

**A submission to the Secretary, Senate Community Affairs  
Reference Committee**

**Inquiry into Aged Care**

Submitted by:

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***“What hinders and what helps: Searching for solutions to mature aged unemployment and the residential aged care workforce crisis”***

**Please note: This paper has been reviewed and accepted by the *Australasian Journal on Ageing* forthcoming 2004. It has been submitted with their approval.**

**This submission is based on findings of a collaborative research project by colleagues from the Divisions of Health Science; Business and Enterprise; and Education, Arts and Social Sciences at the University of South Australia. The paper offers commentary in relation to terms of reference 1; overcoming the aged care workforce shortages and training.**

**Abstract**

***Objective:*** This paper provides an overview of a research project that investigated strategies to address the workforce crisis currently threatening the provision of health and residential care services to Australia’s rapidly ageing population. Underpinning this project’s development was the view that it needed understanding as to why, in the face of high levels of sustained mature age unemployment (and under-employment), mature aged people do not consider, or are unable to undertake further education and training to gain the necessary skills to work in residential and community aged care, given the urgent need for staff in this area.

***Method:*** This descriptive and exploratory multi-methods study employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. Informed by a critical review of the literature, data were collected from interviews with four participants (aged 40 years or older) as they undertook specific education and training in aged care services, and from a survey of 145 randomly selected mature aged unemployed (and under-employed) persons. The survey and specific education and training program were located in South Australia.

***Findings:*** Analysis of the findings of this study suggest that, for the mature aged unemployed person, age represents the single most significant barrier to obtaining paid employment. Evidence also exists to suggest a

positive relationship between ageing and a person's willingness to undertake formal education, and/or to consider the work of caring for older people as a reasonable career option. However, the extent to which other factors, such as health, time spent in unemployment (or underemployment), type of qualification, and the psychological impact of being unemployed may have had an effect remains unclear.

**Conclusion:** This study challenges us to rethink how we value ageing, mature aged unemployment, mature aged education and aged care work. The findings have implications for the future of mature aged job seekers and the provision of adequate staffing for residential and community aged care services.

**Key Words:** Residential Aged Care; Human Resource Management; Mature Aged Unemployment; Adult Vocational Education and Training; Attitudes to Ageing.

## **Introduction**

This paper reports on an innovative collaborative research project that was funded by the University of South Australia's Collaborative Research Grants Scheme<sup>1</sup>. The research project was premised upon the view that the life skills and experiences of mature aged people may be well suited to meeting the needs of older people. As such, this study sought to investigate ways in which the latent potential of the mature aged job seeker could be harnessed towards resolving the workforce shortages that confront, and continue to threaten, the provision of health and care services to Australia's rapidly ageing population. The aims of the collaborative research project were to:

- Review existing literature and research related to mature aged unemployment, mature aged vocational education and training, and the difficulties associated with the recruitment and retention of aged care workers;
- Identify factors that may have an influence on the provision of labour within residential aged care, and
- Explore what factors influence the provision, delivery and uptake of vocational education and training to potential aged care workers.

### ***Why this study?***

It is now well established that Australia, in line with most other OECD countries, confronts a challenging demographic pattern as it enters the 21<sup>st</sup> Century [1, 2]. Australia's population is ageing rapidly. By drawing on data provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics [1], it is currently estimated that by year 2051 the proportion of the Australian population aged 65 years and older will increase from a current level of 12%, to approximately 24 % of the total Australian population. Given that there is a strong correlation between advanced old age and increasing dependency [3], growth of this magnitude has important implications for the provision of health and aged care services.

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<sup>1</sup> The University of South Australia's Collaborative Research Grants Scheme is a university funded scheme that supports innovative research projects that foster interdisciplinary collaborative between industry and the professions.

Whilst the past decade has seen a marked expansion in home based care options, and a proportionate reduction in residential aged care beds [4], the challenge of population ageing may well, as the Australian Society for Geriatric Medicine [4] cautions, result in the need for major growth in residential care provision. Indeed, by conservative estimates alone, it is currently anticipated that an additional 67,000 aged care workers will be required nationally over the next 20 years to meet the Government's current planned supply of aged care beds<sup>2</sup>.

More recent attempts to answer the concerns that have been raised about Australia's ageing population spurred our, and many others' [5-9], interest in issues surrounding the ageing of Australia's workforce. Indeed, a central focus of the recent Treasury Report Australia's Demographic Challenges [9] highlights the urgent need to encourage the prolonged participation of mature aged persons in the paid workforce. The removal of compulsory retirement, the introduction of federal age discrimination legislation and the development of programs to enhance mature aged persons re-entry into the workforce (such as Transition to Work<sup>3</sup>) are testament to this paradigm shift.

Despite encouraging prolonged participation, we contend that more focused attention needs to be directed toward exploring the benefits of maximizing the participation of the under-utilized potential of mature aged unemployed<sup>4</sup> persons in the residential and community aged care workforce.

### **Method**

This descriptive and exploratory research project had three interrelated phases. The first phase comprised a critical review of the relevant literature that provided the conceptual framework for the study. Phases two and three used different data collection methods to obtain the views and experiences of mature aged unemployed people in relation to undertaking education and training to work in aged care. These research methods included an anonymous self-report survey questionnaire and an

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<sup>2</sup> This projection is based on information on staff hours contained in Bentleys 1998/99 National Aged Care Survey Results.

<sup>3</sup> Transition to Work: implemented in July 2002, TTW is a federally funded program that aims to provide assistance to unemployed mature aged persons (over 50 years of age), parents and carers who are seeking to re-enter (or enter) the paid workforce.

<sup>4</sup> In the context of this project and paper we utilize the term unemployed to include persons underemployed

exploratory case study of four mature aged unemployed persons as they undertook education and training specific to the provision of residential and community aged care services. Together these research methods facilitated the collection of dense and robust textual and contextual data. Ethical approval to conduct this study was obtained from the University of South Australia's Human Research Ethics Committee.

### ***The self-report survey***

In collaboration with DOME<sup>5</sup> (Don't Overlook Mature Age Expertise), a not-for-profit organisation, the anonymous survey questionnaire was randomly distributed by mail to five hundred persons registered with DOME, from which a total of 145 (29%) completed questionnaires were returned. Approximately fifty of these surveys were returned with explanatory notes indicating that the recipients were no longer unemployed. To maintain the confidentiality, privacy and anonymity of the potential respondents, DOME, as an advocate for the mature aged job seeker, agreed to distribute the survey on behalf of the research team. Potential respondents were instructed not to disclose their name/address or any other identifying information.

### ***The case study participants***

Funding was made available through the grant to enable four mature aged unemployed persons to complete a nationally accredited Certificate III Community Services (Aged Care) training course. The course was administered by Nursing Agency Australia<sup>6</sup> – NursEd, a Registered Training Organisation (RTO) with extensive experience in the education and placement of nursing and care worker staff within the residential aged care sector. This nationally approved course aims to prepare graduates for subsequent employment within the aged care sector. It is also generally accepted that the Certificate III Community Services (Aged Care) Course is the minimum qualification for unlicensed practising personnel [10].

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<sup>5</sup> DOME (Don't Overlook Mature Age Expertise) is a not-for-profit organisation funded through the Department of Further Education, Employment, Science and Technology. Its primary function is to assist mature aged unemployed people to obtain suitable employment through a comprehensive range of job search services. <http://www.domesa.org>

<sup>6</sup> Nursing Agency Australia: <http://www.nursingagency.com.au>

The case study sample comprised three females and one male aged 51, 41, 40 and 60 years respectively. They came from diverse employment backgrounds with each describing unemployment histories that spanned between 1 and 15 years. Participant One, a single mother of a school-aged child, had previously owned and managed a small photography business, a situation that changed following her divorce. She hoped to be able to progress toward qualifications in paramedics upon completion of the Cert 111 Course. Participant Two had been employed in a full-time capacity in the textile/clothing industry. Following several work related injuries and growing job dissatisfaction, she made the decision to change career. However, her inquiries about the Cert 111 Aged Care Course confirmed that the course fees were beyond her capacity. Participant Three had not been in paid employment since the birth of her first child some 15 years ago. She had completed a VET Course in medical reception, but found that her attempts to re-enter the workforce were thwarted by her lack of experience and undertaking the Cert 111 course represented an opportunity to pursue a long-term career goal in either enrolled or registered nursing. Participant Four perceived himself a victim of company downsizing. Although he had completed a Bachelor of Business Studies he was retrenched for the third time just over 12 months previously. As primary carer to his ageing parents, he regarded nursing in aged care as *a stepping stone to bigger and better things*

The views of the case-study participants were gathered by means of reflective diaries kept by participants and through a series of in-depth interviews. These interviews were conducted face-to-face prior to commencement and again upon completion, and by telephone at weekly intervals throughout the duration of the course. The interviews, with the prior consent of the participants, were audio-taped and transcribed in preparation for subsequent descriptive and interpretative analysis.

## **Findings:**

### ***The value of ageing workers***

While it was difficult to isolate specific factors that had an effect on whether mature aged unemployed persons did or did not gain employment, an overwhelming majority of the survey participants (82%) expressed the view that their age was, from their perspective, the most significant factor against gaining employment. For example, one survey respondent commented:

*They don't tell you that it's your age, but you just get that feeling. You know a gut feeling. It's as though they're looking to see where you've hidden your walking stick. Sometimes I wonder why I even bother to apply. I honestly believe that if it weren't for my age I would have gotten most of the jobs I've applied for.*

However, there was only limited direct evidence for or against discrimination. While other evidence available from the literature on ageism [8, 11-17] makes it likely that similar mechanisms were at play for these respondents, specific comments they made included the perceived misconception amongst employers that older workers suffer increasing health problems, and thus higher rates of absenteeism.

As one survey respondent noted:

*Employers seem to think, that just because you are older that you are a bad employment risk that you will need a lot of time off for illness. It's just not true.*

According to many survey respondents, their lack of computing skills, lack of recent industry experience, and the fact that they had become inadvertently caught up in rapid technological advances had precipitated the demise of their working lives. As one respondent put it:

*For me, it was just impossible to keep up. I had never seen a computer, and my employer didn't offer any training ..so I got left behind. Completely left out of the picture. I can understand it though because the younger ones well they've grown up with this technology. It's easy for them, and that's who the employers want, cheaper employees that they don't have to teach. Not us.*

### ***Diminished Self-Confidence***

Many respondents commented on the fierce competition in the labour market, expressing feelings of despair when confronted by the prospect of having to compete with what one described as *over-trained, work hungry youths*. Others spoke in depth of their rapidly diminishing level of self-confidence, and accompanying feelings of disillusionment, hopelessness and despair.



In the graphic words of one survey respondent:

*I live a pathetic life now.....I haven't worked for 6 years. I'm 49 years old, I had the one job for 27 years. I'm too old to get a job. It's pathetic. I've had 4 interviews in 6 years. I've had about 50 replies from companies..., an absolute disgrace. I'm now an empty shell. I've seen the same midday movies repeated 3 times already. You ask why. Is this living? I might as well be dead.*

One case study participant commented:

*I have dedicated my life to my children, to nurturing them. Consequently, I have lost all of the skills that I did have and lost all of my confidence, people skills.*

For some, the negative impact of persistent rejection through repeated 'job knock backs' and lack of social interaction through work contributed to an overall sense of hopelessness, low self-esteem and loss of confidence. Together these factors rendered the ideal of returning to work an unrealistic and confronting event for many of the research participants.

While initially experiencing feelings of apprehension and self-doubt at the prospect of returning to a formal system of work and/or education, each of the case-study participants described the experience of returning to study/work as an up-lifting experience. It gave meaning and structure to their lives, and provided them with a sense of purpose and direction. The social aspects of interacting with like-minded people added to what one participant described as *a sense of belonging to the human race again*. Unanimously, each of the case study participants reported feeling an increased sense of self-worth and personal satisfaction as the course progressed.

### ***The perceived value of vocational education and training***

Survey respondents were uncertain about the importance of VET qualifications. They expressed concern over the extent to which prospective employers valued educational qualifications and the extent to which further education would realistically impact upon employment opportunities. Factors such as the cost and time of undertaking further education, the relevance of the course and mismatched teaching styles presented themselves as insurmountable barriers that inhibited the participation of many mature aged people.

When asked questions related to the factors that would influence their decision to undertake further education, of primary concern to the majority (94%) of the survey respondents were issues such as the

relevance of the course to them personally and the prospect of gaining employment upon completion. As captured in the following statements, underpinning these concerns was considerable doubt as to the extent to which employers' value formal qualifications.

*It depends on whether it validates experience in the eyes of the employer*

*I feel that even if I complete a course at TAFE it does not necessarily mean I will gain employment"*

*"I completed a course in medical administration, but still couldn't get work. They [employers] said I didn't have enough experience. How am I supposed to get experience, if I can't get work? I think really they [employers] just want younger and cheaper people.*

Almost 95% of the respondents expressed the belief that employers value workers who have specialist skills and who are flexible enough to work in diverse areas of the business. Both of these factors were described by the research participants as attributes most commonly associated with younger workers.

Other survey respondents raised concern over the extent to which VET courses were prepared to accommodate their needs as older learners, and the amount of prior learning they would need in order to meet any course pre-requisites. Indeed, eighty-five percent (85%) of the survey respondents affirmed the need for education (and training) programs that were cognizant of, and flexible to, the needs of older learners. For the case-study participants perceived lack of flexibility in program delivery and work placements featured as a primary source of stress.

Of those who had already completed qualifications at a university level there was what one case study participant described as *an uneasy feeling of going backwards*. In other words, for this participant, undertaking a qualification in the VET sector represented an ironical and downward transition, which, he felt undermined the value of what he had already worked so hard to achieve. The perceived linearity of the Australian Qualification Framework (AQF) Levels 1-12 [18], contributes both to this perceived notion of *going backwards*, despite the fact that almost four times as many students move from higher education to VET as the other way around [19].

The costs associated with undertaking further education featured prominently as a potential barrier to mature age participation in VET. Ninety five per cent (95%) of survey respondents ranked cost as the primary barrier to undertaking further education. For each of the case study participants, the cost of undertaking a public or private VET course presented an insurmountable barrier to which they envisaged no easy solution, adding that, without the financial assistance provided through the scholarships they received as part of this project, they would not have been able to afford the course fees. As one participant stated:

*For people with not much money it [TAFE Course Fees] is a big issue. I am in that situation now, and I know that if you have the choice of trying to get \$1,500 for a course when you can barely pay your ETSA [electricity] account or buy enough food for the week, you just can't do it..*

The same participant commented:

*....to do a VET course you are not offered HECS payments so therefore you have to pay for everything up front so that actually deters a lot of under-privileged people to go out and do the courses because they just can't afford to do it. At least if you go to University to do a degree, you can actually have your course fees taken off your salary when you get a job. If you go to TAFE, you have to pay everything up front.*

All of the case study participants and most of the survey respondents (85%) expressed a preference for short courses where they could quickly reap the rewards of further education. Central to concerns raised about the time it would take to complete a course were anxieties relating to the amount of prior learning that may be required to meet course entry requirements. One case study participant commented that what would best suit her needs as an older learner are short courses where she could quickly gain skills that would enable her to re-enter the paid workforce. As anticipated, of primary concern for many was their age and length of remaining working life. Transport options to education programs was also an area of concern for 75% of the survey respondents.

***Factors influencing the mature aged person's willingness to work with older people***

Amongst those who participated in this study, it was almost unanimously agreed that the work of caring for older people was indeed a valuable, if not noble, occupation that had potential to make a positive impact upon the day-to-day lives of older people. Yet, despite this, only 16% of the survey respondents expressed an interest in undertaking the necessary education and training to work with older people. Underpinning this reluctance, as illustrated in the remaining discussion, were three key factors: the negative image of the aged care industry, the nature of aged care work, and industry employment conditions.

### ***Negative image of the aged care industry***

Perceived as an industry where staff do not have enough time to care properly for older people, the majority (70%) of the survey respondents indicated that they were glad neither to be residents in aged care facilities, nor part of the aged care workforce. At the same time though, there was overwhelming empathy for the perceived suffering of those older people who were considered by the survey respondents to be unfortunate enough to be in need of residential aged care services, and support for the dedicated staff who work with them. This perception in itself reflects a view about ageing in our society as a state of functional decline. Findings of this study identified that, while the vast majority of the survey respondents (85%) regarded the work of caring for older people as an important occupation, in contrast only one third (32%) were prepared to consider aged care as a viable employment option, and only one half (16%) of these were interested in undertaking the necessary education and training. In attempting to account for this disparity, although many reasons were advanced as potential disincentives to aged care work, a central theme underpinning this reluctance harked back to negative societal images where ageing and aged care work are perceived as *the end of the road*. As one survey respondent articulated:

*Cannot think of anything more depressing. Why be constantly reminded of your own future? Mortality? Constant battle with funding. Overworked, low recognition, exhausting, depressing work*

### ***The nature of aged care work***

Consistent with the findings of related studies [20], amongst those who participated in this project, the work of caring for older people was generally perceived positively. And, although acknowledged to be both physically and emotionally demanding, caring for older people was regarded, for the most part, as a challenging, rewarding and worthwhile occupation, and of similar status when compared with the activities of the acute health sector. Yet, despite this apparently positive perception, the question remains as to why so few of the survey respondents were interested in undertaking the necessary education and training to gain employment in the aged care setting. In attempting to account for this difference, analysis of the findings demonstrated that personal factors such as health and other dispositional characteristics were the most frequently cited factors underpinning this reluctance. As indicated in the following typical responses:

*My own health for starters. I appreciate and admire those who are involved, but I do not feel drawn to it [aged care work]. Maybe later on I will feel differently-I believe it is something you have to really want to do and that you have to have a vision for”.*

*My interests do not lie in this area. I feel that people employed in this work need to have special qualities and a real desire to make a difference in this area. It should not be considered just another job. To get the right people-they need to be given the right incentives”.*

*“Do not have the mental frame of mind to tend to their needs, feel not suitable as I don’t have the patience”  
“I don’t have the stomach to do some of the work that is involved*

*Don’t like the smell of nursing homes*

*I lack the tolerance and patience required*

Case study participants’ descriptions of their experiences tended to indicate that the nature of the work itself was not so much the problem. While this may be as expected, since these individuals had to some extent self-selected as having a positive attitude toward working with older people, they did retain a generally positive attitude to caring for older people on completion of their course, which involved placements and practical experience. They did however encounter emotional and other difficulties as a result of the specific institutional environment in which they had to perform the work. Indeed, for the case study participants, the issue lay not with the physical aspect of performing tasks, but with what they perceived as the structured and impersonal manner in which those tasks were delivered. One case study participant spoke at length of deep feelings of anguish at having to care for older people in what he described as *a machine like fashion*. Another expressed feelings of internal conflict when individual resident needs were left unattended because they lay outside the boundaries of what she described as *a rigid work schedule*. The highly structured and inflexible nature of the organisational culture was as one participant commented, *in direct conflict with what had attracted me to caring work in the first place*. To a significant extent this finding reproduces, in the specific context of this study, conclusions that have been reported elsewhere [20-25] about the frustrations of care work; both from the perspective of how work constraints and managerialist performance measures impact on care worker satisfaction, and from the perspective of how ageing is valued in our society.

### ***Employment conditions in the aged care industry***

When considering a career in residential aged care, the consensus of opinion was that low wages combined with insufficient resources (both fiscal and human) to adequately meet the needs of older people presented a

major disincentive to potential employees. In particular, apart from the complexities associated with non-standard employment conditions (casual/part-time work), and shift-work in general, the top down management approach was regarded by the case study participants as particularly unattractive. As one participant stated:

*It seemed as though the right hand had no idea of what the left was doing. Management seemed to be so caught up with funding that at times I wondered if the residents, the ones we were there for, mattered at all. I'm sure they did, but it all seemed to be about funding, accreditation, and the staff were so stressed. There was never enough time.....*

Another participant described how feeling under-valued by senior staff and/or management tainted her experience(s) in the workplace. In her words:

*It was as though I had somehow been relegated to the bottom of the pile, where my needs as a student, a mother, an older person myself, were completely over-looked. I felt powerless, like a child. Some days I would arrive at the nursing home, and my name wouldn't even be on the roster. They didn't even know I supposed to be there. I had very little in the way of orientation, and some of the people I had to work with were down right unhelpful...rude....they didn't have the skills or for that matter the personality to be charged with the responsibility of teaching new comers. Experiences like that leave a lasting impression....*

Feeling undervalued or *relegated to the bottom of the pile* featured prominently as a recurring view that was expressed by each of the case study participants throughout their work placements. The hierarchical nature, or top-down management approach, utilized in many aged care facilities, and as described metaphorically by Jervis [25] as 'feudal<sup>7</sup> in orientation', failed to engender a sense of belonging amongst the case study participants. Whilst acknowledged to be the result, in part at least, of their transient role as trainees, this lack of belonging served not only to reinforce their position at the bottom of the institutional prestige structure [25], but also to negate their sense of self worth. Such factors have been widely discussed as precursors to poor job satisfaction and high rates of staff attrition in the voluminous literature on care worker turnover reduction [20-27].

## **Discussion**

Consistent with the findings of the survey in this study, much of the literature pertaining to the issue of mature age unemployment suggests that stereotypical images of ageing, where older people are perceived as rigid in thought and manner, frail in body, and unwilling or unable to adapt to change,

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<sup>7</sup> Feudal: In referring to the nursing home hierarchy in metaphorical terms as feudal in orientation, Jervis is drawing similarities between the autocratic leadership style that was characteristic in Feudal Times, to that of the way in which managerial process occurs in nursing homes. Conceptualised in this way, upper management equate to royalty; middle management to nobility and care workers to peasants.

have operated covertly to form the basis of age discrimination in employment [14-17]. Defined as “differential and discriminatory treatment on the grounds of age”, age discrimination in the labour market has been identified in numerous studies as a primary factor that acts to limit not only employment opportunities available to mature aged workers, but also training opportunities and conditions of employment [14]. As echoed in the survey data of this study, many mature aged job seekers report being coerced into early retirement through retrenchment and/or redundancy, or being forced into accepting part-time, casual or contract work with no sustainable or foreseeable long-term employment prospects. Paradoxically, this is despite legislative interventions that support the equitable treatment of all labour market participants irrespective of age [16]. Our findings support the view by the Council on the Ageing (COTA) that, in the absence of supportive strategies, legislation may well act to promote covert and insidious discriminatory practices [17].

Findings of this project suggest that much doubt exists amongst mature aged job seekers as to the relevance of formal qualifications. Underpinning these concerns were comparative questions related to the amount of time that would be required to complete a qualification, in the context of their age and the anticipated length of working life. Not surprisingly, many participants demonstrated a preference for short courses where they could quickly acquire the necessary skills to facilitate their re-entry to the paid workforce. There were also concerns related to the self-financing of VET. As Chapman [28] writes:

*HECS arrangements for higher education offer a solution to the financial market problems inherent in charging for VET. In contrast the up-front fee regimes in Australian VET are poor policy, for both economic and social reasons. Attention should be given to moving VET charging mechanisms more towards income-contingent repayment, which means centralizing the collection of charges through the Australian Taxation Office (5: 43)*

To respond to the needs of older learners, and in particular those who are only marginally attached to the labour market, it is imperative to utilise flexible and creative approaches to encourage their learning.

The results of this project mirror the findings of similar research studies that have been undertaken elsewhere in the past few years [2-4, 9], where difficulties associated with the recruitment and retention of aged care workers have been consistently reported to include factors such as wage disparity, perceived low status, the nature of the aged care industry, and the negative image of aged care work in general. By juxtaposing the findings of this study with and against the primary themes explicated from a critical analysis of the literature, the following discussion brings forward for consideration aspects to the debate that relate directly to the employment and training of the mature aged care worker.

For the most part, survey findings supported the experiences of the case-study participants in that the environment in which aged care work was carried out is seen to be problematic. Consistent with the findings of a study conducted by Marquis [29], over reliance on mechanistic and system driven protocols creates employee disenchantment. Lescoe-Long [21] and Robertshaw [27] support this view, and concede that the highly structured and inflexible nature of bureaucratic organisational culture, may not sit comfortably with the expectations and values held by people who are attracted to the work of caring for older people. To strengthen this point, and as echoed in this study, Lescoe-Long [21] suggests that those who choose to undertake work of a caring nature often feel some sort of calling (dispositional characteristics) toward this work.

In conclusion, while it may be argued that unemployment rates will decrease in years to come, findings from this study support concerns that aged care services will remain depleted of an adequate number of direct care workers unless attitudinal changes towards ageing and aged care services occurs amongst members of our society and as reflected in legislation and employment guidelines.

**Key Points:**

- Despite the introduction of federal and state age discrimination legislation many mature aged job seekers believe that their age is the single most significant barrier to gaining paid employment;
- The cost of VET courses represents a major barrier to mature aged participation in vocational education and training;
- The environmental, employment and structural conditions of the aged care industry act as a potential deterrent to potential aged care workers.



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