Chapter 1 Introduction and method
Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate how globalisation and the restructuring of industry in Australia have impacted on employment patterns and gender relations in the education industry in New South Wales, Australia. In particular it examines the impact of globalisation on the decision-making processes of high school teachers with non-standard working patterns, particularly casual employment.

Globalisation is a much debated and somewhat contested concept. There are many myths surrounding its processes and its effects. The term encompasses the rise of supranational political and economic institutions that constrain the actions of the governments of nation states; the increasing interconnection of economic processes such as production, consumption, trade, capital and monetary flows; increasingly global forms of culture such as the media, technology and communication, and their impact on local cultural identities; and the rise of neoliberalism as a hegemonic policy discourse. That is, the processes of globalisation include discursive and material components with political, economic, cultural and ideological aspects.

Globalisation is also a highly gendered process. The institutions and structures of globalisation, such as international relations, international trade and global markets and the supranational political and economic organisations are highly gendered. Globalisation may have differential impacts on men and women at the local level in terms of access to stable employment, welfare services and other resources. While many feminists and gender theorists have begun to examine the gendered nature of globalisation, very few globalisation theorists have incorporated gender into their analyses. This thesis brings the gendered aspects of global restructuring into focus.

In terms of the education industry, particularly at the secondary school level, the direct impact of the global labour market is less obvious than in
other economic sectors. School education cannot be shifted off-shore, nor can it be shifted to a more capital-intensive basis. School teachers are relatively highly skilled, yet teacher shortages have not resulted in increased occupational rates of pay. These factors seem to suggest that less direct processes of globalisation may be at play within the industry.

Indirect processes of globalisation may include economic restructuring and the ideological constructions associated with restructuring, such as neoliberalism or economic rationalism. In Australia, these processes can be seen at work in the economic restructuring of trade and investment, industry and production, as well as in the restructuring of the state. A particular aspect of restructuring in Australia has been labour market restructuring. Under labour market restructuring the Australian labour market has changed from a highly collectivised, centralised system to a system that is more highly individualised and decentralised. These restructuring processes may have differential impacts on men and women and their access to employment. This thesis addresses the ways in which economic and labour market restructuring have impacted on gender relations both in the workplace and in the household for workers in the secondary education sector.

Feminists argue that women’s unequal power in society is, in part, due to their position in the labour market (Game, Pringle, & Grace, 1983; Walby, 1990; Van Krieken et al., 2000). Women’s unequal pay and poor access to rights and entitlements have been linked to the gender division of labour and gender segregation (O'Donnell & Hall, 1988; Pocock, 1998). With the ongoing process of labour market restructuring a number of writers identify an extra layer of disadvantage for women in the labour market, the peripheralisation of women’s employment (Walby, 1997). That is, women are increasingly concentrated in non-standard forms of employment or in part-time, temporary or casual work. These forms of work both peripheralise women from the decision-making processes within the workplace and create a secondary status in terms of employment rights and entitlements. In this thesis the changes in the
Australian labour market over the last 30 years are examined to identify whether non-standard forms of employment have had such an impact on teachers working within the secondary education sector.

In response to the contention that labour market restructuring is peripheralising women within the labour market, the Howard Coalition Government has argued that women today have greater choice to combine a career and family responsibilities through casual, part-time and temporary employment, and that it is the operation of individual choice that has led to increases in non-standard forms of employment (Reith, 2000). This thesis addresses the question of whether global, structural economic and labour market change or individual decision-making processes have greater impact on the employment patterns of men and women working in the education industry.

Globalisation, through the ideological component of neoliberalism, has also led to public sector reform. Reform in public education has resulted in an embrace of free-market principles in education, leading to changing approaches to staff selection and employment practices. Free-market principles also lead to the use of language emphasising individual choice for parents. However, public education is not merely a site of the implementation of neoliberal and market-based agendas. Public education may also be a site of resistance to such agendas. This thesis investigates how casual teachers may resist changes to workplace relations driven by global imperatives.

This thesis examines various models of globalisation seeking a theoretical framework which may help to explain the changing nature of employment in the education industry in Australia. It reviews the process and patterns of structural change within Australia and the changing patterns of employment, overall and in the education industry. It examines how the changing management practices and policies in the New South Wales public sector and the education sector have impacted
on employment practices and gender relations. It explores the personal experiences of casual teachers in dealing with these inputs.

The thesis investigates the implications of non-standard forms of employment and the intersection between gender relations in the household and gender relations in the workplace. It addresses the issue of whether such gender relations further peripheralise women in the education industry and prevent them from participating in employment on an equal basis with men. It examines the organisational, cultural and personal factors which shape the patterns of employment among women and men within the education industry in New South Wales, as well as canvassing the broader models developed to explain the increasing casualisation of work globally.

**Chapter structure**

Chapter one provides an introduction and discussion of method. Chapter two examines a number of theoretical models for understanding globalisation and considers the particular relationships between globalisation and the education industry in Australia. It examines globalisation models such as: Wallerstein’s “world systems” analysis, Lash and Urry’s theory of disorganised capitalism, post-modernist approaches, and the theory of reflexive modernity proposed by Beck, Giddens and Lash. A gender critique of these theories is made and their relevance to Australia is evaluated.

Chapters three, four and five group together structural factors that frame employment decisions and working patterns of the case study teachers. These chapters trace the impact of globalisation on the experiences of individuals through national and state policy responses.

Chapter three examines the issues of globalisation and the agency of the nation-state. The chapter maps the dimensions of structural change in Australia, and examines the role of the state in the globalising
process, delineating the role of government policy in “opening” the economy to globalised competition and in restructuring the state. The chapter also examines the social restructuring of class and gender in Australia achieved through globalisation and government intervention.

Chapters four and five examine particular aspects of the restructuring process in Australia. Chapter four analyses changes in the social relations of work and the growth of non-traditional employment. It identifies change in the institutional structures of the Australian labour market and examines the implications of labour market restructuring for employment practices and remuneration of school teachers at the local level.

Chapter five examines the ideological underpinnings of public sector reform. It maps the changing parameters of the public sector and analyses new-managerialist techniques used for implementing change. It examines the implications of public sector reform for gender relations in employment and for the public education system.

Chapters six, seven and eight focus on the individual experiences of casual teachers interviewed in the field study. Chapter six examines the respondents’ experiences of casual teaching. It outlines the nature of casual work in public education, providing details of the types of casual work undertaken by the respondents, their perceptions of pay, status and conditions of employment, access to professional development and union membership. The chapter also explores the sense of career experienced by the interviewees and examines evidence of their political, ideological and professional consciousness.

Chapter seven focuses on the experiences of gender relations described by the teachers in the field study. Gender relations in the workplace are considered, with acknowledgment that gender relations in the workplace do not occur in isolation from gender relations in the household. Many
decisions and choices about working patterns are also structured by household gender relations.

Chapter eight provides six case studies of the experiences of individuals’ employment choices within the restructuring environment of New South Wales high schools within a globalised economy.

Finally, chapter nine draws out the conclusions from the research.

**Method**

The quantitative data analysed in chapters three and four were drawn from regular publications of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), the Productivity Commission, and the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (AWIRS), amongst other sources.

The field study was based on semi-structured, life history interviews undertaken by the author. The information collected from the interviews was analysed in two distinct ways, thematically and as case studies. The case study analysis utilised the life history data provided by the interviewees. The life history approach recognises “the importance of the overlap in the chronology between individual’s lives and social and institutional structures” (Dex, 1991,1-2). Dex (1991, 2) suggests that while individuals’ actions are reflected in their life histories, their experiences also reflect the structural factors that “impinge upon them and mould or constrain their experiences and actions”.

Life history analysis provides longitudinal data over the life or career of individuals through the lens of their current circumstances. A life history approach can allow subjects who may feel marginalised in the workplace to feel empowered in that their position has importance and relevance to the changing structures of society and work. A life history approach allows individuals to tell their own narrative, becoming more partners in the research process rather than subjects to be objectively studied. It
gives them the opportunity to analyse their decision-making processes and discuss key aspects of their lives.

Plummer (1983, 14) suggests that life history research provides “as full a subjective view as possible”, and that researchers must not develop the “naïve delusion that one has trapped the bedrock of truth”. He emphasises that the process does not provide an objective view of the world. However, as Glucksmann (2000, 164) argues, studying the particular “may contribute to the general understanding of social dynamics and power relations”.

It is critical to include the life cycle in analysing individuals’ choices and employment strategies. Haravan (1978) was one of the first authors to elaborate on life course analysis in feminist methodology, and many other theorists have adopted the approach.

Walby (1991, 167) warns against over-emphasising the significance of structural factors in the lives of individuals. In the past there has been greater use of the life history model in examining women’s labour force participation than men’s, and this can lead to different approaches being used to deal with men’s work patterns compared with women’s. “In particular… there is a problematic tendency to use a ‘job model’ to explain men’s work patterns and a different one, ‘a gender model’, in order to explain women’s work patterns” (Walby, 1991, 167). The greater use of life history analysis in women’s labour force experiences “may push our understanding of women’s employment in a different direction from that of men” (Walby, 1991, 167). For these reasons both men and women were approached to participate in the project and the same method was used in all the interviews.

Walby also notes that “life histories will necessarily record the effects of labour market restructuring. Indeed they provide information on how an individual experiences the labour market” (Walby, 1991, 169). She notes that in contrast, cross-sectional interview data “cannot tell us about how
a given individual, or cohort, experiences structural change” (Walby, 1991, 169).

Walby (1991, 185) further suggests that the life history method “is at its weakest when it is used by itself since there is a tendency to presume incorrectly that the data contains all the variables necessary to explain its patterns”. For this reason, life history data in this thesis is placed in the context of a statistical analysis of structural change in Australia.

Twenty interviews were conducted between January and December 2003, with teachers currently working in New South Wales public sector schools in a casual capacity. Interviewees were recruited by snowball method. It had been intended to recruit regional participants from a number of centres. However, the snowball method generated sufficient volunteers in one major regional centre, a number of whom had worked in smaller and more isolated rural locations.

The field study recruited both men and women teachers in urban and rural areas of NSW. To find a range of men teachers, the recruitment process focused on secondary schools. To limit the complexity, it focused on public sector schools.

It became apparent that the familiar distinctions of public/private, primary/secondary and rural/urban had little to do with the way that participants viewed their career and life history. The participants had generally worked across a range of educational institutions, from primary school through to university, and in public, Catholic systemic and private schools. There were also a number of teachers who had worked in urban, regional and rural schools. A number of participants had trained as primary teachers but had worked mostly in high schools, while others had trained and previously worked in high schools, but were currently employed in the primary sector.
The final list of participants includes ten from a regional location in New South Wales which will be referred to as Regional Centre, and ten from various suburbs across the Sydney metropolitan region. Eleven women and nine men ranging in age from 26 to 61 (mean 43.8) participated.

Interviews were conducted in the respondents’ homes or in neutral spaces such as a public library or a cafe. The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to an hour and a half. Topics covered in the interviews included:

- demographic data including age, sex and marital status
- career data, including years employed as teacher, modes of employment over time, promotions and levels attained, union membership
- life-cycle issues, for example whether the interviewee was young, of child bearing or raising age, or approaching retirement
- reasons for working on a part-time, temporary or casual basis
- impact of decisions to work on part-time, temporary or casual basis on career opportunities and gender relations in the workplace and in the home
- experiences of school management practices
- experiences of local gender relations and discrimination in the workplace.

In almost all cases the interviews were recorded digitally and stored on compact disc. Two interviews were conducted by telephone and hence could not be recorded – for those interviews, detailed notes were taken during the interview and written up immediately afterward. In a third interview the respondent asked not to be recorded; again detailed notes were taken during the interview and written up immediately afterwards.

Recorded interviews were subsequently transcribed, and all transcriptions and notes were indexed using NVivo software, against the major research questions. The indexing framework was not static and was influenced by the issues raised by the interviewees. For example,
the issues of child protection and discipline were not part of the interview schedule, but were raised by many of the speakers and so were incorporated into the framework. In this way the knowledge was generated through an “interplay between the concepts of a broad conceptual framework and analysis of the substantive subject matter” (Glucksmann, 2000, 15).

To supplement the thematic analysis of data, six case studies were drawn from the interviews. Case studies for each of the participants were prepared shortly after each interview, in conjunction with a further listening to the recording where possible and referral to any field notes taken. Due to space constraints only six case studies are included in this thesis. The case studies focused on the life cycle data and the experiential information presented by the interviewees. That is, the focus was on the descriptions individuals gave of their career and their experiences of casual employment. Once the transcriptions were completed the case studies were checked against the transcripts for any material errors. The commentary provided for each case study focuses on the interaction between the structural and individual factors identified. The case studies are summaries of the life history narratives presented by the interviewees. They illustrate the circumstances and views of the participants and show how the dynamics of social and economic processes were experienced. They also identify the institutions and structures present in the lives of the participants which illuminate their choices and decision-making processes.
Chapter 2  Theoretical dimensions of globalisation
Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate current sociological understandings of globalisation and to identify an approach that will help in understanding the relationship between globalisation and the education industry in Australia. Social scientists seem to agree that the period since the mid-1970s has been a period of transition but disagree about the scope, the causes and the implications of change. Four theories are examined: Wallerstein’s world systems approach, Lash and Urry’s theory of disorganised capitalism, Harvey’s post-modern approach, and the theory of reflexive modernisation as proposed by Giddens and supplemented by Beck and Lash.

I draw out the aspects of these theories that have greatest explanatory power for understanding changes to employment patterns in the education industry in New South Wales, Australia.

Concepts of globalisation

Australian sociologist Waters defines globalisation as “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede, and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (Waters, 1995, 3). A text-book definition of globalisation from Van Krieken and colleagues is “the process by which people’s daily lives are increasingly influenced by the growing cultural, political and economic integration of communities and nation-states” (Van Krieken et al., 2000)

Neither of these definitions covers all the concepts of globalisation, but together they do indicate the scope of the current discussions. Contemporary theorists recognise that there are economic, cultural, political, ideological and environmental factors at work. They include changing perceptions of time and space, either resulting in time-space
compression or time-space distanciation. A further issue, hinted at in Waters’ definition, is that people are becoming more aware of the processes of globalisation and have identified these processes as the impetus for further change. This concept of reflexive change is used to account for the increased speed of globalisation processes. The uncertainty generated by these processes has resulted in the concept of risk being seen by some theorists as integral to globalisation.

From an economic perspective, globalisation can be characterised as the increased liberalisation of trade, freedom of foreign direct investment and the integration of markets, making the economies of all countries more closely interrelated. Greater financial freedom has also led to the rise of truly global corporations as opposed to multinational enterprises or nationally based companies. Global corporations source their labour and material inputs from the cheapest countries, identify international markets with high levels of expendable income, and develop production and distribution systems which utilise these differences to maximise profits, often at the expense of local and national economic needs.

From the perspective of culture, global markets are seen as a force for the standardising of culture and consumption, resulting in a “coca colonisation” or “MacDonaldisation” of culture. This process is usually seen as an imposition of western or American cultural values. It has inspired a resurgence in localised identities (Barber, 2000; Robertson & Chirico, 2000).

From the perspective of politics, the creation of supranational bodies such as the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has led to greater integration of nation-state politics into a global system of politics and international relations. The relationships between supranational organisations and the governments of nation-states is complex. The organisations are comprised of the representatives of national governments, and yet seem to have some independence and influence
of their own. In more developed countries such as Australia supranational organisations have less direct control over political decision-making processes. Less powerful countries may feel greater pressure to conform. The ideology and the policies of supranational organisations form a significant part of the hegemonic ideology of global capitalism.

The integration of the political, economic and cultural aspects of globalisation has been played out in global environmental issues. Wiseman (1998a, 17) argues that environmental disasters such as the Chernobyl nuclear accident, global warming, and the destruction of the ozone layer have created greater awareness of the potential environmental repercussions of local actions for distant people and places. Such unintended consequences leave individuals feeling that they have little or no control over environmental factors affecting their lives and those of future generations. This adds to the growing sense of risk in society.

Not all theorists accept the concept of globalisation uncritically. Many perceive globalisation as a discursive phenomenon used by state policy-makers to encourage support for and suppress opposition to social and economic changes at the national level (Burbules & Torres, 2000). Hirst and Thompson (1999) have rejected the concept of globalisation, arguing that there has not been any major increase in the degree of internationalisation of the world economy, nor in the growth of genuinely trans-national businesses, that there has not been a shift in investment and employment to developing countries, and that world economic forces are still able to be regulated and controlled by nation-states. Like Burbules and Torres, they consider that globalisation is a discursive construction used by governments to justify the opening of their economies to global trade and the deregulation of industry within their countries.
Globalisation and the education industry in Australia

Education and globalisation have a unique relationship. Throughout the twentieth century, education has played a major role in the economic development strategies of most countries. Globalisation has major implications for the education industry both in terms of its relation to the national economy and in terms of changing work practices in the education industry. Globalisation has linked education even more closely to economic policy. Economist Thurow (1997) argues that with globalisation, human resources have become more crucial to a nation’s prosperity than even natural resources or capital. In his view, mass schooling and higher education are central to the development of sound human resources, which in turn are crucial to attracting economic investment by transnational corporations.

Australian governments have attempted to position the country as a key player in the global, knowledge-based economy by reforming its education and training sector (Taylor & Henry, 2000, 490). The education industry has become both a subject and an object of globalisation, acting to shape the skills and knowledge base of workers to enhance their competitive advantage in the global labour market, and being acted upon as a site of microeconomic reform (Marginson, 1999a). Education is seen by governments as a tool of microeconomic reform, producing and supplying skilled human capital for the restructuring of industries. But it is also seen as an important industry in itself, an industry employing a large workforce that must be managed efficiently (Porter & Vidovich, 2000, 455).

As a subject of globalisation, the education industry produces the workers needed for new industries and the consumers needed for the markets created by a global economy. In the past, education systems have been oriented towards creating or producing well-disciplined and reliable workers. The nature of workers needed in a global economy has changed. Today education needs to produce workers who have the
capacity to “learn quickly and to be able to work in teams in creative ways” (Morrow & Torres, 2000, 33). The changing structure of industry has also had an impact on workers’ skills. The decline in the manufacturing and extractive industries and the rise in service and knowledge-intensive industries have had an impact on educational needs. The changing nature of work and the changing industry structure of the economy have important implications for curriculum and delivery modes in the education industry.

As the subject of globalisation, schools not only shape the workers of the future, they increasingly shape consumer attitudes and practices. Burbules and Torres (2000, 20) trace the effect of corporate sponsorship of educational institutions and of products, both curricular and extracurricular, on the consumption patterns of young people.

As the object of globalisation, the education industry in Australia and in other developed countries has experienced a number of effects. There have been budget reductions and reduced government spending for public education, with increased emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness, often at the expense of equity and educational outcomes (Blackmore, 2000b, 471). At the same time, increased government emphasis on longer years and higher levels of education has resulted in increasing demand for education (Porter & Vidovich, 2000, 456). The increased pressure on resources in terms of the reduction in supply of teachers and education funding, and in terms of demand from increasing numbers of students at higher levels, has led to pressure on school managers to diversify income and seek support from the private sector (Porter & Vidovich, 2000, 456). While this has been more important for post-compulsory education, it has also had an impact on school education.

Kenway and Fitzclarence (1998) and Marginson (1999b) have shown that school education in Australia has become more commodified as a result of microeconomic reform. The promotion of market approaches to
school choice has resulted in competition between schools in a market place. This encourages standardisation and emphasises a narrow range of employment-related outcomes for students. The emphasis of schooling for employment purposes values knowledge in narrow instrumental terms only, rather than broad social and liberal education (Blackmore, 2000a, 20-21; 2000b, 481; Burbules & Torres, 2000, 20-21).

Microeconomic reform in the education industry has resulted in increased political intervention in curriculum issues, combined with devolution of administration, and new forms of accountability and performance review associated with new managerialist discourses (Burbules & Torres, 2000, 20; Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). The education industry has seen increased flexibility in employment, with the deregulation of employment practices to meet the needs of local communities. When funding is subject to enrolment numbers, local institutions have to rely on casual and part-time labour to reduce costs (Blackmore, 2000b, 482). Blackmore (2000b, 479) emphasises that globalisation has differential impacts on employment across the education industry, with some women enjoying the privileges of the polarisation in the education industry, gaining access to global employment markets, while most women school teachers “remain locked into regional, local environments, dependent upon the state… teaching is becoming more feminised, casualised, deregulated and bounded by increasingly localised and fragmented teacher labour markets”. Globalisation does not create a level playing field for all teachers in the education labour market. This has major implications for employment practices in the education industry and for the individuals interviewed in the field study.

Globalisation has had both direct and indirect impacts on gender equity policies in the education sector. In Australia “state feminism” and government intervention for the introduction of gender equity policy have been directly affected by the reform of the public sector, with the dismantling of state support mechanisms. Gender equity has come to be seen as “a luxury that democratic states, new and old, cannot afford.
State intervention for gender equity policies can only be justified if linked to productivity” (Blackmore, 2000b, 475). Indirectly, the emphasis on the market and individual choice has reduced equity to a matter of personal choice. “Consumers have the right to choose to purchase equity from those schools willing to provide it” (Blackmore, 2000b, 472).

Changes in the education industry have been attributed either directly or indirectly to globalisation (Marginson, 1999a; Blackmore, 2000b; Porter & Vidovich, 2000; Rizvi & Lingard, 2000). However, the mechanisms through which globalisation has driven these changes are not immediately apparent. It is necessary to examine a number of theoretical models of globalisation to identify useful elements for explaining changes in the local education industry.

**World systems theory**

One of the first theorists to develop a coherent analysis of the changing structures of global capitalism was Wallerstein (1979; 1983; 1996), whose approach has come to be known as world systems theory. Many scholars have used his framework, in particular, Tabak (1996), who analyses changes to the nature of work.

Wallerstein hypothesises that particular economies and states exist within a single economic unit or world system. He defines a world system as “a unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems” (Wallerstein, 1979, 5). Over time there have been a number of world systems. The current world system is a capitalist world system. Wallerstein traces the existence of the modern, European, capitalist world system from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when labour began to be commodified, and different countries began to specialise in particular forms of commodity production. He argues that regional specialisation drove the creation of a global division of labour. Thus in the seventeenth century, north-western Europe developed specialised forms of agriculture which required higher skills, and
developed into a core economic region, while eastern Europe and the western hemisphere became peripheral regions providing raw materials and unskilled labour for the growth of the core. “Thus capitalism involves not only appropriation of the surplus value by an owner from a labourer, but an appropriation of surplus of the whole world economy by core areas” (Wallerstein, 1979, 18-19).

World economies are unstable structures. To explain the relative political stability of the modern world system, Wallerstein hypothesises the development of a division of the majority into a larger lower stratum or periphery and a smaller middle stratum or semi-periphery (Wallerstein, 1979, 22). The existence of the three-tier system and the semi-periphery means that the upper stratum is not faced with the unified opposition of all the others, because the middle stratum acts as both exploiter and exploited (Wallerstein, 1979, 23).

Wallerstein argues that the world economy experiences semi-regular phases of economic growth and decline. Between the end of World War II and approximately 1973 there was a global expansionary phase of economic growth, followed since 1973 by a deflationary period of global economic decline. Wallerstein (1996) describes this as a transitory phase, in which the world system undergoes major reconstruction of its economic and political structures including: the inter-state system, the structure of world production, the structure of the world labour force, patterns of human welfare, social cohesion of states, and the structures of knowledge.

Tabak (1996) uses this framework to analyse changes in the global division of labour. He starts from the premise that during the first half of the twentieth century in western and more developed countries, an understanding developed between capital and organised labour that he refers to as the “Fordist accord”. The Fordist accord saw labour paid an adequate social wage to enable its reproduction and the consumption of mass-produced manufactured goods, stimulating demand for these
goods to boost profits for capital. After the Depression of the 1930s the Fordist accord was supported by the state through the use of Keynesian economics and the introduction of welfare systems. Under the Fordist accord specific patterns of mass employment and mass production developed.

Tabak argues that since the end of World War II, changing global employment patterns have been driven by the state-mediated capital flows of reconstruction. These capital flows of reconstruction stimulated the spread of western methods of mass production, particularly Taylorism (i.e. the methods of scientific management developed by F.W. Taylor).

During the global expansionary phase from 1945 to 1973, Tabak argues that capital in the “core” countries (essentially the United States, United Kingdom, some western European countries and Japan) attempted to increase profits by circumventing the Fordist accord through the use of a reserve army of labour of women and non-English speaking migrants. In the United States, this was achieved initially by moving production into rural America, and subsequently overseas. In Europe, large increases in immigrant labour were used to meet increased demand.

In Japan, capital was restricted in its attempts to bypass the Fordist accord by post-war reconstruction agreements with the United States. Migrant labour was also not available because of restrictive immigration laws. There were fewer opportunities for Japanese capital to invest in the Asia-Pacific region, as many countries had high levels of protection and restrictions on foreign investment and free trade. To compete with western capital, Japanese capitalists had to find alternative investment methods such as licensing, joint ventures and contracting-out. They also focused on other business practices, such as quality assurance, just-in-time supply systems and networking, to improve their productivity. The by-product of these business practices was the growth of non-standard
employment practices such as contracting-out and part-time and casual employment.

With the economic downturn from 1973 onwards, global capital needed to find ways to improve productivity and decrease labour costs. American and European industry looked to Japan for a new model of efficiency. Japanese management approaches and techniques were seen as the solution. These management techniques were dependent upon flexible employment practices such as outsourcing and contracting-out. Thus business practices developed in Asia during the expansionary phase of the capitalist world system were transplanted to the United States and Europe during the deflationary phase, spreading these employment practices to all developed countries.

According to Tabak, the major result of changing business and employment patterns has been a worldwide increase in the proletarianisation of individuals. This has not resulted in increased full-lifetime employment for all. In core countries, the increase in proletarianisation has been achieved by an increase in women's part-lifetime employment. In the periphery and semi-periphery, the increase in proletarianisation has occurred through growth in the informal sector.

Tabak argues that between 1973 and 1990 the nature of government intervention changed. Governments became less likely to defend wages and more inclined to allow deregulation of the labour market. However, he does not seem to have an explanation for why so many governments adopted this stance, nor does he examine the growth of ideologies which underpinned such developments.

The models of the global division of labour proposed by Wallerstein and Tabak do appear to have some explanatory power for the growth of non-standard employment globally. However, it is questionable how useful they are in analysing the growth of non-standard employment in Australia, particularly within the education industry.
World systems theory places too much emphasis on the abstract patterns of global trade and capital movements, without giving enough recognition to the roles of local actors and institutions. As discussed in more detail in chapter three, in Australia during the expansionary economic phase the Fordist accord was at its strongest, with high levels of economic protection, restrictions on foreign investment, and strong unions protecting standard forms of employment. The Fordist accord kept wages high by world standards and, to some extent, prevented the introduction of part-time, temporary or casual employment in Australia. The state supported the Fordist accord through mass immigration and large public infrastructure spending to maintain full employment without fuelling inflation through wage increases. There was surprisingly little impact on employment patterns from external sources. There is no strong evidence of Australian capital attempting to circumvent the Fordist accord during this period.

The deflationary phase of the global economy since 1973 has certainly coincided with a major program of economic restructuring and reform, including labour market reform and the increase in non-standard employment in Australia. Chapters three and four examine the links between global trends and restructuring in Australia. To the extent that world systems theory predicts an increase in non-standard forms of employment as a result of economic contraction and the search for increased efficiency in production, it is consistent with the experience of Australian workers.

A major criticism of world systems theory is that it fails to examine how the capitalist world system has a differential impact according to gender. Ward (1984; 1985; 1990; 1993) and England (1993a) have been most critical. England argues that world systems theory is derived from an orthodox Marxist approach where the assumption is that as men are incorporated into capitalism through wage labour, women who are “home workers” are also incorporated into capitalism with class interests
consistent with those of their husbands. Home workers are not seen to be exploited themselves, or to have important interests distinct from those of the men of their class. Ward (1984; 1985) has shown that incorporation of a less developed nation into the world system, as measured by levels of commodity concentration and foreign investment, negatively affects women’s share of employment, and increases fertility.

World systems theory suffers from orientalism as well as gender blindness. It assumes that when capitalism incorporates a country into the world system, the institutions of the core will be imposed upon existing institutions. This presumption does not allow space for resistance or adaptation to capitalism within the country. In the past, there has been little analysis of how the introduction of capitalism has impacted on the existing employment patterns and gender relations within particular cultures (England, 1993b).

Tabak’s analysis, too, is mostly gender blind. He suggests that part-time work is more compatible with service industries and that the growth in service industries since 1973 accounts for the rapid growth in part-time work. Whereas the growth of service industries in Australia is linked to the growth in women’s employment, the growth of part-time and casual employment in these industries may also be attributable to the fact that they involve an increase in “women’s work”. This increased demand could be met only if employers were prepared to recognise that women bore the major responsibility for families and provided part-time and casual work. Tabak’s analysis of women’s entry into the workforce ignores the gender segregation of industry. It is based on the premise that capitalism required cheaper employees and so women were brought into the labour market. It ignores the major social changes such as the equal rights movements, women’s greater access to education, and other factors that influenced women’s entry to the labour market.

The capitalist world system model relies on manufacturing as the major driver for capitalism. It does not provide any analysis of the changing
sectoral shares of services and manufacturing within the global
economy, nor on the long-term impact of such change on employment
practices. This limits the model’s usefulness in analysing change within
the education industry, which tends to be located in the service sector
rather than in the manufacturing sector.

Although the model can explain changes in the market-based private
sector, it is less effective in explaining changes in the public sector and
in industries such as education. While it is feasible that capital attempts
to elude the Fordist accord in order to extract the greatest surplus and
maximise profit, it is less clear why government employers would
attempt to undermine it. After all, the Fordist accord is strongly
associated with the stability upon which rests the ability of governments
to govern and provide services such as education. Tabak’s model does
not explain why, with the restructuring of industry, the growth of the
service industry, and the greater freedom of trade and capital, there is
such a strong emphasis on decreasing the size of government and
decreasing government spending. This model fails to incorporate the
ideological or social factors that may be at play in changing employment
practices in the education industry.

**Disorganised capitalism**

Lash and Urry (1987) attempted to make sense of the increasing
international flows of capital by developing a schema that distinguished
three phases of capitalism. These were liberal capitalism, organised
capitalism and disorganised capitalism.

Liberal capitalism, according to Lash and Urry, developed in the late 18th
and early 19th centuries, and was a period in which capital was free to
move unrestricted by government and unopposed by labour. Its only
restriction was the lack of modern technology. Governments in this
phase of capitalism took a laissez-faire approach with very few
regulations imposed on capital. Labour movements had not yet
developed, and capital was unrestrained in its attempts to maximise profits and minimise costs.

According to Lash and Urry, organised capitalism developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the rise of the modern-day nation-state and the growth of organised labour. The growth of these institutions caused a restructuring of capital, changing the very nature of capitalism.

The modern nation-state took a greater role in regulating and restricting capital flows, intervening in many aspects of the market including the employment relationship. This greater intervention demanded the creation of large-scale bureaucratic departments, employing and in turn creating a new service-based middle class. In the long term, organised capitalism led to the development of the welfare state in many countries.

The period of organised capitalism also saw the development of organised labour in resistance to the pressures of capitalism. Unions, professional organisations and other collective groups developed and gained the official sanction, and in some cases support, of governments.

Capitalism responded to these changes in its environment. Professionalised companies developed, with a separation between ownership and management. This fuelled the growth of a new, professional, service-based, middle class. The restructuring of capitalism led to a concentration of capital in a small number of industrial sectors, within centrally significant nation-states. The extractive/manufacturing industry became the dominant industry sector both in terms of contribution to national economies and in employment. Regional specialisation developed, with many regions becoming dependent on a single industry sector. Mass employment in these industries led to the growth of very large industrial cities which dominated the region through the provision of centralised services (especially commercial and financial). New forms of work organisation developed, in particular,
Taylorism and Fordism, which allowed large groups of employees to be monitored by a single overseer or manager.

Lash and Urry argue that the development of organised capital was accompanied by a change in the dominant cultural-ideological configuration to one which could be termed “modernism”, and which entailed an emphasis on technical rationality and glorification of science as well as an aesthetic modernism and nationalism.

Lash and Urry suggest that we are currently entering a phase of disorganised capitalism. Many of the institutions of organised capitalism have been undermined, and their power diluted. The growth of a world market has undermined the control of national governments over large corporations, and has increased the independence of large monopolies from government, threatening to break down state regulation and challenging the centralised welfare state. The significance of extractive/manufacturing industries has declined, with worldwide growth in importance of the services sector for the organisation of modern capitalist societies and the structuring of social relations. Average plant size in the extractive/manufacturing industries has also declined due to shifts in industrial structure through substantial labour-saving capital investment, the sub-contracting of non-core business, and the export of labour-intensive activities to “world market factories” in the third world and rural sites in the first world. Jobs previously held by the first world proletariat have been moved off-shore, shifting developed economies towards greater reliance on the service sector for economic growth. The export of labour-intensive activities to the third world has also resulted in the spread of capitalism to most third world countries and an expansion in the number of states and variety of sectors organised on a capitalist basis.

A major result of these developments has been a decline in those regional economies dependent on the extractive/manufacturing industries, and a decline of industrial cities within those regions, leading
to increased unemployment and social instability. There has also been an increase in cultural fragmentation and pluralism, through the development of new political/cultural forms. The period of disorganised capitalism is thus associated with the appearance and mass distribution of a cultural-ideological configuration of “post-modernism” that affects the high culture, popular culture and symbols and discourse of everyday life (Lash & Urry, 1987, 5-7). Related reductions in the time-space distanciation have also undermined the construction of unproblematic national subjects. Such factors have combined to cause a crisis of legitimacy for national governments.

Workers’ collectives have been undermined by a shift from Taylorism and collective bargaining to flexible work organisation and enterprise bargaining, or individual contracts, which are a key component in the decentralisation of contemporary industrial relations (Lash & Urry, 1987, 283). This process has been reinforced by a decline in the manufacturing and extractive industries, and the rise of service industries. This has led to a shrinking of the core working class, especially manual workers, and an increase in white collar workers, particularly the service class. Lash and Urry suggest that these factors mean that class has become less significant for understanding the structures of society.

Lash and Urry argue that there have been three factors driving the disorganisation of capitalism. These are the internationalising process from above, the decentralising process from below and the growth in size and effectiveness of the service industry from within.

The discussion of the service class is unique to the model of disorganised capitalism and is of particular relevance to a study of teachers’ employment. Lash and Urry identify nine major causes of the expansion of the service class:
• Increasing wealth leading to increasing demand for more varied service functions, less based on mass production, more on individual need.

• Changes in the mode of provision of service functions to households, initially through increased service provision and subsequently through increased self-servicing.

• Intermediate subcontracting, that is, the outsourcing of functions previously seen as core business due to the economies of scale in service provision. The recent growth in call centres is a good example.

• The productivity gap (and hence the price gap) between labour-intensive service industry and capital-intensive manufacturing industry.

• Occupational tertiarisation which leads to increased service occupations overall, and within this to a decreasing ratio of clerical workers within the total.

• Rising real incomes meaning that fewer people, particularly white males, are willing to “service” others on a one-to-one basis (presumably this means that this group are more likely to purchase services from others rather than perform such services themselves).

• Political pressures which generate an expanded state and hence formal service industry and service occupations, rather than informal, voluntary or household provision of such service functions.

• The development of new technologies within the manufacturing industry, which enable service industry sectors to be socialised.

• The extension of commodity production to new product areas, such as computer software, where most of those employed are to be found within service occupations.

A number of these claims are debatable, especially given political changes since the late 1980s. One is the suggestion that political
pressures have generated an expanded state. Since 1987 many governments have focused on reducing the size of government, minimising government services, outsourcing services to voluntary and charitable organisations and otherwise cutting back on the service sector. Another is the suggestion that rising incomes create an unwillingness to provide service on a one-to-one basis. For women, rising incomes can be correlated with increasing participation in occupations which provide such services.

Lash and Urry’s model suggests that the rise in the service class has been a driver of the development of post-modern culture and the disorganisation of capitalism. However, the service class described by Lash and Urry seems to focus on the male-dominated service occupations in middle management. It does not seem to include the female-dominated service industries of retail, personal services, health and community services and education. The theory presents the service class as united and homogeneous, ignoring the fact that there are very broad differences in service positions in different industries. In short, the theory is gender- and class-blind. It does not explain how a growing service industry has contributed to the growth in non-standard employment, nor does it examine the feminisation of the service industry through the 1970s and 1980s.

Lash and Urry’s model emphasises the links between globalisation, economic restructuring and labour market restructuring. It highlights the importance of local institutions, histories and cultures and, to some extent, allows for the agency of the state in globalising processes. Their work focuses mostly on comparisons between the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany, noting that local factors in different countries have impacted on the change processes. Their model also takes into account the economic, political, institutional, cultural and ideological aspects of globalisation. However, the model ignores gender differences and, to some extent, has been overtaken by changes that negate its inherent suppositions. The model does not help to explain the
increasing emphasis on reducing the size or spending of government nor does it provide clues to changing employment patterns in the education industry. The model can be seen as a precursor to theories that have examined the rise of post-modernism as a globalising process.

**Post-modernism**

Harvey (1990), building on work by the “regulation” school of political economy, argues that globalisation is a result of a crisis in the Fordist-Keynesian regime of accumulation and of the development of a new regime of accumulation which he calls “flexible accumulation”.

The regulation school (Aglietta, 1979; Lipietz, 1986; Boyer, 1990) propose that a regime of accumulation is a stabilised system of the allocation of net profit between consumption and accumulation. It is the link between the conditions of production and the conditions of reproduction of wage earners. That is, a regime of accumulation structures the relationships between capital, the state and labour. In order to align the actions of all individuals, capitalists, workers and the state to the purposes of accumulation, a mode of regulation is needed. The mode of regulation includes the norms, habits, laws, and regulating networks of the system that create a body of internalised rules and social processes (Lipietz, 1986, 19; Harvey, 1990, 122).

Harvey’s model in some ways resembles Tabak’s. For Harvey, the post-war boom from 1945 to 1973 was built upon a set of labour control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits, and a configuration of political-economic power that he calls the Fordist-Keynesian accumulation regime (Harvey, 1990, 124). The model of an accumulation regime is more comprehensive than the simple Fordist accord proposed by Tabak. Harvey uses a similar periodisation to Tabak, arguing that since 1973 the Fordist accumulation regime has been collapsing, with a new regime, which Harvey tentatively calls a “flexible” regime of accumulation, developing in its place.
Harvey argues that the Fordist-Keynesian regime began developing in the early part of the twentieth century with the introduction of Henry Ford’s first production line in 1914. While there were a number of writers at the time theorising about ways to improve production (Taylor, 1913; Fayol, 1949), Ford was unique in his recognition that “mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labour power, a new politics of labour control and management, a new aesthetics and psychology, in short a new kind of rationalised, modernist and populist democratic society” (Harvey, 1990, 126). It was not until the 1930s that governments began to see the benefit of Ford’s ideas. During the depression, many governments came to the conclusion that the state needed to intervene in the operations of the market to maintain the stability of the economy. Economist John Maynard Keynes (1936) developed the theory and some of the political managerial strategies for using state powers to stabilise capitalism.

Under Fordist-Keynesian accumulation, national governments took an active role in managing national economies through Keynesian demand-management techniques. Labour processes were organised around the assembly line and mass production. A limited redistribution of the profits of capitalism was accomplished through social welfare spending and collective bargaining.

Unlike Tabak, Harvey recognises that the Fordist-Keynesian accumulation regime was partial and incomplete, as not all workers received the benefits of Fordist wage bargaining. Further, it was confined to certain sectors of the economy within industrialised countries. In particular, women and migrants were excluded from the Fordist “accord”. Fordist sectors of the economy rested upon a non-Fordist base of subcontracting (Harvey, 1990, 137-138).

Fordism was dependent upon international expansion. Harvey goes beyond Tabak’s analysis of the spread of Fordism. He argues that the
Fordist methods of production were spread through the world during World War II as part of the war effort. These methods were expanded in the post-war period either directly through occupation or indirectly through the Marshall Plan and American direct investment. This process absorbed excess American productive capacity, and began to develop global mass markets. It also brought Fordist production systems into new environments where the social contract with labour was either weakly enforced or non-existent (Harvey, 1990, 141).

Mass production and mass consumption required a standardisation of products. Harvey argues that this created a new aesthetic, and a commodification of culture. In this way, post-war Fordism was less a system of mass production and more a total way of life (Harvey, 1990, 135).

However, Harvey argues that the Fordist system suffered from a number of inherent rigidities. Long-term, large-scale fixed capital investment in systems of mass production was based on the assumption that there would be a continuing steady growth in markets. The rigidity of investment precluded rapid changes in design or production. Labour allocation and labour contracts were structured by the Fordist social contract; and strong labour organisations in certain sectors of the economy prevented capitalist attempts to change these aspects of labour relations. The state welfare systems of the Fordist-Keynesian regime were also dependent on continuing economic growth, and as the post-war economic boom ran out of steam, the welfare systems created another level of rigidity for governments attempting to respond to the changing economic conditions.

During the 1970s a number of shocks in oil prices increased energy costs and drove up inflation, causing a major recession in the United States, which flowed on to other developed countries during 1973-75. These processes undermined the Fordist-Keynesian regime, leading to a period of economic restructuring and social and political readjustment.
which Harvey suggests may represent a move to a new “flexible” regime of accumulation. The flexible regime of accumulation has changed all aspects of the social and economic structures of the modern world economy.

Flexible accumulation, as I shall tentatively call it, is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterised by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organisational innovation (Harvey, 1990, 147).

Harvey suggests that during the 1970s and 1980s, the power of organised labour in developed countries was undermined by a number of factors. Recessions caused by the oil shocks led to the highest levels of unemployment in developed countries since World War II, substantially reducing the number of union members in these countries. Transnational corporations began to move their manufacturing focus to new geographic regions, especially in South East Asia and South America, where there were no industrial traditions based on the Fordist compromise. Subsequently, the regressive norms and practices established in these regions were imported back to the older centres of industry in the name of productivity improvement.

Flexible accumulation has relied on higher levels of structural, rather than frictional, unemployment, and has weakened union power to achieve changes to the nature of work and a change in the balance between profits for capital and wages for employees. The result has been a major restructuring of the labour market as depicted in figure 2.1.
In this Post-Fordist labour market model, a core group of knowledge-based workers are employed on a permanent full-time basis with all the rights and entitlements that go with permanent employment. These employees are multiskilled, should be geographically mobile if necessary, and provide functional flexibility for businesses. The pool of core workers is shrinking as organisations outsource more and more non-core functions. Within the periphery of the labour market there are two subgroups. The first group includes full-time employees with lower skill levels that are readily available in the labour market, such as clerical, secretarial, routine and lesser skilled manual work. With fewer opportunities and greater competition, these workers tend to be characterised by a high level of turnover, providing employers with numerical flexibility through natural attrition. The second peripheral
group consists of part-time, temporary and casual employees and contract-based employees. These employees tend to have a low level of job security and create numerical flexibility for employers by providing a group of workers who are relatively easy to dismiss or terminate. These workers have very low levels of job security and poor access to stable wages and conditions (Harvey, 1990, 150-1). The growth of peripheral groups in the labour market is driven by increasing use of outsourcing and sub-contracting and by the growth in labour hire companies, temporary agencies and the rise in self-employment. Peripheral employment, in this model, tends to be dominated by women. The aggregate effects of this labour market structure are lower wages, less job security and poorer levels of health and welfare insurance coverage and pension rights.

Like Tabak and Lash and Urry, Harvey links the transformation in labour market structure to transformations in organisational structure. Organisational subcontracting, a major technique under flexible accumulation, opens up opportunities for small business. Harvey suggests that small businesses tend to revive older forms of industrial organisation such as domestic, artisanal, familial or patriarchal, or paternalistic labour systems. He illustrates this with the example of the rising incidence of sweat-shopping in major western cities during the 1980s. Such labour systems create environments in which organised labour finds it difficult to gain a purchase. These labour forms “undermine working class organisation and transform the objective basis for class struggle” (Harvey, 1990, 153).

The new labour structures make it easier to exploit women’s labour on a part-time basis, and to substitute lower paid women’s labour for that of men from the core group, who are higher paid and less easily laid off. The revival of subcontracting permits the resurgence of patriarchal employment practices which further exploit women’s labour.
The flexible mode of accumulation creates new techniques and organisational forms of production. Where Fordism emphasised standardised mass production, flexible accumulation emphasises highly specialised responses and small-batch production. Flexible production systems depend on and encourage an increased pace in product innovation and the creation of small-scale “niche” markets. Any production which can be standardised has tended to be moved to less developed countries with lower paid labour power, creating a system of “peripheral Fordism” within the flexible accumulation regime.

Flexible accumulation has been accompanied by changes in the nature of consumption, with greater emphasis on quick-changing fashion, and “the mobilisation of all the artifices of need inducement and cultural transformation that this implies” (Harvey, 1990, 156). In this way, the stable aesthetic of Fordism has been replaced by a post-modern aesthetic, which celebrates “difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion and the commodification of cultural forms” (Harvey, 1990, 156).

According to Harvey, changes in production and consumption have driven an increase in service employment throughout the 1970s and 1980s, not so much in the traditional service areas of retail, distribution and personal services, but in producer services such as finance and insurance and in sectors such as health and education. Harvey suggests that some of the expansion in services can be attributed to organisational change and the growth of subcontracting. However, it is also driven by the need to accelerate turnover time in consumption with a shift from the production of goods to the production of information and of events. These processes have also driven the need for a more highly educated workforce, stimulating growth in the education industry.

Although the move to flexible accumulation has not led to a decline in corporate power, it has led to changes in the way that this power is spread throughout society. Harvey suggests, in a critique of Lash and Urry’s model, that the changing power structure of capitalism does not
necessarily mean that capital is becoming less organised; rather, it is using new methods such as dispersal or devolution, geographical mobility, labour market flexibility, consumer markets and institutional, product and technological innovation to tighten its organisation.

The tighter organisation of capital has been driven by two factors: the growth of information as a commodity; and a reorganisation of the global financial system. Under flexible accumulation, the finance and banking system has become more independent from corporate, state and personal finance and has become more of a coordinating power than under Fordism. This increased power for the finance system has come at the expense of the power of the nation-state. “All nation-states have been at the mercy of financial disciplining either through the effects of capital flow… or by direct institutional disciplining” (Harvey, 1990, 165).

The breakdown of Fordism has created a shift in power towards financial capital, away from the state and from labour. The shift to flexible accumulation has been accompanied by the rise of an aggressive neo-conservatism or neoliberalism in North America and much of western Europe (Harvey, 1990, 166). Harvey argues that state intervention in the market has not decreased, contrary to the rhetoric of neo-conservatives, but has become more crucial than ever in restructuring the power balance between capital and labour.

As well as a shift in the ideologies of states under flexible accumulation, Harvey also identifies shifts in the norms, habits and political and cultural attitudes of individuals under flexible accumulation. The most notable has been a shift from the collective norms and values of the 1950s and 1960s towards a much more competitive individualism as the central value in an entrepreneurial culture. Harvey suggests that entrepreneurialism now characterises

…not only business action, but realms of life as diverse as urban governance, the growth of informal sector production,
labour market organisation, research and development, and… [even] academic, literary and artistic life (Harvey, 1990, 171).

Harvey’s post-modern model of the changing regime of accumulation and modes of regulation has some explanatory power for understanding the impact of globalisation on the changing nature of work in the education industry in Australia. The concept of a regime of accumulation allows Harvey to incorporate not only economic aspects of change, but also social, cultural and ideological aspects. It is in these social, cultural and ideological changes that we can find explanations for the changing role of government in post-modern societies and the changing patterns of employment in the education industry.

However, while Harvey acknowledges that a regime of accumulation includes the norms, habits and laws of a society, he does not examine the particular gender structures of these regimes of accumulation. Feminist geographer McDowell (1991, 403), in a critique of Harvey, argues that under a Fordist-Keynesian accumulation regime the gender order was based on “a stable working class, on the nuclear family supported by a male-breadwinner, and by women’s domestic labour underpinned by Keynesian economic and welfare policies that ensured the reproduction of the working class”. If, as Harvey argues, the Fordist-Keynesian accumulation regime is breaking down and being replaced by a regime of flexible accumulation, a crucial aspect of this process includes the changing gender structures and gender relations in society. Harvey fails to incorporate the gender order in his model. Yet his account of a flexible regime of accumulation can be made consistent with gender analysis and is used in this thesis to examine changing gender relations at the local level in Australia.

Harvey’s model is also problematic in the same way as that of Wallerstein. By focusing on the global structures of capital and international institutions, Harvey creates a totalising theory that does not
allow space for the agency of nation-states or individuals for either adaptation or resistance.

Other theorists such as Beck, Giddens and Lash reject Harvey’s post-modern approach, suggesting that globalisation is an inherent feature of modernity, and that we are entering a phase of high modernity or reflexive modernity. They use this framework to examine changing social relations in a globalising world.

**Reflexive modernisation**

Giddens (1990; 1994), Beck (1992; 1994; 1999; 2000) and Lash (1994) have each focused on different aspects of the changing nature of social interaction in discussing reflexive modernisation, but all see globalisation as a crucial force for, or outcome of the changing nature of modernity.

Giddens defines globalisation rather simplistically as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1990, 64). This definition could equally apply to pre-modern empires.

Giddens argues that there are five dimensions of globalisation: the nation-state system, the world capitalist economy, the world division of labour, the world military order and a globalised culture. These aspects of globalisation are driven by institutional factors such as capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and military power. These factors interact with each other to mutually reinforce and create a modern globalised world. For example, capitalism is dependent on industrialised production, communications technology and the surveillance of workers, and is supported by the military power of the west. Similarly, military power is dependent upon the productive capacity of capitalism, industrialism and worker surveillance (Giddens, 1990, 59).
For Giddens, these five dimensions of globalisation are a logical
development from the processes of modernity. The processes of
modernity have three dominant sources of dynamism: space-time
distanciation, disembedding mechanisms and the reflexive appropriation
of knowledge. These processes have changed the nature of social
relations and the structure of society.

In terms of space-time distanciation, Giddens argues that as modernity
developed, a local sense of place and time has been dislocated by the
measurement of time and space in the more mechanistic ways needed
by the process of industrialism (Giddens, 1990, 17-20). Similarly,
modernity has developed a number of “disembedding mechanisms” such
as currency, which have changed the nature of social relations.
Whereas, in the past, social relations of exchange were based on mutual
need and tended to be local, today these relations have been
commodified through the exchange of money, and are “restructured
across indefinite spans of time-space” (Giddens, 1990, 21).
Disembedding mechanisms rely on a basic trust in the object, rather
than in the relationships between people. Individuals need to feel trust or
faith in the object, like currency, to ensure that the value of produced
goods remain stable. This change in social relations has led to a modern
conception of risk in which people attempt to calculate the probabilities
of change and insure against negative consequences.

The third process of modernity is the reflexive appropriation of
knowledge. As modernity has developed, so have the social sciences,
with their analysis of social practices and habits. Not only are social
practices analysed and examined, but they are also reformed and
reconstituted by the process of analysis. So, Giddens explains,
discursive aspects of sociological theory structure and restructure social
relations, as individuals reflexively utilise sociological concepts to
interpret, describe and construct their lives. This concept of reflexivity is
important when examining the lives of individuals in their own words.
Given that the primary data source for this thesis is the verbal
constructions of the lives and careers of the participants, it is important to examine whether the participants do reflexively utilise sociological concepts to interpret, describe and construct their lives.

While these reflexive processes are inherently part of modernity, they are constantly impacting on and restructuring modernity. In this light, Giddens rejects the suggestion that society is moving from a phase of modernism to a post-modern phase, although he supports the idea that society is in transition. He suggests that modernity is becoming increasingly reflexive and that the processes of modernity are speeding up. He argues that globalisation is an inherent aspect or logical extension of this reflexive modernity.

Giddens’ focus is on the impact of reflexive modernisation and globalisation on social relations, on the family and on personal lives. He does not specifically examine the workplace, although his thesis suggests that the social relations of employment are changed by the notions of work space and work time, which exclude social and family space and times, and by the commodification of labour relations. Other theorists such as Ulrich Beck and Scott Lash have utilised similar concepts of reflexive modernity to examine changing structures of employment.

According to Beck, the nature of work is just one aspect of life that is being undermined by the successful processes of modernity. He suggests that full employment, progress and the exploitation of nature are undermined by five interlinked processes: globalisation, individualisation, gender revolution, underemployment and global risks such as ecological crises and the crash of global financial markets (Beck, 1999, 2). Beck believes that these five processes are the “unintended consequences” of the success of industrial modernisation based on the nation-state.
Modernism, Beck contends, has meant the disembedding of “traditional” social forms and the re-embedding of industrial social forms, while reflexive modernism has meant the disembedding of industrial social forms with a further modernity. This re-embedding process undercuts the formation of “class, stratum, occupation, sex roles, nuclear family, plant business sectors” and creates new forms of techno-economic progress (Beck, 1994, 2).

Beck emphasises the aspect of risk in reflexive modernity. He sees globalisation as an economic and ideological process of capitalism. He is critical of the dogmatic free market economics imposed throughout the 1980s, to which he believes “every world and national forum has signed up” (Beck, 1999, 6). He argues that free market economics has led to greater environmental and other risks globally, because of the lack of global regulatory mechanisms, and the fact that national regulators can no longer act without considering the response of the global market. He recognises that global neoliberalism is an important ideology of globalisation, and that it is problematic because it fails to take into account the interests of non-capitalists in a democratic society, leading to greater political instability in the face of harsh economic policy. Global neoliberalism uses risk and uncertainty to undermine the strength of labour and the state.

A further aspect of reflexive modernisation for Beck is individualisation, which he sees as a structural phenomenon driven by government policies which are designed on the basis of individuals rather than for families or communities. He gives the example of welfare policies. He rejects the link between individualisation and market individualism. This distinction is problematic because it excludes the possibility of a synergy between the market forces of global neoliberalism and those of national social and economic governance.

Beck seems ambivalent about gender revolution. He argues that while most governments support the increase in the number of women
working outside the home, this process also “leads to upheaval in the…
conventional occupational, political and private order of things” (Beck,
1994, 3). He argues that the gender revolution has driven demands for
temporal and contractual flexibility of wage labour, but in effect, these
forms of labour break the boundary lines drawn between work and non-
work (Beck, 1994, 3). He suggests that the desirability of these changes
conceals “their society-changing scope” (Beck, 1994, 4). In emphasising
the growing supply of flexible labour, Beck neglects the demand side of
the equation, that flexibility in employment is also driven by the needs of
employers.

Reflexive modernisation also undermines the employment relationship.
Beck blames Keynesian economics for failing to create employment
growth since the 1970s, resulting in the growth of flexible labour and the
deregulation of the labour market. Globalisation is the central element in
the political economics of uncertainty and risk. According to Beck,
“capital is global, work is local. All around the world, at the same time,
fragile work increases rapidly, that is part-time, self-employed work,
limited-term jobs and other forms” (Beck, 1999, 11). The increasing
uncertainty and risk in the work place is part of the development of a
“world risk society” (Beck, 1999) and is tied up with “the end of the work
society”, as more intelligent technologies are developed to replace
human labour.

Beck (1999, 12) writes that reflexive modernisation has resulted in a
“secular society exposed to the rigours of a global market, based on
institutionalised individualisation amidst a global communications
explosion”. He describes in detail the results of reflexive modernisation
and globalisation on society. More than other globalisation theorists he
recognises the importance of the role of gender relations in the changing
nature of society. He examines the impact of risk on social relations, but
he does not develop a model that explains the development of these
features. He mentions many elements that could be utilised in a model to
explain changes to the nature of work in the education industry, such as
global neoliberal economic policy and ideology, the power play between nation-states and global capital, increasingly institutionalised individualisation, the gender revolution, and the failure of the welfare state and Keynesian economics. However, he does not integrate these elements into a comprehensive model. Accordingly I draw on specific themes from Beck’s work in this thesis, including the increasing sense of risk and the increasing individuation of society.

Lash (1994, 111) also emphasises individuation as a key aspect of modern social relations. According to Lash, “reflexive modernisation is a theory of the ever-increasing powers of social actors, or agency in regard to structure”. He suggests that although it seems that structures are receding, in fact, social structures are actually being replaced by information and communication structures. To some extent, Lash’s work on reflexive modernisation updates and builds on the model of disorganised capital he developed with Urry.

Lash argues that there have been three stages of social development over the last century, from traditional society to simple modernity and finally to reflexive modernity. These changes have been driven by the process of individuation. In the first stage, the traditional communal structures of the church, the extended family and the village community were eroded by modernisation. In the second stage hybrid structures were developed, based on collectivism and the new systems of organisation. These structures included the nuclear family, class structures, bureaucratic government and the welfare state, formalised Taylorist shopfloor rules, trade unions, etc. The third stage involves the dissolution of even these structures, and a further increase in individualisation that “sets agency free from the (simply) modern social structures” (Lash, 1994, 114).

In terms of the workplace, Lash suggests that under modernity firms developed into vertically and horizontally integrated, departmentalised enterprises, while under reflexive modernity the firm becomes a
networked system of small, relatively autonomous knowledge-intensive businesses (Lash, 1994, 113).

Lash recognises that reflexive modernity requires a new model of accumulation. He suggests that “structural, capital accumulation is possible only on the condition that agency can free itself from rule-bound Fordist structures” (Lash, 1994, 119). This occurs primarily through flexible specialisation and greater innovation. With flexible specialisation, a greater proportion of the production process must go into the knowledge-intensive design process rather than the material labour process. Lash argues that “if modernisation as economic growth is to be possible, the work-force must acquire substantial information-processing abilities and thus must be highly educated” (Lash, 1994, 113). However, he also suggests that the very type of education that is required for flexible specialisation, that is, problem solving and questioning of processes, is the same sort of education that can be “turned as rational critique upon the ‘system’ itself” (Lash, 1994, 113). Similarly, if modernisation means increased individualisation and less control by tradition and convention, then individuals are more likely to express their opposition to the system. This, for Lash, is one of the key factors in reflexive modernity.

Lash suggests that the thesis of reflexive modernity, which rests on the freeing of agency from structure, has explanatory potential for the increased flexibilisation of production. He suggests that although agency, or individual action, has been freed from social structures, these have in fact been replaced by information and communication structures which continue to constrain agency. He argues further that within the information and communication structures the old class system is transformed. The transformed and expanded middle class works within the information and communication structures as experts within expert systems. Whereas in simple modernity the middle class were employed in the service of the manufacturing process, in reflexive modernity they
are the producers of informational goods and are a served class rather than a service class.

Under reflexive modernity, according to Lash, there is an upgraded section of the working class that is marginally attached to the information structures “as newly individuated consumers, as users of informationalised means of production (in, for example, computer numerically controlled tools) and as producers of consumer and producer goods (for example, televisions, fax machines and fibre optic cables)” (Lash, 1994, 129). At the same time, there is also a section of the modern working class that has become downgraded and excluded from the information and communication structures, and that has become what may be considered an underclass.

In this analysis of class based on information and communication structures, Lash seems to address many of the difficulties associated with his model of disorganised capitalism and the rise of the service class. However, he continues to have a narrow definition of the service class, excluding people employed in industries such as retail, accommodation and education or other areas of service. In focusing on these new information and communication structures, Lash fails to examine how the social structures of gender and race have been transformed in reflexive modernity. His emphasis on agency freed from structure under reflexive modernity suggests that individuals are able to choose their lives and careers without the constraints of class, labour markets, family obligations or other social and cultural structures.

Although Lash rejects Harvey’s post-modern model of flexible accumulation, his own model of reflexive accumulation appears to have substantial similarities. In Lash’s model, the growth of part-time, casual and temporary employment seems to be explained through his model of reflexive accumulation, whereby flexible specialisation or short-run production systems require greater innovation and a more flexible
employment approach in terms of both numerical and functional flexibility.

Theories of reflexive modernisation have some explanatory capacity for the changing nature of employment in the Australian education industry. These theories recognise that the nature of social relations has changed over the twentieth century and that work relations are an aspect of these social relations. Key themes drawn from the model of reflexive modernisation in this thesis include risk, individuation, the importance of both structure and agency in the lives of individuals, and the reflexive application of knowledge and information in society.

Each of the reflexive modernisation theorists emphasises different aspects of cultural, ideological and sociological change. They recognise that national, local and individual factors play an important part in social change. However, apart from Beck, their analysis tends to ignore gender relations and, to some extent, emphasis on agency fails to give enough weight to structure. These theorists have also played an important role in constructing globalisation as inevitable and unstoppable.

Gender critiques of globalisation

My investigation of these models of globalisation reveals a number of problems or difficulties. A major criticism is that the models fail to incorporate gender into their analyses of globalisation. The processes of globalisation depend on the increasing incorporation of women into the work force and the gender division of labour, and yet these globalisation theories provide little analysis of the role of gender in the globalisation process. Similarly, although globalisation has differential effects on men and women in different countries, there is little recognition of this difference in the models analysed.

Each of the theorists reviewed has focused on different aspects of the social, political or economic, but each essentially attempts to describe
the same phenomena, that is, the restructuring of global capital and 
financial markets, the restructuring of national economies, industries, 
welfare systems, labour markets and other social and cultural structures, 
and the realignment of political ideologies.

However, as Walby (1997, 8) writes:

Much of the[se] writings while sensitive to social variability has 
paid little explicit attention to gender relations... Some of the 
analysis is abstracted in such a way as to make gender 
legitimately irrelevant. But in many accounts of empirical 
patterns of social relations and social experiences gender is 
relevant and the analysis is flawed as a consequence of its 
omission.

Globalisation is a gendered process, and its impact is felt differentially 
across genders. Connell (2000, 39-40) suggests that “locally situated 
lives are now (indeed have long been) powerfully influenced by 
geopolitical struggles, global markets, multinational corporations, labour 
migration and transnational media”, and that to understand local gender 
relations we must think in global terms. He suggests that we need to 
recognise that the structures of globalisation – international relations, 
international trade and global markets – are inherently gendered and 
form a “world gender order” which structures the relationships that 
connect the gender regimes of institutions with the gender orders of local 
societies on a world scale (Connell, 2000, 41).

Experiences of globalisation and restructuring need to be understood at 
both the local and global levels. Restructuring at the national and local 
level cannot be fully explained without reference to global change, while 
the gendered dimensions of globalisation can only be revealed by 

The current world gender order has been historically produced through 
various rounds of gender restructuring. From the fifteenth century, 
European imperialism and colonial conquest and settlement were
undertaken by gender-segregated forces and had a massive impact on local indigenous gender relations. During a phase of colonial stabilisation, new gender divisions of labour which intersected with racial ideologies were produced (Connell, 2000). In a more recent phase, revolving around decolonisation, economic neocolonialism, and the growth of world markets and systems of financial control, gender divisions of labour have again been remade in what has been called the “global production line” (Feldman, 1992; Bakker, 1994) or the “global factory” (Fuentes & Ehrenreich, 1983).

To understand the impact of globalisation on gender relations, it is important to understand globalisation as both a process and a discourse. Canadian feminists Neysmith and Chen (2002, 245) argue that while globalisation is a real process surrounding the flows of capital, population, culture, practices and ideas, it is also a discourse. Discourse refers to ways of collectively talking about, writing about, practising or performing aspects of the social world around us. Discursive practices and the language they rely on create and shape how reality is understood by individuals. As a discourse, globalisation constitutes and is constituted by the structures, processes and identities of the actors in restructuring. Many feminists have examined how the discourse of globalisation undermines or negates the experiences of women under global restructuring.

Janine Brodie (1994, 49) argues that the discourse of globalisation "contains phallocentric and patriarchal assumptions that misrepresent and conceal women's experience", while Isabella Bakker (1994, 1) suggests that problems with the discourse of globalisation stem from its dependence on discourses of neoclassical economics. Neoclassical conceptions of the market rely on gender-neutral abstractions that ignore the asymmetrical power relations of gender. The labour market is seen as gender-neutral, ignoring the gender division of labour and the production and reproduction of labour (Brodie, 1994, 49). Neoclassical economics discounts women's contribution to national wealth by ignoring
women's unpaid labour in the home and the community (Waring, 1988). It assumes that women's labour is supplementary to that of a male-breadwinner and that women's unpaid labour is infinitely elastic and therefore able to cover shifts and shortfalls in resources (Elson, 1992). The discourse of globalisation uses gender-neutral aggregate terms such as "deficit reduction", "international competitiveness" or "export-led growth" that hide the experiences and resistance strategies of women.

Many feminists have observed that globalisation is constructed as an inevitable or unstoppable process, an inescapable necessity (Brodie, 1994; Bergeron, 2001; Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002). They show how national and local sites are constructed as passive recipients of globalisation and individuals are constructed as “victims of global restructuring”. In contrast, corporations and finance capital are characterised as consciously engineering the global economy, and as having agency and even conspiratorial power (Nagar et al., 2002). Gibson-Graham (1996) even go so far as to suggest that the dichotomy between a powerful process of globalisation and its passive reception create a totalising narrative "that reads like a rape script".

To combat these discursive constructions of globalisation, it is important to recognise that "markets are processes and relationships imbued with structural power relations [that] have an asymmetrical gender dimension ... [they] are not neutral but are social settings with value systems that reward some individual behaviours and not others..." (Blackmore, 2000b, 478). Nagar and colleagues (2002) emphasise that researchers need to question the depictions of globalisation and to recognise that nation-states and individuals are not passive recipients of globalisation. National governments have the capacity to develop policies that protect or expose their economy to globalising processes. Even individuals may resist or adapt global processes within their own lives.

Globalisation is materially restructuring gender relations both in the home and in the workplace. Under the Fordist-Keynesian mode of
accumulation a particular gender order developed in which men worked in the formal sector while women provided informal labour in the household. This model has been referred to as the male-breadwinner model of gender relations (Crompton, 1999; Goodwin, 1999) and is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

A number of theorists (McDowell, 1991; Brodie, 1994; Hancock, 1999; Pusey, 1999; Nagar et al., 2002) have argued that globalisation is having a greater impact on women than men, both in the workplace and in the household. In chapter four I examine the extent of workplace change in Australia and the impact of labour market restructuring on gender pay equity and on the education industry.

Through economic restructuring, women have been increasingly drawn into the formal sector of the economy. However, many women still retain primary responsibility for household labour. There is little evidence that men’s household labour is increasing to supplement women’s increased participation in the labour market. As Connell writes, describing an Australian study of public sector workers:

> Households where men do more domestic work than women exist, but they are rare. Households where men and women share equally are a little more common but are still exceptional. The usual situation is that women do most. … Despite the diversity of family forms, the bedrock assumption is still that housework is women’s work, and even more important, childwork is women’s work (Connell, 2004, 3).

In attempting to explain this disjuncture between the language of equality and the reality of women’s continuing subjugation through household labour, Bittman and Pixley (1997, 146) propose a model of pseudomutuality, or a “false complementarity to conceal evidence of non-mutuality to maintain a sense of reciprocal fulfilment” that underpins the modern marital relationship.

McMahon (1999) takes an alternative approach, suggesting that much of the discussion of men’s roles in society downplays or explains away
inequities in the organisation of domestic labour. He argues that change is discussed in overly optimistic terms and that constructions of new masculinities such as the “new father” are ideological constructions rather than grassroots realities. He suggests that

the principal tendency of the social conversation of men and change is to take care of men’s interests… this is done by explicitly or implicitly denying men’s interests and agency in the sexual division of labour (McMahon, 1999, 203).

The impact of globalisation is also experienced through government restructuring and global neoliberalism. As states withdraw from the provision of health and welfare services, the extra work is most often taken on by women in the feminised spheres of household and community (Hancock, 1999; Pusey, 1999). Thus the post-Fordist, neoliberal state has become more dependent on women’s paid labour in both the formal and informal sectors.

Brodie (1994) identifies that the restructuring of government has resulted in a decline in public sector employment where, due to occupational segregation, a higher proportion of women’s employment was located. However, as discussed in chapters four and five, in Australia the privatising of formerly-public utilities has also impacted heavily on men’s employment in the public sector.

The restructuring of the state has major implications for gender equity in Australia. Government intervention to promote equality has been withdrawn in favour of market-based allocation of resources (Bacchi, 1999; Sawer, 1999). There has also been a shift in the language of government, from an emphasis on equity to an emphasis on efficiency and individual choice (Yeatman, 1990).

This thesis examines the ways in which individuals, both men and women, are experiencing the changing nature of gender relations as a result of global restructuring.
Conclusions

In this chapter I have argued that curriculum and delivery modes in education have been influenced by the changing structures of the economy, industry and society. Schools not only shape the workers of the future, but also the consumers of the future. Globalisation, through the processes of economic restructuring and the restructuring of the state, has led to reform of the education industry, with a decline in government funding for education, increased commodification of education, and the development and implementation of new managerialist techniques in schools. These changes have major implications for employment practices and gender relations in schools.

Globalisation is a material process driven by capitalist expansion. During the 20th century a mode of capitalist accumulation developed based on a Fordist accord between labour and capital, underwritten by the state through Keynesian demand economics. The mode of accumulation incorporated methods of production and consumption, as well as social and cultural norms, a gender order and a hegemonic ideology.

Since approximately 1973, the mode of capitalist accumulation has been in transition. A new mode of accumulation, a post-Fordist or post-modern mode, is developing. This new mode of accumulation is reshaping not only economies, industry and the labour market, but also class and gender relations in society. Aspects of social restructuring include an increase in reflexive social understandings and analysis by individuals applying sociological theory to their own lives, an increasing perception of risk, and an increasing emphasis on individuation both in public policy and in cultural and social norms, including workplace relations.

Globalisation is also a discursive process utilised by governments to justify and support their decisions and policies about economic restructuring. Globalisation is discursively constructed as a powerful process, unstoppable and inevitable. Discursive constructions of
globalisation are cast in gender-neutral terms that conceal and misrepresent the experiences of women. Feminists emphasise that markets are processes and relationships imbued with structural power and asymmetric gender relations. In studying the effects of globalisation, it is important to recognise it as a socially constructed process, and to recognise that governments, local institutions and individuals can and do have agency to resist and adapt to globalisation processes.

The material effects of globalisation are experienced differentially by men and women. Women's increasing participation in the formal sector of the economy has not been matched by an increase in men's participation in the informal sector. Changing patterns of employment mean that men and women do not participate equally in the labour market. The withdrawal of neoliberal states from service provision is absorbed in the household and community by an increase in women's unpaid labour.

Globalisation theorists often fail to incorporate the gendered aspects of global change into their theories. They tend to focus on the material aspects of globalisation and fail to recognise its discursive aspects and their own role in the discursive construction of global processes. Their descriptions of globalisation as an abstract process, the product of forces such as industrialisation or capitalism, absolve any particular group or structure from responsibility. As a result, these theorists tend to under-emphasise the agency of the state. They fail to recognise the influence of national histories and local social structures on the processes of globalisation.

These understandings of globalisation provide the framework of analysis for this thesis. The following chapters investigate how globalisation has been articulated in Australia through government policies of economic restructuring, labour market restructuring and public sector reform.
Chapter 3 Structural change in Australia
Introduction

Globalisation is widely credited with causing major changes to the economy. Does this mean that governments have exercised no autonomy in the process? Has the conscious action of local political and business leadership played little or no role in economic restructuring? MacDonald and Burgess (1997, 93) argue that globalisation is used by “both the state and the representatives of capital as an ideological smokescreen behind which neoliberal agendas can be introduced”. Australian political scientist Conley (2001) suggests that our elected officials astutely use the language of globalisation to deflect the anger of the electorate from their own actions towards something more intangible.

Chapter two showed that globalisation researchers need to recognise the agency of local institutions and individuals and the influence of national histories and local social structures on the processes of globalisation. Conley (2001, 224) suggests that it is in the domestic sphere that “interpretations are constructed and policy choices made”. It is important to maintain a balance between international and domestic factors in analysing globalisation.

Globalisation in Australia has been experienced as economic restructuring. I begin this chapter with an analysis of the discursive construction of economic restructuring. I then map the dimensions of economic structural change in Australia since the mid-1970s, examining changes in the structure of trade and investment, industry and production. I examine the role of the state in promoting restructuring in Australia and the actions of local institutions such as organised labour and peak employer groups in response to restructuring. Finally I examine the social impact of restructuring, asking, if the Fordist or modernist mode of accumulation is being replaced by a post-Fordist, post-modern or flexible mode of accumulation, what are the implications for class and gender structures in Australia? What does a flexible, post-modern or post-Fordist gender order look like? And what are the
implications of this new mode of accumulation for employment practices in the education industry?

**Defining structural change**

The terms “structural change” and “economic restructuring” have been used in flexible ways. Like globalisation, restructuring has both discursive and material aspects (Edwards & Magery, 1995; Probert, 1995b; MacDonald & Burgess, 1997; Stilwell, 2000; Conley, 2001). Probert (1994, 98) argues that the term “restructuring” has been used effectively to convince the public to accept difficult economic processes:

> Every unpleasant dose of medicine that Australians have been asked to swallow since the early 1980s has been prescribed to promote something called restructuring – a historic process which is held out as the only cure for our economic and social ills.

Similarly, Australian feminist writers Edwards and Magery (1995, 3) write of the word “restructuring”:

> The term now carries enormous cultural and ideological import and has become an icon for global and local socio-economic changes that are simultaneously discursive and structural.

A number of authors and organisations have contributed to the discursive construction of economic restructuring. In 1977, the then Industries Assistance Commission (later name changes have been the Industry Commission and the Productivity Commission), a semi-autonomous government research body renowned for its economic rationalist approach to social and economic issues in Australia, wrote:

> Structural change is a pervasive and continuous process. Changes in the structure of an economy are an inherent consequence of the process of economic development. As an economy grows (or declines) its composition is altered, because outputs and employments of some firms and industries grow faster than others, while some may decline. The effect is to cause redistribution of income and wealth
between different groups and individuals (Industries Assistance Commission, 1977, 1).

It has become common to identify economic structural change as the result of inevitably increasing global competition and pressure for change. Australian economist Hugh Emy (1993, 15) writes:

Restructuring remains wholly necessary, a defensive response to events – and a quickening rate of change – occurring at the global level which Australia, because of its reliance on trade, could no longer afford to ignore. Restructuring is an attempt to improve the viability of Australia’s economy and society in the face of globalisation. One may dislike globalisation, but one still has to cope with it. Today there is a rising and important debate about how restructuring should proceed, but there is no doubt that it must proceed.

These discursive constructions portray structural change as an inevitable and undirected process. Couched in purely economic terms, the definition given by the Industries Assistance Commission effectively denies that government policies have had a direct impact on the operation of industries. The language hides the major repercussions of such policies on individuals. For example, the statement “as an economy grows... its composition is altered” hides the many bankruptcies, job losses and personal tragedies that result from the changing composition of industry. Similarly, the phrase “redistribution of income and wealth between groups and individuals” sanitises a growing inequality in Australian society.

Economic language can hide the gendered nature of restructuring. Restructuring policies tend to be formulated without consideration of the asymmetrical relations of power based on gender, leading to a silencing of women’s experiences and strategies of resistance (Bakker, 1994, 1).

In response to constructions of economic restructuring as inevitable and anonymous, a number of authors have identified the importance of resistance and the interaction of the local with the global. The OECD
(Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) Group of Experts on Women and Structural Change in the 1990s (OECD, 1994, 17) describes structural change as

a global and dynamic process which profoundly modifies economies and societies. Economic, technical, social, political changes interact; the outcome of these interactions is what defines structural change.

The Group further notes that:

structural change is not a predetermined development to which individuals have to adapt passively. It can be shaped according to societies’ priorities (OECD, 1994, 18).

Similarly, Bagguley and colleagues (1990) emphasise that gender and ethnicity play important roles, both in shaping employers’ strategies of restructuring, and in forms of resistance to restructuring. They write:

There is a limit to the extent to which places are passive victims of the global processes of capital… local struggles are also a key component of the particularities of place (Bagguley et al., 1990, 5).

Economic restructuring and structural change are not only discursive constructions. The terms are also used to describe a range of material effects. Edwards and Magery (1995) suggest that restructuring has been used to describe a broad range of issues including the geographical relocation of manufacturing industry, changing structures of financial services, reorganisation of the processes of production in particular industries, enterprises and occupations, and the restructuring of welfare services and benefits in welfare states. Overall, they argue that restructuring involves the polarisation of the economically and socially secure and the poor and deprived both within and between nation-states. Similarly, Connell and Irving (1992) emphasise that restructuring impacts on industry and labour through the processes of accumulation and the social structures of class (Connell & Irving, 1992) and gender relations (Connell, 2002).
The term restructuring is usually applied to industries, and sometimes to the whole economy, but it also has relevance to other spheres. The routines of everyday life, in households and neighbourhoods, are also restructured (Connell & Irving, 1992, 235).

Geographers Fagan and Webber (1999, 7) note that while geographers and economists use the term “structural change” to refer to changes over time in the distribution of capital and labour resources between sectors of an economy, economic restructuring is much broader than this. They argue that under restructuring the social, economic, political and technological relationships in society are fundamentally altered.

These relationships are *restructured* purposefully by various powerful institutions in society, such as large business organisations, governments, and trade unions in attempts to restore economic stability and growth (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 7, emphasis in original).

This thesis draws on each of these descriptions to acknowledge that economic restructuring includes the restructuring of trade, investment, industry, production, government regulation and the labour market, but that economic restructuring is not the only element of restructuring, and that class, gender and social relations are transformed by the process of restructuring.

**Dimensions of economic restructuring in Australia**

The dimensions of the Australian economy have changed quite dramatically over the last century. Australia has moved from a colonial settler society, heavily dependent on the United Kingdom for trade and investment and on agriculture, pastoralism and mining as the major sources of profit and employment in the country, to a more diversified economy focused on the Asia-Pacific region for trade and investment. The following section of this chapter maps out the broad changes in the economy that are understood as restructuring.
Trade and investment

Australia has always been heavily dependent on international trade and investment (Butlin, Barnard, & Pincus, 1982; Kenwood, 1995; Argy, 1998; O'Connor, Stimson, Maude, Daly, & Dragovich, 2001). In the early part of the century this dependence was mainly on the United Kingdom. Since the 1950s, with the decline of the British Empire and the rise of the Japanese economy, Australia has seen a sharp decline in trade with the United Kingdom and Europe. Table 3.1 shows that in the 1950s the United Kingdom purchased approximately a third of Australian exports, while today this has dropped to less than 4 percent. In this time Japan has replaced the United Kingdom as Australia’s major market for exports (Kenwood, 1995, 18).

Table 3.1 Geographical destination of Australian exports 1951-1996 (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>NZ</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>NIEs</th>
<th>SE Asia</th>
<th>ASEAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Newly Industrialising Economies (NIEs) include South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. SE Asia includes Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Cambodia, Laos and ASEAN countries. ASEAN countries include Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Philippines and Thailand (Source: Fagan & Webber, 1999, 54).

A number of new markets have also opened in South East Asia and the ASEAN nations while exports to Europe have declined. The changing geographical distribution of exports has also resulted in a change in the composition of Australian exports. While exports to Europe and the United Kingdom were mostly in agricultural products, especially wool and cereals, demand from Japan and other South East Asian countries tends to be for mineral products and for base metals, as is shown in table 3.2.
Table 3.2 Composition of Australian commodity exports: 1970-71 to 1996-97 (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural products</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral products</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured goods</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base metals</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machinery and transport</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other including gold</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of merchandise exports $A billion: current prices</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Fagan & Webber, 1999)

Over the same period, Australia’s major sources of imports changed in a similar direction. Australia’s early sources of imports were the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States, but after the 1970s Japan and Asia became major suppliers of imports, as shown in table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Geographical sources of Australian imports 1951-1996 (percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Other Europe</th>
<th>NZ</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>NIEs</th>
<th>SE Asia</th>
<th>ASEAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Newly Industrialising Economies (NIEs) include South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. SE Asia includes Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Cambodia, Laos and ASEAN countries. ASEAN countries include Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Philippines, Thailand and after 1995 Vietnam.

(Source: Fagan & Webber, 1999, 56).

The twentieth century has also seen major changes in patterns of foreign investment in Australia. At the beginning of the twentieth century colonial governments were responsible for attracting the resources of capital and labour into the economy, essentially from Britain (Butlin et al., 1982, 13;
O'Connor et al., 2001). Investment during this time was mainly driven by public expenditure on infrastructure and other projects. Governments took a highly interventionist approach, developing large-scale business undertakings in transport, communications and amenities. It was not until the mid-1930s that private investment overtook public investment in Australia (Butlin et al., 1982, 33).

British investment in the early part of the twentieth century was directed towards the pastoral industries and mining, with later trends towards the manufacturing industry (Kenwood, 1995, 18-20; O'Connor et al., 2001, 20-21). The Depression and World War II interrupted foreign investment to a degree during the 1930s and 1940s, and it was not until the 1950s that there were major changes in the nature of foreign investment in Australia. At this time changing government policies and other factors led to a boom in foreign direct investment in Australia by transnational corporations (TNCs). Investment occurred in a wide range of industries, including production of motor vehicles, petroleum, chemicals and agricultural implements (O'Connor et al., 2001, 21). By 1970 the level of foreign control over Australian production was the second highest amongst developed economies (only Canada had greater levels of foreign control) (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 52).

The deregulation of the Australian dollar and of the finance industry in the early 1980s saw rapid movements of investment in and out of the country, with “record levels of foreign capital inflow after 1980 almost obliterat[ing] earlier patterns of foreign investment” and rapidly increasing Australian investment overseas (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 53).

Foreign capital inflows increased from A$586 million in 1960-61 to A$1.5 billion in 1970-71, rising to A$6 billion by 1980-81, A$31.9 billion in 1988-89, falling slightly to A$20.4 billion in the recession of the early 1990s, but rising again to A$42 billion in 1995-96 (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 65). However, after 1980 most of this foreign inflow was not experienced as direct investment; rather, the majority entered Australia as portfolio
investment or large-scale loans borrowed by the private sector through global money markets. Any foreign investment directed at the manufacturing sector tended to be concentrated in takeovers of existing businesses rather than in the improvement of productive capacity.

The 1980s saw the increase of Japanese-sourced capital, especially after the Japanese government removed capital outflow controls. There was also significant investment from Hong Kong and New Zealand in the late 1980s and from the newly industrialising economies of Asia. Fagan and Webber (1999, 67) describe the patterns of development for different sources of capital:

By 1990-91 investment from the USA largely entered services and mining, while UK investment was concentrated in takeovers of manufacturing firms and real estate. Japanese investment was concentrated in tourism, real estate and property development, while investment from the Asian NIEs (newly industrialising economies) was involved almost exclusively with property investment.

While the 1990s saw some recovery of foreign direct investment as a proportion of total capital inflow, most of this was directed towards the service industries, particularly finance and insurance companies, rather than the manufacturing sector (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 67).

Major changes in the patterns of operation of TNCs in Australia during this period included a greater focus on the Asia-Pacific region, a rationalisation of local production, the emergence of Australian TNCs and the exposure of TNCs to global financial instability. By the end of the 1990s Australia was seen as one of the most open economies in the world, with almost unrestricted trade and investment (O'Connor et al., 2001, 27). The Australian dollar has become one of the most traded currencies on global markets (Phillips, 2003). These patterns of trade and investment support Harvey’s claim that in a post-modern mode of accumulation the structure of capital has changed and that finance capital has become more powerful than other forms of capital.
Industry

In Australia, industry restructuring, in the sense of sectoral change, has meant a movement away from production in the primary sector of agriculture and mining towards the services sector (Kenwood, 1995, 5). Figure 3.1 shows the direction of major changes in the Australian economy since 1901 in terms of proportion of gross domestic product (GDP) produced by industry sector. The rural sector has dropped from above 20 percent of GDP to below 10 percent while the services sector has grown from 59 percent to 77 percent.

Figure 3.1 Gross domestic product by sector, Australia, 1901-2001

Proportion of GDP per sector is not the only measure of sectoral change. Shares of employment, investment, capital stock, research and development spending and exports are also key indicators of economic structure (see figure 3.2). While services contribute less to exports than do other aspects of economic activity, these measures show that the
service sector is a key sector in all aspects of Australian economic activity today.

**Figure 3.2: Sector contributions to Australian economic activity, 2000-01**

(Source: Productivity Commission, 1998)

Under the Australian Bureau of Statistics’ classification system, the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industry Classification (ANZSIC), the services sector includes the industries of electricity, gas and water supply; construction; wholesale trade; retail trade; accommodation, cafes and restaurants; transport and storage; communications; finance and insurance; property and business services; government administration and defence; education; health and community services; cultural and recreational services; and personal and other services. This “catch-all” nature of the services sector is problematic for analysis as it creates a broad category for a heterogeneous range of industries.

Structural change occurs not only between the sectors of the economy but also between industries within sectors. There have been major changes in the size and structure of the industry subsectors of the service sector in Australia since the 1970s. The service sector has not
been examined by researchers in as much detail as other sectors of the economy due to difficulties in measuring output and productivity in this sector (McLachlan, Clark, & Monday, 2002, 1). There is a wide variety of activities in the service sector, and business size tends to be small. These factors make analysing the behaviour of its subsectors more difficult. Figure 3.3 shows the contribution to GDP in 2001 by industry sub-sector. The education industry contributed 4.2 percent to GDP in 2001.

**Figure 3.3 Industry contributions to national output 2001**

(Source: ABS, 2002c)

Research into the services industries (OECD, 2000; McLachlan et al., 2002) has shown that they tend to be labour-intensive, especially education, health services and personal services. While technology has improved the productivity of some industries, others, such as restaurants and cafes, do not allow room for much technical improvement. Purely economic measures of productivity are problematic in many areas of the service sector. Reducing employee numbers may improve productivity on paper, but the standards of service provided may fall. This is particularly the case with education, where research has shown that
decreasing class sizes, that is, increasing the labour-intensiveness of the work, can lead to improved learning outcomes for students (Meyenn, 2004).

The largest service industry in Australia, in terms of output, is property and business services (14 percent of GDP in 2000-01). Other major service industries in terms of output include finance and insurance (8 percent of GDP), health and community services (6.8 percent of GDP) and retail trade (6.2 percent of GDP) (McLachlan et al., 2002, 15).

In terms of employment, the largest service employer, and the economy’s largest employer, is retail trade. In 2000-01 it accounted for 1.3 million or 15 percent of the economy’s jobs. Other large service sector employers include property and business services (around 12 percent of total employment), health and community services (10 percent) and construction (8 percent). Education is the fifth largest employer amongst the service industries, accounting for 6.8 percent of employment across Australia (McLachlan et al., 2002).

Over the period 1974-75 to 2000-01, service sector output grew (in real terms) at a trend annual rate of 3.6 percent (this compares with 2.3 percent for agriculture, 5.0 percent for mining and 1.7 percent for manufacturing). All service industries grew over this period, although there was considerable variation in growth rates. The fastest growing service industry in terms of output was communications. It has grown at a trend annual rate of 8.4 percent since the mid-1970s. Education has grown at a trend annual rate of 3.3 percent per annum, which is the same level as the overall trend growth rate of the Australian economy. Figure 3.4 shows the trend growth rates of the four major sectors of the economy and the services industry as well as the overall rate of growth for the Australian economy.
Figure 3.4: Annual average trend growth in Australian industries, 1974-75 to 2000-01 (constant 1999-00 prices)

(Source: McLachlan et al., 2002, 21)

Average annual growth of employment in services has also been higher than that for the economy, 2.3 percent per year for services compared with 1.8 percent per year for the overall economy. However, job growth has varied markedly among service industries. The industries in which there has been substantial employment growth include property and business services, retail trade, and health and community services. On the other hand, government administration and defence and wholesale trade have experienced low employment growth, while electricity, gas and water have registered employment falls of around 5.4 percent per annum. Employment in education, with an average annual growth rate of 2.1 percent, has grown at a rate faster than that of employment growth in the economy overall, but lower than the average rate of growth for service industries generally.

The growth of the service sector and the decline of the productive sector of Australia’s economy is consistent with Harvey’s argument for the development of a post-Fordist or flexible mode of accumulation, while
the slowing of employment growth in government administration and defence is inconsistent with Lash and Urry’s model of disorganised capitalism and the development of a “service class”.

**Production**

A further aspect of restructuring is the changing structure of business and of production systems. According to Harvey’s (1990) model these changing structures and techniques are an aspect of the move to a flexible mode of accumulation. In this model, mass production is replaced by small-batch, specialised production, and vertically integrated firms are replaced by networks of contractors and subcontractors. In Australia the restructuring of production has been experienced as divergent pressures on businesses towards agglomeration on the one hand and towards downsizing and outsourcing on the other.

In the early 1980s the deregulation of the finance industry in Australia allowed firms to increase overseas borrowing. This led to a major round of mergers, acquisitions and corporate takeovers, resulting in increased concentration of capital into the hands of a very small number of very large firms. Many of these firms also became more “internationalised” in terms of ownership (O’Connor et al., 2001, 30-31). In many industries, mergers between large companies led to a reduction in overall employment as duplication of positions was eliminated and service delivery branches were closed.

In the later 1980s new theories of “lean production” gained popularity amongst Australian businesses. According to these theories, to improve productivity large firms should concentrate on their core business and outsource any non-core operations to subcontractors and smaller firms. This practice led to the development of new alliances and structures between and within industries, with small-to-medium businesses developing to service the needs of larger firms.
Using ABS statistics, O’Connor (1995) shows that there has been a large growth in small businesses in the Australian economy and an increase in employment by small-to-medium sized firms. As noted in chapter two, Harvey suggests that the growth in small businesses tends to revive older forms of industrial organisation such as domestic, artisanal, familial or patriarchal, or paternalistic labour systems. This claim is supported by McDowell’s (1991) research on the impact of post-Fordist production methods on women’s labour. These changes have major implications for the nature of work and workplace relations in Australia. Chapter four specifically addresses the issue of change in the labour market under a post-Fordist mode of accumulation.

The changing methods and patterns of production have been dependent on an increased emphasis on knowledge and education. O’Connor and colleagues (2001, 36) argue that “a key source of the change in the productive activity in the Australian economy has been the recognition of knowledge as a factor of production alongside labour and capital”. The increasing industry focus on education and training has major implications for curriculum development and delivery modes, and hence for employment patterns within the education industry.

Changing technology has had a major impact on the way that businesses and production are structured. The introduction of computing and telecommunications technologies has led to the development of firms characterised as “flexible” or “information-based” (O’Connor et al., 2001, 95). The emphasis in new production systems is on shortening production cycles, innovation and flexibility. The introduction of electronic business or “e-commerce” is redefining relationships with employees, suppliers and customers, allowing greater integration of separate small businesses into supply networks (O’Connor et al., 2001, 96).

While the growth of small-to-medium sized businesses and the growth of lean production theories support Harvey’s model of a post-modern mode of accumulation, the divergent pressures towards agglomeration provide
less support and illustrate the importance of examining local business structures.

**Restructuring the state**

If, as Harvey (1990) argues, the world is moving from a modern or Fordist-Keynesian regime of accumulation and production to a post-modern or “flexible” regime of accumulation, then as the economic structure of a country changes, the structure of relations between the state, capital and labour and the structure and institutions of the state itself are changing. In Australia, these changes have led to the restructuring of class and of gender relations.

Under the Fordist regime of accumulation, Keynesian economics became the dominant economic policy in developed countries. A “Keynesian settlement” was achieved in which the state intervened to manage the macro-economy and underwrote and protected industry from external competition. The state also provided protection for workers through wages policy and welfare support systems (Harvey, 1990, 137). In Australia this was achieved through a system of "protection all round" (Butlin et al., 1982, 74) which had developed through the twentieth century.

**Development of the Keynesian settlement in Australia**

In the early days of Australian settlement, colonial circumstances and the need for massive infrastructure development to connect the isolated settlements meant that governments played an integral role in economic life (Butlin, 1983, 82; Macintyre, 1985, 23; Kenwood, 1995, 12). This involved providing incentive for capital investment in Australia and encouraging the immigration of new labour to stimulate economic growth. The state invested in public assets such as railways and telegraph lines (Macintyre, 1985, 41; Bell & Head, 1994) and maintained ownership and operation of these assets even after their completion. Bell and Head (1994, 7) argue that these needs set the theme for
government intervention in the economy in Australia for most of the twentieth century.

Early in the twentieth century, the newly formed Commonwealth Government adopted protectionist policies to maintain Australia’s high living standards (Macintyre, 1985, 54; Catley, 1996, 48-49; Buckley & Wheelwright, 1998). Tariffs and quotas were introduced to protect urban industries (Capling & Galligan, 1992, 72-73; Catley, 1996, 49) and centralised wage fixing systems were introduced to develop and protect the family wage – earned only by white males (Ryan & Conlon, 1975, 91; Macintyre, 1985, 58; Catley, 1996, 49). These policies were supported by the White Australia Policy, a racist policy which the government justified and trade unionists supported as preventing the flooding of the labour market with cheap immigrant labour (Macintyre, 1985, 54-55; Catley, 1996, 48; Buckley & Wheelwright, 1998, 15).

Butlin and colleagues (1982, 80) argue that the Depression of the 1930s caused a macro-economic crisis in Australia, creating a severe balance of payments crisis, a drastic decline in export prices and widespread unemployment. This in turn created a demand for increased government intervention and macro-economic management.

The fear of mass unemployment remained after this episode as a deeply ingrained fear that was to underlie a great deal of government policy and intervention for most of the succeeding forty years (Butlin et al., 1982, 106).

Kenwood (1995, 5) argues that recovery from the Depression was “completed only under the stimulus of World War II which, unlike the 1914-18 war, promoted a vigorous growth of output and living standards”. World War II also led to concentration of power at the federal level in Australia with the Uniform Tax Agreement of 1942 transferring income tax powers to the Commonwealth. This created the revenue source and impetus for considerable expansion of the federal public sector, the development of welfare policies in the post-war period and
increased government intervention in the economy (Butlin et al., 1982, 109-115).

The period after World War II saw the greatest use of Keynesian demand management economic policies by Australian governments, with economic policy driven by an emphasis on full employment. In the early years after the war the Labor Government was faced with reconstruction and demobilisation. The two major prongs of the Labor Government’s economic strategies were the *White Paper On Full Employment* (1945) and the *Commonwealth Bank Act* (1945). The White Paper proposed the use of consumption or demand to drive employment while using taxes and monetary policy to control inflation if consumption grew too fast. The *Commonwealth Bank Act* charged the Bank with controlling the value of the dollar in order to maintain full employment (McFarlane, 1968, 12-13). During the late 1940s the government rejected the orthodox policies of the 1930s which had reduced wages to stimulate production. Instead, they adopted the view that government intervention and public works like the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme were the only way to achieve full employment and stimulate demand (Catley, 1996, 54; Buckley & Wheelwright, 1998, 169). A further aspect of the Keynesian settlement in Australia was the development of a residual welfare system which assumed full employment (Macintyre, 1985, 85). The early post-war period under the Chifley Labor Government saw the improvement of social welfare services. Buckley and Wheelwright (1998, 171) note that these arrangements “were intimately linked with the policy of full employment, most obviously in the sense that it was expected that only a small section of the workforce would need unemployment benefits”.

After 1949 the Liberal Party under Menzies came to power and, supported by the Country Party (later renamed the National Party), remained in power until 1972, almost the entire duration of the “long boom”. Menzies pursued an active policy of macro-economic management through state intervention. Menzies aimed to industrialise
the Australian economy, use state intervention to develop capital infrastructure, and to stimulate population growth and hence demand through immigration. These policies were supported by what has since been described as a high level of regulation of industries, finance and the labour market (Butlin et al., 1982).

In his attempt to industrialise the Australian economy, Menzies encouraged increased foreign direct investment. That is, TNCs were invited to establish production centres in Australia. This policy was supported by import quotas and the tariff system which encouraged international firms to move into Australia to produce locally rather than supply their products by trade (Butlin et al., 1982, 141). State governments also supported foreign direct investment through “access to land, overhead capital of roads and transport services and the supply of inputs in the form of energy and waste disposal” (Butlin et al., 1982, 139). These strategies have been heavily criticised subsequently by many economists. In particular, John Ravenhill (1994, 79) argues that the approach did not lead to technology sharing and development of management and finance skills in Australian businesses. Further, he argues that TNCs located the highly knowledge-based development phase of production in their home countries, leaving Australia without the creation of research and development capacities that would have created greater productivity improvement (Ravenhill, 1994, 79).

One aspect of increased state expenditures was the growth of the public sector at both federal and state levels. Butlin and colleagues (1982, 115) suggest that the increasing size of the public sector at the federal level was accompanied by a growing independence of the bureaucracy from its political masters, and a dominance of economic and social science professions at the federal level. These economists provided the source for Keynesian, macro-management economic policy throughout this period. This view is supported by Michael Pusey (1991) who argues that during the 1970s and 1980s federal economic policy was altered by a new generation of economists who took a neoliberal approach to policy.
The “long boom” came to an end in the early 1970s, in part because of the impact of the oil shocks on the global economy. Ravenhill (1994, 76) suggests that the oil shocks had a particular impact on the Australian economy because internationally, manufacturing had to improve its efficiency and productivity through the use of synthetic products rather than natural products. This in turn meant that manufacturing became decoupled from the raw materials production that was Australia’s export staple. The oil shocks also led to growth in international policies of national protection and the dumping of subsidised exports in third country markets, driving down the price of primary goods relative to manufactured goods, and once again negatively impacting on the Australian economy. The oil crises also led to “stagflation”, a situation of growing unemployment combined with growing inflation. The Keynesian macro-economic model of demand management that had been in ascendancy during the 1950s and 1960s could not target both unemployment and inflation at the same time (Butlin et al., 1982; Ravenhill, 1994; Wanna, 1994). New policy agendas were needed to deal with the changing economy. Broomhill (1999, 120) suggests that “Keynesian socio-economic interventionism has given way to a policy approach more crudely geared to promoting capital investment and short-term profitability and productivity gains”.

In discussing the economic history of the “long boom”, many economists (McFarlane, 1968; Emy, 1993; Bell & Head, 1994; Ravenhill, 1994; Wanna, 1994; Kenwood, 1995; Catley, 1996; Argy, 1998; Productivity Commission, 1998) characterise it as a period during which there was a high level of government intervention in the economy, and contrast it with the period of the 1980s and 1990s during which the government withdrew from active intervention in the economy, allowing the market greater freedom in directing the economy. This characterisation is often coupled with the argument that the policy decision to withdraw from the economy was an unavoidable decision driven by globalisation (Emy, 1993; Ravenhill, 1994; Wanna, 1994; Kenwood, 1995; Argy, 1998;
Productivity Commission, 1998). Other economists (Bell & Head, 1994; Catley, 1996; Conley, 2001) recognise that the withdrawal of the government from the economy required active policy decisions such as the removal of currency controls, financial deregulation, deregulation of the labour market, and the reduction of tariffs, quotas and other trade restrictions. Yet other writers (MacDonald & Burgess, 1997; Quinlan, 1998; Briggs & Buchanan, 2000) describe this phase not as a process of deregulation, but rather as a phase of re-regulation in which governments have not reduced the overall amount of regulation of the economy, but rather its direction. The balance of regulatory power has shifted from supporting manufacturing capital to supporting finance capital, and from workers to employers.

**Government policy**

Many OECD countries have witnessed a restructuring of the state over the last three decades (OECD, 1994; Edwards & Magery, 1995, 1) and Australia is no exception. Supported by neoliberal ideology, the restructuring of the state has taken the form of the state withdrawing from many aspects of the Fordist-Keynesian settlement. The state has withdrawn from welfare provision (Cass, 1995), industry regulation and protection (Ravenhill, 1994), infrastructure development and state-owned enterprises (Moon & Sayers, 1999; Sheil, 2000) and from the regulation of wages (Burgess, 1994; Briggs & Buchanan, 2000).

However, restructuring is a contested concept, both in terms of describing its progress in Australia and in terms of the development of appropriate policies to achieve a restructured economy. In the early 1980s two rival agendas for “restructuring” emerged (Connell & Irving, 1992, 248). Proponents of the first agenda took an industry-by-industry approach and sought to increase investment and reorganise production processes. The process involved a mixture of state direction, incentives, and corporate rationalisation that was broadly acceptable to unions, who were drawn into industry planning processes, though often at the cost of
immediate job losses. In fact, the ACTU attempted to generalise the approach to an overall economic strategy through its publication *Australia Reconstructed* (ACTU, TDC, & Department of Trade, 1987).

The second agenda was the approach of deregulation and micro-economic reform, allowing greater market freedom. This approach was underpinned by neoliberal ideology. “Neoliberalism” comes by many names, including economic liberalism, market liberalism and economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991). Developing out of the writings of the public choice theorists such as the American economist James Buchanan, it is most clearly associated with the work of free-market economists such as Milton Friedman (1968; 1969; 1975) and Friedrich von Hayek (1950; 1962; 1975). The key factors of neoliberalism are the market and the individual. Neoliberals argue that state intervention between these factors can result in the sapping of initiative and the erosion of enterprise. Therefore, neoliberals argue for the rolling back of the state and the restoration of a free market. In fact, neoliberals suggest that only unregulated market capitalism will deliver the efficiency and growth needed for national prosperity.

Head and Bell (1994, 38) argue that the basic premises of economic liberalism stem from several assumptions of the classical economics of the eighteenth century economic philosophers Hume and Smith. Economic liberals argue that productive activity and thus the creation of national wealth is confined to the private sector of the economy. Growth in the public sector share of gross domestic product (GDP), which is raised through taxes and charges that pay for public expenditure, prevents healthy growth in the private sector. High levels of public sector spending and borrowing push up interest rates through competition for loan funds and therefore cause inflation. Individual liberty (and corporate liberty) is threatened by government regulation, controls and bureaucracy. From this point, links are made between a free market economy and a free market in ideas. Economic liberals argues that a free market is a pre-requisite for a liberal-democratic political system.
These assumptions give rise to a set of policy recommendations. If most forms of state spending are wasteful and unproductive they should be severely cut back. If profitability and private sector expansion are hampered by taxes then the state should reduce corporate taxes and increase incentives for business. The state should balance its budget and minimise borrowings so that it does not compete with business for loan funds. The free market is the most efficient allocator of resources and therefore state regulation should be cut and government intervention in productivity should be minimised – state enterprises should be sold to the private sector. State provided goods (e.g. education and public transport) should be provided on a user-pays basis. This is appropriate if taxes are cut and citizens have more control over the disposal of their income (Head & Bell, 1994, 38).

Neoliberalism was strongly promoted in the political sphere during the 1980s by the economic policies of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States. Economic liberalism gained great popularity with Australian politicians and bureaucrats alike from the 1970s onwards (Pusey, 1991). Connell and Irving (1992, 249) suggest that “by the later 1980s neo-conservative economics was so dominant in Australian public life that it had ceased to be seen as an ideology at all, and was often spoken of as ‘economic reality’”. Despite claims by neoliberals that their approach is simply a scientific model, and the denial of the value content of economic liberalism, it has become more than a theoretical model for understanding the relationship between the state and economy. It has become a prescriptive ideology or, as Christopher Shiels writes, “part religion, part science: a ‘moral science’” (Sheil, 2000, 15) which drives the policy-making process.

The rhetoric of neoliberalism appeals to a sense of inevitability; that is, policies are defended as “the only economically rational option”. This approach inherently labels any other policy approach as economically “irrational”. The economic rationalist approach tends to stifle public
debate on social justice issues by requiring that all aspects of the debate be couched in economic terms rather than in terms of social outcomes.

In Australia in the 1980s and 1990s the neoliberal approach to economic restructuring gained ascendancy, leading to an agenda of deregulation of the Australian currency and the finance industry, a reduction in tariffs and trade restrictions, of the reduction of government through privatisation and the introduction of competition policy, microeconomic reform and labour market reform. The following section details these aspects of structural reform.

Financial deregulation

After 1975, the Fraser Coalition Government attempted to control stagflation by restraining wages through indexation. However, policies remained confused and the Fraser government reverted to Keynesian demand control polices in the worsening recession of the early 1980s. These attempts were unsuccessful and culminated in the Australian Labor Party, led by Bob Hawke, winning the 1983 election (Wanna, 1994, 229). Ravenhill (1994, 90) argues that the globalisation of international finance had undermined Australia’s domestic monetary protections such as the fixed exchange rate, the restrictions on capital movements and the controls on interest rates. These restrictions disadvantaged the Australian banking sector and made financial deregulation inevitable.

Phillips (2003), former Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank, in a speech given to the Australian Business Economists Group to mark the twentieth anniversary of the floating of the Australian dollar, argues that in the lead-up to the 1983 election, foreign investors withdrew from the Australian economy, fearing the election of a socialist government. This lack of funds drove up interest rates, making it difficult to raise funds for business or other purposes. While foreign investment returned to some extent after the election this episode and the fact that many other
economies had begun to allow their currencies to float freely convinced the Reserve Bank that the float was necessary.

Treasury advised the new Treasurer, Paul Keating, that floating the dollar would reduce the cost of Australian products on world markets, stimulating demand for Australian manufactured goods and offsetting the reduction of tariffs planned for the future. Deregulating the financial markets would also increase competition in financial markets and reduce the cost of borrowing for Australian companies, creating opportunities for the manufacturing sector to invest in export-enhancing equipment and technology (Wanna, 1994, 235).

Floating the dollar was less successful than the government anticipated. Although the fall in the Australian dollar reduced the costs of Australian goods on overseas markets, it also decreased the cost of Australian assets to overseas investors. This, combined with reckless lending by domestic banks and greater access to overseas lending by Australian investors, fuelled a massive boom in real estate speculation, asset stripping and greenmail attempts by business (Ravenhill, 1994, 92). Simultaneously, there was a spectacular rise (and subsequent fall) of a number of high profile financiers in Australia, including, most notoriously Christopher Skase, Alan Bond and John Elliott. The collapse of their fortunes resulted in the impoverishment of thousands of small investors. Almost half of the increase in business investment during the 1980s occurred in the finance sector. Only 27 percent was directed towards the manufacturing sector, and this was mostly directed at import replacement capacity rather than export development capacity (Ravenhill, 1994, 92).

Phillips (2003) admits that the Reserve Bank was surprised at the volume of trade in the Australian dollar in the mid-1980s. He argues that the Australian dollar was used as a trading currency for countries with smaller, less stable economies, making it a more highly traded currency than the size of the Australian economy would suggest.
The overall result of the float of the dollar and the deregulation of the finance industry during the 1980s was a massive increase in Australia’s foreign debt (mostly owed by the private sector) for no gain in capacity. Also, Ravenhill (1994, 90) argues that the liberalisation of the finance sector opened government policy to the scrutiny of the foreign exchange “jocks”. The importance of foreign exchange markets was magnified by the Australian dollar becoming a “plaything of international speculators”. However, Phillips (2003) emphasises that prior to the float of the dollar and deregulation of the finance industry, the Australian economy was already constrained by the actions of the international markets. He argues that while there is some debate between the then Prime Minister Hawke and Treasurer Keating as to whose idea the float of the dollar was, essentially the decision was made by the politicians and bureaucrats of Australia, and there was no consultation with the central banks of other countries. That is, the actions of local political players drove this aspect of the globalising process in Australia.

**Tariff reform**

The Whitlam Labor Government attempted to cut tariffs in 1974 (O’Connor et al., 2001, 26). However, other political actions overtook their aims of structural change, and the dismissal of the Government by the Governor-General and the subsequent election of the Fraser Coalition Government in 1975 meant that tariffs remained in place until the election of the Hawke Labor Government in 1983.

The Hawke government took a more long-term, phased approach to tariff reform than it had to financial deregulation, allowing industry time to develop strategies to cope. The advice of the Industry Commission was that tariff reduction would “shake out the non-performers” within industry and “induce a more competitive and export oriented industrial sector” (Wanna, 1994, 235). However, the policy liberalised inward trade without securing similar agreements from major trading partners to liberalise their trade policies and thus gain access to their markets for Australian
products. As a result, there was a worsening of the balance of payments as cheaper imports entered the Australian markets without drastic improvement in the manufacturing sector (Wanna, 1994, 235).

Tariff reduction was supported by the use of industry plans used to appease the unions and manufacturing interests in the economy. The plans set agreed investment targets, provided funding for retraining and redundancy of “excess workers” and established timetables for tariff reduction (Fagan & Webber, 1999). The Labor Government’s industry policy between 1983 and 1996 also identified a number of industries, including the food industry, tourism and education, as having an international competitive advantage that could lead to improved exports. These industries were encouraged to develop an export focus. This factor was crucial in changing the nature of employment in the education industry.

In 1996 the Labor Government was replaced by the Howard Coalition Government. Although policy and business advisors encouraged Howard to remove remaining tariffs ahead of the Labor Government’s previous timetable, the political imperatives of a South Australian state election and the opposition of Howard’s new-found electoral supporters to further deregulation constrained his actions (Fagan & Webber, 1999, 148). Conley (2001, 230) argues that Howard was torn between appearing as “the battlers’ buddy” who was “sympathetic to the human and social consequences of industry restructuring” and the hard-nosed liberal who understood that “globalisation is with us and will be forever”.

The Howard Coalition Government’s tariff policy was less unilateral and the pace of change was slowed. Revisions to the time-frames for the reduction in tariffs of the motor vehicle sector and the textiles, clothing and footwear sector were adopted, and trade liberalisation was made conditional on the openness of major trade partners.
While tariff reduction and the removal of protection from industry was encouraged by international trade organisations and advocated by Australian economists within the bureaucracy, in the end such decisions were made by politicians who were constrained by the attitudes of the electorate and local businesses.

**Labour market reform**

The centrepiece of the Labor Government’s economic restructuring strategy from 1983 onwards was the Prices and Income Accord (the Accord) between the Hawke Labor Government and the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). The Accord was a key element in the restructuring process in Australia at this time. It provided an instrument of economic management, political containment and social reform (Stilwell, 2000, 138). The Accord bound unions to “make no ‘extra claims’ in exchange for real wage maintenance ‘over time’, social wage increases and union involvement in policy making” (ALP & ACTU, 1983).

The Accord initially emphasised across-the-board wage indexation for all workers, rather than the pursuit of sectionally based wage claims for workers in different industries. This protected the interests of workers with less bargaining power and allowed union leaders to address a broader range of issues such as working conditions, occupational health and safety and superannuation (Stilwell, 2000, 141). Improvements in social policy or the “social wage” through the introduction of Medicare, childcare spending, education and environmental policy were part of the trade-off for reductions in real wages and the shift in the wage:profit ratio towards profits under the Accord (Catley, 1996, 136; Stilwell, 2000, 141). The Accord also reduced industrial disputation and strikes and gave union leaders access to the policy formulation process (Stilwell, 2000, 141). However, as Connell and Irving (1992, 250) note, "the Accord almost completely denied the benefits of union leadership to workers resisting in the workplace". During this phase, employers used the opportunity to implement major changes to work practices, including the
introduction of labour-saving technological improvements which reduced the number of employees needed in the workplace (Connell & Irving, 1992, 250).

As discussed in greater detail in chapter four, later versions or “marks” of the Accord introduced structural change into the labour market through the introduction of the “restructuring and efficiency principle” which allowed for a basic wage increase of $10 with a further 4 percent increase negotiated at a local level in exchange for improved work/management practices and through the introduction of enterprise bargaining (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000). These initiatives allowed for growing wage differentials based on the organisational strength of workers (Stilwell, 2000, 143). The social wage spending initiatives of the government were wound back during the recession of the early 1990s in the name of fiscal responsibility, without a corresponding increase in real wages. The Accord also helped to undermine the collective nature of Australian industrial relations, with superannuation effectively privatising and individualising pensions, enterprise bargaining opening the way for individual contracts, and centralised wage negotiations contributing to the demobilisation of the trade union movement (Stilwell, 2000, 144).

In its first term in office the Howard Coalition Government focused on further deregulating the labour market. Its main aim was to reduce as far as possible any “government intervention” in the labour market. The 1996 Workplace Relations Act (WRA) limited the role of unions in wage fixing and promoted workplace bargaining and contract-based employment. It also removed many of the protections of workers’ rights from the previous Act, and required the restructuring of awards, limiting the “allowable matters” in awards. A battle over waterfront reform became the major site of industrial relations disputation. The following chapter deals with these labour market reforms in more detail.
Microeconomic reform, privatisation and competition policy

A further strand of the Labor Government’s economic restructuring policy was its microeconomic reform agenda. Microeconomic reform refers to measures taken to improve productivity within individual firms. They include reducing input costs such as the costs of labour and raw materials, improving production efficiency and quality, targeting consumers’ needs, and “measures to make markets more effective conduits between consumers and producers” (Forsyth, 1992, 5). This latter aspect could be understood as a recommendation for governments to withdraw all regulatory controls from the market. Taken broadly, microeconomic reform could be understood to incorporate all aspects of economic restructuring at the level of the firm. However, in policy terms it is usually understood as the aim of restructuring the internal costs of industry by targeting sectors of the economy that provide their inputs and hence would improve the competitiveness of those industries.

“Transport, roads, rail, shipping and aviation were identified as key industries requiring reform, as were the communication areas, including telecommunications, satellite operations and postal services” (Wanna, 1994, 233).

The neoliberal agenda of microeconomic reform has been used to justify the reform of the public sector and the withdrawal of the government from direct provision of goods and services in a further withdrawal from the Fordist-Keynesian settlement (Pusey, 1999, 80-81). As discussed above, neoliberal economists emphasise that the size of the state apparatus should be reduced to a minimum to allow maximum growth in the private sector. They also emphasise that public sector organisations should be run as efficiently as possible to ensure lower input costs for industry. In this view the best way to achieve efficient public services is to ensure that they operate more like organisations in the private sector, on a cost recovery basis. Following this ideology the Federal Labor Government, supported by a number of State Premiers, embarked on a program of corporatisation and privatisation of public sector agencies. In
1995 this program was supported by the introduction of National Competition Policy.

National Competition Policy grew out of a series of Premiers’ Conferences in the late 1980s which were designed to reduce state-based regulations and duties that impeded trade. A secondary aim was to address the reform of electricity, gas and water supply. A central tenet of National Competition Policy was “that the best way to improve Australia’s competitiveness was to introduce competition to all non-core areas of the public sector” (Teicher, Holland, & Gough, 2002, 17). While the policy was introduced by the Keating Labor Government, it was supported at the time by the Coalition parties, the National Farmers Federation and the Business Council of Australia (Teicher et al., 2002, 28). The policy achieves competitive neutrality for the public sector “through corporatisation, the levy of tax equivalent payments, and the removal of any advantages of public ownership” (Teicher et al., 2002, 29) and requires that governments open their public monopolies to competition. Competition policy also saw the review of all government legislation, to determine whether it restricted competition and to assess the net costs it imposed on Australian business (Affirmative Action Review Secretariat, 1998). This review process included the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act in 1998 (Bacchi, 1999, 54). The terms of reference for the review included:

Legislation/regulation should be retained only if the benefits to the community as a whole outweigh its costs; and if the objectives of the legislation/regulation cannot be achieved more efficiently through other means, including non-legislative approaches (Affirmative Action Review Secretariat, 1998).

Corporatisation and competition policy have major implications for the education industry as public schools are encouraged to compete not only with private schools but also amongst themselves for funding opportunities and for students. Schools have been encouraged to adopt more private sector management techniques and employment policies.
This has translated to changes in employment and gender relationships at the local level.

There has been much criticism of privatisation, corporatisation and competition policy. As Frank Stilwell (2000, 47) writes:

National competition policy has largely been a vehicle for challenging and undermining public sector provision of goods and services, sometimes promoting price competition but commonly eroding the community service obligations which had formerly existed.

Stilwell (2000, 48) also suggests that privatisation and corporatisation have “not brought about the general efficiency gains promised by… advocates”.

Microeconomic reform in Australia has not been directly driven by external globalisation factors. Rather it has been driven by an ideology that is associated with increasing globalisation. The ideology has been adopted and promoted by politicians and bureaucrats across the state and federal governments of Australia. The issue of public sector reform and its implications for the education industry are examined in more detail in chapter five.

Welfare reform

Welfare reform has been another major example of the withdrawal of the state from the Fordist-Keynesian settlement. During the 1970s and 1980s governments, notably the Whitlam and the Hawke Labor Governments introduced a number of women-friendly welfare and policy reforms (Pusey, 1999, 3). Alliances between feminists and the state, articulated through femocrats acting within the bureaucratic system, achieved the expansion of publicly funded childcare, family assistance payments to primary care givers, equal pay, equal employment opportunity and affirmative action legislation, increased access to higher education for women, recognition of equity issues in schools, and equity
of access to the legal system (Mitchell, 1999, 73-74; Pusey, 1999, 3). Despite the fact that Labor Governments pursued a market agenda, welfare reforms and policies that addressed equity and distribution issues softened the impact of reform (Pusey, 1999, 5). Harding (1997b) showed that until 1996, welfare and taxation policies had an impact on reducing inequality in Australia, particularly for women.

Since 1996 when the Howard Coalition Government was elected to power, the withdrawal of the state from equitable policies of distribution has been accompanied by a new rhetoric of self-reliance and individual choice (Pusey, 1999; Conley, 2001) which denounces welfare as sapping individuals of their will to work, and as creating a culture of dependency. In recent years this theme has been picked up by the right of the Labor Party, particularly amongst proponents of Third Way politics, including the recent Leader of the Opposition, Mark Latham (1998). This language is used to justify the withdrawal of welfare benefits, the tightening of access to welfare and the application of conditions and requirements to the allocation of welfare such as work for the dole programs and jobs compact provisions.

The withdrawal of government can be clearly seen in the privatising of employment services. Under the Howard Coalition Government the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES), which was previously responsible for assisting unemployed people to find work, has been replaced by a network of public and private employment services that compete for government funding to place people in employment. Much has been written on the difficulties arising from the privatisation of employment services (Dockery, 1999; ACOSS, 2000; Department of Employment Workplace Relations and Small Business (DEWRSB), 2001; Eardley, Abello, & Macdonald, 2001).

The education industry has been particularly affected by the withdrawal of government from the Fordist-Keynesian welfare compact. The late 1980s and 1990s have seen major increases in federal funding to private
schools at the expense of the public system, while in tertiary education there has been a reintroduction of university fees and an increase in the numbers of full-fee-paying students.

The withdrawal of the state from these public welfare systems has meant that the costs associated with health, aged care, education and unemployment are removed from the public sphere and placed back in the private sphere, or into households. Pusey (1999, 225) suggests that the social costs of productivity improvements have been “externalised from the national economy into the private sphere of personal and familial relations”. He suggests that in the private sphere, such costs will be “internalised by ordinary folk as a duty, and as something that they must struggle with privately”. Women, as the main carers in our society and as workers within the economy, face a double burden from the withdrawal of the state from welfare policies.

**Taxation reform**

In 1985 the Hawke Labor Government held a national tax summit to address the issue of taxation. Stemming from this consultative process, the Hawke Government released two major tax packages. The 1985 package introduced fringe benefits and capital gains taxes, a new foreign tax credit system and reduced personal marginal income tax. The package also raised the company tax rate from 46 percent to 49 percent in order to fund an imputation scheme (Benge, 1992, 76).

In 1988 the second major tax package introduced a cut in company tax from 49 percent to 39 percent and made changes to depreciation and superannuation taxes while targeting tax havens and other perceived loopholes in the system (Benge, 1992, 76).

During the 1990s the Hawke and Keating Labor Governments toyed with the idea of introducing a consumption tax; however, this was rejected given the hostility of the electorate to the idea. In 1993, the Liberal
National Coalition fought and lost an election on the basis of *Fightback!* a comprehensive neoliberal agenda for reform which included taxation reform through the introduction of a consumption tax. It was not until 1998 that the Howard Coalition Government managed to introduce such a taxation system.

In his second term, Howard’s main goal was the introduction of a goods and services tax (GST). Conley (2001, 230) suggests that “major tax reform had been the missing element in the globalising agenda of the 1980s and 1990s”. Howard argued that tax reform was essential for improving the competitiveness of exporters and to increase productivity in the economy generally (Conley, 2001, 230).

Australian taxation specialist Apps (2004) argues that the GST in combination with other Howard Coalition Government tax changes has a significant impact on double income households, where the second income is supplementary. She argues that the GST on services such as childcare, aged care and other household labour replacement services, together with family tax benefit programs has a particular impact on these households, acting as a disincentive for the earning of a supplementary income.

**A hollow state?**

Many globalisation theorists (Ohmae, 1995; Hirst & Thompson, 1999) have argued that restructuring has led to a situation where the nation-state is no longer of primary importance. They argue that the mobility of global capital reduces the state’s capacity to manage its macro-economy (Wanna, 1994) and make independent policy decisions, while the withdrawal of government from the provision of welfare and other services reduces its importance in the lives of its citizens. I argue, on the basis of the data just presented, that in Australia the state has taken an active role in the restructuring process, developing policies that have restructured the economy through financial deregulation, tariff reform,
labour market reform, and microeconomic reform; and has restructured society as a whole through welfare and taxation reform. The following section of this chapter details the impact of a restructured economy and a restructured state on the social relations of class and gender.

**Social restructuring**

Under a modern or Fordist mode of accumulation, particular arrangements of class and gender relations developed. With the move to a post-modern, post-Fordist or flexible mode of accumulation new class and gender orders are developing.

**Class restructuring**

Broomhill and Sharp (1999) suggest that the end result of economic and state restructuring has been a change in the dominant type of capital within the economy and hence within society. They argue that the focus of the now-dominant finance and service sectors has been on short-term economic goals, ignoring the need for a stable workforce and the social reproduction of labour. As a result, this form of capital has attempted to improve its share of economic resources by “enforcing greater labour market discipline within the economy”. This has been achieved by removing safety net and welfare provisions which under the Fordist accord had improved the bargaining power of organised labour and women during the post-war boom (Broomhill & Sharp, 1999, 144-145).

Pusey (2003, 6) argues that “economic engineering has mostly produced … a seismic shift in the distribution of income, power and resources” in Australia. He proposes that there are seven dimensions in this shift which include a shift in resources from the public to the private sector; from the bottom 70 percent of wage and salary earners to the top 10 percent; from wage and salary earners generally to large corporations; from the rural regions of Australia to the cities; from consumers to producers; and from households to the market.
Similarly, Connell and Irving (1992, 256) suggest that economic restructuring has drawn new and different social divisions between “a stratum of workers with access to skilled and/or better paid jobs, given some political voice through the unions, a majority here being men”, and a “low income stratum without this access or this voice, a majority here being women”. This second stratum consists of welfare recipients and workers with low-skilled and poorly-paid, often part-time or casual jobs. Others (Argy, 1998) refer to this process as the development of an underclass in Australia.

In his recent research (2003), the Middle Australia Project (MAP), Pusey examines the impact of globalisation and economic restructuring on the attitudes, beliefs and values of a group he refers to as middle Australia, which he defines as the “broad urban middle class”, those within the middle 70 percent of household incomes in Australia (above the 20th percentile and below the 90th percentile) (Pusey, 2003, 3, 16). He finds that economic restructuring has resulted in a “hollowing out” of the middle class in Australia. Relying on research by Harding (1994; 1997a; Harding & Greenwell, 2002) and Gregory (Gregory & Hunter, 1995; Gregory, 1996; 1999) into changing income distribution, Pusey argues that average household income has fallen in real terms for the middle 70 percent of households in Australia. Average household income was lower in absolute terms in 1991 than in 1976. The gap between the top 5 percent of incomes and the bottom 5 percent of incomes has widened by 92 percent over the same period (Pusey, 2003, 23).

Pusey’s own research found that the representatives of middle Australia surveyed for the project were aware of the changes to their incomes. “Middle Australians see clearly who have been the winners and losers of economic reform” (Pusey, 2003, 45). He argues that this group believe there are too few winners from the process of restructuring, that the relative gains of the winners have been too large and that too much of the winners’ advantage has been gained at the expense of the losers. Of
those surveyed by Pusey, 76 percent felt that Australia had become a very unequal society.

In relation to education, Pusey reports that education and schooling are recognised by middle Australians as vitally important for life opportunities and have become a focus of their hopes for their children (Pusey, 2003, 55). This finding is supported by work undertaken by Freund (2003) and Campbell (2001; 2003), who have examined changing school loyalties of the middle class in Australia. They report that a good school education is seen as providing access to the labour market and higher education, which in turn are becoming “increasingly stratified and differentially rewarded” (Campbell, 2003) in Australia. As a result of the pressure to succeed at school, and the continuing withdrawal of government funding from public sector schools, parents are withdrawing their children from public sector schools and enrolling them in private schools. This “exodus” (SMH, 2000a, 2000b, 2004c, 2004b), with the government’s use of neoliberal rhetoric of choice, further justifies the shifting of funding from public to private schools. Pressure is placed on schools to improve their performance and market themselves to prospective parents. Campbell (2003, 15) argues that the state comprehensive high school is under the greatest pressure from restructuring, asserting that the focus in education has changed from an emphasis on a standard level of education to a market choice model. Campbell suggests that under these pressures public education may become a residual provision “mainly for families which do not or cannot exercise a choice in favour of state-subsidised non-government education”.

There is much debate about whether new class structures developing under a neoliberal state are sustainable. Broomhill (1999, 121) claims that the new structure “is not a stable or effective long-term response by the local state to the profound crisis of capitalism precipitated by the end of Fordism”. Esser and Hirsch (1989, 76-78) describe a vision of a neo-Fordist society wracked by extreme social polarisation and class division, with mass unemployment and an underclass of dispossessed,
while a small group of the beneficiaries of economic restructuring are sustained by corporate power, backed by a repressive neoliberal state. In Australia, commentators such as Argy (1998) paint similarly dark pictures of social unrest and conflict.

**Gender restructuring**

A key component of the restructuring of the state has been the restructuring of gender relations, both within the state and by the state through changing government policy. Gender theorists (Allen, 1990; Connell, 1990, 32; Watson, 1990) despite significant differences in theoretical orientation, agree on one central characterisation of the state as having its own internal gender regime with a gender division of labour for state personnel and for ministerial portfolios of responsibility which is based upon gender power relations and the structure of emotional relations and the social construction of sexuality in its workplaces (Connell, 1987). Watson (1990, 7) argues that the state is a series of “institutions, arenas, apparatuses with their own histories, contradictions, relations and connections internally and externally”. The state is not a single entity with a single set of interests, a single source of power or single purpose or aim. Interests, power and purposes are constructed through the interaction of individuals, groups and the state.

During the 1970s and 1980s in Australia, feminists worked within the state structures to develop an infrastructure to promote gender equity in workplaces and in the distribution of state resources. These women working within the system came to be known as ‘femocrats’ (Eisenstein, 1996; Yeatman, 1990). They held an ambiguous relationship with the state, critically aware of its gendered structures and yet working within these structures to achieve broader change. Femocrats achieved a great deal over this period. Women’s advisory roles were created in central government policy areas such as the Prime Minister’s Department federally and Premier’s Department within New South Wales, equal opportunity units were formed within public sector
agencies, communication mechanisms and statistical monitoring of women’s progress were established (Sawer, 1999). However, since 1996 there has been a dismantling of these structures and policies.

The state also has the capacity to regulate gender relations both in the public sphere of the workplace and in the private sphere of the household. It does this through both its mainstream and gender-specific policy decisions and legislative change. It actively regulates gender relations through legislative definitions of ‘spouse’ or ‘family’ and through the nexus of taxation, welfare and workplace policies. The shift in state ideology in Australia towards market-based neoliberal models of government distribution have further reconstructed gender relations, undermining the notion of citizen and moving to a ‘consumer’ model of welfare allocation.

The Government’s withdrawal from social welfare extends to the dismantling of women’s policy apparatus since 1996. Sawer (1999) describes the process of withdrawal from women’s policy. In the name of “gender mainstreaming”, women’s advisor roles in the federal public service have been shifted out of central locations within the bureaucracy and marginalised from budgetary and policy processes (Sawer, 1999, 41). Central coordinating units have suffered major budgetary cuts (40 percent for the Office of the Status of Women in 1996), while women’s information networks such as CAPOW have been defunded (Sawer, 1999, 43-44). Sawer also shows that there has been a reduction in the statistical monitoring of women’s status. The Women’s Budget, established under the Hawke/Keating Labor Government, has been completely abolished under the Howard Coalition Government (Sawer, 1999, 43). In 2005 federal funding for the New South Wales Working Women’s Centre, a women’s advocacy and rights organisation was withdrawn. Similar patterns of withdrawal can be seen in the New South Wales Labor Government, with funding for the Women’s Equity Bureau within the Department of Industrial Relations halved in 2000, and the relegation of the Department for Women to the Office for Women within
the Premiers’ Department, with associated funding cuts to programs, in 2004.

Under the Fordist-Keynesian accumulation regime a particular arrangement of gender relations developed. This gender regime supported the use of women’s unpaid labour for a range of productive and reproductive activities within the household and in communities, while men’s labour was remunerated at a level that could support the household/family system (Broomhill & Sharp, 1999, 144), supported by the institutions of a Keynesian economic and welfare policies. This has been referred to as the “male-breadwinner” model (Crompton, 1999; Goodwin, 1999).

In Australia, the male-breadwinner model was established early as part of protectionism, through the Harvester decision by H. B. Higgins in 1907. Higgins found that the minimum wage for an unskilled adult male should be sufficient to sustain a family of five. At the time that the social wage was being defined for men, women's wages were designated as supplementary to the family wage, and were set at half of men's wages (Ryan & Conlon, 1975; Strachan & Jamieson, 1999). Although the rate later rose, the pattern of unequal value continued throughout most of the twentieth century, until 1969 when the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission introduced an equal pay principle, granting women equal pay for work that was identical to work done by men in the same workplace (Strachan & Jamieson, 1999). This decision represents an aspect of the restructuring of gender relations in this period.

However, it must be remembered that the Fordist model of gender relations, as McDowell (1991) notes, was never completely hegemonic. Even during the 1950s and 1960s, when the male-breadwinner model is said to have reached its peak, dual income households existed as well as single parent families. It is generally accepted that these household forms have been increasing since the 1970s. German sociologist Krüger (2001) reports finding in a recent study that women who started families
and employment careers during the 1950s had much more positive attitudes to women working outside the home than had previously been thought. She posits that while the men of this age group viewed women working outside the home in a negative way, women of this age group did not. She argues that the discursive construction of the male-breadwinner model as hegemonic may have been driven by men sociologists whose surveys were of men. Krüger also suggests that amongst the younger generation in Germany (those in their late 20s to mid-30s in 2000) young men's attitudes to women and work had almost caught up with the attitudes of their mothers. That is, young men had positive attitudes towards women undertaking paid work. Conversely, however, most young men did not think of themselves as having a role in the nurturing and caring aspects of household work.

If we are moving to a flexible, post-Fordist mode of accumulation, what are the implications for gender structures in Australia? The family income, male-breadwinner, female carer model of household relations is no longer the hegemonic model for gender relations in Australia. However, the structures of a replacement model are less clear.

Women’s entry to the labour market and the particular forms of employment in which they are focused are central elements of the restructuring of the economy and have major implications for changing gender relations (Massey, 1984; McDowell, 1991). As discussed in the following chapter, restructuring has created the casualised, part-time and peripheralised labour market in which women tend to be concentrated.

Women are now more frequently expected to make an economic contribution to the household, but they are also still expected to take responsibility for nurturing and caring roles in the household. In the public economic sphere, women’s concentration in part-time, casual and peripheralised work means that their contribution to household finances continues to be supplementary. Increasing participation in the labour market has not provided the level of economic independence for women
that feminists argued it would provide. Given the low-paid, part-time and casual nature of much of women’s employment, many women remain reliant on a male wage. Men’s and women’s differential access to the labour market continues to structure gender relations in the home and in the workplace.

At the same time, restructuring has opened up opportunities for some women “to join core occupations”, increasing the class divisions between women (McDowell, 1991, 408). Restructuring has also led to increasing numbers of men being employed in the peripheral labour market under terms and conditions that have traditionally been regarded as female. As class and gender are mutually constituted through economic restructuring it is important to consider class restructuring and gender restructuring together.

In the private sphere of the household, women continue to take responsibility for childcare and other household chores, but they are also increasingly taking on responsibility for elder care in a welfare environment in which the state provides less support for households. Bittman and colleagues (Bittman, 1991; Bittman & Matheson, 1996; Bittman & Pixley, 1997) and Baxter, Hewitt and Western (forthcoming) have shown that despite women’s increasing participation in paid work, women still undertake a greater proportion of domestic duties than men.

Australian demographer MacDonald (2000, 3) claims that a new gender order is developing. He refers to this as the gender equity model of gender relations. In this model, he argues, “there is income earning work, household maintenance work and caring and nurturing work but gender has no specific relationship to who does which type of work”. The gender equity model does not imply exact equality between the man and the woman in a heterosexual couple, rather that specific roles are not determined on the basis of gender. It is difficult to find evidence that MacDonald’s model is in operation in many households. However, as an
ideal type the model represents an alternative to the male-breadwinner model by which to measure change.

Restructuring has had a double impact on gender relations, both in the home and in the workplace. Firstly, it has drawn increasing numbers of women into the labour market, placing increasing demands on their time in the public sphere. Secondly the withdrawal of the state from the welfare system has placed increased pressure on household structures. The state withdrawal from welfare services has had the effect of forcing many people back into traditional family forms for economic support, health care, care of the elderly and children. As primary caregivers this places greater demands on women’s time in the private sphere. As McDowell (1991, 412) notes, “the new order’s reliance on women’s labour in both spheres makes it inherently less stable”. In Australia, Pusey (1999, 223) reports:

A very small minority of our middle Australians, some 10-15 percent of our sample, still cling to the male-breadwinner model and to the view that it is the “man’s job to earn money while the woman’s job is to look after the home and the family”.

However, most reject this view, seeing the ideal as a gender equity model “in which people choose together and on an equal basis how they will allocate the duties of earning income and looking after children in the home” (Pusey, 1999, 223).

Conclusion

While globalisation theories can provide an overview to the changing nature of accumulation and the social relations associated with those changes, it is still necessary to examine the particular history, economic strategy and social relations of the nation-state to understand the restructuring process and the impact of that process on the social relations of gender and class.
This chapter has shown that the Australian government has taken an active role in the restructuring process. This process has impacted on the local social structures of class and gender. The following chapter examines in detail the way that labour market reform has impacted on the work practices of individuals.
Chapter 4 Labour market restructuring
**Introduction**

Labour market restructuring is an aspect of the neoliberal restructuring agenda that has a particular impact on workplace practices, especially on gender relations within the workplace. The labour market has perhaps been the site of greatest contestation of the neoliberal agenda in Australia.

This chapter begins by examining the changes in the social relations of employment and the growth of non-traditional employment in Australia. It examines the underlying factors of change, including demographic change, changing patterns of education and skill, changing attitudes and behaviours and the changing occupational structure of industry. As this thesis focuses on the education industry in New South Wales, and as New South Wales constitutes almost a third of Australia’s labour market, statistical analysis of non-standard employment focuses on this state. (However, in a number of cases statistical information is available only for Australia as a whole.) The chapter then examines the institutional factors that have contributed to the changing structure of the labour market. The chapter concludes by examining the impact of labour market restructuring on gender pay equity and on wage outcomes in the education industry.

**Changes in the social relations of employment – the growth of non-traditional employment**

Rubery (1996, 23) reminds us that the labour market is built on social relations and structures, which are themselves “conditioned by experience in the labour market”. Labour market structures include social norms, family organisation, training and education systems, custom and practice within the workplace, collective bargaining institutions, rules and practices, customary skill divisions and differentials, as well as company culture and history. That is, the labour market is structured at the individual, family and community levels, at the level of the workplace and, through legislative and cultural institutions, at
the systemic level of the nation-state. Rubery (1996, 35) also emphasises that the structuring of the social relations of the labour market is a dialectical process, with changes in social relations impacting on institutions and vice versa.

Changes in the labour market have undermined these institutions and decoupled the link between wages and social justice. Enterprise bargaining principles introduced in Australia by governments and industrial relations commissions during the 1980s and 1990s divorced wages from social justice principles and from the overall performance of the economy. Instead it linked them, through productivity bargaining, to the performance of specific sectors of the economy, industries, or even to the performance of single firms and individual workers. Under the Howard Coalition Government’s Workplace Relations Act 1996 (WRA), pattern bargaining by unions has been outlawed. As a result benefits won in one company cannot be transferred to other companies within the same industry or even to different industries. The WRA has also reduced the power of unions to intervene in industrial issues, to represent the interests of their members and to recruit new members to the union movement. This legislation actively encourages individuals not to join a union (Bray & Waring, 1998, 67).

The combination of union exclusion and increased individualism, along with greater reliance on firm-specific variables in wage-fixation, means that there is greater opacity in the labour market. That is, while it may be relatively easy to measure the performance of a national economy or even the performance of an industry in order to justify collective wage claims, the particular performance of a specific firm compared to its competitors or to similar firms in other industries is more difficult, particularly for individuals who may be negotiating their contract of employment. The linking of wages to company performance makes workers more vulnerable to the discretionary policies of employers (Rubery, 1996, 30-32; Peetz, 2001).
In this new social relationship of employment, employers are released from traditional remuneration factors such as allowances and penalty rates which were designed to compensate workers for difficult conditions or work outside the standard hours. Meanwhile, the state uses the rhetoric of individualism to withdraw from welfare support. The government’s neo-conservative emphasis on individual responsibility for employment allows it to stigmatise the unemployed and to dislocate welfare payments from social need, linking them only to employability and training.

Non-standard forms of employment have increased noticeably over the last 30 years in Australia. In particular there has been a decline of the “male-breadwinner model” (Crompton, 1999; Goodwin, 1999) or “standard employment model” (Probert & Macdonald, 1996) and an increase in part-time, temporary and casual work or “non-standard forms of employment”. The “standard employment model” or as Crompton (1999, 2) writes, “full-time, life-time, uninterrupted labour force participation”, developed throughout the first half of the twentieth century. acirrt, a research centre at the University of Sydney which provides information, research and training on the world of work, argues that the notion of a standard working week in Australia grew out of trade union campaigns and state regulation for shorter hours of work. The standard working time arrangements came to be seen as “an eight hour day worked over a 5-day working week during 11 months of the year over a 45-year working life” (acirrt, 1999, 101).

The phrase “male-breadwinner model” underscores the gendered nature of this standard employment relationship and so is used in this thesis. Over the first half of the twentieth century, legislative protection for workers’ rights and many job entitlements and benefits were built around the male-breadwinner model, including penalty rates, overtime and the calculation of annual recreation leave and sick leave based on the working year. acirrt (1999, 101) estimates that 80 percent of Australian workers fitted into the male-breadwinner model during the 1950s and
1960s, but by the 1990s the proportion had declined to about a third of employees. This estimate is based on the level of award coverage of the Australian workforce and may overstate the extent of the male-breadwinner model during the 1950s. However, the estimate is indicative of the level of social change in Australia. The change in employment relations has undermined access to many of the rights and entitlements attached to the standard model of employment. Legislative protections and other entitlements have not kept pace with the growth of non-standard forms of employment. Figure 4.1 shows the structure of the Australian labour market under a post-Fordist institutional regime. Non-standard employment relationships include permanent part-time employment and non-permanent employment such as casual and temporary employment. Temporary employment includes the growing category of "non-employees" including outworkers, contractors and agency workers. At the other extreme within non-standard employment there is an increasing number of employees whose hours of work exceed the standard model of 40 hours per week. This thesis focuses on the specific case of casual employment, due to its rapid growth during the 1990s and its prominence in the school sector of the education industry.

Figure 4.1 Post-Fordist structure of the Australian labour market

(source: adapted from acirrt, 1996; ABS, 2000a)
Campbell and Brosnan (1999, 358) argue that casual employment is the most important form of non-permanent waged employment in Australia. Under common law, casual employees are described as having a contract of employment that is of “so minimal duration as to barely exist” (Campbell, 1998). As a result casuals are:

almost completely excluded from non-wage benefits tied to continuous service, e.g. paid annual leave, sick leave, long service leave, parental leave, and redundancy payments (Campbell & Brosnan, 1999, 358).

Despite this presumption of short employment contracts, casual employment can, in practice, encompass long-term, regular employment. ABS statistics show that in 2002, 11 percent of casual employees had been in constant employment with the same employer for more than ten years. A further 11 percent had been employed by the same employer for between five and ten years (ABS, 2002a). Casual employees have occupied a significant position within the award system, where casual employment, both full-time and part-time, has become the most frequently allowed form of non-standard employment (Campbell, 1996). Many awards formerly contained special provisions relating to casual employees. These provisions were “strictly residual, primarily confined to restrictions on the extent of casual employment and to a definition of the ‘casual loading’ on the hourly rate of pay (as ostensible compensation for the lack of entitlements)” (Campbell, 1998; Campbell & Brosnan, 1999, 358). The casual provisions failed to provide protection for employees, and in effect, operated as a licence for employers to deprive a section of their workforce of most standard rights and benefits (Campbell, 1996; Campbell & Burgess, 1997). The existence of these award provisions helped both to sponsor casual employment and to legitimise its use and misuse (Campbell & Brosnan, 1999, 358). Casual employment is also common in the unregulated sector, where employees are not covered by awards and agreements, but merely by the minimum conditions of industrial legislation (Campbell & Burgess, 1997).
Chapter 4 Labour Market Restructuring

There are serious issues in terms of gender relations in the workplace for the increase in non-standard forms of employment. Smith and Ewer (1999) identify a number of problems for casual and part-time workers, including:

- job insecurity
- lack of access to training and skill development
- lack of access to personal carers’ leave in order to care for sick family members
- roster instability and the “on-call” nature of casual employment
- an expectation to work shifts at unsociable hours
- lower and more volatile earnings tied up with a lack of observance of award rates and industrial regulations
- a lack of connection to the workplace which leads to lower trade union representation and lower participation in enterprise bargaining, resulting in an inability to negotiate more inclusive employment arrangements (Smith & Ewer, 1999, 27-31).

Casual and part-time workers also have less access to training, promotional opportunities and other forms of career development (Rimmer & Rimmer, 1997). Still (1996), studying part-time work amongst managerial staff in the finance and banking industry in Australia, reports that women who work part-time or casually were seen as not committed to a career, and were therefore overlooked for career development opportunities. She found that women in managerial positions were required to take positions at a lower level than their substantive positions in order to work part-time and that they did not automatically revert to their higher grade on return to full-time employment. To achieve promotion in the banking and finance industry, women were required to transfer from a non-career stream to a career stream. Part-timers in the finance industry were also required to relocate or change their working hours without notice more often than their full-time co-workers (Still, 1996, 9-11).
Pocock (1998, 587) argues that casual and part-time workers are marginal to many important workplace processes such as “training, communication, bargaining, promotion, and over-award pay among others”. Not only are these workers peripheral to workplace processes they are also peripheral in the minds of managers and full-time workers. The pro rata wages and conditions of these workers are often inferior to those of their co-workers whose wages and conditions are based on the standard or male-breadwinner model of the employment relationship (Pocock, Prosser, & Bridge, 2004, 18).

Casual and part-time work is increasingly associated with irregular, unpredictable and unsociable hours. This is not a desirable situation for women with family responsibilities. Examining the preferences of women with families for part-time and casual work, Glezer and Woolcott (1997) report that most would prefer stable regular hours and conditions rather than the irregular and flexible hours that they are offered at short notice. Stable work patterns would more easily allow them to make appropriate childcare arrangements.

There are a number of social implications of casual employment. Women who are employed casually are less likely to be able to secure credit from financial institutions and are therefore unlikely to be able to borrow money for the purchase of a home or car. Long-term part-time employment results in lower pay over a lifetime, and hence lower contributions to superannuation which could result in increased poverty for women in old age. Thus women who work part-time or casually remain dependent on another “primary” income earner throughout their lives. For society as a whole, a long-term dependence on casual labour in conjunction with the lower training priorities for casual employees could result in a less skilled workforce (Buchanan, 2004).

Researchers (Wooden, 1997; Whitehouse, 2001b; Pocock et al., 2004; Watson, 2004b, 2004a) have found that during the 1990s, the average
hourly wages of casual employees fell relative to the earnings of full-time workers. As Watson (2004a, 1) writes, “When the loadings which casuals are paid are taken into account, I find that part-time casual employees are actually penalised by virtue of working as casuals”.

Reasons for this fall in relative wages include the fact that many casuals are paid as labour hire employees or are simply underclassified (Pocock et al., 2004, 14). Casual workers tend to be excluded from enterprise agreements and paid according to the minimum rates in awards. Wages negotiated through enterprise bargaining tend to be higher than those delivered through the award system (Wooden, 1997). Despite the fact that many casual employees receive a loading to compensate them for lack of sick and holiday leave, this loading is often based on the award rate of pay, rather than the rates of pay of their co-workers who may be covered by an enterprise agreement. The casual loading does not compensate workers for the tenuous nature of their employment. Watson reports that despite average loadings of 20 percent, casual rates on average are only 10 percent higher than those of full-time employees (Watson, 2004a, 13). Casual employees often do not have access to the overtime and penalty rates of pay that permanent workers may receive. Whitehouse (2001b, 75) argues that the deregulation of casual employment through the removal of protective provisions in awards and agreements and the increasing incidence of casual employment outside the formal sector has also had an impact on casual wages.

The greatest increase in non-standard forms of employment in Australia occurred during the 1990s with the deregulation of the labour market under both Labor and Coalition Commonwealth Governments.

It is difficult to find long-term information on non-standard employment in Australia, and in particular in New South Wales, because until 1991 the ABS collected and published very little information on casual employment in New South Wales. The labour force survey provides a break down of part-time and full-time employment, but does not collect
data on casual or temporary employment. A supplementary survey was undertaken in New South Wales in 1991 and followed up in 1997. This period covers some of the most intensive deregulation of the labour market, with the introduction of enterprise bargaining at both state and Commonwealth levels, as well as individual contracts and award restructuring, which removed many industrial protections for employees.

In 1991, 17 percent (455,200) of the employed population of NSW were working on a part-time, temporary or casual basis (ABS, 1997b). By 1997 this had risen to 25 percent (685,000) of all employed persons. This represents a 50 percent increase in part-time, temporary and casual employment over a period in which general employment growth was only 8 percent. The highest rate of increase occurred in full-time casual employment, which rose from 14,400 in 1991 to 147,900 in 1997, representing a ten-fold increase in only six years. The increase in full-time casual employment impacted equally on men and women, with men’s full-time casual employment rising from 8,800 to 94,800 while women’s full-time casual employment rose from 5,600 to 53,100. In 1997 men represent 64 percent of all full-time casuals. In terms of part-time casuals, there has been only a 14 percent increase over the period, with the rise higher for men (35 percent) than for women (8 percent). Women still represent 72 percent of all part-time casuals (ABS, 1997b).

Temporary employment has also increased more than 200 percent. However, this increase was from a low base point and the number of temporary employees still represents less than 1 percent of the employed population in New South Wales (ABS, 1997b).

Between 1991 and 1997 permanent part-time employment increased by 19 percent, 13 percent for women and 77 percent for men. However, the base figure for men was much lower, and women continue to represent 86 percent of all part-time workers (ABS, 1997b). A number of researchers (Campbell & Burgess, 1997; Whitehouse, Boreham, & Lafferty, 1997; Junor, 1998) have identified a trend in various industries
towards permanent part-time employees being placed on casual contracts, undermining the security and entitlements of those who are already peripheral to the workforce.

It has been argued (Murtough & Waite, 2000, 2001) that the apparent rise in full-time casual employment was affected by the categories and definitions used by the ABS to capture casual employment. The ABS classifies all employees who do not have access to paid sick leave and paid annual recreation leave as casual employees. Murtough and Waite argue that this classification includes owner-managers of incorporated businesses and any other full-time permanent employees who have traded off recreation and sick leave benefits for higher levels of pay through enterprise bargaining and individual contracts. They also suggest that long-term casuals have similar levels of job security to permanent workers and hence should be excluded from the count of true casuals. A further proportion of those classified as casuals by the ABS do not self-identify as casuals; Murtough and Waite suggest that they also should be eliminated from the count. Amongst those who have self-identified as casual employees, a number have a regular income and an ongoing expectation of work and should, therefore, be excluded as long-term casuals. Excluding these groups, Murtough and Waite have created a measure of the number of short-term or what they call “true” casuals. This group of true casuals represent only 17.7 percent of employed persons across Australia in 1998 compared to the original ABS estimate of casuals at 23.2 percent of all employees.

However, Campbell and Burgess (2001) argue that although the inclusion of owner-managers inflates the number of casuals slightly, other factors in the ABS survey methodology work to underestimate the number of casuals. They suggest that as the survey covers only the preceding week, and that as casual employment may not be regular and ongoing, a number of casuals may not have been captured. “The number of persons involved in casual employment over a period of (say) a year may be much higher than a count of casual employees at any one
point in time suggests” (Campbell & Burgess, 2001, 91). Further, the ABS survey asks individuals about their main job, which eliminates multiple job holders whose secondary or other job may be casual. Campbell and Burgess suggest that if owner-managers are removed from the number of casuals they should also be removed from the overall number of employees (that is, from both the numerator and the denominator) and that the net effect is therefore negligible.

The policy debate in Australia revolves around the concept of long-term casuals and their access to the rights and entitlements in the workplace. Campbell and Burgess (1997, 87) argue that to remove this category of worker from the ABS count creates a category that is empty of meaning. They reject Murtough and Waite’s claim that in Australia the term “casual” is used to mean “short-term casual” and argue “the term ‘casual’ is readily recognised in Australia as a term that incorporates ‘long-term’ casual employment” (Campbell & Burgess, 2001, 95). They identify a number of methodological issues surrounding the use of self-identified data, rejecting Murtough and Waite’s suggestion that only self-identified casuals should be counted. Although the figure calculated by the ABS is not perfect, it does reflect a growth in non-standard employment patterns in Australia, and it is the best available statistic for measuring the change in employment status and should therefore be retained.

At the other extreme of the spectrum of non-standard employment there has been a large increase in the number of people working very long hours.

Over the last 10 years the share of full-time employees working more than 49 hours per week has steadily increased, by May 2001 31 percent of full-time employees worked 49 or more hours per week (Preston, 2001. 157).

At the same time, the number of part-time employees working fewer than 15 hours per week has dropped, suggesting that even part-time workers are feeling the pressure to “put in” more hours. Figure 4.2 shows the
trends in proportion of full-time workers working more than 49 hours per week, and the proportion of part-time workers working less than 15 hours per week.

**Figure 4.2 Trends in hours of work**

![Graph showing trends in hours of work between 1990 and 2000](image)

(Source: ABS, 2001, 118)

There are quite dramatic gender differences in the distribution of hours worked and the changes in these patterns between 1991 and 2001, as shown by the following two graphs. There have been major declines in the proportion of men working 35-40 hours per week and noticeable increases in those working more than 49 hours per week. There have also been significant increases in the proportion of men working fewer than 29 hours per week. For women, the major increases have been in the proportion of women working 16-29 hours per week, 30-34 hours per week and more than 45 hours per week, with declines in the proportion working 35-40 hours per week and fewer than 15 hours per week.
As well as increasing hours of work, employees have reported an intensification of work as a result of downsizing. Employees from many industries surveyed in the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey (AWIRS) claim that although staff numbers have declined, the
amount of work has remained constant or increased over the period since the early 1990s (Morehead, Steele, Alexander, Stephen, & Duffin, 1997). Increased pace of work or work effort has led to increased incidence of workplace stress.

Changing employment patterns, both in terms of the rise of part-time, temporary and casual employment and the increasing hours of work and work intensification, have been driven more by the needs of employers than by the needs of workers. Employers see part-time and casual employment as cost-effective forms of employment in the current climate of economic uncertainty (Hepworth & Murphy, 2001; Preston, 2001). There is a perception amongst employers that casual employment is cheaper, because these employees do not accrue leave entitlements and there are lower training costs. Until recently, casual employment in some jurisdictions (federal and New South Wales) was excluded from unfair dismissal clauses in legislation, giving employers the impression that it was easier to fire unproductive employees if they were casual. Recent case law has clouded this issue by finding that if casual employees work regular hours over a number of years they may be considered “permanent casual” for the purposes of unfair dismissal provisions. That is, although they have been remunerated on the basis of a casual award rate or contract, their work practices demonstrate a permanency in the role and they are not excluded from the unfair dismissal provisions (Owens, 2001).

The increase in casual employment has given rise to a debate about whether the stability of employment is declining in Australia. Burgess and Campbell (1998) and Hall, Harley, and Whitehouse (1998) have suggested that the increase in casual employment has led to increased job instability and more precarious employment patterns. However, Norris (1993), Norris and McLean (2000) and Wooden (1998a; 1998b), using aggregate statistics on the average length of employment, argue that there has been no decline in job stability over recent times. In response, Brosnan and Walsh (1998) argue that job instability cannot be
measured simply by aggregate measures such as the average length of jobs in Australia. Rather, they suggest that a number of factors contribute to workers' perceptions of job instability, such as the economic climate, the employer’s hiring and firing patterns, the unemployment rate and chances of future employment (Brosnan & Walsh, 1998, 12-13).

Similarly, Gregg and Wadsworth (1998, 24) have found that job insecurity relates to employees' perceptions of insecurity as much as to the actual level of risk in the employment market. In a survey conducted in Britain, they report that 60-70 percent of respondents felt that job insecurity was rising. They identify contributors to perceived insecurity as the lack of legal protection, the likelihood of job loss and the cost of job loss.

Although many of the casual school teachers interviewed for this thesis had been working within the school education system for up to 20 years, many held perceptions that their employment was unstable and identified job insecurity as a key issue for casual teachers. This issue is discussed in more detail in chapters six, seven and eight.

Despite moves by government and employers to dislocate wages from social needs, wage structures and employment forms remain fundamental elements in social organisation. Stable employment and pay levels are important in society for the functioning of the housing market, the consumer credit system, the pension system, the taxation system, the social production and nurture of children and the reproduction of skills. Social stability and transparency are being undermined by the increasing precariousness of jobs, the increase in the number of jobs which do not provide for acceptable living standards, and the increasing opaqueness of the labour market.
Underlying factors in labour market restructuring

There are a number of factors that underlie the changing structures of the labour market and the developing post-Fordist institutional regime. These include cultural change such as changing attitudes and behaviours, demographic change, changing patterns of education and skill, and the changing occupational structure of industry.

Changing attitude and behaviours

Changing social attitudes and worker behaviour have been credited by many (Wooden, 1998a, 1998b; Smith & Ewer, 1999) as a reason for the increase in the supply of labour seeking non-standard forms of employment such as part-time, temporary and casual employment. The argument runs that changes in social attitudes have led to recognition of women’s rights to combine paid employment with family responsibilities. Hence women with family responsibilities have entered the workforce in increasing numbers and have created a supply of part-time, temporary and casual labour for employers to access.

A difficulty with this argument is that if part-time, temporary and casual employment were driven solely by supply, then these forms of employment would be spread evenly across the occupational structure, with as many part-time, temporary and casual jobs in upper management positions with high levels of responsibility, across a range of industries. But this is not the case. Part-time, temporary and casual positions tend to be located in low-skilled or unskilled occupational categories and in particular industries. In fact, there is much literature to show that women in management positions who seek to reduce their working hours or change the form of their employment have been required to take lower skilled positions with less managerial content and lower pay (Probert, 1995a; Still, 1996; Rimmer & Rimmer, 1997; Whitehouse et al., 1997; Hall & Harley, 2000).
The argument becomes problematic when cultural change in attitudes and behaviours is seen as the only or a main factor behind the increase in non-standard employment, as has been the case with the Howard Coalition Government in Australia (Reith, 2000). If increasing patterns of non-standard employment have been driven solely by changing attitudes and individual choice as the Howard Coalition Government claims, then there is no need for a policy response to the growing insecurity of employment, and the government would be free to withdraw from regulating this aspect of the employment relationship.

Cultural change and changing attitudes and behaviours are certainly underlying factors that impact on labour market structures at the level of the individual. Many of those interviewed for this thesis note that changing attitudes to women’s employment have had a major impact on their careers over the period since the mid-1970s. However, cultural change has not been the only factor behind their choice of non-standard forms of employment, and their employment choices have been constrained by other factors which are discussed in further detail in chapters six, seven and eight.

**Demographic change**

Since the late 1960s there have been major changes in the demographic composition of the labour force. These changes are by no means unique to Australia but are present in many other OECD countries (OECD, 1994), suggesting that global factors may be operating.

The labour force participation rate has remained relatively constant throughout the twentieth century, but its composition has changed. Men’s participation rate has declined from 98.8 percent in 1954 to 72.3 percent in 2002, while women’s participation rate has increased from 29.8 percent in 1954 to 55.3 percent in 2002. Much of the increase in women’s employment can be attributed to the increase in married women’s participation rates.
In the past, the participation rate for married women has been heavily influenced by age and by number of dependent children. Figure 4.5 shows that the age-specific participation rates of women changed quite dramatically between 1970 and 2000. Traditionally, married women’s participation rates have shown a characteristic M-shaped pattern with peaks among women aged 20-24 and 35-44 years and a trough at the prime child-bearing ages of 24-35 years. However, by 2000 the depth of the trough has been reduced considerably, presumably reflecting changing patterns of family formation such as reduced fertility rates, delay in child-bearing and reductions in family size.

**Figure 4.5 Married women’s participation rate by age**


(Source: ABS, 1972a, 2004b)

Among women with children aged 0-4, the participation rate is lower than the average for all women. In June 1997, 46 percent of married mothers and 32 percent of single mothers with a child in this age bracket were employed. However, most of these women were employed on a part-time, temporary or casual basis. It is not until children reach teenage years that mothers are more likely to be employed on a full-time, permanent basis.

The contrast between married women’s and single women’s participation by age can be seen quite clearly in figure 4.6. Non-married women’s distribution of age-specific participation rates is similar to men’s
participation patterns as shown in figure 4.7. Figure 4.6 shows the lower participation of women aged 15-19 and also the decline above 45 years.

**Figure 4.6 Non-married women’s participation rate by age**

(Source: ABS, 1972a, 2004b)

The changing participation rates reflect the changes in social attitudes about the roles and rights of women. However, these attitudinal changes have also been supported by legislative changes such as the lifting of marriage bars from employment in the public sector (1966 in the Commonwealth public sector). The Equal Pay Ruling of the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission in 1969 and the passing of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1984 and the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act in 1986 played an
important role in improving women’s access to the labour force over this period.

The increased participation rate for women with young children was facilitated during the 1980s by the expansion of publicly funded childcare services (ABS, 1998). However, this support was wound back in the 1990s as part of the state’s withdrawal from the provision of services, as described in chapter three. There have been large increases in the provision of childcare services in recent years but these have been privately provided and funded. The increase in women’s participation rates needs to be seen within the context of increasing rates of non-standard employment as discussed above.

There have been declines in the proportion of younger people in the workforce, due to increased school retention rates and post-school education, higher unemployment levels for young people, and an ageing population. Similarly, the proportion of elderly people in the workforce has declined, reflecting earlier retirement ages and higher levels of unemployment for those aged above 45 years. Thus the proportion of those aged 20-45 in the workforce has increased relative to other age groups (Burgess, 1991).

**Education and skills**

Since the 1960s there has been a major increase in high school retention rates. In 1968 only one in five (22.7 percent) young people stayed in high school until year twelve, while in 2001, almost three quarters (73.4 percent) completed year twelve. Figure 4.8 shows the increasing retention rates over this period.
Youth employment has declined as a result of technological change which has reduced the number of low-skilled entry level jobs. Many young people have combined further education with part-time, temporary or casual employment in the retail and service industries. This has contributed to the rising supply of workers looking for non-standard forms of employment.

During the last three decades there has also been a major increase in post-compulsory education, both technical or vocational education and training (VET) and university level training. The ABS reports a 28 percent increase in the number of people undertaking post-compulsory education and training between 1989 and 1999, and states that there were more people in post-compulsory education than ever before. This figure breaks down to an 8 percent increase in post-compulsory attendance at school, a 19.5 percent increase in vocational education and a 65 percent increase in higher education (ABS, 2000a). However the ABS also notes that the increase in higher education is partly...
accounted for by overseas students and by higher numbers of mature-aged students undertaking higher level qualifications.

Women’s participation in post-compulsory education has increased at a faster rate than that of men. By 1999 women made up more than half of all post-compulsory students (52 percent). These changes occurred in both VET and higher education. In the past, the VET sector has been dominated by the apprenticeship system which favoured male-dominated occupations in the trades. However, reforms in the mid-1980s led to the introduction of traineeships which are more attractive to women and so increased the rate of women’s participation in the VET sector.

Government attempts to standardise training qualifications and recognition of skills across all states and territories in Australia have had an impact on training and education. The attempt to improve skills recognition between the workplace and education systems, articulation between different sectors of the education industry, and other microeconomic reforms have impacted on access to education and labour market choices.

**Occupational structure of industry**

As discussed in chapter three, the structure of industry has changed quite starkly over the period since the end of the long boom, with declining employment in goods-producing industries such as agriculture, mining and manufacturing and increasing employment in the services industries such as retail, hospitality and finance. Figure 4.9 shows the divergence between employment in the goods-producing industries and the service industries across Australia since 1966.
Figure 4.9 Proportion of all employed people in the production and service industries

Employment in the service sector has increased from 2.6 million people to 6.0 million since 1966, while the number of workers in production industries remained at between 2.0 million and 2.5 million over this period (ABS, 1997a).

Figure 4.10 shows the change in employment by industry across New South Wales between 1984 and 2000. In a period where overall employment rose by 32.7 percent, employment in the education industry grew at a faster rate, at 43.8 percent.

The changes in employment patterns are even more dramatic if examined on gender lines. Figure 4.11 shows that across many industries men’s employment growth has been greater than that of women (construction, retail trade, communication services and property and business services).
Chapter 4 Labour Market Restructuring

Figure 4.10 Change in employment New South Wales, 1984-2000
(Source: ABS, 2000b)

Figure 4.11 Change in employment by gender, NSW, 1985-2000
(Source: ABS, 2000b)
However, in a number of industries men’s employment has declined while women’s employment has grown (agriculture, manufacturing and government administration and defence), and in others, women’s employment has actually grown more quickly (education, community services, finance and insurance and accommodation, cafes and restaurants). In electricity, gas and water, and in mining, both men’s and women’s employment has declined, but the fall in men’s employment has been much greater. In the remaining industries, growth has been comparable between genders.

The overall effect of the changing structure of industry has been a decline in “blue collar” jobs (that is, tradespersons; plant and machine operators and drivers; and labourers and related workers) which are predominantly associated with trades, and in lower-skilled jobs that often involve heavy physical labour. At the same time, there has been growth in “white collar” jobs which include managers and administrators, professionals and para-professionals, clerks, sales-persons and personal service workers (ABS, 1997a).

In addition to changes in the relative share of people employed in different industries, there have been major changes in the occupational structure of the labour market. Table 4.1 shows the changing proportions of white collar jobs within industries between 1986/87 and 1995/6. In many of the industries exhibiting the greatest increase in the proportion of white collar jobs, this is due more to a decline in blue collar jobs than an increase in white collar jobs per se. For example, in electricity, gas and water, an increase of 15 percentage points reflects the restructuring of the industry, with greater investment in capital and a higher redundancy rate for blue collar workers. In this industry there has also been a tendency to outsource maintenance work to self-employed tradespeople, hence reducing the number of blue collar employees in the industry. Similarly, in government administration and defence, in
manufacturing and in mining the changes may be more attributable to declining blue collar work.

Table 4.1 Proportion of white collar workers in each industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry division</th>
<th>1986-87 percent</th>
<th>1995-96 percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas and water</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation, cafes and restaurants</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and storage</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication services</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and insurance</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property and business services</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government administration and defence</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and community services</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural and recreational services</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal and other services</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All industries                                   | 59.4            | 64.3            |

(Source: ABS, 1997a)

Table 4.2 shows the ten fastest growing occupations in Australia, while table 4.3 shows the occupations that have experienced the greatest decline in the period between 1986/7 and 1995/6.

Table 4.2 Fastest growing occupation groups\(^{(a)}\), 1986-87 to 1995-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation group</th>
<th>Number of workers '000</th>
<th>Percentage change percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal service workers</td>
<td>102.8</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business professionals</td>
<td>143.6</td>
<td>89.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical and science technical officers and technicians</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>85.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous professionals</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social professionals</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data processing and business machine operators</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other teachers and instructors</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing supervisors (other business)</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tellers, cashiers and ticket salespersons</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionists, telephonists and messengers</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The tables show that the fastest growing occupation was the personal service worker classification. This group includes child-care workers, enrolled nurses, dental nurses, home companions and aides, travel stewards and tourist guides (ABS, 1997a). The “other teachers and instructors” category had an increase of 48.8 percent reflecting the higher demand for workplace skills and training in these occupations. These are the occupations that appear to be excluded from Lash and Urry’s discussion of the growth in the service industry.

### Table 4.3 Fastest shrinking occupation groups\(^{(a)}\), 1986-87 to 1995-96

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation group</th>
<th>Number of workers</th>
<th>Percentage change percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous clerks</td>
<td>-70.8</td>
<td>-41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction and mining labourers</td>
<td>-26.1</td>
<td>-19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal fitting and machine tradespersons</td>
<td>-19.4</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators</td>
<td>-20.7</td>
<td>-13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farm managers</td>
<td>-29.2</td>
<td>-11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers and typists</td>
<td>-22.9</td>
<td>-8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationary plant operators</td>
<td>-5.1</td>
<td>-8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and building associates and technicians</td>
<td>-6.3</td>
<td>-7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing tradespersons</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
<td>-4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other metal tradespersons</td>
<td>-4.4</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In contrast, the occupation groups in which employment shrank over this period were skilled blue-collar occupations or those that were affected by the impact of technological and economic change. The greatest proportional decrease in employment occurred among miscellaneous clerks, which includes jobs such as teachers’ aides, personnel clerks, legal and related clerks, and postal clerks and officers. The remaining occupations which experienced rapid decline are skilled jobs in the blue-collar industries of construction, mining, manufacturing and farming.
Cultural change, demographic change, changing demand for skills and education, as well as the changing occupational structure of industry, have all had an impact on the structure of the labour market and hence on the decision-making processes of individuals. However, labour market change has also been driven by institutional reform in Australia’s industrial relations system. The following section of this chapter examines institutional change in Australia.

**Institutional change in the Australian labour market**

The Australian industrial relations system is quite distinctive. In the past, only New Zealand has had a similar system of arbitration and conciliation. Under the Australian constitution, the Commonwealth Government does not have direct control over industrial relations. These powers are held by state and federal industrial tribunals such as the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, renamed the Australian Industrial Relations Commission in 1989 (the Commission). The tribunals regulate relationships between workers, unions, employers and the owners of capital, and uphold the public interest by “preventing unfair competition and keeping market capitalism in check” (Dabscheck, 1993, 41).

Since federation, wage determination and wages policy have become the de facto responsibility of the federal Commission (Burgess, 1991, 1-2) and thus have tended to be centralised on a national basis. The Commission establishes minimum wages and conditions through industrial agreements or awards which are legally enforceable. Wage relativities between occupational awards have tended to be stable under this system. Equity has been a key priority of the Commission, which has delivered consistent and “across the board wage adjustments” (Burgess, 1991, 2). Over the twentieth century the Commission developed wage adjustment principles such as minimum award wages, comparative wage justice, wage indexation and the national distribution of productivity gains to ensure wage equity in Australia. Under the Fordist-Keynesian
settlement in Australia, wage-fixing principles were based on the male-breadwinner model, with men earning a social wage and women a supplementary or secondary one. At this time the Australian industrial relations system could be characterised as highly centralised, and highly collectivised. It is generally agreed that unions and the Commission had a high level of power under the Fordist-Keynesian settlement. Since the end of the long boom, governments and employer organisations have worked to change the power balance in the industrial relations system and as a result the institutions of the labour market have changed dramatically in this period.

**The Fraser era**

During the 1970s the key policy imperative for the Fraser Coalition Government was “stagflation”, the combination of high levels of inflation and unemployment. The Government’s response to the issue was to restrain wages through tight macro-economic policy. Fraser also sought to increase the centralisation of wages, but the Commission, retaining its independence from the Government, would not cooperate (Dabscheck, 1989, 27). Fraser investigated the possibility of transferring the Commission’s wage-fixing powers to the Commonwealth Government, but found it impossible (Ayres, 1987, 309).

Acceding to Government pressure, the Commission introduced a centralised wage indexation system in 1975. However, in conflict with the Government’s policy, wages were linked to increases in the consumer price index (CPI), a move which Fraser criticised as inflationary (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000). But the wage indexation system was not long-lived, breaking down in 1981 due to industrial unrest and wage increases from outside the national wage case decisions (Dabscheck, 1989, 28-31). The Government called for a move to decentralised bargaining in order to moderate wage increases through market forces. Fraser also further tightened macro-economic policy settings to encourage wage restraint. The effect of these decisions was
even greater industrial unrest and a further round of wage increases (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000, 9). The Fraser Coalition Government returned to the centralised system and the Commission introduced a wage freeze in 1982.

Fraser also attempted to impose greater control over the unions. He limited the capacity of trade unions to pursue wage increases outside national wage hearings (Ayres, 1987, 309). The industrial unrest of this period had a major impact on the Coalition’s performance at the 1983 election. In March 1983 the Hawke Labor Government was elected to power on a platform of reducing industrial dispute.

The experience of the 1970s led the Commission to believe that decentralised wage bargaining could not work in Australia. This had implications in the later 1980s when employer organisations called for decentralisation of wages. Initially, the Commission rejected decentralisation as unlikely to work in the Australian context.

A number of key features of the Fraser Government’s industrial relations policy continued to be part of the Liberal National Party Coalition policy into the 1980s. These included its strong anti-union stance and its call for the right to individual freedom of choice, which translated to the individual’s right to choose not to be a member of a union. The Fraser Government’s views on the appropriate role of industrial institutions such as the Commission were also echoed in later Coalition policy.

**The Hawke/Keating era**

The Hawke Labor Government initially continued with a centralised wage fixing system, but introduced a new mechanism, the Prices and Incomes Accord (the Accord). Under the Accord the ACTU exchanged material wage increases for maintenance of real wages over time, increases in the social wage and increased union involvement in policy making (ALP & ACTU, 1983).
In its early years the Accord was relatively successful. Wages were contained, industrial disputes declined greatly and job creation targets were met early in the Hawke Government’s administration (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000, 10). However, while the Accord had the support of unions, employer groups felt that they had been excluded. The Accord has also been criticised by feminists (Schofield, 1989) who argued that the new wage-fixing system overlaid already inequitable pay differentials between men and women and did not redress the gap between average wages for men and women.

The effectiveness of the Accord was threatened by changing economic conditions such as the balance of payments crisis (Ravenhill, 1994) and increasing wages pressure inspired by three years of economic growth (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000). However, the Accord was also threatened by the development of new employer groups.

The H. R. Nicholls Society, a “new right” think tank of lawyers, academics, politicians and chief executive officers argued that the arbitration system destroyed the proper workings of the market and that union power fettered the entrepreneurial initiative and managerial decision-making authority of enterprises (H.R. Nicholls Society, 1986). The society advocated the abolition of the arbitration system, the introduction of individual contracts and the use of common law and civil courts rather than the industrial relations system, which they felt had been captured by special interest groups (that is, unions and employee groups). The Society gained strength and political support throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s.

The Business Council of Australia (BCA), which emerged as a national employer group at this time, advocated the dismantling of the award system and the implementation of a new “enterprise focus” (Business Council of Australia, 1989; Dabscheck, 1995). The BCA was a group of about 100 chief executive officers of major corporations in Australia.
These employer groups argued that government regulation and inflexible union practices were stifling innovation amongst Australian enterprises. They maintained that for the labour market to work effectively, workers and employers must be allowed to reach individual agreements, free from interference by external third parties such as unions or government bodies (H.R. Nicholls Society, 1986; Business Council of Australia, 1989).

The employer groups’ position was adopted wholeheartedly by the Coalition, which over the period had become “a party of the radical free market right” (Kelly, 1992, 253). However, there is also evidence that the ALP adopted aspects of the BCA’s position in their changing approach to legislation (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000, 19). The employer groups’ call for deregulation was supported from outside Australia by international bodies such as the OECD. In particular, the Dahrendorf report from the OEDC (1986) found that increased labour market flexibility could increase growth and employment.

In 1986, the Hawke Labor Government established a tripartite National Labour Consultative Council with representatives from the Confederation of Australian Industry and the ACTU to examine the Australian labour market. They found that labour flexibility was constrained by labour costs, employment conditions, work practices and patterns, labour market regulation, external and internal mobility and education and training. The Council argued that the reform agenda should focus on removing inefficient work practices, increasing workers’ skills through education and training reforms, and improving workplace productivity through functional flexibility or multiskilling of workers (National Labour Consultative Council, 1987).

The Council rejected the calls to dismantle the arbitration system, and recommended an approach which maintained centralised wage fixing for control of aggregate wage movements, while decentralised bargaining
was recommended to achieve increased flexibility and productivity (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000, 15). These recommendations fed into the government’s submissions to the Commission in the 1987 national wage case and became a crucial point in the process of decentralising wage fixation.

In 1987 the Commission handed down its decision in the National Wage Case, establishing a “two tier” system and introducing a “restructuring and efficiency principle”. The two tiers were firstly a flat rate of increase to wages and secondly an extra 4 percent increase in exchange for an industry or enterprise agreement, negotiated at the local level, to improve work and/or management practices (1987). In 1988 the Commission established a new structural efficiency principle (SEP) which provided a bargaining agenda for productivity agreements negotiated at the workplace and/or through awards. The agenda included:

- skill-based career paths
- multi-skilling and broadbanding
- enterprise-based restructuring of pay relativities
- flexible work patterns
- review of classification structures
- rationalising respondents to awards
- removing discriminatory award provisions.

The directives to improve industry flexibility and to remove discriminatory clauses from awards justified the removal of clauses limiting or restricting the amount of casual and part-time labour within an industry on the basis that such clauses discriminated against women with family responsibilities. However, this process also removed the protection of workers’ security of employment that awards had provided.

In 1988 legislative changes further accelerated the decentralisation process. The introduction of the Industrial Relations Act allowed for certified agreements to deliver enterprise-specific award variation. Under this Act certified agreements still required union representation of workers, but later rounds of legislative reform allowed for agreements
directly between employers and workers, excluding the unions from the process.

In April 1991 the Commission rejected a proposed enterprise bargaining principle in its National Wage Case decision despite unanimous support from employers, the ACTU and government. The Commission argued that there was no real evidence that enterprise bargaining would enhance productivity, and suggested that the parties "lacked the maturity for successful bargaining" (AIRC, 1991). However, legislative changes meant that the Commission could not resist the move to enterprise bargaining for long.

During 1991 and 1992 state governments began to introduce legislation to facilitate enterprise bargaining within their own jurisdictions. Queensland and New South Wales introduced enterprise bargaining, but the Victorian legislation under the Kennett Government went even further down the free market deregulation pathway, completely abolishing compulsory arbitration in its Employment Relations Act 1992. Western Australia took a similar approach. At the same time New Zealand abolished its entire arbitration system by removing awards, industrial tribunals and by removing any special status held by unions.

The Hawke/Keating Labor Government reacted by amending industrial relations legislation in 1991 and again in 1993. In 1991, the legislation diluted the power of the Commission over certified agreements by removing the "public interest" test. In 1993 provision was made for registering collective, non-union agreements. These provisions were subject to a requirement that they needed to have the agreement of a majority of employees. Eligible unions also had to be notified, even if they were not directly involved in the process. In the 1993 legislative amendments, the Commission’s role was further downgraded to public interest issues, maintaining “safety net” awards and encouraging and facilitating workplace agreements rather than setting awards and settling disputes (Briggs & Buchanan, 2000, 20).
The 1993 legislation continued the process of redefining the institutions of the Australian industrial relations system by reclassifying the bargaining parties and changing the nature of industrial bargaining in Australia. The regulatory changes shifted the power relations between employers and employees towards employers (Campbell & Brosnan, 1999, 366). The legislation also changed the conception of trade unions, from the historical role of unions as broad representatives of worker interest to a more specific conception as agents of their existing members (Frazer, 1995, 77-80). The legislation also restricted unions from taking action against issues that crossed workplaces, allowing protected industrial action only during a recognised phase of industrial bargaining for the purpose of negotiating a certified agreement in a single business or workplace. This severely weakened the ability of unions to campaign for social justice issues.

While decollectivisation was not an aim of the Labor Governments, the introduction of non-union enterprise agreements in 1993 established a mechanism that could be used by conservative governments for this purpose. With new legislation in place and the radical free market agenda gaining ground, during the mid-1990s a number of large companies, particularly in the mining industry, tried to deunionise their work sites and move employees onto individual contracts by using the lure of much higher pay increases for those who signed individual contracts.

From 1983 to 1996 the Hawke and Keating Labor Governments, working in conjunction with employer groups, unions, and the Commission, took steps to reform the industrial relations system in Australia. Award restructuring and the structural efficiency principle were applied across all industries and sectors, and through state wage cases were adopted in all jurisdictions. The emphasis in wage setting moved from equity to enterprise productivity. This had major implications for the education sector, where productivity improvement is more difficult to measure than
Chapter 4 Labour Market Restructuring

in other sectors of the economy. In New South Wales an enterprise focus, combined with productivity measurement difficulties under the Greiner/Fahey Coalition Governments (1991-1996), resulted in teachers’ salaries falling behind those of other professionals.

While award restructuring was directed at improving workplace flexibility and productivity it also acted to remove workers’ protection against casualisation. This too had a major impact on the education sector, where the use of casual staff increased significantly.

**The Howard era**

The industrial disputes over individual contracts concluded at about the same time that the Coalition was elected to government federally, on a platform of further deregulation. The 1996 *Workplace Relations Act* (*WRA*) introduced a third stream of wage fixation in the form of registered individual agreements or Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs). These individual agreements were taken out of the hands of the Commission and placed in the hands of the newly created Office of the Employment Advocate (OEA). There has been much analysis of the impact of AWAs on the pay and conditions of employees and in particular of women (Wooden, 1999; Peetz, 2001; van Barneveld & Arsovska, 2001; Waring, 2001; Whitehouse, 2001a; Peetz, 2002b, 2002a; Waring & Bray, 2003). Waring (2001, 290) reports that most individual contracts are not highly individualised and concludes that “management was using AWAs to extend managerial prerogative whilst reaping the administrative benefits that arise from contractual standardisation”. It seems that the introduction of AWAs has simply been a further step in the process of decentralising and individualising the Australian industrial relations system by moving the employment relationship further into the free market (van Barneveld & Waring, 2002, 114).
Under the *WRA* the powers of the Commission were further curtailed, especially in the area of arbitration. The scope of awards was stripped back to 20 allowable matters that became a minimal safety net. In the process of stripping back the awards, remaining restrictions on part-time, temporary or casual work were removed in the name of increasing workplace flexibility and gender equity. The previous Act specified that, in setting wages, the Commission must have “regard to the needs of workers and their families, taking into account the general level of wages in Australia, the cost of living, social security benefits and relative living standards of other social groups”. The *WRA* specifies only that the Commission must consider “fair minimum standards for employees in the context of living standards generally prevailing in the Australian community”; and “the needs of the low paid” (*WRA*, 1996, s.88B(82)). The broad equity principles developed throughout the twentieth century by the Commission to provide a living wage have been abolished through this legislation (Norris, 2000, 182).

The legislation also further undermined trade union power as unions lost the automatic right to bargain for employees. The *WRA* also restricted the access of unions to workplaces, and introduced strict penalties for the use of industrial action. Changes in the wording of the *WRA* aimed at limiting the power of unions impacted on the ability of women to collectively seek redress through the Commission for issues of unequal remuneration. The Act compels women individually to seek redress through anti-discrimination legislation rather than use industrial legislation to address the needs of a class or group of employees (Norris, 2000, 180-181).

Since the introduction of the *WRA* in 1996, a number of large corporations have attempted to further de-unionise their worksites and introduce greater reliance on individual contracts. Most noticeable was the Patrick’s dispute in which the employer stripped assets from the employing company and declared it bankrupt in an attempt to deny workers their accrued leave and redundancy entitlements. The
manoeuvre also protected the parent company from unfair dismissal and discrimination charges. The subsequent lockout, which was enforced by military-style balaclava-wearing commandos with ferocious dogs, raised massive public outcry and rapid legal reaction from the Maritime Union of Australia (Wiseman, 1998b; Trinca & Davies, 2000).

In 2004 the Howard Coalition Government was once again returned to power, on this occasion with an increased majority and control of the Senate. Since his re-election, Howard has foreshadowed a further round of legislative change for industrial relations in Australia. In light of this further round of reform, the BCA in February 2005 released a discussion paper (Access Economics Pty Ltd, 2005) and an action plan (BCA, 2005) calling for the abolition of the Commission, stripping of awards to six allowable matters covering minimum rates of pay and basic leave entitlements.

In New South Wales 1996 saw the election of the Carr Labor Government which has returned to a more centralised and collectivised approach to industrial relations. The Carr Labor Government’s approach to teachers’ salaries is discussed in more detail in chapter five.

**Impact of labour market restructuring**

The impact of labour market restructuring has been much debated, both in Australia and in other OECD countries. In Australia, Labor and Coalition Governments (Keating, 1994; Howard, 1996; Reith, 1996, 2001), the Productivity Commission (Parham, 2002; Banks, 2003), and employer groups such as the BCA (Business Council of Australia, 2000) and the H.R. Nicholls society (Evans, 2003b, 2003a) have claimed that labour market deregulation has improved the productivity of Australian industry, increased employment opportunities and improved wages for Australian workers.
In contrast critics, including academics, social welfare groups and unionists, have argued that labour market deregulation has led to increased levels of insecure employment (Bennett, 1999; MacDonald, Campbell, & Burgess, 2001; Preston, 2001), greater dispersion of wages (Buchanan, Callus, & Briggs, 1999; Briggs & Buchanan, 2000; Norris, 2000; Preston, 2001), decollectivisation of the workforce, with incumbent problems (Shaw, 1997; Waring, 1999; ACTU, 2003), increased numbers of working poor (Combet, 2001; Australian Council of Trade Unions, 2002; Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS), 2003) and hence greater inequality across Australian society (Harcourt, 1995; acirrt, 1999; Buchanan et al., 1999; ACOSS, 2003).

One of the major results of labour market reform and the decentralisation and decollectivisation of the system has been the negative impact on women’s earnings and working hours. Under a centralised and collectivised industrial relations system, pay equity could be addressed at a systemic level. A number of centralised decisions have improved women’s pay equity in Australia. In 1969 the Commission introduced an equal pay principle, granting women equal pay for work that was identical to that done by men in the same workplace (Strachan & Jamieson, 1999). More recently there has been recognition that work undertaken by women has been significantly under-valued simply because it is work that is done mostly by women (Burton, Hag, & Thompson, 1987; Burton & Affirmative Action Agency, 1988; Burton, 1991; Burgess, 1998; Green, 1998; Women's Equity Bureau, 1999; Whitehouse, 2001b). In New South Wales, a new equal pay principle was introduced in 1999 granting equal pay for work of equal value.

Using regression analysis, Gregory and Duncan (1981) found that Australia’s regulatory system was a major factor in the improvement of gender pay equity during the 1970s. They report that the ratio of women’s to men’s earnings, calculated using average adult full-time earnings, rose from 59.2 percent in 1964 to 76.6 percent in 1977. This represents an improvement of 17.4 percentage points in a 13 year
period. In May 2004 the ratio of women’s to men’s average adult full-time earnings was 81.3% representing an increase of only 4.7 percentage points over this 24 year period.

Under a centralised wage fixing system it is relatively easy to measure progress towards gender pay equity by examining wage movements in awards. The centralised wage fixing principles in Australia have been undermined through enterprise bargaining and individual contracts, reducing the effectiveness of pay equity principles (Whitehouse, 2001b).

Under a decentralised wage bargaining system with a high level of non-standard employment patterns a number of factors come into play, such as employment status, industrial instrument coverage, over-award payments and other economic factors. It is therefore more difficult to measure progress toward gender pay equity under the current wage-fixing system.

ABS data on men’s and women’s earnings that include part-time earnings is only readily available dating from 1984. This data shows that when all earnings are considered, including part-time earnings and penalty and overtime rates, the ratio of women’s to men’s earnings has fallen from 66.3 percent in 1984 to 65.9 percent in 2004 (representing a decline of 0.4 percentage points).

Table 4.4 Ratio of women’s to men’s earnings 1984-2004

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time earnings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(includes overtime</td>
<td>76.6%</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and penalty rates)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All earnings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(includes p-t and</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>-0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overtime and</td>
<td></td>
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<td>penalty rates)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: ABS, 2004a)

Examining the trend over two ten-year periods, from 1984-1994 and from 1994-2004, representing two periods of equal time where the first period represents a relatively regulated labour market and the second
period a relatively deregulated labour market, we can see that in terms of full-time earnings the regulated period saw a rise in the ratio of women’s to men’s earnings from 77.9 percent to 79.8 percent (an increase of 1.9 percentage points). In the deregulated period there was a rise in the ratio from 79.8 percent in 1994 to 81.3 percent in 2004 (an increase of 1.5 percentage points). When we examine all earnings, including part-time, overtime and penalty rates, we find that in the regulated period the ratio rose from 66.3 percent to 66.7 percent (an increase of 0.4 percentage points) while in the deregulated period the ratio fell from 66.7 percent to 65.9 percent (a decline of 0.8 percentage points). That is, while women’s full-time earnings made some progress against men’s full-time earnings between 1984 and 2004 this progress slowed under a deregulated labour market. When all earnings are considered, women’s pay has lost ground to men’s earnings. In particular, women’s earnings fell relative to men’s during the deregulated period. The increase in non-standard forms of employment is a major factor in this trend (Pocock, 1999; Preston & Crockett, 1999; Norris, 2000, 170).

Whitehouse and Frino (2003, 593) note that under a decentralised system, women’s industrial coverage reinforces gender wage inequality. That is, women’s over-representation in the award sector rather than in enterprise agreements deflate their earnings, because wages in awards tend to be increased on a safety-net basis while enterprise agreements tend to provide wage increases well above the safety-net level. Within the enterprise bargaining stream, the gender pay gap is even more noticeable, with men consistently achieving better wage outcomes in agreements.

Under a centralised wage fixing system women are less dependent on their individual bargaining power, as they have the collective support of unions and women’s groups such as the Women’s Electoral Lobby, or the Working Women’s Centre (Norris, 2000). Under a decentralised system women have only the others in their workplace to support them.
Women’s bargaining power in the workplace is undermined by their lack of representation in management, by their high levels of casual and part-time employment, and by their social conditioning to be less assertive or aggressive than men (Kramer, 1993, 16).

Restructuring of the labour market has major implications for the wages of school teachers working casually in New South Wales. The development of links between wages and productivity resulted in teachers’ wages stagnating during the 1990s, due to the difficulties in demonstrating increased productivity in service-based industries. During the 1990s, wage increases for teachers in New South Wales were linked to increasing hours of work and increasing work intensification through larger class sizes. The stagnant nature of teachers’ wages in this period also had implications for their relative social status. Wages and salaries of occupations in other industries, where productivity improvements were more measurable, increased at a faster rate than in teaching.

A return to centralised wage fixation has delivered improved wage justice for school teachers in New South Wales. On 9 June 2004, the New South Wales Industrial Relations Commission handed down a decision examining the salaries of public school teachers. The Commission found that due to “revolutionary curriculum changes” there had been significant changes in the value of work undertaken by teachers since the Commission’s last work value review in 1991. They noted that there had been change in the nature of teachers' work, skills and responsibilities, and change in the conditions under which teachers' work was performed. In their decision, the full bench noted that the work value principles “have been overwhelmingly met in so far as teachers in government schools are concerned; there could not be a clearer case justifying substantial salary increases”. The Commission also found that there had been substantial improvements in productivity within school education, for which teachers were primarily responsible.
During the hearing, the Teachers’ Federation also argued that a pay increase for teachers was justified on the grounds that there had been a decline in the relativity of teachers’ salaries compared to both average earnings for employees generally and average earnings for professionals. The Commission recognised that this was indeed the case, but declared that the decline in relativities alone was not sufficient to justify an increase; rather, the Federation needed to demonstrate that the relativities of skills and productivity across these occupations had been maintained while salary relativity had fallen.

The Commission decided to increase the salaries of teachers by 12 percent over 12 months from January 2004. This is a significant increase given that in the State Wage Case 2004 the Commission granted only a flat $19.00 per week wage increase, representing an increase of approximately 4 percent in minimum wages. It is also important to note that in the State Wage Case it was estimated that the national level of the Consumer Price Index was projected to grow only 2.25 percent over this period.

The case demonstrates some of the difficulties teachers have faced in achieving wage justice during the phase of decentralised industrial relations. A wage system based on improvements in productivity does not provide wage justice in service industries such as education, where productivity is more difficult to measure than in goods-producing industries such as manufacturing.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has argued that labour market restructuring is a crucial aspect of neoliberal restructuring in Australia. Labour market restructuring has had a major impact on the social relations of work, undermining the Fordist-Keynesian institutional regime and contributing to the development of a new “post-Fordist” institutional regime.
Under the newly developing institutional regime, the standard forms of employment that grew out of the male-breadwinner model have been eroded by the development of new, non-standard forms such as part-time, temporary and casual employment. Also, wages have been decoupled from economy-wide performance and social justice outcomes, and instead are more closely linked to industry, enterprise and individual performance.

A number of underlying factors have contributed to changes in the labour market, such as changing attitudes and behaviours, demographic change, education and skills, and the changing occupational structure of industry. Labour market restructuring has been driven by changes in institutions such as unions, employer groups, government policy and the industrial relations commissions. Under the influence of these competing institutions, the Australian labour market has changed from a centralised, collectivised system to one that is more decentralised and highly individualised.

The evidence presented shows that the impact of these changes has been essentially negative on employment security, gender pay equity and on wages outcomes for school teachers. Decentralisation has led to increasing disparity of wages between men and women, while in New South Wales it took a return to centralised wage fixing to recognise the productivity improvements in the education industry over the last decade.

These major changes in the labour market do not necessarily drive the decision-making processes of men and women who choose to work casually, but they do provide the framework within which decisions about work, education and family are made. In chapter five I explore how globalisation, economic and labour market restructuring have impacted on the public sector generally and the school education sector in particular, to create the environment in which individual teachers make their choices about employment patterns.
Chapter 5 Public Sector Reform
Introduction

As we have already seen, globalisation, structural change and labour market restructuring have driven major changes in the Australian political, economic and industrial landscape. In this chapter I turn specifically to the public sector, beginning by examining the ideological foundations of public sector reform in Australia since the 1970s. This chapter identifies the links between ideological change and processes of globalisation. It then examines the impact of public sector reform on the size and functions of the public sector, focusing on public sector employment practices. It details the implementation, in New South Wales, of new managerialist techniques such as privatisation, commercialisation and competition policy, devolution and decentralisation. The chapter then examines the implications of public sector reform for gender relations in the workplace. The final section of the chapter examines the introduction of new managerialism to the New South Wales public school system and the implications of its introduction for gender equity and employment practices at the local level of the school.

Ideological underpinnings of public sector reform

The ideologies behind public sector reform in Australia have been described as social democratic (Yeatman, 1994; Considine & Painter, 1997; Orchard, 1998), neoliberal or economic rationalist (Yeatman, 1994; Considine & Painter, 1997; Orchard, 1998) and technical or managerialist (Orchard, 1998). Yeatman (1994) also describes a post-bureaucratic model for understanding public sector reform.

Social democratic

Considine and Painter (1997) suggest that recent public sector reform in Australia began in the mid-1970s with the Coombs Royal Commission at the federal level and the Wilenski Report in New South Wales. Other states followed these examples (for example, the Corbett Report in
South Australia). This phase was driven by a social democratic impulse which grew out of the experience of the Whitlam Government in implementing new ideas for social democratic reform (Orchard, 1998, 19).

The Coombs (1976) and Wilenski (1977; 1982) reports proposed reforms to make the public sector more open and responsive to political and democratic processes, to improve transparency in public administration and to develop “accountable management”. Wilenski (1977) argued that equity should be a guiding principle of administration and should be at least as important as efficiency in public sector management.

The Wilenski Royal Commissions (1977; 1982) recommended freedom of information legislation and appeals processes for decision-making; regionalisation and community participation in policy-making processes; employment reform, including affirmative action and equal employment opportunity, recruitment on merit rather than seniority, and lateral recruitment; formation of a senior executive service employed on a contract basis; corporate planning processes including program management; and budget allocation according to program needs and audit review and performance monitoring processes.

Initially, not all recommendations were adopted. However, over the course of the 1980s and 1990s most aspects were incorporated into governments’ reform projects. Almost all aspects of this reform agenda have been used at least in a rhetorical sense by governments claiming to be more responsive to the needs of their citizens.

**Neoliberalism or economic rationalist**

The second phase of public sector reform began in the late 1980s (Laffin & Painter, 1995; Considine & Painter, 1997; O'Faircheallaigh, Weller, & Wanna, 1999). Greater emphasis was placed on the market as a method
of distribution and on cost as the primary criterion for decision-making. Considine and Painter (1997) identify this second phase of reform as driven by a new right or neoliberal impetus. Similarly, Orchard suggests that the ideas of “new-right” intellectuals in the various think tanks gathered momentum throughout the 1980s (Orchard, 1998, 20). These intellectuals drew on a range of ideas such as public choice theory and principal agent theory.

Public choice theory is based on the assumptions of neo-classical economics. It is associated with writers such as Anthony Downs (1957), James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock (1962), Mancur Olson (1965) and William Niskanen (1971). The public choice model argues that political issues are best explained by analysing the behaviour of individuals who are understood to be rationally self-interested actors.

According to public choice theory, bureaucrats play an important role in policy development and implementation and can divert policy outcomes away from the goals of politicians and the electorate. Bureaucrats will always act to protect their own interests and their policy recommendations will be driven by their rent-seeking behaviour (Tullock, 1967; Niskanen, 1971). Shiel (2000, 28) and Stretton and Orchard (1994, 41) summarise the public choice model in the following way: governments will always fail to distribute resources effectively and efficiently because of the legitimate theft of public officials. Therefore citizens should be allowed to make their own choices via the markets.

Niskanen (1971, 228-9) used public choice theory to argue for smaller government, greater competition for government services, devolution of services, linking of senior bureaucrats’ pay to budgetary savings, and reduced but more progressive taxation.

Principal agent theory builds on public choice theory, suggesting that in order to prevent capture of public processes by bureaucrats, regulation or policy direction should be separated from program delivery. In this
model a principal or core public service establishes policy directions and the frameworks for service delivery which is then contracted out to assorted agents. The agents act on a competitive basis to provide services for the lowest costs. The principal uses contract specifications, contract management and performance monitoring to control the actions of the agents, allowing “the public sector to become a purchaser rather than a supplier, with services provided by a network of public and private companies, each the successful tendering body for yet another government contract” (Davis, 1997). Contracts become the central form of relationship in this model of the public sector. Senior executives are placed on contracts, with pay bonuses tied to performance and agency results, and their performance indicators become guiding principles for the employment of all other staff. This arrangement can be taken to the extreme, with departments becoming a series of internal subcontractors overseen by senior management “with contracting incentives to minimise costs and maximise output” (Davis, 1997, 216). This results in public bureaucracy becoming more business-like than many commercially operated businesses.

Under this model of public administration, the contract relationship is not limited to public sector management but has become the key relationship between government and citizens, where electors become clients purchasing services, while their rights and expectations are detailed in public service documents such as a “guarantee of service” or “citizen’s charter”. In the contract state, users pay, either directly or indirectly, for the services they need, and mutual obligation becomes a key watchword (Yeatman, 1995, 1996).

Public choice and principal agent models of public sector management have major implications for a service delivery organisation such as the New South Wales Department of Education and Training. These models have driven public sector reform in a new direction during the 1990s, emphasising smaller government, privatisation of public enterprises, commercialisation, contracting out, decentralisation and increased
competition, through markets, to drive efficiency. Pusey (1991) traces the growth of this ideology in the federal public service to an increase in the number of economics-trained senior public servants in key agencies during the 1980s. This ideological change has had a major impact on the language or discourse of public administration.

Yeatman (1997) describes how the discourse of public administration changed over the course of the 1980s to one of public sector management. Departmental Secretaries became Chief Executive Officers or Senior Officers, public servants became public sector employees, and other key linguistic usages changed. She argues that these changes represented a “reframing of the identity of public servants in terms of a management discourse” (Yeatman, 1997, 13). In this changing discourse,

Equal opportunity… comes to be reframed in terms of what it can do for management improvement, not in terms of what it can do to develop the conditions of social justice and democratic citizenship in Australian society (Yeatman, 1997, 15).

In Yeatman’s view the increasing number of technocrats or “technical intelligentsia” in key public sector agencies has had a negative impact on equity in public service, as these technocrats have “a trained indifference to what they dismissed as philosophical, academic or abstract questions of policy” (Yeatman, 1997, 17).

**Managerialist**

The increase in technocrats in public sectors across Australia may have been a factor in the third impetus for public sector reform. This impetus was the growth of a managerialist or populist “management improvement industry”. Throughout the 1980s there was a spate of books published, many from the United States, popularising the ideas of management “specialists” (Orchard, 1998). These books promoted management catchphrases such as “steering not rowing” (Osborne &
Gaebler, 1992) and “management by objectives” (Drucker, 1994) or “productivity through people” (Peters & Waterman, 1982)

While these ideas were not necessarily related to economic rationalist or neoliberal ideas, they tended to rely on public choice descriptions of the public sector as “bloated” and public servants as “indolent”. The authors (Peters & Waterman, 1982; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) proposed methods for injecting new life into the public sector. Generally these methods involved transplanting private sector management techniques, which were depicted as vibrant, innovative and effective, into the public sector. The view that the public sector had much to learn from the private sector gained broad acceptance at this time (O'Faircheallaigh et al., 1999).

The managerialists emphasised the importance of competition and market discipline to challenge complacency and traditional practices in organisations. Although managerialists claim their technical approach to administrative science is “not based on any ideology or requiring any justification of its underlying assumptions” (Painter, 1997, 72), it does have affinities with the ideological shift to the right, and it is part of a growing hostility towards the public sector in Australian politics (Painter, 1997, 41).

**Post-modern**

Yeatman (1994) uses a periodisation similar to that of Harvey. She argues that there have been two phases of reform in the twentieth century. The first, associated with the rise of a Fordist accumulation regime, led to mass democracy and universal suffrage. In the public sector this wave of reform led to the development of large bureaucracies and universal welfare and citizenship rights. The second phase was associated with the growth of the women’s movement and of other social movements which rejected the mass democratic model because it did not recognise the significance of difference in society. This new
democratising movement was the impetus for the development of the “post-bureaucratic” model of public administration.

The post-modern or post-bureaucratic model of public administration recognises the interactive relationship between policy and service delivery. It depicts policy development as a consultative process between end users and policy developers. It is contrasted with the economic rationalist model of public administration in which policy is a rational choice, cost/benefit trade-off that separates policy and administration from service delivery.

The main difficulty with Yeatman’s model is that it is a prescriptive model for public sector administration, rather than a descriptive model that identifies current practice. Yeatman (1994, 294) admits that the post-bureaucratic and economic rationalist models are easily confused, as the economic rationalist model utilises the language of the post-modern model to justify the separation of policy and administration.

The post-bureaucratic model does bear some resemblance to the rhetoric of Blair’s “Third Way” in Britain, which uses a post-modern discourse of minority group emancipation, to justify its essentially neoliberal approach to welfare and service delivery. The “Third Way” is a “political discourse built out of elements from other political discourses” (Fairclough, 2000, 5-6). It attempts to bring together concepts of social justice, compassion and fairness with ideas of economic efficiency and individual choice.

In this way economic rationalism uses the language of post-modern social rights to suggest that individual choice and the language of “the customer” will provide in some way a more individualised service to those at risk of exclusion from citizenship. Neoliberalism has appropriated a “rights discourse” to guarantee free enterprise. The neoliberal model of public administration actually stands in opposition to the idea of social rights contained in the “second generation” of human
rights that developed during the 1970s and 1980s (Molyneux & Razavi, 2000,5).

Other Australian public administration theorists (Laffin & Painter, 1995; Kernaghan, 2000) tend not to make the distinction that Yeatman does, using the term post-bureaucratic to describe the economic rationalist systems of public administration that have emerged during the 1990s. Yeatman’s approach is an interesting model that reveals some important discursive issues, but is less practical for analysing the changing nature of public sector administration.

**Global dissemination of public sector reform**

Public sector reform, and in particular the reform of the education sector have been evolving processes in Australia since the mid-1970s. They have been driven locally by federal and state government policy, but they have also been influenced by global processes such as “policy borrowing” and the development of international policy communities.

Canadian public policy analyst Bennett (1997, 13), examining methods of policy transference between countries labels these processes as ‘lesson-drawing’, ‘emulation’ or ‘copying’. He suggests that these processes have been used by governments to push particular agendas, to appease interest groups, to identify optimum solutions or to justify or legitimate decisions that have already been made. Rowat (1985, 121) identifies the existence of transnational policy communities as crucial to the spread of policies. He suggests that policy communities “share the same assumptions and discourse, communicating through books, conferences, journals etc”. Policy communities draw on the experiences of policy implementation in other countries and adapt it to their own needs. That is, although policies may be borrowed from other states or countries they will be “filtered through the prism of national characteristics such as economic resources, policy-making processes and national values” (Fowler, 1995).
Within the education sector, Henry, Lingard, Rizvi, and Taylor (2001) have analysed the processes of the production and dissemination of educational ideas globally. They suggest that there are links between globalisation and the development of a new policy consensus which frames educational policy within a human capital framework and embraces quasi-market approaches towards education (Henry et al., 2001, 20). This process is not a one-way process, rather there is a ‘flowback’ between globalisation and the reconstitution of the nation state and its policy producing structures in education.

Henry and colleagues identify the OECD as a crucial policy community within the area of educational policy. They suggest that “the OECD has been an important vehicle for setting the new managerialism and new forms of governance in place” (Henry et al., 2001, 32). They cite a number of OECD publications that are critical of large-scale state bureaucracies and that emphasise that the efficiency of the public sector has a significant impact on total economic efficiency. The authors see the OECD both as an international think tank which provides “a comparative forum accommodating both a sense of national autonomy as well as a sense of commonality among the like-minded” (Henry et al., 2001, 56) and also as an “international mediator of knowledge” developing policy agendas which establish a universal (western) norm against which the policy values of individual countries are relativised” (Henry et al., 2001, 57).

These theories of policy borrowing, policy communities and of supranational bodies acting as policy mediators help us to understand how the developing ideologies of public sector and educational reform have spread and the mechanisms by which globalisation influences policy development and practice at the local level.
The changing parameters of the public sector

The push for public sector reform from the neoliberal think tanks and other right wing ideologues stemmed from the view that the Australian Government was too large and unsustainable, and had become a drain on economic growth. There was a view that there was too much government regulation in Australia, and that governments were involved in sectors of the economy that were best left to the market (Sturgess, 1996).

Most analysts (Butlin et al., 1982; Moon, 1999) agree that the Australian public sector was larger than the average of other comparable countries. Australia had higher public expenditure and more public sector employees than the United Kingdom and the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century (Moon, 1999, 113). The scope of the Australian public sector was also broader than most developed countries at the beginning of the twentieth century, with governments owning banks, transport infrastructure and utilities, and providing a large proportion of education and health services. In this early phase, most government activity in Australia was centred around the states, with a very small federal sector. This remained the pattern until after World War II when the Commonwealth increased its taxation powers and subsequently its responsibility for public provision of services (Moon, 1999, 113).

The expansion of government and of public sectors after World War II was a global trend, despite differences in economic systems, levels of development and political ideologies (Bangura, 2000, 1). Since the mid-1970s, however, many OECD countries have attempted to reduce the size of their public sectors (Moon & Sayers, 1999; O'Faircheallaigh et al., 1999; Bangura, 2000) through fiscal management, downsizing and privatisation. Australian governments have followed this trend.
In Australia, the Commonwealth Government has had two significant phases of growth in scope. The first occurred during the 1940s when it took an increased role in welfare and infrastructure development. The second occurred in the 1970s under the Whitlam Government when it became involved in expanding public access to health care, tertiary education and employment and, through transfers to states, became more involved in service delivery. Over this period the Commonwealth also owned and ran a number of monopolies such as Telecom and Qantas. In the early part of the century, government activity was mostly focused around defence, the legal and fiscal integrity of the states and a small number of economically related tasks, but by the end of the twentieth century this had expanded to include a wide range of social and economic functions (Moon & Sayers, 1999, 161).

Moon and Sayers have found that since the end of the 1980s there has been a sizeable reduction in Commonwealth social activity, in which they include: responsibility for regional development, education, labour, health and social welfare, leisure and social security. There has also been a reduction in Commonwealth activity in “defining and protecting the state”, which includes government functions such as defence and security, international relations, immigration, territorial responsibilities, constitutional issues, law and finance, local government, federal affairs, and internal affairs and administration. There has also been a reduction in Moon and Sayers’ third category, “physical resource mobility”, which includes industry policy, land, water and environment, agriculture, fishing and mining, construction, energy, commerce and small business (Moon & Sayers, 1999).

In contrast to the pattern at the federal level, state government has experienced steady growth in scope throughout the twentieth century until the 1970s when there was a more rapid period of growth. In particular, the declining social activity levels of the federal government during the 1990s corresponded with increased social activity at the state level (Moon & Sayers, 1999, 155-156).
It is difficult to find examples of sustained reduction in government size or expenditure. There is often a trade-off between employment and expenditure, with reductions in the number of public servants resulting in increased purchase of services by governments. Cutbacks in program areas are often temporary and are erased by subsequent increases around election times, while reduction in employment at the federal level can result in growth at the state or local government level. There is no evidence of a decrease in governments’ resource base, with aggregate tax revenues increasing steadily throughout the twentieth century (O'Faircheallaigh et al., 1999, 56).

In terms of government expenditure, public expenditure as a proportion of GDP in Australia grew from 20 percent in 1901 (Butlin et al., 1982) to 32 percent in 1971 (Hughes, 1989). This growth was interrupted by two world wars and the Depression. Nevertheless, the rate of growth was relatively stable compared with experiences in the United Kingdom and the United States (Butlin et al., 1982, 5-6).

**Figure 5.1 Public expenditure: GDP percentage (including defence)**

(Source: Butlin et al., 1982, 4)
In the mid-1970s the Whitlam Government’s spending programs led to relatively rapid growth in public expenditure as a proportion of GDP, from 32 percent to 38 percent. However, the Fraser Government held increases in government expenditure to a minimum (Hughes, 1989, 47). In the early 1980s, during the last year of the Fraser Government and first year of the Hawke Government, government expenditure rose to approximately 42 percent (Hughes, 1989, 47). Since the mid-1980s, government outlay as a proportion of GDP has been declining to a level that is below the OECD average. In 1996, when the Howard Government came to power, the proportion was back to 36-7 percent. The Howard Government aimed to reduce it even further to 23 percent of Commonwealth expenditure by 2001 (O’Faircheallaigh et al., 1999, 56).

The proportion of the Australian workforce employed in the public sector grew from approximately 8 percent in 1901 to 20 percent in 1971 (Butlin et al., 1982, 6). Hughes notes that it is now difficult to measure public sector employment because there is some confusion as to whether subcontractors paid by the public sector are in fact public sector employees. The ABS tends to use a broader, more inclusive definition of public sector employees than the governments of other countries, and includes university and hospital employees. Hughes estimates that in 1985/86, 24.8 percent of workers were employed in the public sector, compared to an estimate of 24.3 percent in 1975/76. He argues that although this appears to be higher than the OECD average, when definitional differences are taken into account, Australia is below the OECD average (Hughes, 1989, 49-50).

Using government employment statistics, O’Faircheallaigh et al. (1999) argue that across all levels of government, employee numbers declined rapidly throughout the 1980s and 1990s. By the late 1980s there were approximately 400,000 public servants at the Commonwealth level. From 1987 to 1990 there was a decrease of 16,000 and from 1994-1997
there was a further decline of 32,000 (Howard, 1998). By the end of the
1990s the number of Commonwealth public servants was down to
130,000, lower than at any time since the 1950s (O'Faircheallaigh et al.,
1999, 58-59). The ACTU (1997, 6) argues that the decline throughout
the 1980s and 1990s has been even greater, claiming that when
increases in part-time employment in the public sector are included in
employment calculations, employment at the Commonwealth level has
dropped by 17 percent, at the state level by 11 percent and at the local
government level by 9 percent.

There is much debate about whether government expenditure and public
employment are useful measures of the size of government (Butlin et al.,
1982; Hughes, 1989; Moon, 1999; Moon & Sayers, 1999). However, for
the purpose of this thesis, they show the basic trends in changing
government across the twentieth century. For most of the century there
was steady growth in government involvement in social activity,
expenditure and employment; there was more rapid expansion in these
areas during the 1970s and early 1980s and a rapid decline in the
1990s. This demonstrates that public sector reform gathered pace during
the 1980s and became more focused on reducing the size of
government during the 1990s.

**New managerialist techniques**

Many aspects of new managerialism have been introduced to the public
sector and, especially, to the management of public schools and the
education system. In particular, privatisation, commercialisation and the
introduction of competition policy, devolution and decentralisation have
had a major impact, not only on the employment patterns of teachers but
also on the type of work they are expected to do, and the nature of
workplace relations. The next section examines these techniques, and
some of the implications of their introduction for public sector
employment generally and for education workers specifically.
**Privatisation**

Privatisation involves the sale of government assets and enterprises to the private sector. This has become a two-way process, with private companies delivering public services and acting in the public sphere. As a consequence the boundary between public and private sectors has become blurred. Examples of privatisation include, at the federal level, the sale of Qantas and the partial sale of Telstra. At the state level, in New South Wales, the Greiner Government was responsible for the sale of the Government Insurance Office (GIO) in the early 1990s, the government cleaning service and other government trading enterprises (Painter, 1995, 93).

Privatisation tends to reduce the number of government employees although not necessarily employment levels overall, as employees are transferred out of the public sector to the private sector. However, there were a number of redundancies initially as private organisations struggled to show that they could operate more efficiently than the public organisations had. Similarly, although contracts for sales contained clauses protecting the employment conditions of workers, over the long-term these conditions were eroded.

The sale of government assets has generated much debate in Australia, and for the education sector, much of this debate has centred around the potential closures of schools to enable the sale of valuable land assets by state governments.

**Commercialisation and competition policy**

Where governments have found it difficult to convince the electorate of the value of privatisation of public services such as education, they have attempted to introduce administrative measures to encourage a more commercial or competitive approach to service delivery. Commercialisation encourages individual service delivery agencies to use private sector techniques such as marketing to gain a competitive
advantage and build their market share. In the public sector commercialism stems from competition policy.

The National Competition Policy grew out of the Hilmer Report (1993) and was agreed to by all state premiers at the Special Premiers’ Conference in 1994 (Althaus, 1996; Davis, 1997). Under National Competition Policy, the public sector “should not be privileged in any exchange. As near as possible, every activity in government should be open to the market or, where kept within government, operate with no advantage for the public sector” (Davis, 1997, 214). For schools, the logical extension of this policy is that not only should public schools be forced to compete with private schools on an equal footing for funding and for market share, they should also be made to compete amongst themselves.

As part of a more commercial and competitive approach to public management and service delivery, public sector organisations have been encouraged to contract out “non-core” functions to private sector organisations, or to allow departmental units to compete with the private sector, on the basis of price, for public work. This “competitive tendering” has been introduced into many areas of public sector work. While traditionally the public sector used competitive tendering for supplies of equipment or major construction projects, during the 1990s this was expanded to include service delivery, corporate services and even, in some jurisdictions, core services such as policy advice. This process has major implications for the education industry. In the vocational education sector, government funded TAFE colleges are required to compete with private vocational education colleges for government funding in specific areas of training provision.

The process of contracting out also has major implications for public sector employment. By contracting out, government departments can reduce the number of their direct employees, reducing their permanent workforce to key contract-monitoring staff.
Public sector employees have traditionally been strongly unionised and have maintained good employment conditions and pay levels. Employees in the community and private sector have been less successful. Competitive tendering places downwards pressure on pay and conditions in the community and private sector, while reducing the number of people employed by governments on premium public sector pay and conditions. Competitive tendering by internal agencies has also resulted in many public sector positions being offered on only a short-term or contract basis, and has resulted in greater reliance on labour hire companies or “temp agencies” for short-term temporary employment. The combination of contracting out and the devolution of responsibility for public sector employment to agency level, with incentives for “increased flexibility” in public sector employment, has led to agencies using temporary labour hire firms with greater regularity, with the aim of reducing recruitment costs (Pfeffer, 1994, 23) and providing numerical flexibility of non-core workers (Young, 2000, 101). Temporary employment is seen as providing a buffer in the face of public sector funding costs, and it is also seen as a way of reducing employment costs for unskilled labour.

The use of temporary employees for unskilled jobs within the public sector reduces the number of entry-level jobs for young people wishing to enter the public sector, and reduces training opportunities for those currently employed. The use of temporary employees also allows managers to bypass public sector pay and conditions requirements.

Managerialism has eroded the career nature of public employment. With devolution of human resources directly to line managers rather than having human resource units within departments, there has been a decline in base-grade positions in preference for flatter organisational structures supported by lateral or external appointment. This approach allows line managers to cut their training budgets. Where unskilled labour is required there has been an increase in the recruitment of
temporary or casual employees, which has an impact on intellectual capital, accountability, and quality of advice within the public sector. As a result of these combined employment practices there has been an ageing of the public sector workforce and a decline in the proportion of young people employed (Colley, 2001, 12-13). Devolution has also resulted in a lack of central coordination of personnel issues and a lack of clear personnel strategies for a career public service. It has led to inconsistent management of staff and a less consistent approach to merit and equity even within single departments. Devolution hampers the collection of systemic workforce data. More work is required to extract performance information from the inconsistent data provided by line agencies. This makes it more difficult for central agencies to monitor the impact of reform on gender equity in public employment.

“Contracting out” or “outsourcing” has also been used as a process of organisational change and a method for introducing workforce “flexibility” and reducing employment costs (Clark, 1991; Young, 2000, 97). The growth of contract employment has led to a decline in union presence in the public sector (Kochan, Smith, Wells, & Rebitzer, 1994), while the threat of outsourcing and the reduction of public sector employment has been used by government to induce employees to adopt less restrictive work practices (Burgess & Macdonald, 1990; Young, 2000). Young (2000, 98) suggests that outsourcing and the use of contract workers has also had an impact on employment relations in the workplace and on productivity and efficiency.

Contracting out also has major implications for gender equity in public sector employment. Generally, public sector organisations in Australia have more comprehensive reporting requirements for gender equity than private sector companies. Under the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity For Women) Act 1986 (s.6) private companies employing more than 100 employees are required to report annually to the Affirmative Action Agency on their progress towards equal employment opportunity. Poorly performing organisations may be named
in parliament. Yet there are no genuine sanctions against these organisations. Many of the private sector organisations contracted to provide services for government do not employ more than 100 staff members. Although government contracts for services may include clauses requiring that gender equity and equal employment opportunity be addressed both in terms of service provision and employment practices, these small firms tend to be focused on maximising profit rather than equity and tend to be outside government reporting requirements. Once again, the use of contracting out or outsourcing bypasses the stronger public sector equity requirements to focus on reducing costs and maximising profits, undermining employment conditions.

In Australia, contracting out or competitive tendering has been adopted to various extents by different governments. At the federal level, the Howard Government has introduced requirements that all government functions must be publicly tendered for, with government agencies competing for jobs on the same basis as private companies.

In New South Wales, the Greiner/Fahey Coalition Government introduced contracting out with the abolition of the Department of Administrative Services. Many of the functions of this department, such as the Government Cleaning Service, were completely privatised, while others such as the Government Printing Office were abolished altogether, with Hansard and legislative printing functions outsourced, and responsibility for departmental printing devolved to agencies.

In 1993 the then Premier, John Fahey, issued a directive requiring agencies to systematically evaluate the scope for contracting out, offering as a bonus that agencies could retain any savings derived from contracting out (Walker, 1995, 87). Under the Fahey Government, by 1994, almost 20 percent of spending by state trading enterprises was allocated by competitive tendering (Rimmer, 1994), while New South
Wales budget sector contracts with the private sector amounted to $600 million (Lambert, 1995).

The Carr Labor Government has been less sanguine in its attitude to contracting out, outsourcing and use of consultants. On coming to power in 1995, Carr made a commitment to reduce the use of consultants in the New South Wales public sector by 25 percent across all agencies (NSW Premier's Department, 1996). Subsequently, new guidelines (NSW Premier's Department & Department of Public Works and Services, 2000) were produced for working with private sector organisations, which stipulated that outsourcing of core functions should only be used in situations where cost savings could be achieved. The Carr Government did not prohibit outsourcing but did not encourage it to the same extent as the previous Coalition government (NSW Premier's Department, 2002). The guidelines for the use of consultants and contracting out were developed centrally in the Premier's Department with the assistance of the Department of Public Works and Services, but to a large extent responsibility for these issues was devolved to department heads. A State Contracts Control Board was established within the Department of Public Works and Services to monitor the use of contracting out in the public sector (NSW Premier's Department, 1999).

**Devolution and decentralisation**

Devolution, in a competitive system, is used to ensure that managers at the local, service delivery level have the authority and resources to manage all aspects of their programs. As Greiner expressed it, devolution in New South Wales was about “letting the managers manage”. Under devolution, policy and planning aspects of public agencies are maintained in a centralised head office, while service delivery functions are devolved to program delivery. However, head office maintains control of the delivery system by using budget accountability and performance measurement to ensure policy aims are
met. This management technique has many implications for the education sector. While some aspects of budgeting have been devolved to the local level, schools are still controlled by the central administration through new accountability systems (Marginson, 1999b).

Rizvi (1999) argues that the three key movements of public sector reform have also been expressed in Australian education. The social democratic movement emerging in the 1970s was played out in education through enhancing the participation of parents and local communities in the development of curriculum in schools. Subsequently the education industry has also seen a rise in neoliberal or market devolution philosophies, and a rise in the managerialist imperative.

For schools, devolution has mainly involved giving school Principals control over their budget and staffing. In the Australian education system, devolution has perhaps gone the furthest in the Victorian education system, where control of local schools was devolved to local boards made up of community representatives.

In New South Wales under the Greiner Government, the abolition of the Public Service Board and the devolution of responsibility for employment of public servants to departmental heads released the tight staffing controls across the public sector (Walker, 1995; O'Donnell, 2000). The Public Service Board had centrally controlled all public sector appointment, pay and conditions since its establishment in 1895 (Colley, 2001). When it was abolished, its functions were split across a number of central agencies. Personnel issues were devolved to agency level, industrial relations and wage fixations functions were retained in the statutory authority, the Public Employment Industrial Relations Authority (PEIRA), merit protection and equal opportunity policy were placed in the central Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment (ODEOPE), and establishment control was merged into the budgetary functions of Treasury (Alford, 1993, 1-5; Colley, 2001, 11).
The *Public Sector Management Act 1988* transferred control of recruitment and selection, including the establishment and deletion of staff positions, to departmental heads. Further devolution and increased flexibility in public sector employment was achieved with the *Industrial Relations Act 1991* which introduced enterprise bargaining to the New South Wales system, allowing parties to negotiate on industrial relations matters at the workplace level.

Devolution was further encouraged by the introduction of global budgeting by Treasury in 1989. Global budgeting meant that while Treasury set the global budget for each public sector agency, the details or line items were left to the agencies to distribute on a program basis. This gave managers greater control over budgeting, with the option of transferring funds between functions and programs. Greiner announced that Treasury would no longer be involved in controlling the financial activities of individual departments, while line items and programs would “become instruments of accountability and monitoring rather than tools of Treasury control” (NSW Parliament, 1989-90; Walker, 1995, 130). Treasury would control overall financial and staff ceilings, but departmental heads would control all other aspects. Walker (1995) is scathing about the introduction of global budgeting, suggesting that it led to a blowout in annual general government recurrent expenditure of $5 billion under the Greiner and Fahey Governments. He suggests that “letting the managers manage” actually resulted in “letting the managers mismanage” (Walker, 1995, 130).

The Carr Government, elected in 1995, wound back some of the elements of devolution, taking employment and industrial relations back to a more centralised system. In 1996 it abolished the statutory authority responsible for public sector industrial relations (by then named the Public Employment Office), and moved its functions into a unit named the Public Sector Management Office (PSMO) in the Premier’s Department. The PSMO was given responsibility for negotiating whole-
of-government wage agreements and workplace reforms with public sector unions (O'Donnell, 2000; Colley, 2001).

A number of other aspects of public sector operations that had previously been devolved under the Greiner and Fahey Governments were also re-centralised under the Carr Government. The Department of Public Works and Services (DPWS) now coordinates the procurement of goods and services such as motor vehicles, fuel, air travel and other general purchases (NSW Premier's Department, 2001). The DPWS also coordinates office accommodation and manages the contracting out of maintenance in schools.

In 1996 the Carr Government established the Council on the Cost of Government. In 1999 this was renamed the Council on the Cost and Quality of Government (COCQG). Its main objective was to advise on cost cutting and efficiency reforms. COCQG monitors the performance of public sector agencies, develops performance standards, monitors costs and produces reports on the service efforts and accomplishments of agencies. In 2001 it produced a report on the quality of all services produced by the New South Wales Government.

The rhetoric of the Carr Government in relation to public sector reform differs from that of the Greiner and Fahey Governments. Where the Coalition Governments emphasised the business-like aspects of the public sector and the need to import business techniques from the private sector, the Labor Government emphasises whole-of-government coordination. This has not meant that the Carr Labor Government has rejected the managerialist agenda implemented by Greiner and Fahey. Many aspects of devolution and contracting out have been maintained. The language of competitive neutrality is also important to the Carr Government.
Implications of public sector reform for gender relations

In a study of the gender implications of public sector reform in the 1980s, Yeatman (1990) reports that despite reforms aimed at democratising the public sector, the structures of the state remained heavily gendered. She identifies “hard” and “soft” areas of state intervention that correspond with the “modern patriarchal gender division of labour” (Yeatman, 1990, 83). “Hard” areas include economic and financial policy, foreign affairs and immigration, trade, defence, policing, labour and industrial relations. Employment in these areas tends to be dominated by men. In contrast, “soft” areas of intervention include human and community services, childcare, health, social security, welfare and education. Traditionally, employment in this area has been dominated by women. Further reforms during the 1990s have done little to break down these gender silos in the public sector.

However, Yeatman reports that public sector reform has led to a “cultural revolution” in public administration (Yeatman, 1990, 13). This revolution is characterised by a change in the dominant discourse. Debates about public sector reform in the context of global restructuring have become more firmly couched in economic terms. As discussed above, this changing discourse results in equal opportunity being framed in terms of management objectives. Blackmore (1999, 37), examining the impact of public sector reform on gender equity in education, supports Yeatman’s findings. She argues that “equity discourses have competed against late 1980s global discourses of managerialism and economic orthodoxies of market liberalism about balanced budgets which position equity as a cost”.

Yeatman (1990, 119, 147) examines the links between public sector reform and the crisis of the welfare state. She reports that cutbacks in public expenditures led to a decline in publicly provided services and a reprivatisation of caring costs. She suggests that when market citizenship becomes the dominant form of citizenship this increases the
vulnerability of social groups previously dependent on the state and public forms of revenue. More recently, Yeatman has identified that Australia is moving from a welfare state to a contract state (Yeatman, 1995, 1996).

In her study of the education industry, Blackmore identifies that the move to a contract state, the privatisation of educational costs and the corporatising of education have “produced particular tensions between markets and equity, between localised responsiveness and centralised accountability” in schools. She claims that “teaching, as a numerically feminised caring occupation located in the public sector, has been particularly susceptible to attacks upon the welfare state and the deregulation of the labour market” (Blackmore, 1999a, 41).

In a more recent study of gender equity in New South Wales public institutions, Connell (forthcoming, 12), identifies that public sector reform has resulted in major organisational change in many public sector agencies, including moves towards flatter structures of hierarchy, re-engineering of labour processes, introduction of new technology, changing occupational categories and other workplace change. He suggests that restructuring has not necessarily caused a transformation in gender relations, but such organisational change has “made it easier to carry through a gender reform program”. Management respondents in Connell’s study identified new styles of management in the public sector which focus on consultation, negotiation, networking, teamwork and the facilitation and encouragement of the work of others. The new styles rely less on rules and procedures, emphasising entrepreneurship and inventiveness, networking and career planning (Connell, forthcoming, 10). Many of Connell’s respondents felt that these changes reflected a style of management in which women could out-perform men.

However, the new style of public sector management has a “relative fluidity” that is capable of “unlimited intensification” (Connell, forthcoming, 10). This results in a shift in the gender divide in the elite
levels of the public sector. Although women are a majority of public sector employees in New South Wales, they do not represent a majority in senior management levels. At senior management level women without family responsibilities may find a measure of equality with men, but those with family responsibilities remain excluded (Connell, forthcoming, 10-11).

The rise in the neoliberal discourse of choice which has accompanied public sector reform has particular implications for gender equity. In this discourse, systematic gender differences are seen as the outcomes of the choices individuals make. If this is the case, there is no need for active policy intervention to change these circumstances (Connell, forthcoming, 13).

**Implementation of new managerialism in the New South Wales public school system**

The implementation of new managerialist techniques in school education has particular implications for school management, educational outcomes, and for gender relations at the local level.

Traditionally, all states in Australia have had a highly centralised pattern of education administration (Apelt & Lingard, 1993; Lingard, Hayes, & Mills, 2002) attributable to a range of factors including geographical dispersion (Lingard et al., 2002), poor funding (Connell, 1993), and ideology (Apelt & Lingard, 1993). In the early stages of educational development the centralised approach was justified as providing greater equity (Apelt & Lingard, 1993, 62).

During the 1960s and 1970s a grass-roots movement for the reform of the education system developed out of an argument that improved equality could be achieved through increased community participation and greater recognition of the professionalism of teachers. At the federal level of government the Karmel Report (1973) embodied the Whitlam Labor Government’s reform agenda (Lingard, Knight, & Porter,
1995, 87). It recommended devolution on the basis of educational arguments, and in the interest of more democratic processes at the school level. At the same time, some states, particularly South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory, moved towards a more decentralised system, with devolved decision-making (Apelt & Lingard, 1993; Rizvi, 1999). Rizvi suggests that the push for devolution at this time also stemmed from unions and teachers.

In the United Kingdom a similar movement arose in the 1970s. However, the Thatcher Government, coming to power in 1979, appropriated the language of social democratic devolution to justify its own neoliberal agenda. Thatcher’s approach was influential in Australia in the early 1990s, particularly in New South Wales, under Minister for Education, Metherell, and in Victoria, where a key bureaucrat, Brian Caldwell, had been recruited from Thatcher’s administration. In the United Kingdom, education reform during the 1980s led to the establishment of “league tables” of schools’ performances, supposedly providing parents with evidence on which to base their school choices for their children. In Australia there have been moves towards the introduction of “league tables” at both state and federal levels during the 1990s (Morrow, Blackburn, & Gill, 1998; Reid, 1998). Teacher unions have strongly resisted this strategy (Lingard et al., 2002, 12).

In Australia, reform during the 1980s continued in all the states, with varying emphasis on social democratic or neoliberal rationales for change. The 1980s also saw the introduction of policies aimed at improving the educational outcomes of girls, including the National policy for the education of girls in Australia in 1987. The gender initiatives were closely linked to equal opportunity for women and affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation introduced by femocrats within the policy apparatus (Blackmore, 1999b, 179). In New South Wales the reform of the promotions system in the Education Department which introduced an element of affirmative action in the appointment of school principals became a site of contention between femocrats, unions and other public
sector bureaucrats (Eisenstein, 1993). In Victoria much progress was made towards devolution in the mid-1980s with the introduction of school councils and local selection of principals (Blackmore, 1999b).

From the late 1980s and into the early 1990s market devolution became a key theme in education reform across all states. In the rhetoric of market devolution, improved student outcomes would be achieved by increasing competition between schools for “clients” and by giving consumers of education (parents and community) a greater level of “choice” in schools (Lingard et al., 2002, 12). Reform in many states gathered pace, with perhaps the most extreme reforms taking place in Victoria where Premier Kennett mobilised social democratic discourse to push individualised market reforms based on parental choice after 1992 (Blackmore, 1999b, 183). Blackmore (2005) argues that neoliberal reforms in Victoria were faster and harder, more extreme and with longer flow-on effects than in any other state.

In New South Wales, education reform was “caught up in national and international imperatives for change” (Sherington, 1995, 171). Yet it was also driven by particular government policies and by the personalities of key people in New South Wales, including Minister for Education, Metherell and the then Premier Greiner. Metherell’s approach was highly confrontational with education unions and parent groups. His first initiative was to announce that there would be a major redirection of resources in the education system in New South Wales. This was to be achieved through a new staffing formula, administrative savings and school amalgamations (Sherington, 1995). The numbers of teaching and administrative positions were cut by 2,400 and 800 respectively, providing savings of $12 million. In return, savings were to be used for increased text book allowances, computer links, increased funding for special education, rural schools and schools in western Sydney.

Metherell also abolished school zoning, which had mandated that all children in a given area should attend a particular school, and introduced
more selective schools for gifted children. These reforms were announced in the name of increasing consumer choice. The impact, however, was to make schools compete for shrinking resources and for funding based on the number of enrolments.

Metherell faced major opposition to this plan from teachers, unions, parents and students. He had intended to achieve the changes through legislative reform but the Coalition did not have the numbers in the upper house and was unable to push through the legislative changes. The program became an industrial relations issue negotiated through the New South Wales Industrial Relations Commission. Productivity-based pay became a key theme, and reforms in New South Wales were linked to federal industrial relations issues surrounding national pay scales for teachers and award review. Overall, proposed reforms became bogged down in this process.

Metherell’s second wave of reform involved review and restructuring of the Department of Education and the education system as a whole. In 1988 the Carrick Review was instigated to examine the legislation and recommend ways to improve the quality of education across the public and private education systems. The Carrick Report recommended changes to administrative systems for the private sector, freeing up the registration and certification of private schools, and the creation of a Board of Studies to develop standardised curricula for schools (Committee of Review of New South Wales Schools. & Carrick, 1989). The reforms stemming from this report enhanced ministerial powers over courses of study (Sherington, 1995).

A further major review instigated by Metherell in 1989 was the Scott Review of the management of the education and training portfolio which reported back to the Minister in early 1990. Scott, a former businessman and management consultant, recommended a major restructuring and reorganisation of state schools. In particular, he recommended that policy and delivery functions be separated, with delivery functions
devolved to local schools and their communities, and central policy functions reduced to curriculum development and overall policy and planning functions. Scott proposed that school Principals should be locally appointed on the basis of merit rather than according to seniority, and that Principals should be allowed to recruit and appoint their own staff. This proposal contrasted with the existing system in which teachers could accumulate transfer points by working in remote or difficult schools, subsequently using them to be appointed to schools of their choice (Management Review: New South Wales Education Portfolio & Scott, 1990).

Under Scott’s proposals, each school would be allocated a global budget and the right to manage its own funds. To assist schools, local councils would be created, and local clusters of schools would be formed to assist in resource management. To facilitate this process the Department’s head office was to be dramatically reduced in terms of its functions and staff.

Under this model, schools would experience an increase in functions and responsibilities with no compensating increase in authority over subject material or evaluation processes. Morrow and colleagues suggest that “schools were being asked to manage their own financial cuts while government retained authority for and control over goal setting, curriculum determination, resource allocation and evaluation” (Morrow et al., 1998, 60). Once again, the education unions, parent and citizen groups and students opposed the changes. In part, the opposition was due to the speed of proposed changes and the perceived attack on the bureaucracy (Sherington, 1995).

In June 1990 Metherell resigned as Minster for Education after being charged with taxation offences. His replacement, Chadwick, took a much more conciliatory approach to relations with teacher unions and parent organisations. She suggested a number of compromise positions, allowing a combination of transfer points and local staff selection.
However, teachers were unwilling to compromise. Eventually, Chadwick agreed to a two year moratorium on the proposal. Chadwick also reversed the Metherell staffing cuts, faced with concern over a potential crisis in teacher numbers and a looming election. There is also some suggestion that Chadwick permitted a more centralist tendency in the Department, with increasing staff numbers in head office over this time. Nevertheless, the Greiner Government achieved a change in the cultural outlook in education through changes to the management discourse, staffing and management structures (Sherington, 1995).

Since the election of the Carr Government there have been some significant changes in education policy and management reform. The rhetoric of the Carr Government tends to focus more on whole-of-government coordination than on devolution. Carr has retained the combined system of transfer points and local appointments initially established by the Coalition. Some elements of global budgeting have been retained, although, as noted above, the DPWS has taken responsibility for negotiating public-sector-wide contracts for building maintenance and contracts for school cleaning. The Carr Government has also re-centralised public sector wage bargaining. Under the Greiner and Fahey Governments all public sector agencies were encouraged to develop enterprise agreements for their workforces. In 1995, soon after its election, the Carr Government negotiated a new Crown Employees (Public Sector Salaries) Award which provided for a 17 percent pay increase in five instalments between January 1997 and December 1999.

In December 1999, the Carr Government made an offer to public sector unions for a 16 percent pay increase in instalments over four years in exchange for a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to continue the process of public sector reform in individual agencies and across the public sector as a whole (O'Donnell, 2000). The MOU specified that only the first 2 percent of the 16 percent would be funded by Treasury, and the remainder would have to be funded by efficiencies arising from the
reforms. This wage agreement and MOU did not cover the education sector, although it did establish the parameters for negotiation.

In 1999, the State Government wished to negotiate significant changes to work practices for school and TAFE teachers. It wished to introduce greater “flexibility” into schools, including the extension of the teaching day in secondary schools, an increase in face-to-face teaching in primary schools, the transfer of certain classifications of teachers to administrative hours (i.e. 9:00-5:00), and the introduction of progression and promotion based on performance assessment (O'Donnell, 2000). This proposal led to industrial action by teachers. In the event, the Teachers’ Federation agreed to a compromise. They agreed that teachers “could not unreasonably refuse to teach senior classes outside ‘normal’ hours” (O'Donnell, 2000), performance appraisal was strengthened, and school teachers could be required to teach at TAFE colleges and TAFE teachers in schools.

As discussed in chapter four, a return to a more collective approach to industrial relations in the New South Wales public sector has improved school teachers’ salaries. A decision by the New South Wales Industrial Relations Commission in 2004 found that there had been significant changes in the value of work undertaken by teachers and that there had been substantial improvements in productivity within school education, for which teachers were primarily responsible. The decision resulted in a 12 percent pay increase for teachers over a 12 month period.

Implications of new managerialism in education

The implementation of neoliberal public sector reform and new managerialist techniques has major implications for school education across the whole of Australia. Devolution, commercialisation and competition policy, accompanied by discourses of the market and of efficiency and effectiveness, have implications for the social justice goals
of school education, for the quality of pedagogical outcomes, and for employment and gender relations at the school level.

As this chapter has shown, reform at the state level of government has driven changes to school education. At the same time there has been pressure applied to education systems from the federal level. In order to pursue its agenda against state opposition to federal intervention, the Howard Government has constructed a crisis in education associated with literacy, job-readiness and high levels of youth unemployment (Morrow et al., 1998). In this rhetorical construction of crisis, teachers are constructed as over-unionised and obstructionist. Therefore it is necessary to restructure their work patterns through curriculum and workplace reform. Teachers must be exposed to “market discipline”.

This language, which is essentially the language that public choice theorists use to describe public sector workers generally, leads to the conclusion that governments should foster the creation of an education market in which schools compete for customers, and in which customers have the right to information about schools’ performance in order to make an “informed choice”. These positions have allowed the Howard Coalition Government to reallocate federal funding for education from the public sector to the private system, as providing choice for more parents. It has also allowed the Howard Coalition Government to introduce policies for national benchmarks in literacy. This appears to be a back-door approach to instigating “league tables” in schools, a move which has been consistently opposed by teachers and unions across Australia (Reid, 1998, 62).

These reforms have major implications for the social justice aims of education. Competition amongst schools for resources, from both public and private sources, tends to reinforce social inequity. Competition amongst schools has worked well for schools serving advantaged communities, but acts to further undermine schools in poorer or already disadvantaged communities. Choice concentrates advantage and
privilege within the education system (Morrow et al., 1998), while competition creates a more stratified hierarchical system (Johnston, 1993, 116).

Historically, education systems in Australia have operated to provide distributive justice, with centrally allocated resources ensuring standards of provision across all schools. Education reform has undermined this priority. Collaborative, democratic aims have been replaced by “market consumption of an atomised, individualistic kind” (Marginson, 1998, 75). Devolution and deregulation have allowed school systems to mirror the social and economic structures of society.

The neoliberal or market reforms in education have major implications for pedagogical outcomes. Kenway and Fitzclarence (1998, 48) have found that as schools are increasingly encouraged to see themselves as “freestanding, entrepreneurial small businesses”, and encouraged to compete for clients, the discourse or language of education has changed. Educational or pedagogical language is replaced with marketing and training language. Rather than focusing on the broader social role of education, the discourse is framed in terms of developing a range of marketable skills.

Reid (1998) argues that with the introduction of new managerialism, schools have adopted a discourse of efficiency, effectiveness, quality, competencies, indicators, products and outcomes that has undermined the pedagogical discourse and has changed the construction of a “good teacher”. In new managerialism, the concept of a good teacher is defined by the measurable and quantifiable capacities that can be included in performance management processes. This construction creates a norm against which to judge teacher performance and a reason to intervene in teachers’ work when they are judged to fall below this norm. Performance management becomes a key aspect of teachers’ work. The field study examines casual teachers’ experiences of managerial discourses in the workplace.
Marginson (1999b) argues that increased competition between schools also has a major impact on the nature of teachers’ work. When a school’s funding and other successes depend upon performance of students against literacy and numeracy standards, the pressure on teachers to improve performance in these subject areas becomes extreme. The focus on these subject areas results in a significant narrowing of the range of educational priorities. Principals have even been found to “temper their staff selection and other activities” to meet these performance measures and “enhance the school’s market position” (Reid, 1998, 62).

In terms of the implications for employment and gender relations at the local level of the school, educational reform appears to have changed the roles of Principals within schools, opening up greater differentials in power. The market view of school-based management constructs Principals as managers and marketers, as entrepreneurs and as surrogate employers rather than as pedagogical leaders (Lingard et al., 2002). Reid (1998, 63) argues that these roles create a strain between Principals and their teaching staff, undermining the collegiality between staff within a school and the professional partnerships amongst Principals between schools.

As line managers and surrogate employers, Principals have significant power over employment and promotion. This creates further tensions within schools, especially as the number of teachers on contract, temporary or casual employment increases. Reid (1998, 63) suggests that this increased power differential makes the relationship between teachers and Principals a classed relationship rather than an educational one. Further, as line managers who are the Department’s representatives in schools, Principals’ loyalties are realigned away from the school community and towards the Department and its priorities. The field study examines the relationships between casual teachers and the Principals and Deputy Principals who employ them, to establish whether
such changes are apparent and whether they have implications for gender relations in the workplace.

Reform processes may also have impacted on the gender relations of teaching. Teaching and management in the education sector have traditionally been organised on gender lines in Australia, with senior teachers and Principals predominantly men and lower level teachers predominantly women (Reid, 1998, 63). The increasing personnel power of Principals and the increasingly casualised workforce have accentuated these power differentials. Blackmore (1996) details how women who are school Principals are expected to take on the entrepreneurial and managerial roles, but are also expected to undertake the work of nurturing and supporting the victims of a free market educational system and casualised workforce. The nurturing aspect of their work has been constructed particularly as women’s work, and there is less expectation for men Principals to undertake this role. The interviewees provide their perceptions on the changing nature of Principals’ work under new managerialism in chapter six.

Reid (1998) argues that divisions in interests are experienced between securely employed permanent teachers and peripheral, casually appointed and less well remunerated teachers; between teachers competing for “promotion positions” which are contract based for finite periods; and between teachers at financially secure, well resourced schools and schools that are less well-off. The operation of an education market, and the development of enterprise bargaining in many states, have encouraged greater individualism amongst teachers (Reid, 1998, 64). There is less evidence of individualism in New South Wales schools in recent years, where the election of the Carr Government has seen a return to collective bargaining. However, there are reports of increasing individualism in states such as Victoria and South Australia where education reform has progressed much further. The field study examines whether casual teachers are experiencing individuation or alienation as a result of their working patterns under new managerialism.
Education reform has also had a material impact on the labour processes of teachers, by increasing work intensity and limiting the capacity of educators to determine the goals and ends of their work. These factors may lead to increased teacher stress, “burn-out” and resignations. Education reform has led to an increase in the number of meetings required to familiarise teachers with curriculum changes and accountability and reporting requirements, and has increased the amount of administrative paperwork expected of teachers. New technology, such as computers, fax machines and email, has made teachers more accessible for students and parents, with an expectation that they will be on call at all times.

Work intensification also has implications for professional development, with teachers allowed less time to maintain their professional knowledge. This can lead to de-intellectualising of teaching, with teachers and Principals performing as skilled technicians rather than theorists (Reid, 1998, 65). Under the neoliberal model of public education, “experts” outside the school system establish the goals of teaching while teachers are charged with implementation. This process means that teachers have less control of the goals and ends of their work, and creates less satisfying work for teachers. The field study examines whether casual teachers have experienced work intensification or deskilling, and how they have responded to these changes.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the nature of public sector reform in Australia. Public sector reform has been one aspect of the neoliberal restructuring agenda associated with globalisation. The chapter examined the underpinning ideologies of reform, the introduction of reform to the New South Wales public sector and to the New South Wales public school education system in particular. It then examined the implications of
public sector reform for employment and gender relations at the local level of the school.

The effects of education reform are not uniform across all states in Australia, let alone across all schools within New South Wales. However, these reforms provide part of the framework within which teachers make their employment choices. Amongst teachers and within schools these reforms are “variously accommodated, appropriated, resisted, embraced or ignored by teachers” (Reid, 1998, 65) within the system. It is the aim of the next three chapters to investigate how educational reform has impacted on the work practices, gender relations and lives of casual teachers who have lived and worked through these changes.
Chapter 6 Casual teaching and its consequences
Introduction

As the previous chapters show, there have been major social, cultural, economic and institutional changes in Australia since the early 1970s. Part III of this thesis examines how these changes have impacted on the lives, working patterns and gender relations of individuals working casually in the education industry in New South Wales.

The choices of the participants reveal the combined influence of structural forces and individual decision-making. Decisions made by the interviewees are influenced by their personalities, abilities, and ambitions. Choices are influenced by values, attitudes and beliefs which are structured by social class, gender, ethnicity and location. But decisions are not taken in a vacuum: the social, economic and cultural institutions of Australia provide a framework for decision-making. As Krüger (2001) suggests, the institutions of a country “form the generative grammar” which explain the national differences in how biographies and changing individual opportunities in the life course interact with social structures inherited from the past.

Participants

There were eleven women and nine men participants. Ten were from a regional location in New South Wales which is referred to as Regional Centre, and ten from various suburbs across the Sydney metropolitan region. Table 6.1 provides a summary of participants’ characteristics, including age, marital status, number of children and rural, regional or metropolitan location.
### Table 6.1 Characteristics of respondents

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Children, ages</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>Widowed</td>
<td>3, 20+</td>
<td>Metro north</td>
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<td>Single</td>
<td>Nil</td>
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<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
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In the recruitment process it was relatively easy to find older women (older than 40) working casually and willing to participate in the project. It was also relatively easy to find younger men (under 40) who were willing to participate. It was more difficult to find younger women and older men who were working casually and willing to participate in the project.

Amongst the participants women seemed to be more willing to discuss their personal lives and to see their personal or home lives as impacting on their work practices. The men were happy to answer questions about work and the workplace but would not give any details of their personal lives. For example, Bill and Doug did not provide any information about their marital status or age; John told me his marital status was single but later mentioned that he had two children. Throughout the interview he
did not describe any personal factors that may have influenced his work patterns.

The age and gender of participants recruited may have been influenced by the nature of the project, but it may also reflect the age and gender structure of casual employment in the education industry. As noted in chapter four, casual employment is heavily dominated by women, as is the education industry. Within the New South Wales public sector, data collected by the Office of the Director of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment (ODEOPE) showed that 16 percent of all public sector employees are casuals. Of these, 86 percent are women and 14 percent are men. In public education, ODEOPE figures for the Department of Education and Training show that more than a third (34 percent) of employees are casual, and of these 83 percent are women compared to 17 percent men (Goodwin & Schofield, c.2001, 29). Recruitment for this field study has over-sampled male teachers (45 percent) in order to identify a broader range of issues that impact on men teaching casually in the New South Wales public education system.

ODEOPE data does not provide a breakdown of casual employment by age and gender. However, as can be seen in figure 6.1, data from the ABS’s survey of part-time work in New South Wales in 1997 demonstrates that men’s part-time and casual employment tends to be highest at the beginning and end of their career span, in the age groups 15-19 and over 45, and lowest during the prime age for family establishment, between 20 and 44. This pattern is reflected among the interviewees recruited for the project. Meanwhile women’s part-time employment increases steadily throughout the prime child-bearing years of 24 to 44 and begins to level off over the age of 44. Most of the women recruited fell into the 24-45 age group.
**Figure 6.1 Distribution of part-time work by age and sex**

![Graph showing distribution of part-time work by age and sex.](image)

(Source: ABS, 1997b)

Age has major implications for the attitudes of individuals towards casual employment. Amongst the younger interviewees (Michael, Scott, Darren and Maureen), casual employment in education was seen as a distinct phase in their career, a type of work that they would do for the short-term until more permanent employment became available. For some older respondents (Val, Bridget), casual employment was an end in itself, and an ongoing aspect of their career or life-cycle, whereas other older respondents saw it as a way of easing out of the labour force into retirement (Ann, Roger).

**The impact of economic and labour market restructuring on participants**

As discussed in chapter three, economic restructuring in Australia has had an impact on the composition of industries and occupations. Both Sydney and Regional Centre show signs of this restructuring. The participants in the project have made their employment and lifestyle choices within the framework created by economic restructuring in Australia and in their particular localities. For some, their choice of geographical location was driven by labour market factors, for others it
was the changing structure of the location that influenced their labour market choices.

**The economic and labour market structure of Sydney and Regional Centre**

Sydney has a wide range of industries and employment opportunities and alternative career options. Sydney has traditionally been a centre with relatively high levels of manufacturing industries. Under restructuring, it has become a major international centre for service industries, particularly tourism, hospitality and education. Sydney has five universities and a large number of public and private primary and secondary schools. The Sydney labour market provides teachers with a range of high-paying alternative options for employment, within the education industry and in other industries.

Regional Centre has traditionally been dominated by agriculture, services to agriculture and the minor processing of agricultural products. In recent years, economic restructuring has seen a diversification of industries. The decline of smaller rural towns and centres has led to the growth of Regional Centre as a major provider of health and community services over a very large geographic area. Similar forces have seen a major increase in retail trade and surprisingly, given its inland location, in hospitality and tourism, based around conferences, conventions and major regional sporting events.

Education has also been a major growth industry for Regional Centre, with a growing university, three public high schools, three Catholic high schools –(restructured in 2004 to create two large co-educational schools) a newly established private Anglican high school and also a new private non-denominational combined primary and high school. It also has a large number of public, religious-based and private primary schools. Apart from the secondary schools in Regional Centre itself, there are a number of outlying smaller towns, up to 50 kilometres distant, where “Central” schools, covering primary through to lower secondary
(Year Ten), operate. Occasionally these central schools offer Year Eleven and Twelve courses by correspondence, although it is more usual for older students to travel to Regional Centre for their senior years. There is also a large Technical College at Regional Centre and the region is a major training centre for the armed forces. All of these educational facilities provide sources of employment for casual teachers within the area. There has been growth in other service occupations in this region, and the range of occupations has increased. However, many of the respondents suggested that opportunities for part-time or casual employment outside the education industry in Regional Centre are not as lucrative as casual teaching can be.

Both Sydney and Regional Centre demonstrate the influence of economic restructuring on their local labour markets, with increasing employment located in the service industries. In Sydney restructuring has led to a diversification of part-time and casual employment opportunities for people trained as teachers. However, in Regional Centre there has not been such a broadening of opportunities.

**Participants’ geographical boundaries**

Most of the interviewees had geographical boundaries within which they preferred to work. For some the boundaries were a distance that could be driven easily within an hour, whereas for others boundaries were created by caring duties or family demands. For example, Michael had submitted an application for full-time employment with the Department of Education and Training at any location within a two hour radius of the small rural town where his ageing parents lived. In the meantime he was working casually in Regional Centre because Regional Centre offered the greatest employment opportunities for his partner. For Susan, the boundaries were much closer as there was only one high school in Regional Centre that was in close proximity to the primary school her daughter attended. Susan needed to be able to pick her daughter up...
after school. She suggested that these limits might be reduced once her daughter started high school.

Others saw teaching as a way of transcending geographical boundaries, a job or a career that they could undertake anywhere in Australia, or in the English-speaking world. Michael had spent some time teaching in the United Kingdom and Darren had plans to travel and teach abroad. In contrast, Peter was a Canadian who had come to Regional Centre in order to gain teaching qualifications that would be recognised when he returned to Canada.

There was only one respondent who could be described as having a global career. Ann trained as a teacher in Western Australia and worked in that system for more than ten years, after which she moved to New South Wales with her partner. In New South Wales she worked in the education system for a couple of years and then left education to work in the publishing industry, becoming General Manager of the Australasian division of the company. At the age of 55, Ann decided to move into a phase of semi-retirement. Over the last two years she has returned to casual teaching as a source of income and for mental stimulation.

As discussed in chapter two, globalisation has had a distinctive impact on the education industry and on labour markets for teachers. The experiences of these teachers demonstrate Blackmore’s argument that globalisation has differential impacts on employment across the education industry. Blackmore (2000b, 479) suggests that some women have gained access to global employment markets while most women school teachers “remain locked into regional, local environments, dependent upon the state”, and that teacher labour markets are becoming increasingly localised and fragmented. The evidence from the field study suggests that while global structural factors such as economic and labour market restructuring have imposed restrictions on some teachers, for others the limits are created by the structures of gender household
relations, the working patterns of partners and other family responsibilities.

**Career structure**

As discussed in chapter four, there is a suggestion within the literature that labour market restructuring and increasing casualisation have changed the essential nature of employment for many people (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Gee, Hull, & Lankshear, 1996; Handy, 1994; Wajcman & Martin, 2002). That is, the model of lifetime employment in the same job or occupation associated with the male-breadwinner model has broken down. In its place has arisen a model in which people take a sequence of short-term or casual appointments across a range of industries. In this model people change their careers and re-train at regular intervals throughout their lives. If this were an accurate description of changes in the labour market we would expect to see cohort differences in the career structures of younger and older participants in the field study.

While the career structures of Michael, Scott, Maureen and Rachel, as younger participants in the project, do seem to match those proposed for a more post-Fordist or casualised workforce, and a number of the older participants (Penny, Marika, Guy, Glynis Carmen and Susan) fit the lifetime career stability model, many of the older participants also seem to fit a casualised model of career structure.

For example, Roger (aged 56) worked for many years as a cleaner and in his spare time as an inventor. He changed career direction quite late in life, and re-trained to become a teacher. Now he works as a teacher casually and continues to invent and develop his hobbies in his spare time. Similarly, John (aged 52) has, throughout his career, worked regularly as a musician, as a private music teacher and as a permanent full-time school teacher as well as a casual supply teacher. Dagma's
(aged 47) career has crossed from school education to university work and other forms of casual employment.

Val (47) worked in a number of industries and across a range of occupations before coming to teaching. Bridget (46) also had a period of employment outside the education industry. The husbands of Val and Bridget also show varied employment patterns. These men, respectively in their late 40s and early 50s, have changed careers a number of times over their working lives. Bill and Doug, from the older cohort (mid-40s), had working patterns that more closely resembled the casualised employment model.

This evidence from the field study suggests that the male-breadwinner model, while hegemonic, was not universal. The existence of peripheralised workers is not entirely new; there has always been a proportion of workers peripherally attached to the labour market. Economic restructuring has not created this phenomenon, merely made it more common amongst workers. The issues surrounding peripheralised workers become crucial when almost a third of the workforce is employed in this pattern, as is the case in public education in New South Wales.

Chapter seven provides a further discussion of the nature of career amongst casual school teachers in terms of the gender implications of career structure.

**The impact of public sector reform**

The reform of the New South Wales public sector and in particular the introduction of new managerialism has had a major impact on the working patterns of teachers, especially amongst casual teachers. The types of casual employment offered by the Department of Education and Training have changed, and managerialism has impacted on pay,
superannuation, promotional status and professional development for casual teachers.

**Types of casual work in public education**

The interviewees identified different types of casual work within public education. One was the “casual supply teacher” or “supply casual”, where a teacher is permanently attached to a school as a full-time teacher, but with no set class load. In this role the teacher lightens the load of other teachers, fills in for teachers on in-service days, and takes classes when others are ill (Guy, Penny). From the evidence of the interviewees, these positions have been common in the past but are relatively rare today, and are most susceptible to funding cuts.

The interviewees also identified similar roles which they referred to as “generalist teacher” or “mobile teacher”. A generalist teacher was a permanent full-time teacher not attached to any particular subject area, who filled in the gaps in the teaching load across a variety of subjects (Bridget), while a mobile teacher was a first-year-out teacher, attached to a specific subject area to fill in gaps and lighten the load of other teachers in the subject area (Rachel). These positions seemed to be dependent on enrolments, and were susceptible to declining numbers of students and to funding cuts. A number of the teachers interviewed had held such positions at various points in their career but had been made redundant despite their permanent status (Guy, Bridget, Val, Rachel and John). Supply casual, generalist or mobile teaching was looked upon quite favourably by most teachers as enabling them to develop long-term relationships with students and with other teachers and to be part of the school community, whilst not requiring them to take on the responsibility of program design, marking or other administrative duties.

A second form of casual teaching was referred to as “casual relief teacher” or “day relief casual”. This is perhaps the best-recognised form of casual teaching. It could follow a request to fill in for a full-time teacher
for one to three days in a single week. It was seen as short-term relief and usually involved very short notice – teachers were rung before 8:00 am of the day they were needed – but it could lead to more regular employment. This form of employment was referred to by some of the interviewees as “soul destroying” (Dagma), “awful” (Glynis) or “horrible work” (Maureen). Teachers identified day relief as less satisfying because it required less of their skills and training. As Rachel expressed it:

Oh yeah casual sucks, day to day stuff is hopeless, some people like it but I don’t, it’s babysitting.

Many of the teachers noted that in this form of casual employment teachers were more likely to come across badly behaved students. There were many comments to the effect that when you are a casual relief teacher the students would “try it on” or do their best to “break” you or undermine your control of the class.

Nevertheless, a number of teachers who had developed good long-term casual relief teaching relationships with a particular school actually preferred this form of employment (Bridget, Guy). For these people it was the next best thing to being a supply casual or a mobile or general teacher. Although they were not permanent and had no real stability in their employment, they had an ongoing relationship with the school community, including the students, teachers and administrative staff. These teachers felt they had the satisfaction of interaction with staff and students and were not required to take on the ongoing responsibilities of programming, marking, or other administrative duties.

A number of the interviewees had adopted this form of employment because they did not wish to work full-time, and casual relief was the only way they could find part-time work in teaching (Rachel, Dagma, Guy). These teachers did not particularly like the irregularity of casual relief and would have preferred permanent part-time work. Rachel commented that she was working casually in the hope that it would lead
to permanent part-time work. Shortly after the interview she was offered a permanent part-time job in a private school close to her home and gave up casual relief teaching.

The third type of casual employment identified by respondents was “block relief”. In this form, casual teachers were brought in to replace another teacher for a block of a couple of weeks, a month, a term or a whole year. Sometimes this could be on a part-time basis – two or three days per week – while in other cases it was full-time. Often the permanent teachers were on sick leave, maternity leave or study leave, although there were examples where a teacher had been dismissed or left suddenly and a casual was called in until a replacement permanent teacher could be found. A number of casuials had been employed for a block only to be replaced by a permanent teacher part-way through the period of employment (Penny, Carmen).

Opinion was quite divided among the interviewees on the benefits of block work. Val and Bridget, both from Regional Centre, both in their 40s with teenage or older children, epitomise the different opinions. Val preferred block work to day relief and had taken blocks across a wide range of subject areas. She enjoyed preparing a program and working with the same classes over a longer period of time. However, she noted that a lot of work went into the preparation of these programs and she would have liked the opportunity to use the programs more than once. On the other hand, Bridget rejected block work, not wanting the extra responsibility and the repetitiveness that came with it. She said that she enjoyed the more relaxed relationship she could develop with students in casual relief teaching:

> Because you are casual you haven't got that expectation to get the work out of them for that particular period, all you are really doing is supervising the work that has been set and making sure that the bulk of it gets done so that they are keeping themselves busy and out of mischief.
In contrast, she saw “normal” classroom teaching as creating a more demanding relationship:

whereas if you are their normal classroom teacher and you have got nine to seven maths – guys you have got to do whatever next week you have got to get this done come on…

Many of the respondents were not able to secure their preferred working patterns. Rachel, Dagma and Glynis wanted long-term block relief but had only been offered casual relief. Val and Bridget were each able to find their preferred type of work whereas Penny and Guy had resisted the individuation of day relief work by developing longer-term relationships with schools, changing less desirable working patterns to meet their needs.

While factors such as educational or labour market opportunities have shaped some of the career choices of the participants, and other structures such as household and workplace gender relations have influenced decisions about working patterns, the types of casual employment do not appear to be linked to any specific characteristics among the participants such as age, gender or marital status. Rather, these choices appear to relate more to the availability of the different types of work, which in turn appears to be driven by management decisions in schools and at departmental level. The removal of mobile and general teachers as a cost-cutting measure in schools has resulted in less satisfying forms of employment for many teachers and some deskilling of casual work. Teachers have responded to these managerialist and cost-cutting processes by developing personal relationships within the school community that allow them to overcome the atomising or individualising nature of casual relief work.
Pay, superannuation, status, performance management and professional development for casual teachers

A number of interviewees identified systemic problems with the pay, superannuation, status and conditions of employment of casual workers in public education.

The interviewees observed that casual relief teachers are not eligible for holiday pay or for any form of sick leave. However, teachers on block relief are eligible for a pro-rata proportion of annual and sick leave. From December 2000, casual teachers in the public system were awarded a 5 percent loading under the Crown Employees (Teachers in Schools and TAFE and Related Employees) Salaries and Conditions Award (the Award). This loading was to be “inclusive of the following incidents of employment: sick leave, family and community service leave, special leave and leave loading”. Many of the teachers interviewed, especially the younger men and the women with families, noted that the six week break over Christmas could be difficult to budget for.

Teachers’ pay is contingent on their years of experience in the job, with a pay scale that increases based on the number of years of employment. A four-year trained teacher starts on step five of the scale and may rise to the maximum level of step thirteen. However, for casual teachers the pay scale is capped at approximately the level of step nine. Under the Award, a teacher on step thirteen receives an annual salary of $58,992 while the maximum salary casual teachers can earn is $52,238 if they were to work 203 days in a year (the same number of days as a permanent full-time teacher).

Thus a teacher such as Guy, who was at the top of the salary scale prior to his decision to work casually, was required to go back to the equivalent of step nine and could not progress to a higher level of pay despite the fact that he was working as a regular casual, full-time for more than three years. He noted that in one year he missed only a few
days of work. Similarly, Penny had worked as a regular casual, on a full-time basis, for more than ten years but could not progress beyond the equivalent of step nine of the pay scale. This was a factor in her decision to return to permanent full-time employment.

A ruling by the New South Wales Court of Appeal (15 November 2004) has recently declared this pay scale to be discriminatory. The Court found that 13 women who were long-term casual state school teachers were subjected to indirect discrimination when they were denied access to the permanent pay scale which provided earnings of up to $10,000 per annum higher than those available to casual employees (SMH, 2004a). The women in the case described employment situations similar to those of Rachel, Dagma, and Penny in this study. Each teacher had worked permanently for the Department but had given up full-time work to meet their family responsibilities. Later they had returned to teaching as long-term casuals. Each had found that as casuals they were on lower pay than during their previous permanent employment. Some had unsuccessfully tried to gain permanent employment within a limited geographical area constrained by their family responsibilities. The 13 women were awarded a damages payout totalling $200,000 plus interest. The Teachers’ Federation has estimated that a further 700 women in similar situations would pursue a discrimination case against the Department of Education and Training (WorkplaceExpress, 2004). The ruling established that artificial salary barriers based on casual employment status are discriminatory. It established a precedent for employers to provide casuals with the same terms and conditions of employment, on a pro-rata basis, as permanent employees.

Almost all of the interviewees noted that in moving to casual employment they were required to resign from their original superannuation scheme and start a new account in a less generous superannuation scheme. This was not an issue for some of the respondents. For example, Guy (42) had used his superannuation to travel, Darren (26) and Maureen (26) had not really begun to think about superannuation yet, and Roger
(56) felt that the investments he and his wife had made in real estate over the years would compensate for his lack of superannuation. Similarly, Ann (57) had investments and superannuation from outside the education industry that she felt would protect her in retirement. In contrast a number of older women who were approaching retirement (Marika, Penny, Dagma) felt resentful about the fact that they had been required to resign for family reasons and had lost their access to the more generous superannuation scheme that had operated during the 1970s.

Casual employment was also identified as having a detrimental effect on a teacher’s priority status for transfer (Dagma). Most of the teachers interviewed in Regional Centre felt that it was difficult to transfer to a permanent position within their local area because they had a poor priority status due to their casual employment.

None of the interviewees had experienced a formal performance management system as casual teachers. Some noted that if their performance was evaluated as poor they were simply not offered further work at that school. It may be that because casuals are usually brought in during staff shortages schools may not have sufficient resources to evaluate their performance. A number of the teachers had experienced performance management when working as permanent teachers (Michael, Penny) or when they started teaching (Rachel, Guy, Darren); however, the number was relatively small given the stated Departmental policies for performance management. This situation may represent a form of resistance by senior teachers, Principals and Deputies to the introduction of new managerialist techniques.

Almost all the teachers interviewed noted that as casual relief teachers they did not have any access to professional development, training or in-service days. Yet they were expected to keep up-to-date with changes to the curriculum and subject syllabi as well as with changes to departmental and school policies and procedures. When asked if she
had ever been offered training opportunities whilst on a block, Susan replied:

No, there was an in-service that came up just a couple of weeks ago and my two colleagues went and I would have liked to go too. But there was only casual cover for one teacher from each school. I was told “don’t worry you will get a turn”. So I am hoping that that will be the case, because I found as a casual teacher you do, you miss out on all that stuff.

*It is hard to keep up with what the policies are and what the changes are.*

Yeah, I mean if you are lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time you will get copies of the new syllabus or a support document or whatever if you just happen to be there at the right time, but otherwise you just don’t know what is out there.

The lack of professional development undermines casual teachers’ ability to keep up and maintain high curriculum standards. Professional development is also seen by teachers as a reward for hard work. By denying casual teachers access to this form of reward or recognition of their work their second class status is reinforced.

**The impact of risk and individuation**

A number of issues raised by the respondents particularly resonated with Ulrich Beck’s (1992; 1994; 1999; 2000) theory of the risk society. As discussed in chapter two, Beck argues that under reflexive modernity a risk society has developed where there is a decline of trust in society and individuals seek insurance or indemnification to protect themselves from adverse occurrences. Beck also sees reflexive modernity as a decollectivising process that leads to increasing individuation. These theories have particular implications for casual teachers in dealing with discipline and child protection and for casual teachers’ attitudes towards union membership.
Discipline and child protection issues for casual teachers

The issue of discipline arose repeatedly as a major theme in the interviews despite the fact that it was not specifically identified in the interview schedule. Teachers talked about discipline both as a reason for moving to casual employment and as a factor that made casual teaching difficult. For Bill, discipline issues and work intensification were the major reasons for the increase in casualisation amongst school teachers.

The reason more people are working part-time is because they have less responsibility, they don't have to set tests or mark them, less extracurricular stuff, don't have to deal with parents and the pay rates are better...

Today there's too much pressure on teachers – too much administrative work and after-school activities and sport on weekends...

Discipline is also a problem. Discipline is the main reason teachers are leaving full-time work... discipline leads to greater absenteeism. Each day, teachers ring in sick and they're not really sick they just can't stand to go to classes anymore. There's a lot of absenteeism amongst full-time teachers and that's why they're leaving. The worst thing that ever happened in schools was when they banned the cane. A lot of teachers say that. Students have got all the rights today and you've got nothing over them.

While none of the other interviewees felt as strongly as Bill about the issue of corporal punishment, a number echoed the feeling that students had more rights, or had become more aware of their rights and that discipline had become more difficult as a result. Many of the teachers, particularly those over 35, felt that the attitudes of young people towards teachers had changed greatly over the course of their teaching, making casual work more difficult. These changes varied from being “more aware of their rights” to “less naïve” or “more aggressive in the playground” or having “less respect for teachers”. Many of the teachers told stories of someone they knew having been insulted or attacked by a student. Rachel described her negative experiences in one high school:
I mean the kids’ attitudes to you and only being a casual you are just like scum and they run you around. I had kids shouting in my face “why should I do work for you, what is it to you, you don’t care why do it?” “Well just do it for your other teacher”. “No not going to do it not going to do it”, “Would you rather come and see me at lunch time?” “No you can put me on but I don’t care I am not coming”. And that is the nice way they put it.

A theme that arose in many of the interviews was the experience of young people who didn’t want to be at school but really had no other options. Bridget discussed this in relation to her senior classes She said that greater numbers of the less academically able students were returning to high school in Years Eleven and Twelve because, although they had tried to find work, jobs just are not available for 16 year olds in Regional Centre.

But a lot of kids have returned that shouldn't have returned, this is just my personal opinion and they are just there for the ride, and you can see they are just there to waste other people’s time, what happened to getting a real job you know it is like… yeah I just find it is more challenging to have say senior classes now because there are a lot of kids there that shouldn’t be there.

Doug supported this view. He argued that

the School Certificate is designed to encourage kids to stay at school. With an 80 percent pass rate it gives kids and parents an inflated sense of their academic abilities so that more people stay on to do Year Eleven and Twelve. But most of these kids who do stay on don't want to be there. That just makes for discipline problems.

Guy linked changes in young people’s behaviour and a lack of parental supervision to changing economic, social and cultural issues in western Sydney.

[at Q] like I said it was different because they had new young parents that had just bought a first home or something and both of them worked and all that sort of thing.

Didn't have enough time for the kids.
No they didn't really but it was you know, they cared for their kids... they just didn't, quite often they were just at work a lot you know and they didn't have time to check the kids had done their work or whatever yeah.

These examples demonstrate how globalisation and economic restructuring have had an indirect effect on the nature of teaching, especially for casual teachers. Changing economic patterns, such as the decline of the youth labour market and work intensification for parents, have increased the stress that teachers feel in the workplace. This in turn may result in greater use of casual teachers to replace permanent teachers on stress leave or sick leave.

Recent changes to child protection policies have affected casual teachers’ interactions with young people. Ann noted that when she returned to teaching, she was worried about the changes to child protection legislation.

Because of the legislation that we have, governing child’s rights and child protection, I think a lot of teachers get quite concerned if not fazed that you can’t touch a child even in a way that allows you to comfort them... I think a lot of teachers are very conscious of children’s rights, parents interpreting children’s rights, sometimes in a not so positive fashion, and teachers just being very conscious about their responsibilities and liabilities.

The increasing government intervention in the area of child protection is a symptom of the risk society that Beck argues is at the base of changing workplace relations. According to Beck, there is a decline in trust of authority figures such as teachers. At the same time the increasing litigiousness of society leads governments to protect themselves from risk. This in turn leads to increased government intervention in social relationships. The effects of these changes are felt by all school teachers.
**Union membership**

Amongst the casual teachers interviewed union membership was high. Fourteen of the twenty respondents were currently members of the union. Two more (Ann, Rachel) had been union members when they were full-time teachers but had not yet rejoined since they had started working casually. Glynis had been a member of the higher education union for most of her working career but had not joined the Teachers’ Federation since she had started working as a casual school teacher. Peter, a Canadian, who had not yet sorted out his working visa, had not yet joined the union but was intending to once he was able to gain a visa. The remaining two interviewees may or may not have been union members, but due to a shortened interview the issue was not canvassed. A number of the respondents felt strongly about union membership and claimed to be active unionists (Penny, Dagma). Val thought it was important as a casual not to be seen as a “scab” by other teachers.

Most of the interviewees thought it was important to be in the union in order to “have someone on your side in case anything happened” (Guy, Susan, Bridget, Carmen, Darren, Scott). The “in case” issues included “in case a child ever accused them of inappropriate actions”, “in case there was ever a problem with senior teachers” or “in case there was ever an issue with pay”. None of those who took this “in case” approach had ever had any need to call upon the union, but they felt that the future was uncertain and that the union offered an insurance policy. For example, Guy summed it up in the following discussion:

*Have you ever been a union member?*

Oh yeah always been a union member.

*Even while you were casual?*

Yeah.

*Because a lot of people let it slip when they are casual.*
No I was always very meticulous about that because especially in the schools that I was in you know like they had a lot of well troubled kids that would have a go at you or you know, I mean not... it wasn't violent but I mean they could accuse you of things or whatever so you just had to have that insurance.

This description of the need for “insurance” supports Beck’s work on the “risk society”, where he argues that in reflexive modernity, risk has become an overwhelming concern for all. However, in contrast to Beck’s claim that risk is used by global neoliberals to undermine the strength of labour and to break down collectivism, in this case the concept of risk has served to reinforce collectivism and strengthen unionisation.

**Political, ideological and professional consciousness**

The interviewees had a range of ideas and attitudes about the political, social and ideological changes in their environment. Some were aware of changes that had impacted on their lives, but most did not make the links between their own lives and broader social, economic and political changes. A number questioned what their lives "had to do with globalisation" (Carmen, Glynis). Few of the interviewees had a reflexive understanding of globalisation, economic restructuring, or labour market restructuring. Some had an understanding of the concept of managerialism or an awareness of the changing workplace culture in the education industry. None of the respondents discussed their work patterns or their gender relations in terms of the impact of globalisation or neoliberalism. Yet many used phrases from neoliberal discourse such as “individual choice” or “flexibility” (Dagma, Penny, Rachel).

A number of the interviewees' lives had been directly impacted by economic, industry and labour market restructuring. When Carmen married she had moved to a small country town where her husband held a public sector position. Rationalisation and restructuring of the public sector agency saw his position moved to Sydney. Carmen quit her full-
time teaching job at this point and they decided to start a family. While her decision to focus on family at this time was based on her desires, it was also affected by the structural changes going on around her in the economy. Carmen expressed some concern that further changes in the public sector could still have an impact on her family's lives.

Bridget described how her husband "started off in the printing game", but had been laid off from that industry and had started his own earthmoving business. Bridget explained that she currently did not need to work for the income as they were quite comfortably off, but in the past her income had provided some stability when the business was being established. Also, she made a conscious decision not to work full-time so that she could assist her husband in the management of the business. Her working patterns were formed in this environment and have continued in this way for many years.

Val also described how her partner's search for ongoing employment drove their "lifestyle choices" for many years, as he tried his hand at running a milk-bar, being a professional football coach and other jobs. Currently he was working for a local utilities company. Val didn't seem to be concerned that utilities are currently subject to major restructuring or rationalisation as once-public organisations are being privatised. With her partner in his late 40s she did not seem worried that he may be faced with redundancy or early retirement.

Other interviewees had structured career decisions around changes in the labour market. Michael had started his career working in a business in Sydney but had decided to quit and re-train as a teacher. He cited the stability of the education industry as well as "lifestyle" factors such as holidays, conditions of employment and increased social interaction as reasons for his decision.

Scott's career choices were also affected by changes in the education industry generally. He was working in two roles within the education
industry. One was a research position at the local university while the other was casual teaching at local high schools. Ideally he would have preferred a job that incorporated both research and teaching but he felt that it would be difficult to gain such a position at the university without further study.

It is a pretty traditional field so basically to be a permanent lecturer it is... you have to have a PhD these days. It is not like IT or newer fields where you don't need, so yeah sure you have to get a PhD to get to be a university kind of teacher.

Scott also expressed concern that his research job was only a contract position and that, after two years of work, it was due for renewal soon. The instability of the position was a double-edged sword. It allowed him a chance to review his career choices and make decisions to change his lifestyle but it also meant that it was more difficult to make long-term plans. At the age of 30 Scott was still living in his parents' home.

Another factor of concern for Scott that was echoed by many of the younger interviewees (Michael, Maureen, Rachel) was the age structure of the education industry and the lack of opportunities for young people entering the industry. When asked if he thought that the retirement of older teachers might open up opportunities for younger workers, Michael replied:

Well that is what they keep saying... Yeah well that is what they keep saying you know, I mean you are told lots of things and stuff like that, yeah it is yet to be seen, who knows they might just work longer, instead of retiring at fifty five or six they might work until sixty five you don’t know... [if their] superannuation doesn’t pay off they are going to stay a bit longer, the government might give them financial incentives to keep them in a bit longer.

However, for other younger interviewees (Darren, Peter) this had not become a concern.
A number of the interviewees had been affected by restructuring within the Department of Education and Training. John had been employed full-time by the Department, giving up his private music teaching business for a permanent position. He seemed to be clearly aware of the political aspects underlying the changes in employment within the Department. He said:

Under Metherell – he cut back all the casual supply teachers – we all lost our jobs, especially the music, craft teachers, language teachers – anyone who worked part-time. It was the Union's way of doing it, they said cut all the temps – I suppose they had a point but it was a terrible time to be in education.

So what did you do?

Well I had to go back on the casual list full-time – I gave up the music teaching business because I was working for the Department so I didn't really have any options.

In contrast Bridget, who went through a similar process, did not make the link between the reduction in employment and the political imperative. Bridget related the story in terms of a fall in student numbers leading to a reduction in the number of teachers needed.

A number of teachers spoke about an increase in managerialism within schools. Michael, who had worked in private business, commented that schools were starting to operate more and more like businesses. He was disappointed, because it was the focus on profits and clients that had led him to change career:

But it is almost as if schools are becoming more corporatised in their approach, I mean I know a Principal that refers to the students as clients.

Oh really?

Yeah, and… I have got a business background and part of the reason I got out of that is because of that type of attitude.

Yeah that focusing on clients all the time.
Yeah, and you see the executives having to fill out a lot of reports and a lot of forms and this type of thing and you know the performance appraisals and all this type of thing and it is very much from the corporate world, so you see more accountability and responsibility, just more pieces of paper coming across your desk.

Penny, who had worked within the education system for 30 years, many of those casually, and who had recently returned to a full-time permanent position, supported Michael’s view of the increased administrative workload of teachers. She felt that teachers were expected to take on extra responsibilities outside the classroom, participate in committees and prepare extra reports.

Penny echoed Rizvi (1999) and Reid’s (1998, 65) arguments (chapter five) that while some aspects of budgeting have been devolved to the local level, schools are still controlled centrally through new accountability mechanisms. She also emphasised that global budgeting is not always an advantage for schools and does not necessarily give them increased control.

Well if you give the budget to the school and you don’t quite give them enough then obviously the school doesn’t do things like maintain the buildings. And then you get into the situation where you are now, that it is an election issue that buildings are poorly maintained. So… the idea of what they call global budgeting, of each school having its own budget and managing its own casuals, has actually not always been to the advantage of the school… they have tried to give more authority to the schools in some areas but they have kept it very centralised in others areas and imposed new responsibilities.

Michael felt that corporatisation and the increased level of local responsibility was moving the focus of teachers away from the educational outcomes of students to a more commercial focus. He said that he had seen:

some faculties maybe not having the interest of the student in mind but rather getting numbers in their faculty, either to save
staff or to build their faculty up, and you see quite a bit and
you see subjects or fights over what faculty is going to have
this subject to teach.

A number of teachers described the changing relationships between
staff and management within schools, in ways supporting the claims by
Reid that these relationships increasingly resemble employer/employee
relationships. Val described how the new Principal at a school where she
had worked regularly for a long period had changed the nature of these
relationships and of the casual teachers' work:

Then the new Principal came in and I wasn't happy with his
way of dealing with things, he was more building an empire
than looking after staff and students and the abuse of staff
was just getting really bad and I thought no don't need money
this bad to put up with this.

Glynis expressed the attitude of not needing money badly enough to put
up with poor treatment by managers. She had retired from full-time work
and had hoped to use casual teaching as a way of remaining involved in
and linked with the community. However, she also noted that she did not
want a permanent part-time job; she wanted a job that she could walk
away from at any time if the manager began to treat her badly. She
wanted to keep working, but only on her own terms. Glynis had a good
understanding of economic rationalism and its impact on the workplace.
She linked the changing nature of work with the increase in economic
rationalism. Having worked full-time in higher education and having a
professional medical qualification, she had experienced workplace
change in both the education and health industries. She felt that in the
past managers were more understanding of people’s work and family
needs but today, with so much focus on the economic bottom line,
managers were less accommodating of people’s needs. She felt that as
a result, workplaces were less democratic. These views echo Beck’s
work on the individuation of the workplace and suggest that individuation
is a two-way process. Individuals alienated in the workplace may
respond by withdrawing from permanent status to work casually in order to insure themselves against negative workplace relationships.

Ann also stated that after working in private industry for many years she had noticed a more business-like approach to school management on her return to teaching:

I was interested because there’s quite a few … I think they’re called Assistant Principals… and the schools that I am involved with have at least three Assistant Principals and then they have executive staff. So, I think what this says is that the Principal’s got a model where he or she can give more responsibilities… like a company or a corporation in that you’ve got your MD who’s your Principal and you’ve got your senior staff, who feed into the information in and then you’ve got your kind of regular staff.

Maureen also had a good understanding of the changing culture within the education industry. In her experience, schools in the Catholic system had a stronger focus on corporatising, on competition, and had a more managerialist approach to education.

Other interviewees described aspects of managerialism without labelling them as such. For example Val described the impact of cost-cutting initiatives adopted by a new Deputy on the use of casual teachers. Bridget had worked in the same school as Val over the same period, and had noticed that she also had been called less during this period. Similarly, Guy described how the cost of casuals had an impact on the hiring choices made by deputies at some schools.

Do you think that that change in the management system had much of an impact on the way that Principals used their casuals?

Yes definitely, because I remember the Deputy and the Principal actually saying that I was being paid at a higher rate, but that they didn’t care as long as I was reliable… but they did try to employ lots of first year outs… and there was a budget consideration because they had to pay them less, but they had to pay me more.
Val, Guy and Bridget described changes in school administration but did not link them to a political or social change. Nevertheless, each described changes in their relationships with senior staff that support Reid’s claim that increased power differentials are opening up between teachers and Principals.

It is clear that for many of the respondents, globalisation, economic and labour market restructuring and public sector reform had tangible impacts on their lives, their employment practices and their workplace relations. However, few used the discourses of globalisation, restructuring or new managerialism to explain or justify their choices.

**Conclusion**

Economic restructuring has impacted on the regional labour markets that structure employment choices. However, for some of the respondents, greater constraints were imposed by gendered household relations, the working patterns of partners and other family responsibilities rather than by changing labour markets per se.

The experiences of the interviewees suggest that economic restructuring has not created the phenomenon of casual work in the education industry; casual employment has been common in the education industry for many years. However, there have been changes in the way casual teachers are used and the opportunities available through casual teaching.

Economic restructuring has impacted on the labour processes of casual teachers through increasing responsibility and workloads, especially at the Year Eleven and Twelve levels where the loss of youth labour markets has led to higher retention rates. Work intensification through labour market restructuring and public sector reform has impacted directly and indirectly on the work of teachers. Indirectly, the work
intensification of children’s parents leads to increased responsibility for teachers. In a direct sense, teachers feel that they are required to take on more extra-curricular responsibility for their students.

Public sector reform has changed the types of working pattern available to casual teachers and has impacted on pay, superannuation, transfer status and professional development for casual teachers. Under new managerialism in public education, the increased use of casual teachers, rather than mobile or generalist teachers, undermines the employment entitlements of teachers. Casual teachers are often made to feel second rate compared to permanent teachers, both through systematic discrimination and in their treatment by other permanent teachers. Casual teachers now represent over a third of all teachers in the New South Wales public education system. This means that a third of all teachers have sub-standard or second-rate employment entitlements.

Risk and individuation have structured casual teachers’ responses to discipline and child protection policies and their attitudes towards union membership.

A number of the respondents demonstrated reflexive awareness of globalisation, economic restructuring and new managerialism. Some respondents used the neoliberal language of globalisation, restructuring and public sector reform without a reflexive awareness, while still others did not use these discourses but rather described their choices in terms of other structures such as gender relations in the workplace or in the household. Chapter seven examines the nature of gender relations in the household and the workplace in terms of the impact of such relations on work patterns and practices.
Chapter 7 Gender relations and casual teaching
Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the changing gender relations in the workplace and the home. For many of the interviewees, these relationships were crucial in structuring their employment choices and decisions.

Gender relations in the workplace

Gender is a key component in the social relations that structure the workplace and the patterns of employment adopted by workers. Teaching has always been a highly gendered occupation, and it is important to examine whether this aspect has changed under the influence of globalisation and whether casualisation represents an extra dimension of discrimination for women within the occupation, further removing them from decision-making opportunities.

Career choices

The concept of career has been much examined in feminist literature. The word “career” has traditionally been used to describe a sequence of occupational statuses that progresses in an upwards fashion throughout a continuous period of work. However feminist writers have noted that “women’s life paths are neither orderly nor neatly segmented as they move in and out of education, employment and community and family roles” (Moen & Han, 2001, 424). Moen and Han use the concept of career in a life-course sense to describe the movement of individuals through jobs, and through transitions and trajectories of both work and family life, rather than a planned pattern of work or promotion. They emphasise that careers must be understood within the framework of “biography, cultural norms, historical context and the institutionalised opportunity structure” (Moen & Han, 2001, 424). This understanding of “career” informs the discussion in this thesis.

Gender plays an important role in all aspects of employment and life cycle decisions. For many of the interviewees it directed their decisions.
to study to become teachers. Dagma explained that she became a teacher

Because I was female, because it was the 1970s and because realistically the only jobs people talked about for women were teaching and nursing and I never wanted to be a nurse... That was the other option really, I mean realistically we weren't encouraged to do anything else.

Bridget similarly described her options as teaching or nursing, and having been turned off nursing after eight weeks in hospital as a teenager she decided to follow a career in education because she liked children. Marika, Penny and Ann shared this view, emphasising that there was an expectation, particularly for middle-class women, that they would give something back to society, contribute in some way.

A number of women (Rachel, Bridget, Val) talked of choosing teaching as a career because it would allow them to have a family and combine work with family responsibilities:

I am very much a family person, I have always said you know I am getting married and I am having children and I have always been a person who wanted to stay at home with their children, or be there after school and those sort of things, and teaching of course meets all those requirements I think, I guess that is why I decided to do it (Rachel).

A number of the interviewees (Susan, Carmen, Darren, Maureen) felt that they did not actively choose to become teachers, but fell into it almost by default.

When I finished Year Twelve I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do, I knew I wanted to go to uni, for the life if not anything else, just experience it. So I thought if I do a business course that is fairly general I can sort of branch off into a few things. After about a year and a half of that I thought "oh this isn't for me". I always had teaching in the back of my mind, it was actually my second preference after business, so I thought "I will just finish off the year and then switch to teaching" (Darren).
Meanwhile, a number of relatively young interviewees (Rachel, Michael, Scott) in their early to mid-30s had started careers in other industries and decided to move to teaching for “lifestyle” reasons, family reasons or for more social stimulus.

I worked in scientific laboratories and things like that, and by about oh that was when I graduated in 1995 and by about 1997 I started tutoring and teaching things at university and by 1998 I did a dip-ed because I enjoyed that kind of thing so much (Scott).

Two of the older interviewees (Val, Roger) had come to teaching as mature aged students, having had extensive careers in lower clerical or service industry roles. Others expressed a desire to work in a subject area that had led them to teaching. For example, Guy and John had become music teachers, Susan became an art teacher and Ann and Darren had started training as physical education teachers and later branched out.

**Reasons for working casually**

When asked how and why they had come to casual work, nine of the respondents talked of having made a conscious decision to move to casual work. The other eleven described it as their only option or said they had simply fallen into the pattern, having been asked by someone to fill-in. Eight of the eleven women described having chosen to have a family, which in turn drove their decisions about their working patterns. Dagma expressed best the ambivalence towards this “decision-making” process. At one point in the interview she described “the old clock ticking over” and a biological imperative to have a child “must have child, must have child, must do it now, do it now, do it now, do it now!!!” Later she said:

We actively chose to have children... because we actively were deciding whether to have children or not, we actively decided to have children... so it was probably a decision on my part I wanted them, and my partner as well, but at that stage I didn't realise the impact it would have on my career. Not that I would have opted to do it a different way in
hindsight. I am not regretting my time with the children, I am not regretting having given up work for them. But I do regret not having superannuation and not having a permanent job…

**Gendered nature of teaching as an occupation**

Most of the teachers interviewed were aware of the gendered nature of teaching as an occupation. They were aware that primary teaching was a particularly feminised area and that within high schools some subjects tended to be particularly male- or female-dominated. There was a perception amongst the interviewees that most casual teachers were women and that a much lower number of casuals were men.

When asked about the gender mix at schools almost all the participants noted that traditional gender patterns still existed in some schools. That is, subject areas like English, art, music and history tended to be dominated by women while areas such as maths and science tended to be dominated by men. It was also noted that while there had been some change over the last 20-30 years, there still tended to be more men in the “promotional” or hierarchical positions. Once again, there was some recognition of this as a gender issue, but other interviewees saw it as just part of the job – it was natural that most of the teachers in the woodwork section were men, while those in the home science area were all women (Val). Many noted that there had been dramatic changes over their working life and that there were more women in previously male-dominated areas these days and higher levels of promotion for women. However, it was also perceived that the number of men in teaching was in decline, particularly at the primary level but also in secondary schools. There did not appear to be many examples of men entering female-dominated subject areas such as home science.

Penny noted that the changing gender structure of the higher level positions in schools had resulted in a greater diversity of acceptable management styles. She stated that in the 1970s when she had begun teaching, women who took on Principal roles “had to be tough”; they had
to adopt a masculine style of management. Today, she felt that women Principals could adopt a more nurturing style of management. To some extent this parallels the claim by Blackmore (1996) that in a managerialist approach to education, women Principals are expected to take on entrepreneurial and managerial roles, but are also expected to undertake the work of nurturing and supporting the victims of a free market educational system and casualised workforce. The nurturing aspect of their work has been constructed particularly as women’s work, and there is less expectation for men Principals to undertake this role.

**Gender bias in employment patterns**

The participants’ key contact person within schools was normally a Deputy Principal responsible for recruiting casuals and allocating work. In almost all cases this Deputy Principal was a man, although many said they knew of schools where the Principal or Deputy was a woman. Casual teachers expressed the view that they were at the mercy of the Deputy; “I know I’m as disposable as the next tissue out of the box” (Val). In a number of cases the Deputy concerned appeared to make decisions along gender lines, although these were not recognised as such by the participants. Connell (forthcoming) has noted such a phenomenon in the Gender Equity in Public Institutions study, in what he terms “gender elsewhere”. Respondents presented the problem not as a “gender issue”, but as one of personality or favouritism. For example, when asked if she had ever experienced discrimination, Dagma said:

> Yes, the ratbag Deputy who didn't employ me. But I don't know that it is discrimination, I think it is just favouritism for the ones he knew and knew were more… yeah actually I wonder… he had a male… I mean I don't know it is probably not, but he had a male employed who went overseas and then he re-employed another male.

Dagma also suggested that perhaps she was offered less casual work because she had stipulated the type of work she wanted to do. She did not want to do single-day casual relief; she wanted to do longer blocks,
particularly in her subject area. She suggested that perhaps the Deputy wanted someone more compliant, or else he simply had enough “regulars” whom he favoured above her. Others (Penny, Rachel and Glynis) also found that if they placed stipulations on the type of work they would accept they were not offered very much work. Many respondents noted the importance of being compliant in order to get work. For example, Guy suggested that he got more work by always being available, reliable and flexible:

And once you started working casually how did how did that work, you were able to just say yes and no whenever you wanted and..?

Yeah but I always said yes.

I remember the Deputy and the Principal actually saying that I was being paid at a higher rate, [but] that they didn’t care as long as I was reliable… they could rely on me turning up. Because they had problems finding casuals and because I was flexible I didn’t argue with them about you know if I was teaching five periods a day or whatever, it was fine, five out of six or whatever and I would just do it you know.

Similarly, Val, who trained initially as a primary school teacher and preferred to do long blocks, talked about her willingness to do classes in any subject area, from senior economics or science, to Year Seven woodwork and home economics, and to make herself available. At one point she said:

But yeah they looked after me really because I made myself available every day and didn’t go golfing or you know and even when I was sick I would go in, they looked after me by putting me number one every morning...

Giving you a ring first..

Yeah and if there was a block well they would offer it to me first.
Similarly Darren talked of having been a favourite at one of the schools where he worked. He believed that his good relations with the Deputy helped him to get regular casual work:

Yeah, I was pretty lucky in that respect because I got on with the Deputy really, really well so he called me the number one casual, he told me I would always be the first person he would ring if there was work lined up so that was good, had it all worked out.

Almost all of those working regularly as casuals talked about being flexible and willing to do odd extra periods. A number were quite aware of their entitlements in terms of the number of periods they were required to work per day. For example, Penny noted that casuals should only be expected to teach six periods out of eight per day, but that many schools “loaded up” their casuals with eight periods in a day plus playground duty. Penny herself was quite willing to stand up for these rights. She argued that if the Deputy could show her that this load was someone’s regular timetable, then she would do the full load; however, it was usually obvious that the Deputy was trying to use one casual to replace two full-time teachers, in which case Penny would object.

Darren also noted that when he was on a single day of casual relief, other teachers who were present on the day would approach him if he had a free period, and ask him to take their classes while they “ran errands”. Darren, a first-year out teacher, would often agree to help out, in order to get along with the other teachers.

Val also talked about give and take: “you’ve got to give them some extras”; and yet, when asked later if she had ever refused work, she said no. Asked why she continued to work casually and if she would ever apply for a full-time position, she suggested that being a casual let her feel that she wouldn’t be “letting anyone down” if she was unable to work or if she needed to spend more time with her family. It appears that Val
was willing to “give” in case of future needs, but had never really applied the “take” side of the equation.

Almost all of the respondents talked of an experience where they had seen the rules “bent” for someone who was a favourite, to enable a casual to move directly to permanent full-time work, or for a job to be cobbled together from scraps in different departments. Three had even been recipients of this form of favouritism (Guy, Penny, Bridget).

A number of respondents had found regular casual employment in a school through the nexus of social relations. For example, Penny had been approached by a neighbour who was working full-time in a local school to fill in for a couple of days per week. Marika started back as a casual after taking a career break to start a family, when she was approached by a member of her husband’s squash team who happened to be the Principal at a local school. Darren described how, when he was playing in a local cricket team, one of his team-mates approached him to work casually at a central school 40 kilometres from Regional Centre, saying “Why don’t you come out and work for us when you finish up your course?” Informal networks seem to have helped a number of teachers to break into the system. Glynis, who had been working in another industry for most of her career and therefore did not have strong social networks in the school sector, found it quite difficult to break into the casual network amongst local schools. Although favouritism and informal networks were not necessarily gender-based, they did create avenues through which casuals could experience gender bias.

The way that men and women were treated as casual teachers often revealed an underlying assumption that men were working to support a family, that is, that they provided a primary income, while women were working for the extras, or a supplementary or secondary income. For example, at one point in her career, Bridget had been appointed to a permanent full-time position as a generalist teacher. After she had been
three years in the position, enrolments at the school fell and they needed to lose one teacher. Bridget noted:

and it came down to no particular subject area, so it came down to the two general teachers, one of which was a male who was supporting his, like he was divorced from his family so I said well I am not going to compete with that so I volunteered to go for redundancy.

Susan, who had recently been separated from her husband, felt somewhat constrained and perhaps a little bitter about the priority given to men as breadwinners. She noted that although her husband paid a small amount of maintenance and that they shared custody of the children, her income could no longer be seen as supplementary, but rather was the primary income for herself and two children. At the time of the interview, Susan had a block of work for the remainder of the year and there were signs that the block may have been extended beyond the year, but she still expressed unease at the lack of security in her employment. Asked if she would seek a Departmental transfer to full-time work she explained that if she requested a full-time position she might be allocated a position away from Regional Centre. Currently, her primary school-aged daughter was attending a school close to the high school where Susan worked, allowing Susan to pick her up after school. If offered a job in any other school in Regional Centre or surrounds, Susan would not have been able to get to the primary school in time. Given that her husband had joint custody of the children, Susan felt that if she were offered a job in another region or rural centre she could not accept it. In this regard she felt that she was constrained to work casually at least until her daughter was at high school.

Other teachers noted the tenuousness of casual teachers’ relationships with a particular school. Val, who had been a regular casual at a particular school, and had described being favoured, the first person they’d ring if they needed someone to fill in, stated that early that year she had asked the Deputy not to call her for the first two weeks of term so that she could spend some time helping her daughter search for
employment. As a result Val had not been offered much work that term, only five days for the whole term. She felt that she had moved from being a favourite to being on the outer because of a simple request for two weeks off.

**Discrimination**

The participants were asked if they had ever felt that they were discriminated against or treated differently because they were casuals or because of their gender or for any other reason. A number of respondents, particularly amongst the women, reported systemic discrimination. Dagma suggested that the Department of Education and Training could be more flexible in allowing women to work part-time or allowing a career break for families. She resented the fact that because of deciding to take more than one year off while her children were very young she was required to resign from the Department, relinquishing her right of return to a full-time position in the same school, her promotional status and seniority, as well as losing access to her superannuation. A career break for family purposes can also be damaging for women’s employment prospects. Rachel noted that when she applied for jobs in education after a career break of eight years it was assumed that she had been doing nothing in that time. Her experiences in child rearing and in part-time jobs outside the education industry were not recognised as skills that could contribute to education. It was only when she changed her résumé to emphasise the educational aspects of the other part-time work she had undertaken during those eight years that she had success in her applications for work. In contrast, Ann, who had worked outside the education industry for eleven years and become the General Manager for the Australasian division of a publishing company, had experienced no difficulties in returning to casual teaching.

Some teachers had a greater awareness of gender issues and discrimination than others. Penny, Dagma, Rachel, Glynis, Maureen, Roger and to some extent Michael, Carmen and Marika seemed aware
of gender issues both in the workplace and in the home, and had a strong understanding of discrimination. Bridget, Val, Darren, Peter, Guy, Doug and Bill seemed much less aware of these issues. Susan, having recently separated from her husband, seemed to be developing stronger awareness while Ann and John were aware of discrimination issues in the workplace but linked them more to issues of sexual preference or race than to gender.

When asked about discrimination, many of the interviewees looked blank or shook their heads, and said that they had never experienced any form of discrimination. However, at later points in the interviews they discussed experiences which seemed discriminatory to the interviewer. For example, Penny described her relations with other teachers and supervisors as generally amicable and yet described a couple of situations where her treatment as a casual was very poor. In one case she was employed ostensibly for a full year, but her appointment was suddenly cut short. She said that although she knew that someone could be permanently appointed she had begun to assume that she would be there for the whole year. She also stated that the head teacher handled the situation badly and said of the incident:

The head teacher of the department told me that I wasn't needed as he passed me on the stairs. “Oh they’re appointing someone tomorrow you don’t need to come in any more”. And I thought, it wasn't the not coming in that was worrying me, it was the way he said it. But that is just bad people skills. You come across that a lot in teaching.

In another incident, Penny had been working as a regular casual at one school for seven years when the Principal made a speech to a staff meeting which demonstrated a lack of respect for casual staff. She said:

At a staff meeting [he] basically said “some of our casual and part-timers have been bad-mouthing the school” and I knew it wasn’t me but just the way he said it in the staff meeting I thought that is disgusting. And he said “and if there is anybody here that doesn’t like teaching here they can come and get a transfer form”. And I thought “that is a good idea I
will go and get a transfer form and I will make sure I get a transfer not to permanent part-time but to full-time”.

Similarly, Carmen told a story of being treated as a “non-person” as a casual teacher. She had been employed to teach one day per week for a whole term, only to turn up one day half-way through the term to find a new teacher in the classroom. The school had employed a new full-time, permanent teacher and had not informed Carmen. When she went to the Principal to discuss the issue, she says that he looked at her blankly and asked, “Who are you?”

Val noted that other teachers did not take much notice of what she said, as if, being a casual, she didn’t count.

In the respect that they’re not really interested in my opinion, say perhaps you know a staff meeting faculty meeting or I can say what I like but nobody seems to listen.

*It doesn’t really count in the final wash up sort of thing.*

Yeah, that is…

*And is that because you are a casual do you think?*

I think so I think so because, whether it is because they know that I won’t be there after this date or it is the how would you know…

*You haven’t been here very long anyway…*

Yeah, whether it is that but yeah it is not, even with having worked there all year last year and the head teacher was great and couldn’t have got asked for more support, he couldn’t have given any more support it was still I was still felt I was a casual.

*Still on the outer…*

Yeah.

Many teachers (Dagma, Glynis, Darren, Carmen) also described how casual teaching could be a very isolating experience with very little information given to new casual teachers when they arrived. Darren described his first day as a new casual in one school:
Oh well when I was first at M..., my very first day there they just sort of said right there is your classes there is your work and I am just like what, no one told me where the classes were, no one told me the behaviour management strategies they use at the school, no one told me the reward systems they had, no one told me anything, I just had to go and ask myself, they sort of just throw you in at the deep end at first but there you go.

A number of the men interviewed also experienced discrimination, as casuals, as men, or on a racial basis. Scott described an incident where as a casual he was not given access to the resources he needed to do his job:

A teacher left me some work to do in the science computer labs right which is fine I have done that plenty of times before, [on my way I] walked past another teacher and he said “oh look we can’t let casuals use that room”. Even though I was sharing his classes for about three terms in a block, and he knew how capable I am in the laboratory, making sure no one knocks off a PC out the side window. But there has been a recent problem with things going missing, and the first line of defence “oh maybe some casual did it”.

Two men interviewed in the field study also described situations where they felt that they had been treated differently to other casual teachers simply because they were men. Michael suggested that it was expected that because he was a man he could deal with difficult or unruly classes, that he could impose discipline:

Sometimes you feel because you are male and sort of that you are given harder classes, I mean I know for a fact that I have been put onto more difficult sports because you know for some reason they think that I might be better able to manage that situation.

Similarly, Darren noted that on occasions when he had taken a day of casual relief at an all-boys school he was allocated the more physical lessons like physical education, while another casual, a woman, was allocated classes such as English and science.
Yeah I guess yeah like when I was at M… I was doing a fair bit of PE as well like there was myself and another teacher, I did a fair bit of PE and I found often that I was doing the PE and she was off doing the English and science.

One of the respondents, an Indigenous man, identified that he had been discriminated against because of his Aboriginality and his willingness to identify and stand up to discrimination against Aboriginal children in the education system. He had experienced discrimination on both a systemic and personal level, experiencing racist insults and lack of access to casual work because he was seen as a trouble-maker. This experience suggests that other forms of discrimination may exacerbate the difficulties experienced by casual teachers.

**Gender relations in the household**

As discussed in chapter three, economic restructuring in Australia has led to change in the gender order, including household gender relations. In chapter three it was argued that there has been a move from a “male-breadwinner” or Fordist gender regime to a post-Fordist or what Macdonald (2000) and Pusey (1999) have referred to as a gender equity model.

Amongst the participants in this project none appeared to have a purely Fordist gender regime in their household relations, but none had a purely gender equity model of gender relations either. The respondents appeared to have household gender relations that were somewhere along the continuum between these extremes. A number of interviewees also described changing gender household relations throughout different phases of their life-cycles.

Seven of the eleven women interviewed were married with two or three children. Another woman (Susan) was recently divorced but had lived in a conjugal household for most of her working life. Of the remaining three women, one was single with no children (Maureen), one was a long-term single mother, divorced and never remarried (Glynis) and one was in a
long-term same-sex relationship with no children (Ann). Of those who were married with children, all had taken primary responsibility for caring for their children. Three of the women who had family responsibilities had resigned from permanent positions in the education industry when they were married, in order to follow their husbands to a new town (Bridget, Susan, Carmen). These women had turned to casual employment in education relatively soon after marriage but had not been able to transfer to a permanent position in the town where their husbands worked. When these women had started a family, they were casual employees of the Department and hence were not eligible for maternity leave. As Bridget explained:

\begin{quote}
So when you actually got pregnant with the kids did you actually take maternity leave at that time?
\end{quote}

Wasn’t eligible.

\begin{quote}
Wasn’t eligible, because you were casual?
\end{quote}

Mm, I think these days if you are doing a block now you are but I wasn’t eligible, I have just always been grateful for the money that I have had and I haven’t gone after I haven’t chased any additional things, I just think oh, what was I it was about thirteen fourteen months when I was meant to go back but it was only about nine months and someone rang up and said we are desperate we need you to come.

Rachel and Marika, two of the women with family responsibilities, had taken maternity leave from full-time positions with the Department when their first babies had been born, but had not intended to return to work and resigned when their maternity leave was completed. Dagma and Penny had taken maternity leave and then returned to full-time work. But feeling constrained by the inflexible maternity leave provisions, lack of access to part-time work, lack of childcare assistance, travelling distance to work, and general stress levels, both women had eventually resigned from their permanent full-time positions and had taken up casual day relief. The other woman with family responsibilities, Val, had been studying to become a teacher while her children were very young, and commenced teaching only after the children had started school. None of
these women’s husbands had taken time off work to care for children while the children were very young.

For these women, their situation in the period when they were caring for very young children was close to a male-breadwinner or Fordist household gender regime. Asked if their husbands had ever considered taking time off from their careers in order to look after children most responded negatively. For two of the older women (Val and Bridget) the idea of men taking primary responsibility for children was relatively foreign. This was a common response amongst younger women too. Rachel (aged 35) actually laughed at the thought of her husband taking such responsibilities. She then justified their gendered division of household labour on a number of levels: her husband was running the family business and her immediate family was not the only one dependent on him working full-time; she had always wanted to be a mother and take prime responsibility for the children; and her earning potential was less than his.

My husband had the same attitude as me to bringing up children and always saw that one of us, basically me, would not be working.

And he never wanted to swap with you and take some time off from his work or anything like that?

(laughs) No.

He has always been keen to keep working then.

He runs the family businesses and basically if he stops running then nobody else is going to do it for you and it is not only my family.

Yeah, no that makes sense.

And he earned substantially more money than a teacher does.

Dagma described her household relations as relatively equitable. Her husband had a flexible job that allowed him to share responsibility for taking the children to school and picking them up. However, even in this
equitable relationship it had been Dagma who had taken time off work to be the primary care-giver, and Dagma who had resigned from work to be a full-time parent while the children were young. Even when her husband had returned to full-time study, Dagma had retained primary responsibility for the care of the children.

All of the women who were in heterosexual relationships and had young children emphasised how supportive their husbands had been in encouraging them to seek work outside the home. However, from the discussions it appeared that very few of the men had actually made any concessions from their own careers for family caring. Marika and Penny and to some extent Bridget, while emphasising that their husbands had supported their decision to work, excused their husbands from taking responsibility for child rearing on the basis that they were running their own businesses and did not have the time or opportunity to be more involved with their children.

The women’s responsibility for caring for children also extended to the household chores of grocery shopping, food preparation, cleaning and washing. Val talked of her husband being absorbed with his work and only getting home at 7:00 pm in time for dinner. Others (Marika, Penny and Bridget) suggested that working casually gave them enough time to care for their family.

The pattern of men supporting their wives’ careers outside the home while not being prepared to shoulder more of the household responsibilities was also seen amongst the younger men interviewed. Michael (aged 32) talked of the importance of living in a place where his partner could find work and emphasised the importance of her career in their relationship. Later in the interview we discussed whether they would ever have a family and whether he had ever considered taking time out of his career for family responsibilities. All of his discussion of the possibility of a family was based around his partner’s career and her
decisions about having children, while he regarded it as unlikely that he would take time out of employment for child-care.

Amongst the other younger men, Darren, Scott and Peter, none was currently in a long-term relationship, and all classified themselves as single. Each of these young men thought that they might one day have a family, but none of them had considered the possibility of taking time out of their career for family responsibilities. They seemed to consider that full-time employment was entirely compatible with family responsibilities. In contrast, Maureen, the only single young woman interviewed, had considered the impact that having a family would have on her career.

Amongst the older men it was more difficult to identify household gender patterns. John, Bill and Doug were happy to talk about their decisions to work casually and the nature of casual employment in the education industry, but did not volunteer information about their home life. From observations it appeared that Bill was single and currently living with his mother, while Doug was married and John identified himself as single, noting however that he had two children. For these men, career and home life were quite separate, divided along public and private lines. They did not describe their decisions to work casually as linked in any way to factors in their private lives.

Similarly, Guy identified as single, and while he was more forthcoming about major events in his life such as having had cancer, he also spoke very little about relationships. When asked about family he noted that he was not very close to his family and that he usually travelled at Christmas rather than spending time with them. That is, his discussion of family encompassed only his family of origin, and he did not speak as though he had any intention of forming a family of his own.

Of the older men, only Roger spoke freely about his family and his role within it. Roger, who described a non-traditional pattern of gender household relations, was married with two children. His partner was a
professional (an accountant) who had worked continuously, while Roger had taken primary responsibility for the child rearing and household chores. That is, Roger had provided the secondary or supplementary income for his family, while his wife had provided the primary income. Roger had worked as a cleaner for most of his career and he explained that this had given him great flexibility for family responsibilities. He had come to teaching late in his career, at approximately the age of 50, had only been teaching for about five years, and had no intention of working as a full-time, permanent teacher. This model of household gender relations may not be the “gender equity” model of household relations, but it shares with that model the fact that allocation of household tasks was not based on gendered assumptions of the “natural order”. The example of Roger and his wife shows that even amongst an older generation of workers the male-breadwinner model was not the only form of household gender relations in Australia.

This field study has found that the attitudes of men towards their wives undertaking paid employment were relatively positive, suggesting a rejection of the classic Fordist or male-breadwinner model, and an adoption of a dual income-earning model of gender relations. However, in most instances this dual income was composed of a primary and secondary or supplementary income. In this dual income model, one party still took greater responsibility for maintaining the household and caring for the children, and in doing so, took time out from a full-time career or employment. Generally it was the women who provided the secondary income. In the period that one member of the partnership was not working full-time, the household gender relations tended to revert to a Fordist or male-breadwinner model (in Roger’s case perhaps a female-breadwinner model) until children were old enough to attend school.

Most of the interviewees rejected a purely Fordist model of gender relations in the household. All of the participants recognised women’s rights to work in paid employment outside the home and in many cases the interviewees also noted the economic need or incentive for two
incomes. The interviewees also recognised the importance of paid employment outside the home for women to gain a sense of identity, fulfilment and mental stimulation. That is, both the social and economic importance of women's paid labour was recognised by the interviewees. However, in almost every case, the allocation of caring and nurturing work was based on a gendered division of labour. In almost all of the cases where children were present, it was women who had taken the primary responsibility for their care. Respondents took the view that caring work was the role of women, while it was important for men to maintain their careers and provide economic support for their family. Conversely, it was less important for women to provide economic support for families.

These findings replicate those of Bittman and Pixley (1997, 145) that “domestic work remains women’s responsibility even though most people believe that housework should be shared”. Using data from ABS time use surveys, Bittman and Pixley found that in 1992, 70 percent of the total time devoted to unpaid or household work was provided by women. This occurred despite the fact that a survey of Sydney couples found that 81 percent of men and 97 percent of women believed that such work should be equally shared (Bittman & Pixley, 1997, 147).

The findings of the field study suggest that modern household gender relations are still somewhat distant from the ideal gender equity model posited by McDonald (2000) and utilised by Pusey (1999; 2003). Housework, and particularly childwork, remains the primary responsibility of women.

**Preference theory and casual employment**

There has been considerable debate about the attitudes of peripheral or casual workers towards employment. A number of theorists have argued that casual workers do not have a strong attachment to the workplace or a strong commitment to or sense of career, and that this is a major
reason for their willingness to accept casual employment (Norris & Wooden, 1996; Wooden & Warren, 2003).

An influential recent account of this issue by British sociologist Hakim (1995; 2002; 2003) goes further. Hakim has developed “preference theory” to explain women’s labour market position, arguing that “recent social and economic changes give women genuine choices for the first time in history” (2002, 428). She argues that women choose from three distinct patterns of paid employment and family work, based on their personal preferences. These three patterns are the home-centred woman who would prefer to focus full-time on caring for family and not participate in paid employment at all; the work-centred woman who would prefer a full-time career without the distraction of caring for a family; and the adaptive woman who would prefer to combine paid employment and family work without giving priority to either sphere (Hakim, 2002, 343-347). Hakim goes so far as to categorise all women into these groups, arguing that 10-20 percent of women are home-centred, 10-20 percent are work-centred and the remaining 40-60 percent are adaptive. Most of Hakim’s work focuses on Britain and the United States; however, she has also applied her model to Australia (Phillips, 2002; Hakim, 2003).

Hakim’s model presents difficulties on a number of levels. Firstly, the simplicity of the categories does not seem to cater for the range of preferences women display. Secondly, the claim that preference is the main determinant for women’s employment patterns does not seem to match the evidence from this field study. On a third level, Hakim seems to suggest that while women’s choices have increased, men’s choices have not similarly increased. That is, she argues that agency is more important than structure for women, but not for men.

Using Hakim’s model, most of the women who participated in the field study would be considered adaptive. However, this framework does not match the priorities identified by the women themselves. Four of the
women in the study (Penny, Marika, Dagma and Susan) felt that their priorities throughout their lives had incorporated both work and family. Three women identified quite clearly as work-centred (Glynis, Maureen, Ann) while four women identified most strongly as home-centred (Rachel, Val, Bridget and Carman). Nevertheless, the women exhibited an ambivalence towards their stated priorities. They identified a range of priorities and signalled that their priorities changed through different phases of their life-cycle. For example, Dagma presented herself as career-focused and family-oriented. She made a conscious decision that she wanted both work and family, yet a third unplanned child changed her career expectations, as she explained:

When I was teaching full-time before I had children I chose to teach till I retired. And no I haven't chosen my career it has been dictated by the fact that I had children and I felt my dedication to my children was greater than my dedication to my career. So to the extent that I chose to take leave then I have chosen to give up my career in teaching …

If I hadn't had the third one who is the light of my life and I wouldn't give him up for the world, but he wasn't planned, and if I hadn't had the third one then things may have been very different, in that I may have gone back to work…

Penny had a career spanning thirty years, including a period of work when her children were very young. She could be seen to be more career-focused than many of the other women, and yet when asked about her priorities she said:

Oh family definitely first, I mean that is basically why I chose to leave teaching why I chose to go back as a casual and why I chose to limit myself to not go on to be a head teacher. I mean I have done some acting head teacher’s work and I find it very easy. But I would choose not to do it, even now because… now I would rather be involved in my granddaughter. Before, I was more interested in being involved with my children. That was a deliberate choice. So definitely family, I enjoy the intellectual stimulus which is probably why I like teaching senior kids. But, you know, probably in that priority, I think family first and then my own intellectual stimulation and then probably my belief in the school system.
Chapter 7 Gender Relations and Casual Teaching

Susan noted that her family was important to her, but that she also needed some time for herself, and that part-time work allowed her to earn an income, care for her family and still have enough time for herself:

Mainly because I had that choice and decided to have more time at home so that I could do extra things with the kids. I know when I am working, I am home pretty much the same time as them but just to have that time at home to do the mum sort of things. And there were times when, casual teaching five days a week can be pretty rough.

Exhausting.

Yeah so there have been times when I thought “I will just be nicer to myself and just work three days and have a couple of days off”.

So it has been as much for your own sanity or your own peace of mind and the kids as well.

Yeah for sure.

Susan’s priorities changed and were constrained by other changes in her life. When her marriage broke up work became a greater priority because she had to earn enough to support herself and her children.

Amongst those women who identified more as home-centred, there also tended to be some ambivalence towards being a full-time home worker. Rachel had always planned to be a mother and to stay home with her children, but when asked why she had returned to work after the birth of her first child she replied:

It wasn't as easy as I thought it was. When you first have your child, as I think anybody would say. So after the first year of being at home and getting used to having a baby and doing all that stuff getting into the rhythm of things I started going a little bit crazy. But I still didn’t want to go back to work full-time and I still wanted a job where if something went wrong I didn’t have to go to work that day.

Rachel suggested that her choice to work casually was constrained by the fact that this was the only type of work available to her within the
education industry. She said that she would not choose to work casually, she would choose to work permanent part-time if she could, but she couldn’t easily get that type of work and was working casually in the hope that it would lead to permanent part-time work.

Val, who throughout her varied career had also been a Mary Kay Cosmetics party plan salesperson, identified family as a strong priority. She said:

My family. My family. One thing that Mary Kay is very strong on is “God first, family second, career third”… If you change those priorities around it doesn’t work. So I would like to think that I have been as loyal and as supportive to the schools as I have to my family. I don’t think I have short changed the schools at all. I just changed my life to meet their needs. So if I have to make a choice between something for the family and something for the school well then I will just rearrange things so that everybody gets covered except me.

Would you say you have chosen consciously to work casually or is it just the way you fell into it sort of?

Oh, well no I chose consciously, I made a decision that to keep things in perspective I needed to stay casual. I kept saying I will stay casual until the kids finish school.

Even though she had consciously thought about her priorities and was able to clearly articulate them she felt that there were aspects of her career that were more important to her own intellectual development than to her family priorities. She said:

I have always been driven by challenge and I couldn’t stay home all the time. I am sure I would go more insane than I already am. You can see by the amount of jobs that I had to start with... I think probably the reason I have stayed teaching for so long is because every day is a challenge.

For Bridget, family had always been a priority. In particular, her marriage relationship was important to her. When asked about her priorities she said:
My family. We have been married twenty two years and I have a husband who is a mate. And I never ever want my career to impinge on our relationship … I want to support [him]… so I do teaching but I only teach because I enjoy it not because of career. I have put his career first because it is a family business.

And yet Bridget also noted of her work in education:

It is a career because I love it and I do it to the best of my ability and it is exactly what I want to do. But it is not a career in that it takes over my life. My family is my major thing and I just teach because I enjoy it, it stimulates me, going to school, it makes me a better person.

Of the women who considered themselves to be career-focused, Ann had been in a long-term same-sex partnership and had not considered having children. She admitted that in her life her career choices had been “all about me” and that her partner had supported and followed her career decisions.

Glynis had been a single mother for most of her career, having divorced her husband in the early 1970s prior to immigrating to Australia. She said that she “always had to be career focused” and described her working patterns as “more like a man’s”. This masculine-style work pattern was also evident in the impact of retirement on her sense of identity, and she had turned to casual teaching as a form of semi-retirement.

The career decisions made by these women may have been quite different if the structures in their lives had changed. The third career-focused woman was Maureen, who was 26 and currently single. Maureen had taught full-time for two years and then decided to undertake further study. At the time of the interview she was researching a PhD and working as a casual relief teacher to supplement her income. Maureen was aware that a family would constrain her future career, but was not willing to rule out the possibility that she would one day have a family.
These examples illustrate that for these women, work and family priorities are not easy to identify or rank. Although family repeatedly arises as a major priority, other factors appear in the decision-making process and the factors that are considered important change at different points in the women’s lives. Preference was not the only factor that drove the decision-making process. Economic need, social development, the desire for mental stimulation, and sexual preference all played a part in directing the choices of these women, as did the larger economic and labour market structures.

Hakim argues that women are in a better position than men in the cultures of Britain, the United States and Australia, in that men do not have the opportunities to choose home-making over paid employment, even if that were their preference. It seems odd that this model depicts men as constrained by social and cultural values, by workplace and other institutions, whereas women are depicted as unconstrained by these factors. The experience of the men in the field study does not support this suggestion. Roger, a home-focused man, appeared to have combined a career of casual and part-time work with the priorities of family responsibilities. The younger men interviewed were constrained by social and cultural expectations that they would eventually find permanent full-time employment before they settled down to raise a family. While they recognised women’s right to work, and the social and economic imperatives of women working outside the home, they all talked as though it was understood that they would be the primary income-earner within a family unit. As Peter explained, he was quite happy working casually for the time being, but

I am not sure if I am going to stay, like I am keen to stay for a year or two... I guess if I was moving to [Regional Centre] and this is where I wanted to live, raise a family and buy a house and stuff I would probably choose to get set up in a full-time job.
Hakim’s preference theory does not provide a good framework for understanding the decision-making processes of men and women working as casual teachers in New South Wales. Although preference theory emphasises the importance of individual decision-making processes and gives primacy to agency over structure, or individuals’ actions over structural constraints, the theory is too simplistic to deal with the range of micro- and macro-factors that impact on decision-making processes.

Conclusion

Gender relations have a major impact on both men’s and women’s employment decisions. Gender structures impact on choices to work as school teachers and underlie many assumptions in the workplace. Gendered employment patterns continue to exist in education and in patterns of work allocation based on favouritism, and informal networks may support discriminatory practices. These informal processes make it difficult to develop policy interventions to address discrimination in the workplace. Access to work is still constrained for many by their gender relations in the home.

While household gender relations are changing in a post-Fordist regime, and some progress towards gender equity has been made, it is not possible to claim that a gender equity model of household relations has been achieved. Amongst those interviewed household gender relations have been dependent on phases of the lifecycle. During the early phases of child rearing, many households return to a male-breadwinner model of gender relations. Although women have made some progress in entering the workplace, men have not reciprocated by increasing their household contributions.

Preference theory is one model for understanding the employment choices individuals make. However, the theory fails to acknowledge that preference is only one factor among a myriad of economic, cultural,
institutional and other factors that impinge on decision-making processes. In order to understand these decision-making processes, theorists need to take into consideration the impact of prior decisions on the options available for individuals at any given point in their lives. They need to allow for random aspects of chance that may change the direction of a career or life plan.

It is important to recognise that while structural factors constrain the employment decisions of men and women, both men and women are able to demonstrate agency in the decision-making process. Chapters six and seven have examined the data drawn from the interviews on a thematic basis. However, this process does not capture the interaction of agency and structure within an individual’s life. Chapter eight traces individuals’ experiences of gender relations in casual teaching, of discrimination or isolation, and their mechanisms for dealing with these experiences.
**Introduction**

This chapter takes an alternative approach to the analysis of the information collected through the interviews, examining particular experiences in the form of case studies. As Glucksmann (2000, 164) writes:

> Focusing on an individual person or studying the particular may contribute to the general understanding of social dynamics and power relations. If the particular is conceived as a distillation of interacting forces and reactions to these, or a nodal point of multiple intersecting socio-economic processes, then investigating the particular reveals insights of far wider significance than the individual case.

The circumstances and views of the participants are important for what they can tell us about the dynamics of social and economic processes during their working lives. At the same time, an understanding of the institutions and structures present in their lives may illuminate why individuals have made certain choices.

**Penny**

Penny is 51 years old, recently widowed with three daughters – two are 27 and one is 22. One daughter and her husband have recently moved back into the family home, so Penny does not live alone in the house. Penny has had a long career spanning 30 years in the New South Wales education system.

She was educated at a selective Sydney high school where she felt there was an emphasis on students being trained to do something useful for society. She says

> I think probably my age group… I went to a selective school, and I think we were encouraged to go into things like you know… our horizons weren't widened shall we say, and we were pretty much encouraged to be teachers, nurses, maybe lawyers.
On completing high school Penny received a government scholarship to study teaching, and was bonded to the Education Department. By the time she began teaching in 1973 she was already married. She was placed as a mobile teacher at a school in A… (a middle class Sydney suburb). This was close to where she lived at the time. She was soon given a full-time load as another teacher left. The school had a high proportion of first year out teachers and by her second year she was given the extra responsibility of being a year coordinator.

After three years Penny became pregnant with twin daughters. She remarks that there were fewer options for women at that time. She took the allocated amount of paid maternity leave and then returned to full-time work with the added responsibilities of year coordinator, while still maintaining primary responsibility for the children. This was in part due to the fact that her husband had started a new business and they needed the stability of a regular income until the business became established.

Penny observes that there was not much provision for childcare and that she was mostly dependent on friends and family. Sometimes she had to travel long distances to take her children to family members’ homes before and after school.

After a year of combining full-time work with family responsibilities Penny was exhausted and resigned from her job. This meant a loss of status within the education system, but more importantly Penny was paid out her superannuation and when she later returned to teaching was required to join a less generous superannuation scheme. The loss of this initial scheme and the lifetime of lower pay due to being a casual and part-time teacher meant that despite a career spanning 30 years Penny would be unable to survive in retirement on her superannuation alone. She says of resigning:
Oh I think it has had a huge impact on superannuation because in the 70s when I resigned they just paid your super out. And in those days they had this lovely, what we now all call the old super scheme, which gave you your guaranteed income when you, you know a percentage of your salary when you retire. Which, most people my age, that is what they have got, whereas all I have is a very, very small amount in the new super scheme which is only really the compulsory superannuation.

Penny stayed at home with her children for the next few years, having another daughter in 1981. At this time she and her husband had moved to the far north shore in Sydney.

She was approached by a neighbour, who taught at a local high school, to take a job of one day per week before her youngest daughter started school. She agreed to take the job, as the neighbour's husband agreed to mind her children on that one day per week. The job lasted about a year and after that she considered going back to casual work but instead waited another year or so until her youngest daughter went to school.

At that point she went back to the Department and approached a number of local schools where she was willing to work. She speaks of it as being fairly easy to get casual work; the schools were desperate for casuals. She found three schools that she got to know fairly well and became a regular casual called upon when necessary. From that experience Penny was called upon for a number of part-time jobs. She speaks of job sharing on a couple of occasions. One occasion was quite successful as both teachers had the same expectations and work ethic. The second was less successful as Penny felt that the other teacher did not expect to do preparation or marking, that is, after-hours work.

Penny had a number of long stints at one of the local high schools. She remembers being farewelled from the school at the end of the year only to be called again in January to take another 12 month job.
Eventually the Principal of the school managed to cobble together a
couple of casual positions to make up a full-time position, at casual
rates, for Penny. This was done by combining a 0.6 senior social
science teacher's position with a 0.3 junior music teacher position. The
Department could not find a full-time teacher with both these skills and
so funded the school for a casual position which Penny filled.

As the maximum casual rate of pay is fixed at step nine of the
permanent pay scale Penny was under-paid for her years and wealth of
experience. Penny also notes that although casual rates of pay are
supposed to compensate for lack of leave, she felt that they did not, and
the lack of a constant income during school holidays was a hardship she
felt quite strongly.

Eventually Penny took these issues up with the school Principal, who
converted the senior social science position into a permanent part-time
position under which Penny was paid at the top of the salary scale and
during school holidays. However, a third of Penny’s salary was still paid
at a casual rate. By this time Penny’s three children were at university or
in employment. In 2002 her husband died in his late 50s from a heart
problem.

Penny accepted these arrangements for about six years before she
decided to go back to work full-time. She suggests that the final straw
leading to that decision was an occasion when the Principal made a
comment in front of all staff that was critical of all the casuals. At this
time she applied through departmental procedures for a transfer to a full-
time position either in the same school or in one of the other local
schools. She was successful and moved to another local school as a
full-time senior social science teacher. She notes that on her departure
the first school was unable to recruit a senior social science teacher with
a 0.6 part-time load and so had applied to the Department for funding to
convert the position to a full-time load. If they had simply done this while
Penny was there she would not have left, but it was only her leaving that
spurred them on to change the position. Similarly, when she arrived at the new school there was a man working as a permanent part-time teacher in the social sciences who was unable to have his position converted to a full-time position despite his desire for more hours.

Penny has noticed some major changes in the education system over the 30 years of her career. She observes that there are more opportunities for women to work part-time, especially after maternity leave, but that part-time work is still somewhat constrained. There are more women in management positions in schools (Principals and head teachers) and women in these roles do not need to adopt such a “tough” management style. There is a greater variety of management styles, not a single masculinised approach to management.

Penny feels that the introduction of global budgeting and the devolution of responsibilities to school Principals has created more pressure on these positions: a Principal is responsible for 60-70 staff plus a huge budget and up to 600 students. Devolution has also impacted on teachers’ workloads:

Oh the biggest thing you notice because I mean it is what thirty years of teaching I guess, the biggest thing you notice is the number of extra responsibilities outside the classroom, number of extra programs and committees and reports that have to be done and you know, most of which most teachers think are a waste of time but they have to be done anyway sort of thing.

So a lot more administrative…

Yeah and a lot more, in some ways they have imposed more from the top you know so that even you have a staff development day which is a you know when there are no kids there, they will actually say it has got to be on this, it doesn’t matter whether your school needs that or not, that is what we will do this day, and yet on the other direction they have given more responsibility to the schools in terms of doing their own budgeting and all of that, but to me that was a cost case cutting exercise yeah it wasn't a genuine give the power back to the school type.
Commentary

Penny’s experiences demonstrate the broad range of social, economic and gender structures that direct and constrain choices by individuals in the workplace. In her youth, gender and class structures had directed her into teaching as a good career option for young women who wanted to “give something back” to their community.

Gendered social structures and household relations led to Penny’s decision to start a family, and to her taking greater responsibility than her husband for childcare and household management. Gendered household structures also impacted on her husband’s choice to start his own business as an investment advisor. Economic factors played a role in Penny’s decision to return to work after the birth of her first two children, with the need for a stable second income to support the family while her husband built his business. During this period, support from her extended family helped her to work full-time by providing childcare support. However, government policy, such as the lack of subsidised public childcare, and the inflexible workplace structures that did not allow Penny to return to work on a part-time basis or take more than twelve months maternity leave, impacted on her decision to resign from full-time work. Resigning from full-time work limited Penny’s earning capacity throughout her career, and limited her ability to create enough wealth to survive in retirement.

Each of these factors worked to structure Penny’s role within the household as that of supplementary or secondary income earner, reinforcing her dependent status and her husband’s role as primary income earner.

Penny’s experiences of casual teaching illustrate the dependence of casual teachers on the preferences of senior teachers and the discrimination, both systematic and personal, that casual teachers experience on a daily basis. They also illustrate some of the
mechanisms used by casual teachers to resist the alienation associated with casual teaching by becoming part of the school community.

Penny’s account also illustrates how teachers experience devolution and new managerialism in public schools. She describes the increased stress and responsibilities that teachers have felt and the perceptions of teachers that devolution has not resulted in increased autonomy but has led to a reduction in school budgets.

Val

Val is aged 47 and has been married 27 years. She has two children aged 23 and 20. Val was from a working class background. Her father would not allow her to continue in school past Year Ten:

Yeah dad wouldn’t let me go on at school to do the high school certificate or whatever it was called then because the other two girls went out and worked so I had to.

As a result, Val had worked in a number of industries and regions before becoming a teacher. Her first job was in a chemist shop because she “liked the smell” of chemist shops. She got bored with that, then worked in the back office of a large local office supplies shop, went to Sydney for a while as a creditors’ clerk at the Royal Hospital for Women, worked as a travel agent, and worked as a secretary in an insurance brokers. During her varied career Val also sold Mary Kay Cosmetics through the party plan system. She espouses the Mary Kay philosophy of “God first, then family, then career”.

Over this same period she met and married her husband and had two children. Her husband also held a variety of jobs, working as a baker, running a milk-bar, working for a construction company in Sydney, driving a tanker and currently working for an energy distribution company in Regional Centre. These different jobs had taken the family out of Regional Centre to other regional towns, to Sydney and then back to Regional Centre, where both Val and her husband had family.
Eventually Val found a job as a data preparation officer at the university in Regional Centre. When she applied for the position she was unsure what the job involved but knew she wanted to try it and convinced them to employ her. She was there for six years. At the university she saw students walking past her window and thought, "If they can become teachers I can". Once her first child started school she decided to enrol in a Bachelor of Education at the university. She studied part-time for two years until her second child went to school and then full-time for two years.

After completing her studies Val thought she would work casually until her children left school. As she explains:

> My plan was to stay, to be casual, do casual work until the kids left school because I knew it was like a ten year waiting list anyway for a permanent position around here.

Although she was primary-trained she put her name down at a number of high schools for casual relief teaching, just in case. She was called by one of the high schools in Regional Centre the day after she had put her name down, and worked there casually for approximately five years. After five years there was a change of personnel at the school and Val relates:

> The new Principal came in and I wasn't happy with his way of dealing with things. He was more building an empire than looking after staff and students and the abuse of staff was just getting really bad. And I thought “no, don't need money this bad to put up with this". So I just took off and disappeared into the sunset. And then I went up to M.

After approximately six years of working at this second school as a regular casual, taking block relief whenever the opportunities came up, Val was again affected by a change in senior personnel. The Principal of the school was seconded to the regional office and there were a number of different acting Principals. At this time she thought she would try the
third public high school in Regional Centre, in what she refers to as the “posh side of town”. She had been working at this third school for approximately two years at the time of the interview.

Although Val has observed a number of changes in the style of management across the three high schools in Regional Centre over the years of her employment, she does not link these changes to greater devolution or increased managerialism within the schools. Rather she sees these issues in terms of their impact on her personal relations with the senior staff:

*Just different personalities?*

Different personalities yeah, very good with paper and that but not with people, and the school sort of went down, was getting worse and discipline was getting harder and harder and I went “oh had enough of this one”.

Val has regularly worked large blocks, replacing teachers on maternity leave and other forms of leave. She prefers this form of casual teaching to single day relief. She has regularly been asked to teach in areas she was not trained in, like economics or woodwork. She talks of learning the course a step before the students.

Val has never applied for a transfer to a permanent full-time position. She knows of people who have started working casually and have been able to convert the job to a full-time position, but as she notes:

I am not, I might seem pushy to some people but I am not pushy when I am pushing my own barrow. There were a girl that graduated with me from primary she ended up going up and doing a block at M… and she pushed for permanency and she got it, and I think it was just because I just had in my mind that I wasn’t…

*That you didn’t really want to work permanently?*

Yeah.

She says that she always chose to prioritise her family over her career:
Oh no I, well no, I chose consciously to, I made a decision that to keep things in perspective I needed to stay casual and I kept saying I will stay casual until the kids finish school.

With her youngest daughter finishing school in 2002 Val is currently re-evaluating her work practices:

Well I am at that point now, [my daughter] has been working two years, it has taken me two years to think “well do I want permanent work or not” and I think it would be really lovely. I got really involved with the history classes last year and I thought “oh it would really be lovely to be able to teach these again”, go through it again and improve them that bit more and you know bring them up to the standard which I know that I am capable of … it is really making me think “maybe I need to change my status”. I have had my status at the department as wanting permanent part-time and my thinking there was well if they get me a part-time job that is great but my priority date still stays because I am seeking work, so I haven't lost my priority date.

At the time of the interview Val is thinking of changing her status from seeking a part-time position in Regional Centre to seeking a full-time position. After more than ten years on the waiting list, and having seen people from outside the region being transferred into the region to take up full-time positions, her frustration with casual and temporary employment is rising. With both of her children finished their schooling and in employment she sees no major obstacle to full-time work.

**Commentary**

Val’s experiences once again demonstrate the impact of social, economic and gender factors in the decision-making processes of teachers. Val’s working class background structured her initial workplace opportunities. However, her determination and self-confidence helped her to overcome these initial constraints to achieve her ambition to become a teacher. Gender household relations and her belief in the importance of religion and family had an impact on her long-term access to the workplace, reinforcing her role as a supplementary income earner in the household.
The range and variety of employment that both Val and her husband have undertaken over the last 20-30 years is typical of a post-Fordist model of labour market relations and demonstrates the impact of economic restructuring and changing labour market structures, particularly in regional centres. Val's husband’s experiences suggest that the male-breadwinner model of full-lifetime employment has not been shared by all men throughout this period. The fact that the patterns of employment experienced by Val and her husband span the whole 30 year period analysed in this thesis suggests that casualisation is not purely a recent phenomenon in the labour market. While globalisation has impacted on employment patterns, other factors have also played a role in employment decisions.

Val uses the language of choice in describing her working patterns. She is relatively non-reflexive in her discussion of workplace relations and does not see the changing nature of teaching over the length of her career in terms of globalisation, economic restructuring, labour market change, public sector reform or even in terms of gender relationships. She relates major decisions about her employment to personality differences between her and the senior teachers she has had to work with. However, it is possible to infer the effect of new managerialist techniques and gendered workplace relations from her description of changes in these relationships.

**Michael**

Michael is 32 years old, living with his de facto wife with no children. They are paying off their home.

Michael is originally from the Regional Centre area. He went to Sydney for university studies, did a business degree and worked in business in Sydney for a number of years. He became jaded with the business world and decided he wanted a lifestyle change. He moved to Regional Centre
while he studied for a Diploma in Education at the local university. On completing his studies he went to a town in the far west of New South Wales to teach for three years in order to gain the maximum transfer points. He taught in the social science area, especially economics and business studies.

After two years in far western New South Wales he felt he needed a break and so took leave without pay to travel to the United Kingdom. While there he taught casually in the London area.

On his return to Australia Michael returned to far western New South Wales for one more year. After that he applied for a transfer to the area around Regional Centre, nominating eighteen different high schools in a 250 km radius around Regional Centre.

No, no, I have actually got about eighteen schools around [Regional Centre] for the last two to three years and nothing has come up, apparently. Unless you are a perfect match, then it is advertised. And so nothing seems to have come up, it is very difficult to find work in social science.

He chose Regional Centre because it was relatively close to the home of his ageing parents, and because it provided good employment possibilities for his partner who works in graphic design. He lodged his application for transfer in 1999. He has not been offered any permanent full-time positions in the social science area in that time.

In order to pay the mortgage he has been taking casual or temporary work whenever it is offered. He has taken a number of blocks of casual work in each of the three large public high schools in Regional Centre. During first term 2003 he was working at the Catholic senior high school in Regional Centre. He says this will probably count against him in at least one Regional Centre high school:

Now that I have worked in the Catholic system, it seems like there is this underlying, oh I don’t know what you would call it,
resentment, from public schools or state schools because you know you have gone to the dark side so to speak.

So you might not get anymore offers of work?

Well yeah I know for a fact that you know there has been comments from one Deputy that, and he says it jokingly... but I know for a fact that it is not, because I have been at that school and I have heard what he has had to say about the Catholic system and stuff like that. So I know it is not a joke and I know that if a job opportunity did come up there then it might not bode well that I have worked in [the Catholic system].

Michael wants a permanent full-time position in the Regional Centre region but cannot get one in the social science field. He puts this down to the number of people who are approaching retirement in the Regional Centre area. He is working casually in the hope of landing a position if it comes up. He is somewhat disillusioned with the system, saying that he finds it hard to believe that in four years no social science positions have come up in eighteen high schools in such a broad region of NSW. He thinks that perhaps Principals have some room to manipulate the system by specifying that they need someone with a specific set of skills such as geography and Croatian, which means that they can fill the position with someone local without going to the transfer list. He notes you can only get a transfer if you are an exact match. If the position cannot be matched exactly from the transfer list it may be advertised. But any of the advertised positions in his area that he has seen have been filled by the time he has rung up, first thing Monday morning.

He has done a number of single days but prefers the option of teaching larger blocks, suggesting that blocks are more satisfying. As a block casual he has been asked in some schools to take on more responsibilities such as coaching the rugby team or taking sports days, and has even been responsible for the work of other (more senior) teachers at sports days. He identifies this as a source of discrimination. It is assumed that because he is a man and a bit sporty, he will be able to discipline unruly children more easily than other teachers. He feels
that as a casual he is being given extra responsibilities which are not recognised in terms of his pay. In the state system he is still on the same increment he was on when he applied for transfer. Thus his casual work has not been recognised in terms of pay or incremental progression. He notes that the Catholic system recognises periods of temporary work and he is paid at a higher rate in Catholic schools because of that. He is tempted to seek permanent employment in the Catholic system for that reason. He says that there is not much difference between the Catholic and state schools in terms of management or the use of casuals.

Michael demonstrates a reflexive awareness of new managerialism in schools. When asked if schools appear to be more motivated by financial aspects he responds:

I don’t know if they are driven by money and finance, I still haven't got that close to it, but it is almost as if schools are becoming more corporatised in their approach, I mean I know a Principal that refers to the students as clients.

But actually you do see, like marketing… I have rung up schools before and just sort of quizzed them whether they need a social science teacher and they go “oh yeah we are in the middle of marketing our subjects” and I have thought “oh right, yeah”. What I have actually seen is empire building. Some faculties maybe not having the interest of the student in mind but rather getting numbers in their faculty, either to save staff or to build their faculty up. And you see quite a bit, fights over what faculty is going to have this subject to teach.

Asked if he had thought about finding work in another industry he suggested he might, if the right business opportunity came up, but the options were somewhat limited in Regional Centre.

In terms of household gender relations Michael does not appear to have thought about taking time off from his career for family responsibilities.

*And what about in terms of your family life etc, do you think that other things like having a family are going to crop up for you or...?*
Oh yeah.

Take the role of a house-husband I guess or you know work part-time and do that?

Yeah, well I guess I haven't really given it much thought but yeah probably in the next five years we'll certainly be thinking about starting a family if not already have one. And then yeah there is lots of business opportunities I wouldn’t mind pursuing. And then, I could possibly teach part-time or job share or something like that. I can’t see myself plugging away at a day-to-day high school job for the next...

His comments are more about moving to another phase of his employment career, rather than taking on a different range of responsibilities in the household.

Michael also uses the language of choice to describe his employment decisions, but he recognises that these choices are constrained by a number of different factors:

I made a choice I could have easily gone to the coast or wherever but then my partner in her job can only go to a major regional centre with her work. So I guess it was a choice to leave and come to Regional Centre but it was still sort of a fairly restrictive one in that it was due to her work commitments as well. But yeah like given the choice… Some casuals like myself go to where they want to live and hopefully a job comes up. Whereas other people stay in the system accumulating points hoping that they will eventually get transferred to where they want to go. I know people that have been in the system been transferred around the state perhaps slowly and slowly getting closer.

Postscript: The day after I interviewed Michael he was offered a permanent position in the Catholic senior school in which he had been working all term.

Commentary

Michael's career suggests a post-Fordist employment pattern. His conscious decision to leave one career and move into teaching can be
seen as an aspect of the post-Fordist employment relationship. His career also represents a more global employment pattern, having used his teaching qualifications to find employment in the United Kingdom.

Michael's employment choices are constrained by family factors, through his need to be close to ageing parents. He is also constrained to work in a location where his partner may also be able to find employment in graphic design. He notes that his partner trained as an art teacher but has not worked in the education industry and would rather work in graphic design. Michael also notes that his work patterns and those of his partner are constrained by the need to earn enough money to pay off their mortgage.

Michael's attitude towards casual employment is also structured by a number of gender assumptions. Michael sees himself as the long-term primary income earner for his household. He talks about the need to pay the mortgage and provide a steady income. Although he has travelled and taken some time off from his career in the past he is now looking for a steady long-term position, at least for the next five years. A woman in Michael's position, unable to find full-time permanent work, might consider it an appropriate time to withdraw from the labour market in order to start a family. This thought has not occurred to Michael.

Michael uses the language of choice, with a reflexive understanding of workplace relations and the introduction of new managerialist techniques. He is more aware of the work intensification and managerial roles taken on by Principals than other respondents appear to be. He appears to be aware of gender relations in the workplace but seems to see them in terms of individual behaviours rather than as the structural barriers they represent to other casual workers.
Rachel

Rachel is 35 years old, married, with two children aged six and eight. Rachel has had quite a diverse career. She completed a science degree and worked as a researcher before deciding that she wanted more human contact. So she decided to become a teacher. She obtained a scholarship through the New South Wales Department of Education and Training on the proviso that she would be bonded to the Department in a school in Western Sydney for three years after qualifying. After qualifying she worked for six months at B… (a gender segregated working class school) as a mobile teacher. She did not have a full-time load at this time. Then she moved to F… (a school with a high ethnic mix) in a permanent full-time position. She worked there for three years until she became pregnant and took one year’s maternity leave. She had no intention of going back to the school due to the distance from home. Her main reasons for deciding to stop working full-time included wanting to have a family, wanting to be at home with children, travel time required from home to the school where she worked, her husband’s view that someone should stay home to look after the children, his greater income and management role within the family business, and also the unlikelihood of him taking on the role of primary care-giver for the children.

Rachel considered herself lucky in that, given her husband’s higher than average income, she was able to look for employment on her terms, so has not needed to take only what she could get.

After being at home with the baby for 12 months Rachel sought part-time work outside the education industry. Her reasons for looking for work included mental stimulation, adult company, and "something else to be able to talk about with my husband".

Rachel’s reasons for working part-time included being able to choose not to go to work on any given day and having more time for her family. So
she took a job in her husband's company doing administrative work. She continued in this role until the second baby arrived. After that she worked in other aspects of the family business, particularly in the tourism and hospitality side of the business. She worked for eight years either for her husband's company or setting up her own company in catering which required little or no infrastructure.

In 2002 when her daughter started school Rachel decided she didn't want to go any further with the catering operations, as to take this business further would require greater investment in time and money. At this point she thought she might go back to teaching. She applied with the Department but for part-time work only, and in the inner west of Sydney only. This has limited the offers of work she has received. She has also started applying for positions outside the public sector in private schools and in the Catholic system. She says it is hard to find an official Departmental offer of part-time work, but easier to obtain a block of part-time work within a school – although this would still be on a temporary basis. Schools can find funding for a temporary part-time job but it is harder to find a permanent part-time Departmental position.

In the meantime, Rachel has taken casual relief teaching places when possible. One of these casual relief positions translated into a whole term of part-time work three days per week, which she found ideal. She was able to take this job because she lives in a flat under the home of her parents-in-law. Thus Rachel has an on-site support network, with her mother-in-law living upstairs and able to take the children to school for her in the mornings.

However, Rachel found that the particular school was not ideal. She describes the other teachers and staff as “fine”, the work of planning and programming interesting, but the students unwilling to learn. She identifies this as an issue of the specific school, not a management issue. She expresses concern for the state of the high school from the perspective of a parent of a future student rather than as a teacher. She
links the educational difficulties to lower-than-average socio-economic conditions in the region, and she does not see it as an example of managerialism or as a funding issue for the Department, nor as an issue of economic restructuring or globalisation. She notes that in the inner west of Sydney there is increasing gentrification of once-poor suburbs, but that the children of the affluent people in the area are less likely to go to the local state-run high school and more likely to go to private schools in the area. Rachel says of her school:

They take a lot of kids from who have been thrown out of other schools, they have a lot of kids from the housing commission, some who are lovely some who are just absolutely rotten.

Having had a long break out of the education industry Rachel has found it hard to return on her own terms. She felt discrimination in her attempt to return to the workforce, although she did not necessarily see it in these terms. Employers saw her career break as a period of inactivity. She has had to emphasise that she has worked during this time and the jobs she held have had an educational element.

Rachel sees her work in the education industry as part of a career, not just a job, and would continue working part-time if she could, indefinitely. She suggests that some time in the future, when her children are much older, she might return to full-time work.

Rachel does not feel that her treatment as a casual or temp teacher is any different to her treatment as a permanent full-time teacher within the science faculties of these high schools. She confesses to not being particularly political, and although she was a union member her membership lapsed when she was not working full-time.

Yes, I think the union is important, the union does work hard, but at the same time I don’t support the strikes, but I support what they are striking for. I am not an overly politically active
person. But if I had a job part-time in the public system I would join the union.

Rachel feels that her decisions about her career were driven by her needs to care for her family rather than the structures of the workplace. However, part of her reason for giving up employment after maternity leave was the inflexibility of the workplace to cope with her needs. And her reasons for working casually rather than part-time relate entirely to the structural inflexibility of employment practices in the Department and the barriers to returning to work for women who take a career break to raise a family.

Postscript: shortly after this interview Rachel was offered a permanent part-time position at a private school in the area.

**Commentary**

Rachel's decision to change careers while still relatively young may represent a post-Fordist pattern of employment. However, many of her employment decisions have been structured by household gender relations. Although Rachel is clear that she has chosen her working patterns and made a conscious decision to prioritise family responsibilities over employment, her choices have still been constrained by a number of factors.

Rachel's employment patterns have been structured by the employment policies and practices of the Department of Education and Training. These policies were not sufficiently flexible to allow Rachel to continue working part-time or to transfer to a school closer to home. The Department also did not allow Rachel to take more than 12 months maternity leave while still retaining the right of return to a full-time position. These factors led to Rachel's decision to resign from full-time teaching. As was the case with Penny, this resignation impacted upon Rachel's access to superannuation, hampering her life-time earning potential and further reinforcing her role as supplementary earner within
the household. The discrimination that Rachel experienced when she attempted to return to work after a six year break also impacted on her employment decisions.

The social restructuring of Sydney’s inner west was also apparent from Rachel’s interview. She discussed the gentrification of nearby suburbs and the impact on schools in the area. She observed that wealthier families were sending their children to private schools and described a situation in which the public system may become a residual welfare institution with a subordinate role in education.

Rachel described these issues as a concerned parent of prospective students rather than as someone with a collective stake in improving the provision of public education. This viewpoint is reminiscent of the increasing individuation of global social relations referred to by Beck. That is, individuals frame the social issues in their lives in terms of what they mean for them, rather than seeing the issues as a broader community issue. Rachel’s discussion of the schools in the inner west of Sydney also echoes claims made in chapters three and five of this thesis that the state is attempting to withdraw from the provision of services to society by emphasising “user choice” and withdrawing funding from public provision of services.

Ann

Ann is 57 years old, has a same-sex partner and has never had children. Ann was drawn to teaching because of her interest in physical education and in science. She completed her training in Western Australia and worked as a full-time permanent teacher in that system for more than ten years. In that time she worked her way up to a relatively senior position as a Deputy Principal. After this time she moved to New South Wales with her partner. In New South Wales she worked in the education system for a couple of months and then left education to work in the publishing industry.
Having worked in South East Asia, becoming the General Manager of the Australasian division of a company for twelve years, Ann decided to move into a phase of semi-retirement. To maintain her income and to provide some mental stimulation she has worked as a casual teacher. Although she had worked at the secondary school level for most of her teaching career she chose work in primary schools as an easier option at this time. She says of her return to teaching:

It allowed me to go back into a comfort zone to some degree in an industry that I felt I was still reasonably in touch with, with something to offer. But it also enabled me to do casual work, because I wasn’t, a year ago, and I’m still not, really looking for full-time, work. So it suited me that way, and the schools that I’ve registered with, I’ve tended to work with maybe two or three. They’ve got to know me, and I’ve got to know them, and there tends to be quite a bit of work available, and it’s been good fun. And I’ve gone right through the whole gambit, from Kindy kids, hanging off the ends of my jeans, and right up to Year Six in primary.

Ann is taking single days of work in a casual relief role across two or three schools in her neighbourhood. She does not feel desperate for income, with her partner working full-time and some substantial savings from her former employment. However, she notes that she is currently renovating her home and the extra income helps in that situation. At the time of the interview she has been approached by one school to take a block of part-time teaching (three days per week) for the whole of term three 2003, and is contemplating the possibility of accepting this offer. However, teaching is not her only option for part-time work; she also describes a number of projects she is working on for friends and associates. She justifies her decision not to return to full-time work in terms of the demanding nature of school teaching:

The time that’s put into the ‘pastoral’ care, if that’s an old term, the nurturing, all the things that are expected of teachers now, from a selfish point of view, might have some impact on my not going in full-time, because the expectations, and you know, the standards of childcare and responsibility are huge on teachers, and I think that those who stay in the
system, work very hard and often times don't get, the kind of accolades that they should. And that’s been my observation. I’m in a position where I may not have to work full-time, but as I said, in a sense, I’ve used that as a little bit of a buffer, because I can see just how enormously hard... I don’t know that I could work full-time now, and do the job that these people do.

As noted in chapter six, Ann felt feels that a major change in teaching over the last 20-30 years has been the introduction of child protection policies. She emphasises that the issue was a major concern for her when she returned to teaching and she feels that it is an issue for many of the teachers with whom she works.

Asked if her career had been a priority for her throughout her life, Ann agrees that it had:

Career has been extremely important, I don’t know that I’d say above and beyond relationships and other aspects. But I’ve been very fortunate to have a partner who’s been very supportive, and has kind of said to me, look if you put your mind to it you’ll do it, and encouraged me to make changes in my career, while in education and then switching to something else. I think that there have been times where I probably have put it as a very high priority, sometimes to the detriment of my personal relationship.

Ann has noticed changes in the management of schools since her return to the education sector. She describes schools as “running more like a company or a corporation in that you’ve got your MD who’s your Principal and you’ve got your senior staff, who feed into the information in”. She is quite concerned about the changes to child protection laws and the difficulties with discipline amongst the older children.

Asked if she has ever been discriminated against, Ann states that in the early years of her career she was reticent to discuss her home life for fear of discrimination on the basis of her sexual preference. However, she feels that there is greater acceptance of single sex relationships today, and has been more relaxed in discussing her home life since she has returned to teaching.
Commentary

Ann’s career is the most global of any of the respondents, spanning the Asia-Pacific region. Ann’s experiences have been less limited by family responsibilities and have covered a larger geographic region. She is more reflexively aware of the impact of globalisation on employment practices than the other respondents and more aware than most of the impact of new managerialism in education. While Ann is aware of the issues of workplace discrimination, her experiences of discrimination have centred more around sexual preference than gender per se.

Gendered household and workplace relations have perhaps had less of an impact on Ann’s employment choices than on those of many of the other interviewees. Although career has been a priority for her, she has not necessarily seen herself as the breadwinner in the partnership and her partner has also had a career of her own.

Ann’s interview is perhaps most noticeable for her discussion of the issues of child protection, that demonstrate Beck’s concept of the risk society and increased individuation.

Roger

Roger is aged 56, is married with two sons aged 17 and 21. Roger and his wife were born in New Zealand and came to Sydney in 1978. Roger lived in Brisbane for five years until 1987 but then returned to the Sydney Region. He lived for a while in Wollongong where he studied for his Diploma in Education.

Prior to taking on these studies Roger had his own business as a cleaner for five or six years, but also educated himself in graphic design and photography. He felt that he had skills in graphic design and computer design that he could pass on to young people, so he decided to go into a career in teaching. Having completed his studies in 2000 at the age of 52, Roger went straight into casual teaching, initially in the
Wollongong region, then on the southern and western outskirts of Sydney. He has since moved to the south of Sydney and teaches casually in a number of schools in this area.

Although visual arts and photography were his majors at university he also teaches computer studies and graphic design. He is not technically qualified to teach computer studies but most schools are willing to use him in that area as it is difficult to recruit computer studies teachers, especially on a casual basis. Roger also writes articles and does creative writing so is willing to teach English classes as well. He has found that most schools are willing to employ him in a variety of subject areas.

Asked if he chose to work casually, Roger relates his experience of practice teaching while at university, when many students gave up the idea of teaching because "it was too rough". Roger notes that it had always been his intention to use his studies as a teacher while many other students thought that they would not. He thought that perhaps many people choose to work in other fields while they are waiting for a full-time position in education. He does not see many of the people he trained with around the schools where he works.

Originally Roger applied for a full-time position but he became disillusioned when he met teachers in his faculty area who had been waiting for a full-time position for twelve years. He has taken his name off the full-time list now and is doing his "own thing". Although it varies he tries to keep two days per week for research and graphic design projects, working only three days per week in teaching. Sometimes he is still asked to work a part of a block, even though he has stipulated that he wants no more than three days per week.

Roger notes that his experience in the Illawarra region generally was that the schools were very rough. He was physically assaulted a number of times. He also taught in the outer western suburbs of Sydney where
he had the experience of children starting fires in the classroom. He describes the southern Sydney schools as having a better culture. He describes the young people in the Illawarra region as “damaged goods”. He has seen children from a range of cultures and ethnicities, some from war-torn countries whose parents came to the Illawarra to gain employment in the steel works. He talks of these children knowing only violence and aggression. He understood their situation but still found it very difficult to teach in those circumstances. He felt that as a casual teacher in those schools he was more of a target than full-time teachers because the children thought he was less likely to call their parents or discipline them.

Roger notes that in some schools the poor discipline and physical violence was attributable to poor management, and that violence was not an issue in many Sydney schools that had good management and administration. He suggests that the ethnic mix is similar between those schools, and yet some Sydney schools deal with discipline much more effectively.

Roger suggests that most of the schools he works at now in Sydney’s south tend to give casuals enough information to do the job. For example, he gets a map of where the classes will be, details of work to be done and other details. In the past he has worked at schools where these aspects were not covered when he started working for them, and those responsible for looking after casuals had no "people skills". He describes schools where casuals are treated like second class citizens.

Roger suggests that casuals should be paid more than full-time teachers rather than less. He thinks that day relief teaching can be easier than blocks. However, sometimes it is harder because a casual relief teacher can be required to teach a full day each day, with very few breaks or spare periods. Five single days in one week can be too much work casually. He also explains, "If a teacher's going to take a sickie they're
going to take it on the day when they've got all the worst classes". This makes the work particularly difficult and stressful for casual teachers.

Roger has experienced some discrimination as a casual, "but I think that was all casuals not just me. I've had some pretty bad experiences at some schools all sorts of behaviour from Principals that have done quite unethical things quite corrupt things." He gives the example of the Principal who put pressure on Roger to make sure that his own son received better marks.

Asked whether he has been treated differently because he is a man, Roger talks about his experiences at university where he feels this was the case:

> I went through a feminist university and it was pretty tough... but I was encouraged to stay, because there weren't very many men going through... It weeded a few men out because they thought it was too biased the other way... well you just have to grit your teeth and do your thing, I mean it was the other way round years ago so you accept that it's just that the balance is coming back the other way.

But he does not feel that he has been treated any differently in the schools where he has taught. Roger has noted a gender imbalance in computer science where men dominate and in art where women dominate. He notes that in many schools there are mostly women working and where there were men they are mostly older. Although he has observed an increase in the number of younger men teaching he notes that these men intend to travel overseas, which could lead to a drain in their numbers. He also suggests that there will be a major shortage of men teachers in the future when many of these older men decide to retire. Some men seem to be retiring at Roger's age now (mid-50s), but he plans to continue for at least another four or five years.
Roger has not developed close friendships with other teachers because he does not know where he will be from one day to the next. There might be common interests but it is harder to form friendships:

That's the worst thing about casual teaching you can be all-dressed-up with nowhere to go at 7:00 in the morning and you're waiting for the call and it doesn't happen... You know, there's not many jobs where you don't know if you'll be working until 7:30.

Roger is not a union member. He describes a bad experience when a union representative he was working with stepped into a management position and then tried to push Roger to work extra hours for no extra pay. He feels that these actions were hypocritical. He says has always been somewhat ambivalent about unions.

Roger finds it hard to manage with no income during holidays and without sick leave but he does have other sources of income. His wife works full-time in a finance and administration role in Sydney and Roger says that they have done well in the property market in the past. Roger says that he provides the primary source of income for the family.

Asked if teaching was a good career for incorporating family responsibilities he agrees that it is:

I think it fits in everywhere. And holidays you can look after the kids. When they were younger it was great – mind you that was when I was, talking about when I was at university. We still had holidays then and I looked after them. It was pretty good in that way. When I was going to university it was hard when the holidays didn’t... Quite often there was a week one way or the other so we had to put them in childcare which wasn’t ... was not good but that's the way it had to be.

Asked if he had taken much care of the children when they were young, he says:

Oh yeah when I had my [cleaning] run I took the little one... Well both of them with me. And a carry cot and that was one of the reasons why I did it. That and the fact that I didn't have
any money – I started with absolutely nothing. And I... I took a
big play pen and I'd clean him up, feed him, change him, he
was like my buddy you know, and he's... They're both strongly
bonded with me because I was like mother and father and
working every day of the week no holidays.

Asked about combining his teaching career with family, Roger notes that
he would have liked a full-time job but such work was not available. He
suggests that if he had found full-time work he probably would have
taken it, “but I wouldn't have done it for as long. And I would have been
shunted out west and that wouldn’t have worked with the family. I
suppose realistically I was always going to be doing this [working
casually]”.

Roger says that he would not have moved his family too far away from
their current home for the sake of his career. He would perhaps have
taken a posting outside of the city if he was single but would not move
the whole family that far. Nor would he have gone west without them.
This his family had an impact on his work decisions. A small town would
have been less likely to provide Roger’s wife with employment
opportunities. Asked if he prioritised career ahead of family, Roger said:

Oh no, definitely the other way around, family first because
[work] doesn't have as much hold on me as it might have
done because it’s not full-time and of course I have my other
things now so I definitely don't ... I don't treat it casually, like
I'm casual I don't treat it as if I don't really need it but I don't
stress like I used to.

Roger keeps a professional attitude but work certainly comes third in his
life behind his family and other projects.

**Commentary**

Roger’s career choices and decisions about employment patterns have
been constrained by his family responsibilities. His work as a contract
cleaner allowed him time to be with his children when they were
younger. The stability of his wife’s full-time employment meant that
Roger was able to undertake study to become a school teacher. Study also worked well with family responsibilities when his children reached school age as holidays tended to coincide.

Roger’s employment choices and plans have been constrained by geographical issues, such as his wife’s ongoing employment in Sydney, his decision to study at the University of Wollongong, and decisions surrounding his sons’ schooling. His decision to work casually was strongly influenced by the local labour market for teachers in graphic design in the south and west of Sydney. His decisions also reflect his age and proximity to retirement. Once he realised that there was a waiting period of up to ten years for a permanent full-time position in the region and that he would reach retirement age by the time he got a permanent position, he decided that he should continue working casually and find alternative work projects to supplement his teaching.

Roger’s experiences of casual teaching have also been shaped by the economic and labour market restructuring of the Illawarra and of outer southern and western Sydney. The physical violence he experienced in schools in these regions is linked to changing patterns of employment in the steel industry and in other manufacturing sectors.

Roger gives a graphic description of the social exclusion experienced by many casual teachers. He has not made extensive friendships through teaching. Roger has not responded to this isolation in the way that other interviewees such as Guy and Bridget have, by trying to integrate himself into a single school community. Nor has he responded to individuation by becoming a union member as other interviewees did.

Roger’s experiences of household gender relations demonstrate that the male-breadwinner model of household relations, although hegemonic during this period, was not universal in the 1980s.
Conclusion

Each of these case studies demonstrates that a range of factors, both structural and individual, contribute to the decisions that lead to casual teaching. The case study approach has been useful in providing evidence of individuals’ experiences of casual teaching over their life courses. Penny, Val, Rachel and Roger’s narratives demonstrate the impact of the life cycle and of decisions to raise a family on employment patterns and choices.

The narratives of the teachers provide details of their experiences of economic and social restructuring. Roger has experienced the effects of social restructuring in the form of violence in schools, while Rachel has seen its effects on students who are unwilling to learn. Val and her husband have experienced economic restructuring through the instability of their employment.

The case studies provide insight into the effect of class on career choices and roles. Penny’s middle class upbringing and the expectation that she would “give something back” and Val’s working class background have impacted on the employment choices available to these women. Although the issue of class did not arise in every interview, the use of the case study approach highlights the issue.

The case studies provide descriptive evidence of the experience of casual teaching, including the systematic and individual discrimination faced by casual teachers, and the exclusionary nature of casual work. The narratives demonstrate the different approaches taken by teachers to resisting individuation and risk.

While the thematic analysis in chapters six and seven provides insights into particular issues identified by the analysis of the interviews, the case studies provide more holistic insight into the experiences of the casual teachers. They show that although globalisation, through economic and
labour market restructuring and through public sector reform, has created the employment environment in which the casual teachers operate, their choices reflect the gender structures in their homes and in the workplace, as well as their own preferences and desires. Whereas some participants suggest that they are entirely happy with their choices and decisions, others are ambivalent and suggest that they have had to compromise in the face of structural obstacles.
Chapter 9 Conclusion
Review

Global restructuring has become a crucial context for understanding gender relations at the local level. However, it is not always easy to see the links between actions at the global level and change at the local level. This thesis explains some of the mechanisms by which globalisation articulates with the local; that is, the ways in which the increasing global competition and globalisation of markets and industries interact with national institutions such as governments, employers and unions to change the nature of social and gender relations in the workplace and in the home.

Chapter two examined a number of globalisation theories to develop a useful framework for investigating the impact of globalisation on gender relations at the local level. These theories included world systems theory, the concept of disorganised capitalism, Harvey's post-modern theory of a post-Fordist or flexible mode of accumulation, and theories of reflexive modernism from Beck, Giddens and Lash.

In particular, discussion of the Fordist settlement by Wallerstein, Tabak and other world systems theorists provided a basis for examining the changes in the structures of the workplace since the early 1970s. Harvey's development of a theory of post-modernity and post-Fordist labour market structures provided a framework for examining the changing structures of work and the labour market. His concept of a “mode of regulation” emphasises that the processes of globalisation are greater than simply the changing flows of capital, industry and labour around the world; they also include social, cultural and ideological flows. The concepts of risk and individuation elaborated by Beck, Giddens and Lash provided some explanation of the changing nature of the social relations of work in the last quarter of the twentieth century. All of these theories were criticised for their lack of gender analysis and for their lack of recognition of the agency of governments and individuals against the
structures of global capital. I emphasise that globalisation has both discursive and material dimensions.

In Chapter two I argued that in developing a framework for the analysis of globalisation, theorists need to recognise that gender relations are a crucial aspect of restructuring and that women's increasing labour force participation has facilitated the changing global division of labour. Global restructuring has generally had an dual impact on women. In the public sphere, women have increasingly been drawn into the labour market and expected to make an economic contribution to the household. In the private sphere the withdrawal of the state from welfare services has created greater demands on women's unpaid labour. The forces of globalisation do not, however, overwhelm the capacity of governments or individuals for resistance or adaptation.

In Australia, globalisation has had the greatest impact through the process of restructuring and through the ideological constructions associated with restructuring, that is, the introduction of neoliberal or economic rationalist policy. Chapter three recognised that, like globalisation, restructuring has both discursive and material aspects. The parameters of structural change in Australia have included the economic restructuring of trade and investment, industry and production, as well as the restructuring of the state, including welfare, public sector spending and other aspects of state intervention. Government policy has played a key role in directing and controlling structural change and in opening the Australian economy to increasingly globalised markets. Governments have demonstrated their agency in globalising the Australian economy.

In chapter three I argued that a gendered division of labour was a central aspect of the restructuring process in Australia. Change in the structure of industry and changing production methods could be achieved only by drawing larger numbers of women into the labour market and by relying on their peripheral attachment to the labour market. That is, a post-
Fordist or flexible labour market structure as identified by Harvey (see figure 2.1 on page 59) is only possible where increasing numbers of people are willing to accept peripheral employment and provide numerical flexibility to industry.

At the same time, the withdrawal of the state from welfare systems is made possible by women's continuing role as carers and nurturers in the family or private sphere. In this way, the government's industrial relations policies and the changing patterns of employment driven by economic restructuring combine to reinforce uneven gender relations in the workplace, while the government's welfare and taxation policies reinforce uneven gender relations in the household or private sphere.

In Chapter four I examined in detail the restructuring of the Australian labour market. Changing labour market regulation has led to changes to the social relations of work and a restructuring of the social contract of employment between the Australian people and the state. There has been a restructuring of the Australian Fordist-Keynesian settlement and the development of a new institutional regime, a post-Fordist labour market system or regime. In the past, the Fordist-Keynesian settlement linked wage outcomes to overall national economic performance, emphasising a socially just, if somewhat gendered, distribution of rewards throughout society. Under the new, post-Fordist institutional regime, wage outcomes have been decoupled from overall economic growth and social justice outcomes and are more closely linked to industry, enterprise and individual performance. The increasing individualism of the workplace corresponds to Beck and Giddens' emphasis on individuation in the risk society.

Labour market restructuring has resulted in the growth of part-time, temporary and casual employment, increasing hours of work, including work in unsociable hours, and work intensification. The factors underlying labour market restructuring include demographic change,
educational, occupational and industry change, and changing labour market institutions.

The Australian labour market has changed from a highly collectivised, centralised system, in which state intervention was directed at the protection of workers, and in which unions were recognised as having an important role in labour relations, to a labour market system that is more highly individualised and decentralised, and where government intervention is directed towards providing greater support for employers. Governments at both state and national level have been active participants in this process. The impact of this change has been a slowing of progress towards gender pay equity and an increase of the level of inequity in Australia.

Chapter five traced the ways in which globalisation, through its ideological component of neoliberalism, has directed public sector reform. I examined the particular impact of public sector reform on public education in New South Wales. Although public sector reform had a number of ideological directions in the 1970s and early 1980s, by the late 1980s the neoliberal impulse had gained the greatest momentum and led to the implementation of new managerialist techniques in the public sector, particularly in public education. Commercialisation, competition policy, devolution and decentralisation have had a distinct influence on public education.

Increased emphasis on industry, enterprise and individual performance, coupled with neoliberal emphasis on the reduction of the public sector, have resulted in increased pressure on school Principals to change the ways that they utilise casual labour. Reform in public education has resulted in an embrace of free-market principles in education, leading to changing approaches to staff selection and employment practices. Free-market principles lead to the use of language emphasising individual choice for parents. Focus on educational outcomes in schools has been distorted by a focus on competition, with a major impact on relations
between teachers as deliverers of educational outcomes and Principals as managers of commercialised schools. The increasing power of school Principals contrasts with the decreasing autonomy or security of teachers, opening up greater power differentials in employment relations. Increased individualism in employment patterns combines with the language of choice. In a market-based atmosphere, issues of equity become constrained by economic priorities. Gender equity, both in employment and educational outcomes, takes second place to issues of efficiency, effectiveness and productivity. However, in chapter five I argued that public education is not merely a site of the implementation of neoliberal and market-based agendas. Public education is also a site of resistance to such agendas.

In the empirical part of the thesis, a field study of casualised teachers, I examined how the mechanisms of globalisation have translated to the lives of individuals, whether the individuals were aware of the processes and whether there was resistance to the globalisation agenda. The interviewees identified the factors that contributed to their decisions to work casually in the education industry, and discussed whether these decisions were structured by geographic, economic or social factors or whether they were able to freely choose their working patterns. The interviews drew out teachers’ changing experiences of gender relations both in the home and in the workplace over the years in which there has been economic restructuring in Australia.

Chapter six examined the nature of casual teaching and its implications for gender relations in the workplace. I found that economic and labour market restructuring and public sector reforms had impacted on the nature of teachers’ work, and particularly on casual work. The interviews revealed issues of systematic discrimination against casual teachers in terms of the pay, status, conditions and professional development.
Chapter seven examined the gender relations experienced by casual teachers, both within the workplace and in the household. The interviews showed that gendered employment patterns continue to exist in school education and that informal networks and favouritism impact on teachers’ access to casual work. These factors have implications for policy interventions directed at gender equity. Casual teachers’ attachment to the workplace is affected by the model of gender relations in the home. Although household gender relations are changing in a post-Fordist society, it is not possible to claim that a gender equity model of household relations has been achieved. Women have increased their participation in the workplace, but men have not increased their participation in household labour. Household gender relations are heavily dependent on lifecycle phase. In this chapter I concluded that although a range of structural factors impact on the decision-making processes of casual teachers, they are able to demonstrate agency in their employment choices.

Finally, chapter eight presented case studies of selected interviewees’ lives, demonstrating their changing experiences of casual teaching, gender relations in the home and in the workplace, their experiences of public sector reform, labour market restructuring, structural change and globalisation. The case studies demonstrated the interaction of agency and structure in individuals’ lives.

**Findings**

**The household**

Although there is a great deal of rhetoric about a change in the model of gender household relations in Australia today, from a male-breadwinner model to a gender equity model, actual change is less extensive than is often claimed. While gender relations in the household are moving towards a more equitable model, in many households the division of labour is still drawn along gender lines, with women taking greater responsibility for the unpaid labour of social reproduction as men
continue to take greater responsibility for paid labour in the economic sphere. Even in circumstances where the women in this study participated in the economic sphere, they still retained the major responsibility for managing the household. The gendered nature of household labour was particularly pronounced amongst the interviewees during the phase of their lifecycle in which they were responsible for the care of very young children. The women described household gender relations during this phase of their lives that particularly followed the male-breadwinner model. The men, where they provided some commentary on household gender relations, supported the idea of their partners working in the economic sphere, but did not, for the most part, demonstrate any willingness or desire to take on increased domestic responsibilities. The exception to this rule came from Roger, whose experience of household gender relations could be described as more equitable. Patterns of gender relations in the household did not differ according to the age of respondents, and the male-breadwinner model was as common amongst younger respondents as amongst older respondents.

This group of 20 interviewees may not be typical of teachers as a whole. Casual teachers may represent a more conservative group of teachers, those whose greatest priority is for family care rather than career. Teachers as a group may represent a more conservative social group than other occupational groups, having chosen teaching as a career because of the gender and class structures in their lives or because they felt that a teaching career would supplement their desire to have a family. Amongst teachers, those choosing to work casually may represent a more family-oriented than career-oriented group, to use Hakim’s terms. However, the experiences of the interviewees suggest that even amongst family oriented women there was a strong desire for employment outside the home, and that levels of commitment to the workplace and “love of one’s job” were still very strong. This suggests that a simple dichotomy between terms such as “family oriented” or
“career oriented” is not especially useful for analysing the choices of individuals or the factors contributing to those choices.

**Agency and structure**

The rhetoric of career choice was used by many of the interviewees to describe how they came to be working casually in the education industry. However, most combined the language of choice with descriptions of structural factors that constrained their choices. Decisions about occupations and employment patterns were not made in a vacuum, but took into consideration a range of personal, social, geographical and economic factors.

A number of the older women described how the structures of gender identity had constrained their career decisions. At the time when they were choosing a career the only options available to them were teaching and nursing. Other respondents described class factors such as an expectation amongst middle class women that they would “make a contribution” to society, or an expectation amongst working class families that women should finish school at the age of 15 and make a contribution to household income. These factors demonstrate that the interviewees were reflexively aware of sociological concepts such as class and gender, or the “structures of modernity” in Lash’s terms, even if they were less aware of more recent sociological terms such as globalisation, individuation or neoliberalism.

Geographical and economic structures were also identified as factors within choices. The need to be close to ageing parents, or an unwillingness to uproot young families, contributed to many of the respondents’ patterns of casual employment. The need for more than one income, or the economic stability that teaching provided in periods of both personal and social economic instability, also impacted on decisions.
These experiences demonstrate that although the language of individual choice is common, most of the individuals were constrained by structural elements in their lives. This finding not only contradicts Hakim’s view that women today have greater choice in determining their working patterns. It also contradicts Lash’s view, discussed in chapter two, that agency, or individual action, has been “set free from social structures” which have been replaced by information and communication structures. The lives of those interviewed in the field study continued to be constrained by the social structures of gender and class and by the changing structures of the economy and the labour market.

**Risk and individuation**

The concept of risk was present in many of the narratives. The interviewees were aware of the tenuous nature of their employment relationships. They were aware that their ongoing employment with a particular school may depend on the whim of one individual. In many of the narratives there was a sense that risk was an important factor in the nature of their work as casual teachers. There was risk of losing their jobs through the actions of other staff, students or parents, or through other factors outside their control. However, most of the interviewees did not see risk as an aspect of global social relations, as Beck suggests. Rather they saw it as specific to their own circumstances.

Many of the teachers described a process of resistance to the forces of individuation. Far from risk driving increased individuation in the workplace, as Beck suggests, the sense of risk felt by the respondents had encouraged them to become union members, to collectivise. However, the respondents tended to justify their collectivism in terms of individual needs, not necessarily in terms of support for a collective identity of “teachers”.

Similarly, their discussions of class were generally in terms of their own origin. “being from a fairly middle class background…” rather than
suggestions of a collective identity. None of the respondents noted that becoming a teacher had transformed their class status even if this were so in a number of cases (Bridgit, Val, Guy).

It seems that the teachers interviewed thought of their lives and social circumstances in individual terms. However, they also demonstrated resistance to individuation through their attempts to become part of a school community. Those who undertook casual relief teaching described their attempts to work mainly in one or two schools in order to get to know the students, other teachers, and the systems in place in those schools. This helped to make their experiences of casual employment less alienating and peripheralised. Some of the teachers achieved this more successfully than others, becoming part of the school (Bridget) and turning up for work almost every day of the year (Guy, Penny).

These teachers mobilised networks of intimacy and social relationships to gain a sense of security and attachment despite the peripheral and individualised nature of their work. This suggests that in a period of reflexive modernisation where individuation is increasing, individuals continue to seek out a sense of connection or belonging, even if these do not reflect a ‘class consciousness’ or collectivised identification through union membership.

**The workplace**

The field study demonstrated that employment patterns in school education are highly gendered. Although the education industry at the school level is dominated by women, all the interviewees described promotion positions as dominated by men. Many suggested that the gender balance in these positions had improved throughout their careers, or that there had been a change in the types of management styles adopted, allowing for a greater range of skills at these levels. However, almost all noted that there were more women teaching
casually than men. When asked if they knew any other casual teachers, particularly men, who might like to participate in the study, most of the participants could identify at least one man, but many more women, who might be willing to participate.

Many of the women teachers interviewed were also able to identify systemic factors that undermined their ability to continue working as a permanent employee in the education industry. The conditions of employment for teachers continue to assume that a normal worker would be employed along the model of “standard employment”, fulfilling the male-breadwinner model of employment. Employment practices in public education assume that workers will work full-time, 35 hours per week for 45 weeks of the year, for 30-40 years of their lives. Teachers who choose not to follow this model lose security of employment, entitlements to paid leave, superannuation entitlements, access to training and other developmental opportunities. There are few concessions made to people who do not wish to follow the standard model of employment. This situation persists despite the fact that in New South Wales more than a third of all public school teachers have non-standard patterns of employment. There is no recognition that teachers may wish to take time out of their careers for raising a family. And those who do take more than twelve months of unpaid leave for this purpose are expected to resign. Women taking a career break in public education also face discrimination when they return to the work force. As Rachel found, parenting skills are not considered relevant skills for work in the education industry.

A major finding from the field study was that although gender relations had an impact on patterns of casual employment in the education industry, these relationships were not identified by the teachers themselves as gendered. That is, although the respondents described gendered occupational and employment structures or gendered relationships in the workplace that impacted on their access to casual employment, the gendered nature of these experiences was not
identified, or was dismissed as “not really a gender issue”, more an "issue of personal preference". If employment patterns and relationships are understood as resulting from individual choice, the managers of schools and the policy-makers in the public sector are excused from making a systemic response to gender equity. The non-attribution of gender to these issues makes it difficult to develop gender equity strategies that target gendered employment patterns and attitudes.

A number of the interviewees described changes in the management of schools that reflected new managerialist techniques and funding cuts to public education. They saw the impact of the devolution of budgeting on school expenditure on school facilities, resources and personnel. Their experiences showed that devolution of budgeting, combined with a reduction in funding, had resulted in Principals and Deputy Principals refusing to undertake repairs or spend money on basic classroom resources. New managerialism has expanded the workload of permanent full-time teachers and increased stress levels. This has resulted in a number of teachers choosing to work casually to reduce their workloads. However devolution and cost-cutting have resulted in the reduction in the use of mobile, generalist or supply casual teachers, which were forms of casual teaching that gave teachers some stability in their work. There is evidence from the interviews that Principals and Deputy Principals have attempted to cut costs by reducing the use of day relief casuals and using permanent teachers more intensively.

The interviewees described how the focus of Principals had moved from ensuring the educational outcomes of the young people in their care to a cost minimisation focus. New managerialism in schools, including devolution of responsibility for budgeting, and the emphasis on market competition and on efficiency and effectiveness, has eroded both equity in employment and educational outcomes in schools.

The teachers interviewed described how the construction of Principals as managers, entrepreneurs and surrogate employers creates tension
between Principals and teachers, refocusing the nature of employment relationships. Relations between casual teachers and their Deputy Principals have moved from collegiate roles, with a focus on the educational needs of the school community, to the roles of employer and employee. This increases the power differential between casual teachers and school management, increasing the sense of risk in employment that casual teachers feel.

Schools were a site of resistance to neoliberal ideology and new managerialist techniques. A number of teachers described how education reform has had a material impact on the labour processes of teachers by increasing work intensity. They described the increasing pressure on teachers to undertake non-teaching roles, and to provide increased support for students and parents after school hours. A number of interviewees had responded to the intensification of work practices in schools by moving to casual employment to reduce their workload and level of responsibility (Guy, Bill, Ann, chapter six, chapter eight). A number of teachers had chosen to work in school education in order to escape economic rationalism in other industries (Michael, Glynis, Ann, chapter six, chapter eight). These respondents were particularly aware of the increased emphasis in school education on cost minimisation, efficiency and effectiveness, and noted the detrimental effects of these priorities on the employment relations of teachers.

**The labour market**

While individual schools provide sites of resistance for teachers against neoliberal ideology and new managerialist techniques in the workplace as described above, school education in New South Wales, as a sector, also represents a site of resistance to labour market restructuring. Across Australia labour market restructuring has resulted in a decline in collectivism with increasing individualism in employment relations, and a movement away from centralised, regulated wage fixation to decentralised, deregulated wage fixation through enterprise bargaining.
In public education in New South Wales, however, these trends have been resisted. Unionisation is still relatively high amongst school teachers, and although there was some flirtation with enterprise bargaining during the early 1990s, there has since been a return to centralised wage fixation through awards certified by the New South Wales Industrial Relations Commission. During the 1990s the salaries of teachers fell relative to those of other professions, possibly as a result of productivity-based enterprise bargaining in other industries. It took the intervention of the centralised system to examine the changing value of teachers' work in order to improve wage justice in this case.

A major effect of labour market reform has been the emphasis on flexibility of labour and the increased casualisation of employment. In public education in New South Wales there has been a marked increase in the number of teachers employed casually over the period of labour market restructuring. Currently more than a third of school teachers employed by the New South Wales Department of Education and Training are casual teachers (the proportion is higher if teachers in TAFE are included).

Casual employment in the education industry shares many of the features of casual employment in other industries. The field study showed that casuals in the education industry have less access to training than permanent teachers, very little access to decision-making processes, are peripheralised within the school system and are often dependent on the preferences of a single individual who has power over their ongoing employment. Casual work can be isolating and can increase the individuation of employment practices within the industry.

As in other industries, casual employment in the education industry is dominated by women in prime child bearing age. Men who are working casually in education tend to be younger teachers in their first years out, many of whom are planning to travel, or older men who are trying to find permanent employment within a particular geographic region but have
been waiting for a placement. Older men and women appear to use casual employment as a way of reducing their attachment to the workplace as a precursor to retirement.

However, casual employment in the education industry has many differences from casual employment in other industries. Casual employees in education tend to be highly unionised. The demand for casual teachers means that it is relatively easy to find ongoing casual employment. Casuals in the education industry are relatively highly skilled and their skills and knowledge are recognised as useful in other industries. The remuneration of casual teachers, while less generous than permanent teachers’ remuneration, is still higher than casual rates of pay in many other industries.

Casual teachers resist the impetus towards individuation by trying to become part of the school community. They find ways of integrating themselves into a single school, becoming well-respected and indispensable. A number of teachers demonstrated resistance to the work intensification and increased workloads stemming from neoliberal ideology and new managerialist techniques by turning to casual work to reduce their on-going workload. Perhaps these factors explain why so many teachers are willing to accept secondary status within the education industry rather than poorer conditions in casual employment in other industries.

The restructured economy

The education industry can be seen as a site of resistance to economic restructuring. While Harvey’s model of a post-modern or flexible mode of production is useful in describing changes in many industries, it is less helpful in examining the education industry. A flexible mode of production allows for specialisation and small-batch production of non-standard or niche products. However, at the level of high school education there is still a need for mass production or at least the delivery
of a standard level of education to all “consumers”. The education industry does not require a post-modern or flexible labour market model. Although there are fluctuations in the number of students from year to year these changes are not so great as to require major resizing of the workforce from year to year. The case studies in chapter eight show that although management techniques and use of casual employment have changed, there is a continuing need for casual employment in the education industry.

However, education has been influenced by economic restructuring. The curriculum of schools, with its increased emphasis on vocational education and training, has been greatly influenced by the changing structures of the economy in Australia, including the decline in manufacturing and the rise in the service industry. These changes have had an impact on the nature of school education at the post-compulsory level. Fewer apprenticeships in manufacturing and more traineeships in hospitality and retail have been components of the increasing retention rate to Year Twelve in schools.

The impact of economic restructuring on school education has come about more through the restructuring of the state and the withdrawal of the state from welfare and service delivery than through the increasing pressure of global competition on local markets. That is, ideological and cultural aspects of the flexible or post-modern regime of accumulation have had a greater impact on employment patterns than has increased global competition for local markets. The neoliberal ideology that underpins the withdrawal of the state from welfare and other services and the increasing marketisation of education have had greater impact on labour markets for teachers than other aspects of economic restructuring and globalisation.

Globalisation is an important lens through which to examine our changing society. A major finding of this thesis is that the discursive aspects of economic restructuring and globalisation have had a strong
impact on the education industry in New South Wales. Increasing international competition has not directly impacted on the education industry. Rather, the ideology of neoliberalism has driven government decision-making processes which have resulted in the introduction of new managerialism, devolution and competition policy in schools. These decision-making processes have been justified by consecutive governments using the discourse of globalisation to motivate change and to argue that there is no alternative.

Governments also use the discourse of globalisation to emphasise their powerlessness in the face of global markets. But in this thesis I have argued that Australian governments have consciously used the pressures of globalisation to actively restructure the national economy and the state. Globalisation does not reduce governments’ agency. In fact the Australian and New South Wales governments have been complicit in the globalisation process in this country. This thesis argues that there is room for response, adaptation and resistance to globalisation. Governments, employers, unions and individuals have agency to resist and adapt to globalisation.

Globalisation has had differential impacts on men and women in Australia, and in this thesis I have examined its impact on one particular group of workers, in one particular industry in one state of Australia. Globalisation has certainly had an impact on employment patterns and gender relations in that industry, but that globalisation is not the sole factor driving these changes. Changing gender structures, class structures, institutions and welfare systems all have an impact, and within these structures individuals continue to make decisions and choices that shape and limit their future opportunities. Decisions about working patterns are driven by a complex array of factors including gender and class structures, regional and industry labour market structures and institutions, workplace policies, and individuals’ own skills, desires and belief systems.
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