in Chapters 5-8 contribute to a clarification, in Chapter 9, of the debates over whether these occupational contours, and the process that generate and reproduce them, are best defined in terms of choice, inequality, disadvantage, discrimination or segmentation. This may point the way to a result, outside the scope of the study, involving institutional changes that will safeguard and enhance accessibility and reduce constraints on it.

The first step is to extend the concepts of the standard employment relationship and the ideal worker by mapping occupational norms, their strength and their impact.

Chapter 5

Occupational Accessibility: The Shape of Employment

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two empirical chapters exploring the concept of occupational accessibility. In chapter 4, I hypothesised that occupational access was enabled by the shape of employment. The shape of employment is built on the normative characteristics of jobs across an occupation. In Australia, these include patterns such as concentrations of men or women, mothers or others. They also include commonly-occurring patterns in the forms, terms and conditions of employment. Examples are the incidence of casual or permanent work, of long or part-time hours of work, patterns of regular or irregular shift work or weekend work, or availability of variable start and finish times or working from home. The notion of accessibility rests on the thesis that such norms either limit or enable employment, particularly for mothers in paid work. This chapter explores how occupational norms vary, both in form and strength, and how this variation relates to both gender concentration and the concentration of mothers within occupations.

The aim of the chapter is to establish how accessibility is linked to variations in occupational shape – the characteristic package of norms for four parameters within an occupation that are identified as key shapers of job accessibility. The analysis explores occupational differences in packages of norms that together create an occupation's shape, and the ways in which these norms work together or in tension to influence mothers' participation in a job in the occupation. Whilst the research was based on 64 occupations, the discussion in this chapter selects an illustrative sample of 12 to demonstrate variability in occupational accessibility for Australian mothers.

The central argument of the chapter is that the concentration of mothers employed within occupations can be explained through an understanding of the interrelationships among the occupationally based norms for four key parameters - working hours, flexi-place employment, work scheduling and employment mode. It is the *combination* of norms for these particular parameters of employment that enable and constrain flexibility and security for mothers in paid employment.

Three key points are made. First, employment access in Australia does not have a 'one size fits all' shape. Second, occupations in which mothers can be found may vary widely in shape. Third, both the strength of occupational norms for the four key parameters and the degree to which alternatives are available to any norm play an integral role in enabling the occupational access of mothers.

The chapter begins with a definition of the concept of 'employment shape' and an explanation of its analytical importance, and then moves on to an examination of the contribution of occupational norms, and their strength, in creating the employment shapes of different occupations. Section 5.2 briefly reviews the conceptualisation of 'the shape of employment' while Section 5.3 details its operationalisation. Section 5.4, then examines the variation in norms and their strength across four parameters of employment – hours mode, work scheduling, flexi-place and contract. Section 5.5 uses this analytical framework in twelve occupations, unpacking different combinations of norms of varying strength, exploring their relationship with gender and concentration of mothers, and hypothesising the potential effect of different combinations of norms on the occupational accessibility of employment for mothers.

5.2 Defining the Shape of Employment

The notion of employment shape focuses on two key dimensions of job quality - security and flexibility - as they relate to the accessibility of jobs for mothers in paid employment. Chapters 2 and 3 established that in Australia as elsewhere, access to employment flexibility is often tied to insecurity and mothers in paid employment are penalised in terms of job and financial precariousness for requiring access to flexibility. In addition, I hypothesised that the occupational norms for forms of employment and for work scheduling affect the security of women's work and care arrangements.

The analysis of employment shapes establishes that a mother's occupational access is not simply related to gender concentration, nor to the presence or absence of a single employment norm, such as that for the incidence of part-time employment. Rather, it is the particular combination of norms embodied within an occupational employment shape that enables and sustains, or constrains, occupational access for mothers. To understand occupational accessibility, it is necessary to go beyond an enumeration of occupational norms of security and flexibility, to explore how they work together or against each other in a package.

In addition, the strength of these norms contributes to an occupation's shape. *Strong* norms leave individuals with very little room to find or negotiate a change in a particular working condition, as little work is offered in an alternative form. *Weak* norms for any parameter that might otherwise reduce accessibility may suffice to enable job and occupational access. Weak norms allow for flexibility in the terms and conditions of employment. For mothers, occupational access may be enabled by weak norms for working hours that allow for movement between part and full-time employment and weak norms for place of work that allow for the portability of work. A high incidence of predictable evening rosters, coupled with a strong or even a weak norm for part-time work may make care easier, either by limiting the time required for alternative care or by making the periods required for alternative care regular, and so able to be booked in advance (Huhtala, Uusiautti, & Maatta, 2012; Messenger, 2004; Presser, 2003; Smith, 2002). Weak norms can also reduce accessibility. For example a weak norm for a permanent employment contract suggests that while most jobs are offered on the basis of a permanent employment contract a number of jobs within the occupation are also made available on the basis of casual employment and/or fixed term contracts.

The analysis presented here focuses on the diversity of working arrangements, specifically how the shape of employment differs among occupations. In exploring the shape of employment on an occupational basis the discussion focuses on how norms vary between occupations and how these norms vary in strength. The aim is to take the notion of an employment shape and explore how the shape varies across occupations and how these variations may relate to the concentration of mothers in any given occupation.

5.3 Measuring Occupational Norms

In Chapter 2 norms were conceptualised as the most common terms and conditions of employment in an occupation. Some norms may be traceable to social or regulatory norms such as the standard employment relationship (SER) or the non-standard alternatives it generates, but here they are defined statistically. As indicated above, norms can either enable or constrain employment access, depending on whether they are favourable to the terms and conditions of employment sought by a worker, and/or whether they are strong or weak.

Initially norms were measured for 12 different characteristics of occupations covering four key areas of employment. First, norms relating to who was employed within each occupation were measured. Norms were measured relating to gender concentration, the concentration of parents employed, the age of workers and union density. Second, norms

relating to how an individual was employed were measured. These norms measured access to flexibility, working hours and flexi-place employment, and security, work scheduling and employment mode. Third, norms were measured with regard to the role in which a worker within a particular occupation was employed, specifically whether a worker was in supervisory role or not. This norm related to the role or function of a particular job (and by association occupation) within an organisation. Fourthly, norms relating to the type of organisation engaging workers from particular occupations were measured. These characteristics included the sector of employment, workplace size, and the gender concentration of the workplace. A full compilation of these norms for the 64 occupations in 2001 is tabled in Appendix B.

The analysis in this thesis is limited to a discussion of norms relating to who was employed within an occupation and how they were employed. Norms relating to the characteristics of the organisation and the function or role which a worker played within an organisation were excluded from the analysis at an early stage as characteristics were found to vary little between occupations in regard to both the measured norm and the strength of the measured norm.

Norms were statistically derived by measuring the modal responses for each occupational characteristic and calculating an indicator of norm strength or concentration. Strength was measured for norms relating to: working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place employment, and employment contract. The strength of these norms was determined using an inverse measure of the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV), the calculation of which was detailed in Chapter 4. This measure was preferred over using a simple percentage, as a percentage measures concentration, the modal response relative to all responses, whereas the inverse IQV measures strength, the modal response in relation to how all responses are distributed across possible categories. Thus the inverse IQV is a more stringent measure of strength because it takes into account the relative context of the whole distribution. (See Appendix A for further details.) Simple percentages were used to indicate concentration for norms relating to who was employed within an occupation. Concentration was measured for women, mothers, parents, and union density. The exception was for norms relating to the age of workers within an occupation. Here, normative strength was calculated using the inverse IQV. This measure was preferred because of the use of five age group categories and the inverse IQV enabled strength to be measured in relation to the relative context of the whole distribution.

In addition, two further measures of working hours norms were calculated. The first was a measure indicating the extent to which full-time employment could be considered a

benchmark norm, a minimum condition for occupational engagement. The second measure was a directional measure indicating where hours outside a full-time standard could be sourced, that is whether a worker was more likely to find employment working longer or shorter hours than standard full-time (35 – 40 hours per week). In total, norms, normative strength and concentration were measured for 10 characteristics of employment across 64 occupations over 5 years between 2001 and 2005. A complete compilation of the average norms, strength and concentration for each of the 64 occupations sampled is displayed in Appendix B, Table B.1 and Table B.2. Five key norms were mapped onto radial diagrams to illustrate the shape of employment for each occupation: the norm for working hours, the full-time benchmark norm, flexi-place norms, norms for work scheduling, and norms for employment contract. The radar diagrams enabled both the norm and strength of the norm to be illustrated. Norms were colour-coded and strength was indicated by the relative size of each sector of the diagram.

The analysis which follows first tables a brief description of norms and the range of strength values for the occupations in the sample. This description is then followed by a discussion of the variation in employment shape between occupations. The aim of this discussion is to highlight how the shape of employment not only differs in relation to gender concentration but also in relation to the concentration of mothers employed within an occupation. In addition, the shape of mothers' employment is not uniform: high concentrations of mothers can be found in occupations of different shape. The discussion highlights how particular combinations of norms may enable or constrain mothers' occupational access.

5.4 Occupational Norms - Findings

For mothers in paid employment, key components of job quality include access to mechanisms that enable flexibility and security in employment. Mechanisms for flexibility include access to part-time or short hours employment and access to flexi-place employment, as these mechanisms enable time to care. There were two key mechanisms for security. One was access to permanent employment contracts, which enable access to leave provisions providing security for work and care. The other was access to regular work scheduling arrangements, preferably a regular daytime schedule of 9 to 5 Monday to Friday, which matches the availability of formalised care and school routines. Access to these two mechanisms provides security for both employment *and* care arrangements.

Analysis of the 64 occupations sampled indicated that not all occupations enabled access to these mechanisms of flexibility and security. The normative terms and conditions of employment varied widely throughout the sample and no uniform or standard

characteristic or norm was identified in relation to the employment of high concentrations of either women or mothers. Further, the norms for the occupations sampled also varied widely in terms of strength, suggesting that some occupations provided the possibility of greater accessibility to working mothers than others. This may explain why both women and mothers can be found engaging in occupations with a wide range of norms. As indicated above, weak norms, even where norms do not appear to enable flexibility and security, allow for the possibility to alter or change working conditions while strong norms do not. Table 5.1 presents a numerical summary of norms and norm strength for the 64 occupations sampled. For each possible norm the number of occupations exhibiting the norm and the range of strength scores for the norm is displayed. Additionally, the table includes the number of occupations with an above average concentration of women and mothers, and the range of socio-economic status for occupations displaying the norm.

5.4.1 Working Hours

Working hours had the most variable norm within the sample. Working hours were divided into five categories. Standard full-time hours were classified as working within a small range of hours of between 35 and 40 hours per week. Part-time work was divided into two categories, in order to make a distinction between short hours employment (1-14 hours per week) and part-time employment which meets participation requirements for single parent mothers on government support benefits (15-34 hours per week). Long working hours were also classified into two categories in order to distinguish between long hours which may indicate a moderate extension of the working week (41 – 49 hours per week) and very long working hours in excess of 50 hours per week. A number of occupations within the sample were found to display each of these norms for working hours, except the norm for long hours employment.

Five occupations exhibited a norm for short hours employment. These were of low socio-economic status and included Cleaners, Kitchen Hands, Checkout Operators and Cashiers, Waiters, and Other Elementary Service Workers such as Ticket Sellers, Telemarketers and Service Station Attendants. For these occupations the short working hours norm was of weak to moderate strength, implying a degree of flexibility for workers in accessing alternative working hours. However despite this flexibility, while all occupations with a norm for short working hours employed an above average percentage of women (more than 46 percent of workers were women), only two of these occupations also employed an above average percentage of mothers (more than 15 percent of workers were mothers). Thus

norms for short working hours did not necessarily enable occupational accessibility for working mothers.

By contrast, nearly all occupations in which participatory part-time employment was a norm appeared to enable employment access for working mothers. In total, of the ten occupations displaying a norm for participatory part-time employment, nine employed an above average percentage of both women and mothers. Again the strength of the norm for participatory part-time employment was very weak to moderate, suggesting that alternative working hours could be sourced if required. However unlike short hours employment, participatory part-time employment could be found in occupations ranging from low to high socio-economic status, for example as Bar Attendants, Sales Assistants, Nursing Professionals or Primary School Teachers.

Full-time employment norms were found in over half the occupations sampled. However for these occupations, the strength of this norm was the most variable, ranging from very weak to very strong. Interestingly, around half of these occupations employed an above average percentage of women and just over a third employed an above average percentage of mothers. These occupations ranged across the whole spectrum from very low to very high socioeconomic status and included such occupations as Factory Labourers, Store Persons, Secretaries and Personal Assistants, Accounting Clerks, and Social Welfare Professionals.

Surprisingly a large number of occupations displayed a norm for very long hours. Thirteen occupations in the sample displayed norms for very long working hours although these norms were generally weak. Despite the general weakness of the norm, that very long working hours is a norm at all for so many occupations in the sample is of particular interest. Campbell (2007) and Pocock (2005a) have identified a growth in long hours employment in Australia, but these findings indicate that this growth had occurred to the extent where long working hours had become a statistical norm. Further, it was not just that long working hours had become the norm for a number of occupations, but that very long hours in excess of 50 hours per week had done so. Occupations with a norm for very long working hours were mainly of mid to high socioeconomic status, and included such occupations as Shop Managers, Engineering and Process Managers, and Medical Practitioners. However, low status occupations such as Truck Driving also displayed norms for very long working hours. Surprisingly a small number of occupations with norms for very long working hours were found to employ high concentrations of either women or mothers. Such occupations included University Teachers, Secondary School Teachers and Shop Managers.

Table 5.1 Numerical Summary of Occupational Norms

Parameter of Employment	Working Hours					Portability of Work	
	Short hours (1-14 hrs/wk)	Participatory Part-time hours (15-34 hrs/wk)	Standard Full-time hours (35-40 hrs/wk)	Long hours (41-49 hrs/wk)	Very long hours (50+ hrs/wk)	Yes	No
Number of Occupations with specified Norm	5	10	35	0	13	9	55
Range of Normative Strength for Occupations displaying specified norm	0.13 - 0.28	0.02 - 0.32	0.02 - 0.82	---	0.05 - 0.23	0.01 - 0.36	0.01 - 0.99
Number of Occupations employing an above average concentration of women (46 %)	5	9	16	0	3	5	29
Number of occupations employing an above average concentration of mothers (15%)	2	9	13	0	3	5	22
Range of socio economic status score for occupations displaying specified norm	18.30 - 36.40	22.70 - 84.50	12.40 - 94.50	---	14.00 - 100.00	39.50 - 95.70	12.40 - 100.00

Table 5.2 Numerical Summary of Occupational Norms (continued)

Parameter of Employment	Work Scheduling			Employment Mode		
	Regular daytime	Rotating shift	Other types of shift	Permanent	Casual	Fixed Term
Number of Occupations with specified Norm	63	1	0	56	8	0
Range of Normative Strength for Occupations displaying specified norm	0.11 – 0.90	0.22	---	12.40 – 100.00	18.30 – 36.40	---
Number of Occupations employing an above average concentration of women (46%)	63	1	0	27	7	0
Number of occupations employing an above average concentration of mothers (15%)	63	1	0	24	4	0
Range of socio economic status score for occupations displaying specified norm	12.40 – 100.00	75.30	---	12.40 – 100.00	18.30 – 36.40	---

Source: HILDA 2001-2005

5.4.2 Flexi-place Employment

The norm for portability of work indicated the extent to which work was completed from home, as either a formal or informal arrangement. For the majority of occupations sampled, the norm was to not take work home from the office and the strength of this norm ranged from being very weak to very strong. Nine occupations exhibited a norm for taking work home. These occupations ranged from mid to high socio economic status and the strength of the norm in these occupations ranged from very weak to moderate. Half of these occupations employed an above average percentage of women and an above average percentage of mothers. Occupations in which taking work home was the norm included Bookkeepers, Farmers and Farm Managers, Resource Managers and Primary School Teachers.

5.4.3 Work Scheduling

All occupations sampled displayed a norm for a regular work day schedule except for one, Nursing Professionals, for which the norm was to work a rotating shift. Norms for a regular daytime schedule ranged from being weak to very strong. In contrast the norm for a rotating shift was weak. Other work scheduling arrangements, such as night shift, split shift, and irregular shifts were measured but none was prevalent enough to be identified as a norm. While there was little difference among occupations for this norm, normative strength varied considerably. For work scheduling it was the strength of the norm that was hypothesised to play a direct role in enabling the occupational participation of mothers. Weak norms of a regular daytime shift imply that other forms of work scheduling may often be used. Where these involved irregular patterns of work mothers were likely to experience constraints to occupational participation as irregular shifts may make it more difficult to organise alternative care.

5.4.4 Employment Mode

Most occupations displayed a norm for permanent employment, although eight of those sampled displayed a norm for casual employment. Occupations where the norm was for casual employment included: Cleaners, Checkout Operators and Cashiers, Waiters, Sales Assistants and Bar Attendants. None of the occupations sampled had a norm for fixed term contracts. Interestingly both permanent and casual employment norms were quite strong with the weakest norm for either being measured at 0.82 and 0.83 respectively. This suggests that in Australia most work is either offered on a permanent or casual basis, depending on the occupation.

5.5 Occupational Variations in the Shape of Employment

The preceding discussion illustrates the difficulties of attempting to explain the occupational participation of mothers based on only a single norm. It is the central argument of this chapter that it is the package of norms and how these norms in combination enable and constrain occupational access that explain the concentration of mothers within an occupation and thereby help to explain patterns of gender segregation. The shape of employment enables some forms of occupational access and constrains others. Each parameter of employment, each term and condition embedded within the employment contract, is a potential mechanism for occupational access or exclusion. For mothers in paid employment key mechanisms enabling and constraining occupational access relate to flexibility and security. The parameters of employment which enable and constrain flexibility include working hours and access to flexi-place employment, while the parameters of employment which enable and constrain security include employment mode, and work scheduling. The discussion in the previous section illustrated the extent of the variation in these four key norms enabling occupational access. Of particular note was the large degree of variation in norms regarding the hours worked and flexi-place employment, between occupations. Both these dimensions of employment varied not only in the norm displayed but also in the strength of the norm, suggesting that within some occupations at least there was some flexibility to source alternative working conditions if this was required.

We focus next on how these norms are packaged together to create a specific employment shape and how these shapes in turn vary. Twelve occupations have been selected to illustrate the diversity of employment shapes within the Australian labour market. The selected occupations vary in terms of the concentration of both women and mothers employed but the main focus is on occupations which employed a high concentration of mothers. The aim of the discussion is to explore how the shape of employment may impact on the accessibility of an occupation for mothers, that is, to examine which combinations of norms and normative strength are likely to make it easier for mothers to remain employed in a given occupation. Critically, it is not necessarily the occupations' norms that are of primary importance, but the strength of the norms and the particular terms and conditions that are available as alternatives. Norms of part-time employment may not be the only mechanism which is instrumental to mothers' occupational access. The concentration of mothers, in occupations where norms were for very long working hours, indicates that other mechanisms may come into play.

The findings presented in the following discussion are illustrated using a modified type of radar or star chart. It is important to note, that the charts presented in this chapter, display both the norm and normative strength within each sector of the diagram, not by the spoke or axis as is usually found in these types of charts. This change was made to enable a clearer display of how both norms and normative strength varied between occupations. The scale for measuring normative strength is consistent for all norms and thus is only displayed on one axis in each diagram. Where the axes intersect represents 0 on the strength scale. The measurement of strength increases, radiating outwards on all axes towards the circumference where normative strength is represented at its maximum score of 1. Change in the norm for each parameter of employment is depicted by a change in shade within each sector of the diagram.

5.5.1 The Ideal Worker and the Standard Form of Employment

The shape of employment modelled by both the Ideal Worker and the Standard Form of Employment (SER) highlight the association between full-time working hours and a permanent employment contract. Full-time employment in Australia is recognised as any employment where a worker is required to work more than 35 hours per week. In this study standard full-time employment was limited to a narrow range of working hours between 35 and 40 hours per week. Most occupations, 35 out the 64 sampled, had an employment norm for standard full-time working hours. Above average percentage of women were employed in 16 of these occupations and 13 occupations employed an above average percentage of mothers.

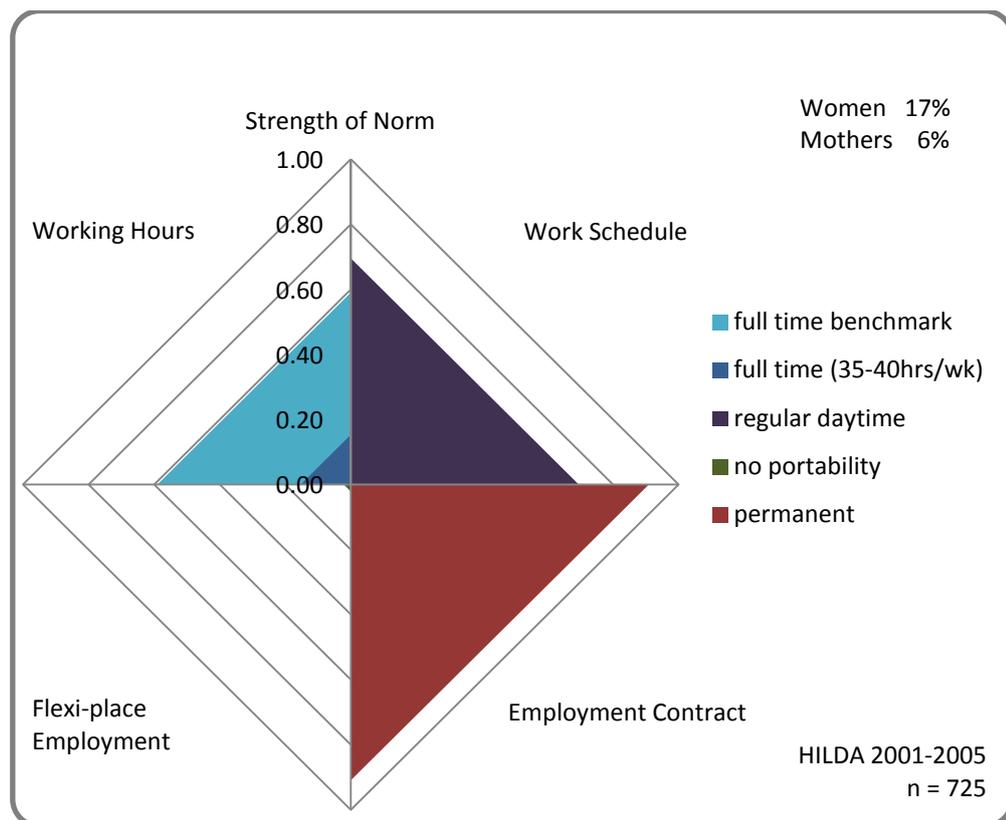
Occupations with a norm for standard full-time employment exhibited a common pattern of norms consisting of permanent, regular daytime employment and norms for no access to flexi-place employment. These occupations varied widely in terms of socio economic status. However the strength of the norm for benchmark full-time employment appeared to be of critical importance to enabling occupational access for mothers. Where alternative hours could be sourced, that is whether standard full-time employment was likely to be a ceiling or a floor for working hours within the occupation, appeared to play an integral role in enabling the occupational participation of mothers. In addition, access to flexi-place employment and the strength of the norm for 'no portability' also appeared to contribute to accessibility. Three occupations, Computer Professionals, Human Resource Professionals and Receptionists are presented to highlight the subtle differences in employment shape in occupations which first appear to fit the model of the ideal worker or SER. These

occupations varied in terms of strength of norms for benchmark working hours and flexi-place employment, but they also varied in the percentage of mothers and women employed.

Computer Professionals

Figure 5.1 displays the shape of employment for Computer Professionals, an occupation that employed relatively few women, 17 percent, and even fewer mothers, 6 percent. The shape of employment for Computer Professionals is representative of the models of employment described by both the ideal worker and SER. There were strong norms for regular daytime work scheduling and a permanent employment contract. These two norms should theoretically have enabled the participation of mothers. In addition, the occupation of Computer Professionals also allowed flexi-place employment as the statistical norm for ‘no portability’ of work was extremely weak, suggesting that nearly half of all jobs for Computer Professionals allowed some work from home. This too should also have enabled the occupational participation of mothers.

Figure 5.1 Computer Professionals



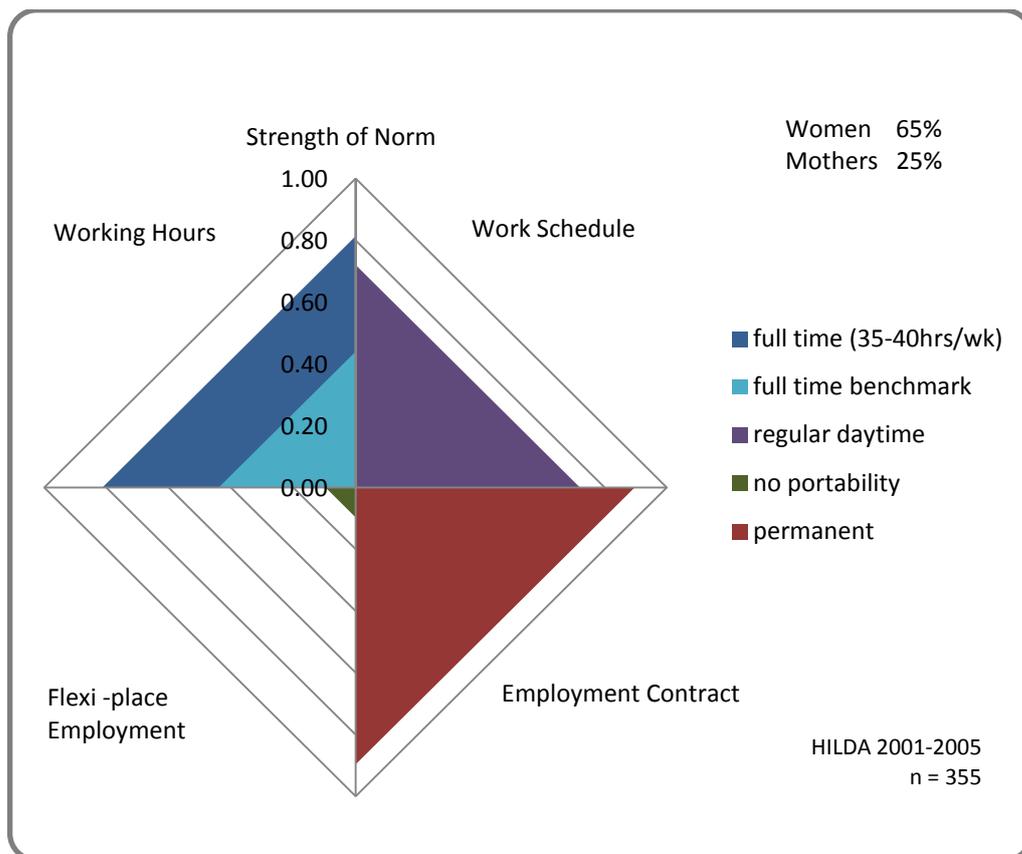
In contrast, norms for the full-time working hours benchmark appeared to constrain mothers' occupational access. Full-time employment appears to have acted as a working hours floor: the strength of the norm indicates that a large proportion of alternative working hours was available as either long hours (41-49 hours per week) or very long

hours employment (50+ hours per week). Thus the norms for Computer Professionals suggest that it was perhaps not a lack of access to part-time employment that was problematic but the pressure of norms for longer working hours, particularly the pressure to extend working hours past standard full-time.

Human Resource Professionals

In contrast to Computer Professionals, many more women (65 percent) and mothers (25 percent) worked as Human Resource Professionals. Occupational norms for Human Resource Professionals (see Figure 5.2) were similar to those of Computer Professionals. Norms for regular daytime work scheduling and a permanent employment contract were quite strong, and the norm for ‘no portability’ of work was quite weak. These norms provided flexibility to combine work and care, and security of work and care arrangements. Norms for working hours were also for standard full-time employment, however this norm was stronger for Human Resource Professionals than for Computer Professionals.

Figure 5.2 Human Resource Professionals



While the norm for benchmark employment indicates that the majority of workers in this occupation were employed at least full-time, many more worked full-time than long or very long hours and the norm for benchmark employment was weaker than the norm for full-

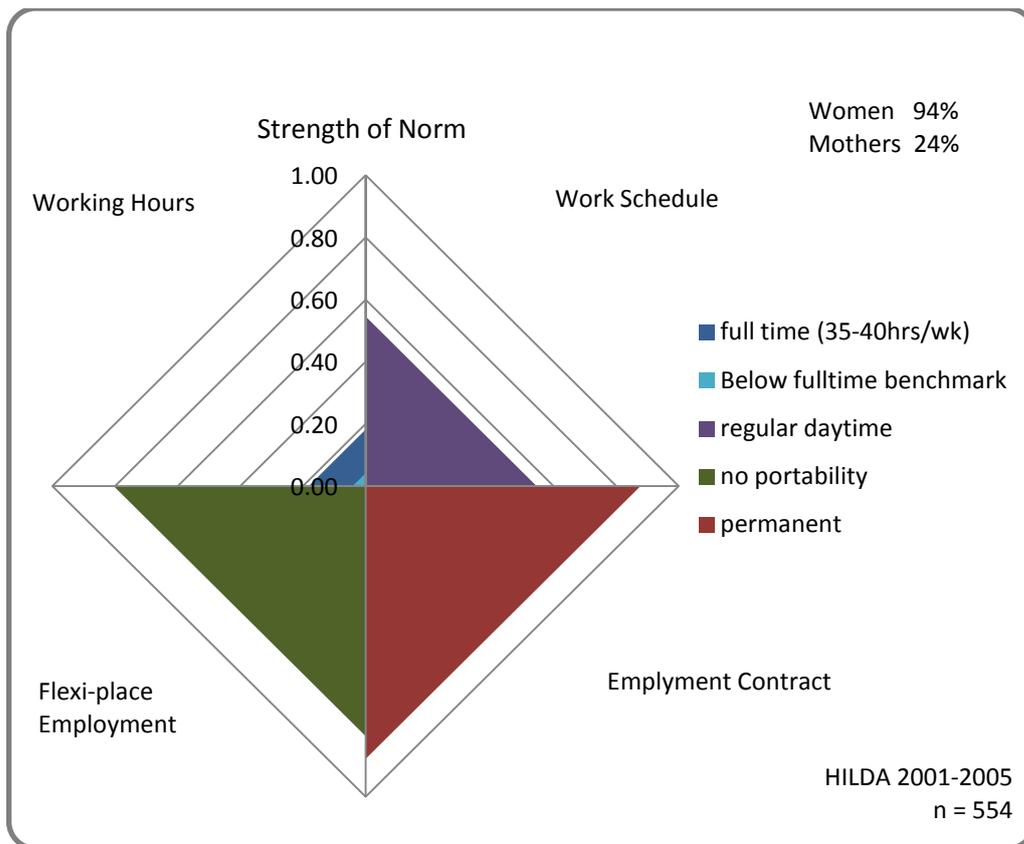
time employment. It is the norm for full-time employment in combination with the norm for the full-time benchmark and the weak norm for no portability of work which perhaps explains the difference between Computer Professionals and Human Resource Professionals in the occupational participation of both women and mothers. Mothers were able to manage standard full-time working arrangements in the relative absence of pressure to extend their working hours and where they had access, although limited, to flexi-place employment.

Receptionists

In contrast to both Computer Professionals and Human Resource Professionals, the occupation of Receptionists (see Figure 5.3) was extremely female concentrated (94 percent women) with a comparatively high percentage of mothers employed (24 percent). Employment norms for receptionists were also similar to those described by the ideal worker model and SER. However while norms for permanent employment were strong the norms for both standard full-time working hours and a regular weekday work schedule were weaker. The norm for a regular daytime work schedule was moderate and only a small proportion of reception work was scheduled on an irregular shift (8 percent). This regularity and predictability of work can help mothers to arrange alternative care. Security in both work and care was also aided by a strong norm for permanent employment, providing job security.

In contrast to these norms, little if any flexibility was gained from the portability of work. For receptionists the 'no portability' norm was strong, leaving mothers little scope for combining care with working at home. Flexibility was gained mainly through weak norms for both standard full-time working hours and a norm for hours below the full-time benchmark. The weakness of the statistical norm for standard full-time employment indicated that other modes of working time were readily available. The norm for hours below the full-time benchmark indicated that the majority of these working hours were available as part-time employment. Thus for Receptionists standard full-time employment acted as a ceiling on working hours rather than a floor. The access to working time flexibility through both part-time and standard full-time working hours provided occupational accessibility for mothers working as Receptionists.

Figure 5.3 Receptionists



5.5.2 Extension of the Ideal Worker and SER Norms

A number of occupations displayed norms for working hours longer than standard full-time employment. Interestingly, no occupation displayed a norm for long working hours of between 41 and 49 hours per week, however 13 occupations displayed norms for very long hours, in excess of 50 hours per week. Most of these occupations were of high socio economic status however one low status occupation, Truck Driving, displayed norms for very long working hours. In addition, while it is well known that women and in particular mothers are attracted to part-time employment, it was interesting to note that three of these occupations, University Teachers and Secondary School Teachers, also employed an above average number of mothers (average: 15 percent, University Teachers: 16 percent, Resource Managers: 17 percent, Secondary School Teachers: 25 percent).

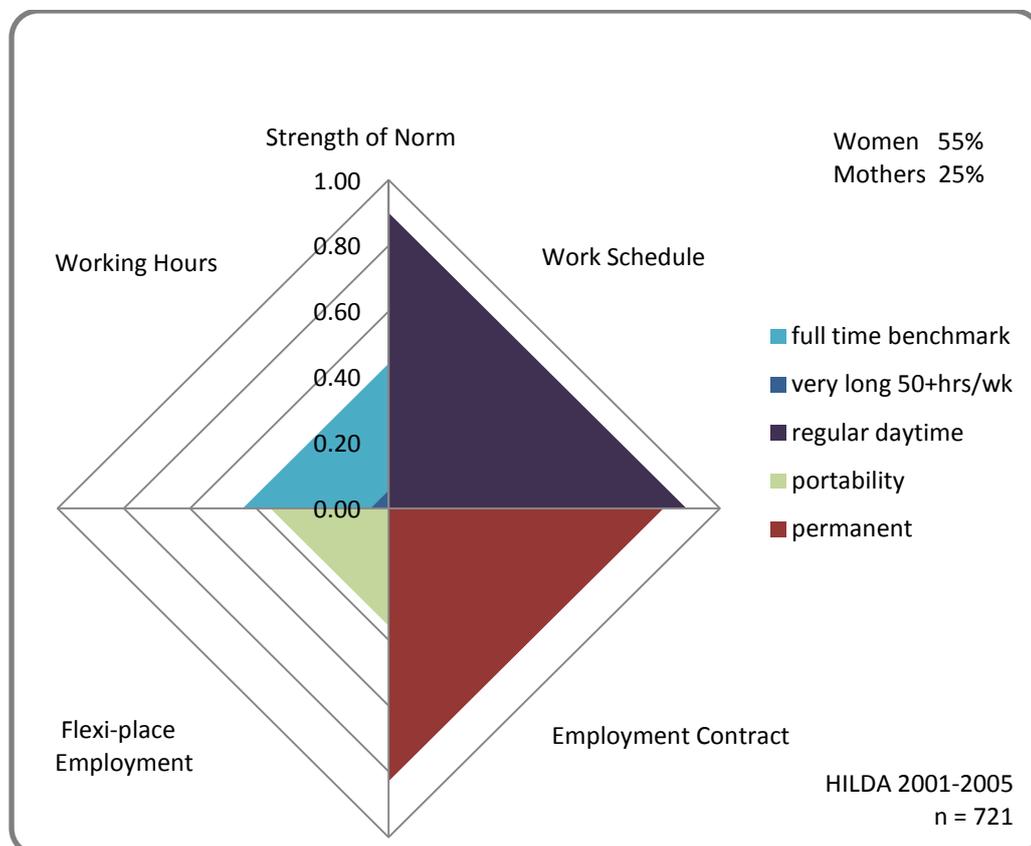
Similar to standard full-time employment, occupations displaying a norm for very long working hours had a similar patterning of norms. These norms were again for working a regular daytime schedule, no portability of work and a permanent employment contract. Yet again, the strength of these norms in combination with the alternatives on offer to workers appeared to play an instrumental role in an occupation’s accessibility. Occupations

that were highly accessible to working mothers had stronger norms for regular work schedules and portability of work, and weaker norms for very long working hours where alternative working hours were widely dispersed, from short hours to long hours employment. Access to both flexi-place employment and alternative working hours to the very long hours norm appeared to be key to enabling occupational access to mothers. Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 illustrate the differences between occupations employing many mothers and those that do not. Weak norms for working hours and portability of work appear not to have been enough to enable women to maintain occupational engagement during motherhood despite the educational investment involved in initially securing employment in these occupations. What was required is regularity of work and the potential to move between full and part-time employment.

Secondary School Teachers

Secondary School Teaching employs a high concentration of both women, 55 percent, and mothers, 25 percent. The norms for Secondary School Teachers are quite favourable to working mothers despite including a statistical norm for very long working hours. Secondary School Teachers had a strong norm for a permanent employment contract which enabled employment security, a very strong norm for a regular daytime work schedule

Figure 5.4 Secondary School Teaching

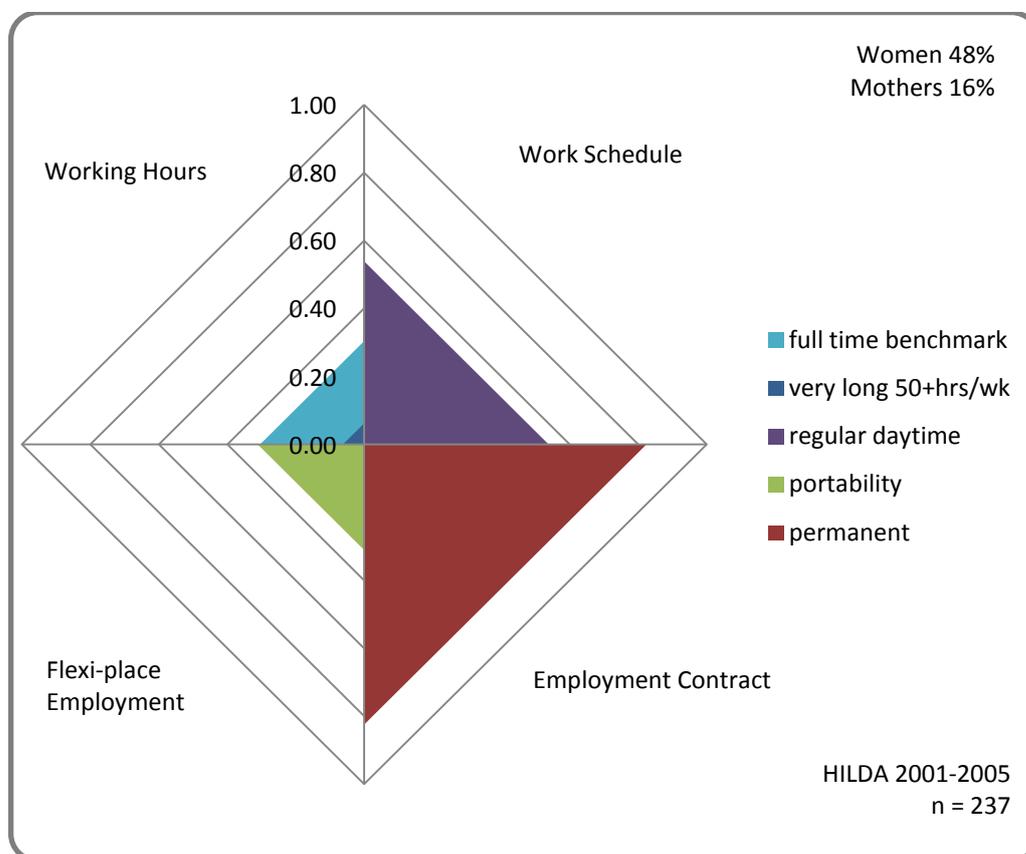


enabling regularity of work and a norm of moderate strength for work portability, enabling mothers to take uncompleted work home. In addition, the norm for very long hours was weak enabling mothers to work alternative hours. The full-time benchmark norm was much stronger than the norm for very long hours, indicating that a substantial proportion of alternate working hours were available as standard full-time. It was the combination of access to flexi-place employment and flexibility in working hours that, was likely to enable occupational accessibility for mothers who were Secondary School Teachers.

University Teachers

The occupational norms for Secondary School Teachers were similar to those for University Teachers. In Australia, University Teaching is becoming increasingly feminised: in 2001-2005, 48 percent of the workforce was female and but only 16 percent were mothers, this was just above the sample average for the percentage of mothers employed. The occupation displays a moderate norm of regular daytime work that enables predictability of work but working hours are not as regular as for Secondary School Teachers. Moderate norms for portability of work enable unfinished work to be completed at home. Further a strong norm for permanent employment provided security of employment. In addition the norm for very

Figure 5.5 University Teachers

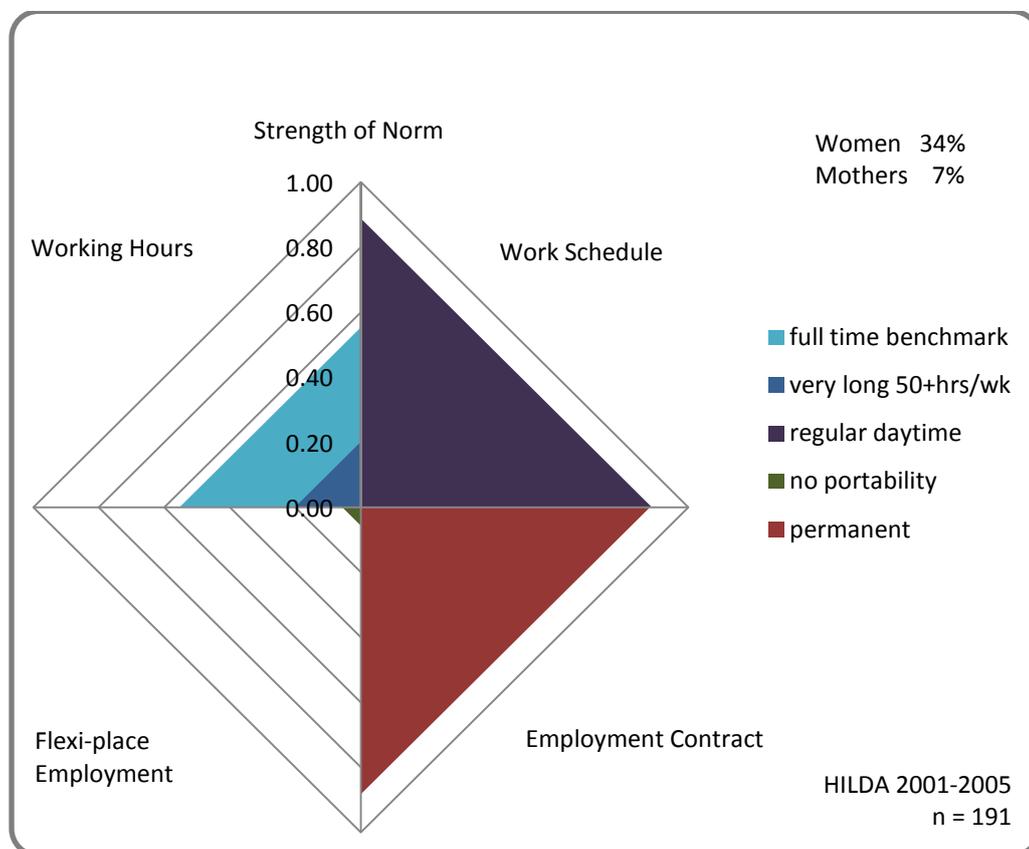


long working hours was quite weak suggesting that University teachers were able to access a range of alternative working hours while the norm for the full-time benchmark was moderate suggesting that the majority of work is available at least full-time. However the comparative weakness of norms for work scheduling and portability of work indicate that University Teaching was not as accessible as Secondary School Teaching and this may explain the comparatively lower percentage of mothers employed.

Legal Professionals

In contrast to University and Secondary School Teachers, not as many mothers were employed in 2001-2005 as Legal Professionals. About 34 percent of Legal Professionals in the HILDA sample were women and about 7 percent were mothers. On the surface many of this occupation's norms look similar to University and Secondary School Teaching. Legal professionals have strong norms for a permanent employment contract and a regular daytime work schedule, suggesting security and regularity of employment. However Legal Professionals did not have as much access to flexibility as either University or Secondary School Teachers. Norms for flexi-place employment were for 'no portability' but were quite weak. While some jobs had access to flexi-place employment access was comparatively

Figure 5.6 Legal Professionals



weaker compared to both University and Secondary School Teachers. In addition norms for both very long hours and the full-time benchmark norm were comparatively stronger. Legal Professionals were more likely to work very long hours and standard full-time employment was a much stronger floor on alternate working hours. Combined, these norms made accessing flexibility more difficult for mothers employed as Legal Professionals and this may explain the lower concentrations of mothers employed in the occupation.

5.5.3 Part-time Employment the Antithesis of the Ideal Worker and SER

Australia has one of the highest rates of part-time employment in the OECD. Just because an occupation employs a high concentration of women and has a statistical norm for part-time employment does not necessarily mean that a high percentage of mothers will also be employed.

The following analysis highlights differences in part-time work through exploring occupational differences in the shape of employment, illustrating how different combinations of norms interacted with a norm for part-time employment and impacted on the concentration of mothers employed. First, occupations with norms for participatory part-time working hours (15 -34 hours per week) are considered, in order to investigate the potential impact of changes in federal government policy on employment accessibility for mothers on welfare. Mothers with their youngest child aged over 7 years are required to work at least part-time in order to receive welfare assistance. Thus part-time work of between 15 and 34 hours per week has effectively placed a floor on what can be considered as part-time work. Interestingly occupations with this working hours norm are likely to employ relatively high concentrations of mothers and also to have norms for permanent employment. The second part of the discussion looks at occupations with short working hours norms. These occupations tended to have norms for casual employment and to employ lower concentrations of mothers in general.

In total, 15 of the 64 occupations sampled had a statistical norm where working hours were part-time. 5 of these occupations had statistical norms of short working hours while the remaining 11 occupations had a statistical norm of participatory part-time employment. Most of the part-time occupations sampled were of low to mid socioeconomic status, with the exception of three occupations with norms for participatory part-time employment. The latter were Nursing Professionals; Primary School Teachers; and Other Educational Professionals Higher, such as Special Education Teachers, Vocational Education Teachers,

and Educational Officers. These three occupations all had a high concentration of mothers employed.

There were notable differences in the shape of employment among occupations with norms for part-time employment. While those with norms for short working hours appear to have had a consistent pattern of norms defining their shape, the strength of these norms varied widely. In contrast both the norms and normative strength vary widely for occupations displaying norms for participatory part-time hours. These variations appear to have impacted on both the gender concentration and the number of mothers employed. Occupations employing a high concentration of mothers appear to have in common a particular set of features: the flexibility to move between full and part-time employment, portability of work and regularity of work scheduling. These features enabled mothers to combine paid employment with care by providing flexibility to make alternative working arrangements.

5.5.3.1 Short Hours Employment

Short hours employment has been growing, both in Australia and overseas (Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009) although the number of occupations in which such working hours constitute the statistical norm in Australia are relatively few. Only 5 of the 64 occupations sampled averaged a statistical norm of short hours employment where employees worked fewer than 15 hours per week. These occupations were of low socioeconomic status: Cleaners, Kitchen Hands, Waiters, Checkout Operators and Cashiers, Other Elementary Service Workers such as Ushers, Housekeepers, Caretakers and Laundry Workers. In these occupations short hours employment was generally a weak to moderate norm, where normative strength varied from a low of 0.13 for Cleaners to a high of 0.28 for Checkout Operators and Cashiers. The low scores on normative strength generally occurred because these occupations also had comparatively high rates of participatory part-time employment but relatively little employment that was available for full-time or longer working hours. The greater availability of generally shorter working hours explains in part the higher concentrations of women employed within these occupations, but it does not explain the concentrations of mothers.

In general, women constituted 46 percent of all employed workers, and this was the average concentration of female employment in the HILDA sample between 2001 to 2005. All occupations where short hours employment was the norm had high rates of female employment, ranging from 54 percent for Kitchen Hands to 84 percent for Waiters. In comparison, the concentration of mothers with dependent resident children less than 16 years of age stood at 15 percent of all employed workers in the HILDA sample. Only two

occupations where short hours employment was the norm employed an above average number of mothers, Cleaners 21 percent, and Other Elementary Service Workers, 16 percent, while the remaining occupations employed only a moderate number of mothers, with Checkout Operators and Cashiers employing the least, 11 percent. Attempting to understand why mothers are more likely to be drawn to some occupations than others is complex. Occupational choice is a matter of intellectual interest, ability, availability *and* accessibility. The distribution of both women and mothers across occupations with short hours working norms illustrates that the question cannot be explained by establishing a simple relationship between gender and working hours alone, something changes with the onset of motherhood. What is most likely to change is accessibility. What is integral to mothers' occupational engagement is the shape of employment and the flexibility to accommodate the needs of care.

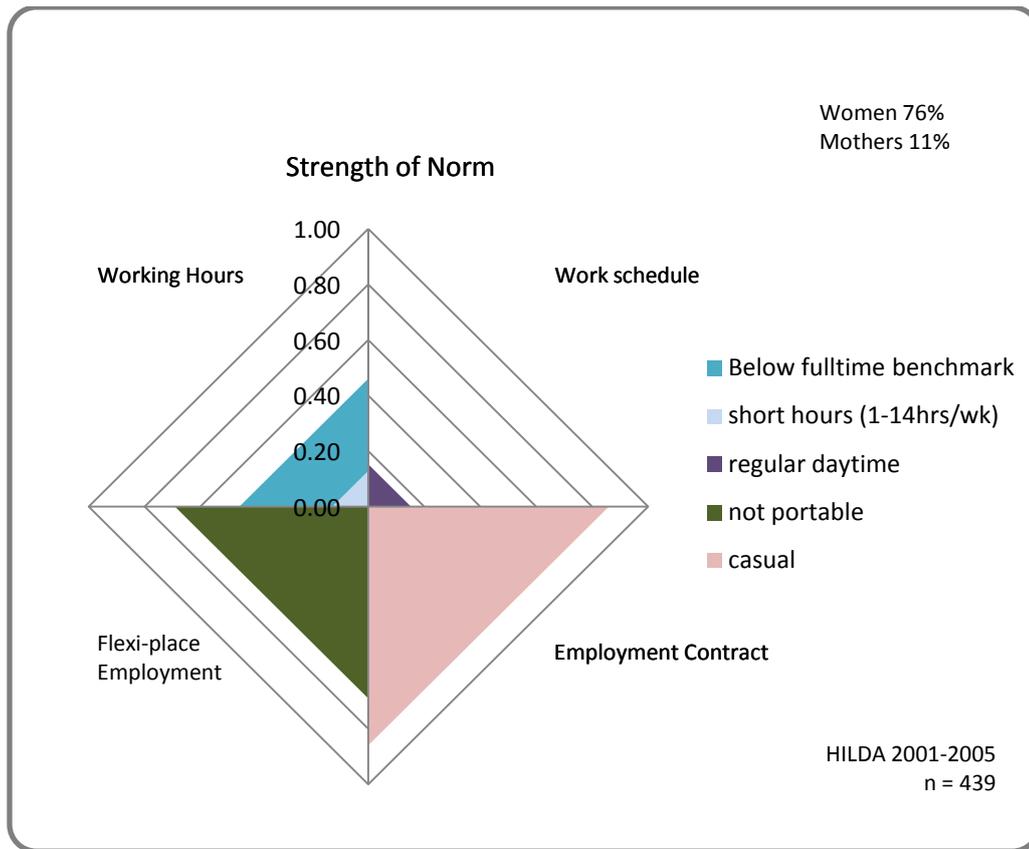
Figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 illustrate the importance of flexible norms. They map the shape of employment for three different occupations: Cleaners and Elementary Service Workers, which both employ high rates of mothers; and Checkout Operators and Cashiers which employ comparatively few mothers. A comparison of these three occupations suggests that while women are attracted to work that is part-time, mothers perhaps require the security of more regular working hours and the flexibility to return to longer working hours as the need arises.

Checkout Operators and Cashiers

The occupation of Checkout Operators and Cashiers has statistical norms that are fairly typical of occupations with norms for short hours employment. This occupation had a high concentration of women (76 percent) but a relatively low concentration of mothers (11 percent) compared to other occupations with short working hours norms. The statistical norms for Checkout Operators and Cashiers included strong norms for 'no portability' of work and strong norms for casual employment (See Figure 5.7). These norms constrained access to the flexibility to work and care, as well as to the security of leave provisions which might aid in care. In addition norms for work scheduling were for regular daytime employment but were quite weak.

A large proportion of work was made available on either irregular shifts or regular shifts which might not necessarily be compatible with formalised care or school timetables. This patterning of work shifts made combining paid employment and unpaid care difficult. Further, norms for working hours were for short hours employment but also quite weak. This indicates that jobs were also available were working hours were for longer than the

Figure 5.7 Checkout Operators and Cashiers



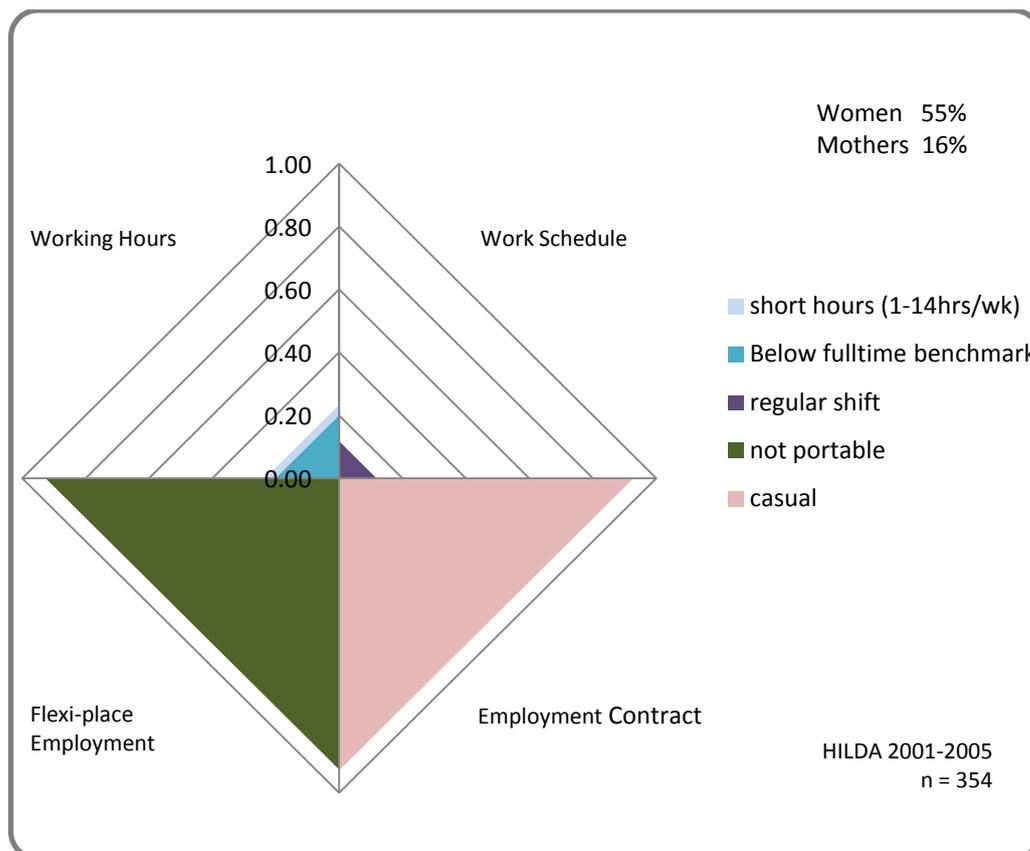
short hours statistical norm. The fulltime benchmark norm indicates that the majority of working hours were available as part-time rather than full-time employment while the comparative strength of the benchmark norm in relation to the working hours norm indicates that most of the alternative working hours were available as participatory part-time. These norms for working hours suggest that women and mothers could access short hours employment or at most participatory part-time working hours but that access to full-time or longer hours was limited. Mothers would not necessarily have the ability to return to full-time employment once the demand for flexibility to care had diminished.

Other Elementary Service Workers

The occupation of Other Elementary Service Workers included Ushers and Porters, Domestic Housekeepers, Caretakers and Laundry Workers. This occupational group employed a high percentage of women (55 percent) but the concentration of mothers employed was only just above average (16 percent). The statistical norms for this occupation were quite similar to those of Checkout Operators and Cashiers. Strong norms for casual employment and employment which was 'not portable' remained, offering little flexibility to mothers to engage in both work and care, and no security of access to leave

provisions which might enable care. Also the norm for work scheduling was for regular daytime employment but still quite weak, providing limited access to security of work and care arrangements. However in contrast to Checkout Operators and Cashiers, norms for working hours enabled greater flexibility to move between full and part-time employment. The working hours norm was for short hours employment but very weak suggesting that a substantial proportion of jobs had working hours that were longer than short hours. The norm for the full-time benchmark was for hours below the benchmark, that is part-time employment, however this norm was also quite weak suggesting that a sizeable proportion of alternative hours were available as full-time or longer. While norms of short or participatory part-time employment enable working time flexibility to care, weak norms for benchmark employment either above or below the benchmark suggest the ability to move between full and part-time employment as the demand for care changes over the course of motherhood.

Figure 5.8 Other Elementary Service Workers

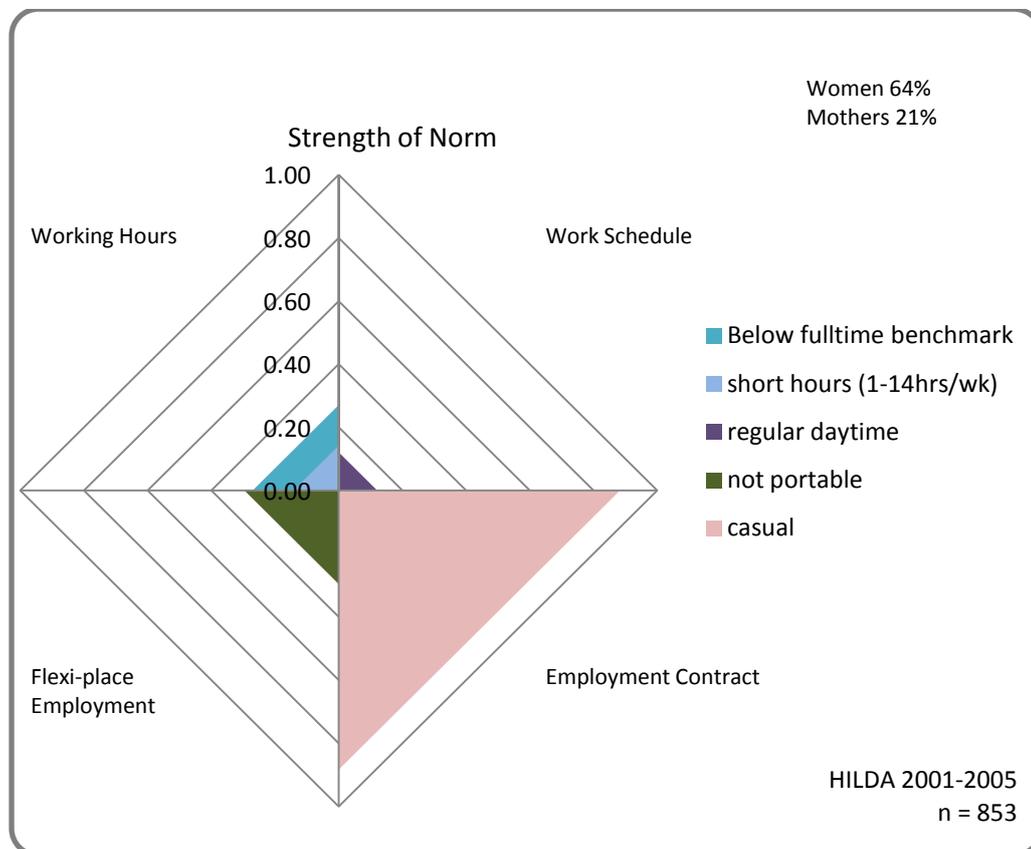


Cleaners

Cleaning is an occupation which employs a high percentage of both women (64 percent) and mothers (21 percent). However employment for short working hours differs more substantially than for other occupations. These differences possibly explain why the

occupation is comparatively more accessible to mothers in paid employment. The statistical norm for Cleaners was a strong norm for casual employment which provided little to no access to the security of leave provisions which might help in combining work and care. Similarly norms for working hours were for short hours employment and for hours below the full-time benchmark, and both norms were quite weak. While short hours employment was the norm, alternative working hours were available, both as participatory part-time hours and in full-time or longer hours jobs. Such norms provided the flexibility to reduce working time, enabling work/care combinations and made it easier to increase working hours when the demands of care lessened. However the strength of the norms for flexi-place employment were weaker than for other occupations with short hours norms, a puzzling finding. The weaker norm for 'no portability' indicates that many jobs as cleaners are able to take at least some part of the work home thus enabling time to both work and care. This does not appear to make a lot of sense unless these women were contractors who worked from home. Similarly the norm for a regular workday schedule was also much weaker. This suggests greater difficulties of access for mothers in paid employment, however closer inspection of work scheduling for cleaners illustrates that the majority of jobs with alternative work schedules were not irregular but of a regular shift.

Figure 5.9 Cleaners



The difference between these two shifts patterns is important. While access to regular shift work constrains the ability to access formalised care and to work around school schedules it does enable access to planning for regular care arrangements. For mothers who work as Cleaners the ability to 'regularise' alternative care arrangements appears to be more than enough to enable occupational access.

5.5.3.2 Participatory Part-Time Employment

Participatory part-time employment is employment where working hours are at least 15 hours per week but less than full-time, that is 35 hours per week. Ten of the 64 occupations sampled had working hours norms of participatory part-time employment. These occupations had two standout characteristics. Firstly, high concentrations of both mothers and women occurred in all occupations displaying this norm except one. Secondly, a norm for participatory part-time employment was the only facet of employment held in common across all these occupations. Norms for work scheduling, the portability of work and employment contract varied widely, as did the strength of the norm for participatory part-time working hours. This suggests that it is how both norms and normative strength are combined within an occupational shape that is important to enabling occupational access for mothers in paid employment. Importantly participatory part-time work can be combined with wide range of norms and still result in occupational accessibility for working mothers.

Most of the occupations exhibiting norms for participatory part-time employment had relatively low socioeconomic status, such as Bar Attendants, Education Aides and Bookkeepers. However there were exceptions, such as Nursing Professionals, Primary School Teachers and other Educational Professionals - Higher, a group that included Special Education and Vocational Education Teachers and Educational Officers. The normative strength for participatory part-time occupations was weak to moderate, indicating that workers were able to access alternative working hours to the part-time norm. This appeared to be key to enabling the employment participation of mothers, in both part and full-time employment. Occupations which enabled access to both full and part-time employment generally had higher concentrations of mothers. While part-time work is of particular benefit to working mothers in enabling both work and care, the ability to move between full-time and part-time work if and when required enables the articulation of work and care throughout the course of motherhood.

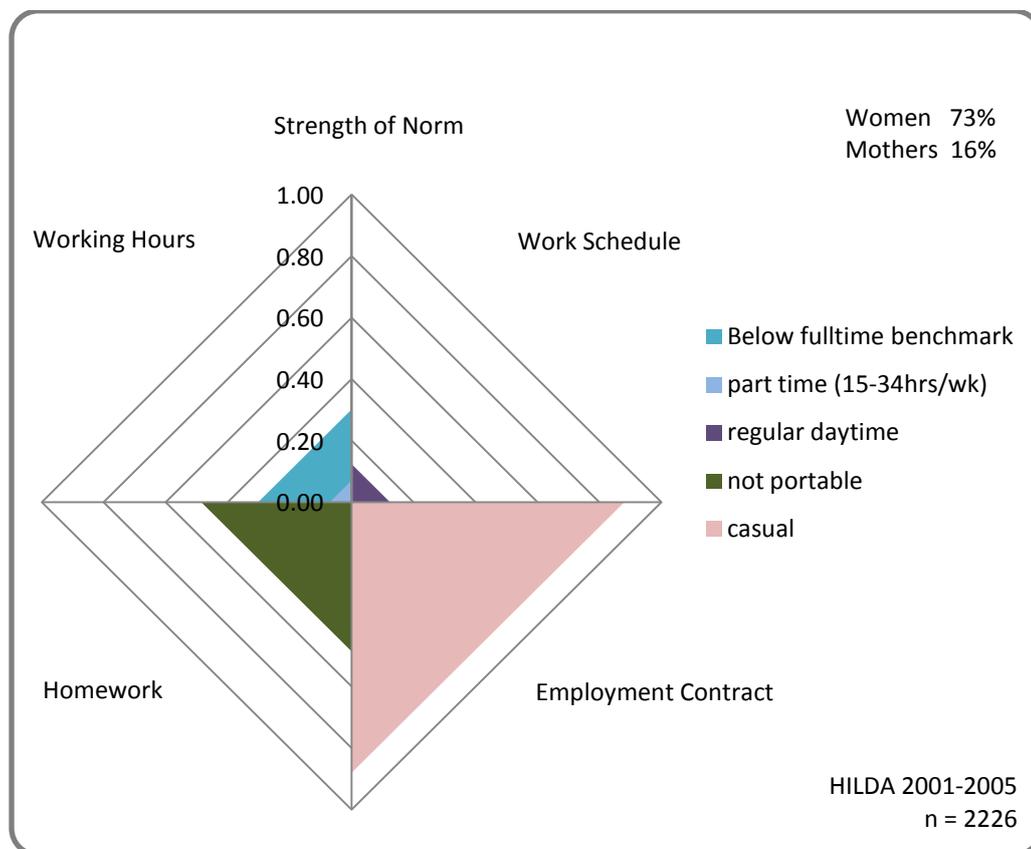
Unlike in short hours employment, a specific pattern of interaction between norms for work scheduling and the portability of work did not appear to play as great a role in promoting occupational access for mothers. Figures 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12 illustrate the occupational

norms for three occupations with participatory part-time employment norms, highlighting the wide variability in norms that were packaged with participatory part-time employment.

Sales Assistants

The occupation of Sales Assistants had a high concentration of women (73 percent) but only an average concentration of mothers (16 percent). Norms for Sales Assistants included strong norms for casual employment and ‘no portability’ of work. These norms were not particularly helpful to working mothers as they limited the ability of mothers to both combine work and care, and constrained access to leave provisions which may enable the combination of work and care. However norms for work scheduling and for working hours were conducive to enabling the occupational participation of mothers. Norms for work scheduling were for regular daytime employment and moderate. This suggested that a substantial proportion of workers were able to access work which matched the schedules of formalised care and schools. In addition norms for working hours were for participatory part-time employment and for working hours below the full-time benchmark, and both of these norms were quite weak. This indicated that while the majority of work was available

Figure 5.10 Sales Assistants

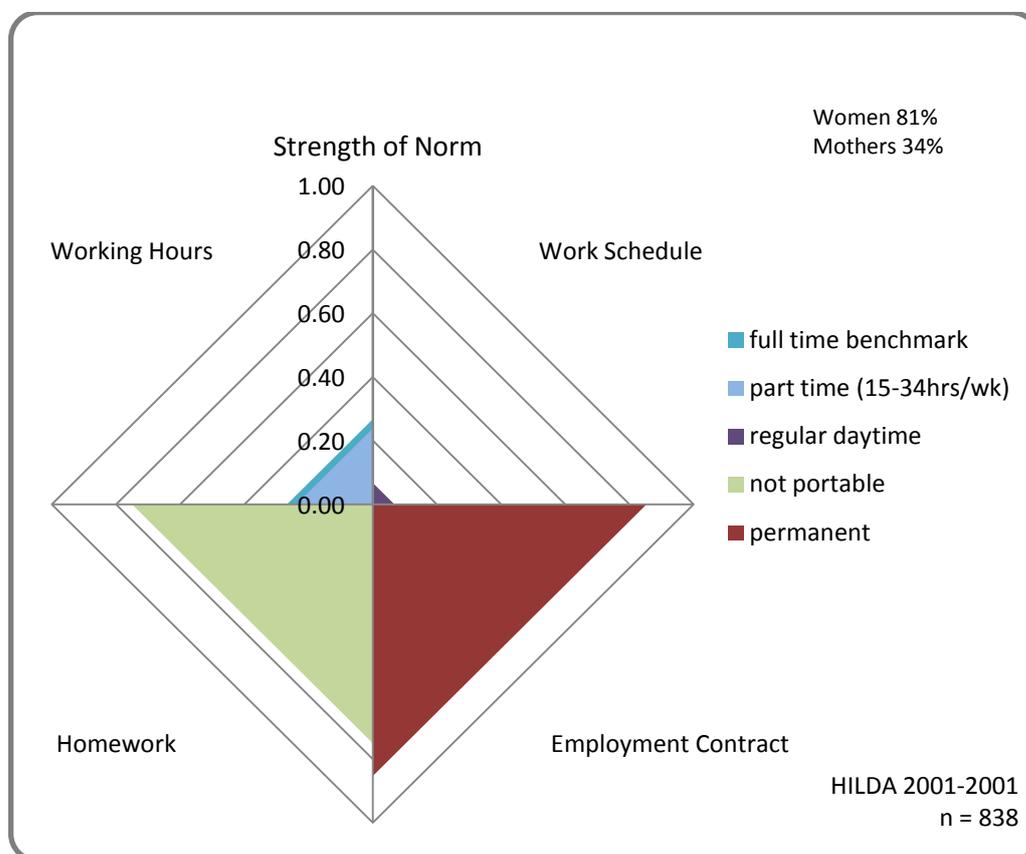


as part-time employment a notable proportion was also available as full-time employment. Access to both part and full-time employment enabled not only the flexibility to combine work and care but also the ability to increase working hours when the demands of care diminished.

Primary School Teachers

The norms for the occupation of Primary School Teaching enabled the occupational participation of both a high concentration of women (81 percent) and a high concentration of mothers (34 percent). Figure 5.5 illustrates the statistical norms for Primary School Teachers. Strong norms included norms for permanent employment and a regular daytime work schedule. Both these norms enabled occupational access by mothers in paid employment by enabling access to leave provisions and access to formalised care arrangements which made the combination of care and employment more secure. However the norm for flexi-place employment was for 'portability' of work. This enabled the employment of mothers through this combination of work and care. In addition norms for working hours also enabled working time flexibility. These norms were for participatory part-time employment but weak, suggesting that while the majority of work was available

Figure 5.11 Primary School Teachers

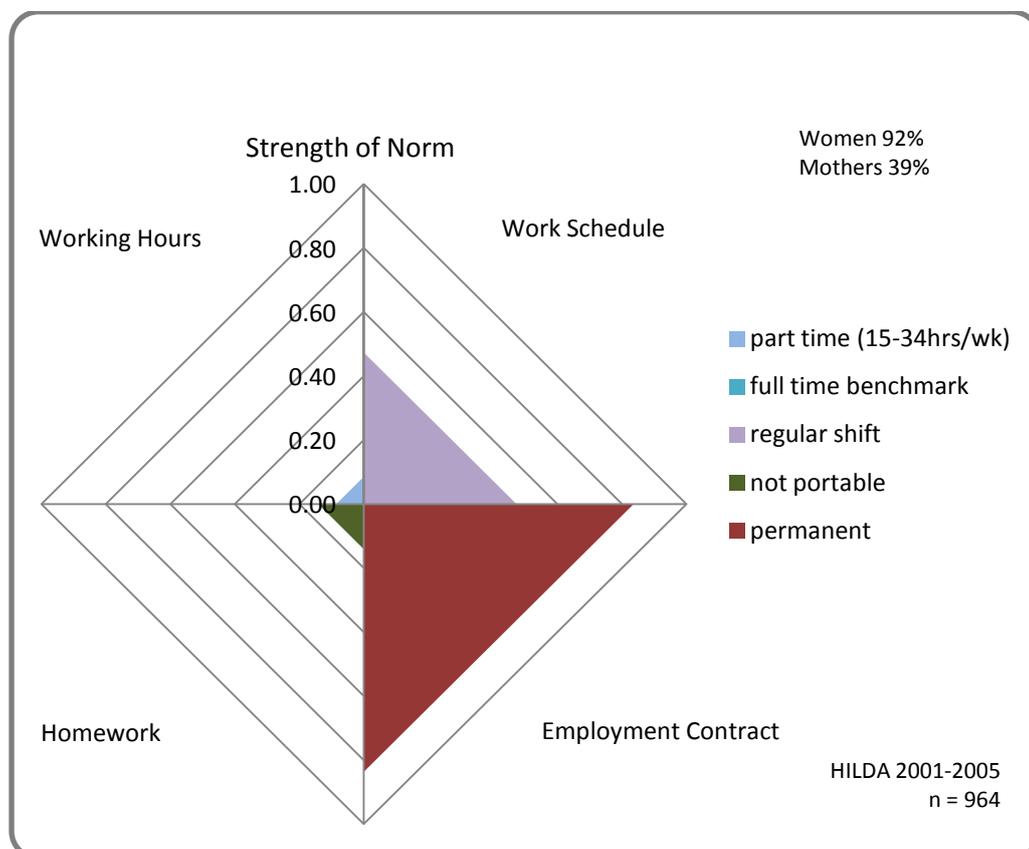


as participatory part-time a number of jobs had work available in other modes of working time. Similarly the norm for the full-time benchmark was for hours of at least full-time but weak. This indicated that a notable proportion of jobs had work available as full-time employment. The ability to access both full and part-time employment enabled mothers to adjust their working hours to the needs of care throughout the course of motherhood.

Nursing Professionals

The occupation of nursing professionals also had both a high concentration of women (92 percent) and a high concentration of mothers (39 percent). Figure 5.4 illustrates the norms for nursing professionals. These norms included: a strong norm for permanent employment that enabled access to leave provisions, allowing for security in combining paid work and unpaid care; a weak norm for no portability of work, constraining access to the flexibility to combine work and care; and a moderate norm for a regular work shift which enabled access to regular alternative care arrangements. In addition norms for working hours, were very weak. Norms were for participatory part-time working hours and hours above the full-time benchmark. Thus while the majority of working hours were for participatory part-time

Figure 5.12 Nursing Professionals



employment, a notable proportion of alternate working hours were available at least as full-time. Once again the ability to move between full and part-time employment enabled mothers to meet the changing demands of work and care over the course of motherhood.

5.6 Conclusion

The results presented clarify a number of important features of the Australian labour market, for working mothers. First the shape of employment varies widely, and second part-time work is not the only contour of access which working mothers may utilise to maintain employment. These findings suggest that part-time work is not a standard 'one size fits all' solution for mothers attempting to accommodate the needs of both work and care. Working part-time can potentially have wide ranging consequences. The shape of part-time employment is not always attractive to working mothers. In particular, mothers who access part-time employment, generally seek the ability to return to full-time employment when the demand for care lessens. In addition where part-time work cannot be sourced, full-time or even very long hours employment is a viable alternative as long as mothers have access to flexi-place employment. The portability of work enables mothers to combine work and care, when they are unable to reduce their working hours to care. These mechanisms enable occupational access for mothers in paid employment.

While the data presented in Chapter 2 illustrated that the nature of the problem of combining work and care is still essentially one of a 'time bind', these findings on accessibility illustrate that the possible solutions vary more widely than simply working part-time. Other options include a general reduction in working hours either alone or in combination with working, at least in part, from home, and the importance of regular work schedules to accommodate the effective combination of paid work and unpaid care. This chapter has shown that the extent and terms under which these employment enablers are available within the labour market vary widely across different occupations. The following chapter indicates how key employment shapes mould a range of different contours of occupational access which need to be navigated in order to maintain employment participation over the course of motherhood.

Chapter 6

The Contours of Accessibility

6.1 Introduction

This is the second empirical chapter on occupational accessibility for Australian mothers. It introduces the concept of 'contours of accessibility' and identifies the occupationally differentiated labour market contours that mothers navigate when combining unpaid care with paid employment. It outlines five key models of access to the Australian labour market and argues that the varying patterns of enablement and constraint to job attachment embodied in these models require mothers to navigate a limited range of distinct employment and career pathways.

Chapter 5 showed how the shape of employment varies among occupations in the Australian labour market. It argued that different patterns of career accessibility are generated by employment 'shapes' - combinations of four key employment parameters: working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place and employment contract. Occupational differences in the norms and norm strengths for these parameters were hypothesised in Chapter 5 to be linked to differences in occupational participation by mothers. The central argument of the chapter was that occupational accessibility is determined not by any individual norm but by the shape of employment, the overall combination or 'package' of norms and norm strengths for the four parameters of employment.

Chapter 6 takes the next step in this argument, bringing empirical precision to identifying the range of ways in which variations in working hours combine with variations in contract security and in flexibility of work location or scheduling, to make certain occupations more or less accessible to mothers. Relationships between accessibility and occupational status are not straightforward: the labour market can be likened to a terrain contoured by barriers and pathways to mothers' career mobility. In mapping these contours, the present chapter advances five models of employment access which embody distinct sets of enablements and constraints that, mothers must navigate in order to retain or improve their labour market position. For each of these five distinct models of accessibility, it is possible to identify the occupational norms that define an employment shape.

In addition to the image of 'contour of accessibility', the chapter introduces the concept of navigation based on the negotiation of barriers by means of 'trades'. Each employment

shape is a pattern of enablements and constraints to be negotiated by means of a distinct menu of trades between flexibility and security, and each set of trades has potential ramifications for mothers' employment participation over the life course. These ramifications will be discussed, in detail, in Chapter 7.

Thus mothers' labour market mobility has three components: the employment shapes that need to be navigated (Chapter 6); the types of trade-offs undertaken by women generally and mothers specifically in creating navigational pathways (Chapter 7); and finally the constrained agency of mothers in navigating these pathways, resulting in occupationally-segmented outcomes (Chapter 8).

Chapter 6 begins by reviewing the concept of 'contours', explaining the relationship between the 'nature' and 'shape' of employment. Employment accessibility is then further defined in terms of enabling and constraining patterns of both flexibility and security. Second, the use of cluster analysis to group occupations by employment shape is briefly outlined. This is then followed by a presentation of the defining features of five models of occupational accessibility: the casual part-time model of employment; the permanent part-time model of employment, the 'flexible' full-time model of employment, the 'inflexible' full-time model of employment and the very long working hours model of employment. Discussion of these models focuses on identifying the occupational norms that define each employment shape and hypothesising the nature of the trades between flexibility and security that are embodied by each combination of norms.

Overall, these five models of accessibility present five distinct patterns of trades. In some occupations flexibility is exchanged for security, in others security is retained at the expense of flexibility. However flexibility and security do not need to be mutually exclusive concepts. It will be shown that, depending on how contract and flexi-place variables are managed, both the permanent part-time model and the very long hours model of employment may retain degrees of both flexibility and security, that can enable mothers to navigate their employment without the risk of occupational exclusion.

6.2 Contours - The Nature and Shape of Employment

This chapter discusses the nature of employment in terms of accessibility, adapting the term employment 'contours' from Vosko et al. (2009) to refer to the nature and shape of groupings of jobs. As discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of accessibility is used to capture the notion that in order to gain and retain their place in the labour market, mothers are

required to trade between the various forms of security and flexibility that are embodied in different shapes of employment. It is argued that the nature of this trade is contoured by how work is structured or organised at the meso level of industrial relations arrangements or conventions that can be discerned statistically at occupational level.

The discussion in chapter 5 suggested that the shape of employment was quite variable from one occupation to another. Mothers were found working in occupations of varying employment shape. This finding has important implications for accessibility. First the variation in employment shapes suggests that a number of different types of trades can occur, all of which allow mothers to remain in paid work. Secondly, mothers' access to jobs of a variety of shapes suggests that the nature of these trades may not always be gendered in operation or outcome, and that they may not always involve a sacrifice of either security or the flexibility needed to undertake care. In charting the contours of accessibility, through a mapping of variations in both the nature and shape of employment, I aim to identify the types of trades between security and flexibility that Australian women need to make in navigating their employment during the motherhood of children under 16 years of age.

6.3 Occupational Norms as Enablements and Constraints

This chapter presents five models of employment accessibility. These models illustrate the diverse range of trades between security and flexibility that mothers face when trying to negotiate their responsibilities for unpaid care around paid employment. For mothers navigating employment, the question is not simply, 'Can I obtain flexibility to care?', but 'Can I obtain flexibility? In what forms is flexibility available? Does flexibility come at the cost of security? And what type of security is at risk?' I argue that the answer to these questions is tied to the shape of employment. The four employment parameters (working hours, flexi-time rostering, flexi-place and contractual mode) embody different forms of flexibility and different forms of security. Their norms, the strength of these norms, determine whether these forms of flexibility and security are enabled or constrained. Further, the nature of the trade between these enablements and constraints may place mothers at risk of occupational exclusion (Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998), where combining unpaid care with paid employment becomes untenable and mothers seek an occupational change in order to secure greater flexibility.

The enablements and constraints embodied in each of the four key employment parameters are listed in Table 6.1. For mothers, working hours, particularly the part-time modes of

short hours and participatory part-time employment, are the main means of flexibility enabling the combination of paid employment with care. However norms for working hours only indicate whether working time flexibility is available, they do not indicate whether mothers have the mobility to access this form of flexibility from other modes of working time, such as those involving full-time or very long hours work, or without cutting off future career options in such modes. .

Occupations, which are ‘shaped’ by different ‘packages’ of norms of varying strength, are integral to an understanding of mothers’ labour market navigation (Carney, 2009), as they present a loose framework of education, qualifications, experience and skills which may be placed at risk depending on the flexibility and mobility enabled by norms for working time. The strengths of working hours norms are used as indicators of one aspect of working time mobility - the ability to change between different modes of working time and access the working time flexibility that can be gained through part-time work. However working time flexibility is not the only means of enabling time to care. The flexi-place norm measuring the portability of work provides an indication of the extent to which mothers may be able to combine both work and care in the one location – an indication of care flexibility. While this form of flexibility is invaluable to mothers, it is not denied that accessing care flexibility may trigger a range of insecurities. However it is argued that these insecurities associated with flexi-place employment are embedded within the occupational ‘terms of trade’ embodied in the shape of employment.

Table 6.1 Enablements and Constraints Created by Occupational Norms

Parameter	Enablement/ Constraint
Working Hours Norm	Working Time Flexibility (determines time to care)
Strength of Working Hours Norm	Working Time Mobility (determines ability to change working hours)
Strength of Full-time Benchmark Norm	Indicates the range or extent of working time mobility based around standard full-time working hours.
Flexi-place Norm	Care Flexibility (determines the ability to care and work simultaneously)
Strength of Flexi-place Norm	Care Mobility (determines the ability to access care flexibility)
Work Scheduling Norm	Care Security (determines access to formal or regularised care)
Strength of Work Scheduling Norm	Functional Insecurity
Contract Norm	Benefit Insecurity (determines access to benefits and entitlements to leave provisions)
Strength of Contract Norm	Employment Insecurity Functional Insecurity

In Australia, the main security risk is indicated by norms for employment contract. Casual and fixed term contracts indicate benefit insecurity – lack of access to leave provisions and other entitlements attached to ‘standard’ or permanent employment, including skill development, career progression and their attendant monetary and non-monetary benefits. Weak norms for an (ongoing) employment contract may indicate functional insecurity, where employers may be using contractual differences to differentiate jobs on the basis of content, or they may indicate employment insecurity, where different packages of working hours and work scheduling may be attached to different contractual modes. The combination of these norms for employment contract has the potential to greatly constrain both the occupational and employment participation of mothers. The greater range of insecurities enabled by these norms place mothers at a greater risk of intermittent employment, the consequences of which may result in occupational or employment exclusion (O'Reilly, Cebrian, & Lallement, 2000; Carney, 2009). Occupational participation also tends to be constrained, because there is a tendency for insecure employment mode jobs to be clustered in lower-level occupations, although it should be noted that in Australia the ‘spreading net’ of casualisation (Campbell & Burgess, 2001b) has now reached deeply into some professional occupations such as tertiary education work (Junor, 2005; May, Strachan, Broadbent, & Peetz, 2011).

In addition to the above insecurities, workers may also experience insecurity of care. Norms for work scheduling indicate mothers’ level of access to security of alternative care arrangements. Where their job conforms to the norm of a regular workday schedule mothers have a greater range of care alternatives and thus greater security of care. Formalised care arrangements are most often available Monday to Friday from 7am to 6pm and are designed to accommodate mothers who work a regular daytime schedule. Very few child care centres offer care on weekends or overnight. Even school schedules are based around a regular workday schedule. This means that mothers working either regular shift schedules or irregular hours may need to access alternative means of care most often provided by family members and friends. Mothers working regular shift patterns will, at the very least, be able gain care security through the ability to regularise their care arrangements, but their ability to access formal care is limited (Auer & Elton, 2010; Millward, 2002; Grosswald, 2003; Smith, Clissold, Milia, & Accutt, 2002). Thus access to care security helps safeguard occupational accessibility for mothers in paid employment while a lack of access constrains their occupational participation.

The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on the different types of trades between flexibility and security that are generated by the different combination of norms of varying

strength, bounded by the shape of employment. For mothers in paid employment, navigation is a continual act of weighing the costs implied in the ‘inner conversation’ asking ‘Should I stay or should I go?’ Staying in an occupation may present mothers with one set of trades between flexibility and security, while changing jobs may present them with another. The results discussed on the following pages focus on illustrating the main differences in these patterns of accessibility among *occupations*.

6.4 Modelling Accessibility

In chapter 5, the shape of employment was charted based on four parameters of employment access (working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place employment and employment contract). Using HILDA data for 2001-2005, the shape of employment for 64 occupations in the ANU-4 list was then built, based on the norms and norm strength, for each of these parameters. However the relationship between employment shape and the concentration of women and mothers within each occupation remained unclear. Occupational accessibility for working mothers did not appear to be related to the presence of any particular norm. High concentrations of working mothers could be found in occupations with norms traditionally viewed as unfavourable to the participation of mothers, such as very long working hours and shift work. Understanding how accessibility is enabled in occupations where such norms occur requires a greater understanding of employment shapes – how different combinations of norms alter the nature of the trade between security and flexibility embodied within the shape of employment, and thus how they impact on the participation of mothers in paid employment. The next step in facilitating this understanding is to model the main contours of occupational accessibility in the Australian labour market – defining the predominant shapes of employment access and understanding the nature of the trade between flexibility and security entailed by each shape.

To model the predominant shapes of occupational accessibility a four step process involving two stage cluster analysis was used, again using groups classified according to the ANU4 Socio-Economic Score in the 2001-2005 HILDA data set. This method of cluster analysis, using the log likelihood criterion, is suitable for data sets containing both categorical and continuous variables. Cluster analysis was used to group occupations based on similarities in the shape of employment, socioeconomic status, and the concentration of women and mothers employed. The variables used in the analysis are listed in Table 6.2. All variables were measured as the occupational average for 2001-2005. While measurements of these variables had been taken for each year, there was little change between norms and the

strength of these norms, from year to year. Thus the use of an ‘average’ measure was deemed appropriate.

Table 6.2 Variables Used in Cluster Analysis

Categorical Variables	Continuous Variables
Working Hours Norm	Strength of Working Hours Norm
	Strength of Full-time Benchmark Norm
Work Scheduling Norm	Strength of Scheduling Norm
Flexi-place Norm	Strength of Flexi-place Norm
Contract Norm	Strength of Contract Norm
	ANU 4 Socioeconomic Status Score
	Women as % of Occupation
	Mothers as % of Occupation

Selecting the appropriate number of clusters to be used for analysis is largely a subjective process. A balance between the number of cluster groups and the coverage or number of cases within each group is needed. The aim is to minimise the number of small clusters while maximising the diversity between each group’s characteristics (Norusis, 2011). In order to select the appropriate number of clusters the clustering process was completed in four steps. First, the sample of 64 occupations was loosely grouped by eye into similar clusters primarily based on the norm for working hours. This norm had the greatest variation in the sample. No occupation had a norm for long working hours so only 4 primary cluster groups were formed. Sub groups were then formed for each primary group based on differences in norms for flexi-place, work scheduling and employment contract, and the concentration of both women and mothers employed in the occupation. In total 12 sub groups were formed.

The second step involved using cluster analysis to identify clusters. Initially the Schwarz Bayesian criterion (BIC) was used to select the appropriate number of clusters. This criterion identifies the appropriate number of clusters based on where BIC and the change in BIC are small (Norusis, 2011). Using this criterion occupations were grouped into three clusters which were again primarily distinguished by norms for working hours. Occupations were clustered into groups with norms for very long hours, standard full-time hours and part-time hours, which included occupations with norms for both short hours and participatory part-time hours.

The third step was an iterative process of re-running the cluster analysis algorithm and specifying the number of clusters in which occupations could be grouped. For each run,

cluster numbers were progressively increased. Starting with 4 cluster groups (one more than found optimal using BIC), this process was continued until the patterns of differentiation between cluster groups no longer depended on occupational norms. This occurred when 6 cluster groups were formed. For each successive analysis run up until this point, each additional cluster group could be differentiated from the others on the basis of a difference in occupational norms or the strength of norms. The five group cluster pattern was the last run where this pattern of differentiation between groups was retained. At run six, cluster groups began to be formed based on the concentration of mothers and women employed within occupations, alone.

**Table 6.3 Cluster Analysis Comparison Chart:
Number of Occupational Cases per Cluster**

Working Hours Norm for each Cluster	Step 1 Cluster grouping by Eye (main clusters)	Step 2 Cluster grouping using the Schwarz Bayesian Criterion (BIC)	Step 3 5 Group Cluster (preferred grouping)
Part-Time Hours		15	
<i>Casual Contract</i>	8		8
<i>Permanent Contract</i>	7		7
Standard Full-time Hours	36	36	
<i>Strong Benchmark Norm</i>			13
<i>Weak Benchmark Norm</i>			23
Long Hours	-	-	-
Very Long Hours	13	13	13

At the last step a comparison of these cluster groupings was made. Table 6.3 illustrates the differences in cluster membership for each of the three main analysis runs. Changes are based on differences in norms for working hours as this remained the primary basis for the division of occupations into cluster groups across all steps. The five group cluster pattern was selected as the most appropriate for modelling contours of occupational accessibility. There were two main reasons for this judgement. First this clustering pattern makes a distinction between different types of part-time work based on employment contract. Second, the five group clustering pattern makes a distinction between occupations with norms for full-time employment. This distinction is based on both the concentration of mothers employed in the occupation and the strength of the standard full-time employment benchmark norm, where full-time employment acts as a floor or minimum requirement for

capacity to negotiate alternative working hours. Both of these distinctions are particularly important to the study of mother's employment navigation.

6.5 Models of Occupational Accessibility

Five models of occupational access were derived from the results of the cluster analysis. The difference in the shape of employment access between these models is based primarily on norms for working hours. Occupational access is based on one of three main forms, part-time employment, either short or participatory part-time; full-time employment; and very long working hours. The shape of part-time employment access can be differentiated further by employment contract, either casual or permanent. These two forms of employment access differ in the security they offer mothers. In the casual part-time employment model flexibility is traded for security, while in the permanent part-time model security is not forfeited and a greater range of flexibility is available. In contrast full-time employment access can be differentiated further on the basis of alternative working hours: these differences impact on the generation of flexibility in the models.

The first model of flexible full-time employment enables access to a wide range of alternative working hours in both the part-time and long hours modes. In contrast, within the second model of inflexible full-time employment the range of alternative working hours is constrained. Workers are likely to be under pressure to work longer hours and accepting full-time employment is a floor or minimum criteria for employment access. In both models of full-time employment access to security is the same.

The model of very long working hours employment presents an interesting combination of measures for flexibility. While working time flexibility is reduced, care flexibility is enabled in compensation as mothers can afford good alternative child care arrangements. Under the very long hours model of employment access, work is generally portable and the care flexibility enabled by this portability counters the lack of working time flexibility and constrained working time mobility embodied in the model. The capacity to take work home or to work from home in emergencies may provide both care flexibility and security (Burgess & Campbell, 1998a)

Thus five distinct patterns of occupational access can be identified. The casual part-time employment model and the inflexible full-time model provide the poorest trades between flexibility and security for mothers. In contrast, the permanent part-time employment model, the flexible full-time employment model and the very long hours employment model

present a better set of options for mothers navigating their employment. These results, the third of which is counterintuitive, are now explored in turn.

6.5.1 Casual Part-Time Employment Model

Chapters 2 and 5 drew attention to important divisions in the form of part-time work, between those jobs offered on a casual basis and those offered as permanent positions. Casual employment in Australia is defined as employment without access to benefits or entitlement to various types of leave such as sick and holiday leave. Casual employment is mostly attached to part-time employment. In Australia in 2010, only 5 percent of workers employed full-time or longer hours were on casual contracts compared with 55 percent of workers employed part-time. (ABS, 2010 c). Further, 46 percent of Australian mothers in paid employment in 2001 worked as casual part-time employees (HILDA Survey 2001). Thus the occupations in which this form of employment is found and the nature of the trades between security and flexibility embodied by this employment shape have important consequences for mothers' employment navigation.

Table 6.4 Characteristics of Casual Part-Time Employment, HILDA Sample 2001-2005

ANU4 Socio-Economic Score	Occupation	Women as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Mothers as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Total n 2001-2005
18.30	Cleaners	64	21	845
19.50	Kitchen Hands	54	13	425
22.70	Miscellaneous Labourers	16	5	394
24.50	Checkout Operators & Cashiers	76	11	439
24.80	Other Elementary Service Workers	55	16	355
26.70	Bar Attendants	55	15	274
27.40	Sales Assistants	73	16	2227
36.40	Waiters	84	14	460
				5419
	Average for HILDA sample 2001 - 2005	47	15	

* ANU4 Socio-Economic Score provides an indication of occupational status

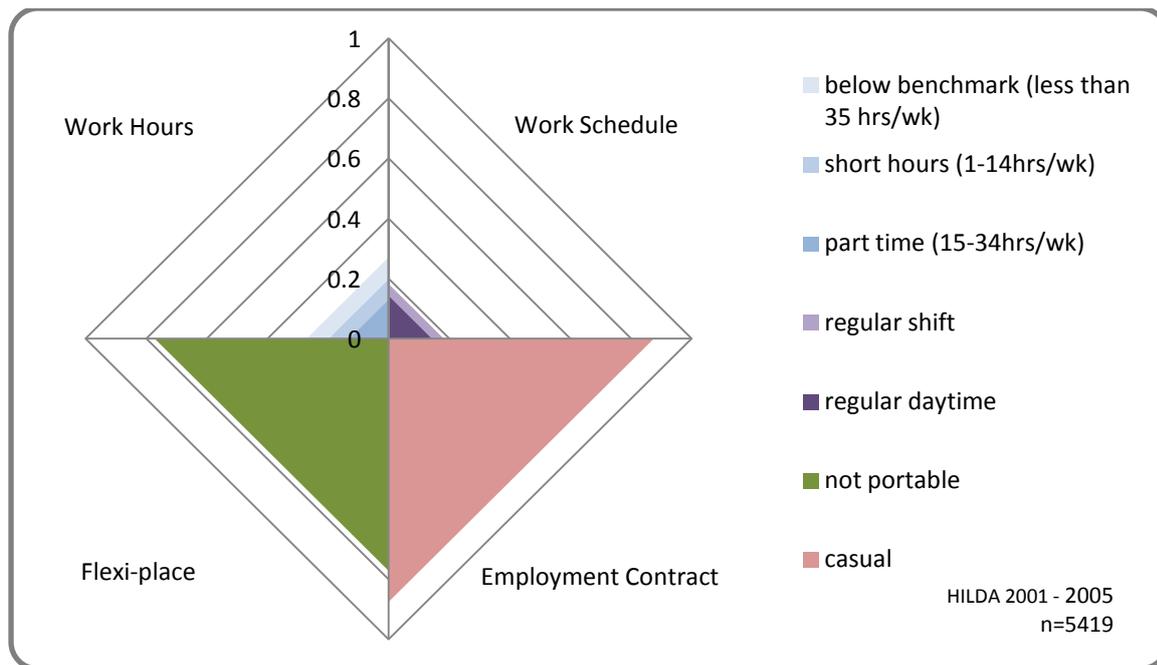
The *casual part-time employment model* is based on a shape of employment found across the eight occupations in the sample set out below in Table 6.4. Casual part-time employment was generally found in occupations of low socio economic status. These occupations

employed a high concentration of women (55 percent or more), but only an average concentration of mothers (between 10 and 20 percent – in 2001 mothers constituted 15 percent of all employment). For mothers, employment in these occupations epitomises the trap of working part-time. To secure working time flexibility mothers forfeited benefit security, and moreover they also forfeited other forms of security in the process. The general shape of the *casual part-time employment model* is built on more than just norms of part-time hours and a casual employment contract. Work is also generally not portable and work scheduling can be quite variable. The overall effect of this combination of occupational norms makes employment based on this model generally unattractive to mothers as the constraints on security can outweigh the benefits of flexibility.

The shape of employment for the *casual part-time model* is depicted in Figure 6.1. Occupational norms for working hours within the casual part-time model were a mix of both short hours and participatory part-time employment. Both of these norms were weak indicating that alternative modes of working time are available. However the strength of the standard full-time benchmark norm indicates that the majority of work was offered only and irreversibly on a part-time basis. Where occupational norms were for short hours, most alternative hours were available as participatory part-time employment and where norms were for participatory part-time the majority of alternatives were for short hours employment. Together, these norms for part-time employment enabled working time flexibility but enabled working time mobility only to a limited extent. While mothers were likely to be able to access reduced working hours when time to care is at a premium, they experienced a constrained ability to increase working hours when the demand for care lessened. In gaining working time flexibility mothers ran the risk of working time insecurity – probable constraints to the ability to secure enough working hours to generate sufficient income to support themselves and their families.

In addition, mothers generally had little access to care flexibility under this model of employment. Occupational norms for flexi-place employment indicated that mothers have very little portability in their work. Mothers were unable to both care and work simultaneously. This norm, in combination with norms for working hours, suggests that under the casual part-time employment model flexibility can only be gained through flexibility in working time.

Figure 6.1 Casual Part-Time Employment Model



The price for gaining working time flexibility under this model of employment is high. That mothers ran the risk of working time insecurity has already been discussed however other forms of employment insecurity were also prevalent in the model. Norms for casual employment presented the main risk, indicating that workers experienced benefit insecurity - a lack of access to benefits and provisions such as sick and holiday leave. The norms for casual employment were quite strong, suggesting that workers are unlikely to experience employment insecurity when employers segment jobs based on contractual modes. However workers were at some risk of functional insecurity. While a strong norm for employment contract suggests that this risk is not based on contractual differences, the weakness of the work scheduling norm suggests that employers may segment access to jobs on the basis of scheduling patterns. In addition, occupational norms varied between a regular daytime schedule and regular shift work. While mothers who worked a regular daytime schedule were more likely to be able to access formalised care, their access to security in these arrangements was limited. Weak scheduling norms indicate a high degree of mobility in these working arrangements, which could then lead to insecurities in arranging alternative care.

In summary the *casual part-time model of employment* epitomises the worst possible trade, a trade of working time flexibility in exchange for many forms of insecurity. While the obvious loss is benefit security; working time security, care security, functional security and employment security are also lost. For mothers this form of employment is most likely a

last resort, arising when a lack of perceived occupational skills and pressure for flexibility necessitate a poor trade.

6.5.2 Permanent Part-Time Employment Model

The *permanent part-time employment model* presents a much better set of trade outcomes for mothers in paid employment. As noted in chapters 2 and 5, permanent part-time work plays an important role in enabling employment participation for working mothers. In 2001, an estimated 44 percent of mothers of children under 16 who were in paid employment worked on a permanent part-time basis (HILDA Survey, 2001). Thus the dynamics of enablement and constraint embodied in this employment shape are extremely important, particularly as this model enables working time flexibility without constraining benefit security.

This model of employment access is based on the shape of employment found in the seven occupations listed in Table 6.5. While these occupations vary widely in terms of occupational status, they are particularly notable for the very high concentrations of both women and mothers employed. The mean concentration for women in these occupations in 2001 was 87 percent (overall sample mean 47 percent) while the mean concentration for mothers was 37 percent (overall sample mean 15 percent). This suggests that the occupational norms for this model of employment are highly attractive to mothers, and that the trades between flexibility and security are favourable.

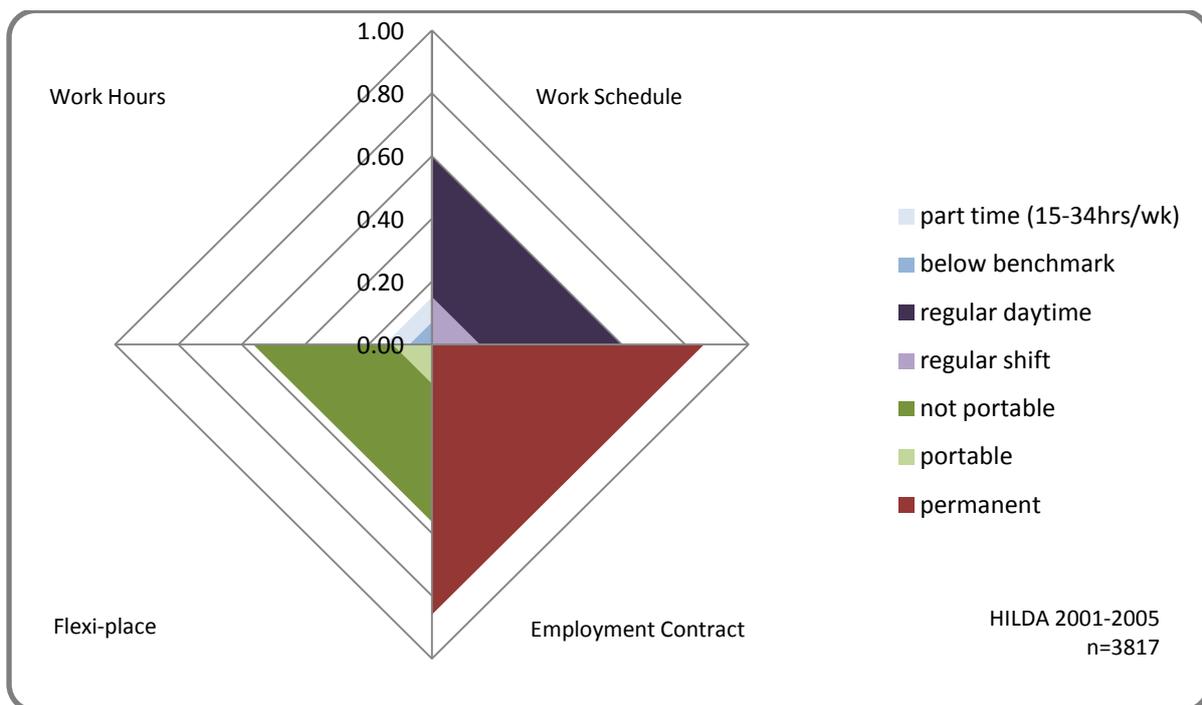
Table 6.5 Characteristics of Permanent Part-Time Employment

ANU4 Socio-Economic Score	Occupation	Women as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Mothers as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Total n 2001-2005
31.60	Education Aides	94	54	326
35.40	Children's Care Workers	96	30	422
35.50	Special Care Workers	86	31	423
39.50	Bookkeepers	94	45	455
75.30	Nursing Professionals	92	39	964
84.30	Other Education Professionals (higher)	67	26	385
84.50	Primary School Teachers	81	34	842
				3817
	Average for HILDA sample 2001 - 2005	47	15	

* ANU4 Socio-Economic Score provides an indication of occupational status

The shape of employment for the *permanent part-time model* is depicted in Figure 6.2. The first difference between this model and the model for casual part-time employment is in occupational norms for employment contract. The norms for employment contract were for permanent employment and were quite strong, indicating that mothers did not forfeit benefit, functional or employment security. Permanent employment incorporates benefits for employees that provide security of income while sick or on leave, and protection from job changes and dismissal.

Figure 6.2 Permanent Part-time Employment Model



In addition, care security was also enabled. Strong norms for regular daytime employment enabled access to formalised care arrangements and greater security in arranging alternative means of care. In comparison, weak norms for work scheduling based on a regular shift pattern enabled access to regularising arrangements for alternative care. The difference in enablements between these two norms is subtle. While regular daytime scheduling enables easy access to formalised care arrangements, regular shift schedules do not necessarily preclude access to formalised care, but make access more difficult. Alternative means of care can still be accessed and the regular nature of work scheduling is likely to aid in making these arrangements.

Interestingly, flexibility under the permanent part-time model was not lost in an exchange for security but enhanced. Occupational norms for working hours for participatory part-time employment were quite weak, while the norm for working below the benchmark of

full-time employment (that is less than 35 hours per week) was weaker still. These norms indicate the likelihood of three positive outcomes for mothers. Firstly, norms for participatory part-time employment indicate that working time flexibility was enabled: mothers were able to access modes of working time that enabled them to combine paid employment with unpaid care. Second the weakness of the participatory part-time norm indicates that mothers have access to working time mobility: alternative modes of working time were available. Last of all, the weak norm for hours below the benchmark, suggests that although the majority of work available was offered in the part-time mode, quite a large proportion of work was available in full-time and/or long hours modes. This indicates that mothers were not at risk of working time insecurity. In this model of employment, the enablement of working time mobility minimised the likelihood of working time insecurity. The norms suggest that mothers were able to decrease working hours to enable care, but when those care demands decreased mothers were then likely to be able to return to full-time employment.

Further, in contrast to the casual part-time model, flexi-place employment was enhanced. Occupational norms for flexi-place employment may be either portable or not portable. The norms ranged from moderate norms of non portability to weak norms of portability. These norms indicate that portability of work is available to a limited extent. Within the permanent part-time model of employment care flexibility was more a matter of possible choice than a matter of course. Many mothers were able to access care flexibility if and when required.

In summary the *permanent part-time employment model* illustrates a form of employment access which enables a high degree of flexibility without substantial loss of security. Working time flexibility and mobility are enabled, and to a limited extent so is care flexibility. In contrast to the casual part-time employment model, flexibility is not traded for security. Benefit security is retained, as is functional security and to a greater extent care security is enabled. In addition working time security is enabled: mothers were likely to be able to adjust their working hours as care demands change over the life course, thus minimising the risk of occupational insecurity.

6.5.3 Flexible Full-Time Employment

Acker (1990) argues that full-time employment is based on a male standard which is biased against women with caring responsibilities. While most women without the responsibility for children will work full-time, 34 percent of mothers in the HILDA data set for 2001 also continued to work full-time while caring for children. Understanding the enablements and

constraints embedded in the shape of full-time employment is critical to understanding how mothers navigate their employment throughout the life course.

The *flexible full-time employment model* enabled mothers to combine paid employment with care. This model of employment was based on the shape of employment found in 13 HILDA data set occupations. These occupations, listed in Table 6.6 below, are of middling socio-economic status, but in 2001 they also employed high concentrations of both women (mean for model of employment 72 percent, compared to an overall mean of 47 percent) and mothers (mean for model 27 percent compared to overall sample mean of 15 percent). This suggests that mothers employed in these occupations were able to gain a degree of flexibility from the overall shape of employment which enabled them to combine standard full-time employment with unpaid care.

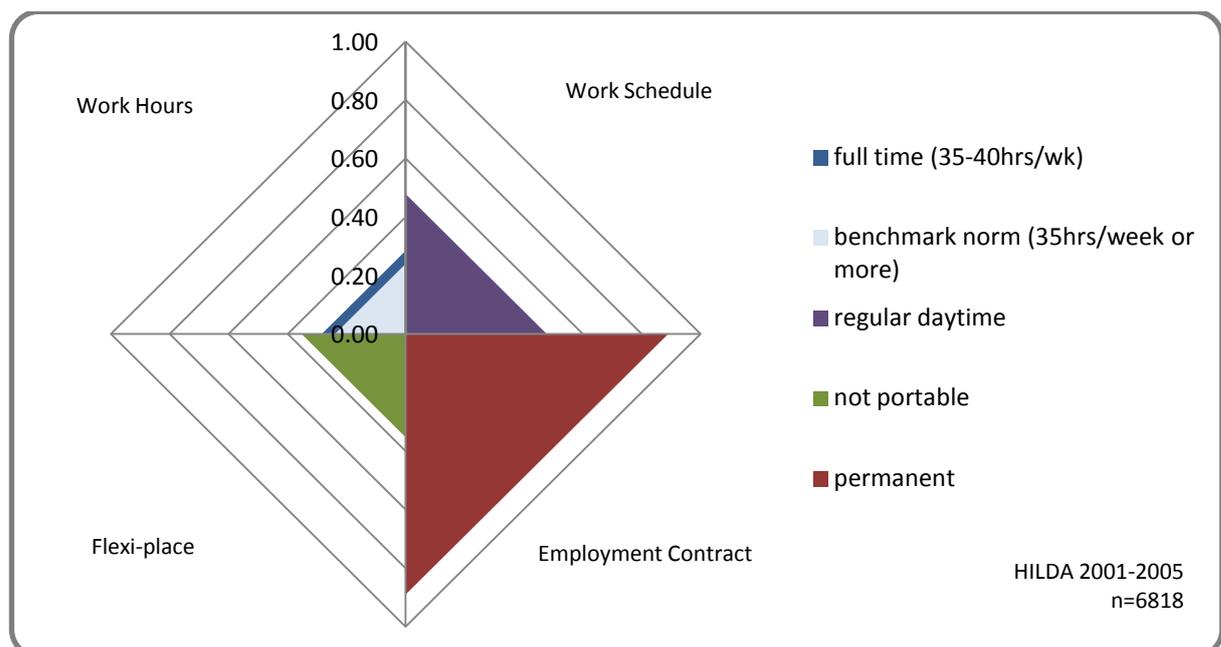
Table 6.6 Characteristics of Flexible Full-Time Employment, HILDA Data Set 2001-2005

ANU4 Socio-Economic Score	Occupation	Women as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Mothers as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Total n 2001-2005
30.10	Receptionists	94	24	553
34.90	Secretaries & Personal Assistants	98	36	651
36.10	General Clerks	83	32	710
41.10	Inquiry & Admissions Clerks	71	24	322
41.50	Accounting Clerks	75	29	446
44.10	Other Intermediate Service Workers (higher)	56	23	333
46.50	Office Managers	85	30	449
47.80	Other Advanced Clerical Workers	68	22	313
51.20	Health & Welfare Professionals	65	21	377
58.90	Other Business Associate Professionals	72	27	662
62.40	Human Resource Professionals	65	20	353
73.20	Social Welfare Professionals	65	26	493
74.80	Other Professionals (higher)	49	48	505
				6818
	Average for HILDA sample 2001 - 2005	47	15	

* ANU4 Socio-Economic Score provides an indication of occupational status

Key features of the *flexible full-time employment model* were weak norms of full-time employment that enabled working time mobility and norms of regular daytime scheduling and permanent employment that enabled both care and benefit security. The occupational norms for standard full-time employment were generally weak, indicating that workers had a limited degree of working time flexibility but a high degree of working time mobility. The norm for benchmark employment was for full-time or longer working hours, although the norm was weak. This suggests that some of this employment mobility was available to workers seeking to reduce their working hours to part-time employment. This combination of norms for working hours enabled a high degree of working time mobility and a limited degree of working time flexibility that allowed mothers to move between full-time and part-time employment modes. Mothers were able to reduce working hours to part-time in order to accommodate care when they needed it and move back to full-time employment when they did not. In addition, this mobility back to full-time employment minimised the impact of working time insecurity

Figure 6.3 Flexible Full-Time Employment Model



Flexibility under this form of employment was for the most part limited to working time flexibility. Access to care flexibility was limited. The norms for flexi-place were for non portability of work and were only moderate in strength. This suggests that the ability of workers to work and care simultaneously was constrained but not entirely absent. Security was also enabled. Occupational norms were for permanent employment and strong. Mothers were likely to be able to retain, both benefit and employment security, while functional insecurity was not related to changes in contractual mode. In addition norms for

work scheduling were for regular daytime scheduling and were again of moderate strength. This indicates that mothers were also able to access both regular and formal care arrangements while working in these occupations and thus had access to care security. The moderate strength of the norm also indicates a low likelihood that mothers would experience functional insecurity, where jobs are segmented based on work scheduling differences.

This *flexible full-time model of employment* provides mothers with a form of employment which enables a moderate degree of flexibility and a high degree of security. While this combination may not be suitable for all mothers it should enable mothers to navigate their employment through motherhood without risking occupational security.

6.5.4 Inflexible Full-Time Employment Model

Full-time employment is widely seen as the basis of the standard employment relationship (Vosko, 2006; 2008; Campbell, Whitehouse, & Baxter, 2000; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009; Burgess & Campbell, 1998a). However Campbell (2007) also argues that the full-time employment norm is under pressure, as workers are increasingly required to extend their working week beyond a standard of 35 to 40 hours per week. For mothers this pressure to increase working hours becomes magnified as time to care increasingly conflicts with time for paid employment. The shape of employment for occupations where this time pressure occurs suggests that mothers in these occupations are likely to need to forfeit flexibility in order to retain security.

In this study, the *inflexible full-time employment model* was based on the occupational norms of 22 occupations in the ANU4 Socio-Economic ranking. These occupations varied quite widely in socio economic status, from low status occupations such as Factory Labourers and Storepersons to high status occupations such as Computing Professionals and Accountants. The concentration of both women and mothers in these occupations varied from low to average (concentration of women: model range 0 – 39 percent; overall sample mean 47 percent; concentration of mothers: model range 0 – 14 percent; overall sample mean 15 percent). In general in occupations where the concentration of women is low, so is the concentration of mothers, similarly where the concentration of women is around average, the concentration of mothers is average also. This suggests that while these occupations may not necessarily be attractive to women initially, some mothers are able to navigate their employment around the norms of inflexible employment. For these mothers navigation is likely to entail a trade in limited flexibility in order to retain security.

**Table 6.7 Characteristics of Inflexible Full-Time Employment,
HILDA Data Set 2001-2005**

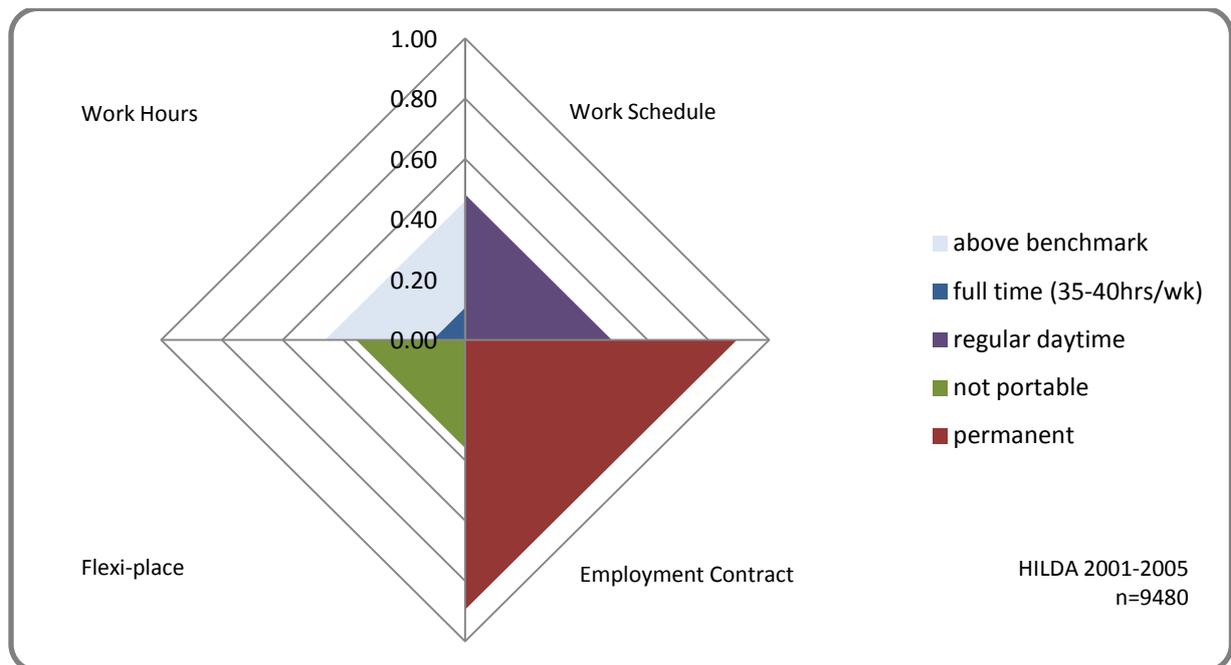
ANU4 Socio- Economic Score	Occupation	Women as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Mothers as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Total n 2001-2005
12.40	Factory Labourers	21	8	518
17.10	Mining, Construction & Other Labourers (higher)	8	4	412
19.00	Storepersons	23	10	523
24.90	Other Intermediate Sales Workers	31	11	229
26.20	Intermediate Stationary Plant Operators	7	1	276
27.30	Other Intermediate Production & Transport Workers	13	3	433
28.30	Other Horticultural Workers (lower)	5	2	343
31.30	Fabrication Engineers & Tradespersons	0	0	300
32.20	Car Delivery Drivers	17	3	331
34.70	Elementary Clerks	47	12	369
39.50	Carpenters & Joiners	1	0	417
39.90	Metal Fitters & Machinists	1	1	362
41.20	Sales Representatives	35	12	494
42.80	Electricians	0	0	438
56.20	Building Associate Professionals	11	6	524
62.00	Sales & Related Professionals	36	6	395
63.00	Other Professionals (lower)	12	3	417
63.20	Finance Associate Professionals	30	8	354
74.80	Other Professionals (higher)	8	4	505
76.00	Business & Organisation Analysts	34	12	265
78.50	Computing Professionals	17	6	726
81.40	Accountants & Related Professionals	39	14	561
86.20	Natural Science Professionals	35	11	288
				9480
	Average for HILDA sample 2001 - 2005	47	15	

* ANU4 Socio-Economic Score provides an indication of occupational status

The norms for the *inflexible full-time employment model* are illustrated in Figure 6.4. Norms for working hours were for full-time employment but these norms were quite weak, suggesting that a range of alternative working hours was available to workers. The norm for benchmark employment indicates that the majority of these alternative working hours were for long or very long hours. In addition the strength of the benchmark norm was

moderate, suggesting that the norm of working a minimum 35 hour week was well established. Combined, these norms indicate that mothers working in employment based on this model had very little access to working time flexibility; in addition, access to working time mobility was constrained to movements between full-time and longer working hours. This implies that for mothers working in such occupations, full-time employment may be equivalent to the ‘new part-time employment’, a working time flexibility safety valve where mothers are able to resist the pressure to work longer hours.

Figure 6.4 Inflexible Full-Time Employment Model



In comparison to flexible full-time employment, access to security within the *inflexible model* remained relatively the same. Inflexible full-time employment retained strong norms for a permanent employment contract that enabled benefit, functional and employment security. Workers retained access to provisions for leave and protections for job security. Moderate norms for regular daytime scheduling also enabled functional security and care security. Mothers have access to regular daytime work schedules which in turn enabled access to both formal and regular care arrangements.

While the norms within the *inflexible full-time model* enabled security, they did so at the expense of flexibility. As such this form of employment is likely to have limited appeal to mothers, particularly those for whom working time flexibility is at a premium. For mothers the lack of flexibility to care may induce occupational insecurity, where they are forced to

change occupations in order to find employment that enables a better trade for flexibility, a trade that allows them to better combine paid employment with unpaid care.

6.5.5 Very Long Hours Employment Model

The *very long hours employment model* presents an interesting combination of occupational norms that provided a degree of flexibility to working mothers while preserving security. In this model of employment, the norm of standard full-time employment has already disappeared and the pressure to work longer hours has been realised. However unlike in the inflexible full-time employment model, the potential conflict between unpaid care and paid employment is not as great. The norms embodied within the model enabled mothers to navigate employment, allowing flexibility, particularly care flexibility, without loss of security. This combination of norms presented mothers with minimal risk of occupational exclusion.

The *very long hours model of employment* was based on the occupational norms of 13 occupations of generally middle to high socio-economic status. These occupations are listed below in Table 6.8. The concentrations of women and mothers employed in these occupations were similar to those in the inflexible full-time model, and varied for the most part from low to average. The concentrations of women employed, ranged in 2001 from 2 to 55 percent (overall sample average 47 percent) while the concentration of mothers ranged from 1 to 25 percent (overall sample average 15 percent). The occupation of Secondary School Teachers was the only occupation, on which the model was based, in which the concentration of both women and mothers employed was high. As in both the flexible and inflexible models of full-time employment the concentration of mothers in employment appears to have been proportional to the concentration of women. This suggests that for the most part women were able to navigate around the occupational norms embodied within the very long hours employment model with minimal risk of occupational exclusion. These norms offered limited working time flexibility and mobility, but enabled access to care flexibility. Importantly access to flexibility was not purchased at the expense of security. The occupational norms within the model preserved access to both care and benefit security. The occupational norms for *very long hours employment*, depicted in Figure 6.5, enabled working time flexibility to a limited extent. The norm for working hours was for employees to work very long hours, in excess of 50 hours per week. However this norm was quite weak, suggesting that alternative working hours were widely available. The norm for standard full-time benchmark employment indicates that the majority of these

**Table 6.8 Characteristics of Very Long Hours Employment,
HILDA Data Set 2001-2005**

ANU4 Socio- Economic Score	Occupation	Women as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Mothers as % of Occupation (Mean % 2001-2005)	Total n 2001-2005
14.00	Truck Drivers	2	1	549
41.00	Shop Managers	45	13	768
46.30	Farmers & Farm Managers	28	9	1114
48.40	Other Sales & Service Managing Supervisors	40	11	496
63.00	Sales & Marketing Managers	24	6	393
63.20	Engineering & Processing Managers	16	4	568
73.10	Resource Managers	43	17	307
80.00	Other Specialist Managers	40	14	586
83.80	Engineers	5	3	276
89.70	Secondary School Teachers	55	25	723
95.70	University Teachers	48	16	224
96.00	Legal Professionals	34	7	188
100.00	Medical Practitioners	39	11	175
				6367
	Average for HILDA sample 2001 - 2005	47	15	

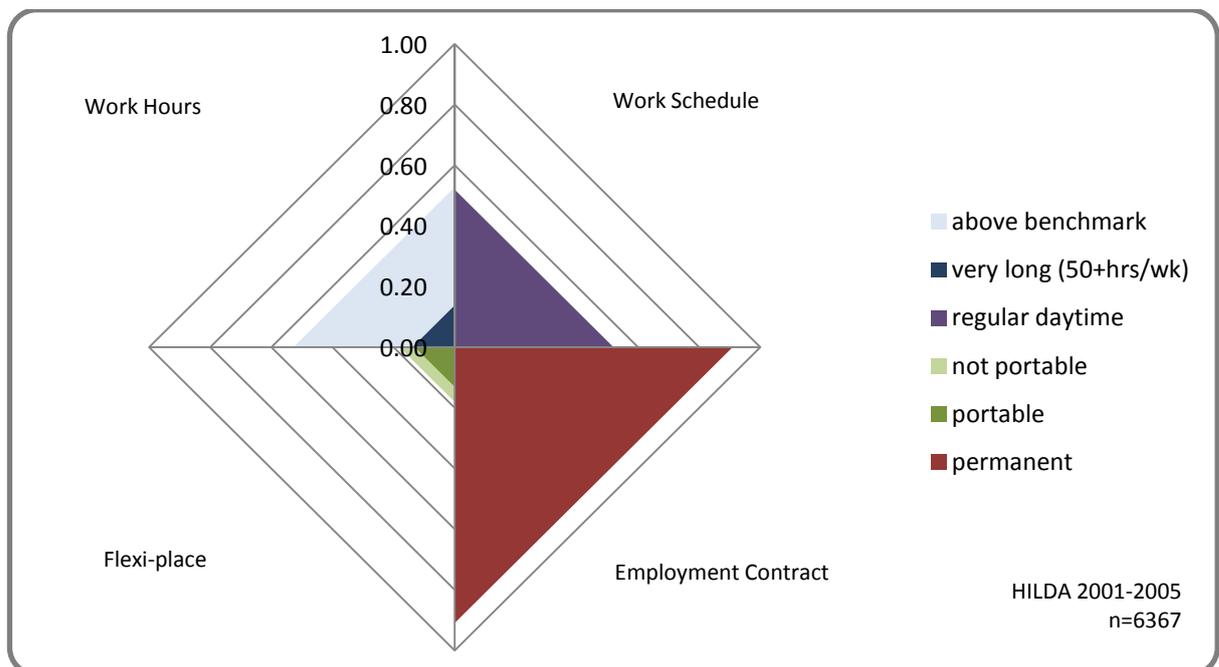
* Anu4 Socio-Economic Score provides an indication of occupational status

alternative working hours were available for employment that was at least full-time. The standard full-time benchmark norm was moderately strong, much stronger than the norm for very long hours employment. This implies that mothers should have been able to reduce their working hours, but only to the benchmark of standard full-time employment: access to part-time employment was very limited. This combination of norms enabled a limited form of working time flexibility.

Under this model full-time employment again becomes the new form of available flexibility, serving a function comparable to the role of part-time work, relative to the standard full-time hours, by relaxing the pressure to work very long hours. However working time mobility is constrained, enabled only for movements between full-time and longer modes of working hours. Mothers are able to access full-time employment when the demand for care is high. While full-time employment does not enable as much working time flexibility as the part-time modes of employment, these limitations on working time flexibility may be partly ameliorated by access to care flexibility. Access to care flexibility was enabled to a greater

extent in the very long hours model, much more than in any other model. Norms for flexi-place employment indicated that work could be either portable or not portable but in both instances the strength of these norms was quite low. The weakness of these norms suggested that the portability of work was more a matter of personal choice than an occupational requirement. Workers were able to take work home from the office when necessary in order to combine paid employment with unpaid care, but taking work home was not essential or required. This ability to take work home is invaluable to mothers particularly given the constraints on working time flexibility and mobility.

Figure 6.5 Very Long Hours Employment Model



Yet again security was retained under this model of employment. Strong norms for permanent employment indicate that benefit, functional and employment security were able to be maintained. Moderate norms for regular daytime employment suggest that access to care security was also preserved. The regular daytime scheduling of work enabled mothers to make both formal and regularised care arrangements. The making of such arrangements may have been particularly necessary, given the increased demand for alternative care required as a result of limited working time flexibility. On the whole the benefit levels made child care affordable.

In summary the occupational norms for the *very long hours model* strike a delicate balance between working time flexibility and mobility, and care flexibility. While working time flexibility and mobility are constrained, care flexibility is enabled to a greater extent than in previous models. This trade between flexibilities should enable many mothers to navigate

employment through motherhood with limited risk of occupational exclusion, enabling them to work and care simultaneously in an occupational environment in which working time is under great pressure. That workers retain access to security, both care and employment securities, aids mothers in minimising the risk of occupational exclusion. For mothers working within this model, their greatest risk of occupational exclusion remains the lack of working time flexibility and the constrained mobility of hours around the standard full-time benchmark, when the enablement of care flexibility is not enough to reduce the encroachment of time pressure on caring roles.

6.6 Summary of Trades

The five employment models discussed in this chapter present five very different patterns of trade between flexibility and security. These trades represent the choices women face in navigating employment through motherhood. The question, 'Do I stay where I am or change my job?' becomes more refined. As noted by Dex (1987) a mother's choices are very much reliant on her occupational starting point, as her options are embedded within the shape of employment. For mothers, at risk are a range of securities: benefit security, employment security, functional security, working time security, care security and occupational security. In the seeking of flexibility - that is working time flexibility, care flexibility and working time mobility - security may need to be traded. What mothers ultimately decided to trade will depend on their personal circumstances although the trades they face are defined by their occupation.

Australian women face five different types of trades when navigating their employment through motherhood. The casual part-time model of employment epitomises the worst possible trade that mothers can make. In order to secure working time flexibility mothers must forfeit their ability to move between full and part-time employment modes, and the security that comes with being able to access full-time employment: the ability to generate enough income, access to benefit and leave provisions, security from job change and job loss, and security in care arrangements. In addition, in the process of gaining flexibility in time to care mothers may already have forfeited occupational security resulting in their becoming excluded from their occupation. The inability to gain enough working time flexibility may have necessitated a job change in which they trade everything for time to care.

In contrast the reversible permanent part-time model of employment represents the best possible outcome for many mothers. Mothers are able to gain working time flexibility and mobility which enables them to access and move between full and part-time employment

modes of employment. Mothers also have limited access to care flexibility. In gaining this range of flexibilities mothers are not required to forfeit security. The ability to access full-time employment enables working time security and mothers are also able to retain access to employment benefits attached to permanent employment, both functional and employment security, and security in arranging alternative care. This range of enablements suggests that mothers are unlikely to be required to trade working time flexibility for occupational security.

The remaining three models present trades where mothers face varied pressure to exchange flexibility for occupational security. In both models of flexible and inflexible full-time employment and the very long hours employment model, access to a full range of securities is retained. However the differences among these models lie in the access to flexibility that each provides. In the flexible full-time employment model, the time available to care is limited, as is the opportunity to work and care simultaneously. But mothers have the ability to move between different modes of working time. In the inflexible model mothers yet again have limited access to working time and care flexibility and they lose access to working time mobility. In contrast in the very long hours employment model, while working time flexibility and mobility remain constrained, mothers gain access to care flexibility. The constrained flexibility within these models places mothers at risk of occupational insecurity, but this risk will be very much dependent on personal circumstances and the degree of time pressure that mothers face in meeting their caring responsibilities. When the demands of care become too much mothers are likely to forfeit occupational security in search of greater flexibility.

These enablements and constraints on flexibility and security present women with very different options for navigating the labour market. For some mothers, seeking flexibility will result in the loss of security; for some security, will be retained at the expense of flexibility; and for others the seeking of flexibility will require forfeiting occupational security - forfeiting the knowledge, skills and experience acquired during a career. This chapter has laid out, in general terms the contours of employment – the labour market terrain that mothers confront. It has done this by undertaking the statistical derivation of five employment shapes, each presented as a hypothetical or ideal type. It will be the task of subsequent chapters to test the extent to which the trades apparently entailed by these shapes actually occurred. The next two chapters predict and then test empirically the hypothesis that the types of trades that women, including mothers, make in navigating their employment differ systematically, depending on their occupation.

Chapter 7

Navigational Pathways

7.1 Introduction

This chapter uses the typology of ‘trades’ developed in Chapter 6 as a framework for examining the way in which the entire 2001-2005 HILDA sample of Australian women navigated their employment through motherhood. Navigation is the process of selecting an employment pathway, a pattern of transitions or changes where women may alter their working hours, work scheduling, portability of work and/or their employment contract, to enable employment participation while balancing the needs of care. The central argument of this chapter is that the process of labour market navigation varies widely and differs depending on who one is, mother or other (Waldfogel, 1997; 1998) the stage of motherhood one is experiencing *and* where in the labour market one is located - that is one’s occupation.

In Chapter 6, it was established that in Australia, occupations can be classified into five key employment shapes: casual part-time employment, permanent part-time employment, flexible full-time employment, inflexible full-time employment and very long hours employment. The chapter focused on defining the package of occupational norms for each of these shapes and modelling the enablements and constraints on flexibility and security that were embodied within each. For working mothers each of these models of employment presented a specific set of likely trades between flexibility and security.

Chapter 7 examines the likelihood that Australian women in general, and mothers in particular, will make these trades. The chapter begins by classifying six patterns of transitions or pathways that women utilise when they alter or change their employment. Secondly, the trades in flexibility and security that these pathways entail are modelled. While Schmid (1995) and O’Reilly et al. (2000) view part-time employment as a transitional labour market that can enable full employment for mothers over the life course I expand the concept of transition to incorporate change across the four parameters of employment and changes in both occupation and labour market participation.

When women, including mothers, make employment transitions they not only alter the form or shape of their employment, but they also make trades between flexibility and security. These trades may not be chosen freely and occur regardless of whether or not they are undertaken explicitly seek a better balance between paid employment and unpaid care. The

transitional pathways that women use as they enter and pass through motherhood are classified as:

Forfeiting Flexibility for Security,
Constrained Flexibility,
Risking both Security and Flexibility,
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility,
Risking Security for Flexibility, and
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility.

Chapter 7 explores who is most likely to use each pathway, highlighting differences not only between mothers and women without children, but also the differences among mothers at different stages of mothering. I demonstrate that the impact of considerations of care on paid employment extends beyond the first few years of a child's life. Second, I illustrate the occupational location of these pathways, highlighting that not all paths are utilised to the same extent across the different shapes of employment. These differences in the utilisation of navigational paths suggest that how a mother is able to articulate the changing needs of unpaid care with paid employment is largely related to her occupation. While a woman's need for flexibility may be driven by her status as a mother and her changing care needs as her family grows and ages, how she is able to meet and manage these needs is bounded by the normative shape of employment for the occupation in which she is employed.

The chapter begins by introducing and defining the concepts of navigational pathways and their contours or 'shapes'. Second the method for examining navigation is outlined. I detail the use of cluster analysis to model navigational paths and the associated transitions in flexibility and security that these pathways entail. In section 7.4, I present the results of the analysis, outlining six navigational pathways and detailing the patterns of transitions in flexibility and security that occur within each path. I then illustrate the relationships between the use of these pathways, motherhood status, motherhood stage and employment shape.

The discussion highlights two important points. First, women's choice of navigational paths differs not only over the life course but depending on whether they are mothers, and if so, over the course of motherhood. Mothers utilise different trades at different points in time to accommodate the continually changing needs of care as their families mature. Second, variations in access to different trades between flexibility and security have important consequences for the employment of women during active motherhood (the period when women have responsibility for a dependent resident child under the age of 16 years). This

suggests that the process of navigation is one of constrained choice. The processes of constrained choice will be examined empirically in further detail in Chapter 8.

7.2 Navigation - The Nature and Shape of Employment Transitions

Navigation is defined as the process of altering one's employment status in some way in order to accommodate changes in the need to care. The change occurs at the organisational level of the employment relationship and may also involve a changing relationship with the labour market. The central argument of this thesis is that a mother's choice of navigational path is constrained by the shape of her employment, which is based on how she and her employer negotiate institutional and regulatory factors beyond the individual or the organisation. Like the contours of employment accessibility discussed in Chapter 6, navigational pathways also have both a *nature* and *shape*. The shape of navigation is built on the transitions or changes in employment that women undertake each time they make changes within or between jobs. Most previous studies have limited their examination of change to relatively few parameters of employment: here navigational shape is conceptualised as a multidimensional concept.

Navigational *shape* is the overall pattern or combination of transitions that occurs across the four parameters of employment - working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place and employment contract - which were discussed in Chapter 6, *and* the associated changes in occupation that may occur as mothers seek to access flexibility while minimising any impact on security. Patterns of mobility or transition across the four parameters of employment illustrate the trades between flexibility and security that mothers make while accessing employment. All patterns of mobility and transitions occur within both a job and an occupational context. Mothers may not be able to access the flexibility they require within their current occupation, or the concomitant changes in security required to access flexibility may be too great, and in these instances mothers may change their occupation, thus making an occupational transition and possibly risking occupational security.

If a woman moves from permanent full-time employment to casual part-time employment, the nature of this transition is a forfeiture of employment security in which access to working time flexibility is gained. The trade has occurred regardless of whether the woman *sought* or *intended* such an exchange to occur. Where the trade involves a move out of an occupation with a higher status and/or better conditions, or which better utilises a woman's skills, there has been a *forfeiture* of occupational security. In contrast, a mother may remain

employed in her occupation in full-time employment, making use of flexi-place arrangements if available, as a substitute for working time flexibility. Similarly transitions between fixed term, casual and permanent employment illustrate trades in employment security. For mothers in paid employment, arrangements in work scheduling can also incur risks. In accessing flexibility they may forfeit either employment security or care security.

7.3 Modelling Navigational Pathways

Chapter 7 examines the incidence of all possible trades developed theoretically in Chapter 6, and also provides an experimental test of the occupational shapes modelled in that chapter. By classifying the employment transition of all Australian women sampled in the first five waves of the HILDA panel survey, it is possible to highlight both who is most likely to make particular flexibility/security trades and where these trades are most likely to occur. Whereas Chapter 6 was based on a sample of 64 occupations from the HILDA data set, this chapter discusses the mobility patterns of all women participating in the first five waves of the HILDA survey. The sample includes a cross-section of mothers with children of different ages.

In analysing the pathways women (all employed women aged 16 years or more) and mothers (all women with a dependent resident children aged under 16 years) use to navigate employment, the first step was to classify the shape or pattern of transitions using cluster analysis. Combinations of transition patterns across all four parameters of employment were classified into six basic transition patterns. Second the nature of the main trades between flexibility and security that, women made when altering their employment was examined for each transition pattern. Third, the differences in access to different types of trades were highlighted, using cross tabulations. The cross tabulations were used to locate differences in both who made these trades and where in the Australian labour market these trades occurred – that is how access to trades varied on an occupational basis. Chi square and the contingency coefficient were used to establish the existence and strength of the relationships between navigational pathways and: groups of women by motherhood status, groups of women by motherhood stage; and the shape of employment.

7.3.1 Measuring Employment Transitions

In chapters 5 and 6 different shapes of employment were identified by building on a combination of norms and their strength, measured across 4 parameters of employment. These parameters were working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place and employment

contract. For each of these parameters, occupational norms were identified as enablements for or constraints impeding the *occupational* participation of mothers. These enablements and constraints were first itemised in Chapter 6, Table 6.1 but have been repeated here in Table 7.1 for convenience.

Table 7.1 Enablements and Constraints on Employment Participation

Parameter/ Variable	Enablement/ Constraint
Working Hours Norm	Working Time Flexibility (determines time to care)
Strength of Working Hours Norm	Working Time Mobility (determines ability to change working hours)
Strength of Benchmark Full-time Norm	Indicates the forms in which working time mobility can be secured.
Flexi-place Norm	Care Flexibility (determines the ability to care and work simultaneously)
Strength of Flexi-place Norm	Care Mobility (determines the ability to access care flexibility)
Work Scheduling Norm	Care Security (determines access to formal or regularised care)
Strength of Work Scheduling Norm	Functional Insecurity
Contract Norm	Benefit Insecurity (determines access to benefits and entitlements to leave provisions)
Strength of Contract Norm	Employment Insecurity Functional Insecurity

In chapter 7, whilst the transitions of all women were modelled, the purpose was the comparative one of identifying the ability of mothers to make transitions in employment that enabled them to accommodate both paid employment and unpaid care - transitions that enabled mothers' *employment* participation. Rather than focus on occupational accessibility, as in chapters 5 and 6, the focus now was broadened to employment accessibility – the capacity to remain in a paid job. Transition is defined as an instance of employment change and a woman's motherhood status and motherhood stage were measured at each transition. In addition to employment changes across any of the four parameters of employment, changes in two additional dimensions of employment participation were measured: occupational change and continuous employment participation over time.

In chapter 6, occupational accessibility was examined and I illustrated that the strength of occupational norms may impede a mother's access to an occupation. Occupational transitions measured occupational accessibility by measuring the occupational changes that occurred, taking into account the socioeconomic status of the jobs in which women were employed. As set out in Chapter 2, occupational transitions can be either exclusionary – where women change jobs to an occupation of lower socioeconomic status; maintenance –

where women do not change their occupation, or integrative – where women change to an occupation of higher socio economic status (O'Reilly, Cebrian, & Lallement, 2000; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998). What is potentially traded in an occupational transition is *access* to employment that utilises a worker's skills, education and experience.

In comparison transitions in employment participation measure the continuity of women's employment over time. Transitions were characterised as either 'not employed' during the transition or 'employed during consecutive years'. What is potentially traded in having an employment break is employment security over the long term. Employment security is conceptualised in the same way as by Schmid (Schmid, 1995) and O'Reilly et al (2000), where continuous employment participation is seen as key to enabling *full* employment over the life course (full-time employment in this instance is synonymous with longevity in employment participation rather than an hourly standard for the working week).

The transitions and trades measured in the analysis are itemised in Table 7.2. Navigation is the process of making transitions and trades across these six dimensions of employment accessibility which enable mothers to accommodate the requirements of both paid employment and unpaid care. Transitions in working hours indicate whether women are able to access working time security or working time flexibility. If women are able to move back and forth between full and part-time work then they have access to working time

Table 7.2 Transitions and Trades

Transition	Basis of Trade
Working Hours	Working Time Flexibility (access to part-time employment)
	Working Time Security (access to full-time employment)
	Working Time Mobility (access to both part-time and full-time employment)
Flexi-place Employment	Care Flexibility (access to portability of work that allows for the combination of work and care)
Employment Contract	Benefit Security (access to employment benefits and leave provisions)
Work Scheduling	Care security (access to regular work schedules that allow for the arrangement of alternative care)
Occupation	Occupational Security /Accessibility (access to employment that utilises a workers skills, education and experience)
Employment Participation	Employment Security (access to full employment over the life course)

mobility. Transitions in flexi-place employment indicate if women have access to care flexibility, while transitions in employment contract, work scheduling, occupation and employment participation indicate a woman's access to benefit security, care security, occupational security and employment security, respectively. With each and every combination of transitions a woman makes in any single change in employment a pattern of trades between security and flexibility also occurs. Classifying these transitions and their associated patterns of trades was the aim of the cluster analysis.

7.3.2 Classifying Transition Patterns

Cluster analysis was used to identify the different combinations of transitions made by women in the HILDA panel survey between 2001 and 2005. Transitions were recorded for each change in employment that occurred. An employment change was registered if a woman changed any of the following aspects of her employment: working hours, employment contract, work scheduling, access to flexi-place employment, occupation, employment participation *or employer*. Transitions were recorded across all six dimensions of employment: working hours, work scheduling, flexi-place employment, employment contract, occupation and employment participation. The full list of variables is contained in Appendix C. Variables measured change across the six dimensions of employment. Variables included both simple directional measures indicating whether a particular transition resulted in either greater or less security or flexibility, and more complex measures which detailed the actual change in mode. For example a directional measure for benefit security indicated whether a transition resulted in greater or less security, while the more detailed measure indicated whether the change in benefit security was enabled by a transition from fixed term to permanent employment, casual to permanent employment, or fixed term to casual employment.

As discussed earlier in both chapters 4 and 6, selecting the appropriate number of clusters to be used for analysis is largely a subjective process. A balance between the number of cluster groups and the coverage or number of cases within each group is needed in order to minimise the number of small clusters while maximising the diversity in each group's characteristics (Norusis, 2011). With this aim in mind the clustering of transition patterns was an iterative process of running the clustering procedure repeatedly, increasing the number of clusters to be formed in each run.

Again, as in the analysis described in Chapter 6, two stage cluster analysis using the log likelihood criterion was used with the initial analysis run set to enable the algorithm to compute the appropriate number of clusters based on the Schwarz Bayesian criterion (BIC)

and the change in BIC. This criterion identifies the appropriate number of clusters based on where BIC and the change in BIC are small (Norusis, 2011). This initial pass of the data resulted in transitions being clustered into 4 basic transition patterns. The clustering procedure was then repeated four times with each successive algorithm increasing the number of cluster groups by one.

Table 7.3 Comparison of Cluster Models

Cluster Model	Number of Clusters	Divisions between Clusters – Differences to Model A
A	4	Clusters divided based on access to care flexibility and care security.
B	5	2 nd cluster divided based on access to working time security and working time flexibility.
C	6	1 st cluster divided based on access to working time flexibility
D	7	4 th cluster divided based on access to benefit security
E	8	3 rd cluster divided based on changed in employment contract ie changed employment contract/ did not change employment contract

A comparison of the results from the cluster analyses, is tabled below in Table 7.2. Five different clustering patterns were compared. The initial clustering pattern, Model A, grouped transitions into 4 basic patterns while the last clustering pattern, Model E, grouped transitions into 8 basic patterns. The structural differences in cluster groupings between each analysis were minimal. The basic transition characteristics between each cluster group did not vary between models. Each successive model simply subdivided one of the original cluster groupings from Model A.

7.3.3 Typology of Trades

Each of the six clusters identified a common pattern of transitions across the six dimensions of employment, although not all transitions within each cluster were uniform. For example in some clusters transitions between full and part-time employment or casual and permanent employment were more likely to occur than in other clusters, but not all transitions made this pattern of change. For each transition pattern a typology of the trades between flexibility and security was developed that described the likelihood of a particular transition occurring for each navigational pathway. Developing the typology of trades associated with these transitions involved mapping the extent or likelihood of particular outcomes occurring - that is, whether flexibility or security was accessed or not. Outcomes were specified for each dimension of employment change and these outcomes are listed in Table 7.4. With each change in employment there is the potential to access, or retain access

to, working time flexibility, working time security, working time mobility, benefit security, care flexibility, care security and/ or care regularity. However there is also the potential to lose occupational security, employment security, and care regularity for security (and thus access care irregularity).

Table 7.4 Table of Outcomes

Dimension of Change	Outcome
Occupational Security	Occupational Exclusion – change to an occupation of lower socioeconomic status
Employment Security	Break in Employment during the Transition
Working Time Flexibility	Worked Part-Time, either Short or Participatory Part-Time Modes
Working Time Security	Worked Full-Time, either Standard Full-Time, Long or Very Long Hours Modes
Working Time Mobility	Able to change between full and part-time employment
Benefit Security	Worked in Permanent Employment
Care Security	Worked a Regular Daytime Shift
Care Regularity	Worked either a Regular Daytime Shift or a Regular Shift
Care Irregularity	Worked an Irregular Shift
Care Flexibility	Worked from Home

For each transition the extent to which a particular outcome occurred, such as access to part-time employment, was first assessed. The trade associated with this transition, for example working time flexibility, was then classified according to the criteria listed in Table 7.5 below. Trades were classified as either: forfeited, constrained, risked or enabled. The use of these terms was based on the percentage of transitions in which each outcome was accessed *or* retained.

Table 7.5 Classification of Trades

Criteria	Classification
10% or less of transitions accessed or retained... then access was	Forfeited
11 - 30% of transitions accessed or retained... then access was	Constrained
31 – 50% of transitions accessed or retained... then access was	Risked
51% or more transitions accessed or retained... then access was	Enabled

For example in the navigational pathway of forfeiting flexibility for security, only seven percent of transitions resulted in women working part-time, therefore working time

flexibility was classified as being *forfeited*, as less than ten percent of transitions accessed working time flexibility while utilising this particular navigational path. Whether women were working part-time prior to transition and therefore gave up working part-time during the transition or not, is not important to the classification of the trade being forfeited. What is important is that very few women managed to work part-time at any stage during the transition. In comparison, 93 percent of transitions resulted in women working full-time and thus accessing working time security. As the percentage of transitions which accessed working time security was 51 percent or more working time security was classified as being *enabled*.

7.4 Navigational Pathways

The pathways modelled in this chapter illustrate the different combinations of transitions and trades made by women in the sample. These differences are listed in Tables 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8. The next section briefly describes these transitions and trades, highlighting the key differences among the navigational pathways. I then follow with a brief overview of the key differences in who used each pathway within the sample, mother or other, and occupational differences in where these trades are made. In highlighting these differences I make two important points. Firstly, motherhood creates a demand for flexibility that extends beyond a child's first few years of life, and how mothers meet this need varies over the course of motherhood. Secondly, how mothers are able to meet and manage the need for flexibility over the course of motherhood is constrained by occupational shape.

7.4.1 The Transitions and Trades of Women

The analysis starts with all women in the sample, in order to draw a contrast with mothers and show the navigational impact of motherhood and motherhood stage. When the women, sampled from the HILDA dataset, changed their employment they made one of six basic patterns of trades which varied in terms of flexibility and risks to security. The trades and the transitions on which these pathways are based are listed in Table 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8. In Table 7.7, *forfeiting flexibility for security* is summarised as a pathway in which access to occupational, employment, working time, benefit and care security was enabled, although access to working time and care flexibility was forfeited, and access to working time mobility was constrained. 19 percent of transitions *forfeited flexibility for security*. 15 percent of women experienced *constrained flexibility*. For these women, access to working time flexibility was constrained rather than forfeited but access to care flexibility was enabled, allowing women to utilise alternative means to access flexibility to enable care. 10

percent of women *risked both flexibility and security*. Women who utilised this navigational pathway risked access to both working time flexibility and benefit security, although access to care flexibility was enabled. 16 percent of women made transitions which *risked working time security for mobility*. The trades made in this pathway enabled working time flexibility but risked working time security. The last two types of navigational pathways both risked security for flexibility. In *risking security for flexibility* women's access to working time flexibility was enabled but access to working time security, benefit and care security was placed at risk. In contrast, in *risking benefit security for flexibility* access to working time security was enabled and access to working time security was constrained while access to benefit security was placed at risk.

The discussion which follows describes the differences among these pathways, focusing on the differences in the transitions made and highlighting the differences in trades between flexibility and security that these transitions enabled. The discussion makes reference to three tables. Table 7.7, which has already been introduced, summarises the main trades between flexibility and security embodied within each navigational path. Tables 7.8 and 7.9 summarise the transitions made by women within the sample on which these navigational paths were based. A complete distribution of women across the different types of transitions can be found tabled in Appendix C.

7.4.1.1 Forfeiting Flexibility for Security

Women who *forfeited flexibility for security* forfeited access to both working time and care flexibility while retaining or accessing occupational, employment, working time, benefit and care security. Only 7 percent of women in this group were able to make transitions where they accessed or retained part-time employment. In addition no women made transitions where they at any stage worked from home. The majority of women, 93 percent, made transitions where they accessed or retained full-time employment, either standard full-time long or very long working hours. This in combination with the lack of access to part-time work under this navigational pathway, meant that working time mobility was constrained. Only 16 per cent of transitions enabled a change between full and part-time employment. However access to benefit security and care security was enabled. All transitions made under this navigational path enabled access or retention of permanent employment and a regular daytime work schedule. In general both occupational security and continuous employment participation were enabled by all types of trades, although women who

Table 7.6 Model of Trades

Model of Trades	Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	Constrained Flexibility	Risking Flexibility & Security	Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	Risking Security for Flexibility	Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility
N of Transitions	1340	998	700	1108	1467	1342
% Total Transitions	19%	15%	10%	16%	21%	19%
Occupational Security	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled
Employment Security	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled
Working Time Flexibility	Forfeited	Constrained	Risked	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled
Working Time Security	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Risked	Risked	Constrained
Working Time Mobility	Constrained	Constrained	Constrained	Constrained	Constrained	Constrained
Benefit Security	Enabled	Enabled	Risked	Enabled	Risked	Risked
Care Security	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Risked	Enabled
Care Regularity	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled	Enabled
Care Irregularity	Forfeited	Forfeited	Constrained	Forfeited	Constrained	Forfeited
Care Flexibility	Forfeited	Enabled	Enabled	Forfeited	Forfeited	Forfeited

Highlighted cells indicate that the variable on which the trade is based was insignificant to the development of the model.

Table 7.7 Patterns of Transitions

Model of Trades	Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	Constrained Flexibility	Risking Flexibility & Security	Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	Risking Security for Flexibility	Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility
N of Transitions	1340	998	700	1108	1467	1342
% Total Transitions	19%	15%	10%	16%	21%	19%
Occupational Transition	36% Excluded	24% Excluded	23% Excluded	25% Excluded	22% Excluded	31% Excluded
Employment Participation	1% Break	3% Break	7% Break	7% Break	7% Break	10% Break
Working Time Flexibility	7% Access or Retain Part-time Employment	29% Access or Retain Part-time Employment	49% Access or Retain Part-time Employment	51% Access or Retain Part-time Employment	69% Access or Retain Part-time Employment	79% Access or Retain Part-time Employment
Working Time Security	93% Access or Retain Full-time Employment	71% Access or Retain Full-time Employment	52% Access or Retain Full-time Employment	49% Access or Retain Full-time Modes of Employment	31% Access or Retain Full-time Modes of Employment	21% Access or Retain Full-time Modes of Employment
Working Time Mobility	16% Change between Part and Full-time Employment	15% Change between Part and Full-time Employment	24 % Change between Part and Full-time Employment	24 % Change between Part and Full-time Employment	20 % Change between Part and Full-time Employment	15 % Change between Part and Full-time Employment
Benefit Security	100% Access or Retain Permanent Employment	86% Access or Retain Permanent Employment	50% Access or Retain Permanent Employment	54% Access or Retain Permanent Employment	46% Access or Retain Permanent Employment	44% Access or Retain Permanent Employment

Source: HILDA 2001-2005, All women

Highlighted cells indicate that the variable was insignificant to the development of the model.

Table 7.7 Patterns of Transitions (continued)

Model of Trades	Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	Constrained Flexibility	Risking Flexibility & Security	Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	Risking Security for Flexibility	Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility
N	1340	998	700	1108	1467	1342
% Total Transitions	19%	15%	10%	16%	21%	19%
Care Security	100% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift	93% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift	73% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift	81% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift	44% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift	62% Access or Retain a Regular Day Shift
Care Regularity	0% Access or Retain a Regular Shift	2% Access or Retain a Regular Shift	9% Access or Retain a Regular Shift	15% Access or Retain a Regular Shift	30% Access or Retain a Regular Shift	31% Access or Retain a Regular Shift
Care Irregularity	0% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift	5% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift	18% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift	3% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift	26% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift	7% Access or Retain an Irregular Shift
Care Flexibility	100% Never Worked from Home	78% Access of Retain Ability to Work from Home	73% Access or Retain Ability to Work from Home	100% Never Worked from Home	100% Never Worked from Home	100% Never Worked from Home

Source: HILDA, all women, 2001-2005

Highlighted cells indicate that the variable was insignificant to the development of the model.

forfeited flexibility for security were less likely to take an employment break and more likely to experience occupational exclusion than women utilising other navigational pathways.

Overall this pattern of trades represents a poor set of outcomes for women engaged in active motherhood. In general terms, flexibility cannot be accessed to help balance the needs of paid employment and unpaid care, but security is enabled. However, higher rates of occupational exclusion and continuous employment participation suggest that the cost of retaining security is high. It is unlikely that this pattern of trades will appeal to mothers. Only where concern for security is paramount, in particular occupational security, and flexibility is low, are women likely to utilise this navigational pathway.

7.4.1.2 Constrained Flexibility

The pathway of *constrained flexibility* involved the enablement of access to care flexibility in compensation for constrained access to working time flexibility. Only 29 percent of trades involved employed women accessing or retaining part-time employment, however 78 percent of women were able to take work home from the office. For women *utilising constrained flexibility* their main means of accessing flexibility was through the portability of work, enabling them to work additional hours from home rather than reducing their overall hours to part-time employment. The access to flexi-place employment compensated for limited working time mobility. Access to working time mobility was constrained as only 15 percent of transitions enabled changes between part and full-time employment. However access to *constrained flexibility* came with a small but increased risk to security. Benefit security was enabled in 86 percent of transitions, care security was enabled in 93 percent of transitions, and working time security was enabled in 71 percent of transitions. While the rates of retaining security were high they were lower than those experienced by employed women who *forfeited flexibility for security*. However employed women experiencing *constrained flexibility* were less likely to put occupational security at risk. Only 24 percent of transitions resulted in occupational exclusion. In addition, employed women experiencing *constrained flexibility* were unlikely to take an employment break, with only 3 percent of women taking a break from employment during their transition.

Overall, this pattern of transitions represented a better set of trade outcomes for working mothers than *forfeiting flexibility for security*. Lack of access to working time flexibility could be compensated for through the enablement of access to care flexibility. This type of trade would enable mothers to combine work and care simultaneously rather than stagger the needs of work and care using part-time employment. However this form of flexibility may not suit all mothers. Mothers of preschool children and primary school children may

find it particularly difficult to combine work and care simultaneously, due to the higher demands for supervision of children at these ages. In addition, *constrained flexibility* may not be a suitable navigational path in all occupations. Not all work is portable and this may in turn limit access to this pathway.

7.4.1.3 Risking Security and Flexibility

Transitions made on the navigational pathway of *risking both security and flexibility* risked access to both part-time and permanent employment but access to other forms of security and flexibility were enabled in trade. Only 49 percent of transitions enabled or retained access to part-time employment placing access to working time flexibility at risk, while 51 percent of transitions enabled or retained access to full-time employment, enabling working time security. While employed women appeared to be able to access both full and part-time employment, only 24 percent of transitions involved women changing between full and part-time employment and thus access to working time mobility was constrained. In addition, employed women who utilised this navigational pathway risked access to benefit security. Only 50 percent of transitions enabled or retained access to permanent employment. In contrast access to care flexibility and care security were enabled. 73 percent of transitions enabled access to flexi-place employment where employed women could work, in part, from home. Similarly, 73 percent of transitions enabled or retained access to a regular daytime shift schedule that would allow for care security.

While these trades place access to traditional forms of security and flexibility at risk, some employed women may be partly compensated for this by the ability to access care flexibility and care security, thus making this navigational path an attractive trade option for working mothers. However like, *constrained flexibility*, this form of trade may appeal more to women who are experiencing a particular motherhood stage that allows them to combine work and care simultaneously. In addition the problems of occupational access remain. Flexi-place employment may not be feasible for certain occupations and therefore the opportunity of accessing this particular navigational pathway may be limited.

7.4.1.4 Risking Working Time Security for Mobility

Risking security for working time mobility entailed trading employment security for constrained working time mobility. 24 percent of transitions enabled changes between full and part-time employment. Access to working time flexibility was enabled with 51 percent of transitions accessing or retaining access to part-time employment. While access to working time security was placed at risk with only 49 percent of transitions accessing or retaining access to full-time employment. Access to part-time work was the only means of

women accessing flexibility utilising this navigational pathway. No transitions occurred where employed women accessed flexi-place employment indicating that care flexibility was forfeited in trade. In addition, access to security was enabled. Access to care security was enabled with 81 percent of transitions retaining or accessing a regular daytime shift schedule. Access to occupational security was also enabled with only 25 percent of transitions risking occupational exclusion. Access to benefit security was enabled as well, with 54 percent of women making transitions resulting in access to permanent employment. Overall, the navigational pathway of *risking working time security for working time mobility*, presents an interesting compromise in trades. While employed women were able to move between full and part-time modes of employment, access to part-time employment remained their only means of flexibility. For access to flexibility the only risk involved the loss of working time security. Care and benefit security were both enabled, although access to benefit security was greatly reduced. The greater mobility between full and part-time employment within this pathway accommodates employed women moving through motherhood, but the diminished capacity to enable benefit security means that many women could make the stereotypical trade of casual employment in return for access to part-time employment.

7.4.1.5 Risking Security for Flexibility

The navigational pathway of *risking security for flexibility* enabled working time flexibility as the only mechanism by which employed women utilising this path could access flexibility. 69 percent of transitions accessed or retained part-time employment thus enabling working time flexibility. 20 percent of transitions involved transitions between full and part-time employment thus enabling constrained access to working time mobility. However in accessing working time flexibility both care, benefit and working time security were put at risk. 44 percent of trades accessed or retained a regular daytime shift placing care security at risk while a further 30 percent accessed regular shift work. This combination of transitions meant that at best, only care regularity was enabled. 46 percent of trades accessed or retained access to permanent employment meaning that benefit security was also placed at risk. On the other hand only 21 percent of transitions accessed or retained access to full-time employment, thus working time security was placed at risk.

Overall, the navigational pathway of *risking care security for flexibility* enabled flexibility for time to care, but access to all forms of security were risked in the process. Mothers attempting to utilise this pathway would be able to access time to care but could potentially lose benefit and working time security in the process. In addition the potential loss of access to care security can create difficulties in arranging alternative care, particularly

where children are not yet attending school. As a result, mothers are most likely to utilise this navigational path either as a last resort or where accessing alternative care is not problematic.

7.4.1.6 Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility

The navigational pathway of *risking employment security for flexibility* also enabled working time flexibility as the only mechanism by which employed women could access flexibility. In exchange for access to part-time work employed women who made these transitions were also able to access care security, but access to working time security was constrained and access to benefit security was placed at risk. In 79 percent of transitions employed women were able to access or retain access to part-time employment, however no transitions were made which enabled women to work from home. 62 percent of transitions enabled access to employment on a regular day time schedule, while a further 31 percent enabled access to employment on a regular shift schedule. In comparison to *risking security for flexibility* access to working time security was enabled and the risk of care irregularity was minimal. However, only 44 percent of transitions enabled access to permanent employment, placing benefit security at risk. Further access to working time mobility and working time security were constrained. Only 21 percent of transitions accessed or retained access to full-time employment and only 15 percent of transitions enabled change between full and part-time employment.

Overall the navigational pathway of *risking benefit security for flexibility* presents mothers with a poor set of trades. While mothers were able to access working time flexibility they risked trading benefit security for time to care. The only consolation in this trade is that unlike women who *risk security for flexibility*, women who *risk benefit security for flexibility* are less likely to risk care security. This pattern of trades is likely to be preferred to *risking security for flexibility* by mothers in paid employment. *Risking benefit security for flexibility* still enables working time flexibility however the costs traded in access are less.

7.4.2 The Navigational Pathways Used by Mothers

While overall employed women used six different navigational paths, there were significant differences in path utilisation between groups of women. The pathways employed women used varied between life stages with differences between active mothers, non active mothers and women without any children (WoAC). However more importantly the use of navigational pathways varied according to motherhood stage with mothers of babies, preschoolers, primary school children and children in high school children each utilising different navigational paths in order to combine paid employment with unpaid care. These

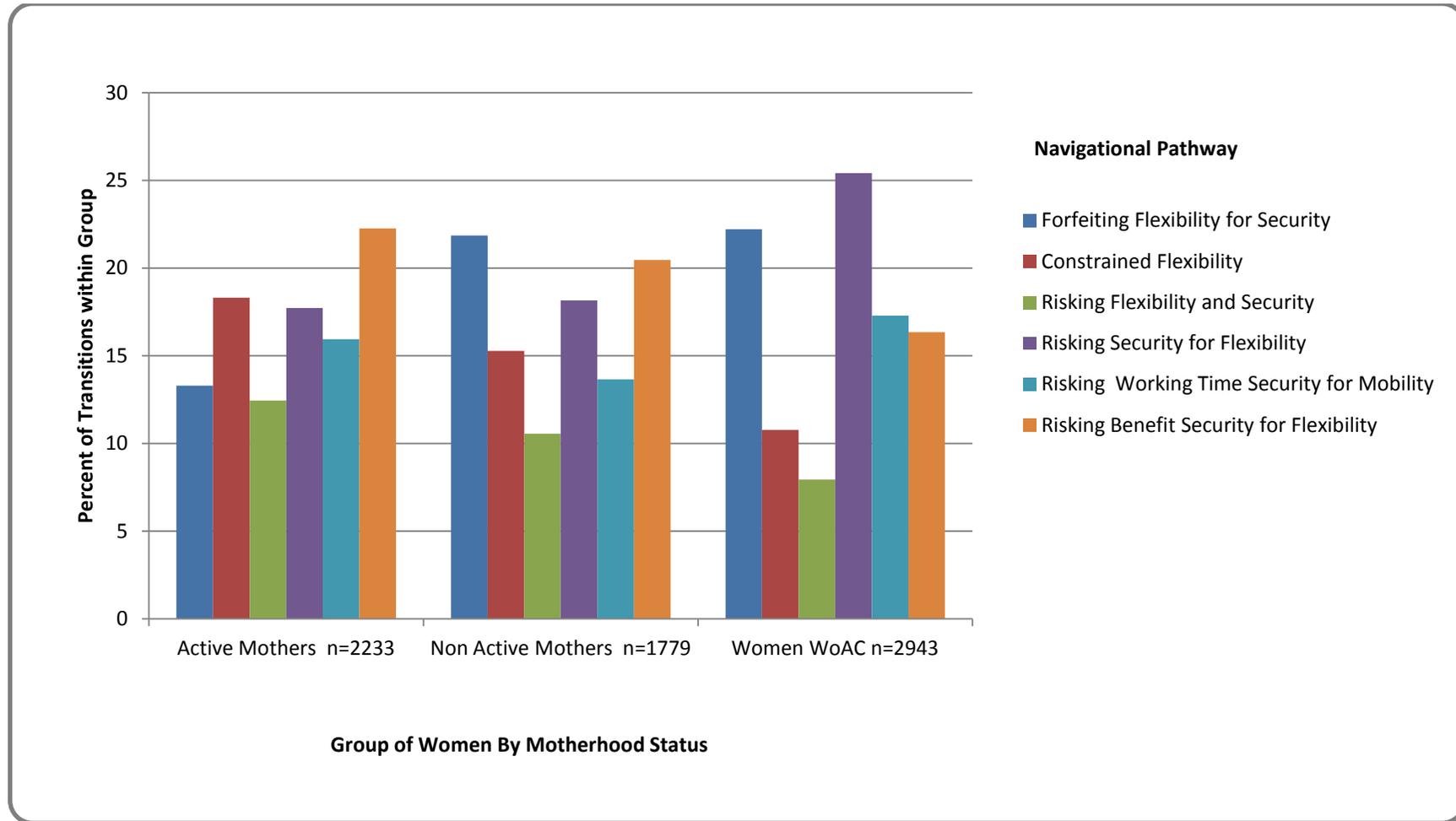
differences in the use of navigational pathways suggest that some pathways are more amenable than others in aiding in the combination of unpaid care and paid employment. However they also suggest that the flexibility needs of mothers alter over the course of motherhood, and that these needs can perhaps be accommodated differently in the labour market.

The differences in the navigational pathways utilised by mothers are illustrated in Figure 7.1. Significant differences were found in the types of navigational paths used by active mothers, non-active mothers and women WoAC (chi square 113.871, contingency coefficient 0.139, $p \leq 0.0005$).

Active mothers were most likely to utilise the pathways that both non-active mothers and non-mothers did not. Active mothers were most likely to *risk benefit security for mobility*, 22 percent, *risk security for flexibility*, 18 percent, or experience *constrained flexibility*, 18 percent. Unsurprisingly accessing some form of flexibility is important to mothers. *Risking working time security for mobility* and *risking security for flexibility* enabled access to part-time employment, while *constrained flexibility* enabled constrained access to part-time employment but enabled access to care flexibility where work could be taken home from the office. Although utilising the pathway of *constrained flexibility* did not penalise mothers with a loss of security, active mothers were more likely to utilise the pathways where such a loss could occur. In utilising the pathway of *risking benefit security for flexibility*, active mothers potentially risked access to benefit security while their access to working time security was constrained. In addition, through utilising the pathway of *risking security for flexibility*, active mothers placed at risk loss of benefit, care and working time security.

In comparison, the two main types of pathways used by women WoAC were *forfeiting flexibility for security*, 22 percent, and *risking security for flexibility*, 25 percent. Women WoAC do not necessarily seek out access to flexibility when they change their employment. However because women WoAC are more likely to be young women perhaps combining paid employment with education, their use of the navigational path of *risking security for flexibility* is not surprising. In contrast non active mothers made slightly different trades. Non active mothers were also most likely to *forfeit flexibility for security*, 22 percent, but they are also likely to *risk benefit security for flexibility*, 20 percent. Once again, this group of women were accessing working time flexibility when it might not necessarily have been for reasons of childcare. Possible reasons for this may be that these women were still likely to be involved in care provision, just not necessarily involved in care provision for children.

Figure 7.1 Navigational Paths used by Women, by Motherhood Status, 2001 - 2005

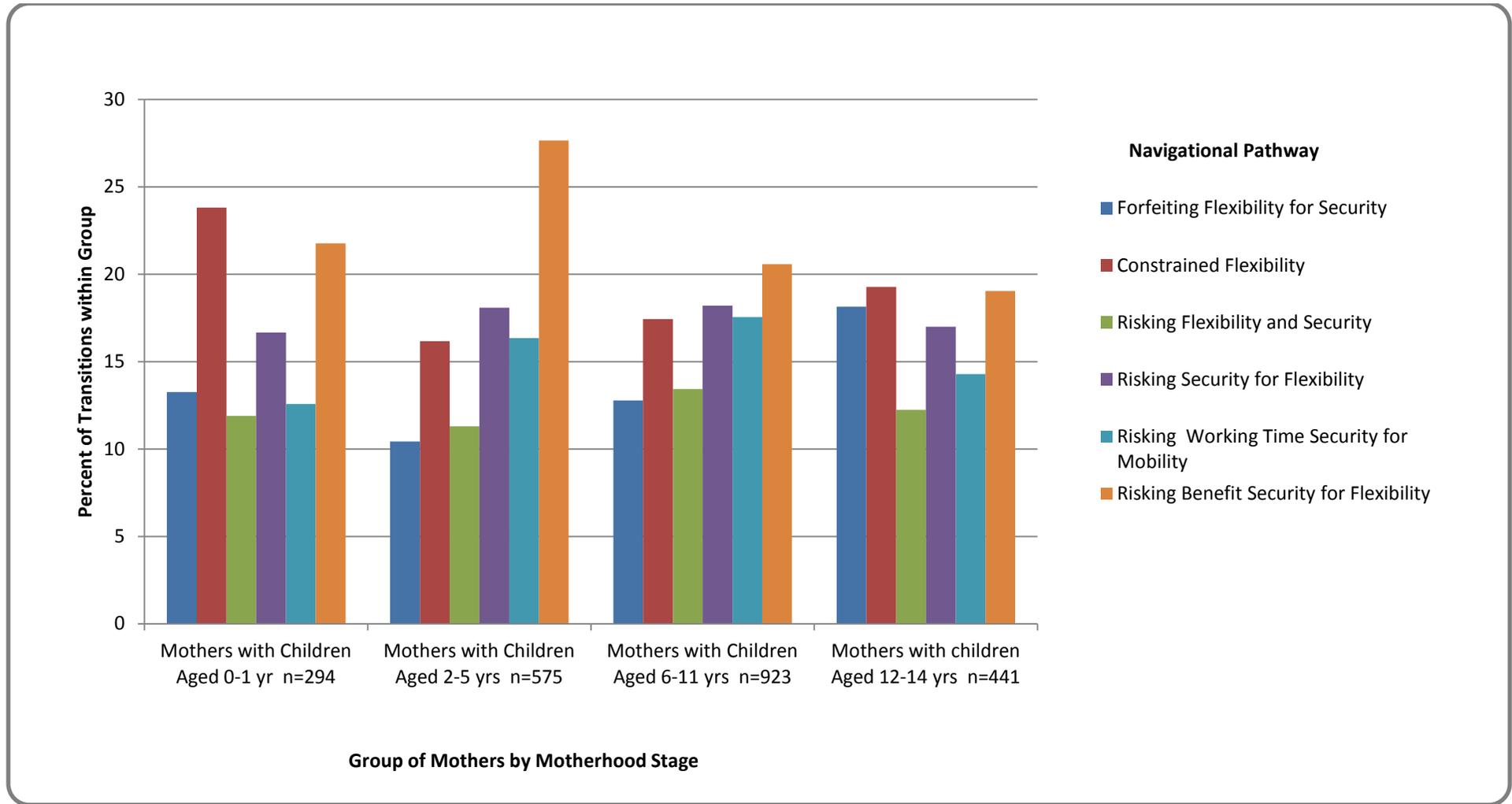


Also the use of this particular navigational pathway may have more to do with the occupations in which it is made available. This will be explored later in the chapter.

In addition to these differences in the use of navigational pathways between employed women of different motherhood status, employed mothers also utilised different pathways depending on the stage of motherhood they were experiencing. These differences are likely related to the changing care needs of children as they grow and develop, but they may also be related to the availability of alternative care. For example, children in high school and primary school are in the care of the school system for large parts of the day, five days a week, while preschool children may not necessarily be in preschool or day care every week day, and child care rates for babies are much higher due to the greater intensity of labour required in their care, thus making accessing alternative care more difficult. However babies also sleep more than older children and this can make it easier for women to combine work and care simultaneously as their requirements for supervision may be less. The same can be said for high school children: as children age they are gradually taught to become more responsible, thus less supervision may also be necessary for these children particularly in comparison to preschoolers and primary school children. Because of the importance of the initial transition across first childbirth, many studies on the employment of mothers have focused on mothers with babies or children of preschool age (see for example, Baird and Charlesworth, 2007) but the impacts of juggling work commitments around the care of older children and school routines has been less often discussed (but see for example Waldfogel, 2006).

The use of navigational pathways by employed mothers at different stages of mothering, illustrated in Figure 7.2, suggests that how mothers attempt to navigate the combination of care with paid employment alters as their families mature. Different navigational pathways were used by employed mothers depending on their motherhood stage (chi square 35.424, contingency coefficient 0.125, $p = 0.002$). *Risking benefit security for flexibility* remained a common navigational pathway used by all groups of mothers. This pathway presented one of the poorer trades, where working time flexibility could be accessed but at the risk of losing the security of employment benefits such as sick and holiday leave. I hypothesise that a mother's use of this particular navigational pathway is related to the occupation in which she is employed. Mothers employed in occupations with an employment shape of casual part-time employment would be most likely to make this type of trade. However the other two main navigational pathways used by mothers, *constrained flexibility* and *risking security for flexibility*, varied depending on stage of motherhood. Mothers of babies were highly likely to use the pathway of *constrained flexibility*, 24 percent. *Constrained flexibility* would

Figure 7.2 Navigational Paths used by Mothers, by Motherhood Stage, 2001 - 2005



enable mothers of babies to utilise either working time flexibility or care flexibility to manage their need for care without risking access to security. In particular, care flexibility can be accessed as the supervisory demands for the care of babies may allow women to work effectively either in full or in part from home. The ability of mothers to utilise the pathway of constrained flexibility decreased as children entered their preschool years but then began to rise again as children moved through school.

Risking security for flexibility was another common path utilised by mothers across all stages of motherhood, varying between 17 and 18 percent of mothers within each group. This pathway presented the worst trade for accessing working time flexibility with mothers risking access to full-time employment, employment benefits such as sick and holiday leave and access to a regular day time work schedule. In contrast *risking working time security for mobility* presented a better trade. The navigational pathway of *risking working time security for mobility* enabled access to part-time work with constrained mobility to access full-time employment, however access to both employment benefits and a regular daytime work schedule were retained. This navigational pathway was not utilised to a great extent by employed mothers with babies or high school children but was more likely to be used by mothers with either preschool children or primary school children. For these groups of mothers the need for the flexibility of part-time work diminishes as their families mature and move back the security of full-time work becomes paramount. However by *risking working time security for mobility*, a mother's ability to access full-time work may be placed at risk. The final point to note is the use of *forfeiting flexibility for security* by mothers of high school children. As stated earlier a mother's need for working time flexibility may diminish when their children enter high school making them more likely to seek a return to full-time employment. 18 percent of employed mothers with high school children made transitions which forfeited flexibility for security. In using this pathway mothers forfeited access flexibility, both to part-time work and flexi-place employment but retained access to security.

7.4.3 The Relationship between Navigational Pathways and the Shape of Employment

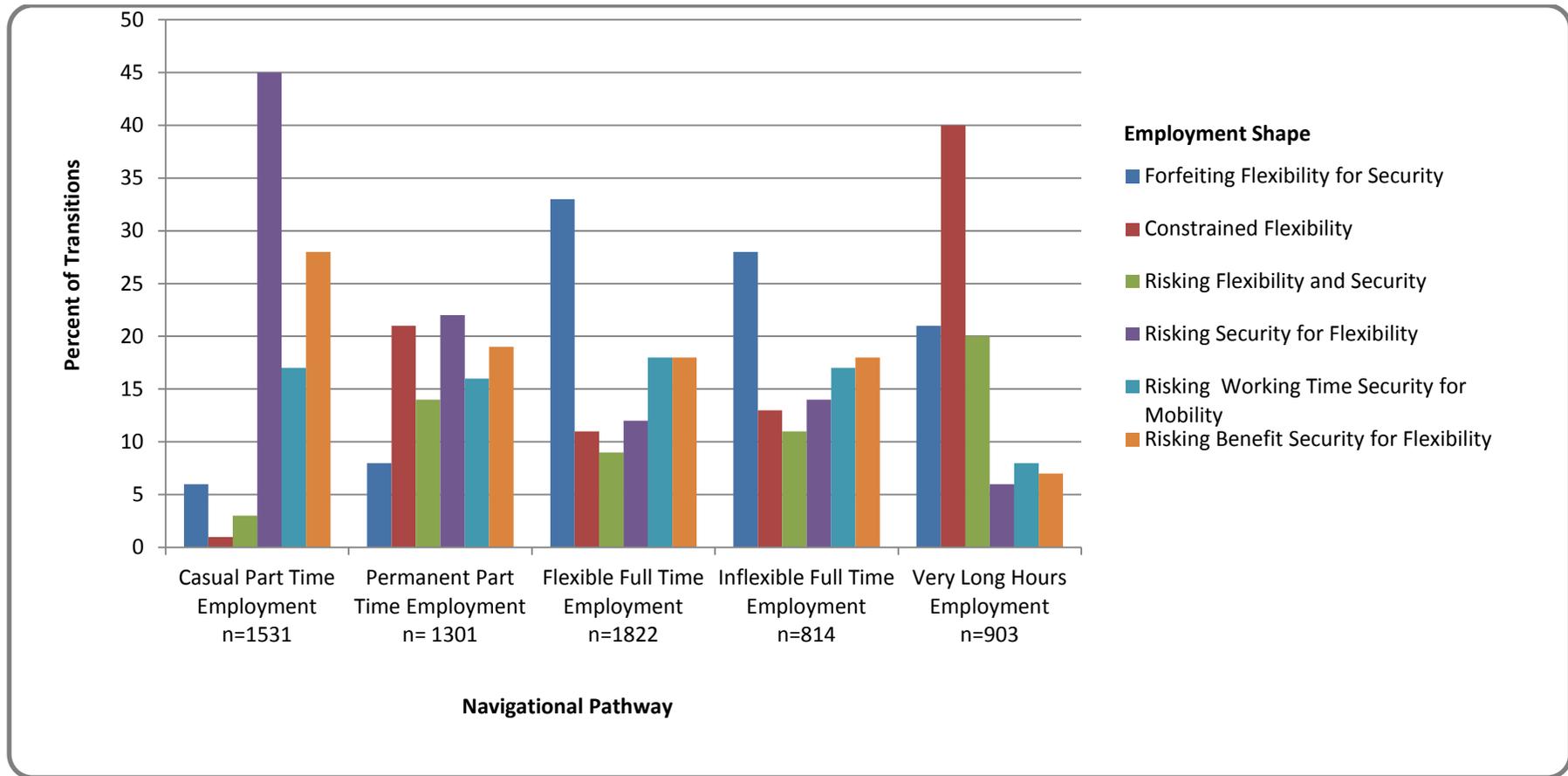
While employed women used different navigational paths depending on their motherhood status or motherhood stage, women's access to navigational pathways also varied substantially depending on the shape of employment (chi square 1905.145, contingency coefficient 0.480, $p < 0.0005$). Figure 7.3 demonstrates these differences quite clearly illustrating the differences in path utilisation by the shape of employment for the occupation

in which women were employed prior to transition. From this table it can easily be seen that a woman's occupational starting point can have a large impact on the type of trade available to her. While a woman's status and stage of motherhood may drive her need for flexibility how she is able to meet and manage this need is enabled or constrained by the occupational norms which shape her employment.

For women employed in casual part-time employment the main navigational pathway used was *risking security for flexibility*, 45 percent. Risking security for flexibility enabled access to part-time employment but placed access to full-time employment at risk. In addition access to benefits attached to permanent employment and the security of regular daytime work scheduling were also placed at risk. That the use of this pathway is so prevalent within occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment is not surprising. Occupations based on the casual part-time model had strong norms of casual employment, and weak norms of regular day time work scheduling and participatory part-time or short hours employment, however the majority of employment was available part-time. The combination of these norms enable access to working time flexibility but constrain access to security, both benefit and care security. The result is to leave women who wish to continue employment within such occupations with little option but to continue to *risk security for flexibility*. For similar reasons risking benefit security for flexibility was the second most likely navigational path to be used for women employed in occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment. However women who risk benefit security for flexibility were able to find ways to minimise the overall risk to security that they experienced. In risking benefit security for flexibility these women managed to access a regular work day, thus enabling their access to care security.

In contrast women employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment utilised a more varied range of navigational pathways. Women employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model were most likely to utilise pathways of *risking security for flexibility*, *constrained flexibility* and *risking benefit security for flexibility*. The occupational norms for the permanent part-time model of employment were weak norms of part-time employment, strong norms for permanent employment and regular work day schedule, and a mix of norms with regard to the use of flexi-place employment. This combination of norms enables access to part-time employment and thus working time flexibility which is a key component in the navigational paths of *risking security for flexibility*, *constrained flexibility*, and *risking benefit security for flexibility*. Strong norms of permanent employment within the model decrease the proportion of women who risk access to benefit security and thus substantially less women risk security

Figure 7.3 Navigational Paths used by Women, by Shape of Employment, 2001 - 2005



for flexibility. In addition both strong norms for permanent employment and norms which enable a moderate degree of access to flexi-place employment enable the use of constrained flexibility.

Under both the flexible full-time model of employment and the inflexible full-time model of employment women were most likely to utilise the navigational pathway of forfeiting flexibility for security. There was very little difference between the navigational pathways used by women employed in occupations based on these two models of employment. The lack of difference in the use of navigational paths between these two models of employment is not surprising. The only difference in occupational norms between the flexible full-time model and the inflexible full-time model was in the norm for working hours. In the flexible full-time model of employment the norms for full-time employment were weak however the norm for working hours that met the benchmark of at least 35 hours per week was also quite weak suggesting that alternative working hours were available in either part, long hours or very long hours employment. In comparison the norms for working hours in the inflexible full-time model of employment were also for full-time employment but very weak while the norm for working hours that met the benchmark of at least 35 hours per week was moderate. This suggested that while full-time employment was the norm a large proportion of employment was worked in either long or very long hours employment. These norms suggest that access to part-time work and thus working time flexibility is limited and therefore the majority of trades made involve forfeiting flexibility and security.

In contrast, transitions made in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment mainly utilised the navigational pathway of *constrained flexibility*. The occupational norms of very long hours employment enabled security, particularly benefit security through access to a permanent employment contract, care security through moderate norms of regular daytime work schedule, and working time security through a weak norm of very long working hours. Flexibility was also enabled through weak norms of flexi-place employment which enabled the portability of work. A moderate norm for employment where hours were worked above the benchmark of 35 hours per week thus did not enable access to part-time work although it did allow working time flexibility, enabling women to reduce very long working hours to full-time. It is the combination of these norms which enables *constrained flexibility* to be used as a navigational pathway for occupations based on the very long hours model of employment. *Constrained flexibility* enables security however access to flexibility can be secured either through access to care flexibility and access to flexi-place employment or constrained access to working time flexibility can be enabled through limited access to part-time employment.

7.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to illustrate the types of transitions and trades that were made by women who participated in the HILDA survey, between 2001 and 2005. Six different navigational pathways were classified, and for each of these pathways the transitions and trades between flexibility and security were outlined. The common trades of exchanging benefit security to access working time flexibility and retaining benefit security by forfeiting working time flexibility are well known. However the inclusion of additional mechanisms for both flexibility and security into the analysis has revealed the wider variety of transitions and trades that women make over the life course, particularly over the course of motherhood. Key insights include the following three. A lack of working time flexibility can be compensated for through accessing flexi-place employment. Working time mobility between part and full-time employment is an important enabler of employment transitions in the latter stages of motherhood. Access to benefit security can be enabled or risked, but the additional loss of care security may be of even greater concern to mothers as they seek to balance the needs of paid employment and unpaid care.

The classification of transitions and trades across a wider framework of mechanisms for flexibility and security enables a more nuanced insight into women's employment transitions over the life course. Yet, this classification also enables a potentially greater insight into how mothers utilise these trades over the course of motherhood, and how women's utilisation of trades can vary depending on the shape of their employment. For mothers the conflux of trade preferences over the course of motherhood and the trades which their occupation can enable are predictive of the differences in employment outcomes of Australian women. This conflux and its impact on how mothers participate in employment in the Australian labour market will be examined in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

Navigation – Constrained Choices

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 identified the employment pathways available to Australian women, including mothers. This chapter examines the way in which, between 2001 and 2005, a sample of Australian mothers navigated their employment whilst ‘actively’ caring for children aged under 16. In this, it seeks to answer the call by Scott et al. (2010) to move from analysing patterns to analysing processes. Navigation is the process of selecting an employment pathway, a pattern of transitions that enables labour market attachment to be maintained over the course of motherhood.

In Chapter 6, five key employment shapes were outlined: *casual part-time employment*, *permanent part-time employment*, *flexible full-time employment*, *inflexible full-time employment* and *very long hours employment*. The chapter focused on defining the package of occupational norms for each of these shapes and modelling the enablements and constraints on flexibility and security which were embodied within them. For working mothers each of these models of employment outlined a specific set of likely transitions and trades between flexibility and security that mothers might make in their attempt to manage paid employment with unpaid care over the course of motherhood. In chapter 7, I classified these transitions and trades into 6 basic navigational pathways: *Forfeiting Flexibility for Security*, *Constrained Flexibility*, *Risking Security and Flexibility*, *Risking Working Time Security for Working Time Mobility*, *Risking Security for Flexibility*, and *Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility*. I highlighted the potential differences in access to these navigational pathways both over the course of motherhood and also by employment shape. These differences in the patterns of access suggested two important predictions. First, mothers were likely to utilise different navigational paths at different points in time over the course of motherhood, and second that the pathways women were likely to utilise varied depending on their occupation.

Chapter 8 examines the occupationally-differentiated navigational paths actually utilised by the HILDA sample mothers between 2001 and 2005. It demonstrates that the process of navigation was indeed constrained by occupational accessibility. A mother’s options for accommodating the needs of care, the transitions and trades between security and flexibility that she could utilise, were constrained by the shape of her employment - the pattern and

strength of norms embedded in her occupation. This analysis confirms that mothers' navigation patterns were based on different transitions and trades in occupations of different employment shape.

The chapter begins by reviewing the conceptual foundation of navigation as a process of constrained choice. Second the method for examining navigation is outlined. I explain the use of cross tabulations to establish the nature of the relationship between navigation and the employment shape as one of constraint. Third, I present the results of the analysis, illustrated by narratives of individual women's transitions. The concluding discussion highlights two important findings. First, the form of a mother's employment is constrained by the shape of employment inherent in her occupation. Secondly, the norms and strength of the norms, embedded within an occupation further constrain the capacity to meet and manage the need for care over the course of motherhood, The corollary is that where trades between flexibility and security lead mothers to seek out employment in occupations of a different shape, patterns of gender segmentation in the labour market are reproduced.

8.2 Navigation – Choice and Constraint

The central argument of this thesis is that, mothers' processes, of labour market navigation is one of constrained choice, based on employment. It is occupational patterns of constraint to labour market transitions that lead to the regeneration of patterns of gender segmentation. Mothers employed in occupations where they are unable to access flexibility are likely to seek to move to occupations where they can access flexibility with minimum penalty to security. However both if and how a mother might move are constrained by the shape of employment, by the package of occupational norms and their strength which define the limits of access to flexibility and security within her occupation.

Chapters 1-3 have established the importance of institutional context in shaping occupational norms. Vosko (2010) points out that in Australia, fewer than a one-third minority of part-time employees have secure contracts, whereas in many other nations a higher proportion of part-time jobs are secure and part-timers have the same or equivalent entitlements to social and labour protection as full-timers. Part-time employment can be both bridge and trap, the question of which depends on the occupation in which a mother is employed. Similarly part-time work can be of 'quality' or not, again the question of which depends on the occupation (Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008; Chalmers, Campbell, & Charlesworth, 2005; Lyonette, Baldauf, & Behle, 2010; Pocock, Buchanan, & Campbell, 2004a). In the Australian case the result is a veritable maze of possibilities which mothers in paid employment must navigate.

8.3 Examining Constraint

The focus of this chapter is to examine the occupational differences in the way a sample of mothers navigated their employment over the course of motherhood, the constraints on their choices by looking closely at the relationship between employment shape – the normative terms and conditions of employment embodied within an occupation, and patterns of mobility for mothers employed in 64 occupations from the HILDA survey between 2001 and 2005.

In order to illustrate how the process of navigation may be constrained and how this constraint may produce actions which in turn reproduce patterns of gender segmentation, I have utilised a case study approach to examine mothers' patterns of navigation in occupations from each employment shape. A study of five cases or instances are presented, one for each of the five basic employment shapes. Each study starts by reviewing the occupational norms embedded within the shape of employment and restating the hypotheses on how the package of norms embedded within the shape of employment might enable or constrain a mother's navigation.

These hypotheses are then tested through utilising chi square tests and the contingency coefficient to examine the relationship between the shape of employment and navigation, focusing both on the process of navigation, the pattern of transitions mothers make, and the outcomes of navigation both change (or not) in employment shape, and occupational mobility. Chi square tests and the contingency coefficient were used in preference to other methods of statistical analysis, as the aim of the analysis was illustrative rather than predictive.

By examining the relationship between employment shape and navigational pathways I illustrate concretely how occupational norms enable and constrain the transitions and trades between flexibility and security that mothers make as they seek to maintain their labour market attachment over the course of motherhood. By examining the interrelationships between employment shape, navigational pathways and both change in employment shape and occupational mobility, I illustrate how occupational constraint in the use of navigational pathways reproduces patterns of gender segmentation.

The impact of constraint on the process of navigation is examined in closer detail through the selection of both exemplar occupations and exemplar cases. Occupations with a relatively high concentration of mothers are selected from each employment shape to illustrate small variations in navigation between occupations. The five key employment shapes are models based on a statistical average for a common pattern of occupational

norms. Thus there are small variations in both norms and their strength between occupations of a common employment shape. The examination of selected occupations enables the subtle nuances of constraint to be explored emphasising the need for further research focusing on understanding occupational differences. From each of these occupations, navigational vignettes are drawn. Cases are drawn from the sample that illustrate how mothers navigate their labour market attachment using the main navigational pathways enabled by the shape of employment. The vignettes are used to illustrate the differences in both transitions and outcomes for mothers utilising different navigational pathways in the same occupation.

8.3.1 Measuring Constraint

Chapter 7 explained the measurement of navigational pathways, which summarise a pattern of transitions and trades across six dimensions of employment change: working hours, work scheduling, access to flexi-place employment, employment contract, occupational transition and employment participation over time.

In contrast the measures of change in employment shape and occupational mobility focus on employment outcomes. Change in employment shape measures three possible patterns of occupational mobility: change *to* an occupation with a different employment shape; change or remaining employed in an occupation with the same employment shape, or changed *from* an occupation with a different employment shape. Job mobility between and within employment shapes illustrated how the process of navigation reproduced gendered patterns of access to mechanisms of flexibility and security.

Similarly, occupational transitions also illustrate how the process of navigation may have reproduced patterns of gender concentration within occupations. Occupational transitions were classified according to changes in occupational socio-economic status, based on the ANU4 scale. Occupational mobility was classified into three basic patterns. Following the typology of O'Reilly and Fagan (1998), occupational *integration* was defined to occur when women made transitions to an occupation of higher socio-economic status, *maintenance* transitions were made where women/mothers stayed in the same occupation following a transition, and *exclusion* occurred where women made transitions to an occupation of lower socio-economic status.

8.4 Constrained Choices

Chapter 7 showed the three main paths used by mothers were *risking benefit security for flexibility*, *risking security for flexibility*, and *constrained flexibility*. Figure 8.1 illustrates quite clearly that mothers' choices of navigational pathway varied, and were constrained to varying degrees, depending on the shape of employment for their pre-transition.

Mothers employed in occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment were most likely to *risk security for flexibility*, 37 percent, or *risk benefit security for flexibility*, 29 percent, while only 3 percent of mothers were able to use the pathway of *constrained flexibility*. In contrast mothers employed in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment were highly likely to utilise the pathway of *constrained flexibility*, 49 percent, while relatively few mothers either *risked benefit security for flexibility*, 9 percent, or *risked security for flexibility*, 3 percent.

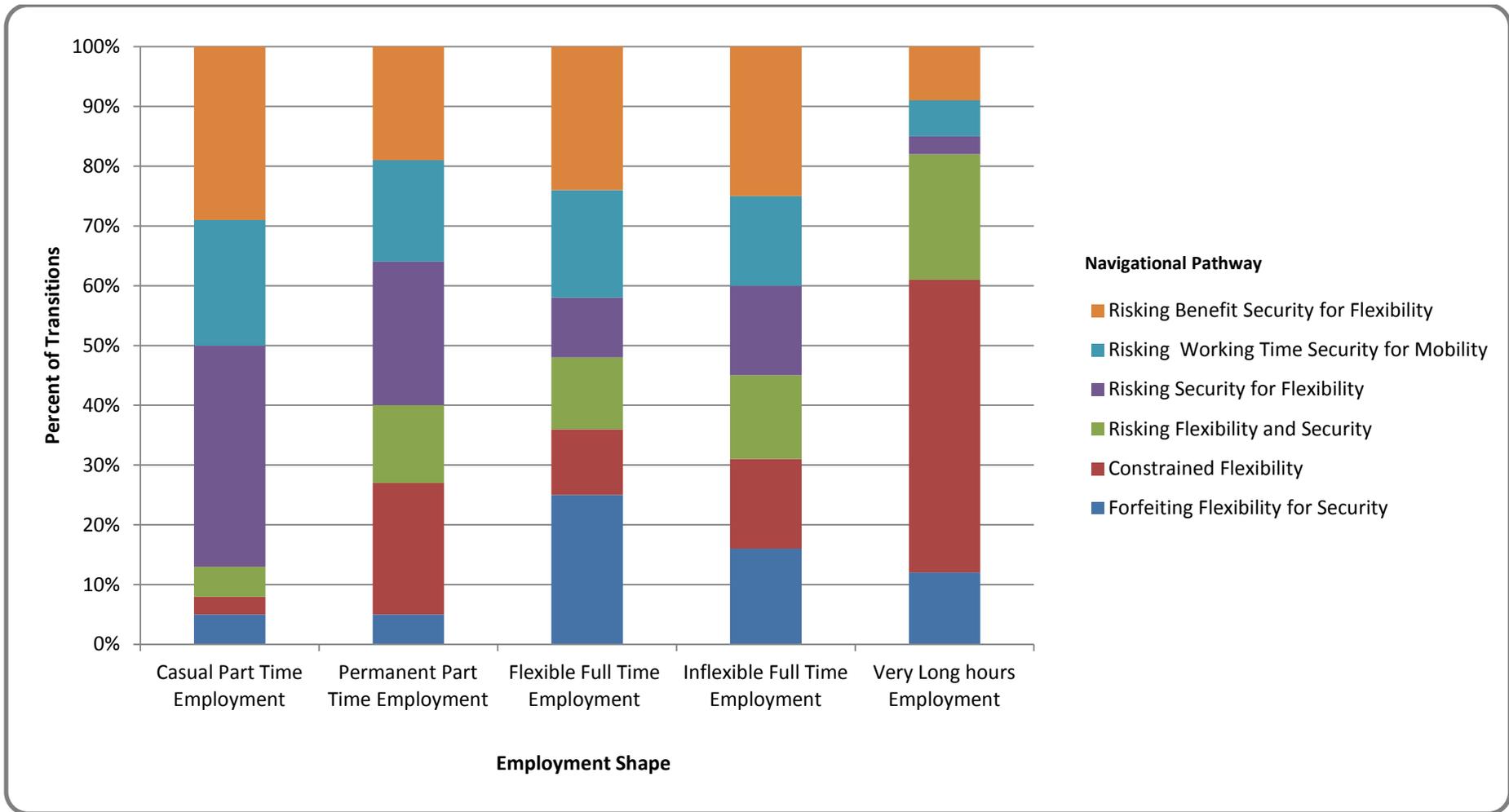
Different navigational pathways were utilised in occupations of different employment shape: *forfeiting flexibility for security*, whilst overall an unlikely trade for mothers, was most likely to occur in occupations based on the flexible full-time model, 25 percent. Similarly, *risking flexibility and security* was another trade that mothers were generally unlikely to make yet this trade was most likely in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment, 21 percent.

Lastly *risking security for working time mobility* occurred to a moderate extent across all occupations although this pattern of transitions and trades was least likely to occur in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment, 3 percent.

The analysis on the following pages explores these differences in greater detail, demonstrating how occupational accessibility constrains mothers' navigation of employment over the course of motherhood. For each model of employment I illustrate how the occupational norms embedded within the shape of employment enable and constrain access to mechanisms of flexibility and security for working mothers thus impacting on mothers' employment mobility and ultimately employment outcomes.

Whether part-time employment acted as bridge or a trap, whether mothers retained or changed their occupation, whether they accessed precarious employment, in short both whether and more importantly how mothers experienced disadvantage, depended on their occupation – specifically the package of norms and their strength embedded within the shape of employment.

Figure 8.1 Navigational Pathways by Employment Shape for Care-Active Mothers, 2001-2005



8.4.1 Navigating Casual Part-Time Employment

Occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment included those of generally low socio-economic status such as Cleaners, Sales Assistants and Waiters generally employed a high concentration of women but did not necessarily employ many mothers. It was shown in Chapter 7 that the 16 percent concentration of mothers amongst Sales Assistants coincided with the 15 percent average across the 64 occupations in this study, whereas the concentration of mothers amongst Cleaners was higher at 21 percent and lower (11 percent) amongst Checkout Operators and Cashiers.

These findings are broadly consistent with the Chapter 6 hypothesis, that the package of norms embedded within the casual part-time model of employment is not particularly appealing to mothers. Whilst casual employment provided access to working time flexibility, only Cleaners had the predictability of rosters that allowed care flexibility, even if not always during normal daytime working hours. For the most part access to full-time employment and working time security would be limited. Flexi-place employment was not available. While these occupations generally enabled flexibility they constrained access to security. Weak norms for regular work scheduling suggested that mothers could possibly lose access to care security and/or care regularity. While strong norms for casual employment suggested that the risk of losing access to benefit security was very high. For mothers employment navigation in occupations where norms were based on the casual part-time model of employment was potentially filled with risk. Mothers were likely to access flexibility but were highly likely to risk access to security in the process.

On examining the patterns of transitions that casually-employed mothers in the sample made between 2001 and 2005, it was found that mothers did risk security in order to access flexibility. Of the women sampled, 1653 transitions were made where women navigated employment access to occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment, either transitions where women stayed employed in occupations based on the model or where they moved in or out of these occupations. 22 percent of these transitions were made by active mothers with a dependent child aged 15 years or less. The majority of these mothers had children of primary school age (6 to 11 years) – 42 percent, or of preschool age (2 to 5 years) – 30 percent.

Small differences were noted in the pathways used by active mothers compared to non-active mothers and non-mothers. These differences are illustrated in Figure 8.2. Active mothers were less likely to *risk security for flexibility* than non-mothers (Chi square 39.815, contingency coefficient 0.157, $p < 0.0005$). While 36 percent of active mothers *risked*

security for flexibility, 49 percent of non-mothers utilised this navigational path. This is not surprising as *risking security for flexibility* involves risking access to all forms of security, working time security, benefit security and care security. In particular, care security is important to mothers. Accessing work that is irregular or based on a shift schedule posed potential problems for active mothers who needed to organise alternative care arrangements.

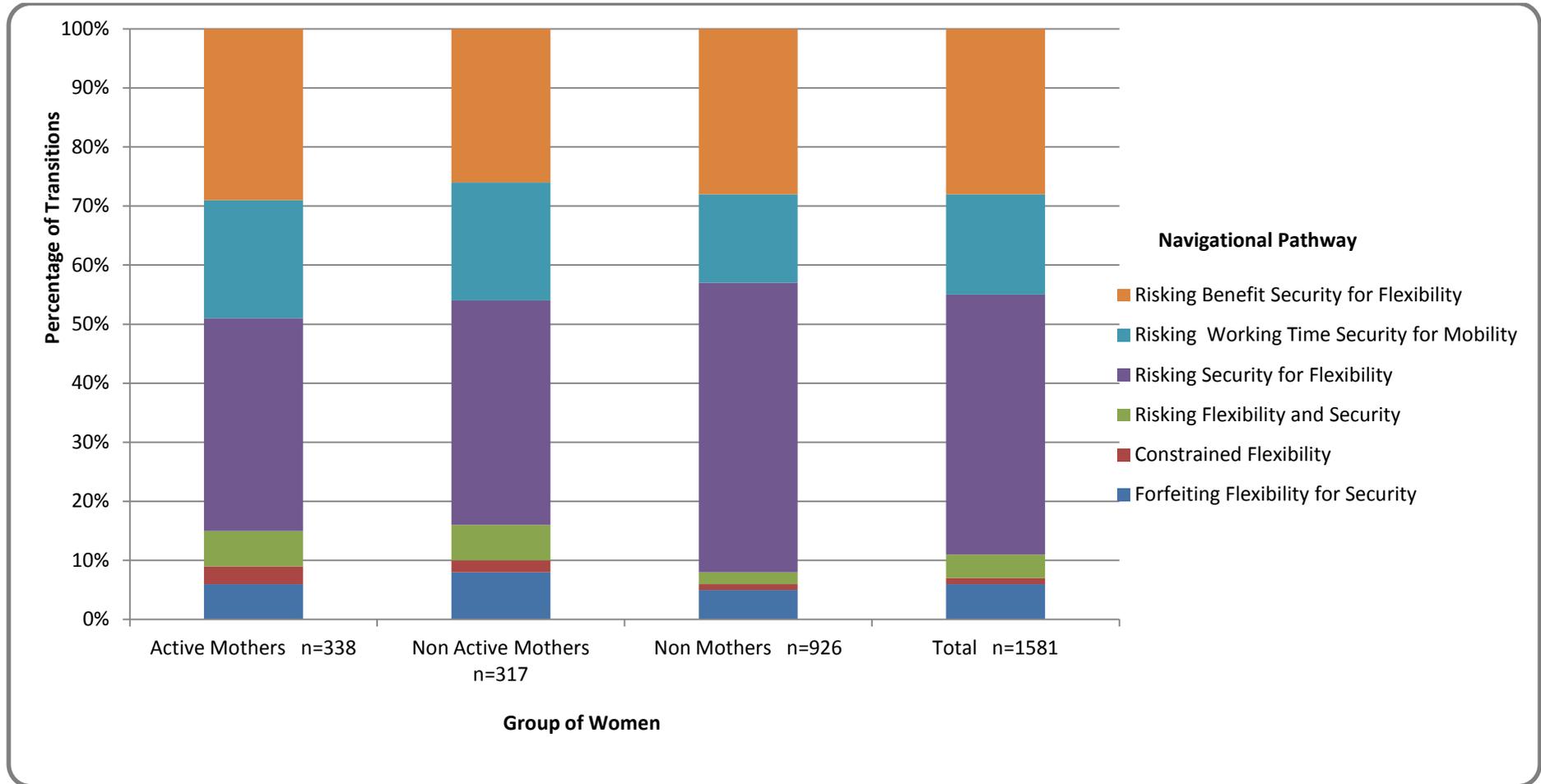
In comparison, active mothers were more likely to *risk working time security for working time mobility* (20 percent, compared to 15 percent of non-mothers). Again this is not surprising as working time mobility indicates the potential to move in either direction between full and part-time employment. For mothers, the ability to move into part-time employment when the demands of care increase, and back to full-time employment when the demands of care weaken, is vitally important. However *risking working time security for working time mobility* may enable mothers to move to part-time employment without the guarantee of being able to return to full-time work.

Lastly, active mothers were more likely to *risk benefit security* (29 percent), than non active mothers (26 percent). Risking benefit security enabled mothers to access the flexibility of part-time work but they risked access to entitlements such as sick and holiday leave in the process. Active mothers were more likely to take on this risk than non active mothers, but their ability to do so was constrained.

In Australia, whilst the claim that casual part-time employment is a trap has been debated (Buddelmeyer & Wooden, 2011) (Burgess & Campbell, 1998), it is likely that, while young workers may move on to other careers, mothers may experience casual part-time employment as a trap. They may become stuck in casualised occupations owing to a combination of lack of skills currency and recognition, and the need for flexible employment. This issue cannot really be resolved by evidence covering the five-year period of this study. However the following findings do provide indications of when mothers may be at the greatest risk from becoming trapped in occupations based on the casual part-time model.

Overall, care-active mothers were the most likely group to move into occupations based on the casual part-time model, while non-active mothers were more likely to remain employed in these occupations (chi square 12.792, contingency coefficient 0.088, $p = 0.012$). Mothers were also just as likely as non-mothers to move to occupations based on another model of employment. Motherhood stage was integral to whether women moved into these occupations, stayed or moved out (chi square 20.242, contingency coefficient 0.231, $p = 0.003$).

Figure 8.2 Navigational Pathways used by Women in Occupations based on the Casual Part-time Model of Employment, 2001 - 2005



Mothers of babies were more likely than other others to move to occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment (32 percent). Mothers of preschool children were more likely to move out of occupations based on the casual part-time model (33 percent), while mothers of school age children were more likely to remain in occupations based on the casual part-time model of employment (65 percent of mothers of primary school children and 62 percent of mothers with high school children). This suggests that mothers are most likely to become trapped when their youngest child reaches school age.

Further, there were small but significant differences in the navigational paths used by mothers to move between occupations of different employment shape (chi square 16.527, contingency coefficient 0.216, $p = .011$). Mothers who stayed in occupations based on the casual part-time employment model were more likely to *risk care security for flexibility*, while mothers who moved either in or out of casual part-time employment were both more likely to *risk benefit security for flexibility*.

The small sample size of mothers within each occupation based on the casual part-time model of employment does not allow for further statistical inferences to be drawn. However two occupations will be examined in greater detail, Cleaners and Sales Assistants.

8.4.1.1 *Cleaners*

182 transitions were recorded for women employed as cleaners. The majority were made by non care-active mothers (50 percent), while care-active mothers made relatively fewer transitions (32 percent). Of these mothers, a 60 percent majority had children in primary school, aged 6 to 11 years. In navigating transitions, mothers employed as Cleaners mainly *risked care security for flexibility* (41 per cent) while 30 percent of active mothers *risked benefit security for flexibility*. The ability of active mothers to avoid the navigational path of risking security for flexibility is likely to explain why the occupation of Cleaners employs a high concentration of mothers. In addition a 72 per cent majority of these mothers stayed employed in occupations which were based on the casual part-time model of employment. .

Carmel was a 38 year old cleaner, a mother of one child who was in primary school. In 2004, Carmel reduced her working hours from 15 hours per week to 12 hours per week. She stayed on as a casual employee but began working an irregular shift instead of the regular daytime schedule that she had worked in 2003.

Leanne was a 29 year old mother of three children the youngest of whom was in preschool. In 2004 Leanne stopped working as a cleaner and started working as an education aide. With the change in occupation Leanne decreased her working hours from 25 to 16 hours per week

and moved from permanent to casual employment. But Leanne was still able to work a regular daytime schedule.

In navigating employment around care, Carmel risked *care security to access working time flexibility*. Her working hours were part-time but by reducing working hours from participatory part-time to short hours Carmel also changed her work schedule, which became irregular, posing greater difficulties in arranging alternative care for her primary school aged child. In contrast, Leanne *risked benefit security for mobility*. Leanne also reduced her working hours but in securing employment as an education aide her work shifts were now guaranteed to be regular daytime in nature. She lost benefit security to gain greater care security.

8.4.1.2 Sales Assistants

382 transitions were recorded for women employed as Sales Assistants. Only 20 percent of these transitions were made by care-active mothers, while a majority 63 percent were made by non mothers. Of the mothers, the majority had children in either preschool (33 percent) or primary school (46 percent). Mothers working as sales assistants mainly risked *security for flexibility* (42 percent), while 22 percent *risked benefit security for flexibility* and a further 22 percent *risked working time security for mobility*. The greater utilisation of a pathway risking security for flexibility is likely to explain why the concentration of mothers employed as sales assistants was above the labour market average.

Bernadette was a 38 year old mother of three, the youngest of whom was in primary school. Bernadette worked 18 hours per week in 2003 but in 2004 she reduced her hours to 12 per week. Bernadette stayed employed as a casual employee and she also retained her regular daytime work schedule.

Heidi was a 34 year old mother of one. In 2002 Heidi stopped working as a sales assistant to look after her new baby. In 2004, when her child was a preschooler, Heidi returned to work as a sales assistant. Before the birth of her baby, Heidi worked 32 hours per week as a permanent employee on a regular daytime schedule. On returning to work, Heidi worked 15 hours per week as a casual employee on an irregular schedule.

In navigating employment around care Bernadette risked *benefit security for flexibility*, while Heidi risked *care security for flexibility*. As a sales assistant, the occupational norm is to work both casual and part-time. For Bernadette, reducing her hours which were already part-time meant that she could continue accessing working time flexibility. Bernadette already worked as a casual employee so she lost no further benefit security during the transition, but she did continue to risk benefit security and to miss out on the leave

provisions often attached to permanent employment. In comparison, Heidi *risks care security for flexibility*. She returned to work part-time but reduced her hours by half, risking her benefit security through changing from permanent to casual employment. She also risk care security by changing from a regular daytime shift to an irregular shift.

8.4.2 Navigating Employment Based on the Permanent Part-Time Model

Occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment were of both high and low socio economic status such as Primary School Teachers, Nursing Professionals, Bookkeepers, Child care Workers and Education Aides. The concentration of mothers in these occupations was well above the sample average of 15 percent, ranging from 26 percent for Other Education Professionals to 54 percent for Education Aides.

In chapter 6, the package of norms embedded within the permanent part-time model was described as enabling a high degree of flexibility without a substantial loss to security. Thus employment in occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment was likely to be quite attractive to mothers attempting to navigate employment. These norms suggested that mothers would have access to both working time flexibility and working time security. The norms for working hours were for part-time employment but weak, suggesting that mothers should be able to access working time mobility and to move to and fro between full and part-time modes of employment. In addition, some flexi-place employment was also available, the norm for 'portable' work being of moderate strength. In contrast to the casual part-time model, losses in security were minimal.

Strong norms for permanent employment enabled employment and benefit security. Occupations based on the permanent part-time model also had generally strong norms for regular daytime scheduling thus enabling care security. The only occupation where the norm was not for regular daytime employment was for Nursing Professionals, the majority of whom worked either a regular daytime or regular shiftwork, implying care regularity.

For women employed in occupations where the norms were based on the permanent part-time model of employment there appeared to be minimal risk involved when navigating employment through motherhood. In total, 1633 transitions were made by women employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model, 42 percent of them by active mothers. In contrast to occupations based on the casual part-time model, transitions were likely to be made at all stages of motherhood. While 39 per cent of transitions were made by mothers who had children of primary school age, 25 percent of mothers had

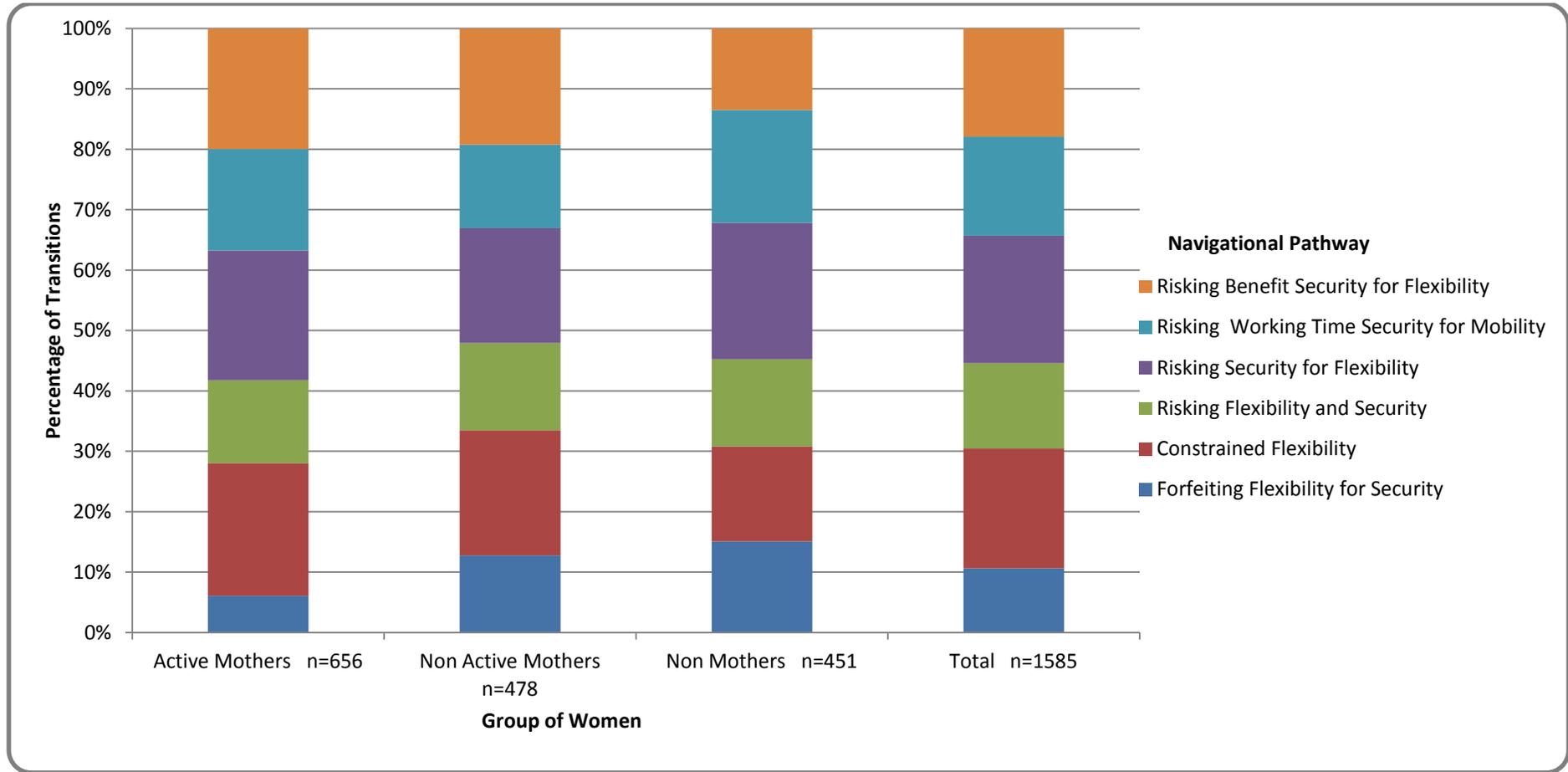
children in preschool (2-5 years), 23 percent of mothers had children in high school (12-15 years) and 13 percent of mothers had babies (0-1 year).

The most common navigational paths used by women employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment were pathways of *constrained flexibility*, *risking security for flexibility* and *risking employment security for flexibility*. These same three pathways were also, overall, the most commonly used by mothers to navigate their employment. There were small but significant differences among women as to which paths were used (Chi Square 40.404, contingency coefficient 0.158, $p \leq 0.0005$). These differences are illustrated in Figure 8.3. Active mothers were more likely than non mothers to utilise paths of constrained flexibility (active mothers 22 percent, non mothers 16 percent). This is not surprising as constrained flexibility enables access to both working time flexibility and care flexibility. Occupational norms based on the permanent part-time model of employment enabled access to both care flexibility (flexi-place employment) and working time flexibility (part-time employment), and suggested possible access to working time mobility (the ability to move between full and part-time work), all without loss to security.

Active mothers were also slightly more likely than non active mothers to utilise paths of *risking security for flexibility* (active mothers 22 percent, non active mothers 19 percent). This is surprising and indicates that not all mothers were able to access flexibility, in this case limited only to part-time work, without risking some form of penalty. Last of all, active mothers were more likely to utilise paths of *risking benefit security for flexibility* than non mothers (active mothers 20 percent, non mothers 14 percent). These small differences in the utilisation of navigational pathways are important. Active mothers employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment were, for the most part, more likely to access navigational pathways which led to better employment outcomes, although they might still be accessing flexibility by placing security at risk. This illustrates that part-time employment, even permanent part-time employment, is not a panacea solving all disadvantages that mothers can experience in the labour market.

In addition to differences in the use of navigational pathways, there were small differences as to who left, stayed in or moved into occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment (chi square 26.882, contingency coefficient 0.127, $p \leq 0.0005$). In general, 67 percent of women stayed employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model. Care-active mothers were the most likely group of women to stay employed in these occupations (67 percent), compared to non mothers who were the least likely group of women to remain in occupations based on permanent part-time employment (25 percent).

Figure 8.3 Navigational Pathways used by Women Employed in Occupations based on the Permanent Part-Time Model of Employment, 2001-2005



It is likely that, for active mothers, the ability to choose from a wider range of navigational pathways, particularly the ability to access the path of constrained flexibility, enabled them to remain employed in permanent part-time occupations. Women were also generally unlikely to move out of occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment to occupations of another employment shape (20 percent). Women who moved to permanent part-time occupations were just as likely to experience occupational exclusion - changing to an occupation of lower socio economic status, as integration - changing to an occupation of higher socio economic status: 42 percent of women who changed employment shape to an occupation based on the permanent part-time model experienced occupational exclusion. Mothers appeared both attracted to this type of employment and reluctant to leave it for occupations of a different employment shape. The greater flexibility enabled by the pathway of *constrained flexibility* seemed to override considerations of occupational status.

8.4.2.1 Education Aides

146 transitions were recorded for women working as Education Aides. Of these transitions 54 percent were by active mothers, 37 percent by non active mothers and only 9 percent by non mothers. The majority had children in primary school (53 percent), and a further 33 percent had children in high school. Mothers working as Education Aides used different pathways to navigate paid employment around care compared with both non active mothers and non mothers (chi square 25.155, contingency coefficient, $p \leq 0.0005$). Mothers mainly *risked security for mobility* (47 percent), or *risked benefit security for flexibility* (28 percent), while both non mothers and non active mothers utilised a more diverse range of paths: 25 percent of other women *risked security for mobility* and 22 percent *forfeited flexibility for security*.

Vicki was a 40 year old mother with 2 children, the youngest of whom was in primary school. In 2003 Vicki worked as a Kitchenhand. Vicki worked 15 hours per week on a casual contract on regular day shift. In 2005 Vicki started working as an Education Aide after spending a short period out of employment. As an Education Aide Vicki worked 25 hours per week, on a permanent basis during school hours. Vicki still had no access to flexi-place employment.

Kym was a 43 year old mother with 4 children, the youngest of whom was in primary school. In 2004 Kym worked as a General Clerk and 2005 she began working as an Education Aide. The change in occupation saw Kym decrease her working hours from 25 to 6 hours per week. She stayed on a casual contract but her work scheduling changed from an irregular shift to a regular day shift which was more compatible with school hours.

In navigating employment around care Vicki risked *working time security for mobility*. While still working part-time Vicki increased her working hours, and also changed the occupational shape of her employment. Vicki changed from employment based on the casual part-time model and not only integrated to an occupation of higher socioeconomic status but in changing employment shape she increased her likelihood of being able to move gradually back to full-time employment as the demand for care weakened. In addition to these changes Vicki also gained access to benefit security while retaining her access to care security.

In contrast Kym *risked employment security for flexibility*. Kym changed both her occupation and the shape of employment, moving from employment as a General Clerk, based on the flexible full-time model of employment. To access both working time flexibility and care security Kym became occupationally excluded, and she still lacked the benefit security provided by a permanent employment contract.

8.4.2.2 Primary School Teachers

329 transitions were recorded for women employed as Primary School Teachers. Of these transitions 45 percent were made by active mothers, the majority of whom had children in either primary school (37 percent), or preschool (24 percent). Overall, the two main navigational paths used by these women were trades of *constrained flexibility* (53 percent), and *risking both flexibility and security* (26 percent). A significant difference was found between the paths active mothers used to navigate employment, and the paths used by non-active mothers and non-mothers (chi square 21.813, contingency coefficient 0.252, $p = 0.016$). Among primary teachers, mothers were overwhelmingly inclined to make transitions in which they stayed employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model (80 percent). Of these, 70 percent of mothers made transitions where they maintained access to the occupation of primary school teaching. Only 12 percent of mothers made transitions where they became excluded by moving to an occupation of lower socioeconomic status and 18 percent of mothers made transitions where they integrated to an occupation of higher socio economic status.

In 2002 Denise was a 31 year old mother of one child of preschool age who worked 27 hours per week, with 10 of these hours worked from home. In 2003 she increased her working hours to 50 hours per week, also increasing the hours she worked at home to 15 per week. Denise retained employment on a permanent contract and her regular daytime work schedule.

Suzanne was a 30 year old mother with a baby. In 2001 she worked 40 hours per week on a permanent regular daytime schedule and completing about eight hours of her weekly

workload at home. In 2003 after a short break for maternity leave, Suzanne returned to work as a primary school teacher, working 12 hours per week on a fixed term contract. She still worked a regular daytime schedule, but she no longer completed any of her work at home.

Denise made a transition of *constrained flexibility*. She was able to move between part and full-time employment while accessing both working time flexibility and working time security when each was needed. Denise was also able to access care flexibility to help manage her workload and work in part, from home. In contrast Suzanne accessed the navigational pathway of *risking flexibility and security*. Suzanne was able to access working time flexibility to reduce her working hours but in doing so risked access to benefit security. The change from permanent to fixed term contract left Suzanne without access to secure and ongoing employment.

8.4.2.3 Nursing Professionals

421 transitions were recorded for women employed as nurses. Of these transitions 48 percent were made by active mothers. Nursing is an unusual occupation for high concentrations of mothers to work in, because of the norms for regular shift work. However, active mothers employed as nurses had children of all ages. 32 percent of transitions were made by mothers of primary school children, 30 percent by mothers of preschool children, 23 percent by mothers of high school children and 15 percent of transitions were made by mothers of babies. The main navigational paths used by women employed as nurses were risking care security for flexibility (39%), and risking benefit security and flexibility (25%). There was a significant difference between the navigational paths utilised by active mothers, compared to the paths utilised by non-mothers and non-active mothers (chi square 28.927, contingency coefficient 0.256, $p = 0.001$). Active mothers were most likely to risk care security for flexibility (44 percent) compared to 40 percent of non-active mothers and 32 percent of non-mothers. In contrast only 25 percent of active mothers risked benefit security for flexibility compared to 26 percent of non-active mothers, while non-mothers were much more likely to risk benefit security and flexibility 21 percent.

Women employed as nurses were highly likely to make transitions where they stayed employed in occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment. 82 percent of transitions resulted in women staying employed in permanent part-time occupations. While 18 percent of transitions resulted in women moving to occupations based on the permanent part-time model of employment. Only one percent of women employed as nurses left to move to an occupation based on a different model of employment. There were significant differences among women who moved into nursing and remained in this occupation (chi square 10.733, contingency coefficient 0.158, $p = 0.005$).

Both, non-active mothers (21 percent), and non-mothers, (20 percent), were more likely to change their occupation to become nurses while active mothers were most likely to stay employed in nursing, 88 percent. Overall, 80 percent of women made transitions where they remained employed as nurses while only 12 percent became occupationally excluded. Mothers were even more likely to make transitions where they remained employed as a nurse (87 percent) and less likely to become occupationally excluded (7 percent). These patterns are particularly interesting given that the norms for shiftwork in nursing made access to care security unlikely.

Unlike other female concentrated occupations, nursing was based on a regular shift work norm. Significant differences were found among groups of active mothers with regard to the work schedules on which they were employed post transition (higher square 13.690, contingency coefficient 0.253, $p = 0.033$). Mothers of high school children were more likely to be employed on a regular day schedule (42 percent), while mothers of babies (69 percent), mothers of preschoolers (58 percent) and mothers of primary school children (44 percent) were more likely to be employed on a shift schedules, that whilst predictable, involved rotating, split or regular afternoon or night shifts. This is surprising, as one would expect that mothers with younger children to have a preference for regular daytime shift schedules. However these patterns of work scheduling do not appear to be a deterrent to mothers entering or remaining as nurses as the concentrations of mothers with children of all ages illustrates.

In 2004, Diane, a 45-year-old mother with a 15-year-old child was employed as a nursing professional. In 2005, when her child turned 16, she increased her hours of work from 40 to 48 per week, staying employed on a permanent contract but moving from a regular shift schedule to an irregular shift schedule.

Helen was a 45-year-old nursing professional with two children, the youngest of whom was in preschool. In 2003 Helen worked 25 hours per week. In 2004, Helen decreased her working hours to 8 hours per week. She stayed employed on a casual contract and she managed to retain employment on a regular day shift.

Diane *risked security for flexibility* while Helen *risked benefit security for flexibility*. Diane's youngest child had turned 16 and so the demand for care had weakened. In moving from a regular shift to an irregular work schedule Diane risked security for flexibility, even though she chose not to access working time flexibility by working part-time. In contrast, Helen did access working time flexibility through continuing in part-time employment. However she continued to lose access to benefit security, by remaining on a casual employment contract and continued to risk care security through remaining on a regular shift schedule.

8.4.3 Navigating Flexible Full-Time Employment

Both the flexible and inflexible full-time models of employment present an interesting opportunity to understand how women navigate their employment, over the course of motherhood, around employment seen as based on the male work/care time norm (Acker, 1990; Vosko, 2007). The flexible full-time model of employment was based on occupations that employed higher concentrations of mothers than the overall average (16 percent of employed women). These occupations included receptionists of whom 24 percent were mothers; secretaries and personal assistants (36 percent) Inquiry and admission clerks (24 percent), accounting clerks (29 percent), office managers (30 percent), health and welfare professionals (21 percent), human resource professionals (27 percent) and social welfare professionals (26 percent).

With the flexible full-time model there were strong norms for permanent employment, moderately strong norms for regular daytime employment and weak norms for non-portability of work and full-time (as opposed to long or very long) working hours. In addition, the benchmark norm was also weak. While there was rather strong pressure to work over 35 hours per week, nevertheless in comparison to the inflexible full-time model of employment, it was also possible for larger numbers to vary their hours downwards. This combination of norms suggested that mothers employed in occupations based on the flexible full-time model of employment would have limited access to both care flexibility and working time flexibility. However should mothers access either or both mechanisms for flexibility, they would not necessarily lose access to security in the process.

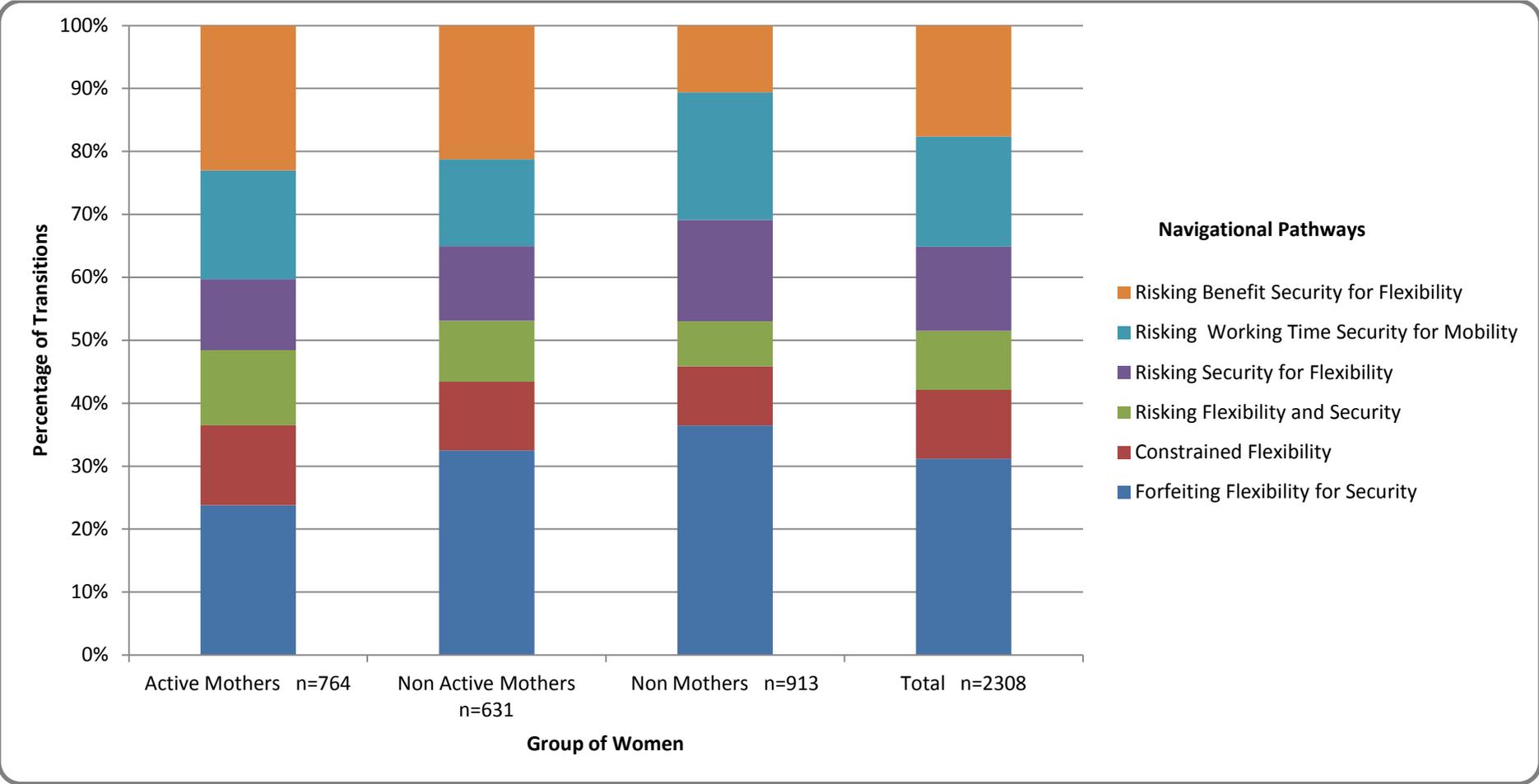
Overall, 2,369 transitions were made in occupations based on the flexible full-time model of employment. The majority of these transitions were made by non-mothers (40 percent), although 33 percent of transitions were made by active mothers. Of the transitions made by active mothers, the majority were made by mothers of primary school children (41 percent), but a sizable, proportion were also made by mothers of preschool children (27 percent). Only 13 percent of transitions were made by mothers with babies and only 19 percent of transitions were made by mothers of high school children. The main trade made by women employed in these occupations was *forfeiting flexibility for security* (30 percent). Forfeiting flexibility provided very limited access to part-time hours and no access to flexi-place employment although access to all forms of security were enabled. Women were likely to utilise the navigational paths of *risking working time security for mobility* (17 percent), and *risking benefit security for flexibility* (17 percent). These pathways enabled access to flexibility but at the cost of security. For women who risked *working time security for mobility*, access to part-time work and mobility between full and part-time work were

enabled but women risked being unable to return to full-time work when the demands of care weakened. On the other hand for women who *risked benefit security for flexibility*, greater access to part-time work was exchanged for reduced access to a permanent employment contract, constrained access to full-time employment and lack of access to flexi-place employment.

Small but significant differences were found in the navigational paths used by active mothers compared to those used by both non-active and non-mothers (chi square 96.517, contingency coefficient 0.200, $p \leq 0.0005$). These differences are illustrated in Figure 8.4. Active mothers were just as likely to *forfeit flexibility for security* (24 percent), as to *risk benefit security for flexibility* (23 percent), while non-active mothers were more likely to *forfeit flexibility for security* (33 percent), and non-mothers, still more likely to *do so* (37 percent), and *risk security for mobility* (20 percent). While active mothers (17 percent) were more likely to risk working time security than non active mothers (14 percent) they were less likely to do so than non mothers (18 percent).

In addition small but significant differences in the use of pathways occurred between different groups of mothers (chi square 26.551, contingency coefficient 0.183, $p = 0.033$). Mothers of babies (23 percent) and preschoolers (28 percent) were most likely to *risk benefit security for flexibility* (23 percent); mothers of babies were also likely to utilise pathways of *constrained flexibility* (21 percent). By contrast mothers of primary school children (26 percent), and high school children (32 percent) were most likely to forfeit flexibility for security. Thus although there were penalties attached to the flexibility provided by the flexible full-time model of employment, mothers were able to access it. In comparison to the permanent part-time model of employment, women were much less likely to stay employed in occupations based on the flexible full-time model. 53 percent of transitions involved women staying employed in jobs based on the flexible full-time model, while 21 percent of transitions involved women moving out of jobs based on this model. Small but significant differences were found in the changes to employment shape that occurred during transitions between active mothers, non active mothers and non mothers (chi square 13.160, contingency coefficient 0.074, $p = 0.011$). The main difference was that active mothers were more likely to stay employed in occupations based on the flexible full-time model (56 percent) than non-mothers (49 percent) despite the penalties they incurred for accessing flexibility.

Figure 8.4 Navigational Pathways used by Women Employed in Occupations based on the Flexible Full-Time Model of Employment, 2001-2005



8.4.3.1 Secretaries and Personal Assistants

Overall, 319 transitions were made by women employed as secretaries. Of these transitions 37 percent were made by active mothers, 36 percent were made by non-mothers and 27 percent were made by non-active mothers. Of the 118 transitions made by active mothers, the majority were made by mothers with children in primary school (53 percent). The percentage of transitions made by mothers with primary school children was much higher in occupations based on the flexible full-time model of employment than the overall sample average (41 percent). 26 percent of transitions were made by mothers with children in preschool, while comparatively few transitions were made by mothers with high school children (11 percent) or babies (9 percent).

The main navigational pathway used by mothers employed as secretaries was *risking benefit security for flexibility* (30 percent of transitions). In 24 percent of transitions mothers *forfeited flexibility for security* and in 23 percent they *risked security for flexibility*. Significant differences were found between the paths used by different groups of women (chi square 21.113, contingency coefficient 0.253, $p = 0.020$). Non-mothers (38 percent) and non-active mothers (43 percent) were more likely than active mothers (38 percent) to *forfeit flexibility for security* (38 percent). 25 percent of non-mothers and 22 percent of non-active mothers (22 percent) *risked working time security for mobility*

In 2004 Belinda was a 24 year old mother of one child in primary school. In 2004 Belinda worked as a secretary, employed 38 hours per week on a permanent contract, working a regular day shift with no access to flexi-place employment. In 2005, Belinda changed her occupation to that of an elementary clerk. Belinda now worked 18 hours per week on a casual employment contract. But she still worked a regular day shift and she still had no access to flexi-place employment.

In 2004 Sharon was a 41 year old mother of three, the youngest of whom was in primary school. Sharon worked as a secretary in 2004, employed for 42 hours per week on a permanent contract. Sharon worked a regular day shift and did not have access to flexi-place employment. In 2005 Sharon still works as a secretary however she now works 38 hours per week. Sharon has retained access to a permanent employment contract and regular daytime work scheduling, however she still has no access to flexi-place employment.

Belinda *risked security for flexibility*. Belinda was able to move from full to part-time employment but she changed to a casual employment contract. She retained employment on a regular day time schedule but in order to access part-time employment she became occupationally excluded and lost benefit security in the process. In comparison Sharon

forfeited flexibility for security. Sharon was able to reduce her working hours but she has not accessed part-time work nor has she been able to access flexi-place employment. However Sharon has retained access to employment security, by retaining access to both a permanent employment contract and a work schedule that involves a regular daytime work shift.

8.4.3.2 Social Welfare Professionals

204 transitions were made by women employed as social welfare professionals. Of these transitions 31 percent were made by active mothers, 39 percent by non-active mothers, and 30 percent by non-mothers. Of the 63 women employed as social welfare professionals who were active mothers the majority had children in primary school, (45 percent) or high school (30 percent). The percentage of mothers with children in high school employed in occupations based on the flexible full-time model was much higher than the sample average of 19 percent. The main navigational pathway used by women employed as social welfare professionals were, *constrained flexibility* (21 percent), *risking flexibility and security* (20 percent), and *forfeiting flexibility for security* (18 percent). Significant differences were found between the navigational paths used by different groups of women (higher square 15.674, contingency coefficient 0.270, $p = 0.109$). Active mothers were both more likely to use the navigational paths of *constrained flexibility* (21 percent), and *risking flexibility and security* (21 percent). In comparison non-active mothers were more likely to *risk benefit security for flexibility* (22 percent), while non-mothers were more likely to use pathways of *constrained flexibility* (24 percent).

In 2004 Dina was a 39 old mother of one child in high school. In 2004, Dina worked 30 hours per week on a permanent employment contract with a regular day time schedule with no access to flexi-place employment. In 2005 Dina increased her hours to 45 hours per week. She stayed employed on a permanent contract and a regular day shift but she was now able to access flexi-place employment, working seven hours per week from home.

In 2001 Nicole had no children and worked 42 hours per week, one hour of which was done at home, on a permanent employment contract with a regular day shift. In 2005, Nicole returned to work after having two children, the youngest of which was in preschool. Nicole now worked eight hours per week on a casual contract with a regular shift schedule and had no access to flexi-place employment.

Dina used the navigational pathway of *constrained flexibility* to navigate employment around care. While Dina increased her working hours from part to full-time employment, she utilised flexi-place employment to help enable her care-giving. In addition Dina was able to make these changes without risking benefit or care security. In contrast *Nicole risked*

both flexibility and security. Nicole dramatically reduced her working hours, moving from long hours to short hours employment. However in accessing flexibility Nicole risked both benefit and care security. She no longer had access to permanent employment nor did she have access a regular daytime work schedule which would enable easy access to formal care.

8.4.4 Navigating Inflexible Full-Time Employment

The key difference between occupations based on flexible full-time employment and those based on inflexible full-time employment is the difference in access to both part and full-time employment. The full-time employment norm is under pressure of lengthening working hours (Campbell, 2007). In 2001-2005, the working hours norm was for full-time employment but weak, with the norm for working hours above the benchmark of 35 hours per week moderately strong. This suggests that the greater proportion of available working hours in these occupations involved working at least 35 hours per week, and that as a result access to part-time hours was limited.

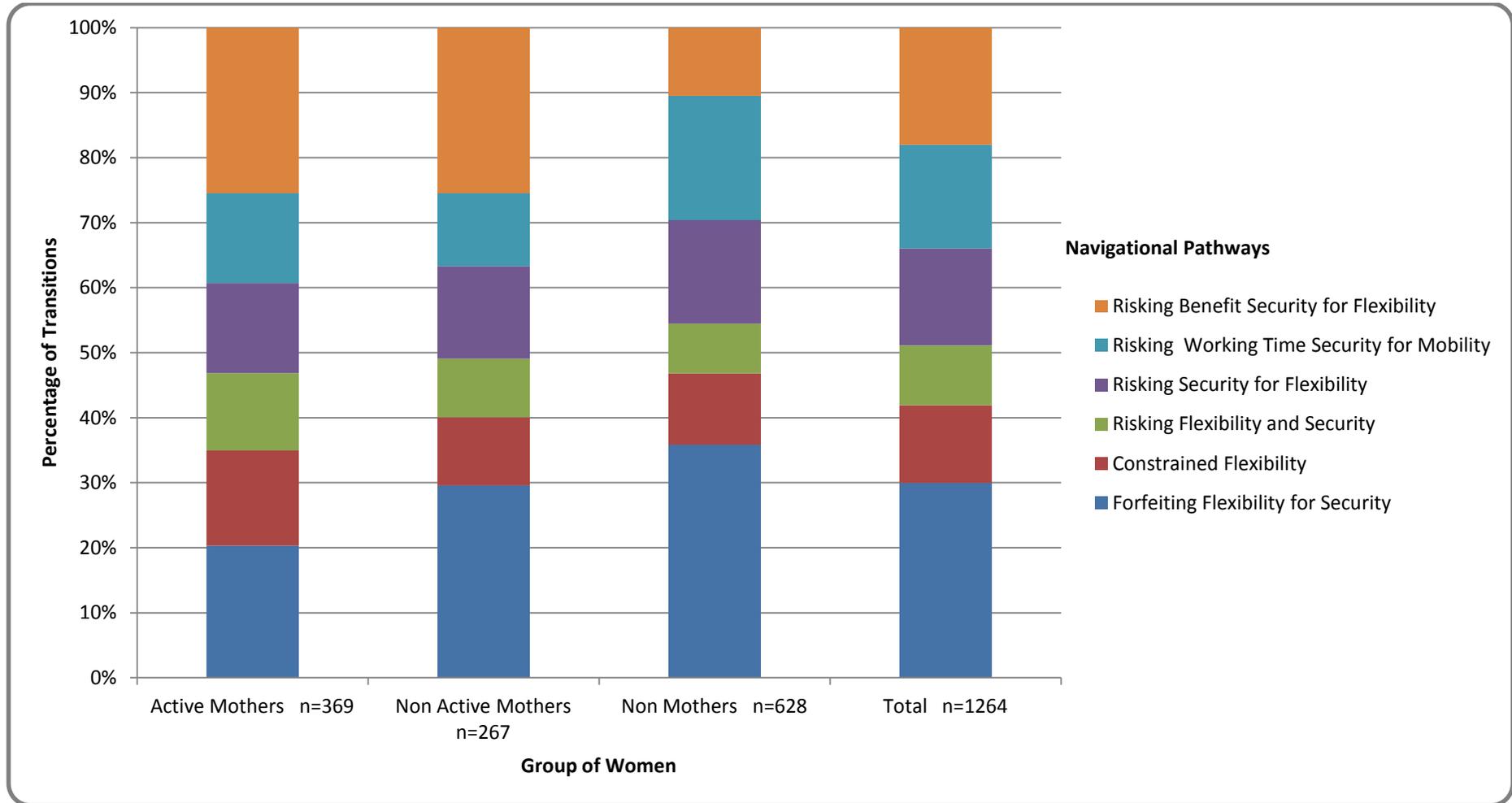
This lack of access to part-time work resulted in low rates of mothers' employment in occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment. While on average 15 percent of employed women in the sample were mothers, only 8 percent of those employed as Factory Labourers were mothers, 10 percent of Storepersons, 12 percent of Elementary Clerks, 12 percent of Sales Representatives, 12 percent of Business and Organisation Analysts, 6 percent of Computing Professionals, 14 percent of Accountants and Related Professionals, and 11 percent of Natural Science Professionals. These occupations had low incidence of part-time work, moderate norms for regular daytime employment and non-portability of work, and a strong norm for a permanent employment contract. Thus these occupations provided mothers with limited access to flexibility but strong access to security.

Overall, 1264 transitions were made by women employed in occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment. The majority of these transitions were made by non-mothers, 49 percent, while 30 percent of transitions were made by active mothers and 21 percent of transitions by non-active mothers. Of the 387 transitions made by active mothers, the majority were made by mothers of children in primary school (43 percent), and preschool (28 percent). Comparatively few transitions were made by mothers with babies (14 percent) and high school children (15 percent). The distribution of transitions made by mothers employed in inflexible full-time occupations was similar to that of the transitions made by mothers overall.

The main trades made by women employed in occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment were *forfeiting flexibility for security* (30 percent), *risking benefit security for flexibility* (17 percent), and *risking working time security for mobility* (15 percent). Significant differences among women were found in navigational paths, depending on motherhood and motherhood stage (chi square 75.235, contingency coefficient 0.237, $p \leq 0.0005$) and these are illustrated in Figure 8.5. Active mothers were less likely to forfeit flexibility for security (20 percent), than both non mothers (36 percent), and non active mothers (30 percent). Active mothers were just as likely to *risk benefit security for flexibility* (18 percent), as non active mothers (25 percent), but more likely to do so than non mothers (11 percent). The remaining navigational pathways were used to a limited extent by active mothers.

In addition, women had low probability of staying employed in occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment. 36 percent of transitions involved women moving into occupations based on this model, 32 percent of transitions involved women staying employed in these occupations, while the remaining 32 percent of transitions involved women moving out of these occupations. Small but significant differences were found between groups of women regarding who stayed and who left (chi square 12.029, contingency coefficient 0.102, $p = 0.017$). Active mothers were more likely to stay employed in occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment (37 percent), than non-active mothers (31 percent) or non-mothers (29 percent). However active mothers were also just as likely to leave occupations based on the inflexible full-time model of employment as non-mothers (active mothers: 32 percent, non mothers: 30 percent). Mothers overall were generally less likely to change their occupation thus these findings are not surprising, although the finding that women generally were more inclined to leave inflexible full-time occupations than remain in them suggests that women had difficulties in reconciling the lack of flexibility within these occupations with the enablement of unpaid care.

Figure 8.5 Navigational Pathways used by Women Employed in Occupations based on the Inflexible Full-Time Model of Employment, 2001-2005



8.4.4.1 Factory Labourers

Only 57 transitions were made by women employed as factory labourers. Of these transitions 41 percent were made by active mothers, 33 percent, non-active mothers and 26 percent, by non-mothers. The two main navigational pathways used by mothers were *risking security for flexibility*, 48 percent, and *risking benefit security for flexibility*, 30 percent for mothers. The majority of mothers working as factory labourers made transitions where they stayed employed in occupations based on inflexible full-time employment (57 percent) while only 27 percent left employment as a factory worker to enter another occupation based on another model of employment. Factory working is another example of a low status occupation where mothers can become trapped and the choice over navigational pathways becomes a decision over what form of security - care or benefit, to risk for access to flexibility.

Christine was a 37-year-old mother with one child in primary school who changed occupation from factory work to cleaning. In 2002 Christine was a factory worker employed on a permanent contract, working 38 hours per week on a regular daytime schedule. In 2003 Christine changed her occupation to cleaning. Christine now worked 20 hours per week but she also changed to a casual employment contract and now worked a regular shift.

In 2001 Kelly, aged 30, had no children and was employed as factory worker 25 hours per week on a casual employment contract, working a regular day shift. In 2004 after having had two children Kelly returned to work as a sales assistant. Kelly now worked eight hours per week on a casual employment contract on a regular day shift.

Christine risked security for flexibility in navigating her employment around the needs of care. She changed to an occupation with a different employment shape in order to access flexibility. In changing to cleaning Christine made an integrative occupational transition but she was still employed in a low status occupation based on the casual part-time model of employment. In addition while Christine was able to access working time flexibility to enable care she lost access to care security and benefit security in the process. In comparison Kelly risked benefit security for flexibility. Kelly also changed both her occupation and the shape of her employment, to become a sales assistant, an occupation based on the permanent part-time model of employment. As a result Kelly was able to access working time flexibility with less risk to security than Christine, but still lost access to benefit security while retaining access to care security.

8.4.4.2 Accountants and Related Professionals

132 transitions were made by women employed as accountants, or related professionals. The majority were made by non-mothers (52 percent) while 32 percent were made by active mothers. The main trades made by women were *forfeiting flexibility for security* (43 percent), *constrained flexibility* (22 percent), and *risking benefit security for flexibility* (13 percent). There were significant differences between the trades used by mothers and those used by other women (chi square 22.101, contingency coefficient 0.382, $p \leq 0.005$). Mothers were less likely to *forfeit flexibility for security* than other women (mothers: 17%, other women: 54%) and more likely to utilise trades of *constrained flexibility* (mothers: 28%, other women: 19%) or *risk benefit security for flexibility* (mothers: 30%, other women: 6%).

In 2001 Sarah was a 35-year-old mother with a baby. In 2001 Sarah was employed as a bookkeeper for 32 hours per week on a permanent employment contract. She worked a regular day shift and took no work home from the office. In 2002 Sarah changed her occupation and worked as an accountant. Sarah decreased her hours to 23 hours per week but increased the hours she worked from home to 14 hours per week. Sarah still worked on a permanent contract and a regular day shift.

In 2001 Bronwyn was a 38 year old mother with a baby. In 2001 Bronwyn worked as an accountant. She worked 46 hours per week on a permanent contract with a regular day shift and took no work home from the office. In 2003 Bronwyn returned to work after the birth of her baby. She no longer worked as an accountant but as an advanced clerical worker. Bronwyn worked 16 hours per week on a permanent employment contract with a regular daytime schedule and no portability of work.

Sarah used the pathway of constrained flexibility to navigate employment around unpaid care. Sarah made an integrative occupational transition where she also changed the shape of her employment from an occupation based on the permanent part-time model to one based on inflexible full-time employment. She retained both benefit and care security but also accessed flexibility. Sarah was now one of the lucky few who managed to access part-time employment but in order to enable care she also worked over half of her hours from home. In comparison Bronwyn risked benefit security for flexibility. She changed both her occupation and the shape of her employment, moving from an occupation based on the inflexible full-time model to one based on flexible full-time employment. In the process of accessing working time flexibility, Bronwyn become occupationally excluded but she retained access to both benefit and care security.

8.4.5 Navigating Very Long Hours Employment

As noted in Chapter 6, the very long hours model of employment had an interesting combination of occupational norms that appeared to enable a degree of flexibility to working mothers while allowing them to retain access to security. The occupational norms on which this model was based included strong norms for a permanent employment contract, a moderate norm for regular daytime employment and weak norms for flexi-place employment that would provide mothers portability of work. The working hours norm of 50 hours per week or more was quite weak, but the alternative (35 hours per week) was of moderate strength, suggesting that if women were not working very long hours they were working either long hours or full-time.

Occupations based on the very long hours model of employment varied in their concentration of mothers. Legal professionals (7 percent), and Engineers (3 percent) included very few mothers while occupations such as Shop Managers (13 percent), Resource Managers (17 percent), Other Specialist Managers (14 percent), University Teachers (16 percent), and Medical Practitioners (11 percent), employed around the all-occupation average for mothers of 15 percent. The occupation of Secondary School Teachers had the highest concentration of mothers at 25 percent. Overall, of the 1159 transitions made in these occupations, 33 percent were made by active mothers. In comparison 43 percent of transitions were made by non-mothers and 24 percent of transitions were made by non-active mothers. The majority of transitions made by mothers were by those with children in primary school (38 percent), with 20 percent made by mothers of babies, a further 20 percent by mothers with preschool children and the remaining 22 percent by mothers of high school children.

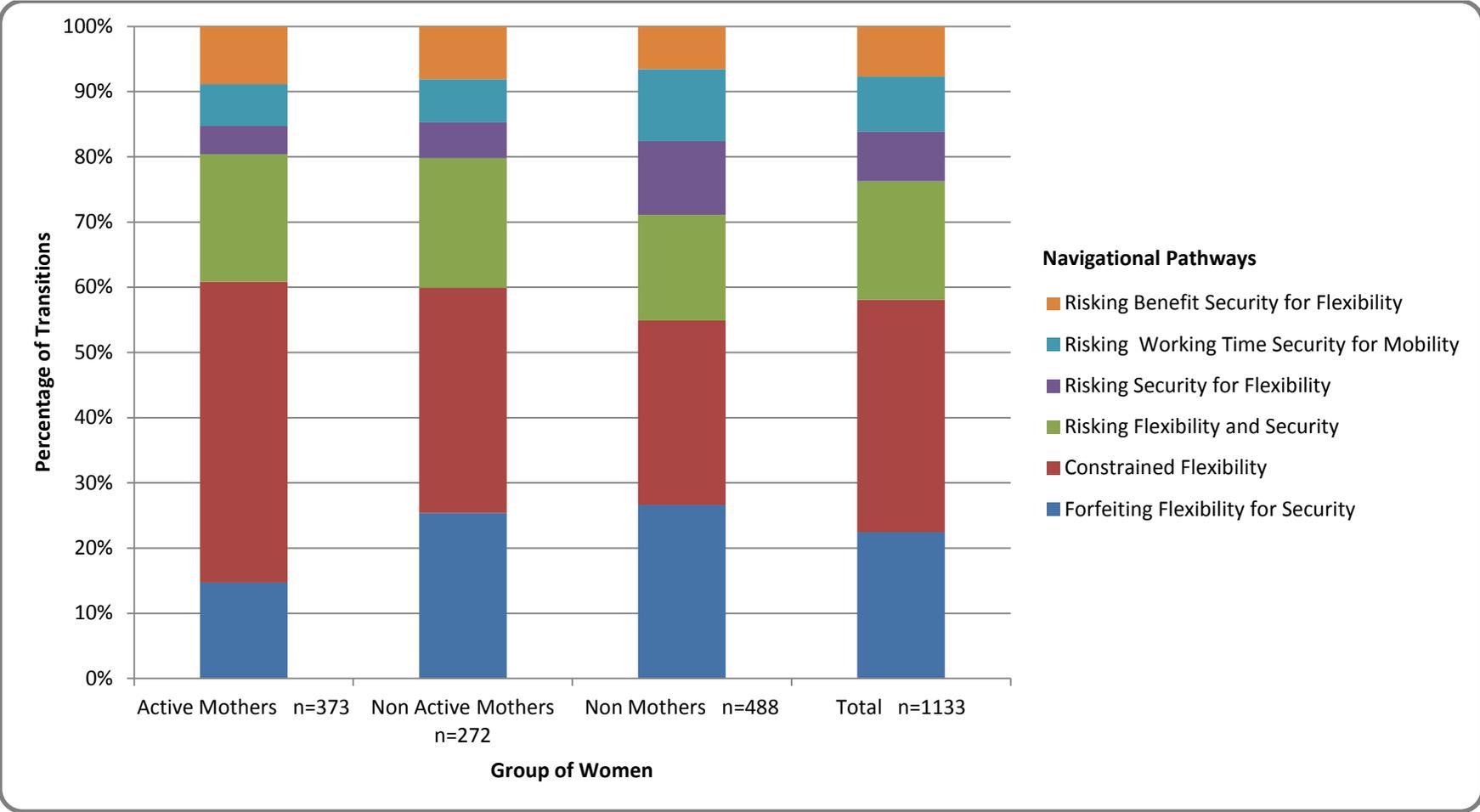
The main navigational paths used by women employed in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment were *constrained flexibility* (36 percent), *forfeiting flexibility for security* (22 percent), and *risking both flexibility and security* (18 percent), although access to flexi-place employment and regular daytime schedules remained. Significant differences were found in the navigational paths used by active mothers, non-active mothers and non-mothers (chi square 59.520, contingency coefficient 0.023, $p \leq 0.0005$). These differences are illustrated in Figure 8.6. Active Mothers were much more likely to use navigational paths of *constrained flexibility* than either non-active mothers or non-mothers (active mothers: 46%, non-active mothers: 35%, non-mothers: 28%). In contrast, active mothers were much less likely to *forfeit flexibility and security* than both non-active mothers and non-mothers (active mothers: 15%, non-active mothers: 25%, non-mothers: 27%). Active mothers were just as likely to *risk flexibility and security* as non-

active mothers, and more likely to do so than non-mothers (active mothers: 20%, non-active mothers: 20%, non-mothers: 16%).

Overall, 31 percent of women made transitions where they moved to occupations based on the very long hours model of employment. In addition 44 percent of women made transitions where they stayed employed in these occupations, while only 25 percent of women, made transitions where they moved to an occupation based on another employment model. There were no significant differences between women with regard to who moved in or out, or stayed employed in occupations based on very long hours employment. However significant differences were found in the navigational paths used by mothers (chi square 25.344, contingency coefficient 0.260, $p = 0.005$). Mothers primarily used the *constrained flexibility* pathway, but were also likely to *forfeit flexibility for security* when moving into occupations based on very long hours norms (22 percent), to *risk flexibility and security* when staying employed in such occupations (25 percent), or use either *forfeiting flexibility* (17 percent), or *risking flexibility and security* (15 percent) when moving out of occupations based on very long hours employment.

In addition, 32 percent of mothers made transitions where they became occupationally excluded, that is, they changed to an occupation of lower socio-economic status. Only 36 percent of mothers made transitions where they maintained their occupation. While 31 percent of transitions involved mothers integrating to an occupation of higher socio economic status: this included both mothers who integrated to an occupation based on the very long hours model of employment and mothers who left very long hours employment to integrate to an occupation of different employment shape. Yet again there were no significant differences between groups of women in terms of the occupational transitions they made, although mothers did use significantly different navigational pathways depending on their occupational transition (chi square 37.320, contingency coefficient 0.302, $p \leq 0.0005$). *Constrained flexibility* characterised the main pathways used, regardless of whether mothers made occupational transitions of exclusion (43 percent), integration (36 percent), or maintenance (57 percent). However mothers who became either occupationally excluded or integrated were also likely to *forfeit flexibility for security* (excluded: 18%, integrated: 22%) while mothers who maintained their occupation were more likely to *risk flexibility and security* (26%).

Figure 8.6 Navigational Pathways used by Women Employed in Occupations based on the Very Long Hours Model of Employment, 2001-2005



8.4.5.1 Shop Managers

188 transitions were made by women employed as Shop Managers. The majority were made by non-mothers (54 percent), while just 28 percent of transitions were made by active mothers. The main navigational pathways used by mothers employed as shop managers were *forfeiting flexibility for security* (30 percent), *risking care security for flexibility* (24 percent), and *risking both flexibility and security* (19 percent). For mothers employed as Shop Managers, working in an occupation based on very long working hours was not necessarily problematic. Only 28 percent moved to an occupation with a different employment shape, while 30 percent of mothers stayed employed in occupations based on the very long hours model of employment and 46 percent moved to occupations based on very long working hours from an occupation of a different employment shape.

In 2002 Lisa was a 39-year-old mother whose youngest child was in primary school. She worked 43 hours per week on a permanent contract with a regular day shift and no access to flexi-place employment. In 2003 Lisa reduced her working hours to 38 hours per week. However she was able to retain permanent employment and a regular day shift but she was still not able to access flexi-place employment.

In 2001 Stacey was a 42-year-old mother with two children, the youngest of whom in high school. In 2001 Stacey worked 20 hours per week as a casual employee on a regular day shift without access to flexi-place employment. In 2003 Stacey returned to work after a short break. She increased her hours to 38 per week and managed to secure employment on a permanent contract. However she now worked a regular shift but still had no access to flexi-place employment.

Lisa forfeited flexibility for security in navigating her employment around care. She was able to reduce her long working hours to standard full-time employment, but could not access, working time flexibility or care flexibility. Lisa did not lose any security in exchange for reducing her hours of work. In contrast Stacey risked security for flexibility. Stacey was one of the few who were able to return to full-time employment after working part-time. In addition she also managed to access permanent employment and benefit security while retaining access to the care security enabled by regular day time employment.

8.4.5.2 Secondary School Teachers

239 transitions were made by secondary school teachers. Of these transitions 46 percent were made by active mothers, 31 percent by non mothers and 23 percent by non active mothers. The main navigational pathways were *constrained flexibility* (46 percent) and *risking flexibility and security* (20 percent). Very long hours employment were not

especially problematic for mothers in this occupation. 16 percent of female secondary teachers moved out of the occupation to a job with a different employment shape while 64 percent stayed employed either as a secondary school teacher or in another occupation with the same employment shape. 17 percent of mothers made transitions where they became excluded from secondary school teaching. The majority of mothers made transitions where they maintained employment in the occupation (63 percent), while only 20 percent of mothers made integrative transitions to an occupation of higher status (this figure includes mothers who made integrative transitions into secondary school teaching).

In 2003 Cathy was a 28 year old mother of one preschool aged child. She worked 30 hours per week on a permanent contract with a regular daytime schedule. In addition, Cathy accessed flexi-place employment for 6 hours per week. In 2004, Cathy increased her working hours to 50 per week. She still retained her permanent contract and regular daytime work schedule, but she also increased the number of hours which she worked from home to 12 per week.

In 2003 Angela was the 40 year old mother of two children, the younger of whom was in high school. In 2003 Angela worked 45 hours per week on a fixed term contract with a regular daytime schedule. Angela also worked from home for 5 hours per week. In 2004 Angela worked 40 hours per week on a permanent employment contract. She still worked a regular day time work schedule and she still had access to flexi-place employment, but she now worked 10 hours per week from home.

Cathy utilised the pathway of constrained flexibility to navigate her employment around care. She increased her working hours from part-time to very long hours but also increased the hours she worked from home. She exchanged lack of working time flexibility for care flexibility, without losing security in the process. In contrast Angela used the navigational path of *risking both care security and flexibility*. Angela did not access working time flexibility: her only means of flexibility came from access to care flexibility through the portability of her work. In addition Angela was one of the lucky few who did not risk security in making an employment transition.

8.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to illustrate how the occupational norms embedded within the shape of employment constrained mothers' employment navigation, and how these patterns of constraint helped to reproduce patterns of gender segmentation within the labour market. The chapter has shown that mothers adopt a range of navigational strategies, because their paths are constrained by the shape of their employment. These

constraints on navigation, on accessing flexibility and security, in turn reproduce patterns of gender segmentation in the labour market. Not all occupations enable access to flexibility, and not all occupations withdraw access to security as a penalty for enabling flexibility. Bounded by occupational constraints mothers will seek out the best option for their circumstances, including shifting to occupations with a more flexible employment shape, thus reproducing patterns of gender concentration. The occupational norms and shapes to which mothers are responding have the effect of producing segmentation.

High concentrations of mothers were employed in occupations which were permanent part-time. These occupations enabled access to both working time flexibility and care flexibility without substantial loss to security. Mothers employed in these occupations could utilise pathways of *constrained flexibility* to enable care, and thus the majority of mothers remained employed in occupations with a permanent part-time employment shape. Very few mothers left these occupations and mothers in occupations with less flexible shapes sought to shift into work which was permanent part-time in shape. However not all mothers employed in permanent part-time employment were able to access trades of *constrained flexibility*, and were *likely to risk security for flexibility* and *benefit security for flexibility* as well: this employment shape was not the panacea for avoiding employment disadvantage.

In comparison mothers employed in occupations which were casual part-time in shape were much more likely to risk adverse employment outcomes. Lack of access to benefit and care security is likely to explain the comparatively low concentrations of mothers employed in these occupations despite the access they provided to part-time hours. The available pathways, *risking security for flexibility*, *risking benefit security for flexibility* and *risking working time security for mobility* illustrate the poor trades available and would account for the high rates of mobility for women moving both in and out of occupations of this shape. Mothers moved into these occupations in their search for flexibility and then moved out again quickly as care demands weakened, to avoid becoming trapped in occupations that are of generally of low socio economic status and exemplify poor quality part-time work.

However mothers were also employed in occupations where full-time employment was the norm. They had limited access to flexibility but also generally faced fewer risks to security. The main risks involved benefit and working time insecurity and forfeiting flexibility. Despite these trades, over half the mothers in the sample made transitions where they stayed employed in occupations with a flexible fulltime shape. The inflexible full-time shape, by contrast, had comparatively lower concentrations of mothers employed. Here, mothers also used navigational pathways of *risking benefit security* and *forfeiting flexibility*, but were less likely to remain in these occupations and were more likely to seek

employment in occupations elsewhere. It is likely that access to security is a deterrent to accessing flexibility, and thus mothers for whom security and flexibility are paramount seek employment in occupations of different shape which better suits their needs.

In some occupations of very long hours employment, access to flexi-place norms compensated for working time flexibility. However not all mothers were able to access the navigational pathway of *constrained flexibility*. And instead *forfeited flexibility for security* or *risked both flexibility and security*. Still, nearly half of all mothers employed in these occupations remained employed in them. These occupations had relatively high rates of occupational exclusion: mothers either conformed to norms or lost occupational access. This could be highly problematic, as many of these occupations were of high socio-economic status and exclusion could result in loss of accumulated education, skills and experience.

These differences in the utilisation of navigational pathways not only illustrate the diversity of mothers' experience of navigation, but also illustrate how the occupational norms embedded in the shape of employment for any given occupation constrain employment accessibility. The package of occupational norms shapes both employment access and future navigation. Constraints on navigation shape how mothers are able to combine paid employment and unpaid care over the course of motherhood and determine whether mothers experience employment disadvantage. It is the occupational context that determines how norms are packaged together to enable access to flexibility and security, shaping where in the labour market mothers are employed. These findings point a number of implications for further research and policy development that are discussed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9

Navigating Occupational Norms: The Key Findings, Developments, Implications and Conclusion

9.1 Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis examined how Australian mothers responsible for the care of resident children aged under 16 managed their attachment to paid employment. The study found that occupational norms for working hours, work scheduling, employment contract and flexi-place employment were key to enabling employment accessibility for mothers in paid employment. These norms established a range of combinations of flexibility and/or security for mothers, enabling them to engage in *both* paid employment and unpaid care. Importantly these norms were found to vary among occupations, thus generating differences in how mothers were able to access employment in different occupations, as well as differences in how mothers were able to navigate the maintenance of their labour market attachment during motherhood. It is these occupational differences in the shape of accessibility and their role in generating mothers' patterns of navigation which contributes to the reproduction of patterns of gender segmentation in the Australian labour market.

The study makes important contributions to knowledge not only empirically but also theoretically and methodologically. Empirically the study demonstrates that part-time employment is not necessarily the key to enabling occupational accessibility, for all mothers engaged in paid employment. Rather, it is the ability to access some combination of flexibility and security, particularly the capacity to move between full *and* part-time employment that plays a critical role in occupational accessibility. Theoretically these findings suggest that there is still much for us to understand about the dynamics of employment for women over the life course, particularly during motherhood. The study provided a theoretical framework for understanding the interaction between choice and constraint in mothers' employment decisions through examining the relationship between static patterns of occupational norms and the mobility patterns of women over the course of motherhood. In doing so, the study contributes to our understanding of the process of reproduction of patterns of gender segmentation within the Australian labour market and

highlights the importance of occupations as an institutional field at the meso level of analysis.

Methodologically the study utilised new frameworks for analysis. Critically, a framework was employed which triangulated the findings of static employment patterns against patterns of mobility enabling an examination of the dynamic interaction between choice and constraint. In addition, a new statistical measure of occupational norms and their strength was developed and contributions were made to the development of frameworks for measuring employment disadvantage and employment mobility.

The implications of these findings and developments are significant both for policy and future research. In brief, they suggest the need for the inclusion of a wider mix of mechanisms which enable flexibility and security in employment to be incorporated into how jobs are structured within the workplace. In particular, consideration needs to be given to the combination of working arrangements conducted and how these arrangements interact either to enable or to constrain mothers' labour market participation and occupational maintenance or upward mobility. In part these findings suggest the need for a return to greater regulatory engagement in establishing a floor of minimum standards and contractual requirements attached to job provision. The introduction of paid parental leave in Australia has made an important step toward shoring up the employment safety net for women when they are at their most vulnerable, at the start of motherhood. However as this study has demonstrated motherhood is a relatively long term life stage with the potential to impact on employment decisions and behaviours long after a mother first returns to work after childbirth. Attention should now be turned towards improving occupational accessibility for mothers over the long term through the provision of mechanisms such as the ability to move between different modes of working hours, access to flexi-place employment and access to provisions which enable greater employment security.

While the historical legacy of the industrial award system in Australia is a likely starting point for explanation of the patterns of occupational difference in accessibility, further research which is comparative in nature is needed in order to examine this claim properly. Comparison of occupational norms from other nations with a different institutional mix of employment and welfare policy may reveal further mechanisms which can contribute to occupational accessibility for mothers. In addition, this study has examined mobility as singular transitional events and thus has only explored the short term impacts of differences in occupational accessibility. Examination of work histories is required in order to assess long term impacts, to assess if the trades between flexibility and security which mothers make are reversible or permanent.

These points will be expanded upon and discussed more fully over the following pages.

9.2 Empirical Findings: Explaining the Mobility Patterns of Mothers

Empirically, the study set out to map the terms and conditions of employment shaping mothers' occupational access and their patterns of employment mobility during motherhood. The central hypothesis was that the terms and conditions of employment varied on an occupational basis and that these variations in turn impacted on how mothers combined paid employment with unpaid care, particularly on the trades mothers made between accessing flexibility and security. The study undertook to answer four research questions and the findings to these questions have been discussed in Chapters 5 to 6. These findings can be summarized as follows.

What are the 'normative forms' of employment in Australia and how do they vary across the labour market?

Chapters 5, examined the patterning of occupational norms for 64 occupations in the Australian labour market, identifying the most common norms, how they vary in strength, and which are key to occupational access, particularly for mothers in paid employment. The chapter concluded that not only did these norms vary widely but they also varied widely in strength. These findings have important implications for mothers in paid employment as they suggest that not only do mothers have varied access to different forms of employment in different occupations, but their ability to alter employment form within an occupation differs also.

What are the most common forms of the employment in the labour market?

The most common forms of employment still include full-time and part-time employment; contracts that may be either permanent or casual; and work that is scheduled on a 9 to 5 Monday to Friday schedule and that is for the most part conducted at an organizational workplace that is not the employee's home. However occupational norms are diversifying, particularly with regard to working hours. Part-time work can be divided into two distinct categories, short hours where employment is for less than 15 hours per week and participatory part time employment where working hours are between 15 and 34 hours per week. Similarly full-time work is also diversifying as weekly working hours expand. Two distinct groups are emerging, one with norms for standard full-time hours of between 35 and 40 hours per week and the other with very long working hours in excess of 50 hours

per week. In addition norms with regard to where work is being conducted are also changing, with a small number of occupations having a norm where the work is conducted at least in part from home.

What are the key occupational norms in the Australian labour market?

Key norms are those showing wide variation either in nature or in strength, specifically for jobs employing mothers. These norms included norms for working hours, portability of work, employment contract and work scheduling.

How do occupational norms vary in nature and strength?

Occupational norms for working time, work portability, employment contract and work scheduling vary both in nature and strength. Working time norms varied from short (1-14hrs/wk), participatory part-time (15-34 hrs/wk), standard full-time (35-49 hrs/wk) to very long (50+hrs/wk). While most of these norms varied in strength from weak to moderate, norms for standard full-time employment varied from weak to strong. Norms for portability varied from either weak to moderate for portability of work or weak to strong for no portability. In addition most occupations had norms for regular daytime scheduling but the strength of this norm varied widely from weak to strong. Lastly, norms for permanent employment varied from weak to strong, while norms for casual employment were generally moderate in strength.

How do these norms and their strength relate to the concentration of mothers within occupations?

The relationship among norms, occupational strength and the concentration of mothers is complex. Mother's occupational concentration is not solely reliant on any one norm. While norms for working hours appear to be instrumental to occupational access, particularly part-time working hours for mothers, they are not absolute. Occupations with short hours norms did not necessarily employ more mothers and occupations with norms for very long hours or standard full time hours did not always exclude more mothers than average. Similar patterns were found with regard to norms for portability and no portability of work, permanent and casual employment and regular daytime work schedule and rotating shifts. What appeared to be instrumental to mothers' occupational participation was the package of norms - the combination of norms and strength. How norms interact with one another to provide flexibility and security is important.

How is the Australian labour market contoured by patterns of occupations with varying normative forms of employment?

It is these packages or combinations of norms which create contours of occupational access for Australian mothers, and others, in paid employment. Flexibility is not only enabled by access to part time employment, but more particularly by working time mobility where movement between full and part-time modes is enabled. Flexibility is also enabled by access to flexi-place employment, where in the absence of working time flexibility mothers are able to take some of their work home. Similarly security is not only enabled by permanent employment. Regular work schedules whether daytime or otherwise enabled mothers to more easily combine care with paid employment.

How do these patterns shape employment access?

Five distinct employment shapes were modelled. First part-time employment was found to have two distinct forms, one providing access to flexibility and security while the other did not. Permanent part-time employment offered both flexibility and security through norms of part-time work with the mobility to move to full-time, regular work scheduling and a permanent contract. In contrast, casual part-time employment offered very little flexibility and security. Working hours were flexible but working time mobility was limited as working hours were rarely extended to full-time, the work was not portable, work scheduling was more irregular and the employment contract was nearly always casual.

Second, full time employment also differed in the extent to which flexibility and security could be accessed. Many occupations had norms for standard full time hours but while these jobs offered security for the most part they differed in the flexibility they offered. Flexible full-time employment enabled working time mobility, the ability to reduce working hours to part time while inflexible full-time employment only enabled the ability to extend working hours. Occupations with norms for very long working hours also enabled the ability to reduce working hours to a more manageable standard full-time however portability of work was also available.

How do different patterns of norms act as barriers and bridges to the employment mobility of mothers?

It was the particular combination of these occupational norms which acted as either a barrier or a bridge to employment mobility. The norms of casual part-time employment tended to create a trap. Strong norms of part-time work meant that very little work was offered on a full-time basis. If one wished to change working hours then it seemed that one

must also change occupations. Similarly inflexible full-time employment was also a trap. Norms for full-time employment, coupled with the mobility to increase working hours but not to decrease them, only served to diminish access to flexibility, thus generating a barrier to maintaining occupational access during motherhood. In contrast the norms of permanent part-time employment, flexible full-time employment and very long hours employment acted as a bridge. Weak norms for working time enabled access to both full and part-time employment, or at the very least to reducing working hours in combination with the ability to work from home, providing a bridge to maintaining occupational access. This bridge was then further supported by norms of permanent employment and regularity of work scheduling which provide security.

How are mothers distributed across occupational clusters?

Mothers were concentrated more heavily in occupations that enable access to both flexibility and security. Occupations with a permanent part-time employment shape employed the highest concentrations of mothers as these occupations provided access to both, part and full-time employment, a permanent employment contract and regularity of work scheduling. However flexible full-time employment and very long hours employment also occurred in a number of occupations which had above average concentrations of mothers. In these occupations, flexibility was also enabled by the ability to keep hours to a reasonable full-time load at most, in combination with access to flexi-place employment. Accessing flexibility was critical but did not occur at the expense of security. When security was lacking such as in casual part-time employment, mothers were not necessarily employed in higher concentrations than average.

What pathways of navigation do women and mothers use to maintain employment access?

Mothers and women utilized a number of different pathways in order to maintain employment access. Such pathways differed in the combination of transitions made between jobs with different terms and conditions of employment. The particular patterning of these transitions combination results in different trades being made between flexibility and security.

What patterns of transitions do mothers make?

Six patterns of transition were modelled. These transition patterns included: forfeiting flexibility for security, constrained flexibility, risking flexibility and security, risking working

time security for mobility, risking security for flexibility and risking benefit security for flexibility.

What trades between flexibility and security are implicit within these patterns of transitions?

Each of these transition patterns embodied a different set of trades between flexibility and security. Risking benefit security for flexibility embodied the trading away of a permanent employment contract for access to part time work. Risking security for flexibility coupled the loss of permanent employment with a loss in regularity of work scheduling for access to part-time work. In contrast constrained flexibility enabled mothers to access to portability of work rather than flexibility of working time. Trades mothers avoided included forfeiting flexibility for security where access to part-time work was forfeited in exchange for permanent employment. Risking working time security for mobility was a trade where movement between full and part time employment was constrained and access to permanent employment was placed at risk, while risking flexibility and security epitomised a gamble where access part-time employment was placed at risk in conjunction with access to permanent employment.

How do these transitions and trades vary between mothers and women without the responsibility for the care of dependent children?

Mothers were most likely to risk benefit security for flexibility, risk security for flexibility or experience constrained flexibility. Mothers were less likely to make transitions of forfeiting flexibility for security, risking flexibility and security or risking working time security for mobility.

How do these transitions and trades vary across different employment shapes?

Women were more likely to make particular trades depending on their occupation. An occupation's employment shape was important in determining the transitions and trades women made. Women employed in casual part-time employment were most likely to risk security for flexibility while women employed in permanent part-time employment made a wider range of trades including risking security for flexibility, constrained flexibility and risking benefit security for flexibility. For occupations modelled on both flexible and inflexible full-time employment, trades of forfeiting flexibility for security were most common. While women employed in occupations modelled on very long hours were most likely to make trades of constrained flexibility.

How do mothers use these pathways to navigate occupational access?

These navigational pathways provide a limited set of options by which women can navigate their employment and occupational access during motherhood. Each pathway has different consequences for agency.

How does the use of navigational paths vary between occupations?

Critically, the trades made by mothers varied both occupationally and on the basis of care needs, as shown by the trades made by mothers in occupations where they are employed in high concentrations. For example, mothers who were nursing professionals were mostly likely to make transitions where they put care security at risk in order to gain flexibility, while in contrast, mothers who were employed as secondary school teachers were most likely to make trades that constrained their flexibility. Both of these occupations are of high socio economic status and while they both employ high concentrations of mothers, the shape of employment is different in each, generating different patterns of transitions and trades when mothers alter their employment to accommodate both paid work and unpaid care.

Do mothers utilise the same navigational pathways as women without dependent children?

Differences in transitions and trades were found between active mothers (women with resident children under 16) and both non mothers and non active mothers, as well as differences between active mothers at different stages of motherhood. These differences illustrated, first of all, the importance of access to flexibility mechanisms for active mothers in paid employment, and second, the importance of viewing motherhood as a long term life stage. The main trades made by active mothers centred on accessing flexibility, whether this was accessing constrained flexibility, risking benefit security for flexibility or risking security for flexibility. By contrast, for both non mothers and non active mothers forgoing flexibility to achieve security was a much more likely trade. These patterns of trades highlight the stark differences in mobility and employment outcomes between groups of women whose main differentiating characteristic was intensity of care-giving responsibilities.

Do these pathways lead to maintaining occupational security or trading occupational access for flexibility?

Where possible mothers attempted to make trades where occupational security could be maintained and their investment in skills and work experience could be capitalised on. When flexibility could not be accessed such as in occupations with an inflexible full-time

employment shape, mothers traded occupational security for flexibility. The differences in navigational pathways used by mothers highlighted the importance of flexibility for mothers in paid employment. Where possible mothers will avoid paying a price to access flexibility, but if they have to more often than not they will pay it even if it means loss of occupational access.

How do these pathways reproduce patterns of gender segregation or segmentation in the Australian labour market?

It can be deduced that patterns of gender segmentation become reproduced through a process of mutual reinforcement. The need for flexibility and security drives mothers to seek the best possible trade, however not all pathways are open to mothers. Patterns of occupational norms and their strength constrain the availability of some pathways making some trades more likely than others. When available pathways are favourable to mothers or exact very few penalties mothers will remain within in an occupation thus sustaining and reproducing occupational norms. When these pathways deny access to flexibility mothers change occupations in order to access flexibility, or if they can, go without it. The navigational pathways used in these instances also reproduce and sustain existing patterns of segmentation, reinforcing strong norms with limited access to flexibility and perpetuating trades to occupations where flexibility can be access albeit with a high cost to security.

9.3 Theoretical Developments: Reproduction of Gender Segmentation through Interaction of Choice and Constraint

The empirical findings of this thesis have been used to argue that patterns of gender segmentation reflect more than aggregate patterns of individual choices of behaviour. Rather, they reflect the operation of institutional factors. Importantly, it was shown that 64 occupations could be clustered into five main occupational 'shapes', based on the interplay and relative strength of four norms – for availability of part-time hours, flexi-time and flexi-place, and for contractual insecurity, The occupational 'shapes' created by different combinations of these four normative parameters were shown to be linked to different concentrations of mothers in different occupational groupings. The study showed how employment in the occupations characterised by each 'shape' required mothers to make different trade-offs between types of security, flexibility and mobility.

The result is a dynamic model of segregation as an emergent process. The interrelationship between static occupational patterns of terms and conditions of employment and patterns

of transition suggest that mothers' mobility is an interplay between choice *and* constraint. It is one in which mothers' choices over how to combine unpaid care with paid employment are shaped in part by occupational norms which enable and constrain access to flexibility and security.

Analysis of occupational differences in the terms and conditions of employment enabled much wider variations in the form of employment to be modelled than has previously been examined. Early work on dual labour markets (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Gordon, Edwards, & Reich, 1982) as well as later contributions by Vosko (2006; 2007; 2008; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009), Burgess and Campbell (1998a; 1998b; Burgess, Campbell, & May, 2008), and Acker (1990) have highlighted a duality between employment forms, one which centres on differential access to flexibility and security and is particularly gendered. In contrast the concept of accessibility does not focus on static outcomes but rather the dynamics which lead to these outcomes, the transitions involved in mothers' mobility over a five-year period the ways in which variations in mobility were shaped by differences in patterns of interplay among four key occupational norms of flexibility and security, of varying strengths. This focus has enabled development of a theory which moves away from explaining patterns of segmentation to one which explores the process of reproduction of segmentation patterns. It also shifts away from the tendency of analysing relatively fixed patterns to focusing on the multiplicity of working arrangements which in turn generate a multiplicity of pathways that mothers navigate as they attempt to combine paid employment with unpaid care. The concentration on the trades of a large cohort of mothers over a period of five years was sufficient to serve as a sort of 'laboratory' experiment to isolate in fine detail the dynamics of transition.

In this study, segmentation has been redefined as a dynamic process in which patterns of mobility are both enabled and constrained by institutional structures and institutional structures are in turn reproduced and modified by patterns of mobility. This thesis adds to the theoretical work of Rubery (1994b) on systems of production, consumption and reproduction by examining in detail, the interrelationship between production and reproduction. In the process I have placed occupations under the microscope, exploring their role within the matrix of institutions shaping mothers' employment participation. As an institutional layer, occupations have been used to identify a set of institutions - occupational norms, that transcend firm based boundaries and generate similarities in job quality within occupations, and as well as divisions in job quality between different occupations within national labour markets. However the concept of job quality has been expanded and re conceptualised in comparison to previous studies (Burgess & Campbell,

1998a; Chalmers, Campbell, & Charlesworth, 2005; Gallie, 2007; Gittleman & Howell, 1995; Lyonette, Baldauf, & Behle, 2010). The concept of accessibility developed in this thesis incorporates concepts of flexibility, security *and* mobility, and it is the inclusion of mobility as an element of job quality that enables the examination of segmentation as a dynamic process.

It is the differences in accessibility – the qualities of flexibility, security and mobility – embodied by occupational norms and their strength, which generate employment disadvantage and systemic discrimination for working mothers. Accessibility differences highlight the many barriers mothers face as they attempt to combine paid work with unpaid care. For some mothers these barriers are in accessing part-time work, for others it is the loss of security attached to accessing part-time work, for more still it is the potential trap of being unable to return to full-time work and or permanent contracts when the need for flexibility is no longer prevalent. These differences in accessibility contribute to the reproduction of Hakim's career minded, adaptive and home focused women. While Hakim (2000; 2002; 2003) argues that it is preference for a work family lifestyle which creates the differences in women's labour market outcomes, the findings in this study illustrate that mothers are faced with constrained choices: the terms of employment access and, both the potential and extent of mobility enabled during motherhood are occupationally defined. Occupational norms enable and constrain mothers' pathways for navigation, and the use of these pathways in turn reinforces the pattern and strength of occupational norms. Occupational norms constitute the implicit knowledge women take with them into the labour market when they adapt their employment behaviour to conform to occupational norms, or change their occupation to seek out greater flexibility.

These findings have also broadened the scope of our understanding of what is being institutionalised. It is not simply the gendering of employment forms – the differences in access to flexibility and security - which are being institutionalised but the capacity to engage in *both* paid employment and unpaid care. Many comparative studies have looked at how gendered care giving is institutionalised within national welfare systems (Bjornberg, 2002; Dingeldey, 2007; Ellingsaeter, 1999; Fagan & O'Reilly, 1998; Leira, 2002; Lewis & Giullari, 2005). However it is access to care giving - who provides care, how it is enabled and supported at the interface between paid employment and unpaid care, and for how long - which is being institutionalised differently in different occupations. The extent to which the institutionalisation of work/care enablement *is* gendered within occupations remains unanswered and is one of this study's limitations. The employment mobility patterns of fathers and their relationship to care enablement were not examined, and this remains an

avenue for further research. A comparison of the occupational differences in fathers' and mothers' mobility is needed to fully understand whether or not the capacity to engage in unpaid care is gendered within occupations in the Australian labour market. However that care is both institutionalised differently in different occupations and between mothers with different care needs within occupations suggests that care enablement in tandem with employment participation over the course of motherhood is a new frontier for theoretical development.

9.4 Methodological Developments: Dynamic Relationships and Frameworks of Analysis

The methodological contributions of this thesis centre around quantifying and locating, in time and place, the navigational pathways of Australian mothers in paid employment, and in continuing the development of a robust framework for analysing job quality.

A nuanced measure of job qualities - occupational norms - was developed for use in the study. The mode and an inverse measure of the index of qualitative variation was used to measure the strength of *access* to four job qualities important to mothers in paid employment, working time flexibility, care flexibility, benefit security and care security. This measure of norms and their strength enabled greater precision in the assessment of a particular job quality as a 'norm', through measuring a norm within an occupational context, and by measuring the strength of a job quality in relation to the availability of possible alternatives.

The development of a statistical measure of occupational norms allowed for more than simply mapping job qualities within occupations. The framework that was used expanded upon the work of Standing (1997; 1993) and Burgess and Campbell (1998a), by explicitly focusing on a diverse range of job qualities which are important to enabling care. Importantly, the framework enabled the interrelationship between job qualities to be mapped. It is the interrelationship between job qualities and the impact of this interrelationship which has such a diverse impact on Australian working mothers. "Workers may trade off job quality (security, pay, skill use) for shorter hours to reconcile work and family - women and mothers, especially often trade good jobs for bad", (Pocock & Skinner, 2012): the mapping of the interrelationships among job qualities was a precursory step to being able to map the transitions and trades made by Australian mothers.

The process of quantifying the transitions and trades in job quality that women make over the course of motherhood is an important contribution made by this study. Qualitative

studies have been important in aiding our understanding of the experience of mothers' working lives and have provided an indication of the types of trades mothers are making in order to combine work and care (Burgess, Henderson, & Strachan, 2007; Baird & Charlesworth, 2007; Pocock, 2003). However, the methodology employed in this study has enabled these trades not only to be described but quantified and located in time (stage of life and stage of motherhood) and space (occupationally). It is the findings of the study in these two areas which have the greatest implications for policy application.

Further this thesis has widened the conceptual boundaries on motherhood and how mothers' employment participation is studied. By expanding the notion of motherhood though the inclusion of mothers of children up to sixteen years of age, rather than one that ends with the initial return to work post birth, or when mothers return to full-time employment, this study has enabled the examination on the interaction between unpaid care and paid employment as an ongoing process. This is a process in which mothers potentially face different challenges to combining work and care not only depending on their occupational location but also dependent on the reconciliation between their different needs for accessibility and their perceived need for accessibility, depending on care-giving stage.

9.5 Implications for Policy

Two key findings of the study are of critical importance for future policy development. First, access to part-time employment is not a panacea for resolving the problems of combining paid work and unpaid care, and second, motherhood is a long term life course stage with ongoing impacts on employment which are experienced long after a mothers' first return to paid employment post birth. Both these findings suggest the need for greater institutionalisation of minimum provisions at a national level - provision for the availability of a wider range of mechanisms for flexibility combined with greater access to provisions for security, and provisions which support access to these mechanisms over a longer term.

Part-time work provides flexibility to combine paid work with unpaid care, but as the findings of this study clearly show part-time work is not the only mechanism which can enable flexibility; it is simply the mechanism which is most available to working mothers in Australia. Even so part-time work is not widely available to all mothers in all occupations. Greater access to part-time work is needed, or at least the option to reduce working hours to a more manageable level when they are in excess of the standard full-time working week.

In addition accessing part-time work is not the only mechanism for accessing flexibility. Access to flexi-place employment is also a vital aid in enabling mothers to combine paid employment with unpaid care. The ability to take work home, accessed through formal or informal arrangements, for either a substantial or minimal part of the working week, is particularly helpful when hours are not able to be reduced to part-time.

Mothers also aim to access or retain security *and* to have the ability to return to full-time employment more generally at a later stage. These findings suggest that flexibility is simply the first priority for mothers in paid employment and the extent to which both flexibility and security may be met occupationally helps explain the concentration of mothers in occupations. The Australian mothers in the study sought employment in occupations where they could access some form of flexibility with minimal loss to security, the right combination of both flexibility and security for their needs.

The implications of these findings suggest a need for the incorporation of flexibility and security mechanisms which enable the combination of work and care into employment regulation at the national level. The occupational differences in mothers' patterns of transition and trades illustrate the extent to which work/care enablement is institutionalised differently when a minimum floor of rights and entitlements to work and care is not regulated. Most importantly the findings suggest that it is the *combination* of mechanisms available that is important. Flexibility without security is practically ineffective, as concentration patterns of mothers employed in occupations with short hours norms shows. In addition flexibility does not necessarily have to be accessed via part-time employment. Reducing working hours and or being able to take work home from the office can be an effective substitution.

While access to paid parental leave and the right to request part-time work have provided Australian mothers with further access to flexibility and security, these recent developments only go part way towards reconciling the problems encountered by mothers navigating work and care. Paid parental leave protects and encourages the right to return to employment post birth but motherhood is a long term life stage with the potential to impact on a mother's need to accommodate care for many years to follow. Additionally, the right to request part-time work is only extended to women (and men) with children who are not yet of school age or who have children aged under 18 with a disability. These provisions are limited in that they are not available throughout motherhood nor do they protect women from trading security for flexibility. What is needed is the incorporation of flexibility mechanisms in tandem with measures protecting security. The institutionalisation of such mechanisms will lead to more effective work/care enablement.

9.6 Limitations

The research has a number of limitations, but these predominantly affect the generalisability of the findings and not the contributions to theoretical development. These limitations are that the research is highly contextual, and as with much research, many questions remain unanswered.

The first limitation of this study is that the findings pertain to the Australian experience only at a particular point in time, as such the findings are heavily reliant on their surrounding context and the extent to which they may be generalised is limited.

The second limitation of the study is that mobility has been analysed in terms of singular transitional events. While the findings generated from this analysis have suggested that for some mothers, transitions and trades are permanent and irreversible, the longer term consequences of these patterns of transition are still unknown.

Lastly, questions of whether these transitions and trades are discriminatory or indicate systemic disadvantage still remain unclear. The position of this thesis has been to assume that employment differences are systemic, and to focus on developing a theory which posits that these differences result from the interaction of institutional constraints at the occupational level and the choices women make in attempting to combine paid employment with unpaid care during motherhood. The concept of 'discrimination' is one that is fraught with unhelpful assumptions about intent: what is important is effects. Systemic disadvantage has been identified, and traced back to matters such as contractual modes and flexibility of working hours and place, that are amenable to regulatory and organisational change.

9.7 Further Research

The findings of this study have generated three main avenues for further investigation: comparative research to examine the impact of different meso-institutional structures on the shape of employment at the occupational level; longitudinal research exploring work histories, examining whether particular transitions and trades are permanent or reversible; and research which explores the discrimination/systemic disadvantage aspect of the employment relationship by comparing the transitions, trades and work histories of both men and women, mothers and fathers.

Comparative research is popular among academics exploring the nature and effect of institutions on both women's employment participation and the nature of the employment

relationship. Comparative studies in women's employment have in the past shown similarities between nations in women's use of part-time employment where available and differences in the form and timing of participation between nations with a different mix of welfare and employment policy. While this study has demonstrated the instrumental role of meso level institutions in shaping mothers occupational participation and mobility, whether this will be evident in other nations will need to be investigated further. Institutional differences at the meso level may indicate further support for government intervention in actively setting minimum requirements for flexibility and security.

A second avenue for further research is a study on women's work histories over a longer term. The findings in this study have concurred with discussions of 'mummy tracks', 'trap doors' and 'ceilings' on career progression. Occupational access is often key to career progression and development. Research on the work histories of women over the course of motherhood would provide further insight into questions of whether any transitions and trades made by mothers are permanent or reversible, and the longer term impacts on career development and progression.

Further research examining the differences in the transitions, trades and work histories between men and women during parenthood would provide greater insight into the nature of systemic discrimination. Scandinavian countries are often noted for their policy mix which targets both enabling women's employment and enabling fathers to participate more actively in family care. Other nations such as the United Kingdom and Australia have made tentative steps towards encouraging fathers' participation in care, through the inclusion of gender neutral terms within the framing of policy. The active engagement of fathers in family care and the impacts of this engagement on occupational accessibility in comparison to the impacts on mothers will provide greater insight into the nature and extent of systemic disadvantage. The findings in this study suggest that disadvantage is generated through the interaction between the need to care and the ways in which occupations enable employment participation. Differences in the transitions and trades fathers make in comparison to mothers would provide further insight into not only the extent to which fathers actively engage in care but also into whether the consequences of doing so are the same for men and women.

Appendix A

A.1 Norms Excluded from Analysis

The following table lists the measures of norms, strength and concentration which were excluded from analysis. The values tabled are for 2001. These measures were excluded on two grounds: first there was little variation in values; and second the lack of variation did not appear to be related to the concentration of either women or mothers within these occupations.

Table A. 1 Measures of Occupational Norms, Strength and Concentration Excluded From Analysis, 2001

Occupation	Variation Outside the Full-Time Norm	Proportion in Union	Proportion Parents	Age		Parent Stage	
				Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Factory labourers	0.013	0.38	0.33	25-34	0.251	6 to 11 yrs	0.003
Truck drivers	0.171	0.22	0.35	35-44	0.186	6 to 11 yrs	0.078
Mining, construction and other labourers (higher)	0.009	0.19	0.28	35-44	0.137	6 to 11 yrs	0.074
Cleaners	-0.310	0.11	0.26	35-44	0.153	6 to 11 yrs	0.106
Storepersons	-0.086	0.43	0.18	15-24	0.167	6 to 11	0.158
Kitchenhands	-0.426	0.19	0.12	15-24	0.177	0 to 1/ 2 to 5 yrs	0.130
Miscellaneous Labourers	-0.061	0.17	0.15	15-24	0.127	6 to 11 yrs	0.007
Checkout operators and cashiers	-0.515	0.36	0.14	15-24	0.470	6 to 11yrs	0.135
Other elementary service workers	-0.261	0.14	0.20	35-44	0.088	2 to 5 yrs	0.258
Other intermediate sales workers	0.160	0.18	0.35	15-24	0.159	6 to 11 yrs	0.063
Intermediate stationary plant operators	0.214	0.52	0.35	35-44	0.288	2 to 5 yrs	0.022
Bar attendants	-0.263	0.14	0.23	15-24	0.264	6 to 11 yrs	0.088
Other intermediate production & transport workers	0.081	0.35	0.26	24-35	0.185	6 to 11yrs	0.126
Sales Assistants	-0.297	0.17	0.17	15-24	0.238	12 to 15 yrs	0.079

Occupation	Variation Outside the Full-Time Norm	Proportion in Union	Proportion Parents	Age		Parent Stage	
				Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Other Horticultural Workers (lower)	-0.009	0.24	0.27	24-35	0.219	12 to 15 yrs / 2 to 5 yrs	0.007
Receptionists	-0.079	0.07	0.26	35-44	0.145	6 to 11 yrs	0.081
Fabrication engineers & tradespersons	0.224	0.24	0.32	35-44	0.315	12 to 15 yrs	0.100
Education aides	-0.393	0.406	0.51	35-44	0.312	12 to 15 yrs	0.165
Car delivery drivers	0.017	0.20	0.28	35-44	0.134	2 to 5 / 6 to 11	0.069
Elementary clerks	-0.055	0.36	0.16	35-44	0.196	6 to 11 yrs	0.074
Secretaries & personal assistants	-0.097	0.06	0.38	45-54	0.181	2 to 5 / 6 to 11 yrs	0.119
Children's care workers	-0.174	0.16	0.40	15-24	0.120	6 to 11 yrs	0.027
Special care workers	-0.300	0.27	0.36	35-44	0.183	2 to 5yrs / 6 to 11 yrs	0.922
General clerks	-0.080	0.18	0.37	35-44	0.155	2 to 5 yrs	0.059
Waiters	-0.476	0.04	0.10	15-24	0.409	6 to 11yrs / 0 to 1 yrs	0.253
Carpenters and Joiners	0.089	0.25	0.29	25-34	0.239	6 to 11 yrs / 2 to 5 yrs	0.093
Bookkeepers	-0.302	0.08	0.49	35-44	0.260	6 to 11 yrs	0.135
Metal Fitters and Machinists	0.208	0.42	0.30	35-44	0.241	2 to 5yrs	0.046
Shop Managers	0.228	0.09	0.39	45-54	0.172	6 to 11 yrs	0.043
Inquiry and Admissions Clerks	-0.007	0.27	0.34	24-35	0.237	6 to 11 yrs	0.109

Occupation	Variation Outside the Full-Time Norm	Proportion in Union	Proportion Parents	Age		Parent Stage	
				Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Sales Representatives	-0.093	0.17	0.38	24-35	0.146	6 to 11 yrs	0.012
Accounting Clerks	-0.075	0.11	0.33	35-44	0.229	6 to 11/ 12 to 15 yrs	0.065
Electricians	0.139	0.43	0.31	25-34	0.255	2 to 5 yrs	0.025
Other intermediate service workers (higher)	-0.030	0.25	0.37	35-44	0.318	6 to 11 yrs	0.034
Farmers & farm managers	0.062	0.16	0.32	55+	0.145	12 to 15 yrs / 6 to 11 yrs	0.035
Office managers	-0.019	0.11	0.39	35-44	0.253	12 to 15 yrs	0.082
Other advanced clerical workers	0.038	0.23	0.29	25-34	0.232	6 to 11 yrs	0.062
Other sales & service managing supervisors	0.158	0.12	0.34	45-54	0.152	6 to 11 yrs	0.020
Health & welfare professionals	-0.021	0.52	0.38	25-34	0.220	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.023
Building associate professionals	0.078	0.33	0.42	25-34	0.338	6 to 11 yrs	0.055
Other business associate professionals	0.074	0.19	0.33	35-44	0.361	0 to 1 yrs	0.076
Sales and related professionals	0.182	0.06	0.27	25-34	0.226	2 to 5 yrs	0.032
Human resource professionals	0.120	0.19	0.25	25-34	0.390	6 to 11 yrs	0.070
Sales & marketing managers	0.357	0.03	0.39	25-34	0.362	1 to 1 yrs/ 2 to 5 yrs	0.014
Other professionals (lower)	-0.057	0.14	0.26	35-44	0.241	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.042

Occupation	Variation Outside the Full-Time Norm	Proportion in Union	Proportion Parents	Age		Parent Stage	
				Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Engineering and Processing managers	0.274	0.14	0.37	45-54	0.220	6 to 11 yrs	0.101
Finance Associate professionals	0.118	0.21	0.45	25-34	0.279	0 to 1 yrs	0.032
Resource managers	0.222	0.14	0.47	35-44	0.243	12 to 15 yrs	0.049
Social Welfare professionals	-0.021	0.24	0.28	45-54	0.168	6 to 11	0.076
Other Professionals (higher)	0.095	0.26	0.28	35-44	0.259	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.129
Nursing professionals	-0.095	0.71	0.33	35-44	0.335	6 to 11 yrs	0.016
Business and organisation analysts	0.181	0.16	0.43	35-44	0.339	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.052
Computing professionals	0.080	0.15	0.30	35-44	0.380	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.063
Other specialist managers	0.280	0.44	0.34	45-54	0.216	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.026
Accountants & related professionals	0.176	0.21	0.31	25-34	0.208	6 to 11 yrs	0.041
Other education professionals higher	-0.044	0.42	0.34	35-44	0.185	6 to 11 yrs	0.157
Primary school teachers	0.067	0.70	0.42	35-44	0.268	6 to 11 yrs	0.079
Natural Science professionals	0.111	0.13	0.28	25-34	0.272	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.010
Secondary school teachers	0.098	0.69	0.39	45-54	0.241	6 to 11 yrs/ 12 to 15 yrs	0.039

Occupation	Variation Outside the Full-Time Norm	Proportion in Union	Proportion Parents	Age		Parent Stage	
				Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Engineers	0.221	0.11	0.33	35-44	0.282	6 to 11 yrs	0.047
Other health professionals	0.035	0.31	0.28	35-44	0.286	2 to 5 yrs/ 6 to 11 yrs	0.156
University teachers	0.163	0.43	0.27	35-44	0.121	6 to 11 yrs	0.096
Legal professionals	0.134	0.23	0.34	25-34	0.276	6 to 11 yrs	0.094
Medical practitioners	-0.003	0.53	0.31	35-44	0.192	6 to 11 yrs	0.251

Occupation	Supervisory Responsibilities		Sector		Workplace Size		Gendering of Workplace	
	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Factory labourers	No	0.836	Private	0.187	100 to 499	0.093	majority men	0.090
Truck drivers	No	0.714	Private	0.195	2 to 19	0.116	mostly men	0.340
Mining, construction and other labourers (higher)	No	0.965	Private	0.227	2 to 19	0.214	mostly men	0.483
Cleaners	No	0.513	Private	0.407	2 to 19	0.122	majority women	0.024
Storepersons	No	0.950	Private	0.047	20 to 99	0.147	about same men as women	0.178
Kitchenhands	No	0.702	Private	0.524	2 to 19	0.126	about same men as women	0.116
Miscellaneous Labourers	No	0.908	Private	0.272	2 to 19 / 20 to 99	0.132	mostly men / about the same	0.035
Checkout operators and cashiers	No	0.689	Private	0.045	20 to 99	0.142	about the same men as women	0.172
Other elementary service workers	No	0.432	Private	0.361	2 to 19	0.040	about the same men as women	0.102
Other intermediate sales workers	Yes	0.640	Private	0.039	20 to 99	0.188	about the same men as women	0.074
Intermediate stationary plant operators	Yes	0.980	Private	0.246	2 to 19 / 100 to 499	0.061	mostly men	0.287
Bar attendants	No	0.990	Private	0.377	2 to 19	1.000	about the same men as women	0.287
Other intermediate production & transport workers	No	0.945	Private	0.066	2 to 19	0.183	mostly men	0.275
Sales Assistants	No	0.921	Private	0.069	2 to 19	0.295	mostly women	0.057

Occupation	Supervisory Responsibilities		Sector		Workplace Size		Gendering of Workplace	
	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Other Horticultural Workers (lower)	No	0.980	Private	0.676	2 to 19	0.104	mostly men	0.103
Receptionists	No	0.701	Private	0.410	2 to 19	0.322	majority women	0.047
Fabrication engineers & tradespersons	No	0.999	Private	0.000	2 to 19	0.190	mostly men	0.252
Education aides	No	0.218	Other Government	0.509	20 to 99	0.359	majority men	0.212
Car delivery drivers	No	0.406	Private	0.216	2 to 19	0.127	mostly men	0.111
Elementary clerks	No	0.796	Private	0.724	20 to 49	0.084	about the same men as women	0.084
Secretaries & personal assistants	No	0.750	Private	0.596	2 to 19	0.184	about the same men as women	0.043
Children's care workers	No	0.933	Private	0.676	2 to 19	0.266	mostly women	0.529
Special care workers	No	0.969	Private	0.831	20 to 99	1.000	mostly women/ majority women	0.250
General clerks	No	0.786	Private	0.672	2 to 19	0.144	about the same men as women	0.046
Waiters	No	0.978	Private	0.137	2 to 19	0.344	about the same men as women	0.088
Carpenters and Joiners	No	0.969	Private	0.207	2 to 19	0.175	mostly men	0.434
Bookkeepers	No	0.755	Private	0.163	2 to 19	0.500	about the same men as women	0.066
Metal Fitters and Machinists	No	0.996	Private	0.173	20 to 99/ 2 to 19	0.038	mostly men	0.338
Shop Managers	Yes	0.522	Private	0.044	2 to 19	0.439	about the same men as women	0.023

Occupation	Supervisory Responsibilities		Sector		Workplace Size		Gendering of Workplace	
	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Inquiry and Admissions Clerks	No	0.762	Private	0.792	100 to 499	0.138	about the same men as women	0.093
Sales Representatives	No	0.955	Private	0.258	2 to 19	0.183	mostly men	0.095
Accounting Clerks	No	0.782	Private	0.335	2 to 19	0.100	about the same men as women	0.047
Electricians	No	0.997	Private	0.174	2 to 19	0.099	mostly men	0.324
Other intermediate service workers (higher)	No	0.994	Private	0.470	2 to 19	0.137	about the same/ mostly women	0.060
Farmers & farm managers	No	0.992	Private	0.060	2 to 19	0.552	about the same men as women	0.207
Office managers	Yes	0.821	Private	0.473	2 to 19	0.271	mostly men	0.028
Other advanced clerical workers	No	0.974	Private	0.280	2 to 19	0.065	about the same men as women	0.033
Other sales & service managing supervisors	Yes	0.861	Private	0.331	2 to 19	0.229	about the same men as women	0.040
Health & welfare professionals	No	0.993	Private	0.781	2 to 19/ 20 to 99	0.028	majority women	0.084
Building associate professionals	Yes	0.918	Private	0.447	20 to 99	0.043	mostly men	0.244
Other business associate professionals	Yes	0.986	Private	0.773	20 to 99	0.054	about the same men as women	0.053
Sales and related professionals	No	0.929	Private	0.376	2 to 19	0.062	about the same men as women	0.087
Human resource professionals	Yes	0.990	Private	0.723	2 to 19	0.041	about the same men as women	0.092
Sales & marketing managers	Yes	0.763	Private	0.125	2 to 19	0.092	about the same men as women/ majority men	0.070

Occupation	Supervisory Responsibilities		Sector		Workplace Size		Gendering of Workplace	
	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Other professionals (lower)	No	0.874	Private	0.334	2 to 19	0.113	about the same men as women	0.098
Engineering and Processing managers	Yes	0.430	Private	0.324	20 to 99	0.053	majority men/ same men as women	0.134
Finance Associate professionals	No	0.998	Private	0.239	2 to 19	0.077	about the same men as women	0.040
Resource managers	Yes	0.718	Private	0.626	500 or more	0.046	about the same men as women	0.066
Social Welfare professionals	No	0.893	Private NGO	0.791	2 to 19/ 20 to 99	0.055	majority women/ mostly women	0.111
Other Professionals (higher)	No	0.996	Private	0.668	2 to 19	0.032	about the same men as women	0.075
Nursing professionals	Yes	0.739	Other Government	0.729	500 or more	0.131	majority of women	0.229
Business and organisation analysts	No	1.000	Private	0.456	100 to 499	0.376	about the same men as women	0.091
Computing professionals	Yes	0.994	Private	0.478	500 or more/ 100 to 499/ 20 to 99	0.028	about the same men as women	0.129
Other specialist managers	Yes	0.432	Other Government	0.783	20 to 99/ 2 to 19	0.069	mostly women/ about the same/ majority women	0.036
Accountants & related professionals	Yes	0.908	Private	0.382	2 to 19	0.046	about the same men as women	0.074
Other education professionals higher	No	0.995	Other Government	0.686	20 to 99	0.991	about the same men as women	0.085
Primary school teachers	No	0.914	Other Government	0.480	20 to 99	0.508	majority of women/ mostly women	0.280

Occupation	Supervisory Responsibilities		Sector		Workplace Size		Gendering of Workplace	
	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength	Norm	Strength
Natural Science professionals	Yes	0.989	Private	0.752	2 to 19	0.054	about the same men as women	0.074
Secondary school teachers	No	0.989	Private	0.705	20 to 99	0.330	about the same men as women	0.228
Engineers	Yes	0.931	Other Government	0.334	500 or more	0.011	majority men/ mostly men	0.195
Other health professionals	Yes	0.978	Private	0.520	2 to 19	0.098	mostly women/ majority women	0.149
University teachers	No	0.973	Private	0.312	500 or more	0.448	about the same men as women	0.383
Legal professionals	Yes	0.981	Private	0.462	100 to 499	0.025	about the same men as women	0.121
Medical practitioners	Yes	0.934	Private	0.639	2 to 19	0.157	majority women/ about the same	0.245

A.2 Measuring a Statistical Norm

Conceptually a norm is defined as the most common or popular characteristic or trait. By this definition norms were measured statistically by using the mode as the measure of central tendency. The mode was used throughout the analysis to identify possible norms for all variables regardless of their level of measurement. However use of the mode can be problematic as variables can often be bimodal or the distribution of responses can approximate uniformity. To overcome these problems in identifying statistical norms the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV) was calculated to assess the degree of dispersion of the cases across the variable and thus provide an indicator of the strength of the norm.

A.3 Measuring Normative Strength

The measure of normative strength employed in this study is based on the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV). The IQV measures the dispersion of a distribution across the categories of a given variable. It is calculated as the proportion of observed differences within the distribution from the maximum possible differences. A score of 0 indicates that the variable is unimodal and that there is no dispersion of cases across categories. A score of 1 indicates a perfect dispersion, a uniform distribution of cases across categories.

While the IQV measures the dispersion or variation within the distribution of a variable the conceptual converse of this is a measure of strength of the modal category. Therefore by inverting the IQV score the strength of the modal category can be ascertained. Modes with a strength score of 0 are weak and modes with strength score of 1 are strong. For a mode to be strong enough to be identified as a norm the strength score must be ≥ 0.6

The calculation for the IQV is as follows

$$IQV = \frac{\sum[(x_1x_2)+(x_1x_p)+\dots+(x_2x_p)+\dots]}{(n^2(k-1))} \quad 0 \leq IQV \leq 1$$

$2k$

where x is the frequency of the category

p is the p th category

n is the total frequency

k is the number of categories

Thus the calculation for modal strength is

$$\text{Modal strength} = 1 - IQV$$

A.4 Additional Measures of Residual Variation

In addition to identifying the mode and modal strength, additional measures of residual variation were calculated for variables measured at the ordinal level. The IQV as a measure based on nominal level data fails to account for direction or location of the greater part of the variation that is the crucial aspect of ordinal level data. The measure of residual variation addresses this problem. Conceptually residual variation indicates where in the order the greater part of the variation in responses occurs. For example for the variable of *working hours* the residual variation will indicate if the greater part of the dispersion is occurring in categories of high number of working hours or low number of working hours.

Residual variation is calculated by subtracting the variation generated in one group of categories from another and then calculating this as a proportion of the maximum possible variation in order to standardise the figure for comparison. Selecting a standard reference point is necessary and this reference point can be in either of two forms, a particular reference category may be used or the boundary between two categories may be used as a zero or cut point in the calculation. The formula for calculating residual variation is as follows.

$$IQV_{st} = \frac{\sum [(x_{p+1}x_{p+2}) + (x_{p+1}x_{p+3}) + \dots + (x_{p+2}x_{p+3})] - [(x_{p-1}x_{p-2}) + (x_{p-1}x_{p-3}) + \dots + (x_{p-2}x_{p-3}) \dots]}{(n^2(k-1))} \cdot 2k$$

where x is the frequency of the category
 p is the reference point
 n is the total frequency
 k is the number of categories

In this study two measures of residual variation were calculated, one using a reference category, the variation outside the norm of full-time standard employment, and one using a cut point, the benchmark norm. Both of these measures focused on the category of standard full-time employment as the reference point.

The measure for the Variation outside the Norm of Standard Full-time Employment calculates residual variation based on a reference category of standard full-time employment. In simple terms the measure aims to identify a norm in the absence of full-time employment, or to answer the question, leaving full-time employment aside how are most workers employed part-time or in working longer hours than standard full-time

employment. The calculation designates standard full-time employment as the statistical norm for the distribution and measures where the majority of remaining respondents within the distribution are placed.

To redress this difficulty the calculation for the residual variation uses a standard reference point. Rather than calculate the residual variation from the modal category, the residual variation was calculated from a standard category, full-time working hours. By standardising the reference point to full-time employment for all occupations then the residual variation can be compared identifying whether there is greater dispersion occurring above or below the standard marker of full-time working hours for all occupational groups regardless of the difference in modal working hours.

The calculation for IQVst is based on the original IQV formula. As IQVst is calculated for ordinal level data it attempts to capture the direction or location of the greater part of the variation occurring within in a distribution. The calculation does this by calculating the residual variation, that is the dispersion occurring at one end of the scale from the dispersion occurring at the other end as a proportion of the maximum possible dispersion. For example, take any ordinal level such as category of working hours, the IQVst calculates where the greater proportion of the variation is occurring, in categories with a high number of working hours or categories with a low number of working hours. Therefore the equation to calculate the denominator remains the same and only a new equation to calculate the numerator is derived.

$$IQVst = \frac{?}{\frac{(n^2(k-1))}{2k}}$$

where n is the total frequency
k is the number of categories

To indicate direction a reference category or cut point is used to act as a zero point, a boundary line for comparison. The zero point designates the variation occurring above the reference as positive variation and the variation occurring below as negative variation. The placement of the zero point while necessary to indicate direction its location within a scale will depend on the theoretical purpose behind using the measure. Similarly, the decision to use either a cut point or reference category will also depend on the theoretical basis for using the measure. Using a cut point indicates the strength and direction of the residual

variation. In contrast using a reference category indicates the strength and direction of the residual variation away from a standard or expected category of responses, the reference category. The reference category is a standard category for comparison it may represent an existing norm or ideal such as in using the modal category, or it may represent a traditional or expected norm.

In the following example working hours are divided into five categories short part-time 0-14 hrs/wk, participatory part-time 15-34 hrs/wk, full-time 35-40 hrs/wk, long hours 41-49 hrs/wk and very long hours 50+ hrs/wk. When using a cut point the boundary between two categories becomes the zero point and all categories are designated as either positive or negative in the equation.

p-2	p-1	p	p+1	p+2	p+3
A	B		C	D	E
-ve	-ve	zero	+ve	+ve	+ve
0-14	15-34		35-40	41-49	50+

The conceptual basis of the equation is to capture direction and strength of residual variation. The equation for the numerator can be derived from the formula for the numerator from the original IQV equation. Below is the calculation for the observed variation for the above example using the original equation.

$$\text{Observed variation} = \sum[(x_1x_2)+(x_1x_p)+\dots+(x_2x_p)+\dots]$$

Written out in full for this example the equation would be

$$AB+AC+AD+AE+BC+BD+BE+CD+CE+DE$$

In the above example we have a zero point between categories B and C which designates the variation generated by the categories below the cut point as negative and variation generated by the categories above as positive. The equation for observed variation is now calculated as follows.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Observed variation} &= \text{Positive variation} - \text{negative variation} \\ &= \text{variation generated by categories A \& B minus} \end{aligned}$$

variation generated by categories C,D,E

In practice this becomes

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Observed Variation} &= \frac{[(CA+CB+CD+CE+DA+DB+DC+DE+EA+EB+EC+ED) - (AB+AC+AD+AE+BA+BC+BD+BE)]}{2} \\ &= \frac{2(CD+CE+DE) - 2(AB)}{2} \\ &= (CD+CE+DE) - (AB) \end{aligned}$$

The numerator is divided by two because each amount of variation generated by a category is calculated twice, once as a product of the first category and once as a product of the second. This double counting allows for the variation generated by interaction between a negative and a positive category to be counted as both negative and positive variation, with the resultant products cancelling one another out. Where the two categories generating the variation are of the same sign their products have been counted twice but do not need to be therefore the resultant variation is divided by two to rectify the double counting of the variation.

Alternatively, when using a reference category a whole category is chosen as a zero point and the variation generated by the reference category is zero. The measure for variation outside standard full-time employment is calculated using a whole category, standard full-time employment as the reference category. From a conceptual basis the equation measures both the amount of residual variation occurring outside of the reference point for example if full-time working hours is taken to represent the traditional ideal working hours then using the full-time category as the reference category implies that the IQVst measures the direction and strength of the residual variation away from the ideal. The formula is derived in a similar manner to the equation where a cut point is used.

p-2	p-1	p	p+1	p+2
A	B	C	D	E
-ve	-ve	zero	+ve	+ve
0-14	15-34	35-40	41-49	50+

Observed variation = positive variation – negative variation
 = variation generated by categories A & B
 – variation generated by categories D & E

In practice this becomes

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Observed variation} &= \frac{[(DA+DB+(DC=0))+DE+EA+EB+(EC=0)+ED] - [(AB+(AC=0)+AD+AE+BA+(BC=0)+BD+BE)]}{2} \\
 &= \frac{2DE-2AB}{2} \\
 &= DE-AB
 \end{aligned}$$

Appendix B

B.1 Averages for Occupational Norms, 2001-2005

Table B.1 displays the average for occupational norms and their strength for the 64 occupations surveyed, between 2001 and 2005. Norms are displayed for 3 of 4 parameters of employment explored in this thesis: work scheduling, portability of work and employment contract. Norms for working hours norms are displayed in Table B.2. In calculating these averages, the modal response was used to represent the average norm for the period under study, 2001-2005, and the mean score was calculated to represent the average for normative strength. In addition to these norms the average concentration of both women and mothers within each of these occupations is displayed. Again, these averages are calculated using the mean concentration.

**Table B. 1 Occupational Norms, their Strength and the Concentration of Women and Mothers,
Average 2001 - 2005**

Score	Occupations	Norm for Working Schedule	Strength of Norm	Norm for Location of Work	Strength of Norm	Employment Contract Norm	Strength of Norm	% Female	% Mothers
12.40	Factory labourers	regular daytime	0.43	no homework	0.92	permanent	0.88	21	8
14.00	Truck drivers	regular daytime	0.37	no homework	0.53	permanent	0.88	2	1
17.10	Mining, construction and other labourers (higher)	regular daytime	0.73	no homework	0.42	permanent	0.86	8	4
18.30	Cleaners	regular daytime	0.28	no homework	0.69	casual	0.86	64	21
19.00	Storepersons	regular daytime	0.30	no homework	0.94	permanent	0.86	23	10
19.50	Kitchenhands	regular daytime	0.14	no homework	0.96	casual	0.85	54	13
22.70	Miscellaneous Labourers	regular daytime	0.27	no homework	0.48	casual	0.88	16	5
24.50	Checkout operators and cashiers	regular daytime	0.20	no homework	0.98	casual	0.87	76	11
24.80	Other elementary service workers	regular daytime	0.26	no homework	0.29	casual	0.88	55	16
24.90	Other intermediate sales workers	regular daytime	0.71	no homework	0.48	permanent	0.90	31	11
26.20	Intermediate stationary plant operators	regular daytime	0.33	no homework	0.82	permanent	0.91	7	1
26.70	Bar attendants	regular daytime	0.14	no homework	0.99	casual	0.89	55	16
27.30	Other intermediate production & transport workers	regular daytime	0.37	no homework	0.57	permanent	0.86	13	3
27.40	Sales Assistants	regular daytime	0.38	no homework	0.85	casual	0.83	73	16
28.30	Other horticultural workers (lower)	regular daytime	0.76	no homework	0.28	permanent	0.89	5	2
30.10	Receptionists	regular daytime	0.55	no homework	0.80	permanent	0.88	94	24
31.30	Fabrication engineers & tradespersons	regular daytime	0.76	no homework	0.78	permanent	0.91	0	0

Score	Occupations	Norm for Working Schedule	Strength of Norm	Norm for Location of Work	Strength of Norm	Employment Contract Norm	Strength of Norm	% Female	% Mothers
31.60	Education aides	regular daytime	0.88	no homework	0.63	permanent	0.83	94	54
32.20	Car delivery drivers	regular daytime	0.38	no homework	0.54	permanent	0.88	17	3
34.70	Elementary clerks	regular daytime	0.36	no homework	0.56	permanent	0.88	47	12
34.90	Secretaries & personal assistants	regular daytime	0.71	no homework	0.25	permanent	0.89	98	36
35.40	Children's care workers	regular daytime	0.58	no homework	0.14	permanent	0.85	96	30
35.50	Special care workers	regular daytime	0.18	no homework	0.75	permanent	0.85	86	31
36.10	General clerks	regular daytime	0.71	no homework	0.53	permanent	0.87	83	32
36.40	Waiters	regular daytime	0.11	no homework	0.93	casual	0.93	84	14
39.50	Carpenters and joiners	regular daytime	0.88	no homework	0.19	permanent	0.89	1	0
39.50	Bookkeepers	regular daytime	0.43	homework	0.06	permanent	0.88	94	45
39.90	Metal fitters and machinists	regular daytime	0.42	no homework	0.73	permanent	0.89	1	1
41.00	Shop managers	regular daytime	0.57	no homework	0.08	permanent	0.90	45	13
41.10	Inquiry & admissions clerks	regular daytime	0.59	no homework	0.92	permanent	0.90	71	24
41.20	Sales representatives	regular daytime	0.60	no homework	0.04	permanent	0.88	35	12
41.50	Accounting clerks	regular daytime	0.78	no homework	0.36	permanent	0.91	75	29
42.80	Electricians	regular daytime	0.65	no homework	0.27	permanent	0.93	0	0
44.10	Other intermediate service workers (higher)	regular daytime	0.28	no homework	0.31	permanent	0.87	56	23
46.30	Farmers & farm managers	regular daytime	0.36	homework	0.24	permanent	0.90	28	9
46.50	Office managers	regular daytime	0.76	no homework	0.16	permanent	0.93	85	30
47.80	Other advanced clerical workers	regular daytime	0.59	no homework	0.35	permanent	0.90	68	22

Score	Occupations	Norm for Working Schedule	Strength of Norm	Norm for Location of Work	Strength of Norm	Employment Contract Norm	Strength of Norm	% Female	% Mothers
48.40	Other sales & service managing supervisors	regular daytime	0.52	no homework	0.01	permanent	0.95	40	11
51.20	Health & welfare professionals	regular daytime	0.23	no homework	0.51	permanent	0.89	65	26
56.20	Building associate professionals	regular daytime	0.71	no homework	0.32	permanent	0.91	11	6
58.90	Other business associate professionals	regular daytime	0.79	no homework	0.18	permanent	0.91	63	17
62.00	Sales and related professionals	regular daytime	0.63	no homework	0.01	permanent	0.92	36	6
62.40	Human resource professionals	regular daytime	0.72	no homework	0.10	permanent	0.90	65	20
63.00	Other professionals (lower)	regular daytime	0.36	no homework	0.01	permanent	0.86	49	14
63.00	Sales & marketing managers	regular daytime	0.77	homework	0.01	permanent	0.95	24	6
63.20	Finance associate professionals	regular daytime	0.72	no homework	0.08	permanent	0.95	30	8
63.20	Engineering & processing managers	regular daytime	0.79	no homework	0.04	permanent	0.94	16	4
73.10	Resource managers	regular daytime	0.82	homework	0.03	permanent	0.95	43	17
73.20	Social welfare professionals	regular daytime	0.47	no homework	0.05	permanent	0.88	65	21
74.80	Other professionals (higher)	regular daytime	0.33	no homework	0.07	permanent	0.86	49	48
75.30	Nursing professionals	rotating shift	0.22	no homework	0.73	permanent	0.90	92	39
76.00	Business and organisation analysts	regular daytime	0.67	no homework	0.01	permanent	0.93	34	12
78.50	Computing professionals	regular daytime	0.70	no homework	0.02	permanent	0.91	17	6
80.00	Other specialist managers	regular daytime	0.67	homework	0.02	permanent	0.93	40	14
81.40	Accountants & related professionals	regular daytime	0.85	no homework	0.20	permanent	0.94	39	14
83.80	Engineers	regular daytime	0.71	no homework	0.09	permanent	0.95	5	3

Score	Occupations	Norm for Working Schedule	Strength of Norm	Norm for Location of Work	Strength of Norm	Employment Contract Norm	Strength of Norm	% Female	% Mothers
84.30	Other education professionals higher	regular daytime	0.63	homework	0.10	permanent	0.84	67	26
84.50	Primary school teachers	regular daytime	0.87	homework	0.22	permanent	0.87	81	34
86.20	Natural Science professionals	regular daytime	0.61	no homework	0.02	permanent	0.88	35	11
89.70	Secondary school teachers	regular daytime	0.90	homework	0.36	permanent	0.91	55	25
94.50	Other health professionals	regular daytime	0.64	no homework	0.16	permanent	0.83	59	15
95.70	University teachers	regular daytime	0.54	homework	0.31	permanent	0.82	48	16
96.00	Legal professionals	regular daytime	0.89	no homework	0.06	permanent	0.88	34	7
100.00	Medical practitioners	regular daytime	0.58	no homework	0.22	permanent	0.84	39	11

B.2 Average Measures of Strength for Working Hours Norms

Table B.2 displays the norms and normative strengths for measures of working hours for all 64 occupations sampled. Three measures of working hours are displayed: the norm for working hours, the variation outside the norm for standard employment, and the benchmark norm.

Positive values for the strength of variation outside standard full-time employment indicate that more jobs have working hours of long hours duration than of part-time. Negative values indicate that more jobs have working hours of part-time than of long hours. Standard full-time working hours were removed from the comparison.

Positive values for the strength of the benchmark norm indicate that more jobs have working hours of standard full-time or long hours duration than part-time. Negative values indicate that more jobs have working hours of part-time than of standard full-time hours or longer.

Table B. 2 Norms and Normative Strength for Measures of Working Hours, 2001-2005

Score	Occupations	Hrs Norm	Strength of Norm	Strength of Variation Outside Standard Full-Time Employment	Strength of the Benchmark Norm
12.40	Factory labourers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.20	0.03	0.39
14.00	Truck drivers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.23	0.21	0.57
17.10	Mining, construction and other labourers (higher)	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.08	0.02	0.33
18.30	Cleaners	short hours (1-14hrs/wk)	0.13	-0.32	-0.27
19.00	Storepersons	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.07	-0.11	0.06
19.50	Kitchenhands	short hours (1-14hrs/wk)	0.20	-0.40	-0.39
22.70	Miscellaneous Labourers	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.07	-0.15	-0.02
24.50	Checkout operators and cashiers	short hours (1-14hrs/wk)	0.28	-0.47	-0.46
24.80	Other elementary service workers	short hours (1-14hrs/wk)	0.14	-0.26	-0.20
24.90	Other intermediate sales workers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.06	0.15	0.30
26.20	Intermediate stationary plant operators	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.16	0.18	0.74
26.70	Bar attendants	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.18	-0.27	-0.22
27.30	Other intermediate production & transport workers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.10	0.08	0.55
27.40	Sales Assistants	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.14	-0.34	-0.30
28.30	Other horticultural workers (lower)	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.09	-0.02	0.26
30.10	Receptionists	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.18	-0.12	-0.04
31.30	Fabrication engineers & tradespersons	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.15	0.23	0.77
31.60	Education aides	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.32	-0.32	-0.32
32.20	Car delivery drivers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.04	0.02	0.26
34.70	Elementary clerks	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.11	-0.06	0.13
34.90	Secretaries & personal assistants	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.11	-0.11	0.03

Score	Occupations	Hrs Norm	Strength of Norm	Strength of Variation Outside Standard Full-Time Employment	Strength of the Benchmark Norm
35.40	Children's care workers	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.08	-0.18	-0.09
35.50	Special care workers	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.24	-0.23	-0.19
36.10	General clerks	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.13	-0.10	0.05
36.40	Waiters	short hours (1-14hrs/wk)	0.23	-0.45	-0.44
39.50	Carpenters and joiners	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.18	0.09	0.55
39.50	Bookkeepers	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.13	-0.31	-0.27
39.90	Metal fitters and machinists	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.17	0.18	0.75
41.00	Shop managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.14	0.19	0.54
41.10	Inquiry & admissions clerks	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.30	-0.02	0.21
41.20	Sales representatives	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.07	0.10	0.49
41.50	Accounting clerks	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.64	0.00	0.28
42.80	Electricians	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.13	0.15	0.66
44.10	Other intermediate service workers (higher)	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.05	-0.25	0.16
46.30	Farmers & farm managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.21	0.06	0.32
46.50	Office managers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.09	0.01	0.32
47.80	Other advanced clerical workers	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.13	0.00	0.29
48.40	Other sales & service managing supervisors	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.13	0.20	0.59
51.20	Health & welfare professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.12	-0.04	0.16
56.20	Building associate professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.15	0.15	0.66
58.90	Other business associate professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.82	0.15	0.52
62.00	Sales and related professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.08	0.13	0.55
62.40	Human resource professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.81	0.07	0.44
63.00	Other professionals (lower)	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.02	0.27	0.72

Score	Occupations	Hrs Norm	Strength of Norm	Strength of Variation Outside Standard Full-Time Employment	Strength of the Benchmark Norm
63.00	Sales & marketing managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.18	-0.01	0.22
63.20	Finance associate professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.13	0.23	0.67
63.20	Engineering & processing managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.18	0.16	0.64
73.10	Resource managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.10	0.22	0.59
73.20	Social welfare professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.07	-0.04	0.17
74.80	Other professionals (higher)	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.24	0.04	0.36
75.30	Nursing professionals	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.20	-0.08	0.01
76.00	Business and organisation analysts	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.10	0.10	0.47
78.50	Computing professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.15	0.10	0.59
80.00	Other specialist managers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.13	0.24	0.60
81.40	Accountants & related professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.09	0.11	0.53
83.80	Engineers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.12	-0.09	0.09
84.30	Other education professionals higher	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.06	0.03	0.27
84.50	Primary school teachers	part-time (15-34hrs/wk)	0.02	0.07	0.45
86.20	Natural Science professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.08	0.11	0.44
89.70	Secondary school teachers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.05	0.22	0.71
94.50	Other health professionals	full-time (35-40hrs/wk)	0.04	-0.06	0.24
95.70	University teachers	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.06	0.08	0.30
96.00	Legal professionals	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.20	0.18	0.55
100.00	Medical practitioners	very long (50+hrs/wk)	0.07	0.06	0.26

Appendix C

C.1 Distribution of Women by Transition

Table C. 1 Distribution of Women's Occupational Transitions

Trade Group	Change to An Occupation of Lower Status		No Change in Occupational Status		Change to an Occupation of Higher Status		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	488	36%	323	24%	529	40%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	238	24%	488	49%	272	27%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	161	23%	342	49%	197	28%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	279	25%	528	48%	301	27%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	323	22%	716	49%	428	29%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	279	31%	528	35%	450	34%	1342	100%
All Women	1908	27%	2870	41%	2177	32%	6955	100%

Table C. 2 Distribution of Women's Transitions in Employment Participation

Trade Group	Employed Consecutive Years		Not Employed During Transition		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	1327	99%	13	1%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	969	97%	29	3%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	653	93%	47	7%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	1034	93%	74	7%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	1370	93%	97	7%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	1236	90%	106	10%	1342	100%
All Women	6589	95%	366	5%	6955	100%

Table C. 3 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Working Time Flexibility and Working Time Security

Trade Group	Retained Working Time Flexibility (Part-time to Part-time)		Accessed Working Time Flexibility (Full-time to Part-time)		Accessed Working Time Security (Part-time to Full-time)		Retained Working Security (Full-time to Full-time)		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	0	0%	104	7%	117	9%	1119	84%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	196	20%	89	9%	63	6%	650	65%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	272	39%	69	10%	95	14%	264	38%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	468	42%	102	9%	163	15%	375	34%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	906	62%	98	7%	195	13%	268	18%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	964	72%	94	7%	108	8%	176	13%	1342	100%
All Women	2806	40%	556	8%	741	41%	2852	11%	6955	100%

Table C. 4 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Working Time Mobility

Trade Group	Decreased Mode of Working Hours		No Change in Mode of Working Hours		Increased Mode of Working Hours		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	442	33%	397	30%	501	37%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	392	39%	157	16%	449	45%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	265	38%	110	16%	325	46%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	358	32%	260	23%	490	45%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	506	34%	257	18%	704	48%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	461	34%	291	22%	590	44%	1342	100%
All Women	2424	100%	1472	100%	3059	100%	6955	100%

Table C. 5 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Employment Security

Trade Group	Remain on a Fixed Term/Casual Contract		Moved from Permanent to Fixed Term/Casual Contract		Moved from Fixed Term/Casual to Permanent Contract		Remain on a Permanent Contract		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1340	100%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	138	14%	0	0%	0	0%	860	86%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	154	22%	195	28%	240	34%	111	16%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	100	9%	406	37%	602	54%	0	0%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	642	44%	151	10%	244	17%	430	29%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	747	56%	0	0%	0	0%	595	44%	1342	100%
All Women	1781	26%	752	11%	1086	16%	3336	48%	6955	100%

Table C. 6 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Contractual Mobility

Trade Group	Decrease in Mode of Employment Security		No Change in Mode of Employment Security		Increase in Mode of Employment Security		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	0	0%	1340	100%	0	0%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	0	0%	998	100%	0	0%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	240	34%	189	27%	271	39%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	466	42%	0	0%	642	58%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	191	13%	1015	69%	261	18%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	4	0%	1338	85%	0	0%	1342	100%
All Women	901	13%	4880	70%	1174	17%	6955	100%

Table C. 7 Distribution of Women's Transitions in Care Security

Trade Group	Retain Care Irregularity (Irregular Shift to Irregular Shift)		Access Care Irregularity (Move from Regular Day/Regular Shift to Irregular Shift)		Access Care Regularity (Move from Regular Day/Irregular Shift to Regular Shift)		Retain Care Regularity (Regular Shift to Regular Shift)		Access Care Security (Move from Irregular Shift/Regular Shift to Regular Day)		Retain Care Security (Regular Day to Regular Day)		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1340	100%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	48	5%	0	0%	0	0%	23	2%	0	0%	927	93%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	26	4%	98	14%	49	7%	14	2%	160	23%	353	50%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	38	3%	0	0%	0	0%	171	15%	0	0%	899	81%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	0	0%	376	26%	446	30%	0	0%	645	44%	0	0%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	100	7%	0	0%	0	0%	414	31%	0	0%	828	62%	1342	100%
All Women	212	3%	474	7%	495	7%	622	9%	805	11%	4347	63%	6955	100%

Table C. 8 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Scheduling Mobility

Trade Group	Decrease Mode of Care Security		No Change in Mode of Care Security		Increase Mode of Care Security		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	0	0%	1340	100%	0	0%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	0	0%	998	100%	0	0%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	131	19%	393	56%	176	25%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	0	0%	1108	100%	0	0%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	646	58%	0	0%	821	56%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	0	0%	1342	100%	0	0%	1342	100%
All Women	777	11%	5181	74%	997	14%	6955	100%

Table C. 9 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Care Flexibility

Trade Group	Never Worked From Home		No Longer Working From Home		Started Working From Home		Remained Working From Home		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	1340	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	0	0%	226	23%	228	23%	544	55%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	0	0%	193	28%	214	31%	293	42%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	1107	100%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	1465	100%	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	1342	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1342	100%
All Women	5254	76%	419	6%	445	6%	837	12%	6955	100%

Table C. 10 Distribution of Women’s Transitions in Flexi-Place Mobility

Trade Group	Never Worked From Home		Decreased Hours Worked From Home		No Change in Hours Worked From Home		Increase Hours Worked From Home		Total Transitions	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Forfeiting Flexibility for Security	1340	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1340	100%
Constrained Flexibility	0	0%	426	43%	121	12%	451	45%	998	100%
Risking Flexibility & Security	0	0%	298	43%	65	9%	337	48%	700	100%
Risking Working Time Security for Mobility	1108	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1108	100%
Risking Security for Flexibility	1467	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1467	100%
Risking Benefit Security for Flexibility	1342	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1342	100%
All Women	5257	76%	724	10%	186	3%	788	11%	6955	100%

Reference List

Abhayaratna, J., & Lattimore, R. (2006). Workforce Participation Rates - How Does Australia Compare? *Productivity Commission Staff Working Paper* .

ABS. (1978). Labour Force Status by Age by Sex by Place of Usual Residence. *Census of Population and Housing* , Cat No 2104.0.

ABS. (1997). *Australian Standard Classification of Occupations*. Second Edition, Cat No 1220.0. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

ABS. (1998). *1996 Census of Population and Housing*. Basic Community Profile, Australia, Based on Place of Enumeration. Cat No 2901.0ABS. (2011b). *2006 Census Tables*. July 11. Cat No 2068.0, 2001.

ABS. (2006). *Labour Statistics: Concepts, Sources and Methods*. Retrieved November 23, 2011, from Cat No 6102.0.55.001:

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/1F144422BA459EB8CA2572C100244D02>.

ABS. (2007, April 19). *Labour Statistics - Concepts, Sources and Methods*. Retrieved September 3, 2011, from Cat 6102.0.55.001, Australian Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/1F144422BA459EB8CA2572C100244D02?opendocument>

ABS. (2008). *Australian Social Trends* , Cat No 4102.0.

ABS. (2009). *Labour Force Australia: Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families*. Retrieved November 23, 2009, from FA2 - Families by Family Type, Sex, Children, Labour Force Status, Cat No 6224.0.55.001:

[http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/10BEDC49AFCACC1FCA2577CF000DF7AB/\\$File/33010_2009.pdf](http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/10BEDC49AFCACC1FCA2577CF000DF7AB/$File/33010_2009.pdf)

ABS. (2010a). *Births, Australia 2009*. Retrieved November 23, 2011, from Cat No 3301.0: [http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/10BEDC49AFCACC1FCA2577CF000DF7AB/\\$File/33010_2009.pdf](http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/10BEDC49AFCACC1FCA2577CF000DF7AB/$File/33010_2009.pdf).

ABS (2010b). *Labour Force Australia: Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families*. FA3 - Families by Family Type, Sex, State, Dependents, Labour Force Status, June, Cat No 6224.0.55.001.

ABS (2010c). Table 7. *Forms of Employment, Australia , August*, Cat No 6359.0.

ABS. (2010d). *Labour Force Australia*. GM1 - LabourForce Status and Gross Changes (flows) by Sex, State, Age. June, Cat No 6202.0.

ABS. (2010e). *Forms of Employment Australia*. August, Table7. Cat No 6359.0.

ABS. (2011a). *Feature Article: Trends in Employee Methods of Setting pay and Jurisdictional Coverage*, Cat No 6105.0.

ABS. (2011c). *Microdata: Business Longitudinal Database, CURF, Australia 2004-05 to 2009-10*. Retrieved April 19, 2012, from Australian Bureau of Statistics Cat No 8168.0.55.001: <http://abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@nsf/mf/8168.0.55.001>

ABS. (2012a). *Labour Force Australia, Detailed*. Table 13. Employed Persons and Actual Hours Worked by Status in Employment and Sex. Cat No 6291.0.55.003.

ABS. (2012b). *Australian Labour Market Statistics*. April 10, Employment Type: Employed Persons by Sex. Cat No 6105.0.

Acker, J. (1980). Women and Stratification: A Review of Recent Literature. *Contemporary Sociology*, 9 (1), 25-35.

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender and Society*, 4 (2), 139-158.

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class and Race in Organizations. *Gender and Society*, 20 (4), 441-464.

ACTU. (2012). *Lives on Hold: Unlocking the Potential of Australia's Workforce*, 21 May. Melbourne: ACTU.

Alexander, M., Whitehouse, G., & Brennan, D. (2010). Australia. In P. Moss, *International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research* (pp. 42-50). London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

Appelbaum, E., Bailey, T., Berg, P., & Kalleberg, A. (2001). *Shared Work/Valued Care: New Norms for Organizing market Work and Unpaid Care Work*. Washington: Economic Policy Institute.

Archer, M. (2003). *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Armstrong, P. (1984). *Labour Pains: Women's Work in Crisis*. Toronto: The Women's Press.

Armstrong, P., & Armstrong, H. (1990). *Theorising Women's Work*. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Armstrong, P. (2007). Back to Basics: Seeking Pay Equity for Women in Canada. *Labour and Industry*, 18 (2), 11-32.

Arthur, M. (1994). The Boundaryless Career: A new Perspective for Organizational Inquiry. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 15, 295-306.

Arthur, M., & Rousseau, D. (1996). The Boundaryless Career as a new Employment Principle. In M. Arthur, & D. Rousseau, *The Boundaryless Career* (pp. p 3 - 20). New York: Oxford University Press.

Auer, J., & Elton, J. (2010). *Work, Life and Health Study: Final Report*. Adelaide: Centre for Work + Life, Hawke Research Institute, University of South Australia.

Australian Government Family Assistance Office. (2012). Retrieved May 17, 2012, from <http://www.familyassist.gov.au/payments/family-assistance-payments/paid-parental-leave-scheme/>

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2012). *Welfare to Work Submission*. Retrieved May 17, 2012, from http://www.hreoc.gov.au/disability_rights/employment_inquiry/w2wsub.htm

Baird, M. (2004). Orientations to Paid Maternity Leave: Understanding the Australian Debate. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 46 (3), 259-274.

Baird, M., & Charlesworth, S. (2007). After the Baby: A Qualitative Study of Working-time Arrangements following Maternity Leave. *Labour and Industry*, 147 (3), 97-118.

Baird, M., Hancock, K., & Isaac, J. (2011). *Work and Employment Relations: An Era of Change*. Annandale: Federation Press.

Barnes, A., & Lafferty, G. (2010). The Fair Work Act: As Good as it Gets? *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 21 (1), 1-12.

Bateman, H. (2010). *Retirement Incomes in Australia in the Wake of the Global Financial Crisis*. Centre for Pensions and Superannuation, CPS Discussion Paper 0310. Sydney: Australian School of Business.

Baxter, J. (1998). Will the Employment Conditions of Part-timers in Australia and New Zealand Worsen? In J. O'Reilly, & C. Fagan, *Part-Time Prospects: An International Comparison of Part-time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim* (pp. 265-281). London: Routledge.

Baxter, J. (2004). Workforce Transitions Following Childbearing - Analysis of the NLCS Work History Data. paper presented at the NLC Workshop University of Queensland: 29-30 June.

Baxter, J., Gray, M., Alexander, M., Strazdins, L., & Bittman, M. (2007). *Mothers and Fathers with Young Children: Paid Employment, Caring and Wellbeing*. Social Policy Research Paper No 30. Canberra: Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs.

Baxter, J., & Renda, J. (2011). Lone and Couple Mothers in the Australian Labour Market: Differences in Employment Transitions. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 14 (2), 103-122.

Becker, G. (1975). *Human Capital*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Becker, G. (1985). Human Capital Effort, and the Sexual Division of Labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 3 (1 Pt 2), p 33-58.

Benshop, Y., & Doorewaard, H. (1998). Six of One and Half a Dozen of the Other: The Gender Subtext of Taylorism and Team-based Work. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 5 (1), 5-18.

Bhaskar, R. A. (1989). *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*. London: Verso.

Bjornberg, U. (2002). Ideology and Choice Between Work and Care: Swedish Family Policy for Working Parents. *Critical Social Policy*, 22 (1), 33-52.

Blau, F. (1975). Sex Segregation of Workers by Enterprise in Clerical Occupations. In R. Edwards, M. Reich, & D. Gordon, *Labour Market Segmentation*. Lexington: D C Heath & Co.

Blau, P., & Duncan, O. (1967). *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: Wiley.

Blossfeld, H.-P. (1986). Career Opportunities in the Federal Republic of Germany: A Dynamic Approach to The Study of Life-Course, Cohort and Period Effects. *European Sociological Review*, 2 (3), 208-225.

Boulin, J.-Y., Lallement, M., & Michon, M. (2006). Decent Working Time in Industrialized Countries: Issues, Scopes and Paradoxes. In J.-Y. Boulin, M. Lallement, J. Messenger, & M. Michon, *Decent Working Time: New Trends, New Issues*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Braithwaite, V. (1993). The Australian Government's Affirmative Action Legislation: Achieving Social Change through Human Resource Management. *Law & Policy*, 15 (4), 327-354.

Breusch, T., & Gray, E. (2004). New Estimates of Mothers Foregone Earnings Using HILDA Data. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 7 (2), 125-150.

Briar, C. (2009). *Hidden Health Hazards in Women's Work*. Wellington: Dunmore Books.

- Bridges, W. (2003). Rethinking Gender Segregation and Gender Equality: Measures and Meanings. *Demography*, 40 (3), 543-568.
- Brush, C. (1992). Research on Women Business Owners: Past Trends, a New Perspective and Future Directions. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 16, p 5-30.
- Buddelmeyer, H., & Wooden, M. (2011). Transitions Out Of Casual Employment: The Australian Experience. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, 50 (1), 109-130.
- Bukodi, E., Dex, S., & Goldthorpe, J. (2011). The Conceptualisation and Measurement of Occupational Hierarchies: A Review, a Proposal and Some Illustrative Analyses. *Quality and Quantity*, 45 (3), 623-639.
- Burgard, S., Brand, J., & House, J. (2009). Perceived Job Insecurity and Worker Health in the United States. *Social Science and Medicine*, 69 (5), 777-785.
- Burgess, J. (1997). The Flexible Firm and the Growth of Non Standard Employment. *labour and Industry*, 7 (3), 85-102.
- Burgess, J., & Campbell, I. (1998a). The Nature and Dimensions of Precarious Employment in Australia. *Labour and Industry*, 8 (3), 5-21.
- Burgess, J., & Campbell, I. (1998b). Casual Employment in Australia: Growth, Characteristics, a Bridge or Trap? *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 45 (1), 68-98.
- Burgess, J., Campbell, I., & May, R. (2008). Pathways for Casual Employment to Economic Security: The Australian Experience. *Social Indicators Research*, 88 (1), 161-178.
- Burgess, J., & Connell, J. (2006). Work and Family Program's in Australia: What are the Implications for Work-life Balance? *International Employment Relations Review*, 12 (2), 48-57.
- Burgess, J., & Connell, J. (2006b). Temporary Work and Human Resources Management: Issues, Challenges and Responses. *Personnel Review*, 35 (2), 129-140.
- Burgess, J., French, E., & Strachan, G. (2009). The Diversity Management Approach to Equal Opportunity in Australian Organisations. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 20 (1), 77-92.
- Burgess, J., Henderson, L., & Strachan, G. (2007). Work and Family Balance through Equal Employment Opportunity Programmes and Agreement Making in Australia. *Employee Relations*, 29 (4), 415-430.

- Cain, G. (1976). The Challenges of Segmented Labor Market Theories to Orthodox Theory: A Survey. *Journal of Economic Literature* , 14 (4), 1215-1257.
- Campbell, I. (2007). Long Working Hours in Australia: Working-time Regulation and Employer Pressures. *Economic and Labour Review* , 17 (2), 37-68.
- Campbell, I., & Burgess, J. (2001a). A New Estimate of Casual Employment? *Australian Bulletin of Labour* , 27 (2), 85-108.
- Campbell, I., & Burgess, J. (2001b). Casual Employment in Australia and Temporary Employment in Europe: Developing a Cross-National Comparison. *Work, Employment and Society* , 15 (1), 171-184.
- Campbell, I., Whitehouse, G., & Baxter, J. (2009). Australia: Casual Employment, Part-time Employment and the Resilience of the Male-breadwinner Model. In L. Vosko, M. MacDonald, & I. Campbell, *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment* (pp. 60-75). New York: Routledge.
- Carney, T. (2009). The Employment Disadvantage of Mothers: Evidence for Systemic Discrimination. *Journal of Industrial Relations* , 51 (1), 113 - 128.
- Carroll, G., & Mayer, K. (1986). Job-Shift Patterns in the Federal Republic of Germany: the Effects of Social Class, Industrial Sector and Organizational Size. *American Sociological Review* , 51, 323-341.
- Castles, F. G. (1994). The Wage Earners' Welfare State Revisited: Refurbishing the Established Model of Australian Social Protection 1983-93. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* , 29 (2), 120-145.
- Centrelink. (2012). *Parenting Payment Participation Requirements*. Retrieved May 21, 2012, from Centrelink: http://www.centrelink.gov.au/internet/internet.nsf/payments/cc_jul06_pp_participation_requirements.htm
- Chalmers, J., Campbell, I., & Charlesworth, S. (2005). Part-Time Work and Caring Responsibilities in Australia: Towards an Assessment of Job Quality. *Labour and Industry* , 15 (3), 41-66.
- Chalmers, J., & Hill, T. (2007). Marginalising Women in the Labour Market: 'Wage Scarring' Effects of Part-Time Work. *Australian Bulletin of Labour* , 33 (2), 180-201.
- Charlesworth, S. (2010). The Sex Discrimination Act: Advancing Gender Equality and Decent Work? In M. Thornton, *Sex Discrimination in Uncertain Times* (pp. 233-253). Canberra: ANU EPress.

Charlesworth, S., Baird, M., & Whitehouse, G. (2009). *Response to the Proposed National Employment Standard on Parental Leave and Related Entitlements*. Retrieved May 17, 2012, from <http://www.workplace.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/09F862E7-ECC5-460E-BBD9-7FB8CA0A6768/0/109CharlesworthBairdWhitehouse.pdf>

Charlesworth, S., & Chalmers, J. (2005). Studies in Quality Part-Time Management. *Labour and Industry*, 15 (3), 1-6.

Charlesworth, S., Strazdins, L., O'Brien, L., & Sims, S. (2011). Parents' Jobs in Australia: Work Hours Polarisation and the Consequences for Job Quality and Gender Equality. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 14 (1), 35 – 57.

Charlesworth, S., & Whittenbury, K. (2005). *'Part-time and Part-committed'?: The Cultural Challenges of Part-time Work in Policing*. CASR Working papers Number 2005-1. Centre for Applied Social Research
Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and Power*. North Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Connolly, S., & Gregory, M. (2005). *Part-Time Work - A Trap for Womens Careers? An Analysis of the Roles of Heterogeneity and State Dependence*. Discussion Paper Department of Economics. Oxford: Oxford University.

Cousins, C., & Tang, N. (2004). Working Time and Work and Family conflict in the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. *Work, Employment and Society*, 3, 531 - 549.

Creighton, C. (1999). The Rise and Decline of the 'Male Breadwinner Family' in Britain. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 23, 519-541.

Crompton, R. (1999). The Decline of the Male Breadwinner: Explanations and Interpretations. In R. Crompton, *Restructuring Gender Relations and Employment: The Decline of the Male Breadwinner* (pp. 1-25). Oxford: Oxford university Press.

Crompton, R., & Harris, F. (1998). Explaining Women's Employment Patterns: 'Orientations to Work' Revisited. *British Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1), 118-149.

Crompton, R., & Lyonette, C. (2008). Mothers' Employment, Work-Life Conflict, Careers and Class. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 213-233). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Dawson, W., & Turner, J. (1990). *When She Goes to Work She Stays at Home*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Dex, S. (1987). *Women's Occupational Mobility: A Lifetime Perspective*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Dex, S., Joshi, H., Macran, S., & McCulloch, A. (1998). Women's Employment Transitions Around Childbearing. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 60 (1), 79-98.

Dex, S., Ward, K., & Joshi, H. (2008). Changes in Women's Occupations and Occupational Mobility Over 25 Years. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 54-80). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Dickens, W., & Lang, K. (1993). Labor Market Segmentation Theory: Reconsidering the Evidence. In W. Darity, *Labour Economics: Problems Analyzing Labor Markets* (pp. 141 - 180). Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Dingeldey, I. (2007). Between Workfare and Enablement - The Different Paths to Transformation of the Welfare State: A Comparative Analysis of Activating Labour Market Policies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46 (6), 823-851.

Discrimination Law Expert's Group. (2011). *Consolidation of Commonwealth Anti Discrimination Laws: Submission*. 13 December.

Doeringer, P., & Piore, M. (1971). Low Income Employment and the Disadvantaged Labor Force. In M. Reich, *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* (pp. 163-183). Lexington: D C Heath and Company.

Donaldson, M. (1996). *Taking Our Time: Remaking the Temporal Order*. Nedlands: University of Western Australian Press.

Duncan, O & Duncan, B. (1955), A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes. *American Sociological Review*, 20 (2), 210-217.

Duffield, P., Aitken, L., O'Brien-Pallas, L., & Wise, W. (2004). Nursing: A Stepping Stone to Future Careers. *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 34 (5), 238-245.

Ellingsaeter, A. (1999). Dual Breadwinners between State and Market. In R. Crompton, *Restructuring Gender Relations and Employment* (pp. 40-59). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EOWA. (2012). *Developing a Workplace Program and Reporting*. Retrieved August 1, 2012, from Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency: <http://www.eowa.gov.au>

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2006). Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. In C. Pierson, & F. G. Castles, *The Welfare State Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Esposito, A. (2011). Upskilling and Polarisation in the Australian Labour Market: A Simple Analysis. *Australian Bulletin of Labour*, 37 (2), 191-216.
- European Agency for Safety and Health at Work. (2003). *Gender Issues in Safety and Health at Work*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Union.
- European Expert Group on Flexicurity. (2007). *Flexicurity Pathways: Turning Hurdles into Stepping Stones*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Ewer, P., Hampson, I., Lloyd, C., Rainford, J., Rix, S., & Smith, M. (1991). *Politics and the Accord*. Leichardt: Pluto Press.
- Fagan, C. (2001a). The Temporal Reorganization of Employment and the Household Rhythm of Work Schedules. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44 (7), 1199-1212.
- Fagan, C. (2001b). Time, Money and the Gender Order: Work Orientations and Working Time Preferences in Britain. *Gender Work and Organization*, 8 (3), 239-266.
- Fagan, C., & O'Reilly, J. (1998). Conceptualising Part-Time Work: The Value of an Integrated Comparative Perspective. In J. O'Reilly, & C. Fagan, *Part-Time Prospects: An International Comparison of Part-Time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim* (pp. 1-32). London: Routledge.
- Fagan, C., & Rubery, J. (1996). Transitions Between Family Formation and Paid Employment. In G. Schmid, J. O'Reilly, & K. Schomann, *International Handbook of labour Market policy and Evaluation* (pp. 348-378). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Fagan, C., McDowell, L., Perrons, D., Ray, K., & Ward, K. (2008). Class Differences in Mothers' Work Schedules and Assessments of 'Work-Life Balance' in Dual Earner Couples in Britain. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 199-212). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Faganini, J., & Letablier, M.-T. (2004). Work and Family Life Balance: The Impact of the 35-Hour Laws in France. *Work, Employment and Society*, 18 (3), 551-572.
- FaHCSIA. (2012). *Women in Australian Society - Milestones - 1971-1983*. Retrieved May 17, 2012, from http://www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/women/progserv/research/Pages/wia_milestones_1871_1983.aspx
- Fair Work Australia. (2010-2012). *Equal Remuneration Case*. Retrieved August 2012, 15, from <http://www.fwa.gov.au/index.cfm?page=nameremuneration&page=introduction>

- Fenwick, C. (2006). How Low Can You Go? Minimum Working Conditions Under Australia's New Labour Laws. *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 16 (2), 85-126.
- Figart, D., & Mutari, E. (2000). Work Time Regimes in Europe: Can Flexibility and Gender Equity Coexist? *Journal of Economic Issues*, 34 (4), 847 - 871.
- Friedland, R., & Alford, R. (1991). Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices and Institutional Contradictions. In W. Powell, & P. DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (pp. 232-263). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gallie, D. (2007). *Employment Regimes and the Quality of Work*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gash, V. (2008). Preference or Constraint? Part-Time Workers' Transitions in Denmark, France and the United Kingdom. *Work, Employment and Society*, 22 (4), 655-674.
- Gaskell, J. (1986). Conceptions of Skill and the Work of Women: Some Historical and Political Issues. In R. Hamilton, & M. Barrett, *The Politics of Diversity*. Montreal: Book Centre.
- Gatens, M. (1998). Institutions, Embodiment, and Sexual Difference. In M. Gatens, & A. MacKinnon, *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship* (pp. 1-18). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gatens, M., & Mackinnon, A. (1998). *Gender and Institutions: Welfare, Work and Citizenship*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbins, J., & Heyworth, C. (2005). Family Life Events and Mothers' Employment Transitions. *HILDA Survey Research Conference* (p. 27). Melbourne: http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/hilda/Bibliography/2005_papers/Gibbins,%20Justin_280905.pdf.
- Ginn, J., & Arber, S. (1998). How Does Part-Time Work Lead to Low Pension Income. In J. O'Reilly, & C. Fagan, *Part-Time Prospects: An International Comparison of Part-Time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim* (pp. 156-173). London: Routledge.
- Ginn, J., Arber, S., Brannan, J., Dale, A., Dex, S., Elias, P., et al. (1996). Feminist Fallacies: A Reply to Hakim on Women's Employment. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 47 (1), 167-174.
- Gittleman, M. B., & Howell, D. R. (1995). Changes in the Structure and Quality of Jobs in the United States: Effects by Race and Gender, 1973 - 1990. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 48 (3), 420-440.
- Goode, A., & Watson, N. (2007). *HILDA User Manual - Release 5.0*. University of Melbourne: Melbourne Institute of Applied Economics.

- Gordon, D., Edwards, R., & Reich, M. (1982). The Segmentation of Labour: 1920's to the Present. In D. Gordon, R. Edwards, & M. Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (pp. 185-215). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grosswald, B. (2003). Shiftwork and Negative Work-to-Family Spillover. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* , 30 (4), 31-56.
- Hakim, C. (1991). Grateful Slaves and Self-made Women: Fact and Fantasy in Women's Work Orientations. *European Sociological Review* , 7, 101-121.
- Hakim, C. (1992). Explaining Trends in Occupational Segregation: The Measurement, Causes and Consequences of the Sexual Division of Labour. *European Sociological Review* , 8, 127-152.
- Hakim, C. (1996). The Sexual Division of Labour and Women's Heterogeneity. *The British Journal of Sociology* , 47 (1), 178-88.
- Hakim, C. (1998). Developing a Sociology for the Twenty-First Century: Preference Theory. *The British Journal of Sociology* , 49 (1), 137-143.
- Hakim, C. (2000). *Work - Lifestyle Choices in the 21st Century: Preference Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hakim, C. (2002). Lifestyle Preferences as Determinants of Women's Differentiated Labor Market Careers. *Work and Occupations* , 29 (4), 428-459.
- Hakim, C. (2003). A New Approach to Explaining Fertility Patterns: Preference Theory. *Population and Development Review* , 29 (3), 349 - 377.
- Hall, D. T. (2002). *Protean Careers in and out of Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hartley, J. (2004). Case Study Research. In C. Cassell, & G. Simon, *Essential Methods in Organizational Research* (pp. 322-333). London: Sage.
- Harvey, M. (1999). Economies of Time: A Framework for Analysing the Restructuring of Employment Relations. In A. Felstead, & N. Jewson, *Global Trends in Flexible labour* (pp. 21-42). Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- HILDA . (2007). Statistics Waves 1-5, HILDA, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic Research.
- Hill, E. (2006, February 23). *Howard's 'Choice': The Ideology and Politics of Work and Family Policy 1996 - 2006*. Retrieved May 10, 2012, from <http://www.australianreview.net/digest/2006/02/hill.html>

Huhtala, E., Uusiautti, S., & Maatta, K. (2012). See-Sawing between Work and Home: Shift-Working Mothers' Perceptions on Work/Family Balance. *International Journal of Research Studies in Education*, 1 (2), 31-42.

ILO (International Labour Organisation). (2012). *Laborsta*. Retrieved November 31, 2012, from <http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/guest>

Independent Inquiry into Insecure Work in Australia. (2012). *Lives on Hold: Unlocking the Potential of Australia's Workforce*. Retrieved May 2012, 25, from http://securejobs.org.au/submissions/lives_on_hold.pdf

IPUMS International. (2009). *General Notes on ANU4 Status Scales*. Retrieved August 28, 2011, from IPUMS International: http://ipumsi.anu.edu.au/SiteTools/Status_Scales/scalesgen.php

Isaac, J., & Macintyre, S. (2004). *The New Province for Law and Order*. Melbourne: Cambridge Univeristy Press.

Jefferson, T., & Preston, A. (2005). Australia's "Other" Gender Wage Gap: Baby Boomers and Compulsory Superannuation Accounts. *Feminist Economics*, 11 (2), 79-101.

Jenkins, S. (2004). *Gender, Place and the Labour Market*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Jones, F., & McMillan, J. (2001). Scoring Occupational Categories for Social Research: A Review of Current Practice, with Australian Examples. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15 (3), 339-563.

Joshi, H., Macran, S., & Dex, S. (1996). Employment after Childbearing and Women's Subsequent Labour Force Participation: Evidence from the 1958 British Birth Cohort. *Journal of Population Economics*, 9 (3), 325-348.

Junor, A. (1998a). *Women and the Restructuring of Work in Australia, 1987 - 1996*. PhD Thesis, North Ryde: Macquarie University.

Junor, A. (1998b). Permanent Part-Time Work: New Family-Friendly Standard or High Intensity Cheap Skills? *Labour and Industry*, 8 (3), 77-96.

Junor, A. (2000). Permanent Part-time Work: Rewriting the Family Wage Settlement. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies Special Issue*, 5 (2), 94-113.

Junor, A. (2005). Professionals, Practitioners, Peripheral Product-Deliverers: Renegotiating Casual Work in TAFE, in M Baird et al (eds). *Reworking Work* (pp. 265-274). 19th AIRAANZ Conference, Sydney: February, Vol 1, Refereed Papers.

- Junor, A., & Coventry, H. (2001). Diversity Management. In C. Aulich, J. Halligan, & S. Nutley, *Australian Handbook of Public Sector Management* (pp. 86-98). Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Kalleberg, A. (2011). *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kerr, C. (1954). The Balkanization of Labor Markets. In E. Wright Bakke, *Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity* (pp. 92-110). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Kivimaki, M., Virtanen, M., Elovainio, M., Vartia, M., Vahtera, J., & Keltigangas-Jarvinen, I. (2003). Workplace Bullying: The Risk of Cardiovascular Disease and Depression. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 60, 779-783.
- Kreimer, M. (2004). Labour Market Segregation and the Gender-Based Division of Labour. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 11 (2), 223-246.
- Lane, N. (2004). Women and Part-time Work: The Careers of Part-time NHS Nurses. *British Journal of Management*, 15, 259-272.
- Le, A., & Miller, P. (2002). *Educational Attainment in Australia: A Cohort Analysis*. Retrieved May 12, 2012, from Longitudinal Surveys of Australian Youth Research Report No 25: http://researcher.acer.edu.au/lsay_research/29
- Le, H., Munoz, R., Ippen, C., & Stoddart, J. (2003). Treatment is not Enough: We must Prevent Major Depression in Women. *Prevention and Treatment*, 6 (10).
- Lee, J., & Strachan, G. (1998). Who's Minding the Baby Now? Child Care Under the Howard Government. *Labour and Industry*, 9 (2), 81.
- Lehndorff, S. (2007). New Challenges for Working-Time Policy in the EU. *labour and Industry*, 17 (3), 8-28.
- Leira, A. (2002). *Working Parents and the Welfare State: Family Change and Policy Reform in Scandinavia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, J., & Giullari, S. (2005). The Adult Worker Model Family, Gender Equality and Care: The Search for New Policy Principles and the Possibilities and Problems of a Capabilities Approach. *Economy and Society*, 34 (1), 76-104.
- Lewis, J., & Plomein, A. (2009). 'Flexicurity' as a Policy Strategy: The Implications for Gender Equality. *Economy and Society*, 38 (3), 433-459.
- Lombardo, E., Meier, P., & Verloo, M. (2009). Stretching and Bending Gender Equality: A Discursive Politics Approach. In E. Lombardo, P. Meier, & M. Verloo, *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policymaking* (pp. 1-18). London: Routledge.

- Lyonette, C., Baldauf, B., & Behle, H. (2010). *'Quality' Part-time Work: A Review of the Evidence*. London: Government Equalities Office.
- MacDermott, T., & Owens, R. (2000). Recent Cases: Equality and Flexibility for Workers with Family Responsibilities: A Troubled Union? *Australian Journal of Labour Law*, 13, 278.
- Mandel, H., & Shalev, M. (2009). Gender and Class and Varieties of Capitalism. 16 (2), 161-181.
- Marchington, M., Grimshaw, D., Rubery, J., & Willmott, H. (2005). *Fragmenting Work: Blurring Organizational Boundaries and Disordering Hierarchies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mausner-Dorch, H., & Eaton, W. (2001). Psychosocial Work Environment and Work Depression: Epidemiological Assessment of the Demand-Control Model. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90 (11), 1765-1770.
- May, R., Strachan, G., Broadbent, K., & Peetz, D. (2011). The Casual Approach to University Teaching: Time for a Re-Think? In K. Krause, M. Buckridge, C. Grimmer, & S. Purbrick-Illek, *Research and Development in Higher Education: Reshaping Higher Education* (pp. 88-197). Gold Coast, Australia: 34.
- McDonald, P., Guthrie, D., Bradley, L., & Shakespeare-Finch, J. (2005). Investigating Work-Family Policy Aims and Employee Experiences. *Employee Relations*, 5, 478-494.
- McRae, S. (2008). Working Full-Time after Motherhood. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 179-198). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic & Social Research. (2002). *HILDA Survey Annual Report 2002*. Retrieved May 28, 2012, from http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual_report.html
- Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic & Social Research. (2003). *HILDA Survey Annual Report 2003*. Retrieved May 28, 2012, from http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual_report.html
- Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic & Social Research. (2004). *HILDA Survey Annual Report 2004*. Retrieved May 28, 2012, from http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual_report.html

- Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic & Social Research. (2005). *HILDA Survey Annual Report 2005*. Retrieved May 28, 2012, from http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual_report.html
- Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic & Social Research. (2006). *HILDA Survey Annual Report 2006*. Retrieved May 28, 2012, from http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda/Reports/annual_report.html
- Messenger, J. (. (2004). *Working Time and Workers' Preferences in Industrialized Countries: Finding the Balance*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Metz, I., & Theranou, P. (2001). Women's Career Advancement: The Relative Contribution of Human and Social Capital. *Group Organization Management*, 26 (3), 312-342.
- Millward, C. (2002). Work Rich, Family Poor? Non Standard Working Hours and Family Life. *Family Matters*, 61 (Autumn), 40-47.
- Mincer, J. (1974). *Schooling, Experience and Earnings*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mitchell, D. (1998). Life Course and Labour Market Transitions. In M. Gatens, & A. Mackinnon, *Gender and Institutions: Welfare Work and Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morehead, A., Steele, M., Alexander, M., Stephen, K., & Duffin, L. (1997). *Changes at Work: The 1995 Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey*. Department of Workplace Relations and Small Business. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Nankervis, A., Compton, R., & Baird, M. (2005). *Strategic Human Resource Management 5th edition*. Melbourne: Thomson.
- Nolen-Hoeksema, S. (2002). Gender Differences in Depression. In J. Gotlib, & C. Hammen, *Handbook of Depression* (p. 2002). New York: Guildford Press.
- Norusis, M. (2011). *IBM SPSS Statistics 19 Statistical Procedures Companion*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.
- Nossar, I., Johnstone, R., & Quinlan, M. (2003). *Regulating Supply-Chains to Address the Occupational Health and Safety Problems Associated with Precarious Employment: The Case of Home-Based Clothing Workers in Australia, Working Paper No 21*. Australian National University Canberra: National Research Centre for OHS Regulation.
- O'Donnell, A. (2004). 'Non-Standard' Workers in Australia: Counts and Controversies. *Australian Journal of Labour law*, 17 (1), 1-28.

O'Reilly, J., & Bothfeld, S. (2002). What Happens After Working Part-time? Integration, Maintenance or Exclusionary Transitions in Britain and Western Germany. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 26 (4), 409-439.

O'Reilly, J., Cebrian, I., & Lallement, M. (2000). *Working Time Changes: Social Integration through Transitional Labour Markets*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Orloff, A. (1993). Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States. *American Sociological Review*, 58 (3), 303-308.

Osterman, P. (1975). An Empirical Study of Labor Market Segmentation. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 28 (4), 508-523.

Osterman, P. (1994). Internal Labor Markets: Theory and Change. In C. Kerr, & P. Staudohar, *Labor Economics and Industrial Relations: Markets and Institutions* (pp. 303-339). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Owens, R. (2001). The "Long-Term or Permanent Casual" - An Oxymoron or "A Well Enough Understood Australianism" in the Law? *Australian Bulletin Of Labour*, 27 (2), 118-136.

Pateman, C. (1988). *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Payne, G and J Payne. (1983). Occupational and Industrial Transition in Social Mobility. *The British Journal of Social Mobility*, 34, 72-92.

Peck, J. (2000). Structuring the Labour Market: A Segmentation Approach. In S. Ackroyd, & S. Fleetwood, *Realist Perspectives on Management and Organisations* (pp. 220-244). London: Routledge.

Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (1998). The Business of Contingent Work: Growth and Restructuring in Chicago's Temporary Employment Industry. *Work, Employment and Society*, 12 (4), 655-674.

Pfau-Effinger, B. (1989). Culture or Structure as Explanations for Differences in Part-time work in Germany, Finland and The Netherlands. In C. Fagan, & J. O'Reilly, *Part-time Perspectives* (pp. 177 - 198). London: Routledge.

Piccinelli, M., & Wilkinson, G. (2000). Gender Differences In Depression. *Critical Review. British Journal of Psychiatry*, 177, 486-492.

Plantenga, J. (2002). Combining Work and Care in the Polder Model: An Assessment of the Dutch Part-time Strategy. *Critical Social Policy*, 22 (1), 53-71.

Pocock, B. (2003). *The Work/Life Collision: What Work is Doing to Australians and What to do About it*. Sydney: Federation Press.

- Pocock, B. (2005a). Work-Life 'Balance' in Australia: Limited Progress, Dim Prospects. *Asia-pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 43 (2), 198-209.
- Pocock, B. (2005b). Work/Care Regimes: Institutions, Culture and Behaviour and the Australian Case. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 1, 32-49.
- Pocock, B., Buchanan, J., & Campbell, I. (2004a). "New" Industrial Relations: Meeting the Challenge of Casual Work in Australia. *AIRAANZ 2004*. http://www.gu.edu.au/school/gbs/irl/airaanz2004/Papers/pocock,buchannan,campbell_096.pdf.
- Pocock, B., Buchanan, J., & Campbell, I. (2004b). *Securing Quality Employment: Policy Options for Part-Time and Casual Employment in Australia*. Sydney: Chifley Research Centre.
- Pocock, B., Prosser, R., & Bridge, K. (2005). The Return of 'Labour-as-Commodity'? The Experience of Casual Work in Australia. In M. Baird, R. Cooper, & M. Westcott (Ed.), *Reworking Work. Proceedings of the 19th Conference of the Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand*, pp. 459-467. Sydney: The University of Sydney.
- Pocock, B., Skinner, N., & Williams, P. (2007). Measuring Work-Life Interaction: The Australian Work and Life Index (AWALI). *Labour and Industry*, 18 (3), 19-43.
- Pocock, B., & Skinner, N. (2012). Good Jobs, Bad Jobs and the Australian Experience. In C. Warhurst, F. Carre, P. Findlay, & C. Tilly, *Are Bad Jobs Inevitable? Trends, Determinants and Responses to Job Quality in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 61-77). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Polachek, S. W. (1981). Occupational Self-Selection: A Human Capital Approach to Sex Differences in Occupational Structure. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 63 (1), 60-69.
- Presser, H. (2003). *Working in a 24/7 Economy: Challenges for American Families*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.
- Preston, A., & Burgess, J. (2003). Women's Work in Australia: Trends, Issues and Prospects. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 6 (4), 497-518.
- Preston, A., & Whitehouse, G. (2004). Gender Differences in Occupation of Employment within Australia. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 7 (3), 309-327.
- Quinlan, M. (2003). *Flexible Work and Organisational Arrangements - Regulatory Problems and Responses, Working Paper No 16*. National Centre for OHS Regulation. Canberra: Australian National University.

Quinlan, M., & Bohle, P. (2008). Under Pressure, Out of Control, or Home Alone? Reviewing Research and Policy Debates on the Occupational Health and Safety Effects of Outsourcing and Home-Based Work. *International Journal of Health Services*, 38 (3), 489-523.

Quinlan, M., & Sheldon, P. (2011). The Enforcement of Minimum Labour Standards: Back to the Future in the Era of Neo-Liberal Globalisation. *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 22 (2), 5-32.

Rasmussen, E., & Corbett, G. (2008). Why isn't Teleworking Working? *New Zealand Journal of Employment Relations*, 33 (2), 20-32.

Rees, N., Lindsay, K., & Rice, S. (2008). *Australian Anti-Discrimination Law*. Sydney: Federation Press.

Reich, M. (2008). *Segmented Labor Markets and Labor Mobility Volume 1*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Reich, M., Gordon, D., & Edwards, R. (1973). A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation. *American Economic Review*, 63 (2), 359-365.

Rice, S. (2010). And Which Equality Act Would That Be. In M. Thornton, *Sex Discrimination in Uncertain Times* (pp. 197-234). Canberra: ANU EPress.

Rimmer, R., & Rimmer, S. (1994). *More Brilliant Careers: The Effects of Career Breaks on Women's Employment*. Canberra: Women's Bureau, Department of Employment, Education and Training.

Rubery, J. (1978). Structured Labour Markets, Worker Organisation and Low Pay. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 2 (1), 17-36.

Rubery, J. (1988). *Women and Recession*. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Rubery, J. (1994a). Internal and External Labour Markets: Towards an Integrated Analysis. In J. Rubery, & F. Wilkinson, *Employer Strategy and the Labour Market* (pp. 37-68). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rubery, J. (1994b). The British Production Regime: A Societal-Specific System? *Economy and Society*, 23 (3), 335 - 355.

Rubery, J. (2006a). *The UK Social Model From a Lifecycle Perspective, Working Papers*. Manchester: European Work and Employment Research Centre, Manchester School of Management.

Rubery, J. (2006b). *Segmentation Theory Thirty Years On, Working Papers*. Manchester: European, Work and Employment Research Centre.

- Rubery, J. (2008). Women and Work in the UK: The Need for a Modernisation of Labour Market Institutions. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 289-312). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Rubery, J. (2009). How Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism Requires a Wider Lens. *Social Politics*, 16 (2), 192-203.
- Rubery, J., Horrell, S., & Burchell, B. (1994). Gender and Skills. In R. Penn, M. Rose, & J. Rubery, *Skill and Occupational Change* (pp. 189-222). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rubery, J., Smith, M., & Fagan, C. (1998). National Working-Time Regimes and Equal Opportunities. *Feminist Economics*, 4 (1), 71-101.
- Ryan, E. (1984). *Two-Thirds of a Man: Women and Arbitration in New South Wales, 1902-08*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.
- Schmid, G. (1995). Is Full Employment Still Possible? Transitional Labour Markets as a New Strategy of Labour Market Policy. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 16, 429-456.
- Schmid, G. (2010). *The Future of Employment Relations: Goodbye 'Flexicurity' - Welcome Back Transitional Labour Markets, Working Paper 10-106*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies, University of Amsterdam.
- Scott, J. (2008). Changing Gender Role Attitudes. In J. Scott, S. Dex, & H. Joshi, *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges* (pp. 156-176). Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Scott, J., Crompton, R., & Lyonette, C. (2010). *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Scott, J., Dex, S., & Joshi, H. (2008). *Women and Employment: Changing Lives and New Challenges*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Sewell, W., & Hauser, R. (1975). *Education, Occupation and Earnings*. New York: Academic Press.
- Siltanen, J., Jarman, J., & Blackburn, R. (1995). *Gender Inequality in the Labor Market: Occupational Concentration and Segregation*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook Second Edition*. London: Sage Publications.
- Smith, G., Clissold, G., Milia, L., & Accutt, B. (2002). A Study of Nurses Combining Partner and Parent Roles with Working Continuous Three-Shift Roster: The Impact on Sleep, Fatigue and Stress. *Contemporary Nurse: A Journal for the Australian Nursing Profession*, 12 (3), 294-302.

- Smith, L. (2002). *Who's Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Spring 1997 Current Population Reports*. Washington D C: US Census Bureau.
- Smith, M., & Ewer, P. (1999). *Choice and Coercion: Women's Experiences of Casual Work*. Sydney: Evatt Foundation.
- Smith, M., Fagan, C., & Rubery, J. (1998). Where and Why is Part-Time Work Growing in Europe. In J. O'Reilly, & C. Fagan, *Part-time Prospects: An International Comparison of Part-time Work in Europe, North America and the Pacific Rim* (pp. 35-56). London: Routledge.
- Smith, M., & Lyons, M. (2006). Women, Wages and Industrial Relations in Australia: The Past, the Present and the Future. *International Journal of Employment Studies*, 14 (2), 1-18.
- Smith, M., & Riley, J. (2004). Family-Friendly Work Practices and the Law. *Sydney Law Review*, 26 (3), 395-426.
- Sorensen, A. (1984). Social Structure and Mechanisms of Life Course Processes. In W. F. Sorensen A, *Human Development: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sorensen, A. (1975). The Structure of Intergenerational Mobility. *American Sociological Review*, 40, 456-471.
- Stake, R. (2003). Case Studies. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln, *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp. 134-164). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Standing, G. (1993). Labor Regulation in an Era of Fragmented Flexibility. In C. Buechtemann, *Employment Security and Labor Market Behavior: Interdisciplinary Approaches and International Evidence* (Vol. IILR Report No 23, pp. 425-441). Ithaca: ILR Press.
- Standing, G. (1997). Globalization, Labour Flexibility and Insecurity: The Era of Market Regulation. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 3, 7-37.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Stewart, A. (2008). *Stewart's Guide to Employment Law*. Sydney: Federation Press.
- Strachan, G., & Burgess, K. J. (2000). The Incompatibility of Decentralised Bargaining and Equal Employment Opportunity in Australia. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 38 (3), 361-382.
- Strachan, G., & Burgess, K. J. (2001). Will Deregulating the Labor Market in Australia Improve the Employment Conditions of Women. *Feminist Economics*, 7 (2), 53-76.

- Strachan, G., French, E., & Burgess, K. J. (2010). *Managing Diversity in Australia: Theory and Practice*. North Ryde: McGraw Hill.
- Sullivan, S. (1999). The Changing Nature of Careers: A Review and Research Agenda. *Journal of Management*, 25 (3), 457 - 484.
- Summerfield, T., Young, L., Harman, J., & Flatau, P. (2010). Child Support and Welfare to Work Reforms: The Economic Consequences for Single-Parent Families. In *Family Matters*, 84. reviewed 12 May 2012:
<http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/fm2010/fm84/fm84i.html>.
- Taylor, J., Dossick, C., & Garvin, M. (2011). Meeting the Burden of Proof with Case-Study Research. *Journal of Construction Engineering Management*, 137, 303-311.
- The Australian National University. (2009, May 25th). *Negotiating the Life Course*. Retrieved April 19th, 2012, from <http://lifecourse.anu.edu.au/index.php>
- Tienari, J., Quack, S., & Theobald, H. (2002). Organizational Reforms, 'Ideal Workers' and Gender Orders: A Cross-Societal Comparison. *Organization Studies*, 23 (2), 249-279.
- Tilly, C. (1992). Dualism in Part-Time Employment. *Industrial Relations*, 31 (2), 330-347.
- UK Home Office. (2012). *The Equality Act 2010*. Retrieved May 16, 2012, from <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/equalities/equality-act/>
- Underhill, E. (2006). The Role of Employment Agencies in Structuring and Regulating Labour Markets. In C. Arup, J. Gahan, R. Howe, R. Johnstone, R. Mitchell, & A. O'Donnell, *Labour Law and Labour Market Regulation: Essays on the Construction, Constitution and Regulation of Labour Markets* (pp. 282-304). Sydney: Federation Press.
- van Barneveld, K., & Arsovska, B. (2001). AWAs and the Doctrine of 'Bargaining in Good Faith' - The End of a New Era of Unchartered Water. *Crossing Borders: Employment, Work, Markets and Social Justice Across Time, Discipline and Space* (pp. 1-7). Wollongong: 15th AIRAANZ Conference.
- van Wanrooy, B., Jakubauskas, M., Buchannan, J., Wilson, S., & Scalmer, S. (2008). *Australia at Work. Working Lives: Stories and Statistics*. Sydney: Workplace Research Centre, University of Sydney.
- Venn, D., & Wakefield, C. (2005). Transitions between Full-time and Part-time Employment Across the Life-Cycle. *HILDA Research Conference*. Melbourne:
http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/downloads/hilda/Bibliography/2005_papers/Venn,%20Danielle.pdf.

Vosko, L. (2006). Precarious Employment: Towards an Improved Understanding of Labour Market Insecurity. In L. Vosko, *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (pp. 3-39). Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Vosko, L. (2006). *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University press.

Vosko, L. (2007). Precarious Part-Time Work in Australia and in Transnational Labour Regulation: The Gendered Limits of SER-Centrism. *Labour and Industry*, 17 (3), 45-70.

Vosko, L. (2008). Temporary Work in Transnational Labour Regulation: SER-Centrism and the Risk of Exacerbating Gendered Precariousness. *Social Indicators*, 88, 131-145.

Vosko, L. (2010). *Managing the Margins: Gender, Citizenship and the International Regulation of Precarious Employment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vosko, L., MacDonald, M., & Campbell, I. (2009). *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment*. New York: Routledge.

Vosko, L., MacDonald, M., & Campbell, I. (2009). Introduction: Gender and the Concept of Precarious Employment. In L. Vosko, M. MacDonald, & I. Campbell, *Gender and the Contours of Precarious Employment* (pp. 1-25). New York: Routledge.

Walby, S. (1988). Introduction. In S. Walby, *Gender Segregation at Work*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Waldfoegel, J. (1997). Working Mothers Then and Now: A Cross-Cohort Analysis of the Effects of Maternity Leave on Women's Pay. In F. Blau, & R. Ehrenberg, *Gender and Family Issues in the Workplace* (pp. 92 - 126). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waldfoegel, J. (1998). Understanding the 'Family Gap' in Pay for Women with Children. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 12 (1), 137 - 156.

Waldfoegel, J. (2006). *What Children Need*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Walsh, J. (1999). Myths and Counter-Myths: An Analysis of Part-Time Female Employees and their Orientations to Work and Working Hours. *Work, Employment and Society*, 13 (2), 179-203.

Waring, P., & Burgess, J. (2006). WorkChoices: The Privileging of Individualism in Australian Industrial Relations. *International Journal of Employment Studies*, 14 (1), 61 - 80.

Warren, T., & Walters, P. (1998). Appraising a Dichotomy: A Review of 'Part-time/Full-time' in the Study of Women's Employment in Britain. *Gender Work and Organization*, 5 (2), 102-118.

- Watson, I. (2005). Contented Workers in Inferior Jobs? Re-Assessing Casual Employment in Australia. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47 (4), 371-392.
- Watson, N., & Wooden, M., (2002). The Household, Income & Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey: Wave 1 Survey Methodology. *HILDA Project Technical Paper Series*, (No 1/02).
- Watts, M. (2003). The Evolution of Occupational Gender Segregation in Australia: Measure and Interpretation. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, 6 (4), 631-655.
- Whitehouse, G. (2004). From Family Wage to Parental Leave: The Changing Relationship Between Arbitration and the Family. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 64 (4), 400-412.
- Whitehouse, G., Hosking, A., & Baird, M. (2008). Returning Too Soon? Australian Mother's Satisfaction with Maternity Leave Duration. *Asia Pacific Journal Of Human Resources*, 46 (3), 288-302.
- Wight, V., & Raley, S. (2009). When Home Becomes Work: Work and Family Time Among Workers at Home. *Social Indicators Research*, 93 (1), 197-202.
- Wooden, M., & Warren, D. (2004). Non-Standard Employment and Job Satisfaction: Evidence for the HILDA Survey. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 46 (3), 275-297.
- Yin, R. (1993). *Applications of Case Study Research*. New York: Sage.
- Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research. Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Inc.
- YWCA. (2011). *CEDAW Action Plan for Women in Australia, A Resource Pack to Improve the Human Rights of Women in Australia, in Line with the 2010 CEDAW Committee's Concluding Observations on Australia*. Sydney: YWCA/ Women's Legal Services NSW.