

**Women and Training: Education in the Workforce:
Literature Review**

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PREFACE

This literature review originated in a research project to investigate women and training undertaken by the Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Teaching for the Women's Bureau under the Women's Research Employment Initiatives Program (WREIP) program.

The project was to look at the issues involving women and training through case studies of the banking and finance industries. The initial phase of the project involved a literature search which was intended to inform the development interview protocols for the case studies. In the course of the literature search it became apparent that there was no general review available of the area of training for women.

In order to provide such a review the Women's Bureau requested ACIRRT to expand the reference lists and bibliographical material relating to the Banking and Finance sectors into a broader and more formal review of the issues of women and training. This literature review is the result of this process. A separate industry paper is being prepared on the Banking and Finance Industry by Dr Jim Kitay of the Department of Industrial Relations, University of Sydney on behalf of ACIRRT

SCOPE

The Women's Bureau requested that a literature review be conducted which would consolidate the existing statistics on training and women and involve a review of the issues involving women and training in organisations by examining:

- * the pattern of training for women;
- * the factors that encourage the development of effective training strategies for women workers;
- * the management practices and policies which inhibit the delivery of effective training for women workers.

These parameters impose restrictions on the scope of this review. Specifically the review is concerned with issues surrounding "training and women" rather than "education and women". Although the distinction between "education" and "training" is, with respect to the development of national strategies for overall skill formation in the post-compulsory

the purpose of this review "training" has been limited to a review of skill formation activities undertaken by women in relation to their participation in paid employment.

This limitation, although necessary given the scope of the project, has important consequences.

First, it eliminates a large body of literature relating to subject choice - and subsequent career choice - made during schooling. It is apparent the results of decisions made during both pre- and post-compulsory education and training will have a major impact on an individual's final income as well as a more general effect on the production and reproduction of gender segmented labour markets. This is true irrespective of whether the cause of such segmentation is explained by sociological theories based on status ascription or by explanations based on returns on investments made by families and/or

are necessarily linked while in the latter the existence of segmentation (determined by previous choices and the distribution of attributes) provides the framework within which future choices on investment by individuals and families are "rationally" made. That this initial choice has long term effects can be derived from Daly (1985?) who notes that in the Australian labour market there is strong complementarity between "education" and "training", unlike some overseas markets where they are predominantly substitute activities. This has been confirmed by Millers (1993) most recent secondary analyses of workforce training data where it is noted that previous qualifications are a strong predictor of further access to training.

Second, it eliminates from consideration training (both formal and informal) for the range of unpaid work undertaken by women performing household duties and/or a variety of caring roles in the community. Notwithstanding the economic and social contributions this makes, and the considerable cost this work would incur if money wages were paid,

consideration of this issue is limited to the specific question of the transferability and

Finally, with few exceptions, the review only encompasses material from the mid 1980's. This particularly true of government policy documents. This periodisation is somewhat arbitrary as there is a long history in dating from the colonial period of reviews into education, training (especially apprenticeship training) and (what was previously termed) ~~DQSRZHQHGV KLV~~ is a reflection of the increased emphasis on education and training which, for convenience, may be approximately dated from the 1985 Report of the ~~&RP P LWHRI (QTXLV LQW/ DERXIO DUNHVRJUDP V. LLA 5 HSRUW KHSURSRVDOVLQ~~ Kirby to extend indentured skills training from the basically male dominated areas of "skilled trade" apprenticeships into non-apprenticiable areas through the Australian Traineeship Scheme (ATS) represent an important change in the approach to vocational training. Although the ATS has not been an unqualified success⁷ the inclusion of female dominated occupations in its scope reflect an (as yet unrealized) potential to extend entry level training beyond traditional boundaries (Schofield 1985). This, coupled with the proposed linkage between skills acquisition and pay outcomes through award and industry restructuring, which gained momentum following the publication of the ACTU/TDC's (1987) *Australia Reconstructed* makes the mid 1980's a practical cut-off point.

SOURCES

A wide range of English-language bibliographic sources were consulted. The increased availability of electronic search methods assisted this process and data bases consulted include those for education and training; organisational behaviour; psychological literature (especially learning theories) and management sources (especially for discrimination and selection processes). The Commonwealth Department of Education Employment and Training's (DEET) Canberra Library also compiles an internal current awareness listing of education and training matters which was consulted with the assistance of the DEET library staff. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has either released, or is in the process of releasing, a range of statistical publications intended to support the increased national focus on training. These are detailed in ABS Training Statistics Program, ABS, Canberra, November 1992.

Some general comments are required on the nature of the source material. Although "training" is usually subsumed within the broader term "education" in most bibliographies and thesauruses, the vast majority of work in the area is focussed on the school system. This is particularly true of Australian educational sources which tend to divide around the role and career opportunities for female school teachers and academics or investigate opportunities and/or pressures on the socialisation of female school or tertiary students. No doubt this represents the occupations and interests of the individual authors as well as the dominance in the field of "education" rather than "training" writing. With the exception of policy statements and initiatives to assist female access to traditional male dominated skilled trades (Pocock 1988; VEETAC; November 1991 *Women in Entry Level Training*) the literature on women and training, particularly the earliest material, focuses on reasons for structural position of women in the labour market through general industry case studies (eg; Game and Pringle 1983; O'Donnell 1984a; Williams 1988; Windsor 1988; *Women's Bureau* 1989). While these studies are valuable in providing theoretical insights and

empirical descriptions of the operation of the labour market, (particularly those informed by labour process and discriminatory segmentation theories), their treatment of training and women is necessarily peripheral to their investigation of women and labour market access.

The neglect in the literature of women and training can be seen as a specific example of the neglect of training generally. There are few outlets for specialist training matters in Australian educational journals and the majority of useful guide-lines for the development and delivery of training material have been developed internally by the various state TAFE systems (eg; Ellis 1982) or the range of research material developed by TAFE National Research and Development Centre in Adelaide. All suffer (understandably) from an emphasis on institutional (public) providers and neglect the range of formal and informal training conducted in industry.

The classical general texts on training have traditionally been sourced overseas (eg; Mager, Shufflebeam Romisoski) and those which do bring a general social perspective (eg; Knowles) are rare. In general overseas training literature, and particularly North American literature, reflects occupational structures based on internal labour markets (eg; Phillips 1991) rather than the Australian situation of publicly funded entry level training instruction and externally recognised and publicly certified credentials. This major difference in industry structure has been noted by Australian industrial tribunals in areas such as apprenticeship training, EEO and comparative worth (McCallum, Pittard & Smith 1988) "... from Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom (which) have very different industrial relations backgrounds from our own...and in which different approaches have been taken in these different countries " (Ibid p.469) should also cause reservations about the uncritical acceptance of the transferability of overseas training models to Australia, a point also emphasised by Bray (1993) in an international comparison of models of collective bargaining.

Three recent Australian texts on training (Hayton et al 1988; Field 1990; Smith 1992) were intended for industry as well as TAFE trainers and although they do place training in the Australian industrial context they do not greatly extend considerations of the social significance of training such as training for women. This trend is continued in the most recent manual for Skillshare providers (DEET, July 1992) CBT: A Practical Guide for Frontline Trainers . While no doubt it is a step forward from previous haphazard approaches to training design in the labour market programs area, it is theoretically confused in its traditional (behaviourist) approach to task analysis (s.5), makes doubtful analogies between Competency Based Training and outmoded models of Quality Control (s.8.2) and contains a mistaken identification of a delivery mode (self-paced learning) with a teaching/learning strategy (student centred learning).

The result is a lack of definitive source material for the field of this review. Usually there are a number of key texts which can be supplemented at both theoretical and practical levels by citing a range of supporting or critical argumentation. In the present case this is not possible.

The major policy documents of the Training Reform Agenda also present problems when attempting to interpret their actual and potential impact on women in the workforce. The documents either propose or assume a preferred policy position and rarely address details

of implementation. The major discussion paper which does address matters of implementation (VEETAC 199?) does so from the perspective of the administrative problems of State Training Authorities. This omission is critical because, as the learning theory and sociological literature makes clear, it is precisely at the level of implementation that issues of access to and equity in training opportunities manifest themselves.

In the key policy documents there appears to be a primary assumption that if a national training framework can be established then the details of equity will resolve themselves. This entails a secondary assumption that the training market will adequately and equitably distribute training opportunities. Implicit throughout are economic rationales for need to improve national economic performance which, as numerous authors have pointed out, are supported at the macro level by neo-classical economic policy models. Human Capital Theory is the form that neo-classical theory takes in training markets. Essentially Human Capital Theory proposes that, in the long run, the self interest (essentially of employers) will ensure that policies will not be discriminatory because discrimination is economically inefficient. The historical evidence for this position is ambiguous, given the evidence of feminisation of professions (Powers 1975; Williams 1988) and various United States longitudinal studies into racial and gender segmentation of the US labour market (see American Economic Review, vols 80,81,1990 for a range of views on this topic). It would appear however that from the general silence in the mainstream training documents that the theory has been internalised in training policy formulation. Evidence in Australia of this approach may be found by comparing the first draft of the National Training Board's Policy and Guidelines with the second edition and noting the limitations on equity included in the addendum after strong representation by women.

In conclusion, after surveying a wide range of literature the authors would be most reluctant to recommend any particular source as authoritative in this area. An obvious conclusion from this is that further research is urgently needed if general policy positions on access equity etc are to be integrated within the proposed new national training system.

1 THE NATIONAL TRAINING ENVIRONMENT

In order to review the effect on women of the new training and skills acquisition policies and programs it will be necessary to outline the origins of the current training and then briefly describe the "training reform agenda through which policy is intended to be implemented.

Training and economic performance

Since the mid 1980's the role of training in improving national economic performance has developed as a major issue in the formulation of public policy. There is a general agreement amongst peak government and industry advisory bodies that global economic pressures have made it necessary to substantially increase both quality and flexibility in the Australian product and labour markets and that improved and more flexible training systems are required to support higher levels of skill formation in the workforce. (Dawkins and Holding 1988; Hawke Keating and Button March 1991; MTIA...; CAI....; ACTU....). Under the accord between the government and the ACTU the strategy for industry restructuring of the post-1983 Labor administrations has proceeded on three broad fronts. First, policies of tariff reduction, deregulation and privatisation have been introduced with the objective of improving competitive performance by increasing competitive pressure. Second, structural reform has been pursued through a series of industry plans, for example the Steel, Automotive and Textile Clothing and Footwear industries, supported by a range of initiatives to encourage "best practice", quality improvement and export enhancement programs. Third a program of award restructuring has been introduced whose object is to develop a skill-based classification system where award classification - and hence wage outcomes - are to be linked to recognised skills and training. Award restructuring has been accompanied by a strategy of union amalgamation around broad industry grouping and a process of linking national wage increases to enterprise

Curtain and Mathews have stressed the centrality of "award restructuring issues (such as job reclassifications, skills formation structures and skills-linked wages structures) within the wider debates over structural adjustment" and consider that linkages based on skills acquisition will "free up the external constraints which have reinforced Taylorist forms of work organisation" and provide the possibility of a "new industrial relations of skill". (1990 p's 58,62,70) This perceived need for a new emphasis on training has been allied with the view that the Australian training effort has fallen behind that of overseas competitors. This belief provided the background to the introduction fo the Training Guarantee Legislation in 1991 which requires enterprises whose pay-roll exceeds \$200,000 p.a. to spend more that 1.5% (from 1992) of pay-roll on training (Murphy 1991).

the origins of the training debate

In his discussion of the adoption of theories of "new production concepts" in Australian discussions of structural adjustment, Gahan (1990 p.159) has noted that "...the exact origins of an emergent theoretical paradigm is, more often than not, an elusive task. Gahan however does locate some of the ideas of Mathew's influential (1989) Tools of Change in the early work of Kerr, Dunlop Harbison, and Myers (1960; second edition 1974) Industrialism and Industrial Man. The dominant arguments for a major emphasis on

skill formation would appear to derive, in part at least, from claims that new forms of industrial production variously called "post industrial" (Kerr et al 1960,1974; Bell 1974) or "post-Fordist" (Piore and Sabel 1984) have both quantitatively and qualitatively increased the training and skills need of the workforce in advanced industrial societies.

Generally it is argued that technological advances required to satisfy rapidly changing product market demands which place high value in elaborately transformed manufactures (ETM's) and services have created the need for more flexible forms of work organisation and new practices of skills formation. Piore and Sabel in (1984) *The Second Industrial Dived* claim that a choice must be made between the new and old forms of production and describe the new production methods as "flexible specialisation" in which production using general purpose tooling operated by skilled workers is replacing the mass production of standard products by "unskilled or "semi-skilled" workers operating single purpose machinery.

insert labour process references

In Australia these arguments, associated with an optimistic view of the effect of new production processes on workers, may be generally associated with the work of Ford (eg;1982), Curtain (1987), Curtain and Kverbric (1987) and in particular with two recent books by John Mathews (1989) *Tools of Change:New Technology and the Democratisation of Work* and (1989) *Age of Democracy: the Politics of Post-Fordism*.

Baker and Wooden in a secondary analysis of ABS training statistics (1990a,p.25) however have noted that with respect to the quantity of training there has been a "general and uncritical acceptance of the assumption that training in Australia has lagged behind OECD competitors" and that "the few critics of this assumption such as Strombach and May(1990), have found little support". Butterworth (1992) has, from an educational perspective, also questioned the view that the quality of training in Australia is inferior. At a more theoretical level Gahan (above) has questioned the "novelty" of "new production concepts" as applied in the work of Mathews and others, a view shared by Baldock (1990) who rejects the optimistic proposition that such models necessarily encompass progressive social change, particularly for female workers in the lowest job classifications. Feminist writers, particularly those influenced by Labour Process Theory, have also consistently rejected notions of automatic improvements in the position of women workers. Two collections by Knights and Willmott (1986;1990) contain examinations of the relationship between gender and the labour process while Jenson (1990 p.144) explicitly investigates "the gender-blind" nature of many discussions of flexible specialisation. In Australia concern that new production methods may produce a core of skilled (mainly male) workers and a secondary market of "unskilled" (and disproportionately female) workers is reflected by Baldock (1990) while earlier industry studies such as those of Game and Pringle (1983) and Williams (1988), theoretical positions such as Cuthoys (...), Connell (1987), Williams and Lucas (1989) and more recent case studies such as Windsor (1988), Cox and Leonard (1991) and Kokkinas and Robinson (1991), taken together, all question any simple assumption that structural and training reform will automatically benefit women workers. The reservations of writers who consider that increases in training (for those classified as "skilled" and whose awards include career paths) may in fact increase the disadvantage of those defined as unskilled is summarised by Baldock (1990) who argues against Mathews (1989a) that structural change and its associated training opportunities offer, a best, a "site for intervention" rather than automatic benefits.

Notwithstanding this range of critical perspectives, Curtain and Mathews provide what can be described as the widely accepted "mainstream" rationale for the development of the current (1987-1993) national skill formation strategies.

"It is clear that there are now competing models of productive efficiency in world markets. The simpler forms of mass production can be expected to move increasingly to the third world. In industrially advanced countries the basis of competitive strength is shifting from price to non-price factors, such as responsiveness to market trends, the capacity to be innovative, to increase quality and service. Hence an industry strategy in this country that merely relies on price competitiveness achieved through cost reductions cannot improve Australia's relative position with respect to firms in countries whose products are both competitively priced and of better quality, Nor can it be expected to improve the productivity performance of Australian firms ..." (Curtain and Mathews 1990, p.61)

The training Reform Agenda

A collection of policies and programs, loosely termed The Training Reform Agenda (Murphy 1991) has arisen in parallel with the industry and award restructuring processes in order to support skills formation, which underpins the linkage of skills and productivity. The development of this program can be traced through a number of related policy documents such as ACTU/TDC (1987) Australia Reconstructed, Dawkins and Holding, Skills for Australia (1987), The Australian Manufacturing Council's Skills in Manufacturing Industry (1988) and the Commission for the future's Skilling the Community: Futures for Public Education,(1988) by Beare and Milikan.

Although initially directed at specific vocational training reforms such as modular training and competency based training (themselves linked to the need to document specific skills for the purposes of award classification) the training reform agenda has widened to encompass national school curricula and Finn and Carmichael (and Mayer) proposals for the convergence in general and vocational education, particularly in senior school years.

The key points are outlined in Dawkins (1989) Improving Australia's Training System. They are;

- 1 To increase the national investment in Training
- 2 To improve the quality and flexibility of national training arrangements
- 3 To improve national consistency of training arrangements and the co-ordination of the National training effort;
- 4 to improve access available to disadvantaged groups; and,
- 5 to improve arrangements for the recognition of overseas skills

The major outcomes were agreements by the state ministers in 1989 and 1990 to firstly "substantially have a competency based system of training in place by 1993" and

secondly to establish a national Training Board to endorse National Competency Standards and thereby provide the link between industry and the education and training providers.

establishment of ASF on British Lines

1.2 Women and the Training Reform Agenda

It is significant that none of these key central policy documents directly address key issues of labour market segmentation (by gender, ethnicity, age or any other measure) and rarely address any associated questions of access to training or assessment under the new system. The major exception here is Australia Reconstructed which discusses the ending of labour market segmentation (both segmentation by sex and ethnicity, ppxxx) within the context of active labour market programs and industry policies. This position has been criticised BCA (...) and also from the left (Ewer et al aaa)

Whether or not one considers women, or indeed those with overseas qualifications, as disadvantaged groups - and there is a significant literature in Australia and overseas that does (Curthoys , Barrett , Jones) - the significant point is that in the key documents the focus has never been on disadvantage.

It is true that there are brief assertions, such as in DEET (1989?) CBT A Discussion Paper and Murphy (1991) that the introduction of competency testing will recognise skills not credentials and will therefore assist those without formal qualifications, but these statements are never supported by analysis. Certainly feminist critics and many educationalists have reservations.

insert

3 CONSOLIDATION: THE STATISTICS ON WOMEN AND TRAINING

The major statistical description of training and the Australian Labour Force is to be found in the 1990 ABS survey How Workers Get Their Training. This was an Australia wide survey of approximately 15,500 households.

The picture presented may be supplemented by the ABS's Employer Training Expenditure (July to September 1990) and secondary analyses of the ABS by Baker and Wooden (1991a; 1991b) and Miller (1993 forthcoming). Together the ABS data and the secondary analyses provide a comprehensive picture of the relative participation in training by women (and other groups).

From table 1 (below) it can be seen that the gender distribution for participation in training was similar for

. external courses

- . in-house course
- . on the job training, and
- . study for educational qualifications.

and that overall

- . for full-time workers, a higher percentage of females (84%) undertook training than did males (79%).

The advantage held by women over men in receiving training diminishes slightly when the training undertaken by all workers is considered. The "all workers" category includes casual and part-time workers and when these are included the female advantage is reduced to 0.6% (females 79.4%;males 78.8%) with the largest percentage declines occurring in the categories of employer supported external training and (structured) in-house training.

Table 1 DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINING (percentages)

	Full Time Workers		All Workers.	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Studied for an Educational Qualification	16.9	15.3	16.5	17.0
Undertook External Training	11.1	10.7	9.1	10.4
Employer Support for External Training	7.3	7.8	5.2	7.4
In house Training	42.0	36.4	34.6	35.1
On-the-job-training	77.6	71.4	72.7	71.1
Some Training	84.0	79.6	79.4	78.8

Source: ABS Catalogue 6278.0
table 2

As can be seen from table 1 there is an overall concentration of training in the category of "on the job" training, and a higher proportion of females than males engaged in it. This pattern remains when the statistics for internal training (in-house and on-the-job) are disaggregated by industry for both full-time and all-workers.

insert table 2

insert table 3

For the purposes of the survey ABS defined "on-the-job training" as

"whether any of the following activities were undertaken to improve job skills over the last 12 months;

- being shown how to do the job
- watching others
- asking questions of co-workers, and
- teaching self".

As Miller (1993 p.43) and the OECD (1991 p.146) have noted this broad definition of training raises questions about the usefulness of this particular category (particularly for international comparisons) while THE inability to determine the quality of all categories of training (Baker and Wooden 1991b p.) apply a fortiori to on-the-job training as defined above.

The type of training undertaken by workers can be conceptualised in various ways such as internal and external training, structured or unstructured, general and specific training. The choice will largely depend on the theoretical framework adopted (eg; Doeringer and Piore 1974; Becker 1975). In the present Australian context it is most useful to look at structured training, at least in the sense that structured training is most likely to have some immediate relevance to skills linked classification levels and hence have some more or less direct relationship with pay outcomes. This should be true whether the training is linked to industry or enterprise level skill (competency standards. For this purpose the relevant categories are;

studied for educational qualifications

external training

in-house training

Tables 2 and 3 (above) combined with the "in-house" training column from tables 4 and 5 (below) provide a basic description of the of the gender distribution of structured training. A summary of this information for all workers (full-time, part-time and casual) shows that;

- more males (17%) studied for an educational qualification than did females (16.5%)
- more males (10.4%) received external training than females(7%)
- males (35.1%) received more structured in-house training than females (34.6)
- males (7.4%) received more employer support for external training than females (5.2%)
- more males (35.1%) received in-house training than females (34.6%)

This (simplified) picture changes somewhat if only full-time workers are described. For full-time workers

- more females (16.9%) studied for an educational qualification than males (15.3%)
- more females (11.1%) undertook external training than males (10.7%), although more males (7.8%) obtained employer support for external training than females (7.3%)
- more females (42.0%) received in-house training than did males (36.4%)

The gender distribution varies industries as can be seen in the following tables.

insert table 4

insert table 5

insert rest of Miller materials

The effect on Women of training
position in the secondary labour market
equity
Recognition of skill
Women workers and technological change

MARTHA'S SECTION TO BEGIN HERE

4 DECIDING WHO GETS TRAINING

5 DELIVERY ISSUES

6 THE USE OF TRAINING

7 DECIDING WHO WILL UNDERTAKE TRAINING

Labour market data provides researchers with a snapshot of "systemic discrimination". It should also be remembered however that discrimination has direct correlates within the workplace itself. Identification of discriminatory factors means examining what access (or lack thereof) to training really means in an organisational context. According to Becker (1975) firms may give their employees either general training or firm specific training. General training has the capacity to increase productivity across a diversity of enterprises, whilst firm specific training is narrowly focused on increasing productivity in the training enterprise. As Miller (1993) points out, this dichotomy has implications for the financing of training. Becker (1975) predicts that workers will pay for general training, whilst the costs of firm specific training will be shared by both the worker and the organisation.

Organisational behaviour theory also depicts training as increasing employee resources. Nordhaug (1989) reports that training is perceived as the cornerstone in most human resource systems. Nordhaug comments that the choice of who gets access to training is a political one, as training increases employees ability to participate in organisational processes. Mejia, Balking and Milkovich (1987) also emphasise that training is seen as reward, and that support for further education can be incorporated into remuneration packages to retain valued employees. Thurrow's (1979) interviews with staff and management indicated that training was used as a defacto promotional process. An employees performance on a training course was interpreted as evidence of her/his trainability. The general sentiment that is expressed by organisation behaviourists is that training is an organisational reward.

Although organisational behaviour theorists may be writing from an american or swedish perspective, much of what is said is compatible with the expressed policies of Australian employer associations. The political nature of training access is clearly in evidence by it's being linked with Enterprise Bargaining in such documents as the MTIA/MTFU Enterprise bargaining guidelines. The MTIA also mentions it's concern that "competency standards reflect the true needs of employers for skills and that they do not lead to undue claims for reclassification, (MTIA, 1992,)." Further, whilst industry training can be provided by either TAFE or industry bodies, the bulk of industry training is inhouse training. All three employer associations call for industry training (nee inhouse training) to be used as the basis for entry into tertiary training. This in itself is part of strategy that is akin to Meijia et al's and Becker's (1975) recommendation that general training may be used as a device for retaining valued employees. Tying access to higher education through inhouse training is also related to Becker's notion of increasing the financial penalties of labour mobility to both workers and employers.

However, even though employer associations may call for industry portable training, the associations are generally averse to taking responsibility for basic general education. This raises the sensitive issue of who pays for different types of training. Even though Becker's model of general versus firm specific training is useful in categorising training, it does not take account of the role of Government in financing training. All three employer groups share the view that "the responsibility for the provision of general basic skills training must clearly be that of the Government." General basic skills includes generic literacy, numeracy and basic vocational education. Further both the ACM and BCA raise the issue of employees undertaking education in their own time, and "demonstrating a personal commitment and contribution to their own development, (ACM, 1990, p 7)". Interestingly, MTIA seems to take a more moderate stand, omitting mention of individual employee responsibility for costs and allocation of time spent on training.

This in turn highlights another weakness of both the organisational behavioural literature and Becker's model. Neither body of writing acknowledges the possibility of variability amongst employers. The model cannot account for the divergence among employer associations policy on training market regulation. The most extreme view is expressed by the BCA. This association expresses its concern that the training guarantee is an ACTU initiative, (BCA, 1992). The BCA also expresses the view that "Enterprises should be free to pursue a wide range of skill formation strategies without coercion from Government and the Industrial Relations System", (BCA, 1992). There is a heavily utilitarian perspective - that the competitive national training market be designed to service the competitive requirements of companies". An entirely different point of view is expressed by the MTIA. The MTIA tacitly endorses government regulation of the training market, by highlighting its own strong involvement with the National Training board and TAFE restructuring. Further the MTIA actually plays a much more strategic role in the training arena, by asserting its 'rights' to monitor the NFROT agreement, (MTIA, 1992).

Acceptance of organisational behaviour and human capital models must still be taken with some reservations. The chief obstacle being the applicability of such models to Australian managerial practices as expressed at a workplace rather than employer association level. The Council for Equal Employment Opportunities (1990) compiled findings from 112 case studies of Equal Employment practices within Australian Workplaces. The case studies demonstrate an enormous diversity in company responses to the matter of career development for their female employees. For example, the National Australia Bank provides special career development workshops for their female staff, CRA has developed special training videos to encourage female employees to adopt scientific and technical career paths. What does emerge throughout these case studies is that few companies monitor the gender distribution within their workforce, let alone the attendance at training courses. Indeed, Shell Australia appeared to be the only private sector Australian company in the case study sample, that monitored female/male representation on training courses. Further these case studies were extremely brief, and there is still an obvious gap in our understanding of how Australian workplaces actually treat the matter of equitable access to training.

However, training still clearly emerges as an organisational reward in the eyes of practitioners and theoreticians, it is necessary to examine the distributive principles that are involved in the dissemination of organisational rewards.

Staley and Shockley-Zalabak (1986) pointed out that reports of no difference between men and women may have little to do with the attitudinal and practical difficulties that women face. This is aptly demonstrated by the research on attribution bias. For example, Feldman-Summers and Kiesler (1974) were not able to find a single occupation including those which were traditionally female dominated, in which women were expected to be more successful than males. Deaux (1982) found that success for a women was more likely to be attributed to luck or circumstance, whilst male success was more likely to be attributed to effort and ability. More recent studies indicate that gender biases are still alive and well in the workplace performance appraisal systems (Pazy, 1986, Dornstein, 1988, Lewis and Stevens, 1990).

Although, there is some controversy over the consistency with which gender bias is said to occur, recent reviews attribute gender bias to occupational prestige and job status, (Mount and Ellis, 1989). Evaluations of female employees are contaminated by their over-representation in lower status jobs. Reduced chance of recognition of good performance may mean that women are less likely to be offered career development training. Gender biased perceptions may mean that managers of female employees are generally less likely to identify employees training needs. For example, Staley and Shockley-Zalabak (1986) compared employee and supervisory assessments of female employees competencies and training needs. Female professionals agreed with their supervisors ratings on only three of the fifteen competency areas, and on four of the fifteen training needs areas.

Gender bias is certainly significant in Alexander and Franks (1990) case studies of the Australian Banking Industry. Their report identifies growing concern with Job Evaluation systems in the banking industry, as these were found to undervalue many of the skills involved in lower grade work. Secondly, the nature of part time work means that employees have less opportunity to demonstrate the full range of their skills to their supervisors. This presents a potential source of gender discrimination as 95 percent of part time employees are women. Thirdly, the report identified a prejudicial perception amongst management concerning training part time staff. Middle and supervisory management held the view that part timers (most of whom were women) were less career oriented. Other industry case studies (in retail, education and oil refining) also demonstrate part timers limited access to career development and training, as part time options were restricted to the lower levels of the organisation, (DEET, 1990).

Occupational stereotyping is a more specific type of gender bias. Beliefs in occupational stereotyping are caused by observation of actual gender segregation vis-a-vis roles which are considered to require quite different skills, (Eagly and Stephen, 1984). Gutek and Cohen (1987) hypothesize that there is a sex role spillover into the workplace - where the work role takes on many of the characteristics of the dominant gender. Hence entire job classifications become "masculinised" or "feminised".

There is some evidence to support this view. Chatterjee and McCarrey (1991) found that occupational choice was only judged as suitable if the candidate's gender was stereotypically congruent with the perceived characteristics of that occupation. This is particularly the case when information about candidate characteristics are unavailable, then the bias of sex role congruency takes precedence. A practical illustration of the effects of occupational stereotyping is provided by Surrey's discussion of career norms. Surrey (1983) argued that prevailing career norms emphasise "masculinised traits" of competitiveness, aggressiveness and success defined in terms of doing better than

another; whereas traditional stereotypes of women are associated with submissiveness, caretaking and self devaluation. The disadvantage that this poses to women is obvious. Gambrill and Richey (1986) argue that if a supervisor perceives female employees as less aggressive and competitive than their male colleagues, then they will be less likely to be given work related and training opportunities where these skills are required. Morgan and Knights (1991) analysis of workforce segmentation in the Hamlet Insurance Company and Bank co illustrates this process. Women were restricted to bank telling positions, whilst the insurance salesforce was an extremely male dominated area. There was a perception that sales staff had to be aggressive, competitive and have a large stock of bluff. Insurance managers justified the exclusion of women on the grounds that they were lacking in these qualities, that they would be too sympathetic to the client, and were not "hungry" enough.

In effect, female employees are operating within the confines of a gender based catch-22. Low estimates of their performance mean that they will not be promoted or allocated training as a reward. Therefore women continue to remain over-represented in low status jobs. However occupation of such jobs contaminates assessment of women's performance and trainability.

8 DELIVERY ISSUES

Access to training is only the first step in the training cycle. Successful gender equitable training is also based on quality delivery methods and the premise that trainees actually learn new skills. The problem for trainers has always been the development of "trainee centred" delivery methods. Increasingly, this challenge is becoming one of how to incorporate gender sensitivity into training design and delivery, (Robinson and Mageean, 1992).

Cognitive Psychological literature on learning and human information capacity make it quite clear that learning is an individualistic exercise, (Houston, 1986). This derives from a recognition that pre-existing general knowledge distorts trainees capacity to process new and different information. This difficulty arises from the individual's possession of cognitive schemata or "frames of reference" that are used in interpreting the world. Incoming information is amended to be congruent with pre-existing schema, (Houston, 1986). To illustrate, Kintsch and Van Dijk (1975) found that culturally dissimilar groups had difficulty recalling information that was not culturally congruent. When respondents were tested for recall it became obvious that culturally incongruent information had gradually but consistently been replaced with culturally congruent features. McGowen and Hart (1990) postulated that because gender is a critical aspect of identity, self perceptions of gender can be used to filter gender dissonant information. Chatterjee and McCarrey (1991) provide evidence of the links between womens' own perceptions of sexual stereotypes and occupational choice by comparing women in traditional and non-traditional occupations. These authors found that these two groups of women had widely discrepant value priorities, value attainment expectations, sex role attitudes and inferred sex role attitudes of their peers. The results of this study highlights the need for female role models as presenters and in case studies. This feature has already been incorporated into British and Australian Technical training programs for women, (Morrell, 1988). Female apprentices and engineers are sent to local high schools to assist students in workshops and science classes, (McGowen and Hart, 1990).

"Self involvement" of trainees in the learning process is also pursued in humanist feminist educational critiques. Robinson and Magaean (1992) note that there is a substantial body of literature which argues for the existence of a "woman's way of learning". Authors such as Belenky, Goldberger and Tarule (1986), and Biddlecom et al (1986), pursue the theme that women are trained to place priority on relationships and connectedness. Following from this it is argued that women would learn best in co-operative, socially oriented, relational milieu. The practical corollary of this is that female trainees should work as a team, rather than being set individual goals. Morrell (1988) reports that "women only teams" were cited by Australian educational providers as the most critical aspect of success in women focused training programs.

"Identity involvement" in training has clear implications for the phraseology within training scripts. Cox and Leonard (1990) established that women stopped short of applying terms such as "skills" and "aptitudes" and "competencies" to their own informally acquired experience. Female respondents did not, however, hesitate to associate these descriptors with males' experience. British research on continuing adult education for women identified a similar phenomenon. Educators made use of female trainees previous experience, to build their confidence and assist trainees in contextualising their experience, (NIACE, 1991). The role of identifying language also has obvious implications for recognition of prior learning. Davis, Denning, Travers and Glasby (1992) observe that lack of public recognition and language is a major obstacle for women who are seeking recognition of prior experience. This implies that women would respond best to an interactive process of assessment and selection for training courses, (Davis, Denning, Travers and Glasby, 1992).

Identity involvement highlights the need for training scripts and strategies that do not alienate female trainees. Robinson and Magaean (1992) found that the use of gender exclusive language was the most common complaint by female apprentices. Female students complained that some teachers and students would use terms such as tradesman, handyman and foreman, implying that female apprentices are either misplaced or non-existent. The need for gender inclusive curriculum and training scripts is has been formally acknowledged by both the National Training Board and the National TAFE women's Network, (NTB, 1992, NPAWT, 1992).

While the humanist school of thought has been influential, it should be noted that it has also been criticised on the grounds of anglocentricity, (Jarre, 1983). It has been described as reductionistic, because it does not accommodate class, cultural and age based characteristics. The humanist perspective also been criticised on the grounds that it does not challenge the social construction of femininity. Leah and O'Brien (1992) cite an alternative position which they label as "post modernist". This position "assumes that both reality and self are discursively constituted, That is, there is no essential self or coherent identity which individuals develop. Rather, the possibilities for who and what we think we are or might become derive from systems of meaning inherent in the discourses and social practices of the academic disciplines.", p 32, 1992). This poses a much more complex research agenda, and one which has been mainly explored in secondary and primary education systems, rather than the workplace level. A further criticism that should be made of much of this literature is its singular lack of rigour. At times the feminist critiques of the educational strategies seem to border on the anecdotal. There is little mention of systematic forms of content analysis, representative respondent samples or the principals by which qualitative interview data were excluded or included from analysis.

The 'loose nature' of much of the analysis in this area does little to clarify the extent and nature of "women's learning styles".

Discussion of gender equity and training must also address the issue of training portability. The lifetime learning model that is being promoted by current policies means that training needs to be as portable as possible.

Portability of training is about more than the process of external credentialing, it also refers to the credibility and quality of those credentials. This is where the discussion of learning transfer or training designed for adaptability becomes pertinent. Transfer is defined as the utilisation of previous learning on subsequent learning, it refers to the skill of "learning to learn". The transferability of knowledge acquired on training courses is in part determined by training program design features. The next section hypothesises on the implications of gender based training patterns for training program design and transferability.

It has long been recognised that previous participation levels are the best predictor of future participation in adult learning programs. On first inspection, female workers would seem to be better placed for educability, as female workers have a slightly higher number of training days. However, it is necessary to take account of the type of training that female employees are engaged in. It is arguable that womens' over-representation in structured inhouse training programs and reception of "on the job training" presents problems in labour mobility and formal credentialing. It can also be contended that womens' over-representation in "on the job training" promotes problems in terms of future educability.

Specific learning transfer is most likely when the learning context is identical to the performance context. By extension, this implies that on the job training is preferable, if specific knowledge is actually going to be deployed and consolidated. Unfortunately, the close relationship between the training and working environment means that generalisable transfer, (applying knowledge across diverse environments), may be reduced. In effect, women may comparatively disadvantaged in terms of transferring their knowledge across employers. This is a particular concern given evidence from Australian Surveys that part time jobs are associated with the lower levels of the organisation, and involve only basic and non-transferable skills, (DEET, 1990).

The problem may be framed as being able to achieve a balance between structuring training so that skills can actually be deployed on the job; whilst giving those skills sufficient portability. Hesketh and Chandler (1987) note that use of varied samples or exercises which involve practice on one or more systems might facilitate transfer. Hesketh and Chandler (1987) argued very strongly for what is referred to as training by "discovery training". This entails the trainee being encouraged to develop their own set of "principles" rather than simply memorising procedures. Murphy and Mitchell (1986) commented that there is an increasing degree of generality on the learning continuum. This ranges from skills based learning through to rules or knowledge based learning. Familiar tasks can be driven by skill based or procedural knowledge. When people face new and unfamiliar tasks or situations, it becomes necessary to draw on rules based or knowledge based information which represents more abstract principles of generality.

There is a need for adult trainees to be allowed to experiment or "discover knowledge" within a diversified training environment, (Hesketh, Andrews and Chandler, 1987). Instead of the learning environment being restricted to standardised arrangements, it is

arguable that training should occur in a "simulated work environment" which contains several training learning systems, (Hesketh and Chandler, 1990). This implies that the ideal would be for all vocational training to be based on a combination of externally accredited training and on the job experience. These features are already present in the mainstream apprenticeship system and the Australian Traineeship Scheme, and theoretically represent an arrangement that is advantageous to both employers and employees.

10 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON FUTURE RESEARCH

Several conclusions may be drawn with regard to female workers' access to training. Firstly, the statistics on training indicate that there are clear gender differences in terms of training patterns. Female workers are more likely to receive training than male workers. The training that women receive is more likely to take the form of structured internal training. Conversely, male employees are more likely to receive employer support for externally provided training. Female workers are also over-represented within casual and part-time positions. The evidence presented in industry case studies, such as those in *New Brooms*, depicts a non-core workforce that is peripheral to the training process.

The question of access and equity goes beyond structural segmentation. The bias towards supporting male employees on externally accredited courses, and providing women with internal training is still maintained even when industry and occupation are controlled for.

The paper also identified factors which may influence decisions on access to training. Choice of who receives training can be influenced by gender bias and occupational stereotyping. To this extent, the training received by women may merely be to assist them in performing low-paid, low-status jobs; whilst the training received by male employees may be directed towards career development.

The type of training is also linked with the question of how adults learn, transferability of learning and portability of qualifications. It was postulated that over-representation on internal structured training courses disadvantages female workers in terms of future trainability as well as portability of qualifications. Further, there is a very real question of whether training design and delivery are gender inclusive. Much has been written on the alienation of women within a male-oriented educational system. Problems identified within this literature include the low confidence of female, lack of a "common language" for describing female trainees' experience and an inability to identify with "male role models", and use of gender-exclusive training scripts.

Although Labour market data is useful in presenting a snapshot of "systemic discrimination", additional research is required which examines firm-level training systems. The chief question to be addressed by the case studies is why the anomaly of gender-based training patterns occurs. To answer this question, we need to examine policy-making processes around the allocation of training places and quality of in-house trainers. What are the policy requirements for training casual/part-time staff, and what are the preconditions of obtaining employer support for attendance on external training courses. Do supervisory and senior managers have concerns about the return on investing in part-time/casual staff? This is a very central issue, as was noted in *New Brooms*, the Finance Industry is developing an hourglass shape, where the trend at the bottom is based on casualised female labour, which is disconnected from industry career opportunities.

Secondly, how are in-house programs developed and delivered. To what degree has the company made an effort to develop externally accredited courses. How does in-house training complement industry training structures? A crucial issue is the knowledge level of in-house trainers with regard to adult learning principles and trainee-centred teaching. Are in-house trainers formally qualified to deliver staff training, and what factors are taken into

account in designing training programs? It is also of interest to note whether trainers attempt to evaluate trainee's knowledge both at the end of courses, and on the job.

Finally there is the matter of training outcomes. Is the inhouse training received by women intended to prepare them for promotions, or is it as has been suggested a "labour intensification" process. Although there has been much work on returns for attainment of educational qualifications, returns on workplace based training is an underresearched area.

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