

Job Entitlements and Job Insecurity: The Case for Unemployed Teachers

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Unemployed teachers are not necessarily lacking any employment, they are unemployed as teachers. Why do they continue to define themselves as unemployed?

This article attempts to answer that question by examining the experience of unemployed teachers. It also attempts to outline the implications of this experience for the discussion of unemployment.

JOB ENTITLEMENT

The unemployed are defined in images, in statistics, by their exclusion from employment. Unemployed teachers are defined, and define themselves, in terms of exclusion from a particular area of employment. This definition is a demand for the job for which they were trained - an expression of job entitlement.

"The capitalist ideology of self-interest and unlimited individual mobility fuels rising hopes. Expectations for the self have now ... qualitatively evolved into new feelings of entitlement... the emergence of a pervasive belief in job entitlement - that is, a right to a good job reflecting one's own preferences and skills - among young workers facing unemployment and underemployment".¹

The above quotation is from an article that attempts to explain the radical potential of job entitlement beliefs.² This term, job entitlement, provides a useful shorthand for the demand expressed by unemployed teachers. However, before examining the process which creates this demand, some points should be made concerning the way it is used in this article.

In contrast to Derber, I do not believe that job entitlement beliefs can be regarded as a 'new' sociological phenomenon. Labour history provides countless examples of workers demanding that they be employed in work appropriate to their skills and with reasonable working conditions. Further, the significant question seems to be not just the existence of this 'belief' but its relative strength among groups of workers. The whole notion of its pervasiveness covers crucial distinctions concerning the relative success experienced by various groups in enforcing this claim.³

The particular group of unemployed teachers with which this article is concerned are unemployed teachers registered with the New South Wales Teachers' Federation (NSWTF).⁴ They have applied for full-time positions with the New South Wales Department of Education and are unable to be placed. The reason that the unemployed of this labour market⁵ are recognised seems to be the particular circumstance of state-provided mass education and a unionised professional workforce.

First, 'professionals' are attached to the occupation for which their training was received. This is, to a degree, true of most workers. However, it is suggested that "...degrees of occupational attachment will vary principally with the investment in specific skills".⁶ The specialised training of teachers represents a considerable investment and gives teachers an occupational attachment which is independent of an employment relationship.

Second, the State is interested in those teachers because of its dual role as educator and employer. It invests in their skills through the provision of training, and then employs its product. Consequently unemployed teachers are, for the state, wasted public investment. This is revealed by their concern to achieve some position where teacher supply will neither exceed nor fall short of the numbers the Department is prepared to employ.

"4.10 On this basis, it is clear that if it is desired to achieve and maintain 'equilibrium' between teacher supply and demand (i.e. a balance which makes an allowance for those 'available' teachers who place geographic and other restrictions on their re-employment) further reductions would be required in 1980 to the intakes of most teacher education courses."⁷

The state cannot escape recognition of this group of unemployed teachers although it may attempt to avoid any confrontation with and over the actual numbers of teachers without teaching positions by cloaking the situation in the seeming neutrality of terms such as 'over-supply' and 'projection of future demand'.

Third, the union accepts that section of the 'over-supply' that registers with them, calls them unemployed, and gives them an administrative niche. The NSWTF has a full-time paid organiser whose responsibility is to represent unemployed members.⁸ The union gives unemployed teachers formal recognition and a voice within the union.

Thus, certain features which surround teaching in New South Wales: a central employer which trains its own workforce, a union with a structure which explicitly incorporates the 'unemployed', when added to the initial occupational attachment of professionals, make unemployed teachers a presence - recognisable, recognised and able to make demands. Job entitlement is institutionalised, and, one could argue, therefore given a certain legitimacy which strengthens the demands of that group for teaching positions.

The following pages examine how this job entitlement is expressed by unemployed teachers, and suggests that this has important links with their job insecurity.

Before proceeding to examine these issues a broad sketch of the survey on which they are based is presented. A postal questionnaire was directed at the 3,375 unemployed teachers registered with the NSWTF in May, 1979. The response rate of 35.5% was reasonably good for this form of questionnaire. Females comprised the bulk, 73.2%, of the survey respondents. The group was comparatively young, 78% under age 34. This is not surprising as the teaching workforce is young. However, the age profile of the males in the survey was different from that of the females, while over 60% of the males between the ages 25 and 34, the females were distributed more evenly across the age spectrum. Also, over 50% of the males were single, while the majority of the females were in some form of marital relationship.⁹ Accompanying this difference in marital status, 76% of the males had no dependent children, while 41% of the females did. The basic distinctions between males in the survey

group and females become relevant to subsequent discussion.

The employment situations experienced by this particular group can be divided into three major categories. These categories are those in employment other than teaching, those in teaching positions other than full-time positions with the NSW Department of Education and those who are unemployed.

(A) Those in 'Alternative' Employment

This category contains 25.7% of the survey population (1, 171), and 73.4% of them were in full-time employment. Callus and Quinlan¹⁰ suggest that one of the important and pervasive effects of the current recession is forced downward occupational mobility.¹¹ The process of these teachers arriving at their 'alternative' employment suggests that many of the respondents in group (A) could be encompassed by this phenomenon. A rudimentary appreciation of occupational status hierarchies allows one to recognise a downward direction in the occupational mobility evidenced by a shift from teaching to clerical, secretarial, or more dramatically, unskilled blue-collar work such as cleaning, or labouring. This shift is generally covered by the term 'skidding'. The abovementioned article adds to this shift the idea of forced or involuntary mobility. Workers who were dismissed or retrenched from their jobs and unable to find similar employment were forced to accept jobs requiring less skill.

The availability and interest of category (A) teachers in working in their chosen profession can be deduced from their compliance with the bureaucratic steps for being placed on the waiting list, that is, application to the Department of Education in NSW and membership with the NSWTF. Their current employment was the result of being unable to find suitable teaching positions, and can thus be described as a result of involuntary mobility.

Not all of the respondents in this group (A), however, qualify for inclusion in the concept of 'skidding'. First, there are those who, although forced into other occupations, have managed to move into areas of white-collar employment which could be considered a horizontal transfer rather than a slide down the status scale. These are people in other professions such as accountancy, related computer areas, social work, or managing small businesses. Second, approximately 48% of people in group (A) had never been employed in a full-time teaching position, that is, they were largely new graduates. However, they share with the skidders the under-utilisation of skills which seems to mark most of those teachers in 'alternative' employment.

As Table 1 demonstrates, the broad characteristic of the employment of the majority of the teachers in this group (A) is its white-collar status. Adding the first six occupational categories in Table 1 together as a rough approximation of the type of work that generally falls under this definition, 60.5% of group (A) are in this area. Given the usual movement of the unemployed skilled worker into a job not far below them in the occupational hierarchy, pushing the less skilled further down for their search, this concentration is to be expected. The significance of this for their reactions to other questions will be discussed later.

The white-collar occupations, provide relatively secure employment in the sense that over 70% of teachers in these categories are employed full-time. This situation is reversed in the shifting world of unskilled work such as Labouring, where 50% are casual or part-time and Service occupations, such as waitresses or barmen, where 74% are casual or part-time. In every occupational category women were more likely to be in casual or part-time employment

Table 1¹²

	<u>Occupational groups</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>	
i	Professional)	6.3%	18.4%	10.8%	(38)
ii	Assistants) Professional and	10.7%	10.4%	11.4%	
iii	Technical) Technical*	4.5%	3.4%	4.0%	(14)
iv	Clerical)	21.4%	25.7%	26.5%	(93)
v	Secretarial) Clerical*	0.9%	9.7%	7.7%	(27)
vi	Administrative, Managerial*	7.1%	3.7%	5.1%	(18)
vii	Sales*	5.4%	6.3%	6.6%	(23)
viii	Labouring) Tradesmen, Production) Process workers &) Labourers*	15.2%	4.1%	8.0%	(28)
ix	Trades)	4.5%	0.4%	1.7%	(6)
x	Transport*	4.5%	1.1%	2.3%	(8)
xi	Service) Service, Sport and	14.3%	11.9%	13.6%	(48)
xii	Other) Recreation*	2.7%	1.9%	2.3%	(8)
	Total	29.5%	70.5%		
		(109)	(242)	<u>351</u>	

* ABS occupational categories

than males in the same occupational group. The most dramatic example of this is the difference in the Sales group where 59% of the females are casual or part-time and only 17% of the males. This divergence would seem to be characteristic of the much heavier representation of females in part-time employment in the economy.¹³

The distinction between the various occupational groups were reflected in, and perhaps conditioned by, their evaluation of these present positions compared to teaching. When asked to generally compare their present employment to teaching, 62% felt their present job compared unfavourably, 9% felt they were in a similar position, and 21% felt their present occupation compared favourably. Not surprisingly, it was those in Professional and Administrative categories who felt their present position compared favourably to teaching. The great majority of occupations compared unfavourably to teaching in areas of financial reward (66.7% unfavourable) and other conditions of employment, such as leave (78.5% unfavourable). Physical working conditions, however, produced an even split of unfavourable (39.9%) to favourable (39.6%) responses, as many of those in white-collar jobs found their present work environment preferable to teaching. A general evaluation of the satisfaction of teaching found that it rated higher than satisfaction in these 'alternative' jobs, with only 26.6% regarding their present positions preferable, (these being in the higher status jobs).

There appears from this sketch profound dissatisfaction among this group with their current position, particularly among those who can be clearly identified as 'skidders' or new graduates underutilising their skills. This dissatisfaction ranges from what might be broadly considered 'intrinsic' aspects to the equally important, if less aesthetic, considerations of where one works, how often, and for how much.

Even those who appear content with their present jobs are still interested in a return to teaching employment. However, these differences in responses to current employment are continued in the terms upon which group (A) are prepared to accept future teaching employment. Whether or not a teacher is prepared to accept a position anywhere in the state is the standard (Departmentally imposed) against which the seriousness of intention and devotion to teaching is assessed.¹⁴

Those engaged in casual or part-time employment areas were much more prepared¹⁵ to accept a teaching position anywhere in the state than those in clerical or professional employment. It would seem that the latter were prepared and able to wait for a teaching position in an area suitable to them.¹⁶ However, much of this apparent choice is really a question of availability for transfer anywhere in the state, particularly for females, whose responsibility to the family unit robs them of even the independence of geographic mobility in the labour market. The immobility of the female is reflected in the great reluctance expressed by the secretarial group (only 14.8% prepared to move anywhere) to compliance with this Departmental standard.

The cushioning effect of employment in the stable white-collar area is found again in reactions to the option of casual relief teaching. The problems of this form of teaching are examined in the next section. Yet, secretaries, sales assistants, labourers, and barpersons were more prepared than the other occupational categories to consider this a possibility.¹⁷ The same pattern of acceptance among the occupational categories was presented to the option of permanent part-time teaching.¹⁸ The crucial distinction appeared when they were asked whether they would prefer this form of employment to a full-time teaching position. The group with greatest interest in this form of teaching employment was the Professional category. This appears to be a reflection of the predominantly female interest in permanent part-time teaching as, either a solution to the demands placed on them by family commitments, or an option made possible by the level of joint income enjoyed. The other categories were uninterested in it as a substitute for a full-time position. In fact, although over 75% of teachers in group (A) would consider it as an option, approximately only a third of these would prefer it to a full-time position.

Group (A) is largely composed of people suffering from the effects of skidding, not only the underutilisation of their specific skills but the loss of conditions and security which accompanies this form of displacement. However, within this group two sections appear, distinguished by the temporal aspect of their employment; those with reasonably secure full-time positions, concentrated in the comparatively higher status white-collar areas, and those in the insecure, casual/part-time areas of unskilled work, whether blue-collar or white-collar. The divergence in their responses to their present employment and the prospects of teaching employment seems to indicate the extent to which their present occupations and the degree of dissatisfaction with them conditions their response to the unpalatable alternatives available. The common denominator is their continued expressed interest in teaching employment. The next section examines the rather unpleasant realities of one form of teaching employment.

(B) Those in Teaching Positions

The teachers in this group are spread among a number of employers, the Department of Education of NSW, Department of Technical and Further Education, Commonwealth Department of Education, and non-government schools. They comprise 48.5% of the total. By far the largest group, approximately 60%, are with the NSW Department, the next largest contingent is employed in non-government schools. It is within the latter group that those with full-time teaching positions are generally found. The teachers in this group still want jobs with the Department of Education. The reason in many cases appears to be lack of job security (many noted being employed for fixed terms such as a year), but conditions in state employment, such as opportunities for promotion, are undoubtedly also important.

However, of those in teaching positions, the largest group (72%) are casual relief teachers.¹⁹ Casual relief teaching in the present recession is reminiscent of the 'bull' system of the Depression years on the wharves.²⁰ It may seem a dramatic analogy since casual relief teachers are better paid and are not subjected to the destructive physical strains which faced the men on the 'Hungry Mile', yet they also have to wait for work to be allocated to them. They are at the whim of an essentially unregulated system of patronage in which the principal of a school has discretionary power to supplement the core workforce similar to that of the foreman on the wharves of that earlier crisis. Consequently those who have only just entered the teaching workforce are the least likely to be able to extract advantages from the casual relief system. The unregulated nature of the situation is reflected in the bi-modal distribution of the number of days teaching that people had obtained in the last four teaching weeks; 28% had less than three days, 22% fifteen or more days. Of the latter group 64% stated that this casual employment was regular, of the former only 17%. However, the fact that of the total group engaged in casual relief teaching over 60% had irregular casual employment indicates that only a small group reap any benefits from this discretionary system.

The irregularities and insecurity of this teaching situation bring constant complaints. As one teacher who had been a casual relief for 18 months stated,

"Fed up with an average of 2-3 days per week when one must be dressed and ready for work every working day of the week. My present position as a clerk is poorly paid, but I was very lucky to be employed at all, as my teacher training now excludes me from well-paid positions. Yes, I am bitter!.... Two to three days regular employment would be great, full-time employment would be heaven. Only three years to wait?"

Of the females in teaching positions, 74% were in the casual relief area. The males had a lower proportion (59%) in casual relief positions, they held proportionally more of the full-time positions in non-government schools. This preponderance of females in casual relief is not unusual since casual employment generally has long been regarded as their province (providing the 'flexibility' that their role in the family requires). The existence of males in this area of teaching employment is a better indication of the way this form of employment has increased with contractions in the availability of full-time positions. These unemployed teachers are waiting for full-time employment. Although like the casually employed of group (A) they are willing to take a teaching position anywhere in the state, and would consider permanent part-time teaching if it were available, they

do not consider the latter an alternative to full-time teaching. Their present situation represents forced casualisation of a section of the teaching workforce.

Traditional female province or not, many unemployed teachers, both female and male, did not choose casual relief teaching in preference to full-time teaching. They have been forced into it due to the scarcity of full-time positions. Although there is a small group able to wrest the maximum, in terms of both quantity and regularity, from the system, the majority experience it at its erratic and arbitrary best. Their response to this and their willingness to try almost anything else in the teaching field is similar to the casually employed of Group (A).

(C) Those Without Jobs

Those in the sample without jobs (21.9%) can be divided into two groups distinguished by the length of time they have been without employment, short - (under 6 months) and long-term (two years and above). The males are concentrated in the first group with relatively short-term unemployment. The females dominate the long-term group, although overall the females compose the majority (76.2% of this category (C)).

The long-term unemployed, 22% of the total of group (C), were overwhelmingly female (86%) and older than the average, concentrated between the ages 35 and 44. Seventy-five per cent were married. They were not interested in permanent part-time teaching. Of the 89% of this group who were prepared to accept permanent part-time if it were available, 62% indicated they would prefer it to full-time teaching. They were unwilling, or rather, given their sex and marital status, unable, to accept a teaching position anywhere in the state.²¹ This was a markedly higher proportion than the rest of the unemployed, for example, among those who had been unemployed for less than three months, less than 45% were not prepared to accept a position anywhere. Many were involved in study, usually gaining further diplomas.²² Their unemployment dated from the cessation of their last full-time teaching position.

In contrast, the other group without jobs were young, willing to accept work, (casual or otherwise), anywhere in the state, although their preference was for full-time positions. This could be gathered by the much smaller proportion²³ who regarded permanent part-time as a substitute for full-time work.

It appears that the long-term unemployed are a group of females who leave the workforce for family reasons, and whose return is conditional upon the availability of a position which accommodates the demands of that situation. Their interest in permanent part-time teaching seems to indicate a desire for an alternative flexible form of employment but a rejection of the irregularity of casual relief. Thus far their situation and demands have not been accommodated.²⁴ The others are more directly the product of the current recession. Many of them will find themselves in either of the situations characterised by groups (A) and (B) after a period of unemployment. The length of this period of unemployment ultimately depends on the interplay of a generally deteriorating employment situation, and the labour market conditions of teaching.²⁵

In each of the employment situations described to this point there have been subgroups with distinctly different attitudes and behaviours, but before the implications of this can be examined there is one further division which until now has only been discussed briefly, the different profiles of the female and male unemployed teachers captured by this survey.

First, the clustering of males in a particular age group as opposed to the more even spread of females, is tied to their previous teaching experience. Over 50% of the males were 'new' graduates who had never held a full-time teaching position. While 41% of the females fell into this category, they also comprised the majority (81%) of a group whose last full-time teaching position had been over two years ago. This latter group also form a substantial proportion of the teachers who had been without jobs for over two years. The male unemployed teachers might be expected to face shorter periods of unemployment as teachers than female unemployed teachers, for a number of reasons,²⁶ not the least being the fact that they were much more mobile.

Females were less prepared than males to accept teaching employment anywhere in the state.²⁷ Unemployed teachers who were married were the least mobile group with only 18% prepared to move throughout the state, and, married females were the least mobile. A number of women noted the difficulty of moving very far from their husbands' place of work, so the area in which they were available for teaching employment was very small, even limited within particular regions of the Sydney metropolitan area. This lack of mobility suggests that females, or rather married females, are liable to experience much longer unemployment than males.

The over-representation of females among unemployed teachers²⁸ is ironic given that this occupation is regarded as a female preserve, precisely because it accommodates the broken labour market participation of married women.²⁹ The case of married females who have been without a job for a long period, is of a group tangential, not only to the education workforce, but also to their unemployed colleagues, because of their different demands.

One expects unemployment to fall disproportionately on those awaiting entry to the labour force.³⁰ In teaching, as resignation rates fall, one would expect unemployed teachers to be young and waiting for their first position, and a considerable proportion (44%) of the survey conform to this pattern. However, there are still those who have previously been employed as teachers and are awaiting the opportunity to re-enter the teaching workforce. The impression in this latter case is of an employment (or unemployment) cohort,³¹ - the result of pre-recession resignation patterns. In each of these categories females are numerically dominant. The exact reasons for this are difficult to ascertain from the survey,³² but their position in the family seems to be a contributing factor. Their representation across groups (A), (B) and (C) was roughly equal to their representation in the survey population. However, within these groups, females tended to be in the more disadvantageous positions.

JOB INSECURITY

Of the groups of unemployed teachers in other occupations and other teaching positions, the distinction is between the relatively secure and the rest. The former include those whose employment in occupations other than teaching was essentially a horizontal movement or whose downward movement left them in full-time white-collar employment, and those teaching full-time in non-government schools, or whose casual relief teaching is regular and substantial. This security makes them less willing to accept any teaching position regardless of its location or its permanency.

The rest, the majority of unemployed teachers, are the more obvious casualties of the recession. Whether they are in the casual employment scene

of cleaning, labouring, irregular casual relief teaching, or unemployed, their responses are similar and quite distinct from those of the more secure. They want a full-time teaching position but, being at the mercy of the market, are prepared to accept a number of stop-gap situations in the absence of their preference materialising. In the absence of a full-time teaching position their attachment to the labour market is totally disrupted. Once their career path was blocked, their experience of employment was of an absence of job security.

Job insecurity means various casual jobs, casual relief teaching and/or periods of unemployment. In the words of one teacher -

"I left my position with the Department at the end of 1975 to go overseas. I returned in March 1977 and applied for a teaching position with the Department in April. Because of the hopeless situation I took a job as a clerk in Royal North Shore Hospital and stuck it out for six months. I then tried casual teaching for a while, and eventually got a part-time ESL* job which led at the beginning of 1978 to a full-time ESL job (in a Catholic school)."

*English as a second language

Many unemployed teachers are adrift, moving in a continuum which forms a particular substratum of the labour market. Casual work can often alternate with periods of unemployment (in fact, these are so readily interchangeable as to be indistinct categories). This is an experience that was not the usual outcome of the training of the educated worker, being perhaps more characteristic of the unskilled or itinerant. With the recession it is an experience that reaches larger sections of the workforce.

Unemployment and Employment: Job Entitlement and Job Insecurity

Being in employment other than that which is commensurate with one's skills and expectations is not unique to unemployed teachers. However, while the training for teaching is of the length and type it is at present,³² the person trained feels and will continue to feel entitled to that job for which he/she has been specifically educated. This job entitlement appears to be a tenaciously held belief if the numbers of and the length of the period as unemployed teachers is to suggest anything at all. The reasons for this tenacity, besides training, are the conditions of teaching.³³ In this study, the unemployed teacher seems to have had this 'right' to a job reflecting training and preferences translated from a belief to an institutional system of Departmental waiting lists and union 'protection'.

The failure of this group to obtain full-time teaching positions means, for a large number of them, casual or part-time jobs with varying periods of unemployment - job insecurity. This is also not an uncommon pattern for many workers in the current recession. What these groups demonstrate is that the initial disruption, their unemployment as teachers, can lead to a shifting, and, at times nebulous, attachment to employment. Shifting in and out of casual work, short stays as secretaries, sales assistants, perhaps more permanent work as a clerk, all these, in a sense, related to the appearance of a teaching position.

The label unemployed attached to their situation is not a description of lack of employment but of dissatisfaction with their current position -

that is, it is their job entitlement claim. The important point of this claim is not only that it is a way of identifying the supply of workers available in a particular labour market, but the political ramifications of defining the supply in this way.

Definitions of unemployment exclude those who are not 'actively' seeking work. Many of the females in the unemployed group, for example, would be excluded from any consideration in terms of the workforce in this way. Further, given that so many of those in the survey are employed in other areas they are not part of the unemployment problem at all. Generally, the unemployment problem is seen as one of a large labour market (boundaries often ill-defined) where supply, consisting of people fitting the definition of unemployed, exceeds demand, vacancies.³⁴ Equilibrium can only be restored by expanding the number of vacancies or fitting people into the currently available vacancies. Unemployed teachers do not present quite the same problem.

It has been suggested that unemployment is not only a question of insufficient demand but of the type of demand, that is, "insufficiency of 'good jobs' in the primary sector and the unattractiveness of 'bad jobs' provided by the secondary sector."³⁵ The behaviour and attitudes of unemployed teachers seems to be in accord with this reasoning. Their job entitlement claim, in a sense, leads to job insecurity. As they attempt to gain a teaching post or an equivalent 'good job' they are liable to move from job to job in the secondary sector as they search (or more accurately, wait), therefore having a pattern of employment instability.

This process may be occurring in many other groups in the economy, but unless the presence of these groups is made evident and their demands articulated (as those of unemployed teachers have been) then unemployment can continue to be discussed in terms which ignore the question of the type of jobs available. This is achieved by concentrating on the provision of any jobs and making the unemployed responsible for any structural imbalances by retraining or in other ways accommodating the vacancies.

The experience of unemployed teachers and evidence from other studies³⁶, suggest that there is no reason to expect that people will accept or remain in any job, or particularly jobs which can be classified as part of the secondary sector. Thus, adhering to an assessment of unemployment which refuses to accept this is more in the way of providing ideological weaponry than it is analysis of the problem. Much of the fear of the unemployed by the employed and their representatives is that they will accept any job, and are, therefore, a threat to employment conditions. Job entitlement claims are for 'good jobs'. Support and reinforcement of these claims by those employed in these fields is not inconsistent with their own demands. The existence of job entitlement claims provides a positive means of forcing the contradiction of the rewards supposedly associated with education and training, and, at the same time, a labour supply flexible enough to meet employers' needs, into a position where it must be admitted and acted upon.

FOOTNOTES

1. Derber, C. Unemployment and the Entitled Worker: Job Entitlement and Radical Political Attitudes Among the Youthful Unemployed, in Social Problems, Vol.26, No.1, Oct. 1978, pp.27.
2. Derber suggests that there are two basic forms of job entitlement; one, 'universalistic', being the right of everyone to a good job, the second based on the entitlement of those with superior personal qualifications to a job utilising that education. He suggests that the belief of universal job entitlement is coupled with a radical ideology. Unemployment, because of these beliefs, is not 'accepted' and the result contains the potential for radical action.
3. Those with an investment in education such as professionals or workers with technical qualifications appear to possess a more legitimate claim to the type of work for which they were trained than the semi - and unskilled worker. This is evidenced by the concern about over-supplies of these workers (there is no similar concern for the wasted skills of unemployed textile or automobile workers).
4. Under the Industrial Arbitration Act of New South Wales, the NSWTF has an absolute preference clause in their award. This means that before being offered a teaching position, the teacher should produce evidence of membership in the union. In the wake of much closer policing of this clause, unemployed teachers who do not want to be at the bottom of a very long list, will be members of the union.
5. Teaching can be seen as an occupational labour market. Further, the dominant presence of State Departments of Education means that this labour market also has a distinct regional character.
6. Goodman, J.F.B., 'The Definition and Analysis of Local Labour Markets: Some Empirical Problems' in British Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol.VIII, No.2, July 1970, p.101.
7. Supply of and Demand for Teachers for Government and Non-Government Schools in New South Wales 1979-1987: 1979, p.55.
8. This organiser also represents casual teachers, perhaps reflecting the extent to which their situations can be regarded as similar.
9. They were either married or in a de facto relationship.
10. Callus, R. & Quinlan, M. 'The New Unskilled Worker' in Journal of Australian Political Economy, No. 6, November 1979, pp. 74-84.
11. 'Skidding' is the American terminology for this phenomenon.
12. The occupational groups do not conform to the standard ABS classification, they represent disaggregations of some of these categories. Where this is the case they are bracketed together and the appropriate category named. They were disaggregated for two reasons:
 - (i) to isolate any differences in response, areas of unemployment which are obviously female-dominated were separated, such as category v. Secretarial which included typists, telephonists and receptionists,

- (ii) to highlight the numbers who had shifted downwards in related professional fields.
- category ii. Assistants included library assistants, nurse aides, and other workers in areas related to professional work.
13. The distribution of males and females among occupational groups in Table 1 also reflects the common pattern of labour market segmentation in the economy. The higher representation of females in the Professional group is the result of the fact that most of the professions in this group were female-dominated (nursing, social work).
 14. Perhaps it can more accurately be regarded as an indication of the extent to which the demands of the employer can prevail over those of the employee.
 15. For example, 75% of those in the Labouring category were prepared to teach anywhere in the state, compared to only 21% of the Professional group, and 54% of those in the Service category, compared to 36% of the clerks.
 16. Reynolds found that "... lining up a new job in advance was a more successful strategy: two thirds of such changes turned out to be improvements." in Tobin, J. Inflation and Unemployment American Economic Review, March 1972, p.6. So it would seem that this group are engaged in rational economic behaviour!
 17. For example, 71% of the Service group were prepared to accept casual relief teaching compared to 32% of the Clerical category.
 18. Permanent part-time teaching is not available in NSW at present, and although it has been discussed interminably within the NSWTF a firm policy has not been forthcoming. According to them "permanent part-time employment is part-time employment of a regular and continuous nature...could be half job or alternatively it could be offered as a fractional job..." Annual Conference background material J1676.78.
 19. Casual relief teaching is not permanent casual teaching; the teacher relies on being informed on the morning of the work-day.
 20. "A ghastly frightening past of men at times fighting and tearing each other's clothes off in sweaty jungle-like scuffles for a starting docket to earn 23/- for a day's work on the wharves." Nelson, T. The Hungry Mile, Sydney, 1957.
 21. Almost 80% of this long-term unemployed group indicated they were unable to accept a teaching position anywhere in the State.
 22. Most of the further study undertaken appears to be upgrading teaching qualifications rather than retraining.
 23. Less than 40% of this group regarded permanent part-time work as a desirable substitute for full-time teaching.
 24. Permanent part-time work has still not become available.

25. High levels of unemployment usually reflect limited job vacancies and therefore increased periods of unemployment. The policies affecting education have meant limited employment growth, however, the decreased numbers of teacher trainees may mean decreased periods of teacher unemployment as teacher shortage ensues.
26. As a group they will continue to face shorter periods of unemployment due to the mobility resulting from single marital status and the greater occupational choice available to males.
27. Only 23% of females were prepared to teach anywhere in the State, while 53% of the males were.
28. Females are over-represented among unemployed teachers since they comprise over two-thirds of that group while being just over half of the teaching workforce.
29. For a discussion of how "clearly congruent with feminine socialisation, work styles and familial roles" teaching is, see Lortie, D. in Etzioni, A. The Semi-Professions and their Organisation, Free Press, N.Y., 1969.
30. Largely because before workers are dismissed or resign, employers do not employ more workers.
31. Those whose last full-time teaching position was held in 1976-77. This group comprised approximately 33% of the survey population, second only in size to new graduates.
32. Whether females are qualified largely in the teaching areas without vacancies, or whether they are more likely to continue to want teaching jobs are all possibilities which are unable to be determined.
33. The relative status, pay, conditions, autonomy (primary labour market characteristics) which teaching possesses compared to other jobs which an unemployed teacher can obtain.
34. "Unemployment (results) either from deficiencies in aggregate demand or from frictions and structural imbalances within individual labour markets." King, J.E. Readings in Labour Economics Edited Readings with Commentaries Oxford Uni. Press, 1980, p.349.
35. This is Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore's argument linking the analysis of unemployment to the dual labour market hypothesis in King, J.E. op cit. pp.420-430. Quote from p.353.
36. See King, J.E. op cit. Ch.5.

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