



THE END OF CAR MANUFACTURING IN AUSTRALIA: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF TRAINING?



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The loss of jobs in the automotive manufacturing industry, together with a more general decline of the manufacturing industry in Australia, has implications for the types of skills needed in the labour market. Both of these scenarios affect particular groups of people, such as displaced car workers, but within that category other groups such as older workers or workers in regional areas.

Of interest in this piece is the training response to this situation and the factors that need to be taken into account in providing an effective solution to some of the issues arising from the end of car manufacturing in Australia.

This paper specifically considers the role of vocational education and training (VET) in any response and in doing so looks at the lessons learnt from two case studies: one local, Mitsubishi Motors Australia Limited, and one from overseas, MG Rover in the United Kingdom. Insights from recent NCVET studies have also informed this paper.

HIGHLIGHTS

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- Access to coordinated skills training and re-training initiatives plays an important role in alleviating the effects of industry restructuring on workers. To do so effectively, however, the training must be: a fundamental part of restructuring packages; timed appropriately; tailored to the specific needs of individuals; and developed with the distinctive local or regional labour market in mind.
- During periods of restructuring, finding alternative employment remains the key goal for individuals and, while skills training is important, it is not the entire solution. Access to a number of support services will be necessary, as will their delivery by a range of collaborating partners including industry, government, community groups and other agencies, as well as education providers. Communicating in clear language the extent of the services available and the role of training is essential, as is ongoing monitoring to ensure that training opportunities are available beyond initial restructuring.
- Training should have as its primary focus the transferability of existing skills, allowance for extra support with foundation skills, and be age-appropriate. The exact nature of the training required and when it will be most beneficial will vary.
- It is essential to consider the impact of training programs on training providers. Successful training interventions will require committed resources from providers, the ability and capacity to tailor skills-recognition activities, and sufficient numbers of ongoing courses to meet demand.



INTRODUCTION

In rapidly changing economies where industries are being restructured and occupations are changing, up-to-date skills are vital for employers and workers to meet varying employment demands. Effective strategies and intervention programs are required to avoid an increase in unemployment or the default retirement of older workers.

General Motors Holden (Holden), the Ford Motor Company of Australia (Ford) and the Toyota Motor Corporation Australia (Toyota) will cease car manufacturing in Australia by 2017 with their operations moving to economies with lower cost structures. This will have a significant impact on the Australian economy, particularly within certain regions in Australia: the north of Adelaide; the west, southeast, and northwest of Melbourne; and Geelong. Some of these regions, such as Playford in the north of Adelaide and Dandenong in the southeast of Melbourne, already have relatively high levels of unemployment and social disadvantage (Productivity Commission 2014). As signalled by Scott (2015), these shutdowns have real human impact and affect many people's lives – not only the workers themselves, but their families and the surrounding communities.

Acknowledging that there are many aspects to addressing industry restructuring, this paper considers one: the role of vocational education and training (VET) in mitigating the impacts of the demise of car manufacturing in Australia.¹

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¹ For a more comprehensive analysis of workforce development needs for the manufacturing sector in general, please refer to the Australian Workforce and Productivity Agency 2014 report *Manufacturing workforce study*.

MANUFACTURING IN AUSTRALIA

Manufacturing's relative contribution to Australia's economic output has been steadily declining.

Automotive manufacturing sits within Australia's wider manufacturing and component parts industry, which encompasses a broad variety of industries and jobs ranging from food and beverage production, through to more sophisticated high-precision work such as the manufacture of scientific and medical equipment, and electronics. Occupations under the manufacturing umbrella cover managers, technicians/trades workers, sales workers, clerical/administrative workers, machinery operators and drivers, and labourers. The qualifications profile of the industry reflects the range of occupations with around 30% of workers holding certificate III/IV qualifications and about 15% having a bachelor degree or higher; 45% of workers have no post-school qualifications (Australian Workplace and Productivity Agency 2014).

Manufacturing's relative contribution to Australia's economic output has been steadily declining, a common trend among developed countries (Australian Workplace and Productivity Agency 2014). Manufacturing's share of gross domestic product (GDP) declined from 13.2% in 1975 to 6.6% in 2013, while in the same period mining's share of GDP rose from around 6.5% to 10% (Australian Workplace and Productivity Agency 2014, p.31). Further, labour force data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) highlight that, in the ten-year period from May 2005 to May 2015, the total number of people employed in the manufacturing industry has declined from 10.4% of all employed people to 7.8% (ABS 2015a, 2015b). The reasons for the decline in employment numbers are many but encompass technological advances (for example, robotics and automation of manufacturing processes), changes in consumer preferences, and government policies (Bradley 2015).

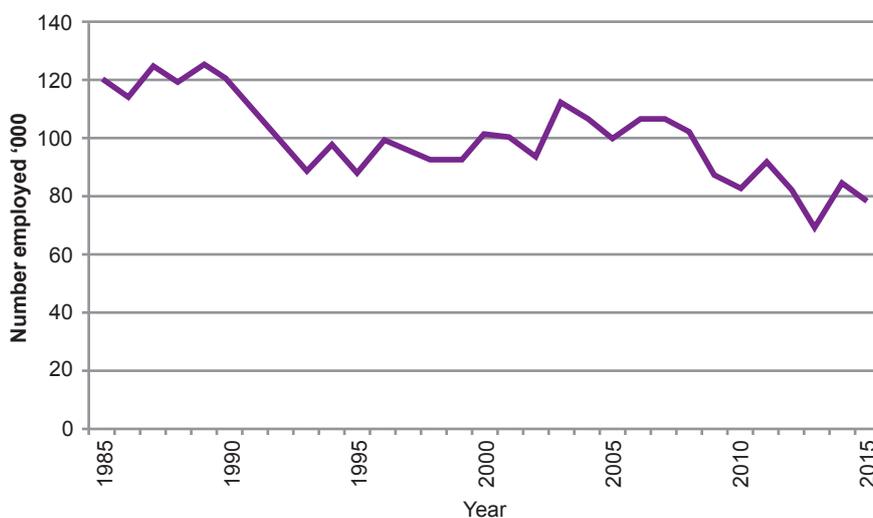


AUTOMOTIVE MANUFACTURING IN AUSTRALIA

The automotive manufacturing industry accounts for around 5% of all those employed in the manufacturing sector more generally (Productivity Commission 2014), so is not a huge employer as such. This includes those employed directly in the manufacture of cars, buses, trucks, caravans etc. as well as those employed indirectly through supply chains. As of 2013, around 45 000 people were employed in automotive and parts manufacturing, with around 11 350 employed directly by the three car manufacturers, Holden, Ford and Toyota (Productivity Commission 2014). Approximately 50 000 people were also employed in other areas of manufacturing that supply parts and services to the supply chain (Australian Industry Group 2013). The numbers of people employed in automotive manufacturing have been declining over time. Figure 1 shows that in transport equipment manufacturing, of which automotive manufacture is a significant part, employment numbers have declined significantly over the last 30 years. Automotive manufacturing has also been declining as a proportion of overall employment (from 1.8% of total employment in 1985 to 0.7% of all employment in 2015).

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Figure 1 Numbers employed ('000) in transport equipment manufacturing 1985–2015, May figures



Source: ABS (2015b, table 6).

In South Australia alone, the South Australian Government estimates that the closure of Holden's plant will result in the loss of not only 1700 workers employed directly by the company, but also a further 4000 in the automotive supply chain and 7500 in the broader economy (13 200 in total) (South Australian Government 2014). Other estimates have put job losses in South Australia much higher at 24 000, while in Victoria, with the closure of both the Toyota and Ford plants, total job losses by the end of 2017 are estimated to be around 98 000 (Barbaro, Spoehr & National Institute of Economic and Industry Research 2014).

Nationally, it is estimated that about 200 000 jobs will be lost by the end of 2017 as a result of the closures of Ford, Holden and Toyota. Most notably, a fall in GDP in the order of 2% is predicted to ensue (Barbaro, Spoehr & National Institute of Economic and Industry Research 2014). The extent of the effect of the closures on job losses however is dependent upon how well component manufacturers can diversify into other markets (Productivity Commission 2014) as well as the ability of displaced workers to find new jobs (Barbaro, Spoehr & National Institute of Economic and Industry Research 2014).

Responses to the closure of the car manufacturing industry

In response to the end of car manufacturing in Australia, the federal and state governments have implemented various strategies designed to ease the impacts on affected workers. An example is the Skills and Training Initiative, a collaboration between the Commonwealth, South Australian and Victorian governments and Holden and Toyota, which provides funding for a number of initiatives, including career advice, recognition of prior learning and training (Callan & Bowman 2015). The Ford Transition Program has similar elements and also provides funds for ‘an outplacement service for those workers who are fully work-ready’ (Callan & Bowman 2015, p.23).



HOW DOES TRAINING FIT IN?

Training and skills development, which are included in the government initiatives mentioned previously, are key components of programs for employees affected by the industry closures as they search for work. The inclusion of training and skills development in programs for displaced workers has implications for the workers and the providers of training.

Many of the workers in the car manufacturing industry have no formal post-school qualifications. In addition, many are mature-aged workers with the Productivity Commission (2014) noting that in 2011 40% of workers in the automotive industry were aged 45 years or older. Moreover, some workers in this industry have poor English language skills (Australian Workplace and Productivity Agency 2014). Given this, foundation-level courses may be an initial requirement. The qualifications of some workers may also require upgrading. For some experienced workers with existing skills recognition of prior learning (RPL) is an option, whereby their existing skills are recognised. Other options include the provision of short courses, training in recognised skill sets to ‘top up’ or broaden existing skills, and generic skills training to help workers adapt to change in the industry. This will assist with skills transferability for workers affected by the closures.

There are also implications for training providers in terms of:

- the types of courses required – foundation courses, full qualifications, short courses and skill sets in appropriate subject areas
- course delivery – at a training institution, in the workplace, apprenticeships, recognition of prior learning
- capacity – to deliver the volume of training needed and the ability to provide training in the particular regions affected.

Australia has previously witnessed the closure of car manufacturing plants, with Renault in 1981, Nissan in 1992 and Mitsubishi Motors Australia Limited (Mitsubishi) in 2008 (Bradley 2015). It is likely that these earlier car plant closures have useful lessons to inform the development of programs for displaced workers following the closures over the next couple of years. A study from the closures of the Mitsubishi plant in Australia and MG Rover in England, the latter considered a relatively successful example of a plant closure in a region, offer useful examples. The role of training in mitigating the effects of these closures on affected workers is a particular focus of these case studies.

There are various training options to assist with skills transferability for workers affected by the impending car plant closures.

CASE STUDIES: MITSUBISHI AND MG ROVER

Learnings from previous closures of car plants can assist in developing tailored strategies, including those related to training, for the upcoming closures.

A brief history of the closures of Mitsubishi and MG Rover in England are provided followed by a discussion of what worked well, or not so well, particularly from a training perspective.

Case study 1: Mitsubishi

In April 2004 Mitsubishi, located in the southern suburbs of Adelaide, announced the closure of its engine assembly plant and offered voluntary redundancies to staff from its vehicle assembly plant. All operations ceased in March 2008. The closure resulted in approximately 700 involuntary redundancies and 400 voluntary retrenchments (Beer et al. 2006). At the time, manufacturing represented 18% of total employment in southern Adelaide, a region characterised by lower-than-average incomes (Thomas, Beer & Bailey 2008).

A longitudinal survey of retrenched Mitsubishi employees found that of the 373 participants in the first wave of the study, most were aged 45 years or older and had a median period of employment with Mitsubishi of around 20 years; around 37% had not completed high school, and 20% had, at most, a basic trade certificate as their highest level of education. Notably, around 60% of all respondents indicated they had plans for further training to assist their future employment (Beer et al. 2006).

Assistance responses

A number of initiatives were offered through the Labour Adjustment Package (LAP) for Mitsubishi workers affected by the closure. The Australian Government contributed \$10 million to the LAP in conjunction with a range of services supported by the South Australian Government, which included financial counselling, resumé preparation and career counselling (Armstrong et al. 2008). The LAP funds were distributed through private organisations, known as Job Network providers, whose clientele tended to be longer-term unemployed people. Despite the perceived skill shortages in the state at the time and the retrenched Mitsubishi workers' expressed desire to undertake further training, there was no funding set aside for further training or education purposes (Beer & Thomas 2007, cited in Callan & Bowman 2015).

The Structural Adjustment Fund for South Australia (SAFSA), another initiative at the time, was funded by both the federal (primarily) and state governments. The purpose of this fund was to provide firms with capital subsidies as an incentive to invest in South Australia or to expand their businesses in South Australia. The grants were offered to firms with business proposals that indicated that their investment or expansion in South Australia would generate a significant number of new jobs (Armstrong et al. 2008).

How effective was the response

The transitional assistance offered from the state and federal governments did not achieve the anticipated target. The underlying rationale associated with the transitional assistance was that retrenched Mitsubishi workers would be absorbed into the growing defence and mining industries. However, only 2% of retrenched Mitsubishi workers who participated in the longitudinal survey were employed in industries related to mining, while another 2% were employed in industries related to defence (Armstrong et al. 2008).

In relation to the Structural Adjustment Fund, most of the pooled fund was distributed to low-technology and low-innovation business rather than high-tech businesses or to sectors that could leverage a competitive advantage for the region (Thomas, Beer & Bailey 2008). Furthermore, although the pooled fund was available to all regions in South Australia, grants were substantially awarded to firms in the northern region. For workers living in the southern suburbs where Mitsubishi was located, a new job in the north would require substantial travel time or relocation. Not surprisingly, many retrenched workers reported that they had to reject job opportunities in the north due to the associated high costs and long commute. Relocation or travel subsidies were not offered to address such costs (Beer et al. 2006).

The Labour Adjustment Package (LAP) achieved limited success. Beer et al. (2006) found the proportion of workers who found jobs after the plant closure progressively increased over the 18 months after closure. But the proportion of workers employed in casual jobs increased with approximately 70% of those in casual employment reporting that they would rather be working full-time. Furthermore, 28% of those who had retired indicated that they would rather be working, but had been forced to withdraw from the labour market because they were unable to find new employment.



Among retrenched Mitsubishi workers, those with low educational attainment or who had spent a prolonged period of their employment with Mitsubishi using the same skills became less marketable and more vulnerable in the labour market. In hindsight, the response from the governments might have been more effective had the LAP comprised an education and training component (Beer et al. 2006).

Inadequate information and the absence of investment and collaboration in the form of retraining and upskilling support also underpinned the poor employment outcomes of Mitsubishi employees post-redundancy. Beer et al. (2006) reported that some surveyed retrenched Mitsubishi workers did not know what their entitlements included and what services were provided by Job Network providers. Arguably, given the growth in the mining and defence industries, as well as the different skill sets required by other growing sectors, a fund dedicated to retraining and further education may have been a more appropriate response from the governments (Beer et al. 2006; Armstrong et al. 2008; Thomas, Beer & Bailey 2008).

Furthermore, the distribution of the LAP funds through the private Job Network providers did not appear to significantly assist the retrenched Mitsubishi workers gain employment. Armstrong et al. (2008) reported that 38% of respondents did not use the Job Network providers to help them to find new employment, while only 6% of those who were employed at the time gained their new job through Job Network agencies. The lack of a formalised communication strategy—resulting in retrenched workers being unaware of the extent of their entitlements and therefore not receiving all the assistance to which they were entitled—coupled with inexperience in the provision of assistance to skilled workers were identified as the two main problems with Job Network providers (Beer et al. 2006).

The Mitsubishi case study highlights an issue noted by the Productivity Commission in its review of Australia's automotive manufacturing industry (Productivity Commission 2014): the poor design or targeting of regional adjustment funds or labour adjustment programs can lead to more costly and less effective schemes than otherwise would be the case.

Case study 2: MG Rover England

MG Rover went into administration in 2005 following the collapse of a deal with Shanghai Automotive Industry Corporation. The closure of the plant in the West Midlands resulted in the loss of about 6000 jobs (UK National Audit Office 2006). In addition, there were more job losses in the supply chain (Bentley, Bailey & de Ruyter 2010).

A £176 million response package was funded by the UK Government, Advantage West Midlands and other public bodies (UK National Audit Office 2006).

The funding supported initiatives to help redundant workers (£90 million), suppliers and retailers (£76 million) and the local community (£10 million) (MG Rover Task Force 2006; Bentley, Bailey & de Ruyter 2010).

Assistance response

A task force was immediately established following the closure of MG Rover. The MG Rover Task Force comprised 30 people representing a variety of organisations, including local authorities, trade unions, employer's organisations, automotive industry representatives, members of parliament and other public sector organisations such as the Learning and Skills Council.² The task force was led by Advantage West Midlands, a regional development agency.

The establishment of an earlier task force in 2000 following the split-up of MG Rover when BMW divested itself of most of Rover, meant that convening the MG Rover Task Force was accomplished swiftly and with relative ease (Bentley et al. 2010). The earlier task force, which was led by the Regional Development Agency and Advantage West Midlands, with support from the Government Office of the West Midlands, had three main foci:

- modernisation (improving competitiveness)
- diversification (suppliers diversifying away from MG Rover)
- regeneration (development of the MG Rover site).

While the focus of the 2005 task force was different, the work achieved through the earlier task force was perceived as having informed the response to the 2005 closure. Bailey et al. (2006) noted that the diversification work undertaken prior to the closure may have 'saved' several thousand jobs in the supply chain.

Training and skills development are key components for employees searching for work.

² The Learning and Skills Council (LSC) was responsible for planning and funding further education in England. It closed in 2010 and was replaced by the Skills Funding Agency and Young People's Learning Agency.

Two important general considerations for the impending car plant shutdowns are effectively using the lead time available and also having a coordinated response.

As occurred with Mitsubishi, funds were allocated to support affected workers via various initiatives such as resumé writing to help workers prepare for new employment. In contrast to the Mitsubishi case study, training was a key component of the response with more than half of these funds specifically allocated for training initiatives. Formal agreements were established between the Learning and Skills Council and Jobcentre Plus³ for this purpose. The training process for the redundant workers involved three key steps: a one-to-one skill needs assessment; the development of a training plan; and enrolment in training from a broad range of courses. Training was also offered to suppliers and retailers affected by the closure, as well as to the spouse/partner of the affected worker.

An important element of the training was the 'Manufacturing and Engineering Skills Hub', which aimed to keep the redundant workers, including supply chain workers, within the manufacturing industry (UK National Audit Office 2006). The hub was run by Jobcentre Plus and the Learning and Skills Council and involved workers being placed with host employers. Key elements of the hub were:

- an entitlement to free retraining/upskilling to at least NVQ level 2⁴ relevant to the business
- a travel subsidy for 20 weeks
- a weekly induction support allowance to the host employer of £50 per week for 12 weeks
- an employer entitlement to free retraining/upskilling for one of their employees for each redundant employee recruited.

³ Jobcentre Plus was the agency in the United Kingdom that provided services mainly for people seeking employment, as well as providing an allowance for unemployed people.

⁴ The NVQ (National Vocational Qualification) level 2 is approximately equivalent to the Australian AQF (Australian Qualifications Framework) 3 level qualification.

How effective was the response?

By 2006, 4000 of the 6300 displaced workers from MG Rover had found other employment, 90% of them full-time (Bailey et al. 2008). In addition, 4000 people had completed a skills plan and of these, 2500 had completed a vocational training program. Furthermore, about 1100 of the 4000 ex-MG Rover employees who found other employment had received training (Thomas, Beer & Bailey 2008). At this time, however, the outcomes of the training were mixed, with some commentators arguing that the skills assessment occurred too soon after the redundancy and that the training was not always what most benefited the workers (UK National Audit Office 2006). Furthermore, the large number of redundancies meant that some of the training provided to ex-MG Rover workers to help them find other jobs was not provided as promptly as required (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts 2006).

Prior to 2006, a great deal of information had been collected about the closure of the plant and its effect on the workers, but little information was gathered after that time. In 2005, a three-wave longitudinal survey commenced to learn more about the economic and social impact of the closure on the redundant workers. The first wave took place three months after the closure (sample of 273), the second wave eight months after the closure (sample of 232), and the third wave three years after the closure (sample of 204). In all, 176 workers responded to all three waves, or 64% of the original sample (Bailey et al. 2008).

By the third wave of the longitudinal survey nearly 90% of the respondents were back in work, with about 74% being employed full-time. This was up from 63% employed at the second wave (52% full-time) and 31% in the first wave (23% full-time).



Overall, the salaries of the previously displaced workers were now lower, the reason being that many (about 60% of the sample) had found work in the services sector, which generally paid less. Those who did find work in the manufacturing sector (about 30%) were paid more. In addition, those who found work earlier were more likely to find work at a similar level as their job at MG Rover, used similar skills as at MG Rover, be younger and better paid than those who found work later.

One of the important elements in the assistance package was training for ex-employees (and their partners). By the third wave, the majority of respondents had undertaken training (60%). However, after the first wave (three months after the closure) only 29% had undertaken training, with about a quarter of the sample not being aware that training was available, meaning that communication about the availability of training could have been better.

The amount of training also varied by employment pathway with those employed across all three waves being the least likely to take up training (39% of the sample did so), while those who were unemployed in the first two waves (eight months after the closure) but employed in the third wave the most likely to (78%). In other words, those who found jobs earlier were less likely to take up training than those who found work later. Those who were employed later were older, less qualified and needed to undertake some training to find alternative work.

About half of the training was for nationally recognised qualifications (mostly vocational). In addition, of those respondents who moved into industry areas other than manufacturing, the majority undertook a training course (67 vs 35), while those who stayed in manufacturing were fairly evenly split between those who received training and those who did not (25 vs 21). However, the survey report does not make it clear whether the training per se led to employment.

It is worth noting that 751 redundant employees gained jobs as part of the skills hub discussed above; 20% of these in other car manufacturing companies. The skills hub was found to be of considerable assistance in helping the redundant employees find work. There were immediate job offers that also included training and travel subsidies (MG Rover Taskforce 2006).

GOOD PRACTICE FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH

The European Monitoring Centre on Change (EMCC; 2007) highlighted four factors that made the MG Rover Taskforce a success: preparation, collaboration, support and communication. For example, in terms of preparation, training opportunities were provided ahead of the closure and, in terms of support, a large array of training courses were put together and delivered soon after the closure.

More generally, Callan and Bowman (2015) in their review of Australian and international examples and research relating to restructuring in the manufacturing industry developed a list of good practice elements, some of which are reflected in the case studies above. While their work focused on the implications of industry restructuring for older workers, many of the broad practices outlined by Callan and Bowman are equally important for all workers:

- Ensure early intervention, well before the workers reach their retrenchment dates with ongoing monitoring after they are retrenched.
- Seek regional responses to allow affected workers to remain in their region to maintain local ties and family commitments.
- Provide upfront screening or assessment processes to ensure the training program is the most appropriate.
- Design age-inclusive training, which is highly experiential and practical and fills the gaps in existing knowledge and skills identified through recognition processes upfront.
- Provide foundation skills training if required, encompassing language, literacy (including digital literacy), numeracy and employability skills.
- Provide accelerated training to help workers complete their training as rapidly as possible to enable them to look for a job in which to apply their new skills.
- Provide job search and self-promotion services after training that are tailored to the worker and targeted to the local job market.
- Seek professional partners and collaborate to ensure that affected workers receive training, career counselling and help with job search and attainment.

BROADER IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING PROVIDERS

The skill needs of the local community must be considered when developing education and training plans.

The UK National Audit Office (2006) highlighted the challenges for the former Learning and Skills Council and, by extension training providers, in developing their response for the provision of effective training for redundant employees. Firstly, they had to have the capacity to provide advice to the ex-employees of MG Rover. To achieve this they established a pool of 120 skills advisers, on secondment from relevant organisations such as further education colleges. The council also set up a centre close to a key Jobcentre Plus office to provide advice.

Secondly, they worked with colleges and other local providers to increase the range and number of training courses, and ensured that colleges had the staff and other capacity to deliver them. However, due to the broad range of courses wanting to be undertaken by the redundant employees and the large number of workers seeking training, the Learning and Skills Council was not always able to establish the courses as quickly as required. While the training response from the Learning and Skills Council was extensive, for some workers it came too early. Because of the sudden nature of the closure, some employees did not have the opportunity to consider future occupations, and were still in shock (UK National Audit Office 2006).

The MG Rover case study highlighted the need to ensure that skills advice is targeted in terms of timing and the level of information provided to ensure the worker gets the greatest benefit from it (UK National Audit Office 2006). A further implication for providers relates to the extent and types of courses available for displaced workers. The partnership between the Learning and Skills Council and Jobcentre Plus was seen to provide a mechanism for delivering a range and generally sufficient volume of training courses, including work-based learning courses.

There are also implications for training at the local community level; for example, Bailey et al. (2008) noted that the specific types of education and training options that were taken up provided skills that were of use to the local community. This implies that an assessment of the types of skills of use to a local community would be a worthwhile strategy.

The needs of the local community were further considered through the availability of training to the spouses/partners of redundant employees and supply-chain employees.

CONCLUSION

As has been indicated, there are considerations relating to training that need particular attention: committed resources from providers, the ability and capacity to tailor skills-recognition activities, and sufficient numbers of ongoing courses to meet demand. This paper has also highlighted the importance of regional labour market needs, with the upcoming closures likely to affect certain regions in Australia. The lessons from the Mitsubishi and MG Rover cases, as well as the findings from Callan and Bowman (2015), indicate that there should be some focus on education and training to meet the needs of the local community; the implication being that some knowledge of the skill needs of the local community is necessary. Particular consideration should also be given to the training needs of older workers since this group can be at particular risk in the labour market as they often lack high levels of previous education. Finally, the training should, wherever possible, facilitate the transferability of existing skills. Snell et al. (forthcoming) point out that the Australian training system does have some ability to facilitate the process of employees in declining occupations to find employment in growing areas.

We have a limited understanding of what has worked well in Australia in the past, as very little evaluative work has been undertaken from which to garner evidence. In particular, what is not clear is the extent to which the take-up of vocational education and training following job loss, and the impact of this training, has helped individuals transition to new jobs, either in the same industry or in different industries. This is an issue for consideration in the upcoming closures in terms of future data collection and surveys.

Training for older workers is an important consideration as this group can be at particular risk in the labour market.



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