Shaping the Future Worker

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The vocationalisation of Australian post-compulsory schooling, usually linked to the commissioning and release of the Finn (1991) and Mayer (1992) reports, has been the focus of considerable debate. In particular, it is possible to trace in the literature a concern with the programmatic ambitions of post-compulsory education policy seen in terms of its infiltration by economic rationalist and corporate managerialist ideals, resulting in a system dedicated to serving the interests of industry (Meredyth, 2002). That this has led to a post-compulsory education system narrowly focused on employability and the production of the flexible citizen-worker (Marginson, 1997) at the exclusion of other possible visions, has been one of the central and compelling indictments generated by the discussion. This paper takes up these concerns by using Foucault’s concept of governmentality (1991) to explore the workings of an educational site in Sydney. The College, which falls under the broadly interpreted classification of ‘senior college’, represented at its inception over ten years ago, a unique formula of general education, vocational training and industry placement designed to focus young people on their career aspirations. It reports on perceptions of the workplace and expectations of a future working life gained by ten young people at the College and looks at the ways their conduct is being shaped by their exposure to the practices of the College. It will be suggested that their stories do not (only) present a neat picture of the ability of the senior college model to carry out its mission of turning out responsibilised young adults with clear visions of their future working lives. Rather, the stories reveal the contingency of such outcomes as well as the sometimes contested nature of responses to the rationalised practices (Rose, 1999) apparent in such sites. In approaching the stories that young people tell from Foucault’s perspective on government, it may be possible to gain new insights into the ways governmental ends, such as those enacted through vocationalisation of post-compulsory schooling, are achieved or indeed resisted.

INTRODUCTION

The notion that post-compulsory schooling should serve the purpose of preparing young people for the world of work has become a commonplace in education today. The inclusion of ‘employability skills’, widely known as Key Competencies, into the general school curriculum (Williams and Hawke, 2003) as well as opportunities for specific vocational training through TAFE or VET in schools programs are taken for granted in many school contexts. In New South Wales (NSW), TAFE/VET qualifications sit alongside traditional general education qualifications such as the Higher School Certificate and have become part and
parcel of the expectations of possible outcomes of the post-compulsory high school years. However, it might be considered timely to remember that things have not always been this way. The fact that recent research (Polesel, Helme, Davies, Teese, Nicholas and Vickers, 2004) identifies the current high rates of acceptance by schools and growing participation by students as something of a ‘sea change’ (p.8), indicates a cultural shift in the acceptance of such trends, reminding us that a change process has taken place. Practices that were once neither commonplace nor uncontroversial have emerged as the ‘commonsense’ approaches to the now quite longstanding issues of the desirability in many communities of Year 12 completion, subsequent high retention rates of students who may have once gained employment after Year 10, youth unemployment and underemployment and the potential for problematic transitions to work or further education and training. The protracted nature of these trends means that questions of cause and effect are no longer routinely examined as vocationalism has become an accepted aspect of schooling. However, this paper argues that the ways in which post-compulsory schooling seeks to engage in the preparation of future workers is still, or perhaps once again, requiring examination. As school students are encouraged to focus on their work choices, in the era of WorkChoices, there is a renewed imperative to think about what we are engaged in when we make school serve the purposes of employment.

Of course, such an undertaking is necessarily broad in scope and the goals and methods of this paper, while responding to my own exhortation, are on a very modest scale. In providing a brief overview of the rise of vocationalism in post-compulsory schooling, the emergence of the senior college model of post-compulsory schooling will be viewed as part of the trend towards a more clearly articulated version of the governmental ambition to shape future workers. In this paper, the term government will be used in line with Foucault’s (1991) perspective on government as regulation of the population through the shaping of conduct. This shaping of conduct occurs through the mobilisation of a range of resources and authorities and results in practices designed to elicit particular norms of behaviour (Rose, 1999; Dean, 1999). Specifically, this discussion will focus on the comments of a group of young people from a senior college in Sydney. Their views on work, their future plans and their vocational goals will be presented and explored in terms of the extent to which they reflect the goals of neo-liberal government to produce an ideal learner-worker-citizen (Williams and Hawke, 2003). The data will also be examined in terms of how their stories show signs of the gaps in the achievement of governmental goals and perhaps reveal points of resistance to governmental ends.

The Vocationalisation of Secondary Schooling

A useful way to begin asking questions about vocational training in schools is to consider how we have arrived at the current situation where VET in schools is seen as playing ‘an essential role in managing diversity, in improving learning and in securing a range of good outcomes for school leavers’ (Polesel et al, 2004, p.8). In Marginson’s (1997) historical project mapping the evolution of education and training policy since 1960, the coalescence of forces and ideas in the
international arena as well as in Australia which resulted in the convergence of vocational and general education is well illustrated. In the years following the 1978 OECD education conference announcement that a convergence between general education and vocational education was needed, a ‘new conception of general-vocational education’ (Marginson 1997b, p.174) was forged. In Australia, developments in this area eventually led to the formation of the Finn committee which in 1991 ‘examined the whole of post-compulsory education and training from ‘a perspective of employability’ ‘ (Marginson 1997b, p.175). The committee’s focus on education as preparation for work resulted in the proposal of ‘a system of generic ‘key areas of competence,’ essential to employability’ (Marginson 1997b, p.175). From the introduction of what became known as the Mayer Key Competencies, the new vocationalism (Marginson 1997b) cemented the relationships between school and work in Australian schools and furthered the broad governmental objective of preparing young people ‘for an effective and satisfying life as an individual or as a citizen,’ and shaping them to meet ‘the requirements for a productive and satisfying life at work in today’s world’ (Australian Education Council Review Committee, p.55, cited in Bartos, 1993, p.153). In the post-compulsory education and training context, this governmental manipulation involved creating and smoothing the pathway between school and work and led the way for the range of VET interventions we now see in schools.

However, since it has been acknowledged that ‘VET in Schools is possibly the most substantial change which has occurred in post-compulsory schooling in the past decade’ (Polesel, et al, 2004, p.14) it is no surprise that these developments were controversial. Traditionally, key aspects of the debate around vocationalism in schools had their roots in the broad and longstanding question of the purposes of schooling. This debate also expanded at various times to take in more current issues such as the educational implications of competencies and schooling for citizenship debates (Meredyth, 1993, 1997). Specifically, the debate arising from an increased focus on work preparation in schooling revolved around the opposition between the humanist, child/student focused approaches and what were seen as the more instrumental perspectives on schooling. For the humanists, the decisions to focus post-compulsory schooling on work readiness were ‘regarded as too tainted by economic rationalism, corporate managerialism and bureaucratic utilitarianism to be reconcilable with egalitarian ideals or educational principles’ (Meredyth and Tyler, 1993, p.2). According to this argument, ‘the child’s potential for self-realisation cannot be reduced to mere skills and competencies’ (Meredyth and Tyler, 1993, p.2).

However, alongside this debate played out in policy commentary and the academic literature there has appeared an emerging empirical base which seeks to capture in various ways, the vocationally oriented education and training experiences of young people in their post-compulsory school years – studies that have actually looked at how policies have been played out. These studies have examined such areas as how VET in schools is viewed by the major stakeholders (Polesel et al, 2004), features of effective work experience programs (Misko, 2000), students experiences of the workplace through vocational programs in schools, (Smith and Green, 2001), student perceptions of the world of work
(Beavis, Curtis and Curtis, 2005), attitudes towards work gained through enterprise education, school-based new apprenticeships (Smith and Wilson, 2003), as well as the forging of enterprise and industry links (Mulraney, Turner, Wyatt, Harris, and Gibson, 2002). That these two bodies of literature do not talk to each other is in some ways not surprising since their goals are different. One maintains a principled critique (Hunter, 1996) without reference to the experiences of actual young people impacted upon by policy interventions, while the other focuses on the practicalities of implementation of various programs – it seeks best practice examples, provides overviews of impacts of VET in schools via statistics on participation, outcomes, articulation, etc. while never questioning the bigger picture of what it is they are engaged in. It would seem that this results in a substantial gap in the analysis of the issues that suggests more than just the difference between critical analysis and descriptive, empirical work. The tension between the principled critique and the empirical base might be seen to stem from one of the most significant findings of much of the empirical work – young people view VET in schools in positive terms and a range of indicators show that it improves their outcomes (Polesel et al, 2004). How can these two perspectives be made to speak to each other? As it stands, they cannot. Their frames of reference do not allow it. For example, one of the features of the principled critique is that it presents vocationalism as a narrow and coercive system that functions to funnel young people into limiting, skills based training at the expense of potentially more culturally and intellectually broadening education. Taken to its logical conclusion to present young people who enjoy their VET experiences as the victims or dupes of the system that seeks to control them is problematic from a number of perspectives. As Meredyth (1993) points out, the reality is much more complex than the instrumental/ethical, policy/principle approach will allow –

...if we continue to treat bureaucratic objectives as simply coercive and instrumental, what are we to make of the emphasis on choice and self-determination which features within many of the policy developments discussed above? It is self-government and participation, rather than direct state control, which operates within strategies designed to enlist youth, parents, employers and the community in post-compulsory education, to persuade universities to reform their operations, or to involve teachers in developing new assessment procedures. To mention only a few current strategies. If policy statements are explicit about concerns with the requirements of industry, vocationalism and cost-control, they are also clear about the techniques required to implement such programs – techniques for the building of desires, the enlistment of cooperation, the adjustment of choice. Despite the emphasis in educational critiques on the split between the instrumental and the 'educational', the coercive and the voluntary, these elements operate in disconcertingly flexible combination within actual educational programmes (p.2).

On this note, it would be useful to turn to the issue at the centre of this paper, that is, the role of the vocationalised approach of the senior college model in NSW and its goal to shape future workers since Meredyth's points concerning
choice, self-determination, desire, flexibility and cooperation are well illustrated here.

**The Emergence of the College**

Due to the policy directions outlined above, young people in education in NSW are offered a range of post-compulsory education and training choices that have begun to effectively blur the boundaries between traditional general education, vocational education and workplace training. High schools offer programs which include traditional general education qualifications such as the Higher School Certificate (HSC) with or without the matriculation assessment known as the University Admissions Index (UIA), as well as vocational credentials. Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges offer similar ranges of programs (on a more limited scale in most instances) for young people who wish to complete their post-compulsory schooling (Years 11 and 12) in a non-school environment. In addition to these offerings, new institutional spaces, known generically as senior colleges, have more recently been created to match new ideas about the needs of young people. Flexible programs of study which include general and vocational education as well as workplace training, adult learning environments, close links with industry and a range of general and vocational credentials and outcomes are some of the apparent attractions of such settings. This paper examines specifically one version of the model in Sydney that was effectively a hybrid offshoot of DET and TAFE. There was no model for this type of site in NSW and as such, its emergence and shape was contingent upon some very basic guidelines and the ideas of the people who established it about what young people needed from such an institutional space.

In theorising the emergence, goals and practices of this College and the subsequent vocational experiences of the participants, the aim of this paper will be to move beyond the limits of the previously discussed instrumental/ethical impasse and to use Foucault's concept of governmentality (1991) to examine the ways in which the vocationally focused agenda of the senior college under examination seeks to shape the ideas, capacities and expectations of the future workers it produces. In doing so, the role of the College in shaping the ideal type (Williams and Hawke, 2003) of young adult ready for the workforce will be explored.

Foucault's notion of government addresses the question of the regulation of populations through the shaping of conduct –

Government, here, refers to all endeavours to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others...And it also embraces the ways in which one might be urged and educated to bridle one's own passions, to control one's own instincts, to govern oneself. Foucault thus implied that, rather than framing investigations in terms of state or politics, it might be more productive to investigate the formation and transformation of theories, proposals, strategies and technologies for 'the conduct of conduct' (Rose, 1999, p.3).
Therefore in studying the workings of government on the population from this perspective, it is necessary to look at a whole range of 'programmes, techniques and devices' (Rose, 1999, p.3) which shape conduct in particular ways. An analysis of government also looks at the conduct shaping practices that 'work through the choices, desires, aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles of individuals and groups' (Dean, 1999, p.12). Furthermore, in focusing on individual choice, desire, etc. an important distinction is made in this theorisation between government and domination, since government in this sense relies on the exercise of freedom by the governed. As Rose (1999) states, '[t]o govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilise it for one's own objectives' (p.4). It is in this way that the governmentality perspective avoids the impasse evident in the traditional arguments about vocationalism. More mainstream analysis of the issues and indeed critical evaluations of current practices and programs has focused very closely on State and Federal government initiatives. In Foucault's conception of government, it is necessary to look beyond the state and politics to understand the 'range of multiform tactics' (Foucault, 1991a, p.95) employed to shape the lives of the population. The state is now seen only as a single element 'in multiple circuits of power, connecting a diversity of authorities and forces, within a whole variety of complex assemblages' (Rose, 1999, p.5). In this case, policy, traditionally viewed as enacting a narrow, instrumental approach to post-compulsory education, is seen as only one of the forces shaping conduct and outcomes in a broader consideration of how neo-liberal government occurs.

Of particular interest to this study is the fact that governing 'is also a matter of space, of making up of governable spaces' (Rose, 1999, p.31). Thus it with the governable spaces of post-compulsory education and training institutions, the ends which they are designed to achieve and the range of experiences these spaces make possible that this study is concerned. It is argued therefore, that in the governable space of the senior college young people are encouraged to 'adopt an active learning approach to life and calculate the learning through which one is going to enhance one's freedom and self-reliance' (Edwards, 2002, p.358), in this case, through focusing on vocational choices. Furthermore, the promise of this approach is that it opens a space for analysts 'to temper their demands of the school system, and to situate their analysis in relation to the kinds of problems that the system has actually been improvised to cope with' (Hunter, 1996, p.148).

The Interviews

The comments reported on below come from students who volunteered to be interviewed about their educational and vocational choices (for a study undertaken by the Research Centre for Vocational Education and Training at the University of Technology, Sydney). At this site students are able to undertake a post-compulsory program of study which allows them to combine general education with vocational qualifications and experience in the workplace. Depending on the program selected, students can complete the NSW Higher School Certificate (with or without a University Admissions Index), a TAFE
certificate chosen from a range of vocational areas and up to approximately 200 hours of industry placement.

In each interview, the ten participants were asked to relate the story of how they had arrived at the point in their lives where they felt that they had made some significant decisions about their vocational interests and had taken action to increase the likelihood of achieving specific vocational goals. All participants nominated their engagement with the College as a very significant element in their current approaches to vocational planning. For most participants, this necessarily involved reflection on their experiences of vocational training at the College as well as in workplaces and what they felt they had learned about the world of work. Although a range of participant responses will be included in the discussion more generally, close focus will be given to three young men whose stories were provocative in a number of ways.

Aaron - 'I'm Willing to Do Absolutely Anything...'

Aaron is one of the students at the College with his sights on a career in the entertainment industry. At the time of our interview he was enrolled in the HSC and planned to get a UAI. To follow his vocational interest, he was also studying for the Certificate II in Entertainment, a Board developed vocational course available for study in schools which provides for students to not only gain the vocational qualification but also to have the subject examined as two units of their HSC studies. As such, it provides a very good example of the convergence of vocational and general education in that, although not recognised for the purposes of calculation of the UAI, the Entertainment course is examined alongside traditional general education subjects in the HSC (this exam occurs separately and without reference to the competency-based assessment that occurs during the course for the purposes of the VET qualification). Completion of this course involves 240 indicative hours (comparable with other two-unit HSC subjects) as well as a minimum of seventy hours work placement.

Aaron is, for the most part, brimming with self-confidence about his prospects in the entertainment industry –

   In one way or another, I will make it somewhere in the entertainment industry. I know that.

   ...even so, it's going to be hard. But I don't care, I'll make it happen.

In fact his sanguine approach to his own prospects in the entertainment industry, extends to employment for young people in general –

   I don't believe that people can't get jobs...

Aaron believes that his work placement and self-initiated workplace exposure have taught him how to operate successfully in the entertainment industry –

   I'm always up for connections and hassling people for work...
That's what you do. You just hassle and hassle and hassle. If someone says no, you turn around and say yes.

Show that you're persistent in it and that's the first step towards getting your nose in.

His attitude is one of self-reliance, based on his confidence that he knows what the industry requires –

The only person who can help me is me because I have to do what I can to make myself good.

Nevertheless, he has engaged in some contingency planning in terms extending his skills to behind the scenes technical knowledge, specifically theatre sound and lighting –

It's not always easy to make it as a performer, so I've just got the technical background as a backup – something to fall back on.

...work for light and sound and learn more about that as well just to bring in the money – make a living....When I finish school, that can be a casual job.

Lloyd - '[the teacher said]...I had more ideas than talent, which is why I thought advertising would be good.'

Lloyd came to the College because he was interested in the Design courses available and was making plans for a career in graphic design and advertising. This was a significant commitment for him considering he would be commuting to Sydney from outside the metropolitan area. However, Lloyd's period of study at the College has seen his interest develop in other ways. At the College, Lloyd was exposed to many new ideas. The new information he was exposed to –

...all came from this school – from careers advisors to the Internet to books they have and stuff. I wanted to be a firefighter and then study, um, commerce, advertising, marketing – that kind of stuff. Then do, umm, advertising as a big profession, then study psychology...And probably end up being a politician or something.

That's changed in the last eight months...I've got all these little new ideas coming into the picture...

[Interviewer: So you feel free to have all these ideas and see how they pan out?]

Definitely – I feel...it depends on whether you're a confident person or not. I'm confident with adults because I feel I can manipulate adults really easy.

Specifically, he became interested in starting his own business selling homemade cakes. What started as an attempt to provide for his own food requirements at College soon became a small business. Lloyd started supplying
friends with his cakes and demand expanded quickly. He named the business and used his time in computer class to create letterheads, promotional material and order forms. He set the price of his cakes to undercut the canteen and at the time of interview had reached an order level of 130 cakes to be delivered on one day. The fact that delivery of this order went horribly wrong, with half the cakes getting squashed in transit, he remained undaunted about the prospects of success in this business. In fact he planned to use his design skills to create a cake carrier to avert similar disasters –

As soon as I get that [the HSC] out of the way, I'm gonna...drop everything, quit all my jobs, sit at home, make a heap of cakes, take them to a couple of places, say look, this is what I can do, this is what I've done at school...a business proposal goin'...I'm going to put all my effort into telling people that I'm gonna work for them...I know it sounds pretty lame, like cakes, but its not just that...I think I know I can make my company better than everyone else's. I just feel that I could do that and that's what I'm gonna do...I'm just gonna show people, get off your arse and do something for a change.

Lloyd has had exposure to a number of workplaces through his self-initiated casual employment. His attitude to his current employment at an amusement park was the sum of this range of experience in workplaces from the time he was a young teenager –

...make the job look the best with the least amount of work.

Ian – 'In the end, anything can happen.'

Ian's vocational interest was firefighting. It was something he had dreamed about since childhood but had in more recent years focused on the realities of getting into the fire service. In his previous high school he had completed a two-week work placement –

While I was there I asked continuous questions.

However, when the issue of future planning was concerned, Ian qualified his initial enthusiasm –

I wouldn't say that I'd do it as a career...like for a long time. Even if I do it for a short amount of time then maybe set up something on the side and see if that takes off...

In fact, one of the apparent attractions of the job was the possibility for another vocational interest to be played out at the same time. On work placement, Ian learned that firefighters have a roster organisation that sees them with a number of days between roster rotations (often working four days on the job and then having four days' break). This allows many firefighters to work at another job. He had noted that many firefighters also had trade qualifications such as plumbing which allowed them to run their own businesses 'on the side.'
Ian expressed concerns about planning for the longer term –

One of the main things was that I didn’t really want to be doing the same thing for the rest of my life.

Some people go through life with only one job but there’s so many other things I can do.

The fire brigade is appealing because it is sort of a career path – straight to the point. But then from there, you know there are so many different aspects I could go for, so many different paths...In the meantime I could still have a job, be working full-time.

So it’s not the end of the world if it doesn’t work out....this gives me more choices along the way, because over time, you do change your mind.

DISCUSSION

The narratives of the young people suggest a complex and at times confusing set of responses. On one hand, the neo-liberal messages of choice, flexibility, autonomy and an entrepreneurial approach are clearly having an impact. Aaron is fiercely individualistic and self-reliant. His determination to be self-managing and persistent in his approach to the entertainment industry brooks no (or little) opposition. Peter is nothing if not entrepreneurial in his willingness to exploit what he sees as a niche in the snack food market. Ian is clearly focused on flexibility in career options. The College’s public mission reflects these governmental ends in the way it markets itself and in its practices and the young people in the study have taken up these ideas in shaping their own conduct.

And yet the ways these ideas have been taken up seem in some ways, unexpected. The original research project from which these stories have been drawn sought volunteers who felt that they had made significant inroads into the task of setting and achieving their vocational goals. However, some of the most optimistic participants had chosen vocational areas where prospects for work would be, at times, marginal. Aaron’s example illustrates this point well. The working lives of all but a very few performers are difficult to say the least. Throughout the interview, Aaron makes only passing reference to what must be understood as an objective fact of the entertainment industry. Peter’s version of the entrepreneurial approach seems to verge on that of extreme risk. He has no hospitality training, financial backing or well developed skills in the area of food preparation and yet, he talked very seriously throughout the interview of his plans to make his cake business the focus of his working life after the HSC. And despite having identified what might be considered a worthwhile and potentially achievable career goal, Ian is unwilling to completely commit to this option or foreclose on other potential options because he feels that ‘in the end, anything can happen.’

Even the participants who had chosen what might be referred to as more mainstream vocations, for example IT, were preparing themselves for multiple
career trajectories – they planned around unemployment, trying things out, doing one thing and later another. One interesting observation that arose was that in some ways, the differences between students planning for the arts/entertainment based jobs and those planning for more mainstream employment were minimal. On a purely speculative note, might it be the case that precariousness is now perceived as the common feature of all employment? Kenway and Kelly (2000) make the point that –

As numerous commentators observe, having a career is no longer the norm for young people. Their experiences of work are fragmented and dispersed across various combinations of part and full time, casual work, looking for work and looking at multiple jobs for multiple employers. This may also be interspersed with periods of unemployment and being out of the labour market and indeed various forms of education and training (p.9).

These features of the youth labour market are not particularly new and their effects are well documented as Kenway and Kelly (2000) point out. However, it has also generally been the case that these changes in working conditions have been somewhat lamented in terms of their negative impacts on earnings, access to training and skill development more generally. In essence, it has been traditional in many parts of the literature to see young people as the victims of these changed conditions. That they would have to develop flexibility in their career planning and become self-managing was evidence of the neo-liberal response to managing the situation, that is, to make them responsible for their career outcomes. But in carrying out this empirical work and listening to these young people construct themselves in these ways, actively embracing, as unproblematic, these features of the workplace, gave me pause to consider the full implications of the neo-liberal agenda in relation to the way future workers' expectations are being shaped.

Clearly, there are many influences in the lives of young people and the power of the governmentality perspective is that it considers the range of influences on the conduct of conduct – the work being done on us and the work we do on ourselves. However, the role of post-compulsory schooling, represented in this study by the senior college, must be considered as being an important point of focus in understanding how particular responses are elicited in young people.

CONCLUSION

The questions, until now, in much of the post-compulsory schooling policy and practice literature have been largely concerned with identifying the changing nature of school-to-work transitions and looking at what can be done in terms of interventions to create and make smooth the pathways into the challenging new world of work that young people will experience. Oftentimes, the terms flexibility, choice, autonomy, self-directedness, entrepreneurial and lifelong learning are used in these discussions unproblematically. The ends of the neo-liberal agenda are not foregrounded in this type of discussion and are therefore never interrogated. New programs are funded, new sites of study, such as the senior college discussed in this paper are created and young people are shaped in
ways that are 'acceptable' to the aims of government. The emerging ideal of the learner-worker-citizen that Williams and Hawke (2003) describe, who is increasingly constructed as responsible for their own fate, in terms of employment and longer term career prospects, never questions the fact that they are being shaped to 'manage and cope (indeed thrive) in a ratcheted up, intensified, 'high performance' workplace where increased competition, responsibility and pressure are the norm' (p.6). The question of how things might be otherwise is not part of this agenda.

This paper therefore ends with a suggestion that in using post-compulsory schooling to prepare young people for work, we 'should neither tacitly accept the status quo nor try merely to 'wish away' contemporary developments in society' (Usher, Bryant and Johnston, 1997, p.50). As Luke (2003) points out 'our educational systems have struggled for over a decade to define coherent policy directions other than neoliberal marketisation, proliferation of outcomes and tests, and piecemeal responses to cultural, linguistic and epistemological diversity that have created a welter of 'add on' and 'pull out' programs' (p.104). The proliferation of VET in schools might be seen in terms of an opportunity to go beyond the smoothing of transitions. The new imperative could be to ask the question - what can we do within VET to help young people critically understand the implications of this new work order and to interrogate the model of learner-worker-citizen (Williams and Hawke, 2003) they are being presented with?

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