

Submission to the Senate Select Committee on Work and Care

Fiona Macdonald

Policy Director, Industrial and Social, Centre for Future Work

Sienna Parrott

Anne Kantor Fellow, Australia Institute

Andrew Scott

Convenor, Nordic Policy Centre

September 2022

About the Centre for Future Work

The Centre for Future Work is a research institute located at the Australia Institute (Australia's leading progressive think tank). We conduct and publish research into a range of labour market, employment, and related issues. We are independent and non-partisan. This submission draws primarily on our past research on employment and working arrangements. All research published by the Centre for Future Work can be found on our website at <http://www.futurework.org.au/>.

This submission also draws on the research of our colleagues at the Australia Institute (<https://australiainstitute.org.au/>), including the work of the **Nordic Policy Centre** (<https://www.nordicpolicycentre.org.au/>) and the **Centre for Sex and Gender Equality**.

This submission

Thank you for the opportunity to make a submission to the Senate Select Committee on Work and Care. We would be happy to provide further detail and evidence if the Committee would find this useful.

In this submission we highlight some key issues in three areas critical to work and care, drawing on our and others' recent research. Our submission is focused on the following areas where urgent reforms are needed to improve work and care arrangements:

1. Australia's formal care systems.
2. Insecure work and worker-carers.
3. Workplace laws and policies for worker-carers.

Areas requiring further policy development and reform that are not addressed in this brief submission but which we recognise as critical to work and care arrangements include: gender pay equality, gender-responsive budgeting, and adequate income support for carers and sole parents. These and other issues are addressed in the Work + Family Policy Roundtable's submission to the Committee, to which we have provided input, and which has our full support.

Introduction

This introductory section addresses the Committee's term of reference (a) the extent and nature of the combination of work and care across Australia and the impact of changes in demographic and labour force patterns on work-care arrangements in recent decades.

Current work and care arrangements in Australia contribute to economic and social disadvantage for carers¹, the vast majority of whom are women. Patterns of labour force participation and employment provide clear indicators of the inequities inherent in Australia's current care and work arrangements. These patterns show we do not have equitably shared care arrangements, nor

¹ We use the term 'carers' to refer to people providing unpaid care to family members and others, including parents caring for babies and young children, people providing care to the frail aged and those with chronic illness, and people providing support and care to people with disability.

equitable employment opportunities and outcomes for women. Australia requires much stronger support systems, more effective work and care policies and more secure and fairly-paid jobs to address these problems.

While women's labour force participation continues to increase, the overall figures hide some significant gender inequalities. Women's contribution to unpaid care of children and other family members underlies these inequalities. Women with children have increased their labour force participation, but there are still large gender gaps in participation and employment – especially in the prime child-rearing age range of 30 to 39 years. Women's labour force participation, which matches male participation until the late 20s, drops off sharply during prime parenting years. In the 30-34 and 35-39 year age groups around 80 per cent of women participate in the labour force compared with 90 per cent of men. Childcare costs are a key factor behind women's lower labour force participation. Among parents in couple families with children under five years of age, nine out of ten men are employed, but only two-thirds of women. The vast majority (81.8%) of single parent families with children and dependents are headed by women, who are much less likely to be in employment (61.3%) than men in single parent families with children and dependents (75.8%). For parents with a dependent child under four years of age the unemployment rate for mothers is almost double that of fathers (4.5% compared with 2.8% in June 2021). Overall, women are also more likely to be underemployed than men (7.2% compared with 5.1% in June 2022).²

The large shift away from one-earner households (with a father in full-time employment and a mother at home) since the 1980s has not involved any large change in fathers' employment patterns. The vast majority of fathers of dependent children continue to be employed full-time. While the most marked differences between women and men's employment are among parents of young children, across all age groups women are far more likely to work part-time than men.³

The combination of reduced labour force participation and reduced full-time work by women in the labour market, serves to significantly reduce the overall supply of female labour – at a moment when Australia's economy grapples with perceived shortages of labour in many sectors. Our previous research has estimated that lifting female participation and full-time employment incidence in Australia to levels prevailing in the Nordic countries (supported, first and foremost, by high-quality and affordable early childhood care and education services) would result in an effective expansion in female labour supply of around 850,000 full-time equivalents.⁴ This would provide a major boost to economic activity, household incomes, and government fiscal performance.

In addition to care for children, women provide most of the unpaid care for people with disability, chronic illness or frailty due to old age. Seven in ten (71.8%) primary carers for older people and people with disability are women, and women are two and a half times more likely to be primary

² ABS. 2022. *Labour Force Australia, June 2022*, Canberra: ABS; ABS. 2021. *Labour Force Status of Families, June 2021*, Canberra: ABS. ABS. 2020. *Barriers and incentives to Labour Force Participation, Australia*. Canberra: ABS. Pennington, A & Stanford, J. 2020. *Gender Equality in Australia's Labour Market: A Factbook*, Canberra: Centre for Future Work.

³ ABS. 2022. *Labour Force Australia, June 2022*, Canberra: ABS.

⁴ Grudnoff, M. 2022. *The Economic Benefits of High Quality Universal Early Child Education*, Canberra: Centre for Future Work, www.futurework.org.au/high_quality_public_ecec_would_lift_gdp_government_revenues.

carers than men.⁵ Lower labour force participation and higher rates of part-time employment contribute to women's lifetime lower earnings, lower superannuation and greater economic insecurity. There are also gender pay gaps in full-time earnings across all industries.

Australian employment is highly segregated by gender with continuing high levels of employment of women in the traditionally female dominated industries of Education and Training and Health care and Social Assistance. Gender segregation both reflects and reproduces inequitable care and work arrangements, and the life-long gender inequalities associated with these. It is one of the key means by which gender pay differences and undervaluation of women's work are perpetuated.⁶

1. Australia's formal care systems

This section addresses the Committee's terms of reference: c) the adequacy of workplace laws in relation to work and care and proposals for reform; d) the adequacy of current work and care supports, systems, legislation and other relevant policies across Australian workplaces and society; and e) consideration of the impact on work and care of different hours and conditions of work, job security, work flexibility and related workplace arrangements.

Formal care systems are critical for carers' labour force participation and employment outcomes.

We know that countries in which women's workforce participation rates are comparatively high do not necessarily have more even distributions of unpaid care work between men and women, but they do tend to have more accessible formal family and childcare services.⁷ We were reminded of the critical role of formal care systems during COVID lockdowns when women's labour force participation and employment declined under the strains of inadequate early childhood education and care (ECEC) and other care systems.

In addition, a very large number of women in the Australian workforce are employed in the care sectors, and these workforces are expected to continue to experience strong growth.⁸ The quality of jobs in these highly feminised sectors is therefore critical for the future of secure, good quality work for women.⁹

Under-funding and undervaluing of essential care services underlie some of the long-standing problems of inequitable access and low quality in Australia's formal care systems. There are also growing problems arising from reliance on markets and private provision of what is largely publicly-funded care. To support carers' labour force participation and worker-carers' wellbeing and security, reforms to formal care systems need to increase access and affordability, reduce reliance on markets

⁵ ABS. 2018. *Disability, Ageing and Carers, Australia*. Canberra: ABS.

⁶ Grimshaw, D. and J. Rubery. 2007. *Undervaluing women's work, EOC Working Paper No. 53*, Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission, http://www.njl.nu/uploads/Paper_2007_Jill_Rubery.pdf.

⁷ Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA). 2016. *Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market*. Sydney: WGEA, <https://www.wgea.gov.au/publications/unpaid-care-work-and-the-labour-market>.

⁸ National Skills Commission. 2021. *Australian Jobs 2021*. Canberra: National Skills Commission, <https://www.nationalskillscommission.gov.au/publications/australian-jobs-2021>.

⁹ Macdonald, F. & Charlesworth, S. 2021. Regulating for gender-equitable decent work in social and community services: Bringing the state back in. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 63(4):477-500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185621996782>.

and private provision, and address the poor quality of jobs in care sectors. Such reforms are also required as essential investments in children's futures, in better care for our elders and in increasing opportunities for people with disability.

The establishment of **universal free early childhood education and care (ECEC)** is an essential economic and social reform for children's futures and for women's economic participation and equality. Parents' workforce participation, location or socioeconomic status should not determine access to ECEC but this is currently the situation. Australia's investment in ECEC (relative to GDP) is less than most OECD countries and reliance on user fees is greater.¹⁰ High out-of-pocket costs of ECEC in Australia lead families to limit their use of ECEC services, negatively impacting on women's workforce participation and earnings.¹¹ The families and children who most need this essential infrastructure are most likely to be excluded due to problems of availability, lack of affordability and eligibility.

Access to **high quality, safe and affordable care and support for elderly people and people with significant disability** is also extremely important for carers' labour force participation, wellbeing, working lives and economic security. Formal long-term aged care and disability support services should be taking pressure off carers. Indeed, this was one of the economic rationales for Australia's investment in the NDIS, along with supporting increasing participation of people with disability.¹² For many carers, however, this is not the case. Instead, the marketisation and individualisation of NDIS and aged care systems have led to the atomisation of care and support services, leaving carers to fill gaps in the systems—systems that also fail to account for carers' wellbeing.¹³

Care policies favouring markets and private provision are producing inequities in all care systems, including inequities in access, affordability and outcomes. This is despite increasing investment by the state. Publicly-subsidised for-profit care providers divert resources away from service provision into profits. In ECEC there has been enormous growth in for-profit provision and the emergence of national and international childcare chains, some that trade on the stock market; in aged care, providers have used public funding to buy property and grow their businesses.¹⁴

¹⁰ Grudnoff, M. 2022. *The Economic Benefits of High Quality Universal Early Child Education*, n. 4. Gromada, A. and Richardson, D. 2021. *Where do Rich Countries Stand on Childcare?* Florence: UNICEF Office of Research-Innocenti, <https://unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/where-do-rich-countries-stand-on-childcare.pdf>. Scott, A. 2022. *Securing children's future: Nordic-style investment needed in early years learning*. Canberra: Nordic Policy Centre at the Australia Institute. <https://australiainstitute.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/P1273-Securing-Childrens-Future-PDF.pdf>. Scott, A., Grudnoff, M. and Fleming, J. 2021. Boosting workforce participation and wages, Ch. 6 in A. Scott and R. Campbell (ed.s). *The Nordic Edge: Policy Possibilities for Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

¹¹ ABS. 2020. *Barriers and incentives to Labour Force Participation, Australia*. n.2

¹² Macdonald, F. 2021. *Individualising Risk: Paid Care Work in the New Gig Economy*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 4. <https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9789813363656>.

¹³ Hamilton, M., Charlesworth, S. and Macdonald, F. Forthcoming. A policy blind spot: Informal carers of older people and people with disability or chronic illness in E. Hill, M. Baird and S. Colussi (eds.) *Make or Break: A Life course Approach to Work, Care & Family Policy in Australia*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

¹⁴ CICTAR (Centre for International Corporate Tax Accountability and Research). 2022. *Careless on Accountability: Is Federal Aged Care Funding Siphoned Away?* <https://cictar.org/research/>. Grudnoff, M. 2022. *The Economic Benefits of High-Quality Universal Early Child Education*. n. 4. Scott, A. 2022. *Securing children's future*. n.910.

These same policies are leading to lower quality care and are negatively impacting on care workers in the highly-feminised, undervalued care workforces. **The connections between quality of care and quality of care jobs are clear:** consistent quality care reflects the training, compensation, stability and quality of jobs for care providers. There is plenty of evidence of inferior quality services provided by private for-profit providers of ECEC and aged care services, and of their use of cost cutting and low-road employment strategies to maximise profit at the expense of quality.¹⁵

For-profit care platform companies have emerged in the publicly-funded individualised consumer markets that Australia has constructed for disability support and homecare services, competing aggressively on the basis of price and often providing on-demand care based on gig platform work.¹⁶ Care labour platform companies operate with very lean business models that undermine workers' access to safe workplaces, training and career paths, while also treating workers as independent contractors, leaving them without access to employment standards or rights.¹⁷ In all our care systems quality care relies on stable workforces with adequate numbers of skilled staff with enough time to provide care and who are retained in jobs that pay fair wages, provide secure work and development and advancement opportunities.

We are encouraged that the Federal Government has committed to some action to **improve the working conditions and pay of the care workforces**. Providing funding for any wage increases awarded by the Fair Work Commission in the current aged care work value case will make an immediate positive difference for the lowest-paid care workers in aged care. The Government's proposed dedicated care and community sector and pay equity Fair Work panels, and inclusion of security and pay equity objectives within the Fair Work Act, have great potential to support better jobs in these sectors, as will access to multi-employer bargaining. However, multi-employer bargaining arrangements for these sectors must mandate that governments, as primary funders, are also at the bargaining table. Experience has demonstrated that the absence of such a requirement has contributed to the failure of the existing low-paid bargaining stream in the Fair Work Act to provide a means for care workers to participate in bargaining.¹⁸

¹⁵ Grudnoff, M. 2022. *ibid.* Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. 2021. *Final Report: Care, Dignity and Respect: Volume 3a*, pp. 371-437. <https://agedcare.royalcommission.gov.au/publications/final-report>.

¹⁶ Macdonald, F., Bentham, E. and Malone, J. 2018. Wage, theft, underpayment and unpaid work in marketised social care, *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 29(1): 80-96.

<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1035304618758252>. Baines, D., Macdonald, F., Stanford, J., and Moore, J., 2019. *Prearity and Job Instability on the Frontlines of NDIS Support Work*, Canberra: Centre for Future Work, https://www.futurework.org.au/reports_from_the_front_lines_of_the_ndis. See also: *A day in the life of a care and support worker*, a 4-minute animated video illustrating work organisation for home-based care and support workers. <https://cpow.org.au/dayinthelife/>.

¹⁷ Macdonald, F. 2021. *Individualising Risk*, n. 12. Macdonald, F. 2021. 'Personalised risk' in paid care work and the impacts of 'gig economy' care platforms and other market-based organisations, *International Journal of Care and Caring*, 5(1): 9-25. <https://bristoluniversitypressdigital.com/view/journals/ijcc/5/1/article-p9.xml>. Macdonald, F & Charlesworth, S. 2021. Regulating for gender-equitable decent work in social and community services: Bringing the state back in. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 63(4):477-500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185621996782>.

¹⁸ Macdonald, F., Charlesworth, S. and Brigden, C. 2018. Access to collective bargaining for low-paid workers in A. Forsyth, B. Creighton, & S. McCrystal (eds.) *Collective Bargaining under the Fair Work Act*, Sydney:

There is a risk that these initiatives will not produce the changes needed to build a stable, secure and valued workforce for the long-term. Reform through the industrial relations system will also need to address underlying problems – such as the inadequacy of the classifications and pay structures of the Aged Care and the Social Community Homecare and Disability Services Industry (SCHCADS) awards.¹⁹

Some of the critical reforms needed to support **more secure, better paid and good quality care jobs** are reforms to tackle the problems of marketised and private provision in our existing care systems. Mandating minimum staff time, and increasing transparency and accountability for public funding in aged care, are positive changes currently being implemented by the Federal Government. However, bigger reforms are required, including rebuilding public care systems and workforces in some areas. Ensuring that funding for individual consumer-led care services is used to employ workers in decent jobs is a priority. The Federal Government has committed to implementing a secure jobs code ‘to prioritise secure work in government contracts and ensure that government purchasing power is being used to support business that engage in fair, equivalent, ethical and sustainable practices’.²⁰ The proposed code must also be applied to care services providers including where they do not have contracts with the Government for service provision, such as in individualised aged care homecare and NDIS systems and in ECEC.

2. Insecure work and worker-carers

This section addresses the Committee’s term of reference: e) consideration of the impact on work and care of different hours and conditions of work, job security, work flexibility and related workplace arrangements.

Secure work and a living wage are fundamental to good work and care arrangements. Secure work entails not only security of ongoing work and protection from unfair dismissal, but also adequate and predictable work hours, reasonable flexibility of working time, compensation for unsocial hours, safety at work and access to collective representation.

Good quality, secure *part-time* jobs have long been regarded as a key to greater gender equality in employment under a shared work/shared care household model, along with access to affordable high-quality formal care services. However, the expansion of part-time jobs in the Australian economy since the 1980s was not accompanied by reforms to address the deeply gendered inequities in labour protections built around the (full-time male breadwinner) standard employment relationship. In fact, neoliberal reforms over this period enabled growth in forms of part-time work

Federation Press, pp. 206-227. <https://federationpress.com.au/product/collective-bargaining-under-the-fair-work-act/>.

¹⁹ Work + Family Policy Roundtable. 2022. *Federal Election Benchmarks, 2022 Work + Family Policy Roundtable*, <https://www.workandfamilypolicyroundtable.org/>.

²⁰ Australian Government 2022. *Jobs and Skills Summit September 2022 - Outcomes*, pp. 7-8, <https://treasury.gov.au/sites/default/files/inline-files/Jobs-and-Skills-Summit-Outcomes-Document.docx>.

that are highly insecure, likely to be low-paid and with poorer conditions, protections and entitlements than most full-time jobs.²¹

Over half of part-time jobs are casual jobs, with no paid leave entitlements. In May 2022, 23 per cent of all employees were employed as casuals. While the proportion of full-time employees employed as casuals was 11.3 per cent, over half (51%) of all employees in part-time jobs were casuals.

Casual employment is more common among female than male employees, and is highest among women and girls aged 15 to 34 years, while for men it is highest among those aged 65 years and older.²² Casual employment impacts negatively on women's earnings, including as pay rates are often lower than for workers in equivalent permanent part-time and full-time jobs (despite the requirement that casual workers be paid a loading premium).²³ As with employment in the care sectors, in retail and hospitality insecure casual jobs provide workers with very little control over their work hours.²⁴ In the education sector, rolling fixed-term contracts are likely to disadvantage worker-carers.

The Federal Government has committed to implementing a number of changes to the industrial relations system to directly address insecure work, and they have proposed changes to provide better access to bargaining. However, it is not clear if these changes will fully address the insecurity of working time arrangements where jobs do not provide adequate hours, predictable schedules or reasonable control over working time. In some sectors, including retail and care sectors, these are characteristics of many permanent part-time jobs as well of casual jobs. Further reforms should include rights to family-friendly working time arrangements and stable work as minimum standards for all employees in the National Employment Standards.

3. Workplace laws and policies for worker-carers

This section addresses the Committee's terms of reference c) the adequacy of workplace laws in relation to work and care and proposals for reform; and i) consideration of the policies, practices and support services that have been most effective in supporting the combination of work and care in Australia, and overseas.

Leave provisions are particularly important for people combining work and care. Leave provisions need to be shaped to support work and care for people with different care responsibilities across their working lives, and they should respond to the needs of diverse family and household situations

²¹ Stanford, J. 2021. *Shock Troops of the Pandemic: Casual and Insecure Work in COVID and Beyond*. Canberra: Centre for Future Work,

https://www.futurework.org.au/insecure_workers_are_shock_troops_of_the_pandemic

²² ABS. 2022. *Labour Force Australia, May 2022*. Canberra: ABS, table 13. ABS. 2020. *Gender indicators*, Canberra: ABS.

²³ Pennington, A. 2021. *Women's Casual Job Surge Widens Gender Pay Gap*. Canberra: Centre for Future Work <https://www.futurework.org.au/research?page=3>.

²⁴ Cortis, N., Blaxland, M., and Charlesworth, S. 2021. *Challenges of Work, Family and Care for Australia's Retail, Online Retail, Warehousing and Fastfood Workers*. Sydney: Social Policy Research Centre, UNSW. <http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:77843/bin5df0551d-5d63-41be-993e-f098287c1b1c?view=true&xy=01>.

and different cultural practices. Worker-carers require rights to adequate paid parental leave, annual leave, personal and carers' leave, the right to request flexible work, and a variety of other flexible work arrangements that give them more control over working time. Policies that support shared care within families, households and the community are especially important for supporting women's workforce participation.

Paid parental leave (PPL)

Australia's PPL scheme needs to be longer in duration, provide a higher level of income replacement, include superannuation payments, and be better integrated into Australia's ECEC system. It also needs to be designed to support greater sharing of parental care, including by encouraging fathers to take leave to care for their children.

In international comparison, Australia's PPL arrangements rank near the bottom for duration and level of income available to mothers, as well as for availability of dedicated PPL for fathers.²⁵ The 'Enhanced Paid Parental Leave' scheme announced by the former Coalition Government in the 2022-23 Federal Budget was supposed to increase flexibility for working parents. Without a 'use it or lose it' provision for fathers and partners, however, and while Australia's parental leave is paid at the level of the minimum wage, there is little incentive for fathers to take parental leave.

Australia can learn from the Nordic approaches to parental leave.²⁶ When it comes to taking time out of the paid workforce after the birth of children, at most five per cent of Australian fathers take up primary paid parental leave.²⁷ By contrast, the proportion of paid parental leave taken by fathers is 11 per cent in Denmark and Finland, 20 per cent in Norway and 30 per cent in Sweden and Iceland.²⁸

Even as paid parental leave for primary carers is becoming increasingly available to both men and women, Australian Bureau of Statistics data reveal that only 12 per cent of those who took this leave in 2020 were male.²⁹ In Sweden, both parents, when on parental leave, receive 80 per cent of their previous actual wage.

Australia's national paid maternity leave of 18 weeks finally introduced in 2011 became parental leave when it was expanded from just mothers to include fathers by adding two weeks paid paternity leave in 2013. Sustained attempts by both the Abbott and Turnbull governments to reduce Australia's still-modest paid parental leave from 2015 were defeated by a concerted campaign of social advocacy culminating in May 2017. The successful defence of Australia's paid parental leave so

²⁵ Gromada, A. and Richardson, D. (2021). *Where do Rich Countries Stand on Childcare?* Florence: UNICEF Office of Research-Innocenti, <https://unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/where-do-rich-countries-stand-on-childcare.pdf>.

²⁶ Scott, A., Grudnoff, M. and Fleming, J. 2021. Boosting workforce participation and wages, n. 10.

²⁷ Walsh, E. 2018. Fathers and Parental Leave, *Australian Institute of Family Studies*, <https://aifs.gov.au/resources/short-articles/fathers-and-parental-leave>.

²⁸ Nordic Council of Ministers. 2019. *Shared and Paid Parental Leave: The Nordic Gender Effect at Work*, <https://www.norden.org/en/information/knowledge-hub-nordic-gender-effect-work>.

²⁹ ABS. 2022. *Gender Indicators*, <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/people-and-communities/gender-indicators-australia/latest-release>.

early in its long-awaited life was informed by knowledge of the economic success that extensive paid parental leave in Nordic nations was continuing to bring.

Several Nordic countries have since 2019 further expanded paid parental leave—particularly the duration of paternity leave—bringing benefits including higher female labour force participation and improved lives for children and fathers. On the basis of this experience, Australia should do likewise. Currently, Australia is falling further behind these global leaders.³⁰

Personal and carer's leave

Worker-carers should have rights to carer's leave and personal leave regardless of their employment arrangements. The Federal Government recently introduced legislation to include 10 days paid family and domestic violence (FDV) leave in the National Employment Standards. This leave is groundbreaking: not only for its significant enhancement of income protection for workers facing family and domestic violence, but also because it will apply to casual employees as well as those in permanent employment. The inclusion of paid leave for casual workers was made in the recognition that workers who experience family and domestic violence are likely to be in casual employment *because* of their experience of FDV.³¹ Workers with caring responsibilities are in the same position. One of the main reasons women with caring responsibilities are located in casual work is *because* they are worker-carers. The contribution of their unpaid care work to our society and economy are barely recognised in institutional supports. When carers enter the labour market they are further disadvantaged because of their unpaid care work, as they obtain casual and other insecure work with no access to leave that could support them manage work and care.

Systems of portable leave entitlements are also needed to help all workers manage care and work over different stages of their working lives. These and other leave entitlements would have the benefit of supporting a better sharing of care.

Conclusion

This brief submission has addressed some, but not all, the critical issues for work and care. We are encouraged by some of the initiatives the new government has proposed, but more is needed. We wish the Committee the best with their deliberations and are happy to provide additional information.

³⁰ Scott, A., Grudnoff, M. and Fleming, J. 2021. Boosting workforce participation and wages, n. 10. See also Scott, A. 2022. 'Media Release: Removing designated fathers leave threatens to worsen gender inequality', Nordic Policy Centre. https://www.nordicpolicycentre.org.au/media_release_removing_designated_fathers_leave_threatens_to_worsen_gender_inequality.

³¹ Burke, T. and Rishworth, A. (2022) Universal paid leave for family and domestic violence, *Media Release*, Minister's Media Centre, Ministers of Employment and Workplace Relations Portfolio, 26 July 2022, <https://ministers.dewr.gov.au/burke/universal-paid-leave-family-and-domestic-violence>. Parliament of Australia. 2022. *Senate Education and Employment Legislation Committee Fair Work Amendment (Paid Family and Domestic Violence Leave) Bill 2022 [Provisions]*, Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia. https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Education_and_Employment/DVLBill2022/Report.