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Exploring the Working-Lives of Unemployed and Underemployed Teachers in Ontario

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Graduate Program in Education

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the working-lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in the Canadian province of Ontario. Over the past decade, the number of new teachers unable to secure employment within the teaching profession in Ontario has continued to grow. As the oversupply of teachers is expected to persist, an extremely competitive labour market has made the position of being an un(der)employed teacher increasingly “precarious” (Ontario College of Teachers, 2014, 2015).

However, such concerns must also be examined within the context of the contemporary world of work and society. Standing’s (2011) understanding of precarious work and the precariat provides a theoretical and conceptual framework from which to further explore and interrogate the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in relation to work, employment, unemployment, underemployment and precarity today. Through a qualitative study of 24 teachers, the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers are examined—specifically in relation to issues of precarious work, control, identity and emotion.

Teachers revealed that precarious work and precarity have both become common features of, and in, their work and lives as they navigate the labour market in Ontario. Moreover, their work, employment relationships and social relations with teaching appear to be distinctive from those in more traditional permanent teaching positions. For all of these teachers, the inability to secure full-time, permanent employment in a crowded teacher labour market was a shared experience. However, their challenges with un(der)employment were not homogeneous, nor did they experience precarity in the same manner. Changes in the nature of teaching work and employment reveal the numerous ways in which many teachers’ working-lives have changed in Ontario and warrant further consideration for issues surrounding educational equity, access and quality in the 21st century.

Keywords: teachers; work; employment; unemployment; underemployment; precarious; precarious work

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all of my M's — *IM, EM, JM, MP & AM* — thank you for being the very embodiments of kindness, support and love.

Without you, none of this would be possible.

***“Why are so many out of work,
when there is so much work to be done?”***

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ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| AEFO | l'Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens |
| AQ | Additional Qualification |
| EA | Educational Assistant |
| ECE | Early Childhood Educator |
| ETFO | Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario |
| EI | Employment Insurance |
| EQAO | Education Quality and Accountability Office |
| FDK | Full-Day Kindergarten |
| FTE | Full-Time Equivalent |
| FTPC | Full-Time Permanent Contract |
| IEP | Individual Education Plan |
| LTO | Long-Term Occasional |
| MOE | Ministry of Education |
| NTIP | New Teacher Induction Program |
| OCT | Ontario College of Teachers |
| OECTA | Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association |
| OTF | Ontario Teachers' Federation |
| OTPP | Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan |
| OSSTF | Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation |
| PTPC | Part-Time Permanent Contract |
| STO (OT) | Short-Term Occasional (Occasional Teacher) |

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

It just seems like there are way too many teachers and not enough jobs. Such sentiments have become increasingly salient for teachers seeking employment in Ontario. A pessimistic outlook regarding the prospect of teaching continues to overshadow the teacher labour market, with little optimism that things will improve in the near future (Ontario College of Teachers (OCT), 2013). However, such challenges facing unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario are not altogether unique in the contemporary world of work.

Un(der)employed teachers in Ontario today must be examined within the changing contours of work and society. According to Sorensen and Gillis (2013), university graduates across Canada are facing challenges with un(der)employment. Additionally as Chittley (2013) and Mason (2012) point out, new teachers are not the only profession facing employment challenges in Ontario. Indeed, un(der)employment and precarious employment has become the reality for a growing number of workers (Fong, 2012; Foster, 2012; Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; O'Rourke, 2012; Standing, 1999, 2009, 2011, 2014ab; Tiessen, 2014; Vosko, 2006). Workers in a plethora of jobs, occupations and professions have increasingly found barriers to entry and avenues towards advancement have become much more treacherous and uncertain, if not blocked off altogether (Standing, 2011; Tiessen, 2014). The study of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario then must be placed within the larger context of the changing world of work and employment. What such changes mean for teachers as workers today, and into the future, remains to be seen.

Background to the Study

Towards the end of the 20th century, it appeared that Ontario would be facing a shortage of qualified teachers to fill positions in the province (Press & Lawton, 1999; Tremblay, 1997; Guppy & Davies, 1996). From 1998-2002, teacher demographics and early retirement incentives created strong demand for new teachers in Ontario. In response, policies to increase the supply of new teachers were introduced and teacher education institutions were expanded to meet

anticipated demand. As more teachers enrolled in teacher preparation programs and internationally educated teachers entered Ontario, the teacher labour market became increasingly competitive from 2003 onwards (OCT, 2012). From then, as teacher retirements began to decrease and the supply of new teachers simultaneously increased, new teacher unemployment and underemployment rates began to increase year after year (OCT, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

While teacher un(der)employment occurred unevenly across the province, dependent on considerations such as geographical location and teacher specialization, overall, trends from the past decade have pointed to a large surplus of teachers in Ontario today. Based on current evidence available (see Figure II) there are likely anywhere between 50,000-100,000 unemployed and/or underemployed teachers in Ontario at the moment (OCT, 2015; Pearce, 2012). With the number of actively certified teachers in the province now close to 250,000 and the number of Full-time Equivalent (FTE) teaching positions in the province approximately at less than half of that number, it appears as though teacher supply and demand have reached a historical disjuncture in Ontario.

For several years now, a growing number of teachers in the province have attempted to gain entry into the profession without success (OCT, 2014). Given the large number of surplus teachers, teacher un(der)employment is expected to remain a significant concern in Ontario and continue for the next decade (OCT, 2013). In addition, many new teachers who have found employment in teaching have had to accept part-time or contingent employment rather than full-time permanent positions (Chalikakis, 2012; Pollock, 2008). It is within this context that I seek to better understand the experiences of teachers in Ontario currently navigating the labour market and their experiences with un(der)employment.

Unemployed teachers are defined as those who have, to date, been fully certified to teach but unable to secure any sort of teaching employment, specifically inside of Ontario's publicly funded schools which employ the vast majority of teachers across the province. Similarly, underemployed teachers are those certified teachers who may be employed in some capacity

within public schools, but who would like to be more fully employed as a teacher during the school year (OCT, 2012). Combined, un(der)employed teachers are those who are actively seeking employment, in Ontario's public schools, but have either not been able to obtain employment as a teacher at all, or else have not been able to secure a full-time, permanent contract (FTPC) position.

Based on the current oversupply of teachers, it appears as though many teachers will likely continue to struggle to secure and access teaching employment and establish careers as educators in Ontario. However, the challenges facing teachers appears to be mirrored by concurrent challenges facing workers in the contemporary era. In Canada and globally, precarious forms of employment have grown to exacerbate unemployment, underemployment and worker precarity (Standing, 2011; 2014). For example, according to Lewchuk et al. (2013) and Lewchuk et al. (2015), approximately half of all workers in the Greater Toronto Area now display some characteristics of precarious employment. Hence, while this study focuses on the working-lives of teachers in relation to un(der)employment and within the teaching profession in Ontario, it remains cognizant of broader socioeconomic trends and labour market dynamics which have resulted in growing forms of precarious employment and worker precarity in contemporary Ontario, Canada and around the globe.

Theoretical Framework

To study work from a critical perspective, the “problem” with work (Rinehart, 2001) remains the “inescapable starting point for all social inquiry” (Applebaum, 1992). Critical theories of work put into question deeply entrenched orthodoxies and “seek to uncover and expose structures, practices, and ideas that facilitate the perpetuation of relations of domination and subordination, inequality, oppression, alienation, and exploitation” (Shalla, 2007, p.11). That work so dominates our everyday lives we, perhaps increasingly, tend not to see it or contemplate it or its meanings (Gamst, 1995), let alone begin to provide a thorough analysis and critique of what work is and what it means to work. Arising from the Marxist tradition (Edgell, 2006; Granter, 2009; Grint, 2005; Polyani, 1944; Vallas, 2012; Watson, 2008a) critical theories of work set the stage for the interrogation of inequality, power, conflict, and control in

the study of work (Krahn, Lowe, & Hughes, 2007) and ultimately, seek to question, challenge and transform the world of work and workers.

By interrogating the hegemonic discourse of work, we can begin a more nuanced critique of the social world and the relations that are engendered as a result of our understanding of work. In doing so, we challenge the definitions, meanings and power relations inherent in what we understand as “work” (Applebaum, 1992; Gamst, 1995; Granter, 2009; Hall, 1986; Harvey, 1989; Veal, 2004; Vosko, 2006). Work must be understood as a social construct, subject to history, culture, space and time (Applebaum, 1992; Gorz, 1999; Standing, 1999), as well as an awareness of the changing conditions and reasons for why humans choose to engage in such activities. What counts (and conversely does not count) as work remains fundamentally dependent on the specific social circumstances where such activities are undertaken. Moreover, how those activities and circumstances are perceived and interpreted by those involved shapes the definition of work itself (Grint, 2005). Inevitably “work swims in culture and alters in response to a history far broader than that of work alone” (Tilly & Tilly, 1998, p. 138) while “work is not just a part of our existence that can be easily separated from the rest of our lives” (Gini, 1998, p. 707). What a society deems to be work, labour, leisure and productive activity has, and continues to, change over time (Illich, 1978; Gorz, 1999; Polanyi, 1944; Provis, 2009; Standing, 1999; 2009; Weiss, 2009). Central to such distinctions, including what is understood as work in relation to jobs, professions and occupations, lies the consideration of power in the discursive construction of work (Hall, 1986; Rinehart, 2001; Standing, 1999; 2009).

At a time when work appears to be in a constant of crisis and flux (Shalla, 2007) with the breakdown of the post-WWII social compact along with its relations, institutions and values—workers and their families face a period of growing precariousness (Standing, 2011). Changes in the nature of work, workplaces and employment relations over the past 30 years have thus created new challenges for those engaged in the study of work (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 2010; Beck, 2000; Clement, 2007; Halford & Strangleman, 2009; Kalleberg, 2009ab, 2011; Shalla, 2007). Critical theories of work allow for the incisive analysis and constructive critique of the

contemporary world of work. It is from this position that I seek to better understand the working-lives of teachers struggling with work and employment in Ontario today.

It is also from this position that I engage with work as a social problem and, as such, the very concept of work is deconstructed and critically assessed in order to be understood as a broad range of activities that human beings engage in and with. Work, so integral to individuals in all capitalistic societies, cannot be easily separated from the lives of those involved in and with work. The vast majority of Canadians depend on jobs and employment for their well-being (Jackson, 2010) and this paid work almost inevitably intersects with the economic, social and emotional aspects of workers' lives. As workers participate in the workforce in greater numbers, individuals must come to relate, balance and negotiate labour market participation with all other aspects of their working-lives. At a time where it appears that both the work and the lives of workers appear to be becoming increasingly precarious (Standing, 2011), working-life research draws from a broad definition of work which seeks to ameliorate the false dichotomies involved in accepting work as no more than waged labour (Rinehart, 2001).

Understanding that the history of work and society is the product of both continuity and change (Granter, 2009; Watson, 2009) and that changing definitions and ideas surround work, labour, job, and occupations have and continue to remain fluid (Standing, 1999), in this thesis work is purposefully defined broadly. Hence, work is understood as both "the effort or activity of an individual performed for the purpose of providing goods or services of value to others; it is also considered to be work by the individual so involved" (Hall, 1986, p. 13) and "The carrying out of tasks which enable people to make a living within the social and economic context in which they are located" (Watson, 2008a, p. 113). Both definitions note that, firstly, context is important, and subject to change over time (Standing, 2011), while secondly, that work is defined as a productive activity which creates some sort of value necessary for sustenance. Such a definition seeks then to include, but also move beyond, waged labour and the paid employment relationship as well as to counter the prevailing view of work located within the discourse of economic rationality—whereby work is related solely to market activities.

Understanding that most individuals continue to work, and that work, typically in the form of paid employment, remains central to providing meaning and purpose in the lives of workers in Canada (Krahn, Hughes & Lowe, 2015; Jackson, 2010), critical working-lives research seeks to interrogate and ameliorate current discourses, including but not limited to challenging and seeking solutions for workers to: the continued problem of high unemployment and underemployment (Shalla, 2007); the growth in precarious forms of work and labour (Standing, 2009a; 2011; 2014); the persistence of poor quality jobs (Lowe, 2000); the continued dominance and negative impacts of neoliberal ideology on work and workers (Harvey, 2005); the growing commodification of education and lifelong learning to the labour market and the continued devaluation and exploitation of unpaid work activities critical to the reproduction of labour and increasingly to labour market access (Livingstone, 2003); the degradation of the earth and the consequential environmental impacts of industrial capitalism (Klein, 2015); and the crucial challenge of wealth inequality and exacerbation of asymmetrical economic relations across the globe (Piketty, 2014).

Finally, the aforementioned challenges and inequalities have resulted in more precarious employment for a growing number of workers worldwide. According to Standing (1999, 2009, 2011, 2014a, 2015) such changes reflect the growing *precariat*— a term used to define an emerging class born out of a more fragmented global class structure and defined, primarily, by a lack of labour security. It appears as though many teachers in Ontario, specifically those without full or permanent employment, may find themselves experiencing precarious employment or perhaps falling into the precariat in the contemporary era.

Positionality

My own experiences, observations and reflections have led me towards this study, particularly as an imperative issue facing both contemporary and future teachers. Indeed, my own journey into academia was launched by the uncertainty I faced as a new teacher. Many of my friends and colleagues continue to desire teaching as a profession, enter faculties of education, show hard work and dedication—all while continuing to struggle to find adequate employment with the hopes of one day being able to finally start careers as teachers. These teachers juggle many

competing priorities and wear many different hats as they attempt to secure employment in the teaching profession and assert themselves as teachers. I myself likely would have fallen into this same category of teachers, but chose instead to pursue graduate studies—a journey that was not without its own precarity. Thus, my foray into higher education and subsequent research interests highlight my personal connection to the topic.

Overall, the relationship between employment and teaching is an increasingly tenuous and fragile one. How these tensions will be reconciled in the near future remains fundamental to the future of teaching and learning, particularly in Ontario where quite literally thousands of such un(der)employed teachers currently exist. While teachers in Ontario face many challenges, unemployed and underemployed teachers specifically continue to seemingly be left on the margins. Nevertheless, these thousands of teachers continue to (unsuccessfully) seek employment in Ontario’s public schools. Whether this may become a “lost generation” of teachers remains to be seen, but for many, the future is undoubtedly bleak and uncertain. Many of these teachers may never even have the opportunity to teach formally, which would represent not only a huge loss in both dreams and talent—but also becomes indicative of the growing struggle between individuals, work, labour, and employment in the 21st century.

Reflecting on my own experiences and theoretical orientations, over the past few years I have sought to continually look back on my own position within and with the research being undertaken in this thesis. Positionality reflects a space between the objective and subjective, a nexus wherein the researcher attempts to strive towards objectivity but with the awareness of our very own subjectivity (Bourke, 2014). As a dynamic process, positionality also involves critically assessing and contextualizing the research process and the production of knowledge in relation to power. In this way, working the hyphen (Fine, 1994) involves a tension if not overt struggle on the part of the researcher surrounding questions such as what constitutes legitimate knowledge and how such knowledge is produced and for whom.

From this perspective, I position myself both within and outside of the study of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario. While never formally employed as a teacher, I have been

employed and worked in various capacities as a teacher/educator. While academic labour in the university remains fundamentally different than K-12 settings for various pedagogical, institutional and political reasons—the contours of precarious work and employment have and continue to impact the working lives of academic workers such as graduate students. In this way, my experiences both do and do not connect directly with the investigation being undertaken. Thus, I understand my position as being able to relate with un(der)employed teachers as subjects in this research, yet, my own experiences with un(der)employment remain fundamentally different, and as such, I do not position myself as an insider in the research. Finally, as a qualitative researcher, I understand that my own beliefs, experiences and subjective disposition are an inherent and important part of the research process. (Bourke, 2014; Daley, 2010; England, 1994). Such reflexivity as a methodological consideration is further unpacked in Chapter V.

Significance of the Study

I believe this study should be of interest to, most broadly, all those interested in educational work and employment in Ontario. More specifically, it should interest teachers, including those who continue to experience un(der)employment, future teachers interested in employment in Ontario, as well as other educators, administrators, labour organizations and stakeholders involved in educational policy and concerned with labour market dynamics.

In Ontario, the teacher surplus is projected to continue for the next decade and many teachers will likely remain unemployed or underemployed as they continue to seek permanent work in the province (OCT, 2013). Little is known concerning the working-lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario today. Specifically, it is not well understood how such teachers are seeking teaching work, what types of work they are engaged in, and how they understand their experiences with un(der)employment. Hence, this study attempts to bridge the gap between what is known concerning teacher un(der)employment in Ontario (OCT, 2015, 2014, 2013, 2012, 2011), with a more nuanced, descriptive, in-depth, qualitative understanding of how such teachers find themselves in their current working-lives. How such teachers are experiencing un(der)employment and how they view their present and futures in the teaching

profession are important considerations which are affected if not overtly defined by current labour market realities.

In this study, I seek to better understand the working-lives of both unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario today. In relation to their work, my aims are to better understand the different types of work un(der)employed teachers are engaging in. This includes both work and jobs related to teaching and education, as well as the various ways in which they may be working or employed outside of the education domain. Similarly, exploring the dimensions of teacher-work also connects to the ways in which un(der)employed teachers continue to access teaching employment. Exploring the work of such teachers therefore attempts to uncover their experiences and better understand the broad range of work and access to work issues that they engage with in the contemporary labour market. In relation to their lives, this study seeks to explore how contemporary teachers experience and understand their un(der)employment. The challenges of un(der)employment are multifaceted, multidimensional and contextual (Jahoda, 1982). How such teachers balance or maintain their identities as teachers, how their work affects their personal and professional relationships, as well as their own emotional responses to their current employment situation all require further exploration. Thus, such experiences are theoretically framed by the changing nature of work in Ontario (Lewchuk et al., 2013, 2015; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Foster, 2012), with particular focus on the growth in precarious forms of work (Standing, 2011; Vosko, 2006).

For teachers who currently find themselves unemployed or underemployed, this study provides an exploration into what it means to be an un(der)employed teacher today. While all teachers hold different experiences with their work and employment, un(der)employed teachers are viewed as a particular group of teachers, who's work, lives and professional identities are unique and influenced by their relative status as teachers today. Moreover, it is relevant for all teachers and administrators to better understand the labour market dynamics and challenges currently facing members of their own profession—challenges which they may not be significantly aware of. Indeed, as Pollock (2008) and Chalikakis (2012) have noted, there

appears to be not only differences in the work of teachers in different employment relationships, but also significant tensions between such groups of teachers within Ontario.

Un(der)employed teachers, on the outside looking in, must be better understood in order to identify how such teachers understand themselves and their relationship with other educators and the profession as a whole as well as how they may be better supported or incorporated into the teaching community. Finally, perhaps by hearing the voices of colleagues in similar situations, un(der)employed can also find a small degree of solace or reminder that they are not alone in their current struggles. In this way, critically examining and presenting the views and experiences of such teachers seeks to provide a voice for un(der)employed teachers and hopefully encourage those teachers to individually and collectively resist the problematic condition of being without paid work and the growing trend in precarious employment.

As Vosko (2006) and Noack and Vosko (2011) have asserted, the daily work experiences of precarious workers remains relatively underdeveloped. They call for more qualitative studies surrounding the experiences of precarious workers and how personal work stories are understood and interpreted by workers. There remains limited research surrounding the experiences of teachers in nonstandard employment relationships (Chalikakis, 2012; Pearce, 2012; Pollock, 2008). Exploring the work and lives of un(der)employed teachers assists with better understanding some of the challenges they may face—specifically the intersection of education workers and precarious employment. Un(der)employed teachers in Ontario are just one group of workers who appear to find their working-lives increasingly defined by growing precariousness in the contemporary world of work.

There is already evidence suggesting that a growing number of teachers are leaving the province of Ontario and Canada altogether in search of employment opportunities (OCT, 2014; 2015). Such “brain drain” (Florida, 2002; Friedman, 2005) may lead to broader socioeconomic consequences, such as the permanent loss of talented teachers or the erosion of skill development and future earnings (Krahn, Hughes & Lowe, 2015). Such concerns appear salient

for many un(der)employed teachers at this time, who appear to invest heavily in educational degrees and credentials, but face poor job prospects and earnings potential (OCT, 2014).

The experience of unemployment is rarely positive (Watson, 2008a) and the personal, social and economic consequences of unemployment and underemployment become more pronounced when prolonged over long periods leading to financial strain and lower workforce participation rates (Grant, 2014; Schwerdtfeger, 2013). In addition, less visible consequences include the psychosocial effects and of both unemployment and underemployment (Kates, Grieff & Hagen, 1990; Jahoda, 1982; Raykov, 2009). Those engaged in precarious forms of work may also suffer in their working-lives. Employment relationships which do not guarantee living wages, require more than one job, unpaid work expectations, erratic scheduling and little control over work and working conditions can adversely affect individuals physically, emotionally and psychologically (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Lewchuk, Clark & de Wolf, 2011).

If the working conditions of teachers truly are the learning conditions of students (Johnson, Kraft & Papay, 2012), then it is also imperative to ensure high-quality teachers remain inside of classrooms. Poor working conditions can lead to teacher burnout and low job satisfaction which in turn may lead to high rates of attrition (Froese-Germain, 2014; Leithwood, 2006; Young & Grieve, 1999). Concerns over job security, work intensification, as well as teacher training and credentialism require further examination and supports (Pollock, 2015) with respect to the current labour market conditions in Ontario.

From an equity and social justice position, teacher un(der)employment inevitably poses important questions surrounding access to employment in Ontario. Teachers from different backgrounds and credentials appear to hold differentiated access into the teaching profession in Ontario (OCT, 2014, 2013, 2012; Pollock, 2008, 2012). As Ryan, Pollock and Antonelli (2009) note, diversity in the Ontario teacher workforce remains concerning, and racialized teachers remain underrepresented in Canada. If there are growing barriers towards securing employment in teaching, then certain groups of teachers, whether excluded based on race,

gender, class or otherwise, may become further marginalized from current and future careers as teachers. Continued teacher surpluses may lead to perpetual unemployment and underemployment for teachers in Ontario along with significant attrition in the teacher workforce. Such structural dynamics would only further exclude or marginalize certain groups from being able to access the teaching profession and employment in Ontario's schools. If organizations such as school districts, federations of labour, and provincial governments ignore the needs of these teachers, they may find them increasingly marginalized from the teaching profession.

Finally, labour organizations representing teachers in Ontario in particular should also be attentive to a possible re-composition of its workforce. As a new generation of teachers gradually transitions into the profession, new perspectives, values and even tensions may arise as teachers experience un(der)employment and different modalities of work and labour in a challenging labour market. Labour organizations should remain attentive to the needs of all teachers in places such as Ontario, looking at current and future membership dynamics. How un(der)employed teachers navigate, experience and understand their work and employment relationships remains interwoven with the labour organizations who currently, or in the future, may represent such workers.

Research Questions

The aim of this study is to explore the work and lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario. The central question being asked in this study is:

What are the working-lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario?

Posing such a question seeks to better understanding both teacher employment and unemployment, along with the experiences in between such as un(der)employment and the experience of precarious work. As such, it reflects the dynamic nature of the contemporary labour market and incorporates a broad definition of work. Finally, drawing from Standing (2011) and outlined in the conceptual framework in Chapter IV, it seeks to explore worker experiences and subjectivity from a critical perspective and in relation to the precariat. From

this perspective, the inquiry also has four distinct but interrelated subquestions connected to interrogating the professional identity, insecurity, control and the emotions of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario. The subquestions being asked then are as follows:

- 1. How do un(der)employed teachers experience precarious work?*
- 2. How do un(der)employed teachers control their working-lives?*
- 3. How do un(der)employed teachers understand their occupational identity?*
- 4. What emotions do un(der)employed teachers experience in their working-lives?*

Through a critical lens and utilizing a qualitative research paradigm, this thesis then seeks to explore both the work and lives of un(der)employed teachers. Exploring these working lives further interrogates the contemporary world of work and how teachers negotiate and navigate through such work today. By exploring the intersection of un(der)employed teachers with the contours of precarious employment, it also asks how teachers experience precarity. Finally, utilizing Standing's (2011) precariat framework, the thesis explores the manner in which un(der)employed teachers experience and understand challenges associated with precarious work, control, occupational identity and emotion today.

Dissertation Outline

In this chapter I have sought to outline the study of teacher unemployment and underemployment in Ontario within the context of the changing nature of work and more specifically, the growth of precarious work in the province. The rest of this dissertation follows this path and is organized accordingly.

Chapter II outlines the teacher work and employment in Ontario. The vast majority of school teachers in Ontario are employed in the public sector, with local and contextual similarities and differences around the province. Furthermore, a discussion surrounding teacher unemployment is provided, focusing on recent developments in the 21st century. Due to a massive oversupply of teachers in the province, employment challenges remain acute for

thousands of teachers in Ontario today. As such, they appear to be in increasingly precarious positions.

Chapter III provides a review of the literature surrounding specifically in relation to precarious employment. Precarious employment refers to a range of employment relationships which adversely affect workers economically and socially in various dimensions. Precarious employment also cuts across social location, impacting minorities and marginalized groups in the labour force. The precarious employment relationship has (re)emerged, particularly over the past decade, with a negative impact on a growing number of workers in places such as Ontario. Finally, precarious employment has impacted education workers and connected with the work of educators, including teachers in Ontario.

Chapter IV outlines the conceptual framework for this study. As precarious employment comes to define the world of work, precariousness or precarity becomes the dominant socioeconomic reality for such workers. Drawing largely from Standing (1999; 2009; 2011; 2014) and his understanding of the precariat, the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers are connected to the issues of precarious work, employment and precarity in the contemporary era.

Chapter V discusses the chosen methodological approach for this study—generic qualitative inquiry. Utilizing such an approach, interviews with 24 un(der)employed teachers in Ontario were conducted to explore their working lives. An outline of the recruitment and interview process is also provided, along with a profile of the study participants. Finally, a discussion of how the interviews were analyzed is also provided.

Chapter VI lays out the main findings from the interviews conducted with 24 un(der)employed teachers in Ontario. Such findings are divided into four sections, reflecting the research subquestions. Thus, the precarious work, along with issues surrounding control, occupational identity and emotion of un(der)employed teachers is outlined. Their voices provide a glimpse into what it means to experience precarious employment, precarity and un(der)employment as teachers in Ontario today.

Chapter VII provides a discussion in relation to the precarious chapter's findings surrounding teacher un(der)employment and precarity. Exploring the larger themes surrounding precarious work and employment, control and time, occupational identity and identity work, as well as emotions and intergenerational equity—the chapter presents a theoretical discussion of teachers' working lives today. This new world of work appears to provide significant challenges and barriers for un(der)employed teachers today and for those seeking employment as teachers in the future.

Chapter VIII, concludes the study by providing a summary of key findings and implications for theory, policy and future research. Recommendations and suggestions for alleviating the teacher surplus and growing number of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario are outlined and discussed as well as suggestions for solutions structural unemployment with seek to combat precarious work and employment. Lastly, some final words outline concerns for those who wish for more equitable, democratic and critical approaches to teaching and learning to continue in classrooms as the work and employment of teachers continues to change.

CHAPTER II TEACHER EMPLOYMENT & UNEMPLOYMENT IN ONTARIO

This chapter provides an overview of teachers' employment and unemployment in Ontario. Firstly, an outline is provided regarding the work and employment arrangements common to the majority of Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12) teachers across the province. Secondly, the historic patterns of teacher employment are traced, with particular attention to more recent teacher labour market dynamics which have unfolded since 1997. Finally, as outlined in the introduction to this thesis, the aim of this study is to explore the features of precarious employment and contours of precarious work in relation to the work and lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario today. Thus, the final section seeks to highlight the literature surrounding nonstandard and precarious forms of employment for teachers—specifically in Canada and the province of Ontario.

Teacher Employment in Ontario

Teaching & Public Education in Ontario

Primary and secondary education in Canada remains a provincial responsibility. The Ontario Ministry of Education oversees elementary and secondary education and acts as the official body responsible for the schooling of just over two million students in the province. As of 2013-2014, there were 3,980 elementary and 917 secondary schools in Ontario, in which about 115,000 full-time equivalent teachers were employed (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015a). Funding for public education is allocated centrally, through a funding formula intended to distribute resources equitably across the province (People for Education, 2015). Educational funding for K-12 schools is to remain at around \$22.5 billion in the 2015-2016 school year (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015b). In all, 72 geographically and denominationally separated school boards (31 English Public, 29 English Catholic, 4 French Public and 8 French Catholic) are responsible for the administration and delivery of public education in Ontario. Such boards range in size, the largest being the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), which serves approximately 232,000 students and employs approximately 17,415 permanent teachers. As approximately 95% of students attend publicly funded schools (Van Pelt, Allison &

Allison, 2007), public school boards in Ontario employ the vast majority of teachers in the province.

Outside of the publicly funded school system, private schools and other educational providers as well as auxiliary education services such as tutoring provide employment opportunities for teachers. As OCT (2015) notes, many new teachers who cannot secure adequate employment in school boards are employed in the educational private sector. It remains unclear how many teachers might be currently employed in Ontario's private sector, although the sector serves over 100,000 students and likely employs several thousand teachers. As private schools operate as businesses or non-profits independent of the Ontario government and Ministry of Education (Audit General of Ontario, 2013), teacher employment arrangements may differ significantly across the province (Quirke, 2009). Nevertheless, the vast majority of teachers seeking employment in Ontario strive to work in the publicly funded school system (OCT, 2013).

All teachers employed in Ontario's publicly funded school system are legally obligated to belong to the Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF) and do so with membership to one of four teacher federations in Ontario: the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO), l'Association des Enseignantes et des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens (AEFO), the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA), and the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF). These federations each hold their own constitutions, mandatory membership, collect dues and bargain collectively on behalf of their members. Approximately 200,000 teachers in Ontario are represented by the four federations in this closed shop arrangement.

Teacher Education & Certification in Ontario

With the establishment of the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) in 1996, teacher qualifications and certification became the shared responsibility of the OCT and the province (Grimmet & Young, 2012). In order to teach in a public school board, a teacher must be certified by, and a member of, the College of Teachers. Eligibility for a general teaching certificate requires the completion of a minimum 3-year post-secondary degree, completion of a one-year teacher-education program, and application to the OCT along with registration and annual membership

fees. In Ontario, the one-year teacher-education program is known as a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree. Teachers who complete the degree typically do so for initial certification in one of three divisions: Primary-Junior (Kindergarten to Grade 6), Junior-Intermediate (Grade 4 to Grade 10), or Intermediate-Senior (Grade 7 to Grade 12). There are exceptions, such as Technological Studies. As Grimmett and Young (2012) demonstrate, 70-75% of new teachers in Ontario graduate each year from one of Ontario's faculties of education. Another 10-15% of graduates come from the United States (typically New York State "border colleges") and 10-15% of new teachers arrive from other international jurisdictions. In Ontario, the Ministry of Education sets quotas for faculties of education which regulate enrolment in teacher education programs across the province.

As of September 2015, teacher candidates in Ontario will now be required to complete a two-year B.Ed degree in order to meet certification requirements in the province. The implementation of this new requirement was meant to improve teacher quality and also as a means of addressing and attempting to alleviate the surplus number of teachers in the province (CBC, 2013a). Applicants to teacher education programs in Ontario have typically faced a competitive environment with more applicants/applications than allocated spots. Ten-year data from the Ontario Universities' Application Centre (OUAC) indicates that since 2004, the total number of applicants has risen and subsequently fallen—a peak of approximately 16,530 applicants in 2007 versus a more recent decline of just 3,775 applicants as of January, 2016 (OUAC, 2016). The latter number reveals how prospective teachers are becoming more aware of the challenging job market in the province (Dehaas, 2011; Kim, 2012; Macdonald, 2011). Nevertheless, once new teachers have met degree, qualification and certification requirements, they may seek employment in any of Ontario's publicly funded schools.

Teacher Employment Arrangements

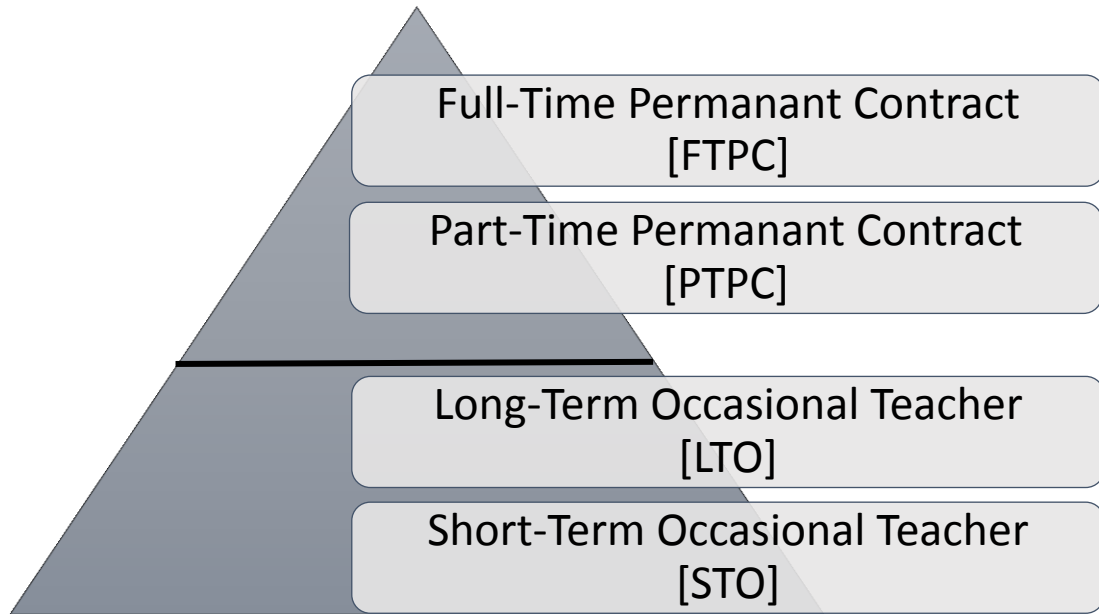
Once employed by a district school board in Ontario, teachers may work in various positions—each of which contain different contractual obligations, compensation, job security and benefits. In short, teachers are employed in heterogeneous employment arrangements, which affects the nature of their work (Pollock, 2008). Chalikakis (2012) and Pollock (2008) provide a

useful framework for understanding the four main employment arrangements for teachers in Ontario's public school boards. The labour structure in district school boards generally comprises of: Full-time, permanent contract teachers (FTPC), Part-time, permanent contract teachers (PTPC), Long-term, occasional teachers (LTO), and Short-term, occasional teachers (STO). Figure 1 illustrates how such teachers may be generally understood in a hierarchical fashion. Such employment arrangements are also shaped by legislation, policy and local collective agreements (Pollock, 2008). Nevertheless, FTPC teaching typically forms the basis for what is usually understood as a "classroom teacher"—a teacher who would be employed continually in a single classroom at a single school for the entirety of a school year along with secure employment into the next school year.

As introduced, a large number of teachers in Ontario increasingly are unable to secure any type of employment as teachers in district school boards. Nevertheless, the majority of new teachers who are able to secure employment in Ontario's school boards do so as STO teachers (OCT, 2014; 2013). Such teachers (more often known as "supply teachers") are hired to temporarily replace other teachers on a daily basis. Thus, they are generally on-call and obtain paid work on a day-to-day basis. STO teachers have no guarantee of consistent work, and are typically employed to teach only when they are required to temporarily replace a FTPC teacher (Pollock, 2008). Thus, their work structure is highly irregular and STO's are expected to be on-call and available to cover for permanent teachers if and when daily work is available, highlighting the temporary and transient nature of their work. Underemployed teachers are typically involved in STO employment arrangements, typically at one or more school boards in Ontario (OCT, 2013).

STO teachers are also placed on a different pay scale, one which provides them a wage for daily work rather than a predetermined yearly salary. While collective agreements differ around the province, generally STO teachers receive between \$200-240 for a full day's work. However, STO teachers cannot always count on regular work, and therefore their incomes may fluctuate significantly weekly, monthly, or annually. The most substantial difference in teacher salary in Ontario is between STO and FTPC teachers (Pollock, 2008), due primarily to the casualized nature of their employment relationship.

Figure I- The Employment Arrangements of Teachers in Ontario Public Schools



Sources: Pollock (2008) and Chalikakis (2012)

From STO employment, teachers in Ontario today typically move into LTO arrangements (OCT, 2013). Such mobility occurs after a certain number of consecutive days are worked as an STO in a particular classroom, generally ranging from 10-21 consecutive days. LTO employment is formalized through both fixed-term and open-term contracts and teachers may hold more than one LTO position in a given school year. LTO teachers are usually placed onto the same salary grid as FTPC teachers.

While LTO positions do provide greater job security dependent on the scope and length of the term contract signed, and greater access to benefits, they do not always pay more than what could be earned through daily occasional teaching. This can occur as LTO positions can vary dependent on the teaching load for which they are covering in their contract (typically 0.1-1.0 percentage). Hence, while it appears as though teachers seeking permanent employment would desire to move into LTO arrangements whenever possible, such positions vary in opportunity cost, and provide no guarantee of permanent work in the future. Many un(der)employed teachers thus continually shift between STO and LTO status year after year (OCT, 2015).

The nature of upward mobility from STO to LTO employment (and eventually FTPC) has been more recently complicated by the introduction of Regulation 274/12 in Ontario. Brought into the province in 2012, the regulation established a series of steps and criteria that all school boards must follow when hiring LTO and new permanent teaching positions (ETFO, 2012). The regulation, while attempting to ensure fairness in the hiring process, generally acknowledges and ensures that teachers seeking employment must “move up” the seniority rankings into permanent positions. The regulation also provides challenges for internal provincial mobility for teachers, where movement between school boards can result in teachers losing their seniority on a board list. While only recently implemented, it appears as though school boards, teachers seeking employment and perhaps teacher unions and are not altogether supportive of Regulation 274/12 (Directions, 2014; Pollock, Wang & Hauseman, 2015; Rushowy & Brennan, 2015).

The various employment arrangements outlined illustrate the heterogenous nature of teacher employment in Ontario. While the normative image of the classroom teacher continues to imply a FTPC employment relationship, this is not always the case. Additionally, over the past decade in particular, a growing number of teachers in Ontario have found it increasingly difficult to secure FTPC positions, or obtain any sort of teaching employment at all.

Teacher Unemployment in Ontario

The literature concerning teacher employment and unemployment in Ontario since the early beginnings of public education in the mid-19th century remains relatively sparse, lacking consistent data sources. Pieced together historically, teacher employment trends in the province appear to have been largely cyclical, going through periods of greater supply and periods of greater demand, along with lengthy periods of conflict and entente between teachers and their employers. Teacher employment opportunities, primarily determined by the supply of teachers and student enrolment, along with changing political determinants and public funding, shape the number and composition of the teacher workforce in Ontario.

Employment Trends in the 20th Century

As Gidney and Millar (2011) note, even in early 20th century Ontario, entry into the teaching profession (certification) was driven primarily by supply and demand considerations. The period between 1900 and 1920 was marked by growth; rising enrolments, new settlement, teacher migration to (Ontario) and the dislocation from World War I—which caused a shortage of teachers raising demand. Between 1920 and 1940, rising salaries along with higher levels of education pushed more individuals into teaching. Moreover, the Great Depression years saw students staying in school longer, and thus more teachers sought certification to teach in the province (Gidney & Millar, 2011). As both Gidney (1999) and Coulter (1995) highlight, during the expansive periods of the 1950s and 1960s, the one-room schoolhouse gradually disappeared and the Ontario school system expanded, resulting in a greater number of teachers being hired to work in schools.

In stark contrast, the 1970s and 1980s were marked by the declining student enrolment, first in elementary and subsequently in secondary schools, resulting in the attrition of the teaching force in the province. Gidney (1999) similarly points to demographic changes beginning in the 1970s, which in tandem with limited immigration, resulted in dropping enrolment numbers. In response, in school boards, “staff was trimmed, with probationary teachers or would-be new entrants catching the worst of it, while even those with five or ten years seniority feared for their jobs” (p. 111). The cyclical nature of the teacher labour market in the second half of the 20th century may generally be viewed as 1950-70 being a time of expansion with strong opportunities for teacher employment, followed by the 1970-1990 period which witnessed a more visible decline in such opportunities.

Wolfe’s (1980) doctoral dissertation surrounding teacher unemployment in Ontario analyzed the supply and demand of teachers in the province between 1962 and 1978. Positive enrolment trends during this period reflect changes with increasing birth rates, immigration and school participation and led to strong employment opportunities for teachers. Moreover, student-teacher ratios decreased considerably during the 1960s, and along with high levels of teacher attrition (mostly through retirement) expanded opportunities for teacher employment. However, by 1978, less than 30% of new teachers were able to secure employment, in contrast to over 80% a decade earlier. Nevertheless, the number of teachers still increased by slightly more than 12% in the period 1972-3 to 1976-7 (Gidney, 1999). In addition, early retirement packages were put together to promote the retirement of permanent staff and schools were closed. The period of the late 1970s to early 1980s was marked by high unemployment overall, particularly for youth (and young teachers) as a result of baby boomers entering the workforce in large numbers. However, since 1985 (until about 2000), the number of students once again began to rise (Gidney, 1999) primarily due to the same factors which resulted in earlier declines; the birthrate and immigration (p. 166). Such demographic changes once again would result in increased demand for teachers in the province. Thus, analyses by Smith (1989), Press and Lawton (1999), Guppy and Davies (1996) and Tremblay (1997) all pointed towards a greater need for teachers towards the end of the 20th century. From 1990-2003 the labour market

showed growth and an overall teacher shortage, which since around 2004 has generally become a surplus.

Employment Trends in the 21st Century

Since 2001, the Ontario College of Teachers has, through annual *Transition to Teaching* reports, documented yearly employment outcomes for new teachers in the province. These reports, based primarily on survey data from new teacher graduates and teachers in their first few years in the profession, provides data going back to 1998. While such reports are limited with respect to the employment outcomes for *all* teachers in the province, they nevertheless shed light on the current employment climate facing new and early career teachers in the province (see Figure II).

From 2000-2003, new teachers in Ontario faced a dramatically different labour market than today. Due to demographic factors along with early retirement incentives offered for older teachers, employment outcomes for new teachers at the turn of the century were exceptionally strong, with over 95% of new teachers finding teaching employment, and over 50% finding regular employment in their first year, jumping to 79% in their second year of teaching (OCT, 2003). At the time of the OCT (2004) report, only around 5% of teachers indicated that they were not teaching because they could not find a suitable job. Nevertheless, challenges with perceived job insecurity and securing full-time positions were still concerning for teachers. It appears that by 2005, the shortage of teachers had already largely been addressed in Ontario.

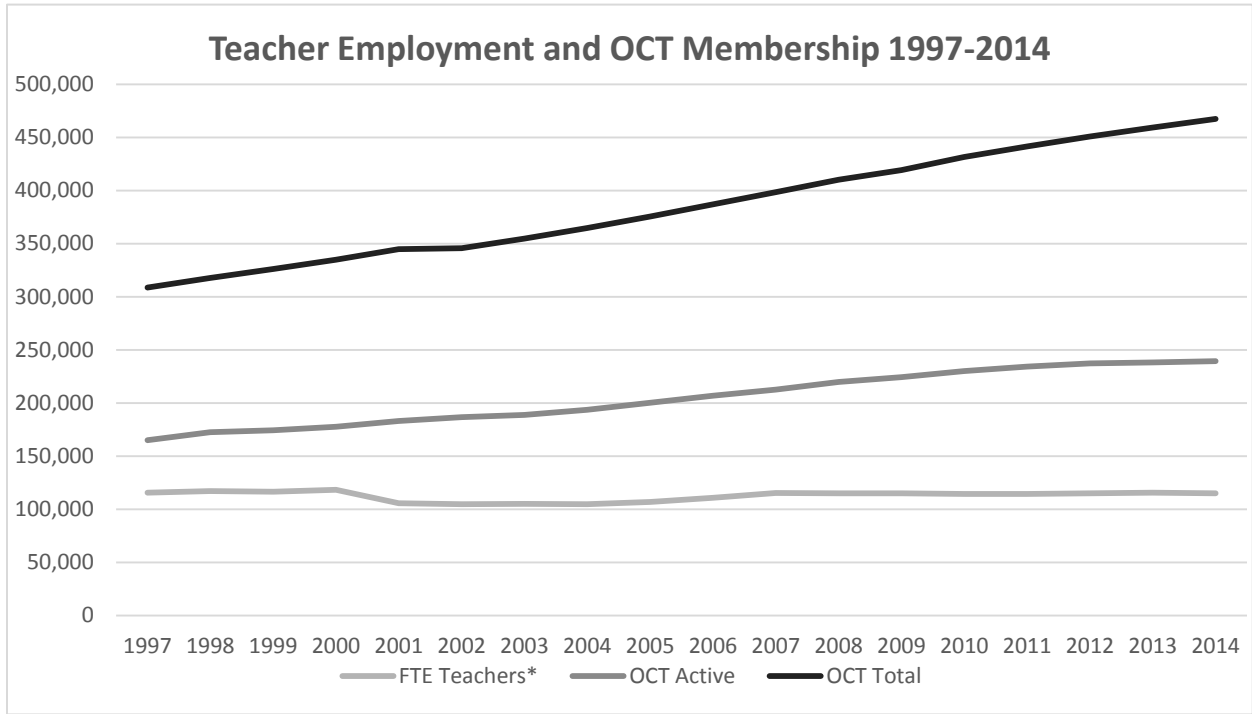
OCT (2006) began their report by stating that outside of certain areas of specialization (such as French and Technology education) teaching jobs already were becoming increasingly scarce. Moreover, by this time, the supply of new teachers had been steadily increasing. The graduating class of new teachers in 2005 was 20% larger than in 2001, while the number of teachers educated in other countries and certified in Ontario had risen by 32% (OCT, 2006). As the OCT (2013, p. 3) indicates in hindsight, since 2006 there has been a salient oversupply of teachers in the province, which has negatively impacted new teachers' employment outcomes over time. Thus, OCT (2007) also indicated that by 2006, the excess of new teachers beyond

retirement-replacement needs had perhaps reached 7,000 annually. Such a large annual oversupply meant diminished early career outcomes for many new Ontario teacher education graduates, as well as others who had moved to Ontario to find teaching work. Apart from French-language teachers, only about 24% of teachers were able to secure a regular teaching position in the 2006-2007 school year. By this time then, unemployment and underemployment for new teacher graduates was already quite discernable (OCT, 2007).

The teacher surplus trend continued into 2008, where less than one in four new teachers continued to be able to secure regular work (OCT, 2008). This trend is discussed by OCT (2009) where, "Since 2006, first-year teacher under- and unemployment combined rose from 30 to 59 per cent, second-year teachers from 20 to 38 per cent, and third-through fifth-year reports have also increased" (p. 6). New teachers in Ontario have had to wait considerably longer each year in order to establish themselves in their careers. From 2009-2012, successful employment outcomes for new teachers continued to diminish. By 2009, full-time employment was essentially out of reach for most first-year teachers (OCT, 2010). New teachers continued to engage mostly with STO employment, while a growing number could not find any work at all. Indeed, OCT (2010) indicates that almost 20% of respondents were working in non-teaching jobs the year following graduation. In 2011, un(der)employment rates increased again, and one in three new teachers did not find any teaching work at all in the province. New teachers continued to show signs of frustration and pessimism with the job market (OCT, 2012) as the unemployment outcomes for new teachers increased for the fifth year in a row (OCT, 2013).

French-language teachers initially continued to enjoy a relatively abundant job market in comparison to other teachers. French-language teachers in Ontario have typically fared better in securing employment in comparison to their English-language colleagues, best explained by the lower supply of such teachers in the province. Nevertheless, more recent reports have indicated that even the French-language job market for teachers has reached saturation. First revealed for the graduates of 2008, where only about half of new French-language teachers were able to secure regular teaching work (OCT, 2009), this segment of teachers has continued to experience declining employment opportunities.

Figure II- Teacher Employment and Ontario College of Teachers Membership (1997-2014)



*** Full-Time Equivalent (FTE Teachers)**

Source: Ontario Ministry of Education (2015a) and the Ontario College of Teachers (2015)

For example, in the 2010-2011 year, less than one in four new French-language teachers found regular teaching work (OCT, 2012). Moreover, as of 2012, about half of first year French graduates reported that they are either unemployed or underemployed (OCT, 2013). The recent challenges in the French-language teacher market are indicative that the employment challenges facing new teachers are now not limited to language or specialization, but rather point to a more definitive oversupply of teachers in the province in general.

Nevertheless, the growth in teacher unemployment has remained uneven across the province—primarily due to demographic and geographical considerations. In particular, many communities in Northern Ontario have difficulty recruiting and retaining sufficient teaching staff (Kane, 2016). Similarly, as noted, employment outcomes for French-language teachers have consistently remained superior to English-language teachers (OCT, 2007; 2008; 2012). Thus, opportunities for teacher employment differ in certain parts of Ontario, or for teachers with certain teaching qualifications in greater demand. Un(der)employed teachers appear to remain either unable or unwilling to fill such demand.

One further illuminating aspect of the *Transition to Teaching* reports for new teachers is the commitment to remain in the teaching profession, especially in Ontario, regardless of employment dynamics. According to OCT (2002), 9 out of 10 new teachers indicated that they expected to teach in Ontario, with only 4 % reporting that they would seek teaching work out of province. OCT (2004) similarly reported that in their response group of 1,081 teachers, only 5 claimed that they will not teach in the future (p. 4). Similarly, OCT (2007) still documented that only 2-5% of new teachers reported that they would or probably would not be teaching in five years, while OCT (2009) discussed how almost all new teachers expected to remain in teaching as a career, with only 2% stating they did not expect to be teaching in five years. While more teachers now indicate that they will look out of province for teaching work, the vast majority continue to want to teach in Ontario. Moreover, those who plan on leaving Ontario (namely because they are unable to find teaching employment in the province) indicate that they would like to someday return to teach in the province (OCT, 2013). Finally, while earlier reports (OCT, 2004) indicated that many teachers moved into the profession as a secondary career choice,

more recently (OCT, 2012) indicated that new teachers view teaching as their primary career of choice.

Teacher Retirements

Around the year 2000, demand for new teachers was high, based in part on changing demographics, which indicated that teacher retirements would remain high for the foreseeable future (OCT, 2002). At the turn of the century (1998-2002) Ontario had been experiencing record-high teacher retirements, with an annual average of 7,200 teachers retiring. This was due in part to baby-boomer demographics as well as early retirement incentives available from the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan (OCT, 2013). However, since then, Ontario teachers approaching retirement have increasingly deferred to do so (OCT, 2012). Changes which ended mandatory retirement in Ontario in 2006 and the 2008 economic recession and resulting climate of uncertainty have likely led more teachers to postpone retirement and maximize pension benefits. Papadopoulos (2010) estimated that there are roughly 7,000 more newly-certified teachers in the province per year than are retirement vacancies to fill. Teacher retirements have been forecasted to remain at current levels of approximately 4,500 retirements annually for the next decade (OCT, 2013).

Declining Enrolments

Employment inside of Ontario's public schools is determined primarily by the number of school aged children and government established teacher-student ratio (McWilliams, 2008). According to People for Education (2012), there are 120,000 fewer students in Ontario than a decade earlier. As a result, the Ontario government has initiated the process of closing schools in certain districts, particularly urban districts with several neighbourhood schools. In 2012, the average elementary school in Ontario had 318 students, a decline from an average of 365 students in 1998. While averages vary by region, 10% of elementary schools in Ontario hold less than 120 students (People for Education, 2012). Similarly, the average enrolment in secondary schools dropped from 879 students in 2001 to 794 students, with 15% of secondary schools having fewer than 250 students. Nevertheless, as overall population decline is expected to

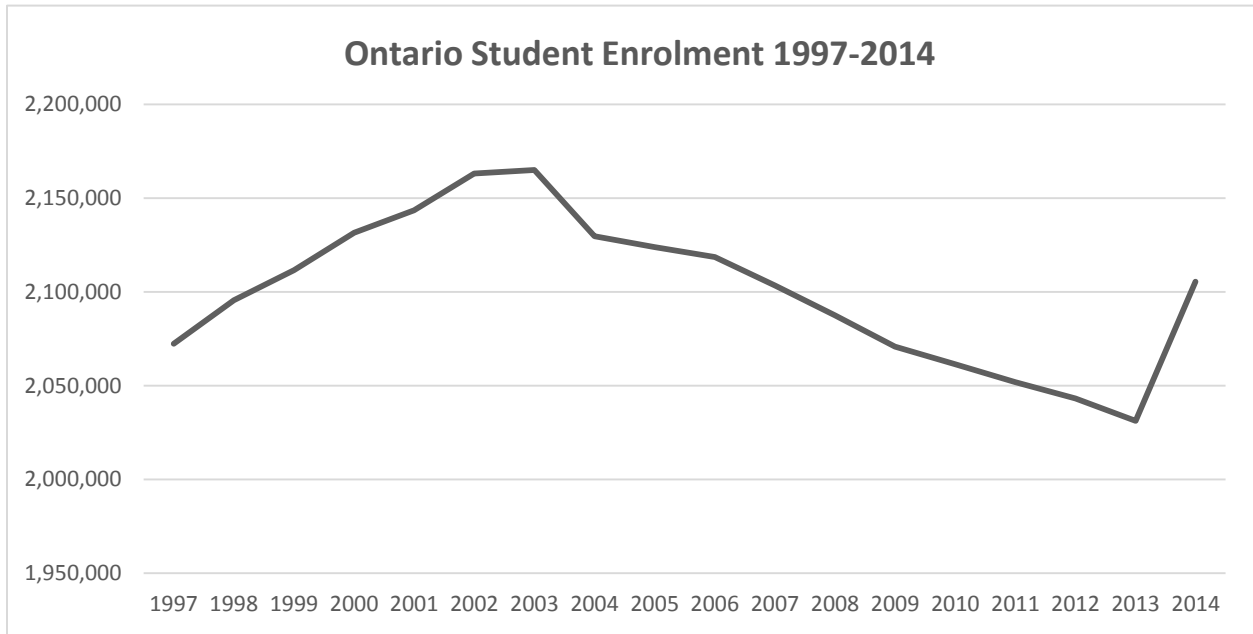
continue and plateau over the next decade, only the Greater Toronto Area is expected to grow (People for Education, 2012, p.1). Although school closures in Ontario have been criticized for their negative implications for communities (Irwin, 2012), it remains difficult to determine how exactly school closures will affect teacher jobs precisely. One may surmise that with the consolidation of school buildings, support staff and other auxiliary positions will likely disappear. Across the province, enrolment has been declining at a rate of 3-5% per year since 2003 (Robertson, 2014). As teaching positions in the province are funded primarily in accordance with student enrolment numbers, the overall number of teaching positions available would have decreased. However, according to the Ontario Ministry of Education, since 1997 enrolment levels have remained largely stable with relatively small fluctuations in student numbers (see Figure III). Regardless, it appears as though student enrolments will not grow substantially in the near future, and thus demand for teachers likely will not increase.

Teacher Un(der)employment & Precarious Employment

As a result of the teacher surplus in Ontario, recently OCT (2015, 2014) have described the work of unemployed and underemployed teachers as “precarious”. The following section explores what such precariousness might mean for teachers and how the contours of precarious work and employment may be applicable to the study of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario.

Just as it was for most workers in the late 19th and early 20th century, the employment of teachers in Ontario appears largely “precarious” in the past (Gidney & Millar, 2012). According to Young, Levin & Wallin (2007), in the early part of the 20th century, teaching was an occupation dominated by women, (especially at the elementary level), while typically being a low paying and low status job which offered few career prospects. Fast-forward a century later, with enrolments reaching their zenith around 2003, with the supply of new teachers beginning to outpace demand at the same time, unemployment and underemployment for many teachers in Ontario continued to intensify. Most recently, OCT (2014; 2015) have acknowledged that the reality for many teachers in Ontario is increasingly “precarious” while McCaffrey (2013) makes a brief connection concerning growing teacher un(der)employment and precarious work in Ontario.

Figure III- Student Enrolment in Ontario's Public Schools (1997-2014)



Source: Ontario Ministry of Education (2015a)

As this chapter has detailed, the number of unemployed teachers in Ontario has increased dramatically over the past decade. What is known about such teachers has also been primarily documented through the *Transition to Teaching* reports over the same period. Most studies in Canada and Ontario have focused on labour market analyses surround teacher supply and demand (Lawton, 1999; Gervais & Thony, 2001; Guppy & Davies, 1996; Smith 1989; Tremblay, 1997; Wolfe, 1980). In the U.K., Henderson, Robins & Wormald (1980) provided a qualitative study regarding unemployed teachers through survey data and self-reported diaries. Their findings revealed that:

The thrust of their comments was, in fact, in three directions. Firstly, despite the fact that they were overwhelmingly dependent on the state for employment, and their expectations had not been fulfilled, they nevertheless expressed a generally supportive, relatively uncritical view of government activity. Secondly, they felt isolated and depressed, feelings which were compounded by the absence of the community support previously provided in the college environment. Thirdly, although aware of the structural origins of their predicament, they predominantly offered individualistic explanations for their failure to obtain teaching posts. (p. 5)

A general description of similar sentiments have been noted by the OCT (2015; 2014; 2013; 2012) where teachers appear to be increasingly frustrated by continued unemployment or underemployment. The news media in Ontario has caught onto the topic of teacher unemployment, highlighting some the concerns of a saturated labour market and teachers unable to secure employment in the province (Cain & Paperny, 2013; Chittley, 2013; Dehaas, 2011; Dubinsky, 2015; Kim, 2012; Langille, 2013ab; Lu, 2011; MacDonald, 2011; Mason, 2012; Missaghian, 2014; Newcomb, 2014; Sagan, 2013; Shupac, 2012; Wentz, 2013). Reports such as these appear to point towards acute challenges in the work of a growing number of teachers in Ontario.

If a large number of teachers have been unable to secure permanent employment, is there a move towards more nonstandard teaching arrangements? According to Young, Levin and Wallin (2007), the number of part-time educators in Canada increased from 31,000 in 1989-90 to 46,000 in 1999-2000. Young and Grieve (1996) note similar numbers for the period, stating that for 1993-94, 35,000 part-time educators in Canada constituted 11.5% of the total teaching

force and report a movement towards increased part-time and non-standard teaching arrangements in the province of Alberta during the mid-1990s. Subsequently, Young and Brooks (2004) found that part-time educators in Alberta reflected the features of a “flexible” workforce. Lin (2005) examines Statistics Canada data regarding educators across the country, finding that part-time and nonpermanent work arrangements have grown, but more visibly in the post-secondary sector amongst university professors. Nevertheless, she cites that elementary and secondary school teachers employed in nonpermanent positions across Canada increased from 14.2% in 1999 to 17.9% in 2005.

According to recent Statistics Canada (2015ab) figures, the number of full-time equivalent (FTE) educators in publicly funded elementary and secondary schools under the age of 30 has declined significantly over the past decade. In 2002-2003, educators under the age of 30 represented 16.2% of full-time teachers employed, which has dropped to 9.5% as of 2012-2013. During this same period, the number of part-time educators in publicly funded elementary and secondary schools rose from 11.4% to 18%. Thus, for teachers under 30, this raises concerns over the casualization of work and opportunities to secure full-time employment. In 2002-2003 part-time teachers under 30 represented 7.6% of all part-time teachers employed, a figure which has ballooned to 23.1% in 2012-2013. Such figures appear to indicate underemployment and delayed entry or career establishment for younger teachers in the labour force.

Nevertheless, Zeytinoglu’s (1989) earlier analysis of occasional teachers in Ontario found that while boards continued to hire teachers in various flexible-work arrangements, there was no visible effort to do so to cut labour costs. Part-time and STO teachers nevertheless continue to represent a substantial proportion of the teacher workforce (Chalikakis, 2012; Pollock, 2008). Overall, while approximately 1/5 of Canadian teachers occupy nonstandard teaching employment arrangements, there does not appear to be a concerted push towards moving teacher employment out of full-time permanent positions into more flexible, part-time arrangements.

Nevertheless, a growing number of teachers in Ontario are unemployed, working contingently, volunteering, or leaving the province altogether in search of employment (OCT, 2013, 2014, 2015). Such concerns appear to place un(der)employed teachers in precarious employment situations. The single study located concerning precarious employment specifically and teachers in K-12 education is that of Sagiroglu (2013) who examines the case of precarious employment and teachers in Turkey. The study reveals that teachers increasingly exist within various dimensions of precariousness, resulting in several consequences for their personal and professional lives. Sagiroglu (2013) outlines that:

In this study, it was aimed to delineate the scenes of precariousness in their daily life. The common feelings and experiences indicated that the more precariousness teachers experienced in their jobs resulted in the more precariousness they felt in daily life. The similarities in their experiences, feelings, anxieties and uncertain living conditions are significant variables [which] showed how precariousness affects their social life in the same manner. (p. 140)

Teachers involved in precarious work arrangements thus not only embodied precariousness through their precarious employment, but it was also revealed in their daily lives and living standards. While very different in context, at the macro level, the study nevertheless holds very similar theoretical dimensions concerning the changing nature of work and society and the implications of teacher work and employment in Ontario. Sagiroglu (2013) thus makes the same connection as this study seeks to further investigate—the manner in which precarious employment, precarious work and precarity intersect in the work and lives of teachers in the contemporary era. Other recent work (Brock & Ryan, 2016; Chalikakis, 2012; Pearce, 2012; Pollock, 2008, 2010) in Ontario has detailed growing employment concerns for nonstandard teachers. Indeed, Chalikakis (2012) concludes her study of underemployed teachers in Ontario with an assertion that further research is needed surrounding the contours of precarious work and nonstandard teachers in Ontario.

While little has been said concerning precarious employment and employment in the K-12 education system in Ontario, a substantial body of work concerning the growing precariousness of educators in higher education has emerged across North America (Giroux, 2014a; Ginsberg,

2011) and in Canada specifically (Muzzin, 2008; Rajagopal, 2002). What has emerged in recent years is the precarious nature of teaching for many educators in institutions of higher education. Bauer (2011) discusses the growth in precarious faculty in Québec, asserting the casualization of academic labour reflects broader neoliberal discourses concerning contingent labour practices and the commodification of higher education. Standing (2011) argues that such practices are occurring in institutions of higher education across the globe, and K-12 education is not immune to such challenges.

Chapter Summary

Recent trends in Ontario indicate that a growing number of teachers are either unemployed or underemployed, occupying nonstandard employment relationships such as STO and LTO positions, while their work appears to be increasingly “precarious” (OCT, 2014). However, it is unclear exactly what teacher “precariousness” means. In the following section, the literature surrounding precarious employment is reviewed to examine the changing nature of work and the emergence of the precarious employment relationship as a reality for a growing number of workers in Ontario and around the globe.

CHAPTER III PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT

If new teachers, and specifically un(der)employed teachers are understood to be increasingly “precarious” in their work—what exactly does it mean to work precariously? While precarious employment is hardly a new phenomenon, new understandings of precarious work have emerged in the research literature in the 21st century. Interestingly, such literature has emerged in tandem with growing concerns regarding teacher un(der)employment in Ontario (Vosko, 2000, 2006). Moreover, several researchers in Ontario have been at the vanguard of exploring precarious work and the precarious employment relationship (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003ab; Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King & Polanyi, 2003; Vosko, 2000, 2006). Precarious employment may be considered in relation to time and space, but also may be defined by particular employment relationships and specific forms of work and labour. The profound growth in precarious employment has changed the world of work in many ways, and with it has brought new challenges for work and workers around the globe. For teachers in Ontario, particularly those who remain unemployed or underemployed, this appears to be the context in which they are navigating and experiencing the contemporary labour market and world of work today.

The Changing Nature of Work

The macro-structural changes which began in the 1970s and continued into the contemporary era reflects the forces of globalization, economic restructuring and new liberal ideologies which significantly reshaped work and employment (Harvey, 1989). Globalization—the interweaving of capital, financial and labour markets—in tandem with significant technological developments and information systems, increasingly pushed workers into competition with one another in a global market society (Friedman, 2005). The result for many workers in places such as Canada was a new competitiveness, with a larger number of workers from which capital could now draw. As a result of these developments, workers increasingly sought to maintain a standard of living and negate downward mobility instigated by economic restructuring, deregulation and reregulation. For instance, women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers, fueling

the feminization of work and labour (Vosko, 2006). Additionally, many workers began to labour more, intensifying their work in order to attempt to bring individual and household earning power back to previous levels (Lowe, 2000). Finally, individuals began to take on larger debt, attempting to maintain a standard of living of which they were accustomed (Reich, 2010).

As organizations in both the public and private sectors embraced both functional and numeric flexibility, workers found themselves increasingly in “nonstandard” employment relationships. The “golden age” of worker security shifted into one of worker flexibility and growing job and economic insecurity. As governments and capital demanded a more flexible workforce in order to compete globally, workers began to see the erosion of job quality, leading to the stagnation of real wages for a growing number of workers (Standing, 1999, 2009). The shift towards flexibility reflects the movement away from “Fordist” labour policies grounded in employment security and a male-breadwinner model, into a “post-Fordist” framework which embraced new models and modalities of labour flexibility, neoliberal values and consumerism (Harvey, 1989). Hence, as the neoliberal model took hold (Harvey, 2005), job quality and security began to decline. Thus, perhaps the most fundamental shift for workers in the development of precarious work in industrialized nations during this time has been the significant turn towards flexible and nonstandard forms of employment (Standing, 1999, 2009a).

Under the guise of neoliberalism, countries were told to pursue labour market flexibility in order to keep labour costs down and remain competitive in a global economy (Standing, 2011). Flexibility contains several dimensions—including forms of wage, employment, and job and skill flexibility— all meant to allow firms to adjust production with minimal interruption (Standing, 2011). As globalization proceeded with governments accepting the discourse of flexibility, the number of individuals in insecure forms of work and labour multiplied significantly. Thus, flexibility must be interrogated as a movement away from the standard employment relationship (SER) and more secure forms of labour, and towards more insecure or nonstandard forms of work and labour (Pedaci, 2010; Standing, 1999, 2011, 2014a; Vallas, 1999).

Around the globe (Standing, 2011, 2009, 1999) and including Canada (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Lewchuk, Clarke, & de Wolff, 2011; Vosko, 2006) there have been profound changes in work, labour and employment. As Lowe (2000) noted:

If current trends—temporary and part-time work, unemployment, underemployment, bottom-line management strategies, a yawning gap between haves and have-nots, technological change, plodding rates of organizational innovation, declining standards of living, the stresses of too much work or not enough, work-family tensions, inequitable treatment of women and minorities—are allowed to continue unchecked, they will have serious consequences for Canada’s future. (p. 4)

Such trends in the formation of nonstandard work arrangements (also known as flexible, contingent, temporary, insecure, or vulnerable) have become a part of the working-lives of many workers. Many organizations have increasingly moved towards adopting models which combine both permanent employees and more flexible part-time and contingent workers. These developments, including just-in-time production modalities and the division of labour between “core” and “peripheral” employees, has continued to adversely affect job quality for many workers. The result of which has been a growing polarization of the labour force into those with “good or bad” jobs (Kalleberg, 2011). Simultaneously, and perhaps not coincidentally, such polarization has lead towards growing social and economic inequality (Piketty, 2014).

The aforementioned changes in globalization and neoliberalism have fundamentally altered the nature of work recently (Gorz, 1999; Payette, 1998) and have been responsible for the proliferation of what has become known as precarious employment (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003ab). As a relatively “new” area of research, the theoretical understanding of precarious work continues to change and evolve globally (ESOPE, 2004). Nevertheless, it has been suggested that various forms of precarious employment have become a part of the working-lives of a growing number of workers around the globe (Standing, 2009a; 2011; 2014). Globalization, neoliberalism and labour market restructuring appear to have resulted in the deteriorating rights of workers and conditions of their work. As such, precarious employment has become a relevant and important theoretical and conceptual terrain for better

understanding such changes and their impact on work and workers –including in Ontario (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003ab; Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Tiessen, 2014). Below, the various contours or dimensions of precarious employment are further explored to begin to understand how precarious employment might feature in the working-lives of individuals, including teachers, today (McCaffrey, 2013).

Defining Precarious Employment

There is no single unifying definition of precarious employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Standing, 2011). Nor is precarious employment a new phenomenon, but is rather shaped by historical circumstances, social norms and values—as well as theoretical and conceptual understandings of changing labour market developments. Thus, precarious employment is expressed “in different ways in different periods and different places” (Vosko, 2006, p. 4). Nevertheless, throughout such periods, precarious forms of employment have disproportionately been held by marginalized groups. Immigrants, ethnic minorities, women and youth all have, and continue to, face more precarious positions and challenges in the labour market (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Standing, 2009a). In the Canadian context, precarious forms of work and employment were the norm in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Vosko, 2006). Precarious employment in some form or another (e.g. low wages, unsafe working conditions, high degrees of insecurity) could be found in industrial, agricultural, and domestic forms of employment. Such arrangements could be seen as the norm until after the Second World War, when the so-called “golden-age” of work, marked by the relative concord between labour and capital resulting in gains for many workers. Such a period gave rise to the “standard employment relationship” (SER) that continues to dominant thought around work and employment today. Thus, the best way to understand precarious employment is to examine its connection to, and deviation from, the SER.

The Standard Employment Relationship

The idea of a standard employment relationship (SER) may be defined generally as full-time continuous employment, where the worker has a single employer, works on an employer’s

premises under their supervision, is likely unionized or covered under a collective agreement, and holds access to various enterprise benefits which constitute a social wage (Vosko, 2006). Watson (2008a) characterizes the SER as a contract between the employee and employer which is considered long-term at a relatively permanent location, a working day and week which is “normal” for that industry, and receiving regular pay, protections and benefits. Nevertheless, the SER must be considered as much of an ideal as it ever was a model, with many more workers remaining in precarious employment arrangements even during the height of the SER in the post-WWII era. Moreover, the SER is built upon a normative model of the nuclear household and gendered division of labour with a single (male) income earner. The strong militancy and influence of organized labour in the post WWII era brought about the SER as well as several victories for labour in Canada. Legislated collective bargaining, unemployment insurance and pensions grew around the SER along with the growth in fringe benefits from employers such as sick and holiday pay. Such characteristics of the Keynesian welfare state would prevail in Canada (albeit not for all workers) until the mid-1970s, when the defining features of the SER began to erode (Vosko, 2000, 2006).

As early as the mid-1970s, precarious employment began to be associated with nonstandard forms of employment; part-time and temporary work, solo self-employment, and multiple job holding. Such forms of work casualization which broke from the SER began to be labeled as nonstandard, flexible, atypical or contingent forms of work (Polivka & Nardone, 1989). This shift reflects the impact of the labour market restructuring brought upon by globalization and post-Fordist workplace regimes, new liberal ideologies of deregulation, reregulation and global competitiveness. More diverse employment relationships point to growing heterogeneity in nonstandard forms of work (Watson, 2008a; Vallas, 2012) along with concerns for workers in respect to issues such as declining wages, workforce polarization, and economic insecurity. Such conceptions have continued to evolve and define precarious employment, particularly over the past decade. Vosko (2006) states that, “In the early 21st century, precarious employment encompasses forms of work characterized by limited social benefits and statutory entitlements, job insecurity, low wages, and high risks of ill-health” (p. 11). Since the turn of the century, there has been a significant growth in the literature surrounding precarious

employment within economics, labour studies and the sociology of work, both in Canada (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003ab; KPMG, 2014; Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2014; Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2003; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Noack & Vosko, 2011; DePratto & Bartlett, 2015; Vosko, 2000, 2006) and around the globe (International Labour Organization, 2012; Edgell, 2006; Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 1999, 2009, 2011, 2014a; Sweet & Meiksins, 2013).

Quinlan (2012) argues that attempts to better understand and define precarious employment reflect a broad recognition that changes to the labour market are concurrently having profound social effects and consequences. Nevertheless, challenges remain with the study of precarious employment, particularly surrounding the various and often competing definitions surrounding concepts such as “precariousness”. The study of precarious employment requires attention to both quantitative measures of precarity and labour market insecurity, as well as qualitative analyses concerning the diverse experiences of workers in various forms of work and within different occupational sectors (Noack & Vosko, 2011; Vosko, 2006). Thus, forms of precarious employment and work must be viewed as multi-dimensional, contextual and shaped by a variety of personal, social and economic considerations.

Dimensions of Precarious Employment

Vosko (2006) outlines precarious employment as forms of employment which offer limited social benefits, statutory entitlements, hold high levels of job insecurity with low wages along with high risks of poor health. Such considerations are shaped by employment status, employment form, labour market insecurity, social context and social location along with the social relations which result from such forms of employment. Cranford and Vosko (2006) conceptualize precarious employment through various “objective” and “subjective” measures of precarity. If viewed on a continuum, full-time permanent employees may be characterized as the least precarious, followed (in order) by full-time temporary employees, part-time permanent employees, and part time employees (Cranford & Vosko, 2006, p. 47). This continuum generally continues to exist in Ontario (Noack & Vosko, 2011) and can also be viewed as conceptually mirroring the internal teacher workforce hierarchy in Ontario outlined

earlier. In addition, they offer four dimensions of precarious labour; earnings, social wage, regulatory protection, and control/contingency. Similarly, Noack and Vosko (2011) outline precarious employment as:

forms of work for remuneration which have one or more dimensions of labour market insecurity that make them substantially different from the “functions” of the SER – specifically, its association with access to training, regulatory protections and social benefits, decent wages, and a social wage. In particular, precarious jobs are characterized typically by high levels of uncertainty, low income, a lack of control over the labour process, and limited access to regulatory protections. (p. 3)

The contours of precarious employment must also be viewed in relation to occupational context. For example, workers in the retail and service sector (the fastest growing sector in the Canadian economy) are typically much more precarious than those in other occupations such as health, law, government service and education (Coulter, 2014a). Additionally, occupational context often defines whether or not workers hold union coverage and related workplace protections (Shillington, 2014). However, even those in unionized environments, as well as full-time permanent employees, can contend with “precariousness” in their employment. As precarious employment relationships grow, precarity and insecurity have moved into almost all forms of employment and occupational contexts (Standing, 2009a).

Insecurity & Precarious Employment

Insecurity may be discussed in two distinct but intertwined relations: that of measurable features of insecurity which contribute to precarious employment (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003ab) and that of a precarious condition subjectively understood by workers (Bauman, 2000, 2007; Beck, 1992, 2000). Concerning the former, Sweet and Meiksins (2013) assert that job insecurity is a seemingly permanent and troubling contour of the contemporary economy. Nevertheless, insecurity must be conceptualized by the various dimensions with which a worker may be considered insecure. As Kalleberg (2011) comments, while all workers are likely to experience uncertainty at some point in their working lives, “people differ in their vulnerability to precarious employment depending on their personality dynamics, levels and kinds of education, age, family responsibilities, type of occupation and industry, and the degree

of welfare and labor market protections in a society” (p. 87). While all workers in market societies face some form of insecurity, those in precarious employment relationships at a higher risk of being economically insecure. Both Standing (2011, p. 10) and Lewchuk, de Wolff, King and Polanyi (2003, p. 29) conceptualize worker insecurity along seven similar dimensions surrounding the degree to which workers may face insecurity in their working-lives. The various distinctions and differences amongst precarious workers and precarious forms of employment may be viewed within such dimensions. Simply, the more forms of labour security or certainty a worker is afforded, the less precarious the work may be.

Nevertheless, as the argument that precarious employment is growing and increasing in all forms of work and occupations, it follows that almost all workers must now contend with insecurity in some form or another (Standing, 1999; 2009). The continued commodification of work and labour has resulted in a more insecure position for many workers worldwide. This ontological nature of insecurity has been articulated more recently by several critical theorists who make such links between precarious employment and the condition of precariousness in everyday life (Bauman, 2000, 2007, 2021; Beck, 1992, 2000; Buroway, 2015; Giddens, 1991; Gorz, 1999; Sennett, 2006, 1998) and such perspectives are expanded on in Chapter IV. Nevertheless, certain groups of workers continue to experience precariousness disproportionately in the labour market.

Gender and Precarious Employment

The gendered dimensions of precarious employment have been well established, particularly in the Canadian context (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003ab; Vosko & Zukewich, 2006). Over the past decade, gender disparity for women’s work—the greater tendency to work in part-time and temporary work, earn lower wages, lack a pension plan and work in smaller firms—has continued the trend for women to be involved in more precarious forms of work than their male counterparts (Noack & Vosko, 2011). Workers who are single parents, the majority of which are women, also disproportionately work in precarious forms of work compared to other family forms. Women also continue to engage in more unpaid forms of work—particularly domestic work in the household (Drolet, 2011). Overall, there are still more women than men

located across the Canadian labour force in precarious forms of employment (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003b).

Race and Precarious Employment

The gendered nature of precarious employment also intersects with race and citizenship (Premji et al, 2014). According to Lewchuk et al., (2013), “Since the mid-1980s, precarious employment has spread beyond its impact on women and racialized people to reach throughout the economy” (p. 14). Nevertheless, the dimensions of precarious employment remain much more prominent for racialized minorities and as the Law Commission of Ontario (2012) asserts, racialized workers “suffer a disproportionate degree of hardship in the labour market” (p. 20). Such workers continue to experience higher levels on unemployment and work in low paying, insecure or temporary jobs. Gender also plays a role in the racialized feature of precarious employment, where minority women are one of the most vulnerable groups with respect to precarious employment (Premji et al., 2014).

Citizenship and Precarious Employment

Connected to the racialized nature precarious employment, recent immigrants and migrant workers have (Vosko, 2006), and continue to, be disproportionately affected by the growth in precarious employment (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). Less than one in four immigrants is employed in a SER upon arriving to Canada and newcomers to Canada are much more likely to be engaged in precarious forms of work (Lewchuk et al., 2013). Immigrants who have been in Canada less than 10 years are about 10% more likely to be in precarious employment arrangements in comparison to Canadian workers (Noack & Vosko, 2011).

Migrant workers have also become a dominant feature of the global workforce. As transient workers, their labour flexibility demands that they move to where there are available jobs, locations where they are subsequently prone to low-wages and exploitation as a disposable workforce (Standing, 1999; 2009). Migrant workers effectively function as a growing pool of reserve labour open to exploitation around the globe (Magdoff & Magdoff, 2004; Standing, 1999; 2009; 2011). In Canada, the number of temporary foreign workers in both high and low

skilled occupations has risen in recent years. In Ontario, there were more than 106,000 temporary foreign workers in 2011 (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). Such workers may be paid less than the median wage for their occupation, and due to language barriers and a lack of knowledge concerning health and safety regulation, are often left open to exploitation and differentiated access to the labour market—including teaching in Ontario (Goldberg, 2005; Pollock, 2010).

Youth and Precarious Employment

In Canada, from 1997-2011, the number of young workers (under the age of 30) in non-permanent jobs nearly doubled, and “The rise in non-permanent employment is more or less matched by declines in permanent employment. Accordingly, the proportion of young workers in permanent jobs has fallen more steeply than among older workers” (Foster, 2012, p. 3). Indeed, close to 22% of teenagers and 14% of those aged 20-24 who are not students in the labour force are only working part-time, record highs for both age groups. Moreover, “about 70% of these youth working part-time are doing so involuntary—meaning they want to work full-time” (Tal, 2013, p. 4). In Ontario, the youth unemployment rate (ages 15-24) from 2008-2013 has continued to remain around 10 percentage points above the adult rate and in 2013, has fluctuated between 16% and 17.1% (Geoby, 2013). Moreover, the youth employment rate (a measure to determine how many individuals have jobs) has ranged between 50-52%. In Canada’s largest city (Toronto) alone, the youth employment rate is only 43.5% (Geoby, 2013, p. 6).

Additionally, precarious employment for younger workers must also be placed alongside the growing issue of student debt. In Canada, according to the Canadian Federation of Students (2013), the average student carries a debt of \$28,000. Indeed, students in Ontario carry some of the highest debt loads in Canada. Unemployment and underemployment must also be considered alongside the long-term consequences involved in both temporary and prolonged periods of un(der)employment in formative earning years. Such economic scarring depreciates not only future earnings, but also can negate skill development and labour market transitions for young workers over time (Schwerdtfeger, 2013).

Disability and Precarious Employment

Persons with disabilities have typically been disadvantaged in the labour market. In Ontario in 2006, only 51% of persons with disabilities aged 15 to 64 were employed, compared to 75% of persons without disabilities (Casey & Young, 2014; Collin, Lafontaine-Émond & Pang, 2013; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). Individuals with disabilities, chronic health conditions, and/or poor health are less likely to be employed and “People with episodic disabilities confront barriers that hinder their labour force attachment and aggravate their already precarious lives” (Vick, 2014, p. 22). Disability—while inherently complex and multidimensional in its definition—appears to be an indicator of precarious employment highlighted by barriers to employment, issues of accessibility and discriminatory practices (Collin, Lafontaine-Émond & Pang, 2013).

Self-Employment

The growth in self-employment and involuntary part-time work are two examples illustrating the trend toward increased employment precarity. The number of individuals who are self-employed (with no employees) has risen dramatically over the past decade (Sweet & Meiskins, 2013; Jackson, 2010; Krahn, Hughes & Lowe, 2015). Across Canada, the labour market category of “self-employed without employees” has increased almost 45% between 1989 and 2007. As Lewchuk et al., (2013) elaborate:

While it is true that some of the self-employed are innovators and wealth creators, many in this category are simply in a disguised form of employment without the benefits associated with standard employment. They may be dependent on a single client for all of their work, receiving direction on how to perform that work just as an employee would. Even for those who are not in a disguised employment relationship, being self-employed without any employees can be a precarious way to earn a living. (p. 17)

Indeed, while many individuals may enter self-employment for personal and financial reasons under their own control and direction, many other are pushed into such work by labour market forces (Law Commission of Ontario, 2012). Similarly, the number of workers who may be classified as involuntarily part-time has increased substantially. In Ontario, Tiessen (2014)

highlights that in 2013, 32% of all part-time employees reported that they would rather be working full-time, an increase of 43% since 2000. As Sweet and Meiksins (2013) note for the United States, the number of workers in involuntarily part-time arrangements has almost doubled between 2006 and 2008 and constitutes at least 5.1% of the total labour force. They add that when placed alongside temporary workers, those working multiple part-time jobs, and growing unemployment rates, combined reveal a strong trends towards growing precarious employment relationships.

Unpaid Work

In addition to the various forms of precarious employment, unpaid forms of work have also become much more visible and normalized into the labour market. Once considered in relation to work performed in the household and informal sector, unpaid work and labour has increasingly become conditioned into formal labour market settings (Standing, 2011). More recently, it has been noted that the concept of unpaid work has begun to shift in the new economy (Edgell, 2006; Vallas, 2012). According to Wilson (2012), in countries such as Canada and the United States, it is now widely believed that volunteering can increase one's chances of obtaining a higher education degree and a better job, higher earnings (Day and Devlin, 1998) and gaining work experience in professional occupational settings (Schugurensky, Slade & Luo, 2005). Similarly, with the case of immigrant teachers, Pollock (2010) found volunteering to be a means of access into the teaching profession for teachers seeking work in Ontario According to the United Food and Commercial Workers Canada (UFCW, 2015) and Lewchuk et al., (2015) workers in less secure forms of employment in lower earning households are 50% more likely to volunteer to improve job opportunities, while also diminishing time spend volunteering in activities with their own children and families.

In similar fashion, in what has increasingly been dubbed as the "intern economy" (Perlin, 2012), over the past decade (unpaid) internships have grown around the globe, particularly for students and young workers seeking entry and employment in professional sectors (Curiale, 2010; Steffen, 2010; Yamada, 2002). Internships have become an increasingly contentious issue in Canada, as seen with the formation of The Canadian Intern Association with the mission of

improving working conditions and advocates against the exploitation of interns by employers (Canadian Intern Association, 2012). Andrew Langille, an Ontario labour lawyer who runs the online blog *Youth & Work* has estimated that the number of unpaid internships in Canada may be as high as 300,000 (Baetu, 2013). Zieba (2012) sheds light on the ways in which the magazine industry in Canada utilizes unpaid labour through internships and how they are beginning to be challenged. Unpaid internships are increasingly seen as dead-end pathways for employment and have become a means of free labour for employers as well as a means of exerting downward pressure of the wages or working conditions of paid employees. This simultaneously increases the precariousness of both paid and unpaid workers (Standing, 2011). Both the OCT (2014, 2013) and Peace (2012) have identified volunteering as means by which teachers in Ontario concurrently attempt to gain entry into the profession and paid work opportunities.

Similarly, new employment arrangements, such as temporary employment agencies (Vosko, 2000) and “zero-hour contracts” which require workers to accept an employment contract in which they may, or may not, have an opportunity for paid labour have grown. New forms of work, labour and employment increasingly tended to include unpaid labour as either employment requirements or as demands for entry to employment (Standing, 2011, 2014). Such considerations are also applicable to the nature of STO employment for teachers in Ontario as well as volunteerism amongst un(der)employed teachers in the province. Regardless of the defined employment arrangement, the financial, emotional and psychological strains associated with precarious employment situations can adversely impact the health and well-being of workers (Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2006).

The Health Effects of Precarious Employment

In the Canadian context, there has emerged a strong body of literature surrounding the health effects of precarious employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2006; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Scott-Marshall & Tompa, 2011). As Lewchuk, Clark, and de Wolff (2011) outline, precarious employment and the resulting uncertainty may create a plethora of physical and mental health issues, as well as

strained relationships for workers and their families, friends and communities. Precarious employment holds consequences not only for individual workers, but rather carries with it broader social, psychological and economic impacts (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015). The health effects of precarious work may also be linked with a more precarious society, where risks and uncertainties are increasingly downloaded unto individuals (Beck, 2000; Bauman, 1998; Giddens, 1991; Sennett, 1998) fostering stress and anxiety. For example, precarious workers may suffer health consequences as a result of their lower income. Low wages often affect workers' access to safe transportation and sufficiently nutritious food and can often lead to working more than one job and long hours, which, in turn, increases susceptibility to illness and injury along with negative impacts on family life (Jackson, 2010). Thus, precarious employment spreads beyond just economic security, but affects the personal, social and familial lives of workers—and is regarded as an important social determinant of health and wellbeing (Benach et al., 2014).

Other Indicators of Precarious Work

Acknowledging that there is no single measure of precarious employment, the common features or contours of what may constitute precarious employment may still be considered. Recent research in Ontario (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015) identifies several features which may be utilized as conceptual measures of precarious employment or precarious forms of work. Again, while no single measure fully captures or encapsulates precarious employment, together several measures or features allow researchers to gauge the relative scope of precarious employment and the challenge which often face workers in such arrangements.

Individuals in precarious employment are more likely to earn lower wages and live in households with lower incomes in comparison to those in more permanent forms of employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013, Lewchuk et al., 2015). In addition, the earnings of those precariously employed are susceptible to fluctuate, with income variability and instability, which can negatively affect workers and their families in various ways. Such workers may not only experience income variability and uncertainty, but they may also be unsure about how many

hours of work they will have in the next day, week, month or year. Thus, they must contend with uncertain work schedules and often do not receive advanced notice of when or where they will be working. Moreover, workers in precarious employment are more likely than other workers to not be paid if they miss work. Such uncertainty and variability affects the income, security as well as long-term and life-course planning of events such as marriage, home ownership and the decision to have children (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015).

Those in precarious forms of employment are also more likely to be employed at (or even below) the minimum wage. However, minimum wage employment must also be differentiated from a “living wage”, understood as the minimal annual income required for sustenance and reproduction. According to Poverty Free Ontario (2015), in 2011 the poverty line for a single adult in Ontario stood at \$19,930 and \$28,185 for a lone parent with one child. However, the Low-income Cutoff also depends on geographical factors, due to the associated variable cost of living in different cities. Individuals who are employed and earn less than, or only slightly more than, the poverty level may be classified as the “working poor”—who represent a growing number of precariously employed workers in the province of Ontario (Stapleton et al, 2013; Stapleton, 2015).

Since the late 1980s, part-time jobs have grown much faster than full-time jobs. Self-employment has also risen at four times the rate of paid employment and the number of low-paying jobs has risen twice as fast as high-paying jobs (Tal, 2015). A growing number of workers are also being employed through temporary employment agencies (Vosko, 2000) and multiple job holding has also risen (Lewchuk et al., 2013). Such nonstandard forms of employment are often precarious. Reflecting the gendered nature of such employment, Ferrao (2010) notes that women in Canada constitute a growing share of employees holding more than one job and by 2009, 56% of multiple job holders were women. According to Krahn, Lowe Hughes (2007), workers holding multiple jobs in Canada increased from around 2% in 1997 to about 5% in 1993 and has remained around that level since. As they note, individuals take on multiple jobs for various reasons, and therefore should not be automatically assumed to be precariously

employed. However, over 30% of job holders in multiple jobs are also self-employed, and both should be considered measures of employment precarity (Lewchuk et al., 2015).

Workers in precarious employment are much less likely to receive employer-sponsored health benefits as well as other enterprise benefits such as defined-benefit pension plans (Lewchuk et al., 2015). Such workers also tend to work in non-unionized environments and those who are employed typically hold part-time or temporary jobs which often provides less access to the same benefits as permanent employees (Lewchuk et al., 2013). Hence, workers in precarious employment relationships often do not receive the same access to training and professional development opportunities or must do so at their own cost. Over time, the inability to upgrade skills and qualifications negatively impacts skill development, career mobility and future earnings (Krahn, Hughes & Lowe, 2015) causing greater employment inequities and can lead to greater employment dissatisfaction and disengagement. Finally, precariously employed individuals invest much more time looking for and attempting to secure paid work (Lewchuk et al., 2015; Standing, 2011).

Chapter Summary

This literature review has sought to outline the features of precarious work and specifically the contours of precarious employment in the contemporary era. In Canada and Ontario in particular, precarious work and precarious employment have become labour market reality, and such labour relations appear to affect the working-lives of a growing number of workers. While problems with work—unemployment, underemployment and precariousness are not recent phenomena, but rather symptomatic of the capitalist project—recent studies into the problem of work have led to the emergence of precarious work and precarious employment as a theoretical space to problematize and critique work in the contemporary period. Such a space, which has grown substantially in the 21st century, seeks to explore the “problem of work” (Rinehart, 2001) in the contemporary era. Coincidentally, in this period, both the growth in teacher un(der)employment and precarious forms of work and employment in the province of Ontario have seemingly occurred simultaneously.

The literature surrounding precarious work and employment can be generally divided into two basic categories. An “objective” category, which primarily examines precarious employment and the various dimensions of formal employment relationships and which draws largely from the field of economics, labour studies and political economy—and which has been highlighted in this chapter. A second “subjective” category emerges from the insights of critical sociologists and cultural theorists, who assert that the world of work, or perhaps the world itself, has become increasingly precarious. Such “precariousness” or “precarity” has come to affect and perhaps dominate a growing number of workers and their working-lives across the globe (Kalleberg, 2011; Standing, 2011). In the subsequent chapter, precarious work is then detailed as an experience of precariousness which increasingly dominates worker subjectivity and the working-lives of workers in the contemporary era. Moving beyond traditional dichotomies between the employed and unemployed, a more dynamic and fluid understanding of work and workers opens space for the analysis of workers under current economic structures. For teachers struggling to secure employment in places such as Ontario, the experience of precarity appears to shape their working-lives.

CHAPTER IV CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this study is to explore the experiences of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario. Understanding that the number of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario has been growing, along with the acknowledgment that such teachers are increasingly “precarious” (OCT, 2015), the previous chapter outlined the defining features of precarious employment. However, exploring the experiences of workers such as un(der)employed teachers requires a framework which not only focuses on the dimensions of precarious employment, but also includes a perspective of worker precariousness or precarity. Thus, this study seeks to not only understand their actions and understandings of the labour market and process, but to also better understand how teachers simultaneously navigate both un(der)employment and precarious work. In short, it seeks to better understand how such teachers relate to the contemporary world of work and how such work becomes central to their lives and lived experiences. Such a study requires a conceptual framework which focuses on worker subjectivity, both in the labour process and within the labour market (Kalleberg, 2009b; Standing, 2011).

Exploring Precarity

Changes in the nature of work, workplaces and employment relations over the past 30 years have created new challenges for those engaged in the study of work (Halford & Strangleman, 2009; Kalleberg, 2009b, 2011). In this new world of work, many workers exhibit the characteristics of “traditional” workers involved in the labour process on the “shop floor”, but also and simultaneously are often unemployed, underemployed or precariously employed. In this way, precarious workers “live and work precariously” (Standing, 2011) and the study of such workers must reflect the nature of this work.

For example, workers in precarious employment relationships often do not embody a typical employment-unemployment dichotomy, nor does their work even when fully employed always guarantee them labour security (Standing, 2014). Exploring the working-lives of precarious

workers or the experience of precarity, requires attention to a broad definition of work which incorporates both paid and unpaid forms of work, as well as aspects of employment, unemployment and underemployment. Such an analysis is inevitably dynamic, and focuses not only on how workplace relations might be precarious, but also on how workers themselves understand their precariousness (Clement, 2007; Cranford & Vosko 2006). This itself is a rethinking of the sociological debate between worker agency and structure, given the growing diversity amongst work, workers and jobs. Thus, according to Standing (2011, p. 16), precarious work must be viewed as both outcome and process. Understanding precarious work incorporates both the contours of precarious employment, but also the broader narrative identified as precarity or precariousness. That is, it asks, what does it mean to be precarious, when “Precarious work is the dominant feature of the social relations between employers and workers in the contemporary world”? (Kalleberg, 2009a, p. 17). Hence, better understanding precarious workers and their experiences today requires an analytic framework which incorporates a broad definition of work, along with the various dimensions of precarious employment, precarious work and worker precarity (Standing, 2011).

Labour process analyses largely arising from the seminal work of Braverman (1974) regarded deskilling as a response to Taylorism and the Scientific Management School which had gradually risen to preeminence through its methods focused on the control of labour. His deskilling thesis thus formed a theoretical understanding which began to extend beyond the workplace and into the class relations under capitalism and the state (Burawoy, 1979; Harvey, 2006). According to Stangleman and Warren (2008) economic changes including; unemployment, globalization, the casualization and feminization of work, deindustrialization and the growth of the service economy, the end of established patterns of worker education, the rise of work insecurity, and the individualization of work have all contributed to changing notions of worker identity and subjectivity. Whereas sociologists in the 1960s and 1970s largely focused on the ways in which employment shaped worker identity (Vallas, 2012), more recent scholarship has been marked by conceptualizations of worker identity, which suggests detachment from formal employment and broader conceptions of what it means to work (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 2010; Bauman, 1998; Beck, 2000; Gorz, 1999; Sennett, 1998; Standing, 2009ab).

However, during the 1980s, labour process theorists began a post-structuralist or subjectivist turn (Knights, 1990; Rose, 1989). Henceforth, analyses of worker identity increasingly absorbed broader discussions of worker subjectivity and discursive relationships of power. Central to these discussion is the exploration of how the exercise of control over the labour process occurs both inside and outside of the workplace. Thus, the struggle for control concerns not just the performance of work, but into the personal attributes and characteristics of the workers themselves. This has been suggested as struggles over control of the “workers soul” (Berardi (2009; Rose, 1989; Vallas, 2012). Hochschild (1983) for instance, describes the role of emotional labour of workers who must present particular identities at work, especially in the service sector while Coulter (2014a) highlights dimensions of emotional and aesthetic labour in the contemporary world of retail work. Work thus becomes performative as workers must acquire and present commercially appropriate feelings at work. Labour process analyses have then interrogated broader narratives between the intersections of work, the workplace and society.

Precarity & Worker Subjectivity

More recently, the literature has also turned to examine the connection between society, culture and values in relation to the development of worker identity. Du Gay (1996) describes the new culture of the “enterprising self” where workers must continually develop and learn new skill-sets and identities in a dynamic and flexible manner to meet demands of employers in the modern economy. Workers must increasingly market and brand themselves, reflecting a commodification of themselves as workers both within and outside of their places of employment (Fenwick, 2002). The discourse of the enterprise shapes workers as a broader cultural norm or even held up as an ideal. By embracing the neoliberal logic of competition and the market, individuals begin to commodify themselves, internalizing themselves as brands and their labour as ready for consumption. Precarious forms of employment are subsequently normalized or even idealized, as workers are told to embrace the new flexibility in a world of work where “good” employment opportunities are declining (Kalleberg, 2011). Smith (2010) outlines how today workers embrace risk, continually reshaping their identities and engaging in various forms of marginal and unpaid work in order to enhance their employability. Thus,

changing economic and social relations must account for both structural and cultural forces which have reshaped both work and workers (Kalleberg, 2009b; 2012).

In addition to work, identity and subjectivity in the contemporary world of precarious labour, the experience of unemployment continues to affect many workers. While precarious employment may be viewed as a distinct paradigm from traditional definitions and analyses of unemployment and underemployment (Cranford & Vosko, 2006), such studies nevertheless offer a strong foundation from which to explore the experiences of workers and the challenges inherent to a lack of employment (Lane, 2011). In her influential study, Jahoda (1982) indicates that workers not only lose their income as a consequence of unemployment, but also experience detrimental impacts on their personal identities and social relationships. Continued unemployment causes workers to become increasingly discouraged and subsequently reduce their efforts to find jobs. Moreover, there is a significant amount of evidence connecting unemployment to physical and mental health and illness (Watson, 2008a). The experiences of the unemployed, underemployed and those precariously employed are all part of the same “world of work” as such conceptual boundaries have become much more permeable under contemporary capitalist culture and impact the working-lives of more individuals (Standing, 2011; Sennett, 1998).

In a similar vein, several theorists located within the “end of work” domain (Aronowitz & DiFazio, 2007; Gorz, 1999; Rifkin, 2004) have continued to assert that globalization, technological determinism and automation have, and will continue to, inevitably push more and more workers out of paid employment. As Granter (2009) and Wilson (2004) point out, such conceptions concerning the end of work have been made by earlier critical theorists of work since Marx. Strangleman (2007) also notes that conceptions concerning the end of work mask a more complex and dynamic reshaping of work and identities associated with employment. Nevertheless, such theories assist in highlighting fundamental tensions within the current world of work, most prominently the real or perceived lack of opportunities for paid work. Such conceptions highlight the salience of worker insecurity in the contemporary period and reflect the prominence of precarious work, and the conditions of precarity underlined by

growing individualism, uncertainty, anxiety, and insecurity evident in the both the workplace and in social relations (Bauman, 2000, 2007; Beck, 1992, 2000; Giddens, 1991; Gorz, 1999; McGuigan, 2009; Sennett, 2006, 1998).

Bauman (2007) refers to these changes as *liquid modernity*, a term which reflects the uncertainty pervading the lives of individuals, who are “incurably fragmented and atomized” (p. 14) and alienated from their communities in an uncertain and unpredictable world. Sennett (2006) agrees with Bauman’s conception of modernity, asserting fragmentation extends from both work and social relations. Thus, “most people...need a life sustaining narrative, they take pride in being good at something specific, and they value the experiences they’ve lived through. The cultural ideal required in new institutions thus damages many of the people who inhabit them” (p. 5). The fragmentation of work, which at one time was a central feature of life, livelihood and identity, has led to fractures in other life courses. While work, in the form of employment, remains central to lives of many individuals (Jackson, 2010), such fragmentation increasingly places individuals at risk (Beck, 1992), which they are expected to shoulder themselves in what has become a political economy of insecurity (Beck, 2000). The individualization of work and risk also characterizes the modern labour market, which promulgates the notion of individual failure—further isolating and individualizing people from what are broader social and structural issues. As workers continue to see widespread changes to their work (in relation to precariousness), so too are their working-lives characterized by precarity. Such changes reflect the growing individualization of risk driven by endemic insecurity in which the workplace loses its role in the development of meaningful social relations and solidarity. The consequences of becoming increasing atomized, fragmented and alienated are a dominant feature of contemporary consumer society.

Precarious work has thus not only been characterized in relation to a direct employment relation between workers and capital, but rather as a broader socio-cultural-economic dynamic (Bauman, 2007; Beck, 2000). Precarious workers are those who are unsure of their occupational title, moving in and out of jobs with little labour security, and often engaging in unpaid forms of work (and thus often denied regulatory and labour law protections). Their lives are

characterized as they “live and work precariously” (Standing, 2009a, p. 110) and can be broadly understood as both an economic and existential insecurity (Brophy & de Peuter, 2007). Lacking economic and labour security as well as a clear occupational identity, and expected to embrace flexibility, distinctive relations of precarity appear to affect a growing number of workers, including un(der)employed teachers, in Ontario today.

Un(der)employed Teachers & Precarity

Unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario appear to face an increasingly precarious situation regarding the nature and status of prospective employment in the province (OCT, 2015). For several years now many teachers have attempted to gain entry into the profession without success, and have increasingly become understood as “precarious” (McCaffery, 2013; OCT, 2014; 2015). From a critical perspective, such teachers appear to signify a group that is struggling to secure employment, marginalized from the teaching profession, facing precarious employment and lacking access as well as a voice in their work.

As the oversupply of teachers in Ontario is expected to continue, many teachers will likely continue to struggle to find and access teaching work and secure employment in schools. As Chapter II revealed, there remains a surplus of tens of thousands of teachers in the province, many of whom will likely continue to seek out teaching employment. In addition, many new teachers who have found employment have had to accept nonstandard arrangements rather than full-time permanent employment (Chalikakis, 2012). Over a decade ago, several studies had pointed to a general shortage of teachers and expected strong demand for teachers (Ministry of Education, 2001; Press & Lawton, 1999; Tremblay, 1997; Guppy & Davies, 1996). However, what emerged instead was a quite rapid oversupply, which has only grown in recent years, particularly in Ontario where it is expected to continue for the next decade (OCT, 2012, 2013). Recently, studies have explored the work of nonstandard teachers in the context of Ontario (Chalikakis, 2012; Pearce, 2012; Pollock, 2008; 2010) and point to a conceptualization of un(der)employed teachers as precariously employed and experiencing precarity.

Precarious work and the experience of precarity appears applicable to a large number of teachers today. A discussion and analysis concerning the current context of precarious work and teachers in Ontario necessitates an understanding of changing nature of work and society and specifically the nature of precarity for teachers (Kalleberg, 2009b; Lewchuk et al., 2015; OCT, 2015) as it simultaneously seeks to examine both their work and lives in relation to teaching. Theories of precarious work and precarity offers a lens from which to interrogate the current reality of un(der)employment. This directly intersects with their identities and subjectivities as teachers and their relationship with the world of teaching. Moreover, over time many of these teachers may be forced to leave teaching in order to obtain employment elsewhere. Finally, such teachers may become increasingly frustrated with their situations and the teaching profession. Such concerns, grounded in critical theories of work and precarious work, form the basis for exploring the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario.

The Precariat & The Study of Un(der)employed Teachers

Standing (1999, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2014ab, 2015a) critically discusses the growth of precarious work, which has fragmented older conceptions of work and workers and which continues to remain in a state of flux. His understanding of precarious work, employment and precarity is complemented by new perspectives on precarious work in the context of Ontario (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015) and new considerations regarding the analysis of work and workers in the contemporary era (Kalleberg, 2009ab; 2011). According to Standing (2011) the resulting changes brought by globalization and neoliberalism have resulted in a fragmentation of former class structures. Thus, “As inequalities grew, and as the world moved towards a flexible open labour market, class did not disappear. Rather, a more fragmented class structure emerged” (p. 7). Generally, according to Standing (2011), at the apex of this new class structure is the “elite”, a small plutocracy of the global rich. Below them appears the “salaried”, those who largely remain within the SER and enjoy the benefits that come with it. Next is a smaller group of “proficians”, workers with strong wage earnings but moving between jobs as they often seek permanent employment. After, are the remnants of the old “working class”, a group

which continues to rapidly disappear. Finally, he arrive at the precariat, connected to, but distinct from, the proletariat (Standing, 2011).

The precariat may be defined as distinct socioeconomic group, or it may also be understood with respect to contemporary class relations as outlined above. The precariat is also flanked by a growing “reserve army” of unemployed, who continually move in and out of the precariat. For Standing (2011, 2014a, 2015) the precariat is a “class-in-the-making”, defined as much by what it is not than what it truly is (or perhaps wants to be). The precariat may be defined as holding distinctive relations of production, distribution and with the state. The labour of the precariat is essentially insecure, formed out of nonstandard forms of labour, as well as increasingly unpaid forms of work. Members of the precariat also rely almost solely on money wages, without other forms of income, and remain perpetually insecure and uncertain. The precariat often has a “rights insecurity”, treated as outsiders or denizens by the state. As Standing, (2015a) asserts:

This is a key to understanding the precariat. Its essential character is being a supplicant, a beggar, pushed to rely on discretionary and conditional hand-outs from the state and by privatised agencies and charities operating on its behalf. For understanding the precariat, and the nature of class struggle to come, this is more important than its insecure labour relations. (p. 4)

The precariat represents a class of workers who are unsure of their occupational title, moving in and out of jobs with little labour security, and often engaging in unpaid forms of work. Their lives are characterized as they “live and work precariously” (Standing, 2009a, p. 110). While theorizing class and the precariat are not unproblematic and without limitation (Palmer, 2014) its relevance remains strong as a useful analytic framework for examining the experiences of workers who appear to be “falling out” of traditional employment relations—and into new forms of work and labour. Hence, teachers in more secure forms of employment, such as FTPC employment in Ontario, are afforded a degree of stability, security and mobility in their labour (as part of the salariat) that does not appear to be readily available for teachers in more precarious employment relationships—if employed at all. Standing (2011) asserts that there are four important features concerning the precariat which defines their working-lives; Anomie,

Anger, Anxiety, and Alienation which below are conceptually connected to the exploratory study of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario.

The working-lives of un(der)employed teachers appear to display several similarities to the experiences of Standing's (2011) precariat. Recalling that the central research question in this study asks:

What are the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario?

Standing's (2011) features of the precariat are applied to the inquiry of un(der)employed teachers. Thus, the sub-questions being asked in this study are:

How do un(der)employed teachers experience precarious work?

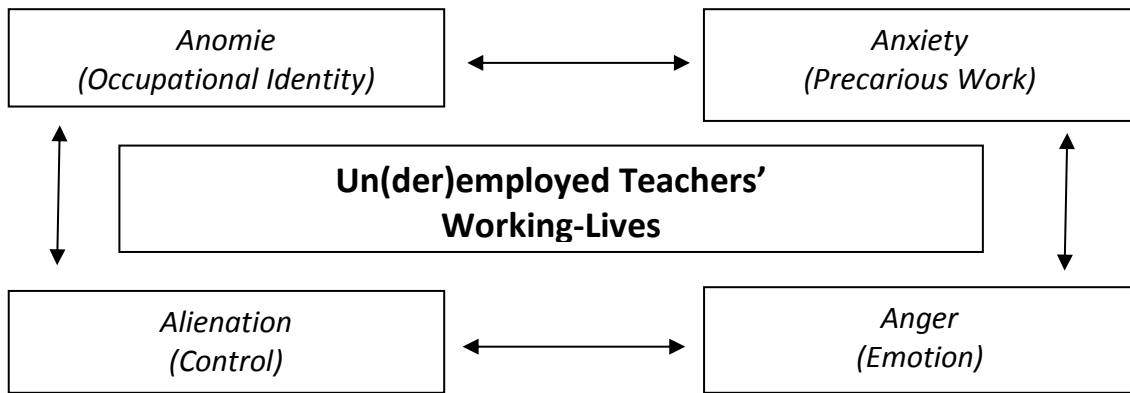
How do un(der)employed teachers control their working-lives?

How do un(der)employed teachers understand their occupational identity?

What emotions do un(der)employed teachers experience in their working-lives?

The manner in which such questions intersect with Standing's (2011) precariat framework are illustrated in Figure IV. While each concept may be categorized exclusively, the nature of the conceptual framework is meant to be iterative, reflecting the nature of the research and central research question being asked. Exploring the experiences of un(der)employment teachers must be viewed in relation to the contemporary world of work, where earlier conceptualizations surrounding employment, unemployment and underemployment, amongst other analytic categories, are increasingly permeable as workers readily transition through such categories. Thus, Standing's (2011) framework provides a theoretical and conceptual apparatus from which to further interrogate and better understand the experiences of workers such as teachers in relation to employment, unemployment, underemployment and precarious work. From this framework, an exploration into both the experiences of, and the ways in which, precarious work and precarity is understood by un(der)employed teachers may be undertaken and is aimed to uncover and interrogate the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario.

Figure IV- Conceptual Framework: Exploring the Working-Lives of Un(der)employed Teachers



Anxiety & Precarious Work

For Standing (2011), the growing economic uncertainty for many individuals and particularly for members of the precariat is represented largely through feelings of anxiety. Such anxiety may be viewed in relation to a chronic uncertainty arising from labour market insecurity. Members of the precariat often “live close to the edge” as they manage multiple jobs and constantly piece together work. While members of the precariat are marred with periods of unemployment and underemployment, they are actually at times overworked. Such individuals engage in a variety of forms of work, characterized by frenzied activities that change every day. As they face declining returns on their labour and pressure to do more unpaid work for labour in order to secure paid employment, and their work is actually being intensified. Typically unable to secure an adequate income to sustain themselves or their families, they remain anxious about the present and the future. For the precariat, anxiety has become largely normalized. Nevertheless, their anxiety, born from uncertainty and insecurity, continues to invoke feelings of anomie and alienation, as well as anger from their precarious condition.

Sweet and Meishkins (2013) assert that insecurity has become a growing reality for most workers today. In North America, “risk” has increasingly been shouldered by workers who face increased employment insecurity as well as declining defined benefits from employers (Sennett, 1998). While the economic impact of losing a job is not new (Jahoda, 1982), what has occurred more recently is the (in)ability of individuals and their families to weather such (prolonged) periods of un(der)employment. Kalleberg (2011) places such trends in relation to the growth of precarious employment. The notion of permanency in employment, or the concept of a life-long career appears to be increasingly disappearing as individuals are increasingly expected to live with mounting uncertainties and insecurities in their daily lives (Bauman, 2007; Beck, 2000; Ross, 2009; Sennett, 2006, 1998; Sweet & Meiksins, 2013).

Standing’s (2011) conceptualization of Anxiety thus reflects the experience of precarious work and precarity. For teachers, as Johnson (1990) highlights, “Although job security is *primarily* an economic matter, it is not *exclusively* so, for the precariousness of some workers’ positions can be explained sociologically” (p.22). Understanding the insecurities, uncertainties and anxieties

of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario today must be placed within the context of precarity. How such teachers understand their various forms of insecurity and negotiate uncertainty with regard to their work and lives is influenced by a variety of social factors and personal beliefs. Nevertheless, this type of anxiety may build, as they remain both anxious to become employed teachers, and anxious because they do not know when or if that will occur. Moreover, they may continue to lack a defined occupational identity, as they are may become alienated from the teaching profession if unable to secure employment. The experience of precarious work then, may cause anxiety, and increasingly alienate un(der)employed teachers as they remain insecure and lack various forms of control contending with precarity in their working-lives (OCT, 2015).

Alienation & Control

Critical perspectives on work argue that workers struggle to control their work, as employers seek to limit individual autonomy and decision-making power in the workplace (Shalla, 2007). However, worker alienation may result from a lack of control in the labour process (Braverman, 1972) as well as in the lives of workers under capitalism (Gorz, 1998). The less control or autonomy an individual is able to exert in their work, the greater the sense of alienation. Alienation—a now well-developed and enormous analytic debate and discussion from Marxists and others—centres on the manner in which workers are separated from both the conception, execution and products of their labour under the conditions of capitalism. While complex and multidimensional, alienation may be understood with respect to various forms of human estrangement and as Rinehart (2001) notes, alienation remains, fundamentally, an issue of control.

According to Standing (2011), a key trait of the precariat is not being in control of one's life, or having the capacity to develop a coherent 'work history'. Thus, members of the precariat are alienated from both themselves and from others—both in their work and employment as well as in their social relationships. Alienation arises from feelings that one is performing work that is not purposeful, subsequently, becoming labour that is demanded by and for others. Indeed, such a conception of alienation was the defining feature of the proletariat (Standing, 2015a). In addition, as their work tends to be sporadic, contingent and disjointed, members of the

precariat feel alienated as they fail to form lasting and trusting relationships within their occupational communities. They are often overemployed and underemployed, working and seeking work at the same time (Standing, 2011; 2012). Their work and employment then forces them to struggle to control their time, to utilize in ways that are rational, predictive and productive (Standing, 2013). Such uncertainty also adds to the stress in which members of the precariat work and live in. Hence, the notion of alienation implies that individuals are not in control of both their work and their lives. Control may then be conceptualized with respect to work, time and relationships.

Control over work refers to the ability for individuals to engage in the type and form of work and employment that they would like to be engaged or employed in. Many workers entering the labour force have found jobs increasingly scarce, insecure and degrading (Buroway, 2013). Un(der)employed teachers by definition are not able to secure the work that they currently desire. Secondly, control over work may refer to the various types of work that individuals are engaged in that they do not want to be. Thus, un(der)employed teachers in Ontario may be working in various forms of work (paid and unpaid) as they continue to seek out work as teachers in the province. Finally, with respect to control over their labour, precarious workers are often confronted with uneven access to groups which would assist with exerting control, in the workplace (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003a; Vosko, 2006; Standing, 2011).

Control over time refers to the ability for individuals to organize, plan, and rationalize their working-lives. Many individuals who are in flexible or contingent work arrangements often do not know in advance the amount of hours or days that they will be actually working. Hence, they suffer from stress and anxiety as they are unable to make many short and long-term decisions with respect to the work and lives (Standing, 2013). The loss of control over one's work time appears to be a salient feature for unemployed and underemployed teachers. Such teachers often do not know the amount of work and income that they will receive in a given day, week, or month (Pollock, 2008; 2010). Moreover, these teachers likely must supplement their employment as teachers with other jobs, possibly in other occupations. Thus, they manage a nexus between different types of work and perhaps occupations, as they continue to

pursue a career in teaching. The loss of control over work appears to translate into a loss of control in the daily lives of such teachers as well (Sagiroglu, 2013).

Finally, control over relationships refers to the ways in which individuals are able to actively form ties, links, bonds, and partnerships in their work and lives. Individuals engaged in precarious forms of employment may be challenges in maintain strong peer and/or familial relationships as well as delaying other possible life-course events (Lewchuk et al., 2013). For un(der)employed teachers in Ontario, the relationships that they form (or perhaps more accurately do not form) with members of their occupational community may reflect their position and status within the profession (Chalikakis, 2012), both in the present and into the future (Standing, 2009b).

Anomie & Occupational Identity

As firstly articulated by Emile Durkheim, anomie refers to a sense of disconnect or a breakdown of the bonds between the individual and community. To be anomic is to feel despair, where one lacks a strong identity or meaning in life. A state of anomie leaves individuals without moral guidance, or shared values. In such a state of “normlessness”, anomie grows faced without moral restraint or regulation. Hence, without shared norms, morals or values, conflict grows between the individual and community, who do not feel attached collectively (Marks, 1974; McCloskey, 1976). Anomie remains intertwined with the social division of labour and economic anomie may be viewed under contemporary capitalism and social relations (Dawson, 2015). Finally, anomie may be mitigated by occupations (and indeed by schools as well), which may potentially integrate individuals into a system or structures which hold common values in their work.

According to Standing (2011), the precariat suffers from anomie as they lack an occupational narrative, the prospect for social mobility, as well as feelings of being excluded from the mainstream or core of society. Additionally, members of the precariat typically are shut out of an occupation or become marginal members of it (Standing, 2009ab). Those in the precariat thus often lack a strong occupational or professional identity. Thus, their work lacks any sort of

sustained or sequential history, absence of career progression and suffers from increased uncertainty. The precariat is also increasingly anomic with the prospect of uncertain or dead-end careers reinforcing an overtly pessimistic outlook of the future. Simultaneously, they are often criticized for being lazy, dependent and lacking the initiative to improve their condition by neoliberal governments. Anomie is connected to and characterized by the distinctive features of alienation, anxiety and anger prevalent amongst those in the precariat.

According to Watson (2008a), occupational identity may be defined as the broad understanding that a society has concerning what activities occur within a specific occupation and what contribution a person in that occupation makes to society. Professions are those occupations which have achieved a certain level of status and autonomy based on specialized expertise. Skorikov and Vondracek (2011) define occupational identity as referring to the conscious awareness of oneself as a worker. An occupation is commonly defined as a set of skills or activities which are continually learned or refined throughout a career (Standing, 1999). Similarly, professional identity may be defined as an individual's professional self-concept based on attributes, beliefs, values, motives, and experiences, (Slay & Smith, 2011). Professional identities are thus primarily shaped by work experiences. Being part of a profession also imparts the idea of being part of a group or community of similar workers, holding similar values.

Identity work, may be viewed the social construction of work that individuals engage in on a daily basis through their experiences and interactions (Watson, 2008b). Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) discuss the emergence of teachers' professional identity as a distinct research area with various conceptualizations. As Pollock (2008) notes, teachers' professional identity must also be viewed in relation to an internal workforce hierarchy. Thus, even within the teaching profession, there are numerous and varied status positions which hold distinctive notions of authority and which shape particular identities. Un(der)employed teachers appear to lack the opportunities to seek and building meaningful, trusting relationships with their peers, due to their typically itinerant and contingent employment relations (Cain & Paperny, 2013; Chittley, 2013; Dehaas, 2011; Kim, 2012; Lu, 2011; MacDonald, 2011; Mason, 2012; Missaghian,

2014; Newcomb, 2014; Sagan, 2013; Shupac, 2012; Wente, 2013). They may have few or no colleagues, because they are not workers in a regular or defined community or network. Such isolation is typical of the unemployed (Jahoda, 1982) and precarious workers (Standing, 1999) who must move and travel with the work that beckons them, only to find that it may be temporal, sporadic and disjointed (Standing, 2014a).

The inability to develop or sustain a continuous occupational narrative may impart feelings of not being part of a profession or occupational community. Un(der)employed teachers appear to engage with work and employment as teachers from the periphery. They also appear to be engaged in various jobs and unpaid forms of work as they attempt to access teaching work (OCT, 2012, 2013; Pearce, 2012). As Pennycook (2014) highlights, the possibilities for teacher professionalism are ultimately tied to the conditions under which they work. Teachers' personal, professional and occupational identities are also shaped by their work, mediated through personal experiences, the media and professional organizations (Pennycook, 2014). According to MacDonald (2006), "the tensions, contradictions and compromises that teachers must navigate are a significant and inherent part of what it means to be professional in teaching" (p.359). In this way, teachers hold multiple, and often competing, identities surrounding what it means to be a teacher and professional. Teachers thus engage in identity work as they discursively shape their identities in and through their work.

Anger & Emotion

The defining features of the precariat all contribute to a rising sense of "Anger". According to Standing (2011) a key feature of the precariat is their disillusion and pessimism with their current status as marginalized workers. Such discontent appears to increasingly manifest itself in the form of anger. For Standing (2011; 2014a) such manifestations of anger continue to grow around the globe, visible in both the leftist populist movements such as Occupy, as well as in the right-wing neo-fascist movements that have gained political credibility, particularly in parts of Europe in recent years. Additionally, members of the precariat continue to be told to be "happy" for the jobs that they are lucky to have, and to be "positive" as they engage in such forms of work that lack purpose, progression or even compensation. Many members of the

precariat hold advanced credentials and degrees, yet are unable to find work in their trained occupation. Such anger appears to be growing among the precariat around the globe, which may eventually erupt in a “politics of inferno” and through revolutionary social movements.

The concept of emotion and work is also tied to emotional labour, which describes the personal resources that individuals utilize while engaging in work. First outlined by Hochschild (1983), emotion work was conceptualized to the idea of customer service and industries which rely on such labour. Hence, emotion work is often utilized as an over-arching term relating to paid and unpaid work that involves the use of emotions to facilitate work-related tasks required in and outside of a workplace and the management of workers’ own emotions (Duguid, 2002). Emotional labour thus generally refers to the ways in which workers must manage their emotions surrounding their work. However, emotions are complex and not only present during work, but throughout the working-lives of individuals (Standing, 2011).

As Watson (2008a) asserts, the experience of unemployment is rarely a positive one. Jahoda (1982) indicates that individuals suffer from a broad range of affective consequences as a lack of employment deprives them of the ability to meet basic psychological needs. In addition, un(der)employed workers today are faced with various emotional pressures such as maintaining optimism and resiliency, as they continue to seek out desired employment (Lane, 2011). More recently, there has been links made between un(der)employment and consequences for mental health and wellness (Paul & Moser, 2009) as well as negative health effects for workers engaged in precarious forms of employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013, Lewchuk et al., 2015; Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2006).

Teaching can be a highly emotional job (Brennan, 2006; Hargreaves, 1998; 2000; 2001) as teachers face complex interactions within the classroom and build relationships with students, schools and communities. Un(der)employed teachers appear to possibly be holding negative feelings towards teaching as a result of their employment situations (Cain & Paperny, 2013; Chittley, 2013; Dehaas, 2011; Dubinsky, 2015; Kim, 2012; Langille, 2013ab; Lu, 2011; MacDonald, 2011; Mason, 2012; Missaghian, 2014; Newcomb, 2014; Sagan, 2013; Shupac,

2012; Wente, 2013). For instance, Hall (2013) documents the challenges of the life of a STO teacher in Ontario, while Wente (2013) describes the challenges of a new teacher in Ontario, who describes experiences with debt, family commitments and overall discontent.

Un(der)employed teachers may be angry with respect to their lack of employment or perceived opportunities to find employment in schools in Ontario. While un(der)employed teachers may harbour negative feelings due to their potentially precarious employment situations, exploring the emotions of un(der)employed teachers must also leave space for more positive stories of resistance or persistence, as well as any other feelings not previously identified and perhaps important or evident in their working-lives.

Chapter Summary

Exploring the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario is theoretically understood by the changing nature of work and society and the emergence precarious work as a dominant socioeconomic narrative for a growing number of workers. Standing's (2011) conceptualization of the precariat allows for the utilization of a framework which extends into such domains, exploring the ways in which workers are defined by, engage with and come to understanding precarious work and precarity today. Nevertheless, precarious work remains subject to time and space, and teachers in Ontario exist within a particular context which shapes their work and lives. To better understand how the experiences of un(der)employed teachers and precarity intersect, in this study a qualitative methodology is employed in order to explore, illuminate and better understand the working lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario today.

CHAPTER V METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I outline my research orientation and describe the research methodology employed in this study. From a critical position, I hoped to uncover some of the distinct and diverse features un(der)employed teachers. Utilizing a generic qualitative approach, I sought to execute a study which would explore the working-lives of teachers in Ontario who currently remain unemployed and/or underemployed and whose experiences may be shaped by precarious work and/or precarity.

Critical Social Research

The sociology of work is the product of both change and continuity (Watson, 2008ab; 2009) and in this view, the world of work is viewed in a state of flux—with competing economic, social and cultural forces underlying what work is and how workers engage with their work and shape their worlds. Indeed, today, “sociology is uniquely positioned to face the unequal world” (Buroway, 2015, p. 29). In such a state, a dialectical relationship between agency and structure shapes the course of sociology. Such a sociological imagination tasks the social researcher with revealing the complex relationships that exist between individuals and society (Mills, 1959) and reflects an awareness of the epistemological space between individual experience and social context. Thus, the researcher must actively observe, analyze, critique and explain social interactions as they unfold together (Halford & Stangleman, 2009).

Following Giddens (1984; 1991; 1996) a dialectical approach to sociology—and therefore to the underlying tensions of structure and agency—aims to provide a holistic exploration of the social world, granting primacy to neither agency nor structure, but rather on the changing relationship between the two. Human agency cannot be explained without an understanding of structures, while structures cannot have meaning without acknowledging the role of agents and social forces—each compliment and provide context to one another (Kinchloe, 2005). Un(der)employed teachers are produced by the labour market, but also constitute and reproduce themselves as agents. As Clement (2007) highlights, researching precarious work and

worker precarity falls somewhere between the objective conditions of precarious employment and the worker-centred perspectives of precarity.

This research is grounded in critical perspectives of work, where critical theories of work provide a theoretical basis from which to interrogate the changing nature of work and society (Shalla, 2007; Standing, 2011). Critical theories of work, centred on conflict, seek to challenge dominant structures and discourses which continue to exploit, dictate and subjugate individuals from and in their work. Drawing from a critical lens, the researcher acknowledges the transformative potential of individuals and aims to challenge current inequities, structures and asymmetrical relations of power. Such an interrogation attempts to weave a narrative of work (Terkel, 1974) while uncovering the contours of precarity (Vosko, 2006; Standing, 2011). In doing so, un(der)employed teachers may be able to become more acutely aware of their own working-lives from reading about the experiences of others (Watson, 2008b).

Qualitative Inquiry

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), qualitative inquiry is grounded in approaches that seek to understand the social world. Qualitative research may be categorized not only as a paradigm, but also and simultaneously as an approach to research which is interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and counterdisciplinary as well as multi-paradigmatic and multi-methodological. Qualitative inquiry may be characterized by its focus on holistic, in-depth, fundamentally descriptive and nonlinear approaches. The qualitative researcher is one who finds a methodology and method best suited the research question being asked. The qualitative research process is characterized by the need to be dynamic, flexible, reflexive, and iterative (Creswell, 2007, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Glesne, 1999; Lichtman, 2013; St. Pierre & Roulston, 2006).

According to Merriam (2001), a basic or generic qualitative study is a relatively ubiquitous approach utilized by qualitative researchers—which includes description, interpretation, and understanding. It does so by identifying and highlighting recurrent patterns in the form of main themes or conceptual categories, indicative of an iterative process. In this study, I utilized a

generic qualitative approach as a methodology which attempts to include and balance the central tenants of qualitative research, without adhering allegiance to any specific methodological approach (Chenail, 2011; Caelli, Ray, & Mill, 2003; Cooper & Estacott, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Litchman, 2013; Sandelowski, 2010, 2000). Qualitative research, as Bourke (2014) notes, “seeks to provide an understanding of a problem through the experiences of individuals, and the particular details of their lived experiences” (p. 2-3), the epistemological position from which I sought to further explore the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers.

A generic qualitative study approach was chosen to study the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers for several reasons. Firstly, as I weaved my way through the literature surrounding qualitative research, I could not find any particular methodological approach that suited my needs. While the study of un(der)employed teachers could be framed in terms of a case study, narrative inquiry or phenomenology—such methodologies did not agree with my own epistemological stance or research question. Similarly, a mixture of such methods also did not seem to fit into the research question being asked, as my focus was, perhaps simply, to explore and better understand a particular phenomenon and the perspectives of the individuals involved. Additionally, while drawing from a framework of precarious work, I cannot be certain in defining the numerous and various ways in which teachers may be precarious as well as being attentive and open to new conceptualizations and participant voices. Viewing methodology and subsequently method as primarily driven by the research question being asked, I found a generic qualitative approach best suited towards exploring and better understanding the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers. Secondly, with a primary focus on being exploratory and descriptive, such an approach best suited my research question. Little is known about the personal experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario, and thus I sought to more fully explore, describe and critically examine such experiences.

Acknowledging that the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection, interpretation and analysis (Lichtman, 2013) I sought to remain reflexive and continually (re)evaluate my own positionality with and in the research (England, 1994). Research represents a shared space between the researcher and participants, and as Daley (2010) asserts, critically oriented

researchers must think about and engage directly with conceptualizing power and power relations in the research. Reflexivity is also intertwined with ethics, both in the process of reflection and throughout the research process (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). This involved reflecting on my own position as researcher and the manner in which participants were implicated, included and represented in the research, with the aim of minimizing power differentials. Hence, I sought not only to represent the voices that my participants lent to me, but believing them to be co-producers of knowledge in the research product.

Looking at how the world of work is changing, my intention was to explore the various ways un(der)employed teachers today are navigating the contours of work which appears to be increasingly precarious in nature. The shape and nature of work for educators in the contemporary era appears to be shifting very quickly. As it is already well established that there are many un(der)employed teachers in Ontario (OCT, 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015) I was more interested in what work such teachers are doing and how such work affected their lives as teachers. More specifically, I wanted to find out how they are making sense of the “world of work” as teachers, with my conceptual framework acting as a map towards the goal of better understanding what the specific work-life experiences are for un(der)employed teachers today—both as individuals and perhaps as a group of workers.

Locating Un(der)employed Teachers

Un(der)employed teachers may encompass an extremely broad category of teachers and in this study I wanted to include such a diverse range of un(der)employed teachers in various contexts. As an exploratory study, I remained unsure whether or not these teachers all experienced precariousness in a homogeneous or heterogeneous manner—if at all. Thus, I generally defined a un(der)employed teacher as an individual who is currently seeking teaching employment in Ontario. Based on current evidence (OCT, 2013, 2013; Pearce, 2012) there are likely thousands of such teachers in Ontario at this moment. The criteria for inclusion in this study was therefore purposely broad, yet remained inclusive of three central determinants:

- 1) Teachers who had completed their degree and certification requirements at least one year ago. This allowed for a certain amount of time between when new teachers may have received degrees and certification and had time to transition, navigate and experience un(der)employment in Ontario.
- 2) Unemployed teachers are defined as teachers who are certified by the Ontario College of Teachers and able to teach in the province of Ontario and are “actively looking for a teaching job and not able to find teaching employment, including not able to find daily supply teaching work” (OCT, 2012).
- 3) Underemployed teachers are defined as teachers who are certified by the Ontario College of Teachers and able to teach in the province of Ontario and are “employed to some extent, but wanted to be more fully employed as a teacher during the school year” (OCT, 2012).

These considerations allowed for the recruitment of a variety of teachers who could illuminate the various dimensions and experiences of precarity, as well as provide a better understanding of what it means to be an un(der)employed teacher in Ontario at this time.

Teacher Recruitment

The primary means of locating and recruiting participants for this study was through social media. The most successful medium turned out to be Facebook, a social media website which contained several “groups” of teachers including occasional teachers (STO and LTO) in Ontario, as well as other similar groups which act as communities or hubs for teachers to discuss and share ideas. As many of these groups contained a membership of several thousand teachers, they appeared to be and ended up being the best location to recruit participants.

A research poster was posted onto these groups, which resulted in over 40 teachers expressing interest in the study. While following up to such interest through email correspondences, there was some attrition, possibly due to the nature of the investigation or perhaps due to challenges with scheduling a suitable time. Unfortunately, because of the “movement” of social media, often, after a day or two something that has been posted for others to view gradually “falls down the list” and thus becomes increasingly less likely to be seen. This was tricky as it is against online etiquette to be continually posting the same material repeatedly. While social media proved to be a fruitful avenue for recruiting participants, other avenues turned out to be

less successful. Particularly disappointing were the Ontario teacher federation local units—labour organizations that represent STO and LTO teachers in Ontario through affiliation with one of the four central federations—who were contacted. Only one out of four locals responded to my request to share the research poster, resulting in just one participant being recruited in this manner.

In addition, utilizing convenience and snowball sampling (Glense, 1999; Lichtman, 2013) I located un(der)employed teachers through various personal and virtual contacts. Through my own experience being a student at several faculties of education in the past five years, I was brought into contact with many teachers as well as educators in various capacities. Many of these individuals are either themselves un(der)employed teachers seeking work, or else know of several such teachers in Ontario. Thus, through convenience, I was able to recruit 3 teachers. The majority of the remaining participants were recruited online, specifically through Facebook. Additionally, In order to snowball, at the end of each interview, participants were asked if they may know any other un(der)employed teachers who could participate in the study. This resulted in the addition of several teachers to the study, who appeared to be more inclined to share their experiences once they had received a “referral” from a friend or colleague.

Interviewing Un(der)employed Teachers

Interviews are perhaps the most widely utilized method of data collection in qualitative studies and the most common form of interview is a person-person encounter, where the interviewer attempts to elicit information for the interviewee (Merriam, 2001). While interviews may range from highly structured affairs to more unstructured, informal conversations, asking “good” questions remains essential if the researcher is to acquire information (data) in relation to the research question. According to Patton (2002), “The quality of the information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewer” (p. 341) or as Ribbins (2007) argues, “there are no bad interviewees, only bad interviews” (p. 208). At a very rudimentary level, “the researcher has to be aware of what (s)he wants from an interview” (Powney & Watts, 1987, p. 180). These considerations again relate back to the researchers’ own theoretical positioning

and methodological assumptions—which must be made clear and consistent (Lichtman, 2013). Interviewing must also be viewed as a social relationship (Seidman, 1998). Finally, as Mears (2009, p. 19) points out, effective interviewing inevitably requires that the interviewer enjoy interacting with other people.

The primary method selected for this study was that of qualitative interviews. My interest was in hearing the voices of un(der)employed teachers to better understand the challenges that they faced as teachers attempting to secure employment. Through the use of interviews, I aimed to cast a “wide net” to attempt to capture a broad range of experiences from my participants. Yet, I also want to ensure that these experiences were specifically connected to their lives as teachers and (precarious) workers. As such, guiding questions from the conceptual framework formed the basis for semi-structured interviews with un(der)employed teachers. Through semi-structured interviews lasting about an hour, I explored the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in relation to the challenges that they face with both their work and their lives. Such challenges were informed by the conceptual framework and literature surrounding precarious work, specifically in relation to experiences with professional identity, insecurity, control and emotion.

Un(der)employed teachers involved a broad range of teachers in various work and employment arrangements. In order to capture such variety, while only interviewing each teacher once, I left room for un(der)employed teachers in this study to give their own voice and provided space for emergent ideas and concepts that may not have been previously identified or considered.¹ The questions asked sought to explore their working-lives and were framed primarily through the research subquestions and conceptual framework to the study. Leaving questions open-ended allowed for more detailed responses which aimed to allow me to better see the world “through their eyes” (Siedman, 1998). In this way, interviews often progressed as dialogues or conversations, rather than as a series of scripted questions and answers.

¹ *Appendix A- Interview Guide*

In each interview, un(der)employed teachers revealed the challenges they faced in their working-lives. Thus, many interviews also contained and elicited strong emotive responses and some topics were difficult for teachers to discuss in detail. Un(der)employment was often hard, and while positioning myself “outside” of the research, it was difficult not to empathize with such hardships and thus interviews also required a degree of sensitivity to such struggles. The voices of un(der)employed teachers themselves revealed that their challenges with work and employment were quite real, personal and emotional.

While the process of recruiting participants was not without its challenges, confirming a mutually convenient time and space to perform the interview often proved most difficult. Many teachers cancelled or asked to reschedule as their own work and schedules changed. For instance, one teacher had rescheduled our interview three times, due to being unable to secure a babysitter, which she required in order to have time to meet for an interview. Instances such as these, combined with the geographical diversity of teachers who had indicated interest to participate in the research, led towards the utilization of Skype—an online tool which allows for voice/video calls to be made directly— to conduct approximately half of the interviews. Interviews through Skype proved to be not only more convenient and easier to schedule for participants, but participants appeared to be more at ease speaking from the comfort of their own homes, and appeared to be less rushed given the opportunity to be interviewed there rather than having to travel. Thus, many Skype interviews lasted well over the expected hour and into discussions and conversations beyond the initial interview questions.

All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and subsequently transcribed into text. Interviewees more often than not were concerned with the dissemination of their interviews and the final study, and sought to ensure that their names, employers and affiliations would be protected. This was primarily due to concerns surrounding a fear of reprisal or punishment from their employers. Indeed, such concerns themselves perhaps highlight a degree of worker precarity. Hence, throughout this study, pseudonyms are utilized and any other identifiers removed when necessary to protect the identity and ensure the anonymity of all participants.

Demographic Profile of Participants

In all, 24 teachers participated in this research study. Of these teachers, 4 self-identified as male while 20 self-identified as female. Teachers ranged in teaching experience from younger early career teachers (such as Dagmara, Gurpreet, Victoria, Adrianna, Cecilia and Catherine) who had more recently completed their degrees, to older and second career teachers (such as Priya, Anne, Melissa and Domenic) who had come from other employment sectors. Thus, teachers ranged from 24 years of age to 49, with an average age of 32.5 years. This was an interesting finding itself, as many teachers who are unable to find permanent employment were expected to be “younger” teachers in their early 20’s, although it appears as increasingly workers 25 years and older in Ontario struggle with securing permanent employment (Block, 2013). In addition, the average year of graduation to receive teaching credentials was 2010. However, what emerged was that not all teachers (such as Gene, Monika, Alice, Stephanie, and Frances) had initially or continuously sought out teaching work or remained in the Ontario labour market since they graduated. Some were discouraged and went into different jobs, while others could not secure employment and therefore went on to pursue additional credentials and graduate education. Several teachers (for example Magda, Rita, Sylvia and Stephanie) held Master’s degrees in addition to their teaching credentials, while others chose to concentrate on other aspects of their personal and professional lives before teaching. Nevertheless, at the time these interviews took place, teachers in this study had earned their teaching credentials an average of 4.5 years ago. Thus, while the amount of time such teachers had spent attempting to secure teaching employment in Ontario varied, overall, it can be said that they had been unemployed and/or underemployed for several years at the time of this study. While teachers were geographically located across Ontario, and from urban and rural areas, almost all teachers who participated were from Ontario if not Canada, with only four teachers (Tiffany, Rahul, Monika and Anne) completing their teacher education requirements outside of Ontario. Thus, an unfortunate limitation in the recruitment was locating teachers from outside of Ontario and the experiences of those teachers from international jurisdictions could not be represented in this study.

Analyzing Interviews

In qualitative research, the researcher does not begin with a theory or hypothesis to test, but rather works primarily inductively, searching for clues to assist with answering the central research question being asked. However, as Vosko (2006) asserts, the study of precarious employment does not always flow in a purely inductive manner, but rather starts with a framework and can employ many theories and methods towards a better understanding of a phenomenon. Analysis of interviews also coincides with the interview process, reflecting the interrelationships between the main concepts and the iterative nature of the investigation. Driven by the theoretical framework, reoccurring themes, patterns, or other emergent findings located within the conceptual framework were highlighted. Thus, I placed un(der)employed teachers within the dimensions of precarious work, seeking specifically to analyze their responses in relation to professional identity, insecurity, control and emotion. In turn, such concepts as well as any new themes that emerged, warranted a return to the research literature, allowing for new ideas to once again emerge for analysis.

I generally agree with Lichtman (2013), who asserts that qualitative “data” analysis is about process and interpretation (p. 245). Therefore, “the qualitative researcher is responsible for analyzing the data through an iterative process that moves back and forth between data collected and data analyzed” (Lichtman, 2013, p. 21). My task as the main instrument of interviewing and analysis (Lichtman, 2013; Merriam, 2001) was to attempt to uncover emergent themes, patterns, and categories and to further refine these into meaningful insights for both researcher and participants. Hence, “analysis of data uses concepts from the theoretical framework and generally results in identification of recurring patterns, categories, or factors that cut through the data and help to further delineate the theoretical frame” (Caelli, Ray, & Mill, p. 6) resulting in inferences drawn out by the researcher and from the theoretical or analytical lens being utilized.

Interviews from participants were transcribed and read with preliminary or generalized understandings of the interviews into themes which were formulated through the reading and rereading of transcripts with initial findings being coded. Employing a constant comparative

method (Merriam, 2009; Savin-Baden & Major, 2012) interview responses were broken up into emergent themes which were then placed within the conceptual framework surrounding the ideas of precarious work, control, occupational identity and emotion. Vosko (2006) refers to this process as lumping and slicing, where the former process attempts to gather what is common among the themes, while the latter seeks to derive uniqueness. Thus, the aim of the interview analysis process was to better understand both the homogeneous and heterogeneous manners in which un(der)employed teachers experienced and understood their working-lives. In exploring the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario, particular attention was given to both the commonality of experience of such individuals as a group, as well as the unique ways in which each teacher experienced the contours of precarious work and precarity. This led to determining the main or recurrent themes which emerged, and to the continual rereading and reanalyzing of the interviews—the central findings of which are outlined in Chapter VI. Finally, I returned to the literature and theoretical framework, which formed the basis for a discussion and critical analysis of the findings in Chapter VII.

Chapter Summary

Utilizing a generic qualitative approach with one-on-one, semi-structured interviews, results from the exploration of the working-lives of un(der)employed teacher in Ontario are examined and detailed in the subsequent chapters. In Chapter VI the central findings are outlined with the intention of including the voices of participants as they went through and experienced un(der)employment. Broken into four sections reflecting the research subquestions, the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario are organized with respect to precarious work, control, occupational identity and emotion. Subsequently, Chapter VII then discusses these findings in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework developed and which focuses on the contours precarious work and the experience of precarity for un(der)employed teachers in Ontario and in the contemporary world of work.

CHAPTER VI FINDINGS

Interviews with 24 un(der)employed teachers in Ontario sought to answer the central research question being asked in this study: *What are the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario?* The chapter is organized according to the four research subquestions outlined in the conceptual framework. Each section seeks to highlight the experience of un(der)employment by teachers interviewed in relation to precarious work, control, identity and emotions. However, as the interviews progressed, it became apparent that the conceptual categories were inevitably complex and inextricably interconnected and what materialized was a strong commonality of experiences. Hence, while the chapter is organized into four parts, it nevertheless attempts to weave a narrative of unemployment, underemployment and precarity with the voices of teachers who were interviewed.

Un(der)employed Teachers & Precarious Work

Un(der)employed teachers experienced precarious work in both the public sector and private sector—albeit in different forms. In addition, work in the form of volunteerism resulted in further experiences with precarious work. In order to engage in such work and employment, un(der)employed teachers often found support structures which allowed them to continue to pursue their teaching careers in Ontario.

Teaching Work & Employment in the Public Sector

For those teachers who were able to secure employment in a school board in Ontario, occasional teaching (STO and LTO) was the norm. At the time of the interviews, 15 teachers in this study were employed in such capacities in various school boards across the province, with STO teaching being the most common position. While their employment arrangements differed and fluctuated between STO, LTO and PTPC positions, none of them held a FTPC position.

Short-Term Occasional Teaching Employment

As outlined in Chapter II, teachers are employed in Ontario's school boards in a heterogeneous manner. The contingent nature of STO employment however, meant that there was also considerable variation in the work of STO teachers. Some STO teachers were able to secure relatively continuous daily employment in schools, while others only intermittently, and still others at times, none at all. STO teachers also contended with the ebbs and flows of the school year, where different parts of the year appeared to offer greater or weaker employment opportunities. As several teachers discussed, including Cecilia, September tends to be the slowest month for STO's:

Then there are days I get just called in for half days... I got called in for half a period in all of September.

The early months of the school year—September and October in particular—appeared to be particularly challenging for STO teachers in securing daily paid work opportunities. This is likely due to FTPC teaching staff taking less time off at the beginning of the year. Cecilia further pointed to another aspect of STO employment—working half days or having to work at multiple schools in the same day. Moreover, due to the contingent and variable nature of STO employment, income generated from such work can vary considerably. There are “good and bad” periods throughout the school year, where access to paid employment opportunities can contrast considerably. Such challenges highlight the economic insecurity of many un(der)employed teachers, particularly as their income can fluctuate significantly throughout the school year. According to Catherine, STO employment is not economically viable, as:

It does sounds like a lot of money when you say “I make \$230 a day” but then you subtract the union dues and all of that stuff...and if you don't have 5 days of work a week, then you're taking home like \$800 every two weeks. Like who can even pay rent on that?

As Catherine alludes to, while the wages of STO teachers are relatively strong, the nature of their employment relationship means that they do not always know when, or how often, they

will be working—a feature of precarious employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013).

STO teachers typically are called in to replace FTPC teachers for full or half days and such arrangements are reflected in their daily compensation. Thus, STO's may only be able to secure a half days work at time, or else try to piece together two half day assignments into one school day, sometimes required travel to more than one school. As the nature of occasional teaching requires teachers to often move between different schools, sometimes in the same day, it appears that STO teachers in this study needed to have an automobile to travel to their various employment locations. Below, Cecilia again, describes her challenges with driving while working as a STO in a large rural school board:

Yeah, so it's discouraging, but it's also you have to figure out what's the most reasonable option for you because at the end of the day you need money. That's what it comes down to. Even now maybe I'll sacrifice a day out of my week just to go volunteer and it's a hit or miss, some weeks I'll get called in... if I take a day off that's \$220 I lose. Honestly, most of that money goes into gas, there's nothing I can even do about it. A good portion of it goes into me just driving around to all these different schools. I was struggling.

While the majority of Ontario's workers utilize an automobile to commute to their places of employment (CBC, 2013b), requiring an automobile as a *de facto* requirement for STO teachers increases their precarity as there is no guarantee of sufficient paid employment opportunities at any time. Many teachers in this study drove considerable distances, as they worked in multiples schools daily, as well as being employed by more than one school board. This can create challenges, as Gene for instance, who was unemployed and seeking to obtain employment in a school board, currently could not afford a personal vehicle.

Economic insecurity for STO teachers in this study was further compounded by their employment relationship which, typically, did not provide benefits such as health insurance or paid sick days. While such benefits differ by school board employer, STO teachers typically did not have access to benefits, or could only opt-in to employer-sponsored benefits at their own expense. Perhaps more salient for STO teachers interviewed however, was an understanding

that FTPC teachers received a more comprehensive benefits package than STO teachers.

Melissa below highlights this perspective as:

At the end of the day, they are fighting for things like sick days when you don't have a job. Sometimes I'll very gently try to put it into perspective for contract teachers if they start complaining around me, to remind them that I don't have a job. That's a kind of sensitive one, because you can't really complain to them and you have to listen to what they have to say, right?

By not having a job Melissa refers to a FTPC position which offers a stronger and more comprehensive benefits package, including paid sick leave. Making a similar point, Frances observes that:

It's funny right? Because we're usually called in for sick teachers but they don't give us any benefits or sick days to keep ourselves healthy.

Even a discussion of sick days opened up a space of contradictory tensions for STO teachers. On the one hand, STO teachers may find more employment opportunities for themselves if FTPC teachers take more sick days off. On the other hand, STO teachers themselves are not provided with sick days, increasing the precarity of their own employment. In Ontario, recent labour strife between teachers and the provincial government surrounding the accumulation of paid sick days has been a visible issue (Rushowy & Brown, 2013) perhaps highlighting differences between the perspectives of nonstandard teachers and permanent teaching staff.

With daily employment opportunities largely tied to replacing FTPC teachers, STO teachers' work requires them to be on-call and available to work, at times with little notice. Being in this position necessitates that such teachers be by their phones "all the time" as well as having to search for available job postings online, often in the morning and evenings. Such work is required usually on a daily basis, while also requiring teachers to be flexible and available to their employers who may or may not have paid work available to them each day. For Gurpreet, this type employment relationship involves her constantly awaiting calls:

It sucks being on call all the time. If I miss a call—you're literally on call from 4:30 until 11:00 (pm)—then 5:30 until 11:00 (am) again. You're constantly on call. You constantly

have to have your phone attached to you. It's just that sense is annoying and all the driving is annoying. You have to constantly be on the ball. I work at night. I need to keep my phone with me and then pray that I hear it and I'm not busy and I can sneak off to answer it.

Gurpreet's experience exemplifies several challenges featured of the precarious working-lives of un(der)employed teachers interviewed. She feels anxious, because a missed call is a missed paid employment opportunity, while simultaneously understands the need to be flexible and accept opportunities as they arise. She also works multiple jobs, as STO teaching employment does not provide her with a viable income. However, because she seeks a FTPC teaching position, she must continue to function as an STO. Finally, she lacks agency in her employment relationship, since she can only secure paid work when, and if, her school board employer requires her. Being on-call presents several challenges for un(der)employed teachers to exert control in their working-lives.

The nature of STO teaching in Ontario for un(der)employed teachers in this study appears to highlight many dimensions of a precarious employment relationship. Such dimensions include significant income variability, a lack of benefits, periods without employment, work schedule uncertainty, working multiple jobs and time spent looking for paid work (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015). While the goal of such employment was to obtain permanent teaching positions as FTPC teachers, the more immediate aspiration was to obtain LTO employment.

Long-Term Occasional Teaching

Just as STO teaching manifests itself in a heterogeneous manner, so too did LTO positions vary considerably. An LTO appears to be a "step up" from STO teaching (Chalikakis, 2012), typically providing a degree of permanency, continuity, along with a defined salary and improved access to enterprise benefits. However, for un(der)employed teachers, LTO teaching positions were often temporary and LTO opportunities did not readily translate into the FTPC positions that they sought. Elizabeth for instance, has held three LTO's so far in her four years of teaching:

I've had three LTO's so far, which were all very short. They ranged from a month to four months... [one] was a month, but it was like a 0.1 LTO, which I don't know why I applied

for it because I was going only for four weeks. I don't know why they have that. I went once per afternoon for four weeks. Which is ridiculous.

At this time, Elizabeth has once again returned to being an STO and does not feel like her LTO experiences have brought her any closer to securing a permanent position. Her experience highlights the transient and permeable nature of STO and LTO employment. While LTO's are viewed as a step up in the teacher workforce hierarchy, they do not provide any guarantee of career progression. Nor do they always result in greater earnings potential. For Dagmara, her LTO position resulted in more consistent work, but not necessarily additional income:

I might make more supplying on a two-week basis, than as an LTO. I think if I supplied for two-weeks, I think I would make \$200-250 more than I make now. I get benefits now, but I don't have time to use any of those benefits.

While LTO positions represent a progression in the internal workforce hierarchy, engaging in such work does not appear to guarantee teachers with improved employment or economic security throughout the school year or moving forward in their teaching careers.

The temporary employment relationship of LTO teaching also means that un(der)employed teachers often revert back to STO teaching at the end of an LTO contract. As Cecilia discusses, such patterns of employment represent a great deal of uncertainty:

When I got onto the occasional teaching [STO] list I thought "oh my god, this is awesome, this is going to open doors for me" and then I was like "oh, wait there's another list and I had to interview for that?" What if I don't get onto the LTO list, what would I do? I'm back to being a supply teacher and then when it opens up again 6 months later then maybe I have another chance, but what if I don't get it again? I don't know exactly what they'd be looking for each time.

While the work of LTO's may be different than that of STO's (Chalikakis, 2012) both employment relationships are nonetheless forms of contingent employment. Temporary jobs are much more precarious, and temporary employees are more prone to the possibility of workplace exploitation (Vosko, 2000; 2006). In Dagmara's and Catherine's LTO experiences below, they understood that as LTO's, there was an expectation that they go "above and

beyond” in order to make strong impressions and be considered for possible future employment later on in their schools or school boards:

I think it was the expectation that I did take on extracurriculars and it wasn't like I was eased into it. So the first week that I started it was like, "ok you're going to be doing choir and band" but I already had extra [employment] commitments outside of that... and its sort of taboo if you don't take it, because it's so hard to get a teaching job that if you say no, you never know what type of impact that might have on your reputation.

I coached the junior boys volley, senior girls' volleyball, I supervised semi-formal, supervised homecoming, and I run a literacy camp program... You pretty much have to do everything right? You are the [expletive]. If your principal comes to you, you are at their beck and call, and they know it, they know you can't say no because you're just an LTO... LTO's that don't do anything extra, you know that they will not be coming back.

In both cases, as un(der)employed teachers, Dagmara and Catherine felt compelled to engage in extracurricular activities because of labour market considerations. They are unable to exert control or unwilling to resist such pressures due to their precarious positions as temporary LTO's. Priya, who has held many LTO's over the course of about five years, interprets the condition of LTO employment as a consequence of workforce casualization:

I would like to say this about teaching right now. I think the fact that they're not hiring for contract teachers but they're hiring LTOs is a symptom, and this is totally my opinion, I haven't done any research on this really, but it's a symptom of the casualization of the workforce. I think we're getting that everywhere else and I think we're now getting it in teaching... The unfortunate thing is it discredits our professionalism or our profession... it's okay for you to work for four months and not get benefits because you really, really need that job and not recognize the fact that they should be making a contribution to the profession, right? To say that it's a seasonal job ... There's more and more LTOs but there are less and less contract positions. I find it really frustrating. I know the board is saving money on benefits... This is only my opinion but I really do feel like it's turning into a more casual thing. It does feel like that and it's so devaluing to our profession.

While there does not appear to be a concerted push into moving public school teachers away from permanent positions in Ontario, her assumptions are not unwarranted when looking at global trends in many occupations and the growth in precarious forms of employment and movement away from the SER (Standing, 2011; Harvey, 1989). Hence, while LTO teaching contracts do negate the uncertainty and unpredictability to some extent over STO employment,

they remain rooted in a precarious employment relationship and not an ideal permanent form of employment that un(der)employed teachers sought to secure.

Part-Time Permanent Contract Teaching

Un(der)employed teachers in this study had not yet been able to secure employment in public school boards beyond STO's and LTO's. The exception was Anne, who currently held a 0.3 (30% of a full-time equivalent) teaching contract. Again, while such a position appears to place her higher in the workforce hierarchy, and therefore closer to permanent employment, her employment did not escape the experience of precarity. As she describes:

I was put into a .5 LTO in January, which I did until June and that meant I qualified to be hired for permanent work. I was given a .3 contract in June, so I signed that in August and then I got a call the Friday before school started and they offered me an LTO .7 and .3 contract. So I'm still at one school, not at the school where I got my contract, that one is over an hour away and I'm doing an ESL support position. So I don't call it full-time, the union suggests that I not call it that, they used the term precarious and they explained to me that I could actually lose it at any time, which has happened to several people.

Even with a permanent contract, Anne still experiences precarious work as her position could change at any time, and while engaging in full-time work, she is not considered a FTPC teacher. Her example highlights the complicated and diverse nature of teaching employment in Ontario's school boards. Due to the nature of STO and LTO teaching which often involved unpredictability, income variability and uncertainty, many un(der)employed teachers sought to secure paid work outside of STO and LTO teaching and public school boards.

Teaching Work & Employment in the Private Sector

Recently, the OCT (2015) has noted that a growing number of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario seek employment opportunities outside of public school boards. They find jobs in a variety of teaching related fields such as tutoring and private schools as well as other occupations unrelated to teaching. Such teachers also work largely part-time, in occupations that do not require teacher certification and "most do so out of financial necessity in place of or to supplement teaching income." (p. 6). Participants in this study largely held to this norm,

seeking out paid work in the “education sector” until their prospects of securing employment in a school board could improve as well as other forms of paid employment outside of education.

Education Related Employment

Un(der)employed teachers in this study typically sought work in other education-related jobs. Engaging in such employment was largely due to a personal preference to be involved with work similar to teaching. However, such engagement was also out of necessity, as their credentials or skills did not easily translate into job opportunities elsewhere in the labour market. Sandro for instance, who has not been able secure any teaching employment in Ontario, asserts that potential employers outside of teaching often viewed his teaching credentials and experience as a negative signal to being hired:

Actually I have been in to see the Durham unemployed help centre a number of times. The response from people who I have had interviews with, have been remarkably negative towards my teaching experience. There were a number of people who I did have interviews with, who said “well I’m hesitant to hire you because if you get a teaching position you’ll just leave.” I said, “I can neither confirm nor deny” because obviously if this is my dream my aspiration, and I’m working as an office [expletive] for some company, then obviously I’m going to go into teaching if the opportunity arises. The last time I went to the help centre I said “let’s write a resume for me that completely expunges the fact that I went and got a B.Ed” because everything that I’ve heard is negative. It’s a double-whammy, I can’t get a job teaching, but I can’t do anything else because I tell them that I’ve been teaching, it’s like between a rock and a hard place.

He exclaimed that when employers knew he was a teacher, and may want to return to teaching, then he was perceived as being unlikely to remain employed at their firm. Thus, potential employers may view teachers as not worth the investment as long-term employees, as they may leave when a teaching opportunity presents itself.

This highlights the possibility that un(der)employed teachers cannot easily translate their credentials elsewhere in the labour market and must therefore move into education-related jobs out of necessity. While this is possible, teachers interviewed appeared to choose to engage in educational work for personal reasons, believing that such work would provide them with experience which could strengthen their applications into public school board and eventually

FTPC employment. What became readily apparent for participants in this study was that forms of employment outside of public school teaching were far from ideal. Unable to secure permanent positions inside of public schools boards in Ontario, both unemployed and underemployed teachers often sought employment elsewhere. However, such jobs were often part-time, temporary and viewed as alternatives to be undertaken until a teaching position in a school board might become available.

Private Schools & Private Educational Providers

With slightly over 5% of students in Ontario attending private schools (Van Pelt, Allison & Allison, 2007) such organizations provide opportunities for teacher employment outside of the public system. What emerged from the perspectives of un(der)employed teachers was a very negative portrait of private school employment. Michelle for instance, discussed the experience of being offered a part-time job at a private school, only to discover that she would be required to sign a contract which stipulated that she would not seek employment in her local school boards for one year. She was informed that such a document would be sent to the school boards in her area:

So I got the job and it was to be three hours a day—from the morning till about the afternoon— nothing on Friday, but the caveat was that I had to allow them to send a letter to the Catholic school board and the public school board in town that I'm unavailable for hiring for the next year. I couldn't stomach that, it was bizarre, and they do it for everyone. You have to sign their form that you will not look for employment, and they're going to send the letter, saying you are unavailable for hire to the HR department... I still might have done it just for the teaching experience.

Michelle did not take the job, as she feared being “blacklisted” from her local school boards. Her experience highlights typical challenges inherent to education related employment for several un(der)employment teachers. Firstly, the work is often part-time, often for only a few hours each day. Secondly, that the employment relationship is precarious, often providing low wages, little employment security and certainty or benefits. Finally, the working conditions in private schools are much poorer than those offered in the public sector, exacerbating the need for un(der)employed teachers to seek employment in public school boards. Michelle's

experience also points to the possibility of unfair and exploitive practices of some private schools in Ontario today. With a large surplus pool of teachers available, private schools may be able to demand more from potential teacher employees. As Lawson, Bedard, MacLellan and LI (1999) note regarding teacher labour markets in Canada:

In general, the private school teacher supply curve is to the right of that for public schools, meaning that private schools can satisfy their demand for teachers while offering lower wages than public schools...If there is a surplus of certified teachers, it may be possible for private schools to purchase their services at wages lower than that paid in the unionized public sector. In effect, these private schools receive any added benefits of the additional training for free. (p. 144)

Other teachers including Elizabeth and Rita also described their experiences employed at private institutions as very poor. Such negative experiences included low wages, lack of planning time and unpaid work expectations. Nevertheless, as Victoria highlights, in a surplus labour market, even accessing such private school employment can be challenging as she has struggled to secure employment at both public school boards and private schools:

I mean even private schools when I looked, they wanted two years' experience. Well how are you going to get that when no one is going to hire you? Some of the good schools you couldn't get into anyways.

Teachers such as Victoria therefore sought out other employers in the "education industry" such as tutoring companies and the YMCA. Employment as tutors occurred in formal employment relationships with tutoring agencies such as Oxford Learning Centre and Tutor Doctor, as well as informally through connections with students and families resulting in cash income. Stephanie for instance, concurrently works in both positions, as well as two other jobs, and goes on to discuss her challenges with the YMCA as they employed her contingently as a swim instructor, as well as the fact that:

So right now I do this [job at a museum] full time. I do the YMCA camp now, the fall outdoor season just ended. So before this I was doing two, three nights a week up there and then I tutor one night a week... I actually got paid less this year at the YMCA, like per hour teaching the lessons, then I did when I was there in high school in like 2000. That was eight weeks that were not pleasant.

The nature of employment as a tutor or for an employer such as the YMCA is typically short-term, contractual and low-waged with few if any enterprise benefits. In the case of tutoring, there is often no formal employment relationship at all, becoming part of the informal sector. As Michelle outlines, employment as tutors is hardly a new phenomenon for teachers, but expresses her frustrations from working as a tutor as well as other temporary education jobs over the past few years and being continually unable to secure employment in schools:

I worked for a private tutoring agency when I first got out of teacher's college in 2010, and are wonderful, really nice people small company. But I made \$12 an hour working there. I have my Bachelors in science, I have my Masters in science, and I have my Bachelors of Education, I'm qualified to teach from Grade 1 to Grade 12 math— you would think they want math teachers? So I don't even know what to do anymore.

Michelle also highlights feelings of overqualification stemming from her continued un(der)employment. Overall, un(der)employed teachers in this study were involved in work at private schools, tutoring agencies, and education-related employers such as the YMCA. However, such employers were not ideal or desirable, as they tended to employ teachers at low wages, with limited benefits, part-time employment status and few opportunities for progression. For these reasons and others, un(der)employed teachers also sought employment outside of the educational sector.

Employment Outside of Education

Teachers included in this study were those who desired full-time employment in Ontario. Due to the competitive nature of the labour market, as well as the recent imposition of Regulation 274/12 surrounding hiring practices, un(der)employed teachers could not readily exit the internal teacher labour market and expect employment in the future. Thus, they typically engaged in jobs which were either part-time and which could be negotiated within their teaching schedules, or else other jobs which they viewed as temporary until they could secure teaching positions. Domenic, an unemployed teacher, has worked an assortment of jobs in the past few years in order to make ends meet while he still attempts to secure a teaching position:

I work in a sailing industry in the summertime, so I pick up a whole bunch of sailing jobs here and there... I picked up some photography jobs part time a few years ago, I had a call centre job that was minimum wage, evening and weekend work...and I'm thinking "geez how to socialize with friends or family" who were typically off evening and weekends? That Loblaw's job....My resume's plastered with a whole bunch of stuff. A lot of it I kept off the resume, because no one would ever hire me if they knew that I was bouncing around every month.

Domenic's experience runs similar to that of many other teachers interviewed, where a narrative of part-time and contingent employment dominates both education-related work as well as jobs in other sectors. Gurpreet currently claims that she works approximately 60-70 hours a week between her STO employment during the day and two other jobs as a server at night and weekends. Nevertheless, she still identifies herself as being underemployed:

I work 3 nights a week and then I will pick up shifts if I feel like it, or give away shifts if I don't feel like working, which doesn't happen often... I'm just so exhausted. I get maybe 1 or 2 nights off a week.

Employment as a server was an experience several teachers could relate with, and appears to be a logical arrangement for STO or underemployed teachers as it allows them to keep their days open for occasional work while working nights, evenings and weekends. Other examples of employment that teachers provided included jobs such as clerical/secretarial positions, construction, banking and retail. Outside of such jobs, un(der)employed teachers appeared to be engaging in other forms of work, often unpaid, as they sought to further their teaching careers, as well as leaving the province altogether in search of teaching employment.

Teaching Outside of Ontario

For several years now, the OCT (2012; 2013; 2014) has noted that new teachers in Ontario are increasingly leaving to other jurisdictions to obtain employment. Most recently, OCT (2015) indicated that more than 18% of new teacher graduates applied to teaching positions outside of Ontario. To date, only three participants in this study had left Ontario. Such decisions were made explicitly due to their inability to secure employment in the province. While the phenomenon of leaving Ontario has become a more salient issue in recent years, teachers such

as Gene left the province more than a decade ago due to an inability to secure teaching employment locally:

So back to 2004, here I am, I've worked 2 part-time jobs with the [School Board] and the one part-time job before that the private school. Not making any money, so I figure what am I going to do? Well one of my practicum student teachers that I worked with had ended up taking a job in Malaysia at a Canadian school there overseas...it seemed like a very interesting place... By the end of the second year, I actually made enough and saved enough money to pay off my entire debt.

Gene actually ended up spending over five years teaching overseas before returning to Ontario, where he has since been unsuccessful in securing any teaching position whatsoever. Sandro, who left for three years, made the decision to take a teaching position in South America, while Victoria went to the United Kingdom—both after being unsuccessful in obtaining any employment in Ontario. Nevertheless, the majority of those interviewed discussed the possibility of leaving the province at some point. However, for most of these un(der)employed teachers, such a discussion revolved around their inability to relocate at this time. Thus, many teachers stated that they would be willing to move, but could not do so because of their families, personal relationships or other commitments. Finally, for those who did leave, or considered leaving, a common assertion remained that they would still hope to return home to Ontario and find teaching employment in the future (OCT, 2015).

Volunteering

All participants in this study were asked to discuss their experiences with volunteering. Volunteering here is understood as “teacher-volunteering”. That is, teachers who are certified and able to be employed in the public sector as teachers in the province of Ontario, returning to schools as volunteers (OCT, 2013; 2014). Such volunteerism appears to be largely motivated by the chance to improve career prospects (Pearce, 2012). However, not all un(der)employed teachers in this study chose to volunteer and indeed, not all were able to volunteer.

Why Volunteer?

For teachers in this study, volunteering emerged as a key activity and concern in relation to accessing work and improving paid employment opportunities. Volunteering was understood as an important, if not necessary, point of entry into teaching employment in Ontario. As Gurpreet discuss, volunteering can get you “in” and potentially hired as an STO, as well as improve your teaching employment opportunities down the road:

If you're not on a board, you obviously want to volunteer so that when they're going through your resume and they're looking and thinking, "oh, this person's actively looking for work or helping out", whatever. Then when you're on, it helps get jobs because people are more likely to pick you as a supply teacher. A lot of people take your card and they call you. A lot of people just don't. I don't know. Some people are really big on having their own supply teacher.

Many teachers in this study engaged in this sort of instrumental volunteering for various periods of time as a means to an end—that being securing paid employment or improving the chances of securing STO teaching opportunities. Such volunteerism appears to have been growing in recent years (Pollock, 2010; Pearce, 2012; OCT, 2013) where un(der)employed teachers in Ontario have been actively engaging in such volunteerism in public schools boards.

Many teachers also returned to schools that they had previous connections with in order to volunteer. Such schools were often those where they had gone to school themselves, or where they had completed their teacher-education practicum requirements. Indeed, several teachers returned to volunteer at the elementary and secondary schools they had formerly attended, primarily because they had returned home out of financial necessity. Such was the experience of Gene, who:

...because I went overseas for a few years to teach and when I came back I contacted that same principal I knew from 2004 and I said "I'm back in Canada after six years can you give me feedback from what you know the job market is like?" and he said "go to the schools meet with the principals, offer to volunteer and you will get on the supply [STO] list.

However, it should be noted that not all participants were currently, or had previously, engaged in volunteer activities inside of schools. Nevertheless, those who did not mentioned that they were typically “unable” and not “unwilling” to volunteer their time inside of schools. Such inability typically related to their current employment in other jobs, as well as their socioeconomic position and being unable to fiscally engage in such activities. Sylvia demonstrates this tension, discussing her recent experience working with school principals on a project at the school board level, where she was told:

“We really want you to work for the board.” So I said “Okay, how can I do this because clearly there’s no jobs right now getting in?” They’re like, “No, you need to volunteer.” I’m then thinking, how do you volunteer and make a living at the same time because it doesn’t make sense to me? How do you support someone’s quality of life when you’re asking someone who has to pay the bills, has to pay a mortgage or has to financially live to go volunteer their time, which is usually 9:00 to 5:00 at a school time when they need to be working?... I told the principals, “Due to financial needs and commitments, I unfortunately can’t volunteer” because the reality is they’re under cushy positions and they got there 20 years ago when it was a little bit easier to get in... The other thing I keep thinking about this whole volunteering thing is that it is a privilege to volunteer for some of those teachers. The privilege lies in the fact that if you’re financially supported at home, then yeah, you can definitely take the time to volunteer but that is not everyone’s lived reality.

Sylvia, who holds a master’s degree with a social justice focus, is able to articulate the challenges and tensions surrounding the expectation of unpaid labour and having to economically support oneself or ones family. As she highlights, not all individuals are able to volunteer, which raises concerns over access, privilege, equity and control. Not all un(der)employed teachers can afford to work without remuneration, while current teachers and school principals appear to be demanding or expecting volunteer labour, which also raises concerns surrounding exploitation. Such tensions remain quite evident in the working-lives of many un(der)employed teachers in this study, who feel pressured to volunteer—a precarious form of work.

The Work of Teacher-Volunteers

As participants discussed some of their volunteering experiences, it appeared as though, at times, they were doing the “work” of employed classroom teachers. This is not surprising, as teacher-volunteers are certified teachers in Ontario and typically volunteered in classroom divisions where they held teaching qualifications. What is concerning however, is the possibility that teacher-volunteers are doing the work *of* teachers or work *for* teachers. Examining the experience of Sonia for instance, it is difficult to determine if she is assisting the teachers she is volunteering with, or is she is doing the work of the classroom teachers, paid school board employees:

I pretty much just photocopy lessons, worksheets for students or helping set up for labs because I'm in the science classroom for chemistry and science in grade 10 and all that, so help set up for labs. Occasionally I teach a lesson because they know that I want the experience and they trust me...I taught a few lessons using my lessons from night school, I've mainly taught biology classes.

In another case, Rahul had been volunteering extensively, almost every day of the week for a year. Again, it is difficult to definitively substantiate whether or not he is doing the work of a paid teacher or if he is just “helping” as a volunteer:

I was trying to do full days of volunteering. The associate teacher, he was okay with me coming in for the full day. He had an IEP [student] that I would work with, or even flat out just like, “Hey, you want to lead this class? Here's the lesson plan. Just teach it.” We would both work on the class together. I did that for 1 year, then last year I bumped it up and started doing 4 or 5 days a week. ... that was my life, those things: volunteer, go to work, go home, sleep. Volunteer, go to work, go home, sleep, that was it.

Exploring experiences of teachers such as Sonia and Rahul raises real concerns surrounding volunteerism as unpaid labour and the fear that un(der)employed teachers are being exploited, as they are pushed into working for free in order to improve their employability inside of school boards. It appears as though volunteers benefit from gaining classroom experience, as well as possible reference letters from FTPC teachers and school principals. However, FTPC teachers and school principals also stand to benefit, as they have extra bodies working in their schools that are already trained, certified and at times, already very experienced teachers. Michelle for

instance, clearly views the issue of volunteering as exploitative and laden with problems regarding power and privilege:

New teachers are really not benefiting from volunteering. There is one teacher at the school that I volunteer to read, she always has a volunteer, every single day in her classroom. They sometimes help with the reading program and they tell me, “yah she’s going to let me teach this thing and I did a whole lesson on this!” And it’s like yah of course, you are smart and good and now she doesn’t have to do it, one less thing she has to plan. So I look at it as it’s to her advantage, she’s not doing it to help you. Sure you get some experience, but it’s really to benefit the teacher.

From Michelle’s perspective, FTPC teachers are the ones benefitting from the work of teacher-volunteers. Un(der)employed teachers appear to have internalized that there is an expectation or demand to be engaged in volunteerism inside of schools. The expectation for volunteering appears to come from those who remain established in more secure, less precarious positions such as FTPC teachers, school principals or school board staff. In this way, school staff, typically in full-time, permanent employment relationships, control the work of un(der)employed teachers, and stand to benefit from such unpaid labour. Nevertheless not all teachers held critical views of volunteerism, which was seen as a normal and necessary part of the process of obtaining teacher employment in Ontario’s public schools.

Perceptions of Volunteerism

The experience of volunteering, appears to have been normalized for un(der)employed teachers in this study. That is, volunteering in schools is just another part of the work of un(der)employed teachers. Such a perception is not significantly different from that of FTPC teachers in Ontario, who often engage extracurricular activities inside of schools, while not legally required to do so under the Education Act (ETFO, 2015). Hence, while volunteering for un(der)employed teachers may be viewed as an implicit expectation, many had already been volunteering for years. Alice, for instance:

During that time [completing undergraduate degree], I volunteered at elementary schools, my goodness, for probably three or four years at least twice a week.

Volunteering was understood as something that looks good on the resumes of teachers seeking employment. In addition, teacher education programs in Ontario require teachers to undertake unpaid teaching practicums inside of schools (approximately 40 days, now being extended to 80) as part of their degree requirements. For Magda volunteering had been a central part of her professional journey as an educator. However, unable to secure employment as a teacher, volunteering no longer holds the same value and now breeds a sense of frustration:

I don't find it gratifying anymore and I don't find it helpful, because I volunteered for 10 years of my life before getting into teacher's college and during and after...and it's literally gotten me nowhere. So I don't care anymore.

Pearce's (2012) study of teacher-volunteers revealed some similar frustrations surrounding volunteering in schools due to the poor labour market in Ontario. However, the issue of volunteering may be a symptom of a changing labour market. Domenic believes that expectations of volunteering are now found everywhere:

I'm kind of sick of volunteering because not just with education, but everybody seems to say volunteer volunteer volunteer, and I'm literally volunteered out.

In short, teachers in this study continued to engage in volunteering as a result of their un(der)employment. Engaging in such volunteering was largely seen as a means to an end, where the possibility of improving employment outcomes in the teaching profession justified the act of volunteering inside of schools. Volunteering was understood by participants as necessary to "prove" that an individual possess the qualities of a high-quality teacher, someone who a school board would want to employ. Such demands not only highlight a degree of un(der)employed teachers' employment precarity, but also growing intergenerational tensions within the teaching world in Ontario.

Support Structures

Experiencing precarious employment in their working-lives, it became apparent that un(der)employed teachers struggled in their respective journeys to become FTPC teachers in Ontario. As the OCT (2015; 2014) notes, the time required to acquire permanent teaching employment has grown steadily, and on average, can now require anywhere from 5-7 or more

years to secure. To economically support oneself or one's family becomes difficult due to the contingent nature of STO and LTO employment, as well as the lack of well-paying jobs available to teachers outside of teaching. For many un(der)employed teachers, struggling with economic insecurity was a prominent reality in their working-lives. Others found themselves somewhat better off, and were largely able to continue to engage in the teacher labour market in Ontario because of supports provided by their families, partners and social assistance.

Debt

For un(der)employed teachers, debt accumulation occurred, but varied significantly based on a variety of factors. Nevertheless, the majority of participants described or alluded to carrying debt as an additional challenge in relation to their employment. This was true for both older and younger teachers. For Anne, attempting to become a teacher has come at a significant financial cost thus far in her career—while she still continues to seek a permanent position:

I started sinking money into teaching. I have taken on a lot of debt, I can't say I regret it, although it's basically like I'll be paying off this debt for the rest of my life kind of thing. I try not to think about it quite frankly. However, I think that's also one of the reasons that I made it through.

Anne, holding a PTPC position, believes that she is closing in on her goal of obtaining a FTPC position after approximately 7 years of un(der)employment. Debt accumulation resulted from student loans, volunteering, periods of unemployment, underemployment as STO and LTO teachers, and investing into Additional Qualification courses to improve employability. The journey into teaching was difficult due to such financial considerations, and as Elizabeth notes:

If I wasn't living under my parents' roof, I probably would be in debt.

Without significant support structures in place, navigating the precarious world of teaching in Ontario would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, for many teachers in this study. While not the case for every teacher interviewed, for most teachers, the precarious journey into teaching required acquiring debt and/or significant support from parents and families.

Parental Support

As many un(der)employed teachers discussed, the inability to establish their careers inevitably meant that living at home remained the most viable economic option. Many teachers in this study, particularly younger teachers in their 20's, discussed that while they would like to be able to move out of their parents homes, they remain unable to do so due to their employment situations. Sonia for example is now 26, and still lives at home because she cannot afford to move out. Meanwhile, below Rahul articulates some of the challenges of being a young teacher in today's labour market, which appeared common to teachers in this study:

I live at home. As I was waiting to get a job with the board, I was working, but it's extremely difficult to work in a place where you're making enough money to sustain yourself, especially since, they constantly say that one of the most important things you can do to get onto a board is volunteer... Luckily enough, my mom was kind enough to let me live at home.

For many young teachers in this study entering the profession, parental support remained an essential component in order to ensure that they could continue to pursue occasional teaching and towards the goal of permanent employment. The important role of parental support was mirrored by un(der)employed teachers' discussion of the supporting role of their partners.

Spousal and Partner Support

In addition to parents, many teachers asserted that they would not have been able to continue to continue in their teaching aspirations if not for other familial supports. Such supports included having a spouse or partner earning an adequate income. For Catherine, her partner's income was essential in providing her the opportunity to continue her career into teaching:

My husband is a bit older and he is an electrician and he is established, so I already knew that I had the ability to supply teach or LTO or whatever and wait it out, because we have the security already. We don't necessarily "need my income", of course we still do, but he is the breadwinner of our household.

For Catherine as well as other teachers in this study, support from spouses and partners centered upon primarily economic considerations. That is, having a partner who could provide a

degree of economic security allowed them to further pursue teaching employment. Alice's experiences corroborates with Catherine's:

The only reason I'm able to be pursuing this is because of my fiancée's career. His income has allowed me to be able to do these things. If he didn't have the career that he did and the job security that he did, I would have given up on this track six years ago. There is just no way I would have touched it.

Un(der)employed teachers described how they would have already left teaching in Ontario if not for such family support. While supports—from family, friends, spouses and others—is not solely reflected on monetary terms, such relations appear crucial if un(der)employed teachers wished to pursue their careers in the current labour market and contemporary world of work. Lastly, partner supports also pointed to the often gendered nature of precarious employment (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003ab).

Social Assistance

For several un(der)employed teachers, social security provisions, most prominently Employment Insurance (EI), was understood as a necessary and normalized feature in their working-lives. In Canada, EI provides temporary financial support to individuals who are involuntarily unemployed. Indeed, the Canadian government outlines specific instructions for teachers (Service Canada, 2015), who can receive support during non-teaching periods if they meet certain requirements. Nevertheless, all teachers were able to meet these requirements, such as minimum hours worked, or else were unwilling to apply for social security. Melissa points to strong tension articulated by a couple of un(der)employed teachers who did collect EI during periods of unemployment, but remained feeling guilty that they needed to do so:

So I actually have to be applying for or working towards jobs because they expect that you're not only looking for teaching jobs... it doesn't only have to be job applications, they give you a whole list of things.. I do find it frustrating because there's a certain amount of guilt that's associated with having to... I don't tell the universe I have an open EI claim, because it makes you feel like you're a freeloader. Yet, I know that, again, it's legitimate. So the fact that now I have to sit down and spend an hour and a half with somebody from the government to prove... it's pretty frustrating. That part of it.

During the summers, with no paid work opportunities readily available, many teachers hoped that that they had managed to secure the necessary number of hours required to receive EI. However, the aforementioned supports were not always in place or available for all teachers. In addition, collecting EI remains a consequence of continued un(der)employment and some feelings of guilt associated with receiving social security remained.

Lacking Supports

The aforementioned supports were not always available to all un(der)employed teachers. For some, the precariousness of their working-lives was exacerbated when they lacked such supports or had nowhere else to turn. Domenic for instance, discussed how he has had to sell his house and even spent time at a shelter since becoming a teacher.

Not having a job and needing 20 hours of work to even get Employment Insurance... Ultimately that's what happened, so I had to rely on some church members to help me survive economically and I was getting by living in the youth hostel with some very shady characters sharing the same room.

While his circumstance were quite exceptional, what become evident for many was that entering the teacher labour market required significant sacrifices, economic or otherwise, in order to slowly attempt to secure permanent positions in the teaching profession. While some teachers had significant amounts of support during such a process, others did not. For Gene, his continued unemployment has him considering taking an unpaid training activity at this time, which may or may not lead to some sort of future paid employment:

So I was thinking "could I make it work?" That's how desperate I am, I want to go back 10 years and literally restart my career and giving serious thought to this, just because there is a chance that I might have a better chance this time. And there is nothing that says that it will get me a job in the public school board—everything's uncertain. In fact it's even more uncertain, because I don't have that support mechanism that allows me to have more time to do all this. Yet, this is the only opportunity that is vaguely education related that I've seen in the past 6-7 months, so what do I do? I really don't know anymore.

While not every un(der)employed teachers had the same range of personal and social supports, if any, having such mechanisms in place made their forays into teaching more viable.

Nevertheless, requiring such supports highlights the precarious nature of teaching employment in Ontario, the uncertainty in pursuing teaching employment in the province and finally concerns over equity and access into teaching employment in the contemporary era and into the future.

Un(der)employed Teachers & Control

Un(der)employed teachers faced numerous and complex challenges with control in their work and lives. Such challenges emerged in relation to the nature of STO and LTO teaching and other employment arrangements, multiple job holding, erratic and unpredictable scheduling, unpaid work and work-life balancing. Challenges with control highlighted the precarious nature of many un(der)employed teachers' working-lives (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003b; Jackson, 2010).

Entering & Navigating the Teacher Labour Market

Upon completion of their degree requirements, most teachers in this study were subsequently certified by the OCT and attempted to secure employment as teachers in Ontario. The average teacher in this study had graduated with their teaching degree approximately 4.5 years ago. However, this does not necessarily indicate that they had been seeking teaching work since that time and therefore not always part of the teacher labour market proper.

Un(der)employed teachers both entered and exited the teacher labour market in Ontario for different reasons at various times. However, the common assertion running throughout this process was that their decisions were made primarily in relation to their un(der)employment situation as teachers in Ontario's public school boards. That is, for example, that Sandro would not have gone overseas for 3 years if he had been able to secure a teaching position in Ontario, or that Magda would not have completed her Master's degree at this time, or Catherine would not have spent her evenings driving to tutor at a learning centre. In this way, the structural conditions of the labour market significantly influenced the decisions that un(der)employed teachers made, or did not make. Such decisions are not exclusive to their careers, but are also

personal and contextual, and inevitably also influence their relationships and life-course choices. Finally, while teachers did not have high expectations of securing immediate FTPC employment upon entering the labour market, they found that the journey to become a teacher was more difficult and precarious than they had thought it would be. Such discouragement also resulted in teachers exiting the labour market, at least intermittently. Therefore, the trajectories of un(der)employed teachers differed substantially based both on decisions surrounding their potential careers as teachers and personal circumstances. Some were able to secure positions as STO teachers, many were not, and still others did not even apply (initially) at all. Regardless, the commonality of experiences of un(der)employed teachers surrounded the uncertainty of their working-lives.

Employment Unpredictability

As outlined earlier regarding un(der)employed teachers' precarious work, the nature of contingent employment in teaching has resulted in a large degree of uncertainty and unpredictability. Such issues were most commonly discussed by teacher who were currently employed as STO's who often work on an on-call basis. For Elizabeth, this presented challenges each day, as:

The unpredictability of having to wake up and see the call to tell you, "Okay, you're going to go to work or not." It just really inhibits me from making plans. Even if its plans for, I don't know, job hunting or something....Not knowing ahead of time is hard.

Teachers in STO employment arrangements appeared to lack control of their time. Such unpredictability is characteristic of precarious forms of work and adversely impacts the working-lives of such workers in various ways—including their friends, families and other relationships which take place within the work-life nexus (Lewchuk et al., 2013). When another STO, Catherine, was asked if she feels like she is in control of her work, she responded by referring to SmartFind—an automated call system which contacts STO teachers regarding daily work assignments utilized in many school boards:

SmartFind is in control of my work, it runs my world. The phone is in control! (laughs). I'm very OCD, I like to have control, and that was one of the biggest challenges, that you have no control.

For Catherine, her lack of control was directly connected to her current employment relationship. Moreover, several teachers who were employed as STO's were currently employed by more than one school board. Un(der)employed teachers increasingly seek employment in multiple boards in order to potentially obtain more paid work opportunities (OCT, 2014). Below, Adrianna discusses her attempt to concurrently balance working at multiple school boards to improve her chances of obtaining a permanent position somewhere in the future:

Yeah, my family lives back home [Toronto] so I was going to spend a couple weeks there and then a couple weeks here [Ottawa] and try and live out of a suitcase I guess. Majority of my time in Ottawa, but still trying to keep my days back home.... A little bit crazy, what hoops you jump through when contracts are rare and it's all based on seniority... being back home, being on three lists: you have color-coded calendars, constantly have an agenda on you and you always always have your cell phone, in case you get a phone call for a job.

Adrianna is willing to travel the distance between Ottawa and Toronto (a 5-6 hour commute by car) in order to secure STO or possibly LTO employment at some point. While her case was atypical, with most teachers employed by multiple boards in the same geographic area, it provides an example of challenges faced by un(der)employed teachers in controlling their day-to-day employment and career directions. Moreover, many un(der)employed teachers often held jobs outside of schools, requiring them to be flexible and capable of balancing and moving from one commitment to another.

Navigating Dual Labour Markets

Teachers in this study, particularly underemployed teachers who were employed in some capacity in Ontario school boards, often faced the challenge of having to simultaneously exist within the teacher labour market and the general labour market. This tension became more acute when they were unable to secure adequate employment from their school board employers, and therefore needed to secure employment elsewhere. Being an STO or even an

LTO teacher inevitably raised several issues between balancing more than one job. STO teachers must make themselves available to be called in at any time during the school day, and must manage to schedule such work alongside other work or jobs. LTO teaching was also contingent, and often only provided temporary employment stability. Such themes mirror trends whereby a growing number of workers in Ontario must juggle and attempt to balance two or more jobs simultaneously (Workers Action Centre, 2015).

As a result of a competitive labour market along with the imposition of Regulation 274/12 surrounding hiring practices for teachers in Ontario, un(der)employed teachers must often navigate both the internal teacher labour market within school boards along with the general labour market with other employment. With the new regulation placing an emphasis on seniority, teachers must be employed consistently within a single school board in order to successfully “move up.” Priya interprets this as problematic, since:

But the way that the regulation works right now you're going to be at the bottom and you're not even going to get an interview until you start moving up so you have to just continue to supply work for years until you move up.

Un(der)employed teachers seeking FTPC employment, now must have at least “one foot in the door” as they work their way into a profession which potentially may take approximately 5-7 years to secure permanent status (OCT, 2014; Outhit, 2015). For many teachers who were current employed in some capacity in a school board, their uncertainty and precarity was increased as they could not afford to leave their current employer. If they did so, they risked losing seniority and starting from the bottom at another school board. As Rahul believes:

Within the last few years, they changed it that you can no longer transfer school boards and take your seniority with you. ... It's hard. Ask any individual out there in the working world. They're going to change their jobs about 7 times. It's very hard to find somebody who worked for the same company for 35 years now.

Similarly, they cannot readily exit to pursue other career opportunities for the same reason. For un(der)employed teachers interviewed at this time, making the decision to leave teaching now

is understood almost as a permanent decision, shaped by the nature of the labour market, hiring regulations and concerns for teachers in relocating their labour.

Relocation & Labour Mobility

While some teachers interviewed had moved abroad or within Ontario, and most teachers acknowledged the possibility of relocating, most were hesitant to do so in the pursuit of teaching employment. Two key issues acted as deterrents for such teachers to relocate. Firstly, the competitive labour market and Regulation 274/12 have determined that teaching experience, and in particular seniority, cannot be readily transferred between school boards in Ontario. Hence, leaving Ontario or a provincial school board could subsequently result in even poorer future employment prospects. For Cecilia, this was an important consideration as she tries to figure out what steps to take with her career at this time:

I actually considered going to Australia this January. I was on the fence about it and then I realized I could never come back, I would start right at the bottom or I'd lose my spot in the board. Therefore, even though I could get a job there right away, I just can't come home again.

Hiring policies and the general structure of employability in Ontario's school boards remains largely rooted in local experience and seniority. Those who exit the Ontario teacher labour market stand to lose their positions on seniority lists. Secondly, it appears as though teaching experience in international jurisdictions is not readily valued in Ontario by public school board employers. In Catherine's view:

I know a lot of people who went North or West and got experience and then came back. Even when you come back you've got nothing, starting from 0.

This appears to be the case surrounding the unsuccessful job outcomes (OCT, 2012; 2011) and treatment (Pollock, 2008; 2010) of internationally educated teachers in the labour market. As OCT (2015) also highlights, a majority of teachers who plan on leaving Ontario do plan on returning at some point in the future. Hence, they will once again re-enter the teacher labour market in the province. Obtaining experience outside of Ontario does not appear to enhance employability and with new hiring regulations now in place, such teachers will likely find

themselves once again un(der)employed upon return. The lack of transferability of experience or recognition appears to deter un(der)employed teachers from relocating to other jurisdictions in the pursuit of teaching employment. Finally, the discussion of leaving Ontario was brought up in relation to “uprooting” and the strains and consequences inherent to many of the lives of teachers in this study. To readily leave families, partners and friends is a big decision. Participants discussed their inability to leave such relationships behind and relocate to other jurisdictions due to such concerns.

Employment Uncertainty & Life-Course Decisions

Perhaps the most acute challenge facing a number of workers today is the growing uncertainty or unpredictability faced when engaging in nonstandard forms of work and employment (Bauman, 2007; Standing, 2011). Such uncertainty stems from various factors including income variability and scheduling uncertainty as well as challenges with making long-term socioeconomic decisions (Lewchuk et al., 2013, Lewchuk et al., 2015). Unemployed and underemployed teachers interviewed readily identified with similar challenges and concerns.

Un(der)employed teachers in this study all displayed very similar immediate career goals, which was to find a full-time, permanent position as a school teacher preferably in a public school board. A central contributing factor underlying such aspirations was the inability of un(der)employed teachers to make long-term decisions in their working-lives. Examples of such decisions included; purchasing a vehicle, moving out and/or buying a house, getting married and having children. Such “life goals” were inhibited as a result of teachers’ current employment situations. For Adrianna, such considerations are multifaceted and complex when asked about where she views herself in the short term:

Hopefully either consistent, like year-long, LTOs or in a contract. You kind of have to hold that positive thinking that it's going to work out in the end. But even if I'm supplying in five years ... maybe that's how the cookie crumbles. You can't really predict it, that far away, so being flexible, but in a classroom hopefully... It might get frustrating at times... It really depends whether my fiancé's out, too, just because if he's struggling for job and I also don't have a job it might change the plans a bit more. I really love being in a classroom and I want to still pursue that.... We're getting married in October but for

having kids, like that: yeah, EI and Mat[ernity] Leave is not a whole lot of money if that's all you've got coming in. It kind of throws a wrench into plans... I mean I don't have any plans, in the next five years...but you never know.

Her response indicates that while she would like to secure consistent employment, she must remain flexible due to her employment uncertainty. She also discusses her partners' possible unemployment, marriage, having children, home purchasing and income considerations. Yet, with all these considerations in mind, she asserts that she does not "have any plans" reflecting her employment unpredictability. Similarly, when Alice was asked about how she makes long term decisions as an un(der)employed teacher her response was simply that "You don't". Perspectives such as Adrianna's and Alice's indicate a strong degree of uncertainty in the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers. Unable to plan ahead due to their precarious employment positions, they are, at times, unable to commit to significant life-course decisions.

Long-term planning becomes increasingly difficult when un(der)employed teachers do not know if they will be employed, where they will be employed and how much paid work they will receive, if any. Rahul's experience with the economic, psychological, social and emotional challenges surrounding his un(der)employment and uncertainty were extremely profound:

The biggest thing was always the uncertainty. You're waking up and you're just thinking, "When is life going to change? How can you start up your job?" I've been dating my now fiancé for 3 ½ years. Ever since I graduated from school, it's like, "Okay, we have this plan. We know what we want in life. We want to get engaged. We want to get married. We want to start our family. We want to move out from home because we're both still living with our parents." In today's world, you can't just go off and do that. You won't survive. You can't sustain yourself. At the same time, you know ... Especially in this industry ... You know that you want to be successful, you have to stay involved. You can't go find yourself a Monday-to-Friday job and then expect that one day, you're going to become a teacher and the salary is going to be the same or that the opportunities will be available. You're stuck because you're in no man's land. You can't work, but you need to work to survive, so you're doing this crappy work. All you want to do is get into the school board. That was the whole challenge of it in itself. It's like keeping yourself with a positive attitude to know that, "Yeah, It's taking forever, but if this is what you really want to do, you've got to stick to it." So many people, they just give up. They say, "There's no job, so I can't do it." If I go back to school for 1 year and do some college program, I'll get out of it with an internship.

Rahul's employment uncertainty vividly translates into a range of personal struggles in his working-life. Challenges such as his appear to be readily apparent for a growing number of workers, especially young workers, in Ontario who face increasingly uncertain labour market realities and employment precarity, underemployment and unpaid work (Geoby, 2013; Tiessien, 2014). Nevertheless, his resiliency and commitment also shines through as he continues to assert control and pursue his career aspirations.

Career Control

Lacking control over much of their work, un(der)employed teachers also experienced a loss of control over the direction of their careers. Such challenges bring them to question their decisions to go into and/or continue with teaching, now and moving forward.

Non-Linear Progression

The goal for most teachers interviewed appeared to be a general career progression which would include securing an STO position, gradually moving into LTO employment and finally a FTPC. While such progression may occur, for many teachers in this study, such a linear model of career advancement had not occurred. For Michelle, the inability to advance past STO teaching has frustrated her and leads her to question her career choices and motivations to continue teaching in Ontario:

It's not being valued and nobody looks at occasional teachers as having any value... A lot of my supply teachers friends say the same thing, they are ready to quit, because they don't feel like they are making a difference, just in there as a warm body with a license to get through the day. Looking back 5 years at OT work, its stagnant you're not doing anything just in there for the day and it's not very hopeful. The system is broken and there's nothing to get out of doing it.

For many un(der)employed teachers, attempted to secure employment, and subsequently progress upwards is defined by uncertainty. The work of STO teachers is also understood as different, holding a different value than FTPC teaching (Pollock, 2008). For un(der)employed teachers, it remained unclear what steps they should be taking to move forward, or if upward

mobility is even in their control at all. The contradictory nature of control, agency and structure, is reflected in the tensions of un(der)employed teachers trying to figure out how to move forward and towards permanent teaching positions. Catherine interprets the tension this way:

Someone once described it to me as us being hamsters on the wheel, and when they tell you to run, you run. I don't even know—like when I'm on an LTO I feel like I have control of my classroom, but the principal still just walks in anytime and I think ultimately he has control over my future. It's his decision whether or not I come back, or never come consistently. So yeah, I don't think I have any control over my career. I think that you can take steps in order to have a little more control. Like taking a bunch of AQ's so that you can control getting more work. But are you actually in control? No I don't think so.

While un(der)employed teachers such as Catherine believe that they can in some ways exert control over their working-lives and career direction, they simultaneously acknowledge that they are part of a system in which they have little discretion. As Elizabeth describes, a career also implies a sense of continuity and control over one's work, something that is not readily afforded to teachers such as herself outside of FTPC positions:

To develop a career, you have to be doing something over time. You're growing into it... unless people are given the opportunity, they really can't control their... At least that one career that they want. I can control my career in general like go a different path or something, but it requires a lot of time. Which you need ... if you have a more stable job, you have more time, more control, et cetera.

Lacking the ability to progress upward, un(der)employed teachers generally asserted that they were not in control over their career directions. However, simultaneously, they could work towards possibly securing FTPC positions through more work and endeavors such as volunteering, AQ credentials, or perhaps, learning a new language.

French Language Teaching

An example of the tension between career control and precarity can be found in the consideration of French-language teaching in Ontario. As the OCT (2012; 2013) has highlighted, the employment outcomes for French-language teachers are, generally, superior to English-language teachers. Un(der)employed teachers interviewed were aware of this reality, and

commented on how French was viewed as the “golden ticket” to securing a PTPC or FTPC immediately. As Victoria, Elizabeth and Magda comment, respectively:

My friends who stayed in Ontario are unemployed like me or if they have French, they are permanently employed.

I had a friend who is in exactly the same situation as me, who was an OT, and actually lower on the seniority list than I was. She got a permanent this year because they needed her for French.

I don't have French under my belt. I wish I did, looking back, because there seem to be a lot more teaching jobs in that.

However, it appears as though un(der)employed teachers were either unwilling or unable to commit to learning French in order to secure teaching employment. If un(der)employed teachers understood that French language acquisition could lead to more immediate employment gains, why did they not actively choose to do so? The answer appears to lie in the large costs associated with such activity. To gain French-language competency would likely require considerable time and resources. Thus, while acquiring French-language competency and credentials would likely result in superior employment outcomes, un(der)employed teachers seemingly did not view such an option as readily available under current circumstances.

Estrangement

Lacking control over their employment, un(der)employed teachers appear to find themselves increasingly alienated from the profession (OCT, 2015; Rinehart, 2001). This became more salient as teachers were unable to advance or progress into permanent teaching positions over the course of many years. Un(der)employed teachers' alienation stems from the inability to secure permanency and to engage meaningfully in their vocational aspirations. This creates a sort of existential angst, where un(der)employed teachers appeared to actively debate on whether or not they should continue pursuing their teaching aspirations. For Victoria, the deliberation continues regarding whether or not she should continue to pursue teaching:

You spend, not to mention thousands of dollars, but you spend hours and hours of effort and time on your education, because you want to feel like you're making a difference...

to have an impact on young people and when you're not able to do that, you feel trapped, you feel undervalued. You want to make a difference and you can't, it's the system holding you back from doing something good... it's an honorable profession and we aren't able to do it. It's our craft, but we can't practice it.

For her, the structural conditions of the labour market continue to limit her ability to engage in teaching employment. A vocational element also emerges here, where teaching is viewed as “more than just a job” reflecting the personal connection that many teachers held with their work and the work that they wished to be actively involved in. Below, Sylvia outlines similar beliefs, where she articulates a strong desire and commitment to teaching, but also acknowledges that her aspirations may not come to fruition:

Yeah, every day I think about what do I do with my life? Do I pick another degree and work my ass towards it? I don't know where I'm going next...but yeah... do I continue on with this bullshit? I really don't know what to do. I keep telling myself I want to be a leader in the community, I want to be a leader in the community, I want to be, I tell everyone that I meet...I'm going to be something in this community because that's my goal.

Sylvia's comments also reflect a degree of anger and animosity towards teaching in Ontario, as she has become disillusioned with the prospect of ever securing employment as a FTPC teacher. Thus, many participants were unsure about their future in the profession, even with strong commitments to teaching and education, the reality of precarious work meant that they did not hold significant control over their working-lives. This lack of control was not limited to their employment or career goals, but was also intertwined with their daily working-lives, which appeared to be difficult to become manage or balance.

Health, Well-Being and Work Life Balance

What emerged from the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers were a significant number of challenges with what may be best described as work-life balance. Un(der)employed teachers were engaging in many hours of *work* even if they are not able to engage in as many hours of *employment* as they would like. Thus, many un(der)employed teachers articulated busy lives and difficulties with balancing their work commitments alongside their personal lives.

Work-Life Balance

What emerged from interviewing teachers about their working-lives was that the experience of working in Ontario has been one that was consistently marked by part-time, contingent or contractual employment arrangements. Many of the teachers in this study had never held permanent employment with any single employer, particularly not in the field of education. Stephanie had worked a plethora of part-time jobs and contract work for over a decade. Below, she outlines a list of paid work in which she participated in just over the past year:

Last year I worked lots of seasonal contracts, so I worked for the YMCA kind of full time in the fall. I work part time at the [museum] all year, it's kind of very seasonal and weird, so it's whenever they could fit me in. I also worked for Girl Guides of Canada doing winter programming in the winter. I worked for YMCA teaching swimming lessons again... I did a contract with adventure works... Then I did some outdoor Ed[ucation] contracts with the camp that I work with. I think that's all the jobs. Oh, I tutor. I tutor one kid one night a week.

She is also still in the process of applying to school boards to become an STO and has also set aside time for volunteering in a school one day a week. Such challenges with balancing the many commitments are typical of precarious forms of work involving dimensions of multiple job holding, erratic scheduling, few benefits, unpaid work and contingent employment (Cranford, Vosko & Zukewich, 2003b; Lewchuk et al., 2013). Rather than idleness due to a lack of employment, un(der)employed teachers appear to lead busy working-lives. Yet, due to their employment precarity and contingent employment, multiple job holding, volunteerism and more—control over such work and scheduling can become difficult to manage and balance.

Demanding working-lives such as these displayed some of the new contours of precarious work—such as work-for-labour (Standing, 2011, 2014ab) as well as the downloading of risks and responsibilities unto individuals (Beck, 1992). Below, Victoria describes what appears to be an extremely demanding schedule despite her own perceived underemployment:

I'm not working full-time but I'm working more hours than anyone who is working full-time. It's about 20 hours with the YMCA a week, then I do about 5 to 10 hours with the real-estate agent's office, I volunteer 5 hours a week, I probably do 15 hours a week of schoolwork, maybe 10 if it's a lazy or procrastinating week, and then I'll do another 8

hours at the chiropractor's office on Saturdays when I start that again in December. That adds up to much more than a full-time job... I also share a car with my Mom who works downtown. We live by the GO train station but I wake up at 5:00 in the morning to help her with the dog and then drive her to the GO train and then pick her up, I have to be home by 6:30pm to pick her up from the GO train as well. Yes, it's not all sunshine and roses...and if I am idle and watching TV, I feel like I should be doing something else. I feel extremely guilty sitting down to watch an episode of something.

Piecing together multiple jobs, volunteering and credential upgrading are all significant realities in Victoria's working-life, along with other forms of unpaid work such as driving and helping out her mother at home. While perhaps not all un(der)employed teachers were as busy as Victoria, most discussed similar situations. Un(der)employed teachers discussed feeling like they were always busy, actively seeking employment or working towards improving their employment possibilities. Such claims were reflected in the challenges and struggles with work-life balance for un(der)employed teachers. For instance, both Catherine and then Gurpreet acknowledge that their demanding schedules have adversely affected their personal relationships with their partners:

I don't know if this is relevant, but the balance. Like my husband at one point said to me "You're never home" and so truthfully it put a strain on our marriage. I was teaching all new English courses, so the marking is ridiculous. Plus I was coaching and tutoring every night. The balance, trying to find the "ok I need to just shut everything out for a little bit" and spend time with my husband, is very hard to find. It's awful.

It sucks that way, because you want to do both but you can't.... Then every night I'd come home and I'm working and my boyfriend is just like, "you're never around". I don't know. It's just hard.

Un(der)employed teachers were, more often than not, engaged in a variety of work activities. However, the nature of such work often involved multiple job holding and often erratic scheduling, adversely impacting their work-life balance, making things such as seeing friends or partners difficult at times. Precarious forms of work can also adversely affect the health and well-being of workers (Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2006).

Personal Health and Well-Being

Precarious work and employment can cause significant worker uncertainty, resulting in negative personal health outcomes as well as strained relationships for workers and their families, friends and communities (Lewchuk et al., 2015). For un(der)employed teachers, such strains were evident in their working-lives, largely connected to their employment situations. For Frances, such challenges were apparent when she initially secured an LTO position:

I think the other thing is, the exhaustion. You're tired constantly. You don't eat properly. I lost about 10 pounds in September alone because I was so stressed. Part of that was of course getting an LTO and it being switched right before school started. I think the only other thing is as an LTO, when you're walking into an established department, it's hard.... But that's every LTO I guess, because you're just an LTO... you can't step on anyone's toes.

Teaching can be an extremely stressful job, and many teachers in Ontario struggle with managing personal health and experience stress and burnout in their careers (Frose-Germain, 2014; Johnston-Gibbens, 2014). While challenges with work intensification and work-life balance appear to affect both teachers and many other workers, it is perhaps surprising that un(der)employed teachers would struggle as well with such challenges due to their apparent lack of employment. Challenges with health and wellness, also connected to the negative psycho-social effects of unemployment (Kates, Grieff & Hagen, 1990; Jahoda, 1982), appears to indicate that un(der)employed teachers lead complex and often busy working-lives.

Day Care & Childcare

In relation to planning and balancing commitments, several teachers brought up the issue of childcare and spoke at length about such challenges. While teachers in nonpermanent positions such as STO and LTO's might appear to hold greater employment flexibility, such flexibility did not diminish the challenges inherent to childcare and indeed, in some cases, proved to be more challenging. For example, the issue of finding daycare that is both affordable and flexible in order to meet their own unpredictable schedules and commitments was difficult for several teachers who were parents. It can be more difficult to secure "on-call" daycare and childcare

placements as STO teachers for instance. Such concerns were articulated by Priya who also points to the rising costs of childcare in the Greater Toronto Area:

Then I'm sure there are people out there that have had to volunteer at school, I don't know how people pay for daycare like that. There was just a report released today that said Brampton had the highest day care just based on income levels. It's impossible. It's so expensive. It's \$1,600 a month to put in a kid in an infant spot downtown. Ours wasn't even that expensive. Ours was slightly less expensive but that's ridiculous. That's more than one paycheque when you're supply teaching, so yeah it's hard.

The rising cost of childcare in parts of Ontario such as Brampton and the Greater Toronto Area, make it difficult for many un(der)employed teachers to secure flexible childcare let alone economically justify it. Emerging from the discussion of daycare was the issue of child care. Connected to work-life balance concerns, many un(der)employed teacher parents discussed challenges with busy schedules and having the time to spend with their own children. For Michelle, challenges with un(der)employment, precarious work, daycare and sick leave all coalesce to adversely affect her ability to be a parent:

Even tonight, I had a meeting with the other job that I do, which went a little bit later, and it was snowing out there, and I had to pick him up from the babysitter and so he's coming home at 7:30 at night after being at school day. Even in teachers college I put him in daycare two days a week when he was three years old, just so that I can get a B.Ed. Me today is kicking me from 5 years ago, thinking that I lost the best years of his life. He would sometimes be in daycare because I would be volunteering somewhere all day or called for emergency supply. Even now, say he gets sick at school, I can't leave my job when I'm training at a school....so it puts a lot of stress on you because you need to have those backup plans on who is going to watch him. Yesterday he was a bit ill, so I had to cancel my whole afternoon, which annoys the people at the school, having to reschedule, but I couldn't get anyone to pick him up from school. So I didn't get paid, pissed off some people, and now have to figure out how to reschedule everything...I remember working [in the Automotive sector], if he was sick, I took a sick day, I had sick days, and got paid to be at home with him if he was sick. So I had that flexibility to take a sick day off, but you don't get that when you work part-time jobs.

Each un(der)employed teacher-parent faced challenges with childcare in different ways, often also in relation to the support structures that they had, or did not have, in place. Yet, as they described, childcare does not always even intersect with paid employment. Teachers had to find childcare or daycare options while completing their B.Ed degree, while they volunteered

and finally also while they worked contingently. The often gendered nature of such work was evident, as two of these teachers functioned as single parents as they continued to attempt to secure permanent teaching positions. As Michelle insightfully noted, while the public education system claims to be in the business of children, they do very little to support un(der)employed teachers taking care of their own children.

Un(der)employed Teachers & Occupational Identity

Un(der)employed teachers were asked to discuss what they believed their occupation to be. When discussing such occupational identities, the general response was that un(der)employed teachers do believe themselves to be “teachers”. However, such a definition was loaded with tensions, caveats and contradictions and thus, defining oneself as a teacher was not a simple and straightforward response. In this way, teacher identity appeared to be directly and discursively understood in relation to teachers’ employment situations.

Identity Work & Occupational Identity

According to Watson (2008a), identity work refers as a “mutually constitutive process”, where people strive and struggle to shape a coherent and distinctive notion of personal and occupational identity in relation to “the various social-identities which pertain to them in the various millieux in which they live their lives.” (p. 252). For many un(der)employed teachers, the identity of a “teacher” appeared to be inextricably linked to employment status. To be a teacher it appears, requires employment as a teacher. As Magda describes:

If anyone asks me, “What are you? What’s your profession?” I will never say, ‘a teacher.’ I’ll say, “My designation is a teacher,” but I never officially say it because I don’t think that ... I’m not a practicing teacher.

Un(der)employed teachers continued to struggle with identity work within their working-lives as a result of the formally defined employment relationships that they do, or do not, hold. Being a “Teacher” appears to require acquiring the normative features of being a FTPC teacher for example; being employed at a single school, having one’s own classroom and students and

having colleagues within a school. If un(der)employed teachers do not hold such features, then they are somehow different sorts of teachers. As Domenic discusses, some of this may be due to a sense of personal embarrassment or failure from being without full employment:

I still say I'm a teacher. If they're assuming that means salary, pension, unionized with a good stable job and am financially stable, I don't talk about that side of the sentence.

Not fitting into the normative model of a teacher was further highlighted when un(der)employed teachers discussed how they must explain their positions to people outside of the teaching profession who might not understand the heterogeneity or complexity within teaching employment in Ontario. As Elizabeth describes:

If people ask "What grade are you doing?" Then it gets complicated because I'm like, "Well, I do like a different grade every day, or... people just don't understand the process... You have to be teaching your friends about what a teacher is.

Identity as a teacher in this way is influenced by both personal and public perceptions. Such public perceptions pose similar challenges to their occupational identities. At her part-time job at a museum where she often works with school students, Stephanie exclaims that she is often told that she would make a great teacher:

I always get the comment, "you're really good with kids" and "you should be a teacher." I still get that. Actually I am a teacher, thank you very much.

For Stephanie, while she works with students and holds teaching credentials, she is still not viewed as a "teacher" proper due to her unemployment as a (public) school teacher. This tension was revealed by several participants who explained that they were more comfortable referring to themselves as "educators" rather than as teachers. For example Michelle, who does work as an STO, school volunteer and student facilitator believes that:

So I do a lot of different things and I look at myself as an educator... I don't think of myself as a teacher.

Finally, as Melissa highlights, in many cases, identity becomes challenged by students who do not understand the nature of the teacher workforce and thus do not believe STO teachers are always legitimate teachers inside of the classroom as they replace the “real teacher”:

Probably on a daily basis I have at least one student who says “oh, so you’re not a real teacher, you’re a supply teacher?” And I always politely remind them that they always have real teachers. We’re all real. We couldn’t be in the classroom if we weren’t qualified.

Un(der)employed teachers thus engaged in a significant amount of identity work. While teachers in this study did generally identify as teachers, albeit in various forms, they nevertheless continued to exhibit unsureness or uneasiness regarding their role and place within the profession and holding the title of “Teacher”. As such, they discursively negotiated their occupational identities in relation to the social context they found themselves in. In this way, they may be understood to be lacking an *occupational narrative* (Standing, 2011). Hence, while many teachers in this study had been working as teachers now for several years, they still remained unable to effectively build a coherent occupational narrative as a “Teacher”.

Un(der)employed teachers mainly viewed themselves in relation to their preferred occupation—that is, the FTPC teacher inside of Ontario’s public schools. As outlined in earlier, un(der)employed teachers were often engaged with a variety of education-related jobs. However, such work did not appear to promote a teacher-based occupational identity. That is, while un(der)employed teachers may work and hold jobs as teachers in various ways—they do not believe to have *careers* as teachers—which implies a sense of control, permanency and continuity. As Standing (2011) discusses, members of the precariat often have difficulty with establishing a defined workplace identity due to the precarious nature of their work:

Besides labour insecurity and insecure social income, those in the precariat lack a work-based identity. When employed, they are in career-less jobs, without traditions of social memory, a feeling they belong to an occupational community steeped in stable practices, codes of ethics and norms of behaviour, reciprocity and fraternity. (p. 12)

Currently defined by employment insecurity and uncertainty, both the present and future remains unclear for many un(der)employed teachers. Without such certainty or status as

“Teachers”, un(der)employed teachers do not appear to always believe they are a part of the same occupational or professional community as other permanent teachers.

Occupational Communities

Whether or not teachers felt as though they were included in a “teaching community” or a “community of teachers” was also largely influenced by their employment positions. Being un(der)employed meant, or at least was understood as, being excluded from the teaching occupational community. Community appeared to refer to FTPC teachers as colleagues inside of school board schools. Thus, un(der)employed teachers also continued to struggle to define and understand themselves within their occupation. Victoria highlights some of these tensions surrounding her place in an occupational community:

Yes and no. I do feel part of the community in the sense that there are a lot of teachers struggling in the same ways that I’m struggling, to find employment, to volunteer with no end in sight... it’s comforting to know that there are people who are struggling and going through the same things. It’s nice to know that they’re doing the same things that I am. It’s reassuring to know that I’m taking the right steps and I’m making progress and I’m on the right path, but at the same time, I don’t feel a part of the community because I’m not on the supply list...Half and half, I feel like I’m there but not really... I bought the ticket but I haven’t got on the plane yet, I guess. I’m on my way there but I don’t feel like a full member.

An insider-outside dichotomy or continuum appears to define the relationship between unemployed teachers, occasional teachers (STO and LTO) and permanent contract teachers (PTPC and FTPC). The closer they are to full employment, the more teachers feel part of an occupational community. As Sonia outlines, her outsider status is directly connected to her employment relationship and how she views herself in relation to other teachers, whereas:

I feel like I’m an outsider... I see a lot of posts on Facebook where... I think is not most intelligent comment to say the least. I’m like seriously, “you’re hired and I’m not?”

Sonia’s comment points to the experience of being an outsider, as well as the status frustration of remaining un(der)employed. FTPC teachers, holding superior employment positions, hold the positions—and therefore status—that un(der)employed teachers desire. As she digs deeper, it

becomes more apparent that such frustration is born out of un(der)employment and the inability to secure desired teaching positions: Thus, she goes on and states that:

When I'm at the school volunteering, I'm not a teacher even though I have the education to say that, "Yeah, I have a license so technically I'm a teacher," so not having the role with the responsibilities in terms of maybe volunteering makes me seem like an outsider. When I'm in the classroom at the private school, I feel a bit more included because I am getting recognized for my skills and what not so I feel a little bit more inclusive, but then again it's not a true school board that is recognizing my skills and talents. It comes back to that momentarily feeling like you're part of the group and then they just kick you back out.

Sonia's tensions between her teacher underemployment, identity and community reflects both her own perceptions about being a teacher as well as how she believe she is being treated by other members of the same occupation. Below, Michelle also describes her feelings of not being part of a teacher community, also alluding to the possibility of differential treatment as an occasional or un(der)employed teacher:

I have a lot of friends that are teachers, which is nice because we do talk about different things and they never, you know, looked down at me because I don't have a classroom. But no I don't belong to a teaching community.

Nevertheless some teachers felt more included in their communities than others, particularly as teachers gained LTO positions and were employed at the same school consistently. For instance, Adrianna believes that un(der)employed teachers:

It might not necessarily be the same community as when you're in a school; we're kind of a transient community, I guess.

Yet, even those teachers who articulated beliefs of inclusivity, there remained tensions inside of schools with other teachers and staff. As STO's or even LTO's, underemployed teachers occupied positions inside of schools which were irregular and which lacked permanency. Thus, they remained somewhat or somehow segregated from their school or teaching community. As Monika states discussing the experience of a STO teacher colleague:

Actually one of the girls at that seminar said she went somewhere and sat down, and someone came up to her, a teacher came up to her and said, "Oh I'm sorry but, the supplies sit over there." She refused to get up... But it's that kind of attitude.

Monika's example points to the tension between teachers in different employment relationships, and specifically within the teaching workforce hierarchy. Such dynamics point to issues surrounding power, privilege and status in teaching employment. Melissa provides a similar claim around this idea, as she does:

Feel like I am part of a community, definitely. But I keep my nose down when it comes to a lot of things.

Such issues appeared concerning for many un(der)employed teachers interviewed. Holding differentiated status as teachers, un(der)employed teachers understood that their current or future employment prospects could be adversely affected by other FTPC teachers. While unpacked further below, what remains pertinent is to note that un(der)employed teachers generally understood themselves to be "outsiders" in the world of teaching in Ontario.

Isolation & Individualism

Unemployment can be an extremely isolating experience (Jahoda, 1982; Lane, 2012; Watson, 2008a), and many teachers found themselves struggling with such feelings. Isolation remains a common feature of the experience of unemployment with the breakdown of social connections, bonds and time structure. As Henderson, Robins and Wormald (1980) noted in their study of unemployed teachers in the U.K, teachers largely blamed themselves and offered personalized and individualistic interpretations for their personal failures for making a bad career choice, lack of skills and unwillingness to move throughout the country. As Gene discusses regarding his unemployment:

Part of the problem is that when you feel completely alone, even if there are all the services, it's like taking this huge mental leap to appreciate the fact that there are services out there. I don't even know if they are there or not... You don't know that they exist until you're desperately looking for them, and you're so stressed out with the situation and you have, you really do feel alone and not knowing where to turn or what steps to take. It's a very debilitating situation, emotionally and psychologically

damaging, it's hard. I wish that there was a way to not just reassure teachers and say that they have the skills and ability and you can make it. To help them and not have those doors shut in their faces.

Teachers in this study held many similar dispositions, individualizing their own un(der)employment due to personal shortcomings and choices. However, isolation resulted both from employment relationships and the manner in which underemployed teachers work within schools, as well as from unemployment and the inability to gain entry into the teaching world. As Monika also highlights, isolation is an emotional experience of being an “outsider” as previously discussed:

But there's still that feeling of isolation because you don't have really colleagues, you don't have co-workers.

Isolation from unemployment appeared to exert considerable hardship for teachers who could not gain any sort of entry into the teaching profession. For Sandro, unemployment resulted in not only challenges to his occupational identity, but also to his own self-efficacy, personal well-being and belief in himself as a capable teacher:

I desperately want to. I would love to self-identify as a teacher. I can self-identify as an educator, or an education professional, but the reality is that I can't do that, I can't say that about myself.... So that kind of weighs on me. Like “ok well what is wrong with me?” I know that it is a very psychological thing, like “everyone else seems to have it, so what is individually wrong with me?” The sensible part of myself says “I know your that's wrong that is incorrect don't think that way” but it is very hard not to.

Sandro had been employed overseas for several years as a full-time teacher, and even won teaching awards while working there. He knows that he is a capable teacher, but his continued unemployment challenges that belief. According to Lane (2012) unemployed professional workers often pathologize their inability to secure employment as a personal failure. In a similar situation, Magda is unemployed as well and currently feels like:

I don't feel like part of anything. I feel like OCT does nothing to make you feel like you're actually a teacher.

She goes on to criticize the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) for requiring unemployed teachers to pay annual membership fees while believing the organization does little to support unemployed teachers. The OCT legitimizes her as a teacher and as part of the profession in Ontario, but does not appear to readily support her employment situation.

For unemployed teachers then, isolation primarily reveals itself in the inability to access any sort of employment as a teacher in Ontario. However, isolation can occur in many forms, and was evident in the experiences of underemployed teachers as well. For example, STO teachers who were employed inside of schools may still be physically, socially or emotionally isolated from their colleagues, schools and students as they do not interact with them every day due to their itinerant roles. Moreover, inside of schools, many STO teachers claimed to be treated differently. Such isolation can be both physical as well as emotional, something which Priya has experienced in the staff room and which Alice refers to as “OT disease”, respectively:

In the Toronto [school board] it was like you go sit in the staff room, you eat lunch by yourself, you're not a part of anything and sometimes they take advantage of you.

They call it the OT [STO] disease. You walk into a staff room, and people will look at you or they'll sit in another table and they'll ignore your existence. It's just awkward professionally... It's very much second class citizen. It's very much, "You're an OT, you don't get it and you're different."

Both Alice and Priya allude to being excluded and the manner in which they are treated differently by other teaching staff inside of schools. Priya in particular mentions “being taken advantage of” with respect to being assigned additional work when covering FTPC teachers’ classes. Why such occupational dynamics occur is unclear. It may be due to permanent teachers simply not knowing an STO on a personal level, as well as possibly due to the transient nature of STO employment, which might move teachers into different schools each day. Dagmara for instance believes that:

I don't think anyone ever paid attention to me... as an occasional teacher nobody talks to you, you just go about your day... I think the notion is that the full-time staff know that you're only there for a day, so why bother making you feel included into a school?

Un(der)employed teachers interpreted professional isolation and exclusion as the fault of other teachers, who they did not believe were often welcoming into the school community and who often treated them as outsiders. Nevertheless, un(der)employed teachers asserted that such beliefs depended on the school or even school board in question, and their experiences were not unilaterally negative towards all schools or teachers where they had worked.

The experiences of both unemployed and underemployed teachers revealed many beliefs and feelings surrounding isolation, both inside and outside of schools. The tension appears to arise from the contradictory nature in which many un(der)employed teachers find themselves in the contemporary world of their work. As noted, un(der)employed teachers were aware of the structural conditions of the labour market, and understood the difficulty in obtaining teaching positions in Ontario. Hence, they understood the limitations of their agency and opportunities due to the saturated labour market. Yet, such perspectives offered little comfort as they continue to struggle with un(der)employment and precarity. Un(der)employed teachers then simultaneously understood that their un(der)employment is both and at the same time, their own fault and not their own fault, due primarily to market conditions. The contradictory nature of this position aside, the reality remains that un(der)employment could not be easily escaped, and they must actively take steps in order to improve their employment situations.

Access, Employability & Entrepreneurialism

With an oversupply of qualified teachers, the labour market in Ontario may simply be described as “extremely competitive” (OCT, 2014; 2012). In such a competitive climate, un(der)employed teachers appear to internalize the logic of “enterprising individuals” (du Gay, 1996) and engage in both forms of work and behaviours which conform to an image of employability. The precarious working-lives of un(der)employed teachers were similarly defined by a constant state of attempting to improve their perceived employability. As Standing discusses (2013):

The strongest trend is a growth of “work-for-labor,” done to enhance “employability” and to function as a flexible worker. Time in labor may be declining, modestly, but time in work-for-labor is mounting. We are in near-constant panic; since there is no standard of excellence, no amount of work-for-labor makes us feel secure. (p. 11)

This work, more often than not unpaid, was commonly undertaken by teachers in this study. As discussed earlier with respect to time and regarding volunteerism, un(der)employed teachers are engaged in many forms of work and labour simultaneously. As OCT (2015) highlights,

New teachers are highly proactive job seekers. Most apply to multiple school boards, look for jobs in more than one region of the province, network with education contacts and apply to individual schools as well as to school boards. Half volunteer in school classrooms hoping to increase their chances of being noticed and recommended for teaching jobs. And almost half look for jobs outside the province and/or in Ontario's independent [private] schools. (p. 6)

Unable to secure their ideal form of employment, FTPC teaching, un(der)employed teachers understood that they must improve their employability and attempt to differentiate themselves in a crowded labour market.

Credentialism

As many teachers in this study referred to, you need to know “*the game*” and understand which “*hoops to jump through*” in order to successfully obtain teaching employment. For example, Adrianna highlights her knowledge of how to make oneself more employable as a teacher in Ontario:

Knowing how to play the game: I kind of knew, going in, you need your principal references, you need your AQ's. Then I have a mom in teaching so I kind of knew the expectations and knew the jargon and stuff that, again, you need these AQ courses because that's what they're looking for in interviews.

AQ's refer to Additional Qualification courses. These courses function as formal teaching credentials and the subject areas in which teachers are able to teach in Ontario's public schools. Many teachers in this study viewed AQ courses as an asset in their career development, and believed that the cost of such activities would be offset by improved employment opportunities. The acquisition and accumulation of such credentials functions as a form of economic and social capital that may lead towards teaching employment. AQ courses then are viewed as an investment, rather than exclusively a form of learning or professional

development. According to the OCT (2013) the total number of AQ qualifications awarded annually has risen substantially, from 16,916 in 1999 to 43,749 in 2010. AQ courses have become a form of currency in which un(der)employed teachers hope that they can differentiate themselves from other teachers and improve their employability. Anne's comments below reflect this, as she believes that:

I'm going to be blunt, you buy your way into this job to some extent...you need to be a good teacher and you need to buy your way in.

Anne believed that the more AQ credentials she obtained directly translated into her improved employment outcomes. At issue is that un(der)employed teachers typically bear the cost of such training themselves. While such credentialing may lead to higher earnings as they move closer and into FTPC positions in the future, they nevertheless must pay for such training themselves and pay for the resources, time and debt that it may encumber. In doing so, they do not escape the uncertainty of perpetual un(der)employment. Hence, such credentialism reflects a commodified type of education, as the acquisition of ever-greater number of credentials functions largely if not solely as a mechanism for improved employment outcomes. As Livingstone (2003) highlights:

The oversupply of qualified people for existing jobs continues to encourage employers to inflate required entry credentials as a means of selection. Indeed, credential underemployment may serve to stimulate still greater individual efforts to obtain further educational credentials and related skills to enhance relative chances in competitive job markets – a sort of educational arms race. (p. 365)

The increasing emphasis on credentials and other forms of work reflects the growing precariousness of a growing number of un(der)employed teachers. While such work reflects the commodification of education in the form of credentialism, such requirements only increase their working-life precarity. Un(der)employed teachers interviewed understood, implicitly, that they must be constantly upgrading their credentials, yet, they do not know exactly what they should be upgrading and have little certainty that such qualifications will directly lead to any employment success. Such features of the current labour market will inevitably lead towards greater employment inequities, as not all teachers can afford to continually upgrade their

formal qualifications. Finally, such “upgrading” of skills remains, more often than not, limited to the teaching world in Ontario, where advanced AQ credentials only hold value in the internal teacher labour market—possibly leading to the erosion of skill development and possible employment from other employers outside of education.

Personal Marketing and Image Maintenance

Many un(der)employed teachers also sought to develop themselves as “personal brands” (Lair, Sullivan & Cheney, 2005). This was achieved through maintaining a “proper” image, marketing oneself, and networking appropriately and effectively. As a common example, many un(der)employed teachers would send out their resumes and business cards directly to schools, administrators, secretaries and FTPC teachers in order to get noticed. As Frances discusses, such actions can result in significantly more paid employment opportunities for STO teachers:

Building rapport with a few schools... If they notice you and see that you're involved it makes a big difference in getting OT jobs... Handing out business cards with your name and qualifications helps too...I know some teachers who put their picture on the cards.

Methods such as these provided un(der)employed teachers with the opportunity to hopefully get noticed by their employers (Chalikakis, 2012). As some school boards allow “preferred lists”, an arrangement in which a FTPC teacher can at times request a specific teacher to be their classroom STO replacement, meant ensuring that they maintained positive relationships with such teachers. Sylvia believes that this is an important component of the new lives of professionals regardless of which industry they work and that “*Branding is so key it really is*” as such work is used to identify and differentiate oneself from the pack.

Participants also discussed the importance of maintaining an “employable image”. That is, ensuring that they presented and conducted themselves appropriately. Maintaining such an image was important not only inside of schools, but in the community at large. Catherine for example, must ensure that her Catholic values are upheld in the eyes of her potential employer, the local Catholic school board:

Because I work in a very small Catholic school board and my husband and I lived together before we were married... marriage was an important consideration.

Un(der)employed teachers understand that they must be active in searching for employment and that they must ensure that they are viewed favourably by potential employers. In this way, they must regulate themselves, displaying appropriate emotions and images to employers (Hochschild, 1979; 1983) both within and outside of their places of work.

Teachers in this study also stressed the importance of networking, particularly within schools and school boards. School principals were seen as gatekeepers, who could provide letters of reference or other kinds of important supports in the hiring process. Thus, networking with principals was seen as an activity necessary for career advancement. Stephanie discusses the need to start volunteering at a local school so that she can “*schmooze the principal and get the principal reference letter*” while Victoria asserts that getting a job depends on “*who you know, it’s all about networking*”. Rahul found it coincidental that he was finally contacted for an interview with the school board, when:

It wasn’t until I got that [school principal] reference letter that I finally got contacted for an interview.

It appears as though in an extremely competitive labour market, not having references from key players such as school principals can mean restricted access to even STO employment (Duggleby & Badali, 2007). Michelle, for instance, volunteered at a school for approximately 3 days a week in order to receive a letter of support, however:

At the end of the year I asked the principal, who has seen me working with kids and heard all about the great things I was doing if I could get a reference letter and she said that she doesn’t do that... It’s really disappointing to be told “I don’t do reference letters” The public school board here is really really difficult to get on... Anyone who has gotten in, has gotten in by some sort of connection.

Un(der)employed teachers understood the importance of being visible inside of schools where they were employed as occasional teachers or volunteering at. This was commonly referred to as “you want to make sure the principal knows who you are”. Of secondary importance was

networking and making strategic connections with FTPC teachers in desirable schools that un(der)employed teachers wanted to work in. In addition to such subjective dispositions, un(der)employed teachers often felt the need to present themselves in a complicit manner inside of schools. As outlined in more detail below, the importance of maintaining positive relationships was viewed as extremely important, primarily due to an underlying belief of being excluded from working at certain schools or within a school board.

The Occupational Status of Un(der)employed Teachers

The identity work of un(der)employed teachers in relation to their occupational identities, the beliefs they held surrounding occupational communities and the trends in improving employability and marketing oneself—all reflect the hierarchical nature of the teacher workforce. Constantly seeking paid employment opportunities, un(der)employed teachers experienced particular challenges with other members of the teaching community.

The Teacher Workforce Hierarchy

A useful model for understanding the experiences of teachers in nonstandard work arrangements such as un(der)employed teachers is Pollock's (2008) conception of the teacher workforce hierarchy. Organized in a pyramidal manner based on teacher employment arrangements, FTPC teachers are found at the apex of the teacher hierarchy with STO teachers located at the bottom. Under such conditions, the way power plays out inside of schools between teachers with different employment relationships and other staff can be understood with respect to occupational status. As Pollock (2008) noted in her study of STO teachers:

As new entrants to teaching in this study attempted to secure more permanent work, they were willing to go above and beyond what was expected of them as a way to make connections, get noticed and present themselves to administration and other full-time, permanent teachers in a favorable light. (p. 164)

Such dispositions of un(der)employed teachers were reflected in this study as well, as outlined earlier and in connection with their volunteerism and unpaid work inside of schools. Such experiences were brought up by several teachers interviewed, particularly in their experiences

as STO and LTO teachers. The failure to conform or to challenge other FTPC teachers, school principals or other employers could lead to a disciplining of their labour (Standing, 2011). In short, un(der)employed teachers are fearful that their actions could lead to retribution from those believed to be in positions of control over their employment. As Frances discusses, the issue for un(der)employed teachers is an issue of power:

You don't want to be blocked, "we shouldn't hire her" or whatever. It's an unfair balance of power, and they use their power, and that is what I have an issue with. They know that they have the advantage, so they abuse it.

In this situation, "they" refers broadly to those who have the power or ability to directly impact her employment. As Chalikakis (2012) noted in her study of LTO teachers in Ontario, "A degree of anxiety rests with LTO teachers, as they fear that their LTO teacher-administrator interactions could be at jeopardy if they do not live up to the standards of their administrators" (p.115). Such fear is summed up by Monika, who discusses the challenge with being loyal to an employer who expects her to be available for work at all times, but only provides contingent employment in return:

That's what I always find with the board— it's like you're always keeping yourself open because you might get that one chance, that one chance that they are going to call you... and they are going to put an X next to her name and say we are never calling her again...But this is the thing. You're so afraid to say no to a job, because you feel like it's going to be a black mark against you.

A second analogy apart from the internal workforce hierarchy but conceptually similar would be to view un(der)employed teachers as *denizens* (Standing, 2011; 2014). The term denizen refers to views surrounding more limited citizenship, rights and privileges. The idea can be then used to evaluate the range of rights to which individuals are, or are not, entitled to. In this case, un(der)employed teachers do not have access to the same bundle of rights or more limited privileges than other teachers. Un(der)employed teachers thus are often subsumed to the status of supplicants. They must rely on the good will of others—be it classroom teachers who have the ability to provide them with daily work, or school principals who, at least in perception, act as gatekeepers who may open or close doors for teachers seeking employment.

In either case, un(der)employed teachers were unwilling to risk the possibility of future employment by voicing dissent. As Anne explains:

Some of the unethical behavior I'm seeing... If my name got out there I would never work again. I've seen some horrible things going on in the schools that I can't report on appropriately because I'm not a permanent teacher.

Because of her employment position, she is either unable or unwilling to challenge current practices. Un(der)employed teachers in this study understood that they were not in positions where they could be actively challenging dominant practices or perspectives. As a marginalized workforce, un(der)employed teachers understood their positions as precarious, and to an extent, that their ability to secure paid employment opportunities and career progression remains dependent on the benefaction of others in positions of power. In this regard, un(der)employed teachers clearly lack a Voice (Standing, 2014a). If teachers do not understand their work and occupational identities to be the same as permanent teachers, then they understood themselves to occupy a position somewhere below other teachers.

Marginalization

Based on their unemployment and/or underemployment, un(der)employed teachers in this study provided a perspective which appeared to indicate that they experienced differential treatment and marginalization. With uncertain and unclear occupational identities and status, un(der)employed teachers appear to occupy a marginal space in the teaching profession. These may be understood as the “distinctive relations with production” (Standing, 2011) that un(der)employed teachers hold as more precarious workers in the teaching world. Occupying a marginal space inside of schools and within the educational community, un(der)employed teachers tacitly internalized that they were both expendable and disposable. In Michelle's experience of volunteering and STO employment, she believes that:

They kind of use us volunteers, when you come in they say we will put you on our supply list for the school so they dangle that carrot in front of you. Sure you want to make the \$230 a day, but if you say NO after a few times they just stop calling and they just go to the next body, because there is there's always a next body that's ready to come in.... you are always put into these precarious situations. You don't have the training, you

don't have the right to really say 'no I don't want to do this' because if you say "no" they won't be calling you again. But you do it because you hope.

Highlighted by a clear understanding of the structural conditions of the labour market with a surplus number of teachers, un(der)employed teachers often found themselves without power in the process of accessing and securing teaching employment. Additionally, power imbalances based on employment arrangements could play out in any number of ways. Such imbalances are concerning, as precarious employment relationships tend to exhibit marked status and authority differences between precarious workers and both superiors and permanent staff. Such relations increase the potential for workplace bullying and harassment (Bentley et al., 2013). Such was the case for un(der)employed teachers Gurpreet and Frances, who highlight their beliefs surrounding disposability, respectively:

You basically just feel used. You're a temporary person. They don't care about you. You don't really mean anything to them, basically.

Yeah, no one cares about me...There's like 57,000 OT's that want my job. You know you can be replaced.

Such considerations connect directly to issues of alienation and control regarding teaching work. While un(der)employed teachers may still hold a strong degree of autonomy in their work, particularly inside of their classrooms, they do not have strong amount of control over their paid work opportunities and working conditions (Livingstone & Antonelli, 2012), nor are they able to exert a strong voice in their work or working conditions (Doherty, 2009; Standing, 2014a). Such views point to the dissolution of a meaningful occupational community and the bonds which hold together a sense of occupational belonging, specifically from teachers outside of the standard employment relationship. Beliefs such as these are further highlighted in the identity work of un(der)employed teachers as they attempt to relate to their respective labour organizations and teacher federations in Ontario.

Identifying with Organized Labour?

Teachers in this study were asked to discuss their experiences and/or general thoughts regarding the labour organizations which (might) represent them. In Ontario, four federations

provide representation and collective bargaining for public school teachers in the province. Within these federations, occasional teachers also hold their own local exclusive units representing their membership. Thus, participants in this study either had no formal affiliation with an Occasional Teacher Local as technically unemployed, while underemployed teachers would be represented by a Local if they were employed as STO or LTO's in a school board.

The range of opinions outlined by teachers in this study concerning "teacher unions" ranged from complete unawareness regarding their place and function, to apathy regarding their usefulness and lastly a clear displeasure at their very existence. In general however, un(der)employed teachers in this study did not view Ontario teacher unions in a positive light. What emerged was that un(der)employed teachers did not appear to identify strongly with organized labour. Specifically, un(der)employed teachers did not typically identify with their federations of labour, nor did they believe that the interests of such organizations always aligned with their own. Below, Sandro discusses his view of the Ontario teacher federations as:

I do feel as though the teacher union has a significant amount of power, but in my mind, and I'm a bit jaded, but it's an evil power. The fact is that they aren't really doing anything to get new teachers, and therefore new ideas into the classroom.

Other teachers voiced similar concerns regarding the role and function of teacher unions in relation to the current un(der)employment situation in Ontario. As Catherine reveals, she is unclear about the purpose of her union, or at least, how well they represent teachers like her who are seeking employment:

Other than the fact that I pay a stupid amount of money every single paycheque to them, which pisses me off...I think sometimes they serve a purpose... But I met a woman at a school last year, she had retired from another board, and was supply teaching here because she had applied into it and they took her... like somebody else is dying for a call to get on that list.

As Catherine argues, the union does not protect these interests as it continues to allow retired teachers to "double dip" and conceivably take away paid work opportunities from them, resulting in feelings of unfairness, anger and frustration further discussed below. Such challenges for un(der)employed teachers nevertheless do appear to be salient labour issues for teachers

who cannot secure adequate employment opportunities. For Priya, issues with her teacher federation connection directly to her identity as a teacher in a public school where:

First of all, my [local] union president is the same guy that says I'm not a real teacher. So if I ever want to get anything from him I basically have to be the most polite, subservient person in the world...my own union rep wouldn't represent me.

Priya alludes to an issue at her school with a student where her union representative was unwilling to provide her assistance due her status as a LTO teacher rather than a FTPC. While such views are rooted in the nature of different collective agreements and the organization of worker representation amongst occasional and permanent teachers in Ontario, it remains nonetheless indicative of conflicting values arising from teachers who believe they are receiving differential treatment from their own unions.

For many un(der)employed teachers, the lack of understanding regarding their unions also appears to stem from “not needing to get involved” and receive union support for any issues which may have arisen. Thus, what such comments appeared to imply was that the union has not, or does not, approach them with offers of support or guidance. They are the ones who must “go to the union” when a labour issue might arise in their work.

That un(der)employed teachers might view their own unions unfavorably should be concerning for labour organizations. As Standing (2011; 2014a) notes, precarious workers and particularly young workers, hold a growing distrust of institutions, including not only government and political bodies, but also of traditional labour organizations. Those in the precariat believe that such bodies have failed to represent their interests, and often do not hold feelings that they are a part of a solidaristic labour community (Standing, 2011; 2014a). Such feelings can lead to greater alienation for workers such as un(der)employed teachers, and those in the precariat may drift towards opportunism. In a competitive labour market, such as teaching in Ontario, such opportunism may lead to occupational fracturing and decreasing levels of labour solidarity. Such tensions and resultant subjectivities towards teaching as a profession result in a loss of commonality of experiences. Tensions such as these may also invoke a sense of

frustration and anger amongst those engaged in precarious work, feelings which translate directly into perceptions of intergenerational unfairness and inequities.

Un(der)employed Teachers & Emotion

Discernable in the voices of un(der)employed teachers provided throughout this chapter, the emotions of teachers could not easily be separated from their experiences and working-lives. The precarious nature of their work, the experience of precarity and the challenges associated with securing employment as teachers in Ontario all invoked strong emotional responses and emotional labour. While complex and multifaceted, in general, the experience of un(der)employment was not a positive one for un(der)employed teachers.

Expectations & Labour Market Perceptions

Participants were asked to reflect back on their teacher education experiences and their perceptions of the labour market as part of making the decision to enter the teaching workforce. When un(der)employed teachers were asked about their perceptions of the teacher labour market while they were earning their teacher credentials—typically in the form of a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree from an Ontario faculty of education—they recalled early feelings of general pessimism regarding the availability of jobs when they were to graduate. Indeed, several teachers commented directly on how their respective faculties made it explicitly clear that they would be lucky to find any work as teachers once they completed their degrees. Others commented on a lack of knowledge concerning the state of the teacher labour market in Ontario, only with the general belief that “it would be tough” to find permanent positions teachers. Such teachers subsequently exclaimed that while they knew it would be tough, it ended up being much more difficult than they had imagined. Such feelings were markedly consistent regardless of when teachers had graduated. Stephanie, Victoria, Alice all echoed similar feeling regarding how they “*knew it would be tough, but not this bad*” while Priya describes such feelings in relation to her precarious work and employment uncertainty over the past 5 years:

I didn't think it was going to be easy but I also didn't think it was going to be this hard. I would really just like to have a job before I die— like a contract position—where I don't have to live with uncertainty ever year and I can make choices about my own career path that makes sense.

Priya's feelings towards her expectations and experiences in the labour market indicate how emotions and emotional labour are tied into the experience of un(der)employment. Her sentiments were generally shared by participants, indicating that un(der)employed teachers had a general knowledge of the labour market for teachers in Ontario. Understanding such conditions, un(der)employed nevertheless continued to struggle to secure employment. As such, interviews with un(der)employed teachers generally took on a negative tone, as they attempted to make sense of their continued un(der)employment, precarious work and sought to make sense of the barriers which prevented them from securing teaching employment.

Un(der)employment and Blame

Unable to secure permanent employment as teachers, participants in this study often placed blame on the structural conditions, organizations, institutions and actors in place which inhibited access to employment and increased their precarity. Such blame was often placed on teacher education intuitions in Ontario, school board employers and finally, on un(der)employed teachers themselves.

Institutions of Teacher Education

The majority of participants received their teacher education and credentials from faculties of education in Ontario. Such institutions are where the vast majority of new teachers in the province of Ontario graduates from each year (Grimmett & Young, 2012). When discussed in relation to their un(der)employment, many teachers understood the issue of un(der)employment as a consequence of the oversupply of teachers in Ontario. Thus, the faculties of education in Ontario which produced the majority of new teachers, were perceived as being to blame for the surplus number of teachers. For instance, Sandro below describes his experience at one of Ontario's faculties of education in this way:

So the fact that there were about 250 students accepted to Trent alone in the concurrent education program. There's no way that all of those people are going to find jobs in field. So I really think that it is a big money grab basically.

Un(der)employed teachers such as Sandro believed that they were misinformed, being told that their teaching degrees could be utilized for more than just teaching and held value in the labour market outside of teaching. Anne also felt misinformed regarding the demand for teachers and was unpleasantly surprised upon entering her teacher education program, where she describes her beliefs regarding both the business model of the university as well as the limited options her degree provided her:

I spent that whole year trying to wrap my head around it and getting the work done and keeping up and just hoping, hoping that they were wrong that some of us might find a job out there...the other thing was too at that point, I actually couldn't see a way out. I had taken student loans based on these programs and I would have done something else if I had known, but I had done everything to work towards this particular goal. So that was the other thing that made me angry, there were no options offered except that 'we needed to think about our education degrees as being applicable to other fields'. Except, nobody gave any guidance as to what that might look like either... Also, the week before class started, they accepted an additional 100 people above what they had planned into our faculty. So we're thinking 'wait a minute, if we're going to have a hard time finding work and we need to look at other places for employment, why are you still taking more students?' That's when I realized this was a money grab.

The perceptions of these teachers are not altogether unwarranted. As outlined in Chapter II, from about 2001 until 2010 the number of new teachers graduating from Ontario's faculties of education continued to rise. Most Faculties of Education in Ontario continued to expand their enrolments during this period, even as employment prospects for new teachers were declining (OCT, 2009; 2010; 2011). Reflecting back on their experiences, many un(der)employed teachers felt deceived, likely connected to their continued struggles to secure permanent employment. Such feelings were articulated not only in relation to the faculties of education which appeared to provide some assurance and credibility to their chosen careers, but also by school boards as their current or desired employers who appeared to be apathetic to their interests or else "stringing them along" with the prospect of FTPC employment.

School Boards

At this point in their careers, un(der)employed teachers were unsuccessful in their efforts to secure permanent employment as teachers. As a result, negative feelings and perceptions emerged, particularly surrounding unfair hiring practices and nepotism by school board employers. Un(der)employed teachers interviewed, likely frustrated by a lack of employment, often viewed the policies and practices of schools boards as flawed or unfair. School boards were discussed as unhelpful, unclear and even at times abrasive when seeking to access employment. For Cecilia, the issue emerged as she attempted to gain an LTO and move up into a FTPC at her school board, believing the board does not inform her how to accomplish this:

I'm back to being a supply teacher and then when it opens up again [LTO List] 6 months later then maybe I have another chance, but what if I don't get it again? I don't know exactly what they'd be looking for each time. The boards don't do a good job of keeping us updated. If they want Special Ed[ucation] they should tell us that, so we can all go get Special Ed. It's money, but if we want it this badly at least we know what to do, right?

As Cecilia alludes to, one challenge for un(der)employed teachers remains that school board hiring lists are not always open, and it is not always clear when such lists will be open for application. In addition, she points to requirements for entry and access to employment, such as the upgrading of credentials in the form of AQ courses. Such work is viewed as part of the process of obtaining employment and attempting to understand the demands of employers in order to improve one's chances of obtaining a position. The inability of un(der)employed teachers to access school boards or move into FTPC positions leads them in many cases to be frustrated and perceive such employers as holding unclear or unfair hiring practices.

Directly connected to the belief that school boards do not maintain fair, transparent or effective hiring policies were feelings of nepotism. Un(der)employed teachers often referred back to the issue of nepotism as finding and securing employment as teachers in Ontario was about “*who you know and not what you know*”. Participants discussed other teachers who they knew personally who have found permanent positions, namely because they had a direct connection with FTPC teachers or school principals. Nepotism was viewed as very real, validated by the implementation of Regulation 274/12, which was enacted with the intention of curbing

nepotism in school board hiring practices (Rushowy & Brown, 2013). For un(der)employed teachers such as Sonia, the anecdotal evidence and their personal experience suggests that teachers with better connections are able to secure employment ahead of them:

A girl that I was pretty close with, we graduated with the same teachables, and her father knew a principal of the school board who gave her a mock interview, and I'm quoting, you can see me with my fingers "mock interview," and she was hired on the spot because she knew somebody. What's the point of this regulation when it's still not what you know but who you know?

Frustrated by her inability to secure paid employment, Sonia directs the blame outwards at the school board. However, as outlined earlier in this chapter, un(der)employed teachers engaged in the very same practices of volunteering, making informal connections, marketing and credentialing in order to improve their employability. Hence, while many teachers remained critical of nepotism and perceived favouritism in hiring practices, they themselves actively engaged in the very same activities in order to improve their own employment outcomes.

Personal Blame

While un(der)employed teachers for the most part looked outward and focused blame for their lack of employment at the structural conditions of the labour market, during the interviews several teachers also blamed themselves. For Michelle, such emotions emerged as she connected her unemployment to both the school board which would not hire her, as well as her personal decisions to continue seeking a teaching position in Ontario:

Yea I am angry. I'm not angry that I don't have a job at a school board. I'm angry that I've been strung along for all these years. I'm angry at myself, that it's taken me so long to figure it out. That I've put everything in and that I've sacrificed so much for nothing.

In this instance, Michelle displays the profound tensions which un(der)employed teachers appeared to often negotiate with themselves. While committed to teaching, the realities of precarious work and a surplus labour market lead teachers to be frustrated at both the structures and employers in place in Ontario, as well as with themselves and the choices they have made. The individualized nature of unemployed also leads many un(der)employed

teachers to face such challenges by themselves, with little perceived professional or collegial support. Such contradictory forces lead un(der)employed teachers to be upset with themselves, but, as many of them choose to continue seeking teaching employment and careers, they also believe that they are also somewhat fortunate to be where they are.

Job Satisfaction

On the surface, un(der)employed teachers were generally dissatisfied with their current employment relationships. They continued to seek out permanent employment as teachers, typically in the form of ideally becoming a FTPC employed by a school board in Ontario. While such a perspective was dominant running through interviews with all un(der)employed teachers, dissatisfaction with their employment was concurrently combined with a sense of privilege. That is, many un(der)employed teachers felt that they were fortunate or lucky to be in their current employment situations, but also upset, and directed such feelings at other educators and aspects of the teaching profession.

Luck

This notion or idea of “luck” first emerges when several teachers in this study reflected back on their perceptions of the labour market while completing their teacher certification credentials. At that time, many of them noted that although they understood the market to be saturated with surplus teachers and the possibilities of securing permanent employment were unlikely, they might still get “lucky”. Such a narrative runs through their reflections, where un(der)employed teachers constantly asserted that they were still lucky to have secured interviews, been employed as STO’s or were able to hold onto an LTO. For Catherine, this view is articulated as being lucky in comparison to others in similar positions:

I’ve been very lucky obviously to even have the LTO’s that I’ve had. People that are around the same spot on the seniority list as me, many of them have not had what I’ve had.

What such “luck” appears to be interpreted as is a relative understanding of her position in the labour market alongside other un(der)employed teachers. Teachers such as Catherine

discussed being “lucky” to have gotten an LTO after a few years because they know of many other teachers in similar situations who have not. In a precarious labour market, they appeared to internalize the idea that luck is an important component of upward mobility. As Priya believes, she has also been fortunate enough to have held LTO positions:

I'm really fortunate because I'm getting LTOs. I am really fortunate and I'm high enough on the list... If I'd known it was going to take this long, I don't know if I would be here. I'm not sure. I mean I've been really lucky, right?

While teachers in this study outlined and expressed general displeasure with their employment situations and challenges in the labour market—they nevertheless exhibited a sense of accomplishment as well as idealism. As Gene summarizes, it seems

like a lot of it is just based on random or just luck, you just happen to be at the right place at the right time.

The notion of luck thus appears to be tied to un(der)employed teachers' continued efforts to secure permanent employment, but also simultaneously reflects a discourse of powerlessness, where success is not in one's own control, but rather determined by other individuals and/or structural conditions of the labour market.

Teacher—Teacher Tensions

As noted surrounding occupational identity and the teacher workforce hierarchy, STO and LTO teachers, are often perceived as being “less than” typical classroom or FTPC teachers. While un(der)employed teachers do not necessarily blame other teachers for their employment situations, they often viewed them as occupying privileged positions which they covet. While this may be understood emotionally as a form of jealousy, it also appeared to be rooted in feelings of being left outside of the profession as well as from experiences interacting with other teachers. In this way, un(der)employed teachers at times viewed other teachers as antagonists, rather than colleagues within the profession. That is, they continued to struggle with un(der)employment and the inability to access teaching, while FTPC teachers benefitting

from their superior employment positions and perhaps privilege. For Victoria, such feelings manifested in anger, frustration and depression:

When they [other Teachers] speak condescendingly, all I want to say is, "I went to school like you, the fact that you were born 10 years earlier than me is the only reason you have a job over me." It can be frustrating, it's depressing sometimes.

In Ontario, the ebbs and flows of teacher unemployment meant that there were times when securing permanent positions was much easier than it has been for many contemporary teachers (OCT, 2003). Nevertheless, the nature of the current labour market has also resulted in new challenges for un(der)employed teachers, such as their extensive volunteerism and unpaid work activities. Due to such realities, un(der)employed teachers viewed other FTPC teachers as benefitting from current arrangements while they themselves suffer. With weak employment opportunities for many teachers, an image of the "older, comfortable, well-off teacher" was viewed as someone who did not understand the current labour market realities facing many teachers and who perhaps were taking advantage of un(der)employed teachers. Again, as Priya describes, such perspectives resulted in anger and frustration directed at other teachers in a generalized manner. There are "bad" teachers out there, but those teachers remain privileged and protected by their permanent employment relationship:

I'm angry. I'm pretty angry and it's not anything to do with the kids, right? But yeah the whole employment situation is just discouraging and it makes me angry and I see... I know I'm a good teacher, like I know I'm a good teacher and I could be better, I'm sure. But I know I'm a good teacher and I see teachers that are not good teachers and they are sitting at the top of the pay grid and they're cruising through their, whatever, last couple of years and it pisses me off.

Tensions such as these appeared to result from generational perspectives between "older" and "younger" teachers. However, the generational tensions were evident among un(der)employed teachers in this study did not necessarily emerge from age. Even older teachers in this study displayed some degree of resentment towards other "older teachers". Anger and frustration directed at other teachers emerges as a result of privileged employment relationships, rather than a generational discourse based on age. Such intergenerational fracturing became voiced most ardently in relation to the notion of double-dipping.

Double-Dipping

As many new teachers continue to voice concerns over a lack of paid work, particularly STO and LTO employment, they accuse many of those teachers who have retired of “double-dipping.” The notion of double-dipping refers to the practice of teachers who have retired who are also returning to work as employees at school boards, typically as STO teachers. In recent years, the issue has garnered significant attention as the oversupply of teachers in Ontario has continued to grow and as new teachers have been unable to find FTPC positions (Dobson-Mitchell, 2011; Alphonso & Hammer, 2012; Macdonald, 2009). For un(der)employed teachers, the notion of double-dipping continues to foster feelings of resentment towards retired teachers, as well as critical discussions surrounding broader inequities such as professional ethics and intergenerational fairness. Below, as Magda discusses, she believes that older teachers who are double-dipping are taking away employment opportunities from other teachers such as herself:

I personally know of a lot of teachers who are retired and working as supply teachers now. I don't think that's fair because you know what? With what the economy's like, and this isn't your fun daytime job anymore. If you want to go and volunteer, volunteer, but I think it definitely needs to be limited because the new generation has no chance.”

Several teachers discussed such concerns and held very similar feelings. Nevertheless, their perspectives are likely based on misinformation as much as they are a labour market reality. In most school boards, retired teachers are now only able to work a certain number of days, while demographic data indicate that teachers over the age of 60 represent only a small number of teachers across Canada. According to Statistics Canada (2015ab), educators over the age of 60 represent only 3.8% of the total teaching labour force in Canada. Moreover, if teachers nearing retirement know that they will be unable to supply teach afterwards, they may actually choose to defer their retirements (Schreve, 2011) which would only exacerbate challenges for un(der)employed teachers who seek permanent employment. Nevertheless, for Domenic, resentment towards such teachers became present as he continues to contend with his own underemployment challenges:

They are just holding these positions for what? Retire and enjoy life for goodness sakes, retire and then open up doors for the younger crew. It makes me wonder if the reasons

why they're doing that is because they went through such a hard time at the beginning of their career and hanging on for dear life to still get more money out of the system? Well geez, the problems I've been having personally, if I got myself full-time, maybe I should bloody well double dip because it cost me so much money to sit there and fight through the system even to get started.

Concerns over double-dipping and intergenerational fairness between teachers may be overstated, and double-dipping in practice may only reflect a small number of STO positions, but such beliefs nevertheless indicate the impact of precarity on the subjective dispositions of un(der)employed teachers. Similarly, many teachers interviewed held negative feelings towards teachers and the profession as their formal qualifications meant that they could be FTPC teachers, but remained unemployed or underemployed and stuck in STO or LTO positions.

Overqualification

For a few teachers in this study, overt feelings of overqualification were present as they reflected on their un(der)employment. These participants often voiced such frustrations with respect to other teachers—that is, they believed that many teachers currently employed in FTPC positions do not hold the same educational credentials that they do. However, such feelings also represented typical beliefs on the state of the labour market in general, where formal degrees and credentials do not easily provide access into employment opportunities for un(der)employed teachers such as Magda, who was unable to secure employment as a tutor:

For example, I applied to work at a Sylvan Learning Center, and I couldn't get a job there. I thought it was a joke because the director of the center, she's just as educated as I am. I just thought, wow, if you can do this, and I'm coming in with the same number of or the same sort of credentials/qualifications. Maybe not experience-wise, I might be way lower on that, but I'm also only applying to be a center instructor, tutor, really, is what that is. You can call it what you want, but it's a tutoring job. It's not a teaching job. I'm there after school, and I would only be there for 3 or 4 hours helping kids with their homework. I find it very, very difficult when people who have this level of education, they're not reaping the rewards of what they get. You know what I mean?

Magda here outlines her frustrations as she continues to face un(der)employment despite her teaching credentials and the Master's degree that she is in the process of completing. Such

challenges led un(der)employed teachers to become increasingly dissatisfied with a system which is perceived to be unfair, unsupportive and possibly exploitive.

As Standing (2014a) notes, for the first time in history, the typical worker appears to be overqualified or at least over-credentialed for the work that they are expected to undertake. Many un(der)employed teachers in this study held advanced credentials and degrees which did not appear to assist them in accessing employment. This is compounded by feelings of status frustration with other teachers, specifically FTPC teachers who may not have the same educational credentials, yet have been able to obtain and secure permanent employment. For teachers like Michelle, it feels like her working-life is irrelevant to the teaching profession, as are her experiences, credentials and other attributes she may bring into a classroom:

I'm just another volunteer just another nobody, dime a dozen, they don't care. It doesn't matter that I'm a 42-year-old woman, doesn't matter that I'm a mother, doesn't matter that I'm super educated—probably more educated than most of them, none of it matters, no respect at all. So I decided that I'm not doing this anymore. I don't need to do this.

Michelle's frustrations also point to concerns over which qualifications or even experiences are valued in the teacher labour market and which are not. Frustrated by a system which appears to be privileging and benefitting some teachers, while marginalizing other un(der)employed teachers, negative perceptions concerning teacher unions were also presented.

Union Perceptions

Arising from the challenge of teachers who face the growing reality of un(der)employment and precarious work, there emerged a perspective on labour organizations which possible points to marked differences in teacher unionism. Contestation over double-dipping was understood as an unfair practice—an outcome which was perpetuated by teacher unions supporting “older teachers” at the expense of newer teachers. While such perceptions may have been overstated, double-dipping nevertheless functioned as a lightning rod which generated significant opposition to the occupational community of teachers and was understood by un(der)employed teachers as a barrier to paid employment opportunities erected by teacher

unions. Hence, the negative emotions of un(der)employed teachers and the perceived inequities in the teaching labour market in Ontario was triggered by such beliefs, and directed at teacher unions in particular.

Similarly, discussions surrounding the imposition of Regulation 274/12 which, generally, have made upward mobility into school boards seniority based, were interpreted as being imposed onto un(der)employed teachers by teacher unions. While it appears as though most of the teacher federations in Ontario were actually against this regulation (OSSTF, 2013), for un(der)employed teachers, seniority as a symbolic concept reflected union influence. Thus, the Regulation was largely perceived as a barrier towards employment by un(der)employed teachers. Such confusion was evident among many teachers interviewed, who did not have any defined rationale for believing that the union was being unsupportive, but held strong anti-union feelings and dispositions. As Sylvia describes, she is unsure about the teacher federations and how they might be supporting her:

Right, where is the money going? I don't know how the union's helping teachers. All I see is reports being posted by OCT, the union... I've heard the union supporting teachers who are in their role... and stuff like that but yeah, for new teachers, I don't know where the support is. I think they are just really cushioned in their positions right now

Sylvia refers to “they” which appears to mean FTPC teachers or teacher federation representatives. Regardless, her beliefs suggest that the union is not supporting her or teachers like her. Un(der)employed teachers’ frustrations are conceivably rooted in an understanding that teacher unions are supposed to be there to “help” in combating unemployment, underemployment and precarious employment. Yet, it does not appear as though such organizations have prioritized them or their interests. Negative feelings and beliefs were not unequivocally pronounced by teachers in this study, and many un(der)employed teachers valued their union and believed them supportive in their challenges with securing employment. Nevertheless, un(der)employed teachers, overall, did not *feel* supported by such organizations, highlighting intergenerational tensions and beliefs that they experienced differential treatment. Defined by precarity and compounded by their perpetual un(der)employment and perceived lack of support, the emotions of un(der)employed teachers were, generally, negative.

Negative Emotions: Anger & Frustration

As the voices of un(der)employed teachers have largely indicated, their emotions were largely negative, and pessimism, frustration and growing anger appears to define much of their working-lives. Un(der)employed teachers interviewed, while characterized by a complex set of emotions, by and large described more negative feelings such as frustration and anger when discussing their experiences. Subject to employment precarity, economic and occupational uncertainty along with various forms of insecurity and unpaid labour, such teachers appeared increasingly disillusioned with teaching. As Magda highlights, her experience has not been a good one and at this point as a teacher:

I'll be honest with you. I'm pretty bitter with teaching, as I'm sure most teachers are who don't have jobs right now.

While such emotions were common, what emerged from such discussions was that teachers remained uncertain as to exactly where they should direct such anger. Similar to blame, un(der)employed teachers directed their anger and frustration both outward—at structures, organizations and individuals—whilst simultaneously often placing the blame directly on themselves. Such psychosocial dispositions are not uncommon in studies of the unemployed (Jahoda, 1982; Lane, 2012; Henderson, Robins & Wormald, 1980) who personally struggle with employment challenges in their working-lives. Throughout the interviews, such negative emotions emerged and came through in various ways, and at times certain topics and struggles were difficult to discuss. As teachers opened up to their emotional experiences, the experience of un(der)employment became much more vivid, personal and powerful. For Sandro, the struggle through unemployment has been difficult, isolating and full of anger:

[...] But to be perfectly honest, I've gone through periods of being very angry. To the point where anybody who said that they had a job, I thought "well [expletive] you I hate you". But also, when people who complain about their jobs, I basically just tell them to shut up and where to go and how to get there. Not having a job and having people complain about theirs, like I have been alone in this house for 6 months, I would love to see other people that would be fantastic. I don't care if it's a good or bad experience, but just to do it. So feelings towards that are very negative, but again I've dealt with it mostly.

The experience of unemployment is rarely positive (Watson, 2008a) and for unemployed teachers such as Sandro, the struggle to find work has been emotionally taxing. Poor labor market experiences can adversely affect the health and wellbeing of individuals, including those involved in precarious work (Lewchuk & Lafleche, 2014). Rahul describes his largest challenge was contending with the daily uncertainty whereas:

The biggest thing was always the uncertainty. You're waking up and you're just thinking, "When is life going to change?"

At this time, Rahul has finally been able to secure a STO teaching position, but his experiences to date have been marked by uncertainty and precarity. Un(der)employed teachers appeared to believe that once they reach the goal that they have been striving towards—a FTPC teaching position—then perhaps, their working-lives will be significantly better. Whether or not this is the case remains unclear, and the academic literature suggests that many new teachers struggle professionally (Maynes & Hatt, 2015). As Dagmara describes, after some initial enthusiasm from her mobility from STO teaching into an LTO she has felt:

Stress, frustration, anxiety...initially when I first got the job [LTO] there was a little bit of excitement, because "yes! I finally get benefits", but now it's just more survival, either I sink or I swim, that's how I feel every day.

The challenges and emotional labour of un(der)employed teachers revealed the intersection of their work and lives, and how the two are not easily separated. Un(der)employment is an emotional experience, marked by highs and lows as opportunities open up and disappear over time. For Sylvia, such negative emotional experiences lead her to question her own mental health and wellbeing as she struggles to make sense of her working-life as an un(der)employed teacher defined by precarity, uncertainty and pessimism:

I'm frustrated every day. It's emotional. When you want to talk about mental health and wellness, this plays at it, too, for a lot of teachers. It's emotionally stressful and it drives me crazy, too, when they say "oh, we need to focus on mental health and support people with their mental health and young people." Yeah, this is one of the factors, it drives me crazy... I'm passionate because it reflects my work ethic and my work, but I also need to make money and there's no jobs in my passion so what do I do? ...Then you're like, it

impacts you, you question your mental health. There's a lot of negative thoughts coming in there, and you're like, I put all my money, time, and effort into these degrees and now what? I can't do [expletive] with them.

Sylvia also alludes to concerns surrounding mental health and wellbeing for teachers, which are concerning, particularly as student mental health concerns have become a more salient issue in recent years (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013). Un(der)employed teachers are not immune to mental health concerns and problems, and indeed their employment situations may make them even more likely to suffer from such problems (Ashman & Gibson, 2010). As the literature surrounding precarious employment notes, having a bad job can actually be worse for your health than having no job at all (Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011).

Positive Emotions: Resilience & Commitment

While un(der)employed teachers knew that their professional journeys would not be easy, and that they would remain precarious and uncertain at times, they maintained the belief that they would “make it” into permanent positions at some point in the future. In many ways, many of these teachers still maintained the same idealism that they had before they had entered the teacher labour market in Ontario. Un(der)employed teachers generally understood and acknowledged that their aspirations would take time and involve hard work and sacrifice. While un(der)employed teacher revealed earlier that they largely do not believe to be in control of their careers, they nevertheless remain committed to teaching in Ontario. Un(der)employed teachers understood that securing permanent position was a process, one that now, typically, can take approximately 5 years or more (OCT, 2015; 2014). Adrianna knew what she was getting into and continues to seek out a teaching career indefinitely as:

You kind of have to hold that positive thinking that it's going to work out in the end.

Teachers interviewed were asked how they might try to stay positive through all of the adversity they had outlined and expressed. The typical response provided discussed the need to maintain a sense of resiliency, largely tied to a vocational element of teaching as more than just a job. Nevertheless, such resilience was not always easy, as highlighted by the significant

challenges outlined throughout this chapter. For Elizabeth, such feelings are difficult to manage and understand, but push her to continually pursue her career.

Even like within myself, sometimes I do question “why?”, But it makes me feel proud too knowing that, yes I am in a career that’s competitive. Thank you very much. It’s hard. It’s not easy... It’s frustrating to see that some of the work I’ve done has not been rewarded. We work and you get your reward, but then you wonder if there was something more that you should be doing or could have done? Or, if you should have gone a different path, or if you should go a different path? That’s where the confusion comes in, and then that leads to frustration again... So sometimes I am accepting of it. You have to be at the end of the day right?

While un(der)employed teachers’ working-lives were undoubtedly challenged by their employment situations, they maintained a strong commitment to the profession and expectations that they would continue to pursue teaching in public boards in Ontario—with the goal of one day landing a permanent position. Such commitment can be interpreted in various ways. While some teachers discussed this commitment in terms of passion and vocation, others described the continual pursuit of a teaching career because they did not believe to have any other options at this point in time. Many participants in this study had invested several years’ worth of time and resources into their careers—to exit the teacher labour market would not be a “rational” decision at this point. Regardless, most teachers expected to continue to pursue their teaching careers in both the short and long term. Perhaps Magda provided the most optimistic conclusion to her interview, indicating that she now feels:

very resilient, because after going through this whole thing, I kind of feel like I can take on anything else.

Un(der)employed teachers wanted, hoped and desired to continue to seek out teacher careers in Ontario. However, they must do so in a congested and challenging labour market, and continually contend with the reality of precarity in their working-lives.

CHAPTER VII DISCUSSION

The voices presented in the previous chapter highlighted the diverse and multidimensional experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario. While each teacher experienced un(der)employment in their own personal and contextual ways, un(der)employed teachers in this study also displayed many similarities and a strong commonality of experience in their working-lives. In this section, returning to the theoretical and conceptual framework along with the research literature, the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in this study are critically interrogated, problematized and discussed in relation to the central research question and outlined according to the research subquestions.

The Precarious Work of Un(der)employed Teachers

In both the public and private sectors, un(der)employed teachers in this study experienced precarious employment, albeit in different forms and along various dimensions. Furthermore, their work as volunteers in schools also featured prominently in their working-lives, raising concerns over unpaid work and access into teaching employment. Nevertheless, un(der)employed teachers continued to engage in this sort of work and employment as they sought to eventually secure permanent employment as teachers in Ontario.

Precarious Work in the Public Sector

In this study, un(der)employed teachers continued to primarily seek employment inside of Ontario's publicly funded school boards. Short-Term Occasional (STO) and Long-Term Occasional (LTO) teaching offered strong wages and access to benefits along with the possibility of upward mobility. Over time, STO and LTO employment could lead into a Full-Time, Permanent Contract (FTPC) position—the ideal form of teacher employment. STO employment opportunities varied significantly, from periods of receiving calls almost every day, to times when opportunities were extremely rare and sporadic. The uncertain nature of such work meant that even while employed as STO and LTO teachers, un(der)employed teachers often held other employment simultaneously. Nevertheless, not all teachers were able to access even

STO employment, and many those who did continued to occupy temporary STO employment for many years on end.

Hence, the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers' in this study were, overall, defined by various forms of precarious work. Perhaps most prominently, these un(der)employed teachers' experienced significant labour market insecurity, with the potential for adequate income earning opportunities and full employment continually out of reach. Once employed by a school board, teachers would have a degree of employment security and the ability to access paid work opportunities as STO and LTO's, but still lacked job security as they remained perpetually underemployed and lacked the ability to gain upward mobility and FTPC positions. Thus, they also often lacked income security, due to the unpredictability of STO employment and the low wage work they engaged in outside of public school boards. While certain un(der)employed teachers interviewed held some employment security, others were not so fortunate. Moreover, their work was made less secure by a competitive labour market, unpredictable schedules and expectations of unpaid labour.

Accepting contingent employment inside of public school boards as STO and LTO teachers, underemployment rather than unemployment became the socioeconomic reality for many teachers in this study. While long term underemployment can result in lower future earnings and the erosion of social capital (Block, 2015; Tiessen, 2014), teachers continued on this uncertain path for several reasons. Firstly, the wages of STO and LTO teachers remain considerably higher than what could be obtained in other teaching related jobs. Secondly, while more limited than those in FTPC employment arrangements, STO and LTO teachers remain more likely to access certain enterprise benefits, which do not appear to be readily accessible in the private sector (Barnes, Abban & Weiss, 2015). Thirdly, it appears as though most of the credentials teachers had obtained "funneled" them into teaching, as their degrees did not provide any significant leverage in the labour market outside of public school boards in Ontario. This partly reflects the elevation of teaching into a primary career choice, not a secondary option (OCT, 2004). Finally, un(der)employed teachers needed engage in STO and LTO employment if they are to have any chance whatsoever to obtain a future FTPC in Ontario.

Moreover, they are compelled to remain employed at a single school board, in order to maintain their seniority positions within such boards primarily due to hiring regulations.

Un(der)employed teachers interviewed appeared to be seeking positions which would provide them with economic security in the form of full-time, continuous employment. Such demands reflect the elevation of FTPC in Ontario's public school boards as the ideal position for which they continued to strive towards, even if such a position were to take several years and significant sacrifice to finally attain. However, with limited chances of securing such positions at this time, many teachers also discussed the possibilities of teaching outside of Ontario as well as obtaining education related positions in Ontario's educational private sector. Nevertheless, such options were generally viewed as temporary, until a FTPC could be secured in Ontario.

Precarious Work in the Private Sector

Outside of public school boards, un(der)employed teachers in this study engaged in a diverse range of jobs which were typically education related. Such jobs including tutoring, the YMCA, camp counsellors along with teaching in private schools. Such employment was generally low-waged work, with few benefits, job security or opportunities for mobility. The precarious nature of such employment further provided the impetus for un(der)employed teachers to pursue employment inside of public school boards which offered more favourable compensation and working conditions.

Such part-time, contractual and casual arrangements were accepted by un(der)employed teachers with few alternatives outside of teaching in the labour market. It appeared as though teaching credentials, such as the B.Ed degree, held little leverage in the labour market outside of public sector teaching employment. Moreover, many un(der)employed teachers managed multiple jobs concurrently, which also reflected employment precarity (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015). As public school boards in Ontario employ upwards of 95% of all teachers in the province, un(der)employed teachers had little recourse but to continue to work towards and attempt to secure public sector teaching employment. In this study, evidence of employment outside of such school boards highlighted the nature of precarious employment in

the private education sector (Davies & Quirke, 2005). From this perspective, un(der)employed teachers engaged in education-related jobs primarily due to their inability to secure paid work opportunities elsewhere and with the hope that such work might improve their employability in Ontario's public school boards.

Volunteerism & Unpaid Work

Volunteerism inside of schools remained a prominent reality in the working-lives of many un(der)employed teachers in this study. The *Transition to Teaching* report (OCT, 2012) first brought attention pertaining to the volunteering activities of teachers inside of schools. According to the report, in 2010, 82% of new teacher graduates considered volunteering as a job search strategy. However, only about half of those did actually volunteer in their first year following their teacher education program. Those who did not volunteer cited financial circumstances as the main barrier to volunteering. In addition, volunteer times ranged substantially, from minimal commitments of just a few hours per week to individuals volunteering daily for months at a time.

Peace (2012) found similar results in her study of newly-certified, unemployed teachers in Ontario, noting that participants were volunteering primarily to enhance their job opportunities. Volunteering was perceived as a necessity to access the teaching profession and paid work as teachers. Hence, "While volunteering is not a guarantee of future employment, it remains a perceived mode of overcoming the barriers associated with contending in an intensely competitive labour market" (Pearce, 2012, p. 138). It appears as though volunteering in schools has become an increasingly salient practice for un(der)employed teachers to access work in Ontario.

For teachers in this study, volunteering was viewed primarily as instrumental in relation to access to teaching employment. While their discussions around volunteering included motivations for informal learning and improvement pedagogical practices—the impetus for such volunteerism remained rooted in securing connections, reference and thus, future paid employment opportunities. Hence, teacher-volunteerism for un(der)employed teachers

appeared to be understood as a job-search strategy and point of access into paid teaching employment, rather than a purely altruistic or developmental activity.

There has been a recent emergence of research concerning the connection between volunteering and the prospect of employment gains. In a Dutch study, Ruiters and De Graaf (2009) find that volunteering does “pay off”, with more support for social connections with “weak ties” contributing to better pay and higher status jobs rather than skills or learning obtained through volunteering. In an Austrian study, Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner (2007) found evidence that supported volunteering and higher wages, yet, Prouteau and Wolff (2005) did not find a significant wage increase for volunteers in France. In Canada, Day and Devlin (1998) found that volunteering does increase an individual’s earnings, with a 7% average increase. As they note, “If volunteer work leads to increased incomes, why then do we not observe more people engaging in this activity? The explanation lies partly in the fact that volunteering is a costly activity—in terms of time and, often, financially as well” (p.1190). Volunteerism then appears to be increasingly connected to labour market opportunities and career development.

According to Wilson (2012), in places such as Canada, it has now become widely believed that volunteering can increase the chances of obtaining a postsecondary degree and a better job. This idea “is probably responsible for the recent increase in volunteering among high school and college-age students. And volunteering for career-related motives certainly is more common in Canada...where the educational credentialing system is highly sophisticated” (p. 200). Schugurensky, Slade, and Luo (2005) in their study of Canadian immigrants, found that they engaged in volunteer work extensively, particularly as professionals from various backgrounds, in order to gain valuable “Canadian work experience” and match their skills with employment. As Handy et al (2010) note, “in countries, such as in North America where resume building is a normative expectation, [a] large number of students—even if they are unaware of it or loathe to admit it—respond with high rates of volunteering” (p. 518).

Similarly, unpaid work in the form of volunteering or internships has become increasingly ubiquitous in recent years across the labour market—particular for new entrants in the labour

market. In what has increasingly been dubbed as the “intern economy” over the past decade (Perlin, 2012), internships appear to be on the rise globally, particularly for students and young workers seeking employment in the professional sectors (Curiale, 2010; Dehas; 2011; Dobby, 2011; Perlin, 2012; Steffen, 2010; Yamada, 2002). Internships have grown substantially in North America and have become normalized as a means of gaining experience and access into many white-collar occupations (Zieba, 2012). It has been estimated that there may be upwards of 300,000 unpaid interns across Canada (Langille, 2014).

Un(der)employed teachers in this study who were volunteering appeared to exhibit many similarities to unpaid internships in relation to labour market access. According to Coulter (2014b), three central problems may be related to such teacher-volunteers inside of schools. As a labour issue, the presence of an increasing number of teacher-volunteers creates the possibility that they are carrying out the work and responsibilities of employed teachers. From a critical position, the presence of volunteers may subvert and possibly replace paid staff with volunteers. As an equity issue, volunteering as a means of gaining access into or towards further employment opportunities poses several remains problematic. If the trend of volunteerism continues, then volunteering in schools risks becoming a *de facto* requirement for entry into the teaching profession. This may privilege individuals who have the resources to volunteer over other candidates. Un(der)employed teachers unable to volunteer risk becoming even more marginalized from the teaching profession and such perspectives were salient in the experiences of interviewed teachers in this study. As a policy issue, having qualified teachers working in schools with no remuneration may also be critically viewed as a means of exploiting unpaid labour as well as the underfunding of public education in the province. As indicated in this study, teacher-volunteerism has emerged as a result of the growing oversupply of teachers in Ontario and appears to be directly related to access and employment. As Pearce and Pollock (2012) note:

Broader structural solutions are needed in Ontario in order to correct the imbalance in the teacher employment market. Ultimately, the “need” to volunteer should not have to exist to gain access to the profession, as it can and does lead to marginalization and exploitation...Many struggle with fitting volunteer work around other paid work in order

to stay financially stable; others are involved in menial tasks and are alienated from school communities. (p. 247)

The net effect of volunteerism serves to increase the precarity of un(der)employed teachers as they appeared to be required to devote their time and resources into efforts that may, or may not, contribute to future employment opportunities. The problem of volunteerism points to growing challenges for workers in a tertiary economy (Standing, 2013) and the ways in which precarious work leads many workers into low-wage or no-wage work as they seek to escape un(der)employment (Standing, 2014b). Un(der)employed teachers appeared to be engaged in a large amount of work, but remain unable to secure enough employment. Such an arrangement breeds feelings of pessimism, frustration and anger (Standing, 2011; 2015ab) as well as an internalized docility and passivity for teachers who find themselves largely in the position of supplicant within the workforce hierarchy (Pollock, 2008; Standing, 2014b).

Precarious Work to Escape Precarity?

With public school boards being the largest employer of teachers in the province, alongside precarious employment in other teaching-related jobs, the goal of FTPC teaching remained the singular, immediate goal for un(der)employed teachers. The prospect of employment, job, skill and reproduction and representation security (Standing, 2011) can all still be found within the FTPC teaching model in Ontario. As such forms of employment and economic security continue to decline and disappear for many workers (Lewchuk et al., 2015), un(der)employed teachers appeared to “rationally” continue to seek permanent teaching positions regardless of the large costs associated with obtaining such positions. Being a FTPC teacher in Ontario appears to be a “good job” (Kalleberg, 2011), particularly as labour market restructuring continues to primarily drive growth in “bad jobs” in Ontario (Ontario Common Front, 2015).

Such considerations lead into a discussion surrounding agency of un(der)employed teachers interviewed within the current world of work. Firstly, teachers working in nonstandard arrangements inside of school boards are still able to possibly negate precarity through relatively strong wages and regulatory protections not typically offered in the private sector. Nevertheless, as witnessed through the importance of maintaining support structures,

remaining contingently employed for extended periods was not always viable without familial, partner or state support for many un(der)employed teachers. Secondly, un(der)employed teachers in this study continued to engage in nonstandard teaching work as STOs and LTOs, even for years on end, because the opportunity cost of such engagement remained worthwhile. Hence, for many teachers, obtaining a FTPC position—and the salary, benefits and job security that it entails—still remained worth the time, risk and investment that it would require.

However, the choice to remain engaged in nonstandard teaching for years on end can also be understood as defined by the structural conditions of the labour market. Un(der)employed teachers, including those in this study, likely would not “choose” to engage nonstandard work arrangements, nor would they engage in activities such as extensive volunteerism or credentialism if they did not feel compelled to do so. Such teachers continued to both live and work precariously (Standing, 2011), as they sought economic security, job security and a social income. Hence, STO and LTO teaching positions more often than not, remained understood as a precarious form of employment, but offered more hope in obtaining a “good job” and career as a FTPC teacher in a publicly funded school board in Ontario in the future.

Summary

The working-lives of both unemployed and underemployed teachers were, overall, defined by employment precarity and precarious work. While teachers’ work and employment differ significantly from other groups of marginalized workers who struggle with precarity in Ontario (Fudge, 2006; Law Commission of Ontario, 2012; Lewchuk et al., 2013; Vosko, 2006), un(der)employed teachers nevertheless engaged with precarious work and labour in relation to teaching and education. In this way, they can be viewed as a distinct group of teachers within the world of teaching. Such features of precarity were highlighting not only in the manner in which un(der)employed teachers experienced precarious work—but also in the ways in which they experienced limited control, unclear identities and negative emotions throughout their working-lives as teachers in Ontario.

The Control of Un(der)employed Teachers

Un(der)employed teachers in this study lead busy and complex working-lives. While defined by unemployment or underemployment, they typically remained engaged in a significant amount of work. Such paid and unpaid activities, particularly work-for-labour, served to further alienate un(der)employed teachers from teaching while increasing their precarity as they remained largely without control in their working-lives.

Demanding Working-Lives

The image of the idle unemployed—the individual worker who cannot find paid work and thus has little else to do but wait for employment opportunities (Jahoda, 1982) was not evident in the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in this study. Such teachers, having typically earned at least two post-secondary degrees if not more educational credentials, described continually engaging in many forms of work, paid and unpaid, and learning as they sought to obtain employment. Often, this sort of work was directly related to improving their chances of obtaining paid work.

According to Standing (2011, 2014) this sort of “work-for-labour” has become increasingly common as precarious forms of employment continue to grow. Thus, un(der)employed teachers engaged in a variety of unpaid work activities such as volunteering, as well as formal and informal learning to upgrade, retrain and improve their employability. Several teachers in this study had returned to university in order to do a Master’s degree, and work towards gaining credentials while temporarily insulating themselves from the congested teacher labour market. Other forms of work included continually applying for available jobs, editing and writing resumes and cover letters which were differentiated for each employer, going to employment agencies for advice and guidance, and ensuring that they were able to successfully complete mean-tested Employment Insurance claims. Such work does not include the unpaid care work often done in the family or household (Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013).

While this study relied on interviews with un(der)employed teachers and did not observe what they “did” on a day-day basis, from a broad definition of work, un(der)employed teachers appeared to be working substantial hours, both for instrumental and reproductive purposes (Standing, 1999). Yet, they still exhibited the characteristics of remaining un(der)employed and experienced the contours of precarity, as they remained unable to secure full-time permanent positions inside of schools. Hence, teachers in this study were working—occasionally as teachers, part-time as tutors, completing additional qualification courses, volunteering at schools—as well as managing their personal lives and households, children and any other commitments they might have. Hence, un(der)employed teachers, such as those in this study, may be engaged in a substantial amounts of work, but work that is not always compensated or treated as paid labour (Standing, 2011).

In the commodified market society, idleness has become increasingly vilified, as economic risk has been continually downloaded onto individuals (Beck, 2000; Standing, 2009a; 2011). Workers are expected to be in a constant state of “work” which Standing (2011, 2013) refers to as “tertiary time” reflecting the commodification of leisure time. As a result of tertiary time, work-for-labour and precarious work, individuals face a precarization of the mind (Standing, 2013). For those in the precariat, a constant state of insecurity entails that they remain unsure and uncertain what they should be doing—how they should be spending their time—in order to achieve greater economic security. They do not know how they should be retraining, networking, volunteering or “productively” utilizing their time. They understand that they need to be working, but they do not know what work needs to be done (Bauman, 2000). Hence, their free time is commodified into work, rather than leisure. Thus, work-for-labour becomes more pronounced, as demands from both employers and the state increase as workers scramble to secure security. As Standing (2013) describes:

The point of most relevance here is the systemic blurring of work and labor. The strongest trend is a growth of “work-for-labor,” done to enhance “employability” and to function as a flexible worker. Time in labor may be declining, modestly, but time in work-for-labor is mounting. We are in near-constant panic; since there is no standard of excellence, no amount of work-for-labor makes us feel secure. (p. 11)

Un(der)employed teachers in this study reflected such a discourse—engaging in large amounts of work such as professional development in the form of formal learning (Additional Qualification courses), networking and dropping off business cards for teachers, and volunteering extensively inside of schools. In doing so, they attempt to gain control over their working-lives and careers as teachers. Hence, un(der)employed teachers faced numerous challenges with controlling their time. Such challenges arose in relation to the nature of occasional teaching, other employment arrangements, multiple job holding, erratic and unpredictable scheduling, unpaid work and work-life balancing. Such issues present challenges not only for economic security, but also for worker anxiety, mental health and wellbeing (Ashman & Gibson, 2010; Lewchuk, Clark, & de Wolff, 2011; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King, & Polyani, 2003). Unemployment also does not necessarily indicate an abundance of leisure time, as work-for-labour demands that workers such as un(der)employed teachers attempt to improve their employability and spend time and resources actively seeking out paid employment opportunities.

Leisure Deficit

As Standing (2011, 2013) and others (Lewchuk et al., 2015) have pointed out, it is those workers in the salariat or permanent, full-time employment relationships, who are often privileged with more leisure time. Lacking leisure time affects workers negatively in various ways including negative social determinants of health, and prevents individuals from democratic engagement and citizenship. Such a leisure crunch (Standing, 2013) is concerning for other reasons, such as health and wellness and the inability to engage in conspicuous consumption to promote economic growth (Veal, 2004). Thus, workers in precarious work arrangements may suffer from the negative consequences associated not only with a lack of time structure and schedule consistency, but also leisure time. Due to the teacher oversupply and labour market, un(der)employed teachers believed that they had little control over their careers. This lack of control, evident in the current working-lives of teachers interviewed, also extends into the future as well. Such beliefs lead to further alienation and precarization of the mind (Standing, 2013, 2014b), where workers are put under time stress, believing they must be continually

working towards employment goals, such as FTPC for teachers, which are continually out of reach.

Such work and work-for-labour result in a time squeeze and leisure deficit, “without it offering a reliable road to economic security or an occupational career worthy of the name. Labour intensification and growing demands on time put the precariat at constant risk of being spent” (Standing, 2011, p. 130). This lack of control, or agency, was acknowledged by un(der)employed teachers with respect to their work and the limited opportunities available for permanent employment within the profession. The result becomes a leisure deficit, whereby time becomes perceived as unavailable, or else “those in the precariat feel guilty about devoting time to such activities, thinking they should be using their time in networking or in constantly upgrading their ‘human capital’, as all those commentators are urging.” (Standing, 2011, p. 128). Workers such as un(der)employed teachers in this study, become unable to exert control and develop a concerted strategy about how they should allocate their time, and into which activities to devote their energies. Thus, rather than idle, they become victims of a flexible labour market which requires them to be on standby whilst the structuring of time is taken away from them (Standing, 2011, 2013). Precariousness for un(der)employed teachers was then exacerbated by the uncertainty, insecurity and a lack of control over time they faced, due primarily to the structural conditions of the labour market.

Flexibility & Labour Mobility

The experiences of un(der)employed teachers in this study highlighted the need to increasingly embody the characteristics of being mobile, flexible and transient workers (Standing, 2009a). Due to the teacher oversupply, it appears as though a growing number of teachers are leaving the province or country altogether in order to find employment (OCT, 2014). The main reason for this remains rooted in the lack of available teaching positions in Ontario. It is therefore not surprising that teachers are choosing to leave to other jurisdictions where opportunities and working conditions may be stronger.

Nevertheless, teachers moving abroad for employment, temporarily or permanently, remains a form of “brain drain”, as public dollars have been invested into their education and training, only for them to leave. In addition, it should be noted that many of these teachers likely plan to return home at some point in the future, where they will once again likely re-enter the already saturated teacher labour market in Ontario— a situation which had occurred for 3 teachers in this study. Thus, while such teachers are moving abroad due to their employment situation, this phenomenon likely will not alleviate the issue of teacher un(der)employment in Ontario in either the short or long term.

While measures which ensure fair hiring practices and which emphasize seniority have been enacted with the intention of promoting greater fairness and equity in the hiring process, Regulation 274/12 appears to impose a type of “precarity trap” (Standing, 2011) upon teachers seeking permanent employment. This condition exists as un(der)employed teachers in this study sought a social income from their employment, which STO and LTO teaching employment can provide, but does not guarantee. Thus, un(der)employed teachers needed seek out employment elsewhere, typically on a part-time or casual basis. In this manner, their work as teachers inside of public schools forms their central or main employment, but not always the main source of income or wages. In this sense, un(der)employed teachers were expected to accept and maintain employment flexibility (Beck, 1992). They must accept teaching in school boards as their primary employer now, or else be penalized with diminished employment prospects moving forward. To leave a current school board position would result in a loss of seniority status, all but ensuring that a FTPC position would be out of reach in the short term..

While un(der)employed teachers were expected to accept flexibility in their employment relationships, they were not expected to be migratory, as seniority does not translate across school board jurisdictions in Ontario. Even movement within the province would result in a loss of seniority within a particular school district. Hence, navigating dual labour markets, or multiple job holding, becomes a typical feature of teacher un(der)employment, which is often a form of precarious employment (Lewchuk et al., 2013). With few employment alternatives readily available, the structural conditions of the labour market and macroeconomic climate

pushed many un(der)employed teachers into work which attempted to find a competitive advantage in order to possibly secure employment opportunities. Hence, while un(der)employed teachers do have the ability to relocate their labour into other provincial, national or international jurisdictions, where permanent teaching employment appears to be in greater demand—they are not always able to do so. Such limitations typically relate to other aspects of their personal lives including friends, family and partners. It also appears as though school board employers in Ontario do not readily value teaching experience outside of Ontario, which again increases the precarity of un(der)employed teachers who have left the province and desire to later re-enter the teacher labour market.

Summary

Un(der)employed teachers appeared to lack control in their working-lives. They remained unable to exert control in accessing teaching employment, as well as with the amount of paid employment opportunities they were able to secure. Opportunity costs associated with transitory teacher labour highlight challenges with career control and a precarity trap for un(der)employed teachers today. As Standing (2011) highlights, many workers are entering the labour market in disarray, with “many experiencing status frustration, feeling economically insecure and unable to see how to build a career. Their predicament in many countries is compounded by unemployment” (p. 77). Under the conditions of precarity, un(der)employed teachers must engage in large amounts of work, in order to find opportunities for paid work or employment. Additionally, with often erratic and unpredictable scheduling, issues surrounding time, leisure and work-life balance become more difficult to manage. Finally, unable to control the direction or progression of their careers, many un(der)employed teachers also displayed further alienation towards teaching as a career in Ontario.

The Occupational Identity(ies) of Un(der)employed Teachers

As outlined earlier, un(der)employed teachers in Ontario are proactive job seekers (OCT, 2014). They are more often than not engaged in various forms of work and labour. Such work involves both paid and unpaid activities, reflecting both the lack of “idleness” as well as work-for-labour. Thus, for unemployed as well as underemployed teachers in this study, the psychosocial impact of being without employment was not a perception of “job loss” as often understood in studies of unemployment (Watson, 2008a; Jahoda, 1982), but rather an understanding that “something was missing” from their working-lives. While it has been argued that this may be a feature of new capitalist culture, whereby workers no longer feel strong attachment to their labour (Sennett, 2011), interviews with un(der)employed teachers revealed a strong commitment to teaching, indicating a vocational element and ongoing identity work which tied their occupational goals to their identities.

Identity Work & Employment Status

As un(der)employed teachers navigated and attempted to define themselves within the world of teaching, the emphasis placed on employment status and position in the workforce hierarchy highlighted the role of power and the discursive composition of occupational identities (Bujold & Fournier, 2008; Pollock, 2008) and the meaning or title of “teacher” (Macdonald, 2006). As un(der)employed discussing throughout their interviews, a teacher is understood in relation to occupational status—specifically, a “real” teacher is typically understood to be a FTPC. While un(der)employed teachers discussed their occupational identities in personalized and heterogeneous ways, they nevertheless linked such identities to their employment. In this way, they could identify themselves as teachers, but often with several caveats surrounding their status as “real” teachers.

Such identity work points to a need for belonging inside of schools, or occupational communities. Belonging for teachers appears to be rooted in the need for a “space” inside of schools—such as having one’s own classroom or set of students, and to be a part of a school culture or community. That un(der)employed teachers continued to seek such places, rather

than positions, reflects the need for inclusivity and space as important elements of an occupational identity. Thus, for un(der)employed teachers in this study, it was not always the issue of income or insecurity which challenged the ways in which they felt about their work and working-lives—but rather the lack of *meaning* which their work as teachers invoked.

As Pollock (2008) notes, STO teachers are, often, invisible (p. 251). While such sentiments were also true for un(der)employed teachers in this study, such a conception was also contradictory due to their employment precarity. Un(der)employed teachers both appear to want to be noticed and gain recognition, while simultaneously do not want to stand out because of the risk of being perceived as a dissenter. Such a paradox defined the working-lives of many un(der)teachers interviewed, who sought recognition and acknowledgement of their skill and capabilities—along with networks, connections and recommendations which may enhance their social capital and employability (Chalikakis, 2012). However, conversely, they remained acutely aware that they must not make any acts which may be perceived as insubordinate to permanent staff such as teachers or school principals, which may potentially cause them to lose access to jobs or future employment.

In these ways, un(der)employed teachers generally understood the need to conform to the normative values of the schools and places that they were employed. Thus, they needed to exhibit a certain type of teacher identity—one which was distinct and perhaps “less than” FTPC teachers. These distinctive relations may “mean that the precariat consists of supplicants, dependent on discretionary hand-outs for survival” (Standing, 2014b, p. 971). Un(der)employed teachers needed to work towards obtaining positive networks and connections which may provide them with paid employment opportunities and, perhaps, FTPC employment in the future. Any negative signals to their employers could, potentially, result in a “black mark” against them and future employment possibilities. Thus, many un(der)employed teachers tacitly appeared to internalize that they lacked autonomy in the labour process due to their insecurity. Un(der)employed teachers then may have needed to identify or contend with a marginalized form of teacher identity as they often found themselves situated outside of their occupational communities.

The politics of disposability highlights the lack of power that un(der)employed teachers are able, or unable, to exert within the labour market dynamics which often defined the nature of their work. The neoliberal politics of disposability ultimately engenders and re-calcifies the doctrine of individualism—dissolving social bonds, communities and public spaces (Giroux, 2014b). When such fear pervades, individuals fear to lose what little they have gained. For un(der)employed teachers, such a reality appears to currently exist within their working-lives, as one small mistake, act of defiance or resistance could be met with punitive force. As Beck (1992, 2000) points out, in the risk-society, individuals are often left a step or two away from economic insecurity and precarity. Un(der)employed teachers understood, explicitly or implicitly, that due to their uncertainty and lack of job security, they are open to exploitation. As part of the employability narrative, they must simultaneously and continually present themselves as both passive and active members of the school or board community, if they wish to eventually secure employment.

Commodified Education & Educators

Attempting to meet the perceived needs of prospective employers and improve their own employability, un(der)employed teachers in this study had internalized that they needed to present themselves and their “image” to promote their own employment prospects. Today, as enterprising and entrepreneurial individuals, workers must actively display the qualities they believe will lead to improved employment outcomes (du Gay, 1996). Such emotional labour (Hoschild, 1983; Wharton, 2009) must be displayed both in the workplace, where for example, teachers and administrative staff may be visible, but also outside of the worksite—particularly in the community and increasingly in realm of social media. According to Standing (2013), for workers this manifests as,

To appease potential employers, they must be prepared to learn new tricks called skills, often by taking night classes or the equivalent, and must deploy more “emotional labor,” smiling more, paying more respect, and adhering to norm-based behavior at all times... the panopticon state means that actions anywhere can be communicated everywhere, including to current and prospective bosses. (p. 14)

Un(der)employed teachers believed that they needed to present themselves in accordance with the norms and values associated with a “good worker”. Moreover, they simultaneously and somewhat contradictory, needed to find ways in which to “brand” or differentiate themselves from the pack of un(der)employed teachers. To be noticed involved volunteering, networking and handing out business card to teachers who may request them in the future for daily STO work. Employers want to see “happy and attractive” workers (Standing, 2011). Hence, while workers remain un(der)employed, they are constantly reaffirmed with a discourse of disposability, where they are told that they are “lucky” to hold their current positions, since many others have not been so fortunate. Such affirmations, even when internalized into the logic of the market, can result in alienation as precarious workers, such as un(der)employed teachers here, felt themselves to be “lucky” but could not understand why.

Conflicting values such as these may further invoke status frustration, including feelings of overqualification. As Standing (2011) highlights,

The commodification of education also makes for disappointment and anger. The drive by the education system to improve ‘human capital’ has not produced better job prospects. An education sold as an investment good that has no economic return for most buyers is, quite simply, a fraud. (p. 67)

Commodified education and credentialism reflects a troubling trend where employers have offset the costs of employee training and professional development unto workers to train and retrain themselves in a flexible labour market (Pedaci, 2010). Such training and retraining, often under the guise of lifelong-learning, is a costly and time consuming activity, one which individuals must often bear and their own cost while providing no guarantee of future employment. As described earlier, un(der)employed teachers in this study readily accepted such conditions, being involved in many activities and formal credentialing in the hope of improving their relative employment outcomes. Much of the work that un(der)employed teachers assumed, primarily under the umbrella of work-for-labour, emerges as a result of their economic uncertainty and lack of clarity as to what types of work might best lead to paid employment opportunities. Thus, un(der)employed teachers engaged in volunteerism, credentialism, networking and other avenues as a means of gaining a “competitive edge” in

their careers, and over their peers. Nevertheless, without employment, particularly a FTPC, un(der)employed teachers continued to engage in identity work in becoming “Teachers”.

The Individualization of Precarity

With careerist intentions at the forefront as a result of a competitive labour market, un(der)employed teachers felt increasingly pressured to “upgrade” themselves. Failure to engage in such credentialism, along with other forms of work-for-labour, might signal to potential employers that they lacked the qualities of the “enterprising individual” (Maitra, 2011; Rose, 1996). In this way, new identity norms of entrepreneurial logic became infused with the discourses of employability for un(der)employed teachers (Vallas, 2012b). These values have become part of the individualistic revision of risks and protections for nonstandard workers, who face precarity and uncertainty throughout their working-lives (Bauman, 2007; Sennett, 1996; Verhaeghe, 2015). According to Pedaci (2010), such rhetoric holds:

A paradigmatic value; they represent the more visible expression of the decollectivization of risks and protections, of the recommoditization of work and private life, of the arising of uncertainty as a fundamental element of individual lifestyle. It is therein possible to observe the success of the “policy of uncertainty” that tends to produce individualized and apolitical contexts and tends to produce a “corrosion of character” and new forms of dominance. (p. 252)

As un(der)employed teachers highlighted, with unclear occupational identity, communities or status, as well as economic security, many teachers thus faced precarity, isolation and navigating the world of work individually. In doing so, their working-lives are also reimagined as an enterprise in itself, a “personal firm” (Lane, 2011), or as embodied commodities themselves (Webb, 2004). The brave new world of work and the personal branding movement relies upon an image of the individual worker who is “independent, resourceful, creative, and aggressive professional. This person is expected to be agile in a fluctuating job market, responsive to any opportunities, self-motivating, and self-promoting” (Lair, Sullivan & Cheney, 2005, p. 318). Moreover, Webb (2004) notes that, “More individualized accountability for labour market experience is taking place in the context of wider inequality between best and worst paid” (p. 735). From the view of the precariat, they are being constantly reminded that their

employment situations are due to their own personal failures and they, alone, must work harder in order to succeed (Lane, 2011; Standing, 2011). Such claims come from both employers and the state and have become more common in the neoliberal era with the downloading of personal risk and responsibility unto workers (Sennett, 1997, 2006; Baumann, 2007) manufacturing feelings of false consciousness and which leads to the erosion of occupational identities and the building of an occupational narrative (Standing (2015a).

It appears as though un(der)employed teachers viewed themselves as a “different kind” of teacher—perhaps in comparison to an earlier “class” of older teachers who they perceived to have enjoyed and benefitted immensely from a career in teaching that (it appears) offered—easy access, little debt, job security, strong compensation, enterprise benefits, job control and stability. With different relations of production and distribution, un(der)employed teachers in this study did not view themselves as the “same kind” of teachers of previous generations. Ironically, the generational tensions evident among un(der)employed teachers in this study did not necessarily emerge from age. Even older teachers in this study (in terms of age) held resentment towards other “older teachers”. The identity of being part of a different kind, class or generation was understood discursively through an understanding of unfairness between different groups, or “classes” of teachers; the “haves” and the “have-nots”. Such discourses reflect both the precarity of un(der)employed teachers as well as their marginal positions held in their occupational communities and in an increasingly polarized labour market (Kalleberg, 2011).

Summary

Un(der)employment challenged the ways in which teachers in this study understood their occupational identity within the teaching profession in Ontario. Un(der)employed teachers revealed a wide range of identities surrounding their work, employment and status within the teaching profession. Continually attempting to secure the normalized position of a teacher by obtaining a FTPC in Ontario’s publicly funded schools, un(der)employed teachers embodied the discourse of entrepreneurialism and commodified much of their work and working-lives in the hope of becoming a “Teacher”. Subsumed under the discourse of employability,

un(der)employed teachers often struggled through un(der)employed individually, believing that they lacked a supportive occupational community. Finally, such identity work inevitably lead towards a growing sense of frustration with teaching and the challenges associated with obtaining employment in Ontario.

The Emotional Labour of Un(der)employed Teachers

The experiences of unemployment and underemployment are rarely positive (Watson, 2008a), and un(der)employed teachers in this study were no exception. Interwoven throughout their experiences are the emotions and the emotional labour that they confronted as they struggled through un(der)employment. Such feelings connect directly with their experiences within the intersections of precariousness, insecurity, control and occupational identity

Precarious Subjectivities

Un(der)employed teachers' emotions surrounding their continued un(der)employment and poor employment prospects, in addition to precarious work engagement, unclear occupational identities and marginalization from the teaching world served to largely augment feelings of frustration, resentment and anger. Throughout the interviews, teachers by and large articulated feelings of dissatisfaction and overall negative feelings towards their current employment positions and the teaching profession. While such sentiments differed from one individual to the next, the emotions of un(der)employed teachers may be generally described as angry and frustrated. However, they were unclear as to where this anger or frustration should be directed and for what purpose, if any.

The outlets for such feelings thus differed, and while un(der)employed teachers interviewed did blame themselves for their un(der)employment, their frustrations were more commonly directed outward. For instance, faculties of education in Ontario were blamed for their role in manufacturing the teacher surplus and for selling teachers a "false bill of goods" (Standing, 2011). School boards were blamed for their unclear and obfuscated hiring practices.

Organizations such as the OCT along with federations of labour were also largely viewed

unfavorably, as they appeared to represent different interests rather than a commitment to supporting un(der)employed teachers. Altogether, un(der)employed teachers viewed their situations as unfair, and few positive emotions emerged from such experiences. Yet, glimmers of resilience and hope remained that one day they would be able to achieve permanent positions as teachers inside of schools. Such resilience meant that most un(der)employed teachers expected to continue to pursue their careers as teachers in Ontario. Nevertheless, the anger and frustration born out of their un(der)employment pointed to intergenerational tensions as well as the feeling that their working-lives are distinct from their predecessors in Ontario.

Intergenerational Equity

The term intergenerational equity generally refers to arguments surrounding the fair and equitable usage of resources between generations (Doran, 2008) grounded in the premise that successive generations will be better off than their predecessors. More recently, intergenerational equity has become a symbolic concept from which to identify and critically interrogate the manner in which resources (primarily economic) are being distributed in an increasingly unequal and inequitable manner (Standing, 2011; 2014) across generations. As Bauman (2012) argues:

After several decades of rising expectations, the present-day newcomers to adult life confront expectations falling – and much too steeply and abruptly for any hope of a gentle and safe descent. If there was bright light at the end of the tunnels their predecessors passed through, there is now a long, dark tunnel stretching behind every one of the few flickering, fast fading lights trying in vain to pierce through the gloom. With prospects of long-term unemployment and long stretches of “rubbish jobs” well below their skills and expectations, this is the first postwar generation facing the prospect of downward mobility. (para 2)

For un(der)employed teachers in this study, there was a perception of unfairness running through their experiences with other teachers and educators. Many teachers believed that they had been treated unfairly, by both a system which appeared to be working against them, as well as by others who they believed had allowed if not promoted their work and employment to be readily exploited. In this way, the reality of precarious work cannot be readily

disconnected from growing economic inequality and class-based tensions arising from the haves and “have-nots” (Standing, 2015a; Kalleberg, 2011). In this system of “winners” and “losers”, or insiders and outsiders, professional solidarity is eroded as anger and frustration is born out of continued disenchantment and becomes directed at others within the same community. For those in the precariat, such as many un(der)employed in this study, anger becomes channeled against those in the salariat (FTPC teachers), envious of the social income and entitlements which appear to be increasingly disappearing for themselves. In effect,

The few who do “win” can see the outcome as validating their belief in self and structure and, especially when combined with the attitudes of “non-caring” “omnipotent self-sufficiency” and a belief in hierarchy, reinforce neoliberal discourse about the other as unworthy and deserving to lose. For those who do lose, the scenarios are different. If the neoliberal attitude of “self-responsibilisation” is maintained, then “coming face to face with failure” can lead to “scathing self-recriminations”. Alternatively, resentment against a structure of opportunity that is now clearly recognized as unfair is likely. Anger may be directed specifically at those in the securiat who presently hold, and are gate-keepers of, the kinds of positions they seek. (Neilson, 2015, p. 196)

Intergenerational tensions are bred under the prevailing socioeconomic conditions which appear to, increasingly, place limits on upward mobility on many un(der)employed teachers in Ontario. Thus, opportunities for economic security and occupational practice are believed to be disappearing, which then foster both anomie and anger amongst those who are unable to achieve “success” within their work. Dismal prospects for employment, compounded by demands for possibly exploitive unpaid labour and possibly value-less credentials serve to perpetuate such emotions. These feelings surrounding perceived intergenerational inequities portrayed by un(der)employed teachers, displayed strong similarities to the anger as understood by Standing (2011) amongst the precariat.

As participants in this study discussed, it remains unclear as to which activities will possibly yield greater earnings or future employment security. Today, many, if not the majority, of workers will eventually enter, or be “bumped down” into jobs which do not require high qualifications in the first place (Standing, 2011). Understood generationally, many young workers entering the labour market today in places such as Ontario face the imminent reality of

unemployment, underemployment and precarious employment (Tiessen, 2014). In Canada, *Generation Squeeze*, an advocacy/lobby organization, argues that young workers are increasingly being squeezed—by mounting student debts, lack of good jobs, rising child care costs, unaffordable housing, lack of time and anxiety over public debt and environmental change (Generation Squeeze, 2015). As Kershaw (2015) argues, “Our study reveals that Canadian governments spend between 2.9 and 3.9 times more per person age 65+ than per person under age 45: \$33,321 - \$40,152 compared to \$10,406 - \$11,614.” (p. 16). Such discrepancies reflect the socioeconomic vulnerability of younger workers (Geoby, 2013).

The perception of generational inequities has been increasingly visible in recent years, and tensions continue to compound as precarity and precarious work continues to be the dominant socioeconomic reality for “younger” workers. New generational discourses for such workers have emerged in relation to their precarious socioeconomic working lives in Canada (CBC, 2012; Donegan, 2013; Foster, 2012; Grant & McFarland, 2012; Perez & Periera, 2015; Pomeroy & Handke, 2015; Weng, 2013). Throughout their interviews, un(der)employed teachers displayed feelings of frustration, largely directed towards teachers and the teaching profession.

Intergenerational inequities were perceived as being very real, where newer workers, such as many un(der)employed teachers, held higher levels of education and credentials in comparison to other members in the same occupational community, yet do not benefit from the same employment status and accorded the same benefits. Intergenerational fracturing within the teaching profession may occur as teachers seeking employment today do not readily identify with a “different” generation of teachers which currently occupy most of Ontario’s classrooms. Such perspectives were evident in both “younger” and “older” teachers in this study.

Nevertheless,

Youth’s disarray in the labour market has been compounded by its alienation from the main mechanism for venting frustration and for exercising Voice in bargaining for a less precaritized future. The strengthening of entitlements for regular employees, a twentieth-century achievement of unions and social democratic movements, has led to hostility towards unions by the young precariat. They see unions as protecting privileges of older employees, privileges they cannot anticipate for themselves. (Standing, 2011, p. 77-78)

In a system of winners and losers, haves and have nots, those on the outside will increasingly look for a way in, and as such, un(der)employed teachers may be swayed by populist measures which seek to provide new alternatives to teaching employment. Hence, the perspectives of “younger” workers, and alternative generational discourses, evident amongst un(der)employed teachers in this study, should be taken into consideration by labour organizations who seek to represent such teachers, both now and in the future.

Labour & Representation

As outlined earlier, many un(der)employed teachers revealed a general sense of apathy, ignorance and at times, overt disdain towards teacher federations (unions) in Ontario—including those currently represented by such labour organizations. Hence, while such concerns may be understood by the ontological manner in which labour organizations typically exist—to protect the interests of their membership—many underemployed teachers were members of a teacher federation. These occasional teacher locals are there to support their work, concerns and perspectives on employment. Yet, many un(der)employed teachers reflected estrangement from such organizations. This should be concerning, particularly to teacher unions, as they seek to continue to represent their membership and support public education in Ontario.

Un(der)employed teachers in this study, for the most part, displayed a definitive unawareness, if not altogether ignorance of understanding the role and function of labour organizations. Furthermore, such ambiguity appeared to be more salient amongst younger teachers in this study. This may be related to an ambiguity surrounding the role of labour or unions within the broader world of work and the perennial experience of contingent employment. As teachers (specifically but not exclusively younger teachers) went through their formal education and into teaching, the vast majority of jobs which they held appeared to be part-time, casual and contingent. Such work, particular in the field of education-work, appears to be rarely unionized or represented by any sort of collective agreement. What emerges from these experiences is a narrative of work and employment that is contingent, piecemeal and part-time and often underpaid—that is, precarious. Many teachers in this study, even as they moved into their late

20's and even into their 30's, had not experienced full-time permanent employment in the model of the SER and thus the experience of union membership or a unionized environment.

According to Standing (2011), the precariat largely views unions as a remnant from a former generation and very different economy, and whose interests do not clearly align with those in precarious forms of employment. Unions, still functioning on an insider/outsider model, continue to largely represent the interest of the declining working class and those in the salariat, rather than the precariat. While this is not the direct fault of many unions and labour organizations who have often sought to include nonstandard workers in their membership, overall, they have not been able to achieve this successfully in the neoliberal period. As un(der)employed teachers in this study appeared to indicate, their alienation from unions stems from a deep mistrust, or at least, a flawed understanding of organized labour.

Such perspectives emerged most prominently in relation to the issues of “double-dipping” and volunteerism discussed earlier. In both cases, these issues became a lightning rod for professional tensions and generational discourses to emerge from un(der)employed teachers being interviewed. Both cases became symbolic of occupational tensions and fracturing resulting from practices which un(der)employed teachers viewed unfavorably and which revealed to them the manner in which they were being mistreated if not altogether exploited by members of the same occupational community, and by those represented by the same labour organizations. These issues highlighted the precarity of un(der)employed teachers and their distinctive relations with education and educational labour. That un(der)employed teachers may not be supportive of their labour organizations is perhaps on the surface, not surprising. For example, as Henderson, Robins & Wormald, (1980) noted, unemployed teachers in the U.K held low expectations of their unions. Nevertheless, such views should be taken into consideration by teacher labour organizations in Ontario as they consider the changing nature of work, and possibly, of their membership.

As Heron (1996) argues, moving forward, Canadian labour organizations need to become more responsive to the defining challenges facing a growing number of workers, if not all workers.

Unions must also seek to proactively bargain and defend against the cheapening and intensification of labour, along with recognition the changing composition and nature of the working class as the vestiges of the welfare state continue to erode. Thus, the central challenge for the labour movement remains “to acknowledge this recomposition of working-class life in Canada and to develop effective strategies for organization and representing the new workers and linking them to workers with better union protection” (p. 166). Such strategies include looking to the past to examples such as the Knights of Labor and International Workers of the World, who focused on inclusive and universal membership for transient workers moving between jobs, whilst being able to retain union membership. Thus, un(der)employed teachers should *feel* and *believe* that they are being included in a solidaristic labour community.

Similarly, Standing (2014b) calls for the need for labour to reinvent itself to represent precarious workers as:

Historically, the labour movement, if defined as the trades unions, has been a hugely progressive force. But now it must reinvent itself as a movement for representation of the precariat in all organs of the state and as a movement to promote dignifying work, not just decent labour. (p. 978)

Alternative views of worker organization and engagement are needed to represent workers in precarious employment arrangements and experiencing precarity (Cohen, 2013; Cohen & de Peuter, 2013; Coulter, 2014a; Kojima, 2013) such as un(der)employed teachers. Worker representation can come not only from labour organizations proper, but also from “the altruism of better-off workers who act in solidarity with those living marginally” (Warskett, 2007, p. 293). In both the public and private sectors, “it remains possible that a shift in tactics from business unionism to social or social mobilization unionism will have positive outcomes for organized labour” (Krahn, Hughes, Lowe, 2015, p. 367). As Jackson (2010) notes, “There is still substantial worker support for unions as a vehicle for improving pay and benefits and, even more important, for representation of workers in the workplace” (p. 241). Finally, efforts in building bridges and networks across education workers throughout Ontario may be beneficial for all organizing and positively engaging educators across the province—including un(der)employed teachers.

Summary

The experience of un(der)employment was a difficult one for teachers in this study, instilling a range of emotions which tended to anger and frustrate teachers who often battled such emotions for several years on end as they continued to seek economic security and FTPC employment. Such feelings brought about tensions with other teachers and within the world of teaching in Ontario, resulting in intergenerational tensions and discourses surrounding equity and fairness. Such emotional labour, stemming from un(der)employment, was also directed at teacher federations of labour, who were perceived as doing very little to support un(der)employed teachers in the contemporary world of work. The emotions of teachers in this study thus revealed the complex nexus of work and emotion within their working-lives and throughout their struggles with un(der)employment over time.

CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSION

This study has explored the working-lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario. Through qualitative interviews with 24 teachers, the experience of unemployment and underemployment was found to be largely characterized by precarious work and precarity in Ontario. The voices and experiences of un(der)employed teachers, along with changing nature of work and employment, appear to demonstrate new relationships and relations with teaching in Ontario.

Revisiting the Research

What were the working-lives of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario? From the experiences of teachers in this study, the answer to this question appears to lie within the dimensions of precarious work. The voices of teachers revealed that the experience of un(der)employment was challenging, complex and contextual. Nevertheless, the reality of precarity remained evident throughout their working-lives in Ontario at this time.

How did un(der)employed teachers experience precarious work?

Un(der)employed teachers experiences with teaching to date have been relatively critical. Access to paid employment opportunities remained difficult for many of these teachers, while for others, even securing access into the profession have proven insurmountable. Thus, un(der)employed teachers in this study did not experience precarity in a homogeneous manner, and their experiences remained largely connected to their current positions within the workforce hierarchy. They continued to seek to climb this hierarchy as FTPC teaching Ontario's public school boards is considered the ideal place to work, with the private sector of education work being marred by precarious employment. Lastly, their experiences were strongly influenced by the nature of their support structures in place. For many un(der)employed teachers, navigating the world of teaching work in Ontario would not possible without such supports—highlighting the precarious nature of the teacher labour market and the marginalization of many teachers in the profession throughout Ontario.

Being un(der)employed, teachers did not solely struggle with a lack of paid work. Negotiating precarity and un(der)employment was a process, with its own set of challenges, tensions and contradictions. With respect to precarious work, un(der)employed teachers continued to engage in uncertain and unpredictable STO, LTO employment, unpaid volunteerism, as well as low-waged work in the private education sector as they sought full time positions, specifically FTPC teaching. While teachers continued to pursue teaching careers, they engaged in work which reflected several dimensions of precarious employment. However, the pursuit of such work, in the hope of future employment in the form of FTPC, was continually engaged in precisely because it would allow teachers to escape precarity if obtained. Thus, the opportunity cost lies in the fact that while their working-lives are now marked by precariousness, if they are able to finally secure FTPC employment as teachers, they believe that they will leave their precarity behind.

How did un(der)employed teachers control their working-lives?

Un(der)employed teachers could assert control over their working-lives in several ways. They could easily quit and exit the teacher labour market, and move into different jobs, fields or careers. They could also move or relocate to jurisdictions which hold more favourable employment conditions and greater demand for teachers. They could also retrain themselves, such as acquiring French language competency and conceivably significantly improve their employment outcomes. Yet, if such are able to exert such control, why did they remain precariously employed?

It appears as though many teachers cannot easily exit teaching, and as indicated by teachers in this study, their degrees and credentials do not appear to hold much currency in the labour market outside of teaching. They aspire to work as teachers inside of classrooms and have obtained credentials in order to do so. Un(der)employed teachers also seemingly cannot easily relocate their labour due to personal reasons such as families and partners combined with current hiring regulations which penalize them for leaving Ontario school boards, making it difficult to return to teaching in the future. Finally, it appears as though they cannot easily

acquire French-language skills due to the high cost associated with such learning along with personal preference to teach in other subject areas for which they are already qualified.

Outside of employment, un(der)employed teachers appeared to lead busy lives, engaging in many forms of work and seeking to upgrade themselves in order to improve their employability. Thus, while defined as un(der)employed, such teachers remained engaged in much work. Nevertheless, challenges with both formal employment and other forms of work brought about work-life balance tensions, resulting in further precarity in their working-lives. Unable to exert strong control over their working-lives, un(der)employed teachers largely saw themselves as detached, or outsiders, in their identities as teachers and within the teaching profession in Ontario.

How did un(der)employed teachers understand their occupational identity?

Under the conditions of precarity and uncertainty, un(der)employed teachers could not always afford to remain in their positions for extended periods of time. With significant costs associated with limited earnings, diminished future earnings along with the potential for employment opportunities—teaching will likely decline as a possible career option for many un(der)employed teachers. Yet, as teachers in this study and others have noted (OCT, 2014), the commitment to teaching in Ontario remains strong. There is a vocational dimension which must be considered, one in which provides the impetus for teachers to continue to seek work as educators regardless of the employment conditions. From this perspective, permanent teaching positions are desirable not for their pay and benefits, but for the opportunity to have one's own classroom and students. Nevertheless, teaching in Ontario also appears to be becoming an increasingly polarized profession—one in which the “have's”, such as members of the salariat (Standing, 2011), continue to be employed under a SER model, with strong forms of security and regulatory protections. The “have nots”, such as teachers who in this study, understand themselves as outsiders looking in, marginalized by their limited status, entitlements and lack of control of their teaching positions.

Attempting to assert their own identity(ies) as teachers, un(der)employed teachers interviewed found that their employment status and teaching identity remained closely linked. The normative model of teaching under a FTPC employment model remains most closely associated with the idea or identity of a teacher. Un(der)employed teachers' identity work coalesces with their efforts to secure permanent positions inside of Ontario's public schools. Thus, they remained cautious and at times fearful, occupying marginalized positions in which they do not want to "step on anyone's toes" because of possible reprisal from employers. Yet, simultaneously, un(der)employed teachers seek greater recognition and status within schools in order to secure paid employment opportunities and hopefully FTPC employment in the future. The occupational identity(ies) of un(der)employed teachers in this study were then diverse, complex, multifaceted and multidimensional, however, were still strongly tied to defined employment relationships.

What emotions did un(der)employed teachers experience in their working-lives?

Un(der)employed teachers were often left frustrated and angry with their experiences with un(der)employment and precarious work. However, they remain unsure where to vent such feelings or at whom it should be directed. Aware of both their own agency as well as the structural dynamics of the labour market, un(der)employed teachers placed blame upon themselves as well as simultaneously directed blame towards other actors and institutions. This tension becomes difficult to reconcile, and such emotional labour becomes itself a part of un(der)employment and the experience of precarity.

From such positions, many un(der)employed teachers become angry and disillusioned with teaching, forming perspectives surrounding unfairness, differential treatment and intergenerational inequities. Overt feelings surrounding aspects of their working-lives such as overqualification and exploitation resulted in emotions which pointed to a recomposition of values towards teaching. As discussions surrounding the role of school boards and labour organizations highlighted, un(der)employed teachers do not appear to support many of the organizations which were traditionally meant to represent them.

Based on the quantitative evidence available (OCT, 2015; 2014) and qualitative perspectives such as those offered in this study, the argument for a “lost generation” of teachers remains salient and concerning. The nature of teaching work today and challenges with precarious forms of work will likely lead to significant attrition from those teachers who remain un(der)employed perennially. Indeed, this appears to have already been occurring, as approximately 20-25% of new teachers are considering leaving the province or Canada altogether in search of employment (OCT, 2014). While employment prospects may begin to improve with the worst possibly now over (OCT, 2015), in the near future, the labour market will likely remain challenging in Ontario. Under such conditions, many un(der)employed teachers will likely continue to perceive their work and employment unfavorably.

Future Research Directions

Recent graduate level work (including this study) conducted in Ontario beginning with Pollock (2008) and following her lead have examined the contours of work for teachers in nonstandard employment arrangements (Brock & Ryan, 2016; Chalikakis, 2012; Pearce, 2012; Pearce & Pollock, 2012). Such research points to the changing nature of teacher work and labour in the contemporary era—as full-time permanent teaching positions become increasingly elusive for a growing number of teachers in Ontario. With the possibility that nonstandard forms of teaching work and employment are growing, both in Ontario and across Canada, researchers should continue to explore the changing nature of work in relation to K-12 educational labour.

As noted in this study, little is known regarding the work of teachers and other education professionals in the private education-sector in Ontario (Quirke, 2009) and what un(der)employed teachers discussed in this study were substantially different working conditions in comparison to teachers employed by public school boards. The apparent lack of living wages, enterprise benefits, working conditions and regulatory protections in such jobs appears to indicate precarious employment relationships. Research into the working conditions throughout the “education industry” in Ontario would be enlightening.

More data surrounding the employment outcomes, average earnings, days of work, and the number of STO teachers and for how long teachers have continued in STO or LTO positions would all be of interest to the further study of teacher un(der)employment. Painting a more accurate statistical portrait across the province would allow for not only new research avenues, but for policymakers to engage with, and hopefully attempt to, tackle the issue of teacher un(der)employment from more informed, evidence- based perspectives.

Theoretical Contributions

As Vallas & Prener (2012) note, by exploring the contours of precarity and nonstandard forms of work, we may “begin to explore the normative orientations and discursive influences in which post-Fordist workplaces take root” (p. 348). Similarly, Cranford & Vosko (2006) point to the need for research examining the experiences of precarious workers from a qualitative lens. Across Canada, the erosion of the SER and the (re)emergence of the precarious employment relationship in a variety of industries and occupational groups has been noted (Longhurst, 2014). While varied jobs and occupations contain vast differences in the nature of their work, normative values and occupational differences—overall, it appears as those many workplaces are becoming more precarious (Standing, 2011). This study provides one such qualitative perspective on the working-lives of teachers in relation to precarious work and the changing nature of work and employment. Placed conceptually under Standing’s (2011) precariat model, un(der)employed teachers reflected many of the experiences, concerns and subjective understandings of precarious work and the experience of precarity today.

Other than the work of Sagrigrolu (2013) exploring the case of precarious teachers in Turkey, this is perhaps the first study which has explored the work of teachers in relation to the theoretical dimensions of precarious work, precarious employment and the experience of precarity. Interestingly, both studies were conducting as graduate level theses and reveal similarities in the experiences of precarity for educators in very different contexts. Such connections may support Standing’s (2011) precariat thesis, which suggests that the experience of precarious workers share many commonalities across the globe as the precariat becomes the dominant socioeconomic reality for workers, including teachers.

Finally, the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario point to emergence of new modes, modalities and forms of engagement with teaching. That is, un(der)employed teachers appear to hold distinctive relations with teaching. Un(der)employed teachers engage with teaching employment in different ways, marked by features of precarious employment rather than a standard employment relationship. Working and living insecurely, they are expected to be flexible and transient in order to secure paid employment opportunities. Such relations with production are markedly different that full-time, permanent teaching staff. In terms of distribution, un(der)employed teachers rely on income generated largely from wages available from teaching employment. Often also inundated with debt, such teachers often do not have access to benefits or any other non-wage benefits. Finally, un(der)employed teachers appear to also hold distinctive relations with the state, as they often must assume the perceived role of supplicant and submit to means tested social assistance. Taken together, un(der)employed teachers may be viewed as a different group or perhaps “a class in the making” as they experience new and distinctive relations with production, distribution and the state.

Recommendations for Practice & Policy

As noted, the teacher surplus is now expected to continue in Ontario for another decade (OCT, 2014). While the teacher oversupply has to date adversely impacted many teachers, including those in this study, measures may be undertaken to improve the working-lives of current and forthcoming teachers in the labour market. Such steps could include revisiting teacher education programs, the issue of teacher-volunteerism and Regulation 274/12 in Ontario.

Teacher Education Programs

For institutions of teacher education in Ontario, the socioeconomic realities which continue to define the working-lives of a growing number of teachers should be addressed. For several years now and expected to continue into the future (OCT, 2014), the majority of teachers who graduate from teacher educators programs in Ontario should expect to be employed in nonstandard teaching arrangements, if at all. As the length of time for teachers to secure

permanent employment is at this point often expected to be at least 5-7 years (OCT, 2014), new teachers should be better prepared by faculties of education for teaching work within the labour market realities which they are likely to experience (Brock & Ryan, 2016).

Teacher education programs continue to exist in a vacuum which largely neglect the current labour market realities for new teachers including unemployment, underemployment, labour mobility and the manner in which this context defines the work and lives of these teachers. Teachers need to be better prepared to face a world of teaching where they will likely be working as occasional teachers (STO and LTO), and in other nonstandard arrangements, especially at the beginning of their careers. Similarly, many teachers will likely continue to leave Ontario and teach in international jurisdictions. With precarious employment as a reality facing many new teachers, teacher education programs and curricula should be revisited to mirror such shifts in employment.

Beginning September 2015 students must now complete a two-year program in order to receive a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree in Ontario. With lowered enrolment quotas, the number of new teachers certified annually in Ontario will now decrease. However, the experience of precarity will not escape many new teachers, who will now typically devote six years of postsecondary education before receiving teaching credentials in the province. While this measure may be beneficial in a number of ways—improved teacher education, more time to reflect on pedagogical practice, and space to better understand key theoretical orientations and educational foundations—such a journey requires not only time but resources in the form of tuition and living costs—and teachers will still enter a competitive labour market.

With the extension of teacher education programs, aspiring teacher candidates will now spend more time than ever honing their craft inside of Ontario's schools. With this reality in mind, it should be considered that many other occupations compensate apprentices and trainees. Combined with the precarious labour market realities facing new teachers—taken together justify compensating teacher candidates with at least the minimum wage or else a stipend during their teacher education practicum placements. In many other occupations in Ontario,

apprenticeships and on the job training are acknowledged as integral components of the curriculum and provide value to the profession even while student-workers practice (Stewart, 2009) why then should teachers be considered any different?

Volunteerism & Unpaid Labour

Un(der)teachers who choose to engage in unpaid volunteering appear to do so primarily to improve their resumes or secure networks and connections. Such volunteerism appears to be an unintended consequence which has emerged from the teacher surplus in Ontario. That the provincial government, school boards or teacher labour organizations have not taken a position surrounding teacher-volunteerism has been surprising, and may reflect the negative sentiments that un(der)employed teachers held against such bodies. Particularly from the standpoint of organized labour, volunteerism by teachers may cloak wage theft, employee misclassification, and reliance on unpaid labour holds the potential to replace paid employee work and positions. If such volunteerism becomes a *de facto* requirement for entry into teaching employment, concerns over equity and access will continue, as not all teachers can afford to volunteer freely. Thus, teacher-volunteerism should be negated as much as possible for several professional, ethical and equity considerations.

Regulation 274/12

While the intent of Regulation 274/12 was to reduce perceived nepotism and promote “fair and transparent” hiring practice for teachers across Ontario, in practice, the regulation has been met with several unintended consequences (Directions, 2014). Teachers in this study expressed negative views of the regulation, primarily due to its emphasis on seniority and lack of mobility in the recognition of experience across school board jurisdictions. As Pollock, Wang and Hauseman (2015) highlight, school principals have also found the regulation unfavourable as they also believe that Regulation 274/12 negatively influences their work and is perceived “to reduce principals decision-making when hiring teachers; it prevents them from hiring teachers they believe are the best fit for their school context. Ultimately, not having the best teachers will have an impact on student learning” (p. 556). Similarly, school boards have also expressed

displeasure over the regulation as it restricts their local control over hiring teachers (Rushowy & Brennan, 2015), and even Ontario premier Kathleen Wynne has admitted that the regulation may have been an overreaction (Ferguson, Benzie & Rushowy, 2013).

Similarly, it should be recalled that not all parts of Ontario are experiencing a teacher surplus in the same ways, and some regions remain challenged in attracting and retaining teaching staff. Thus, incentives for teacher mobility across Ontario should be considered, along with the recognition of teaching experience across all school boards the province and some formal recognition of experience outside of Ontario. Regardless, Regulation 274/12, whether in place or not, does little to deal with the underlying structural problems surrounding teacher un(der)employment. Namely, the concerning lack of teaching positions available for those actively seeking employment.

Addressing Teacher Un(der)employment

To date, it appears as though most discussions surrounding the issue of teacher un(der)employment in Ontario have been concerning with teacher supply. Hence, while recent measures have been taken to curb the supply of new teachers in Ontario, demand side response are need to tackle teacher un(der)employment and improve the working-lives of teachers seeking meaningful employment and careers in teaching.

Supply Side Responses

For the most part to date, considerations surrounding the teacher surplus and growing teacher un(der)employment in Ontario have been met with reactions which focus on supply side responses. Such views dominate the policy atmosphere and continue to assert the need to reduce the number of new graduates from teacher education programs that may enter the labour market. Such beliefs have culminated with the introduction of a 2-year B.Ed degree program in the province of Ontario.

However, the large number of university graduates seeking teaching careers in Ontario also points to the recomposition of teaching as an extremely attractive career. With Ontario teacher

salaries some of the highest in the world (OECD, 2015) and the growth in precarious and nonstandard forms of employments throughout Ontario (Geoby, 2013; Tiessen, 2014), FTPC teaching in Ontario's public schools provides a strong degree of economic security. Such incentives may continue to push large numbers into teaching precarious employment and job polarization trends continue. In addition, many teachers who have left Ontario may at some point return and seek teaching employment in the province. Hence, while supply side measures may slightly negate teacher un(der)employment moving forward, what is required is a more concerted strategy which aims to create employment for teachers seeking work.

Demand Side Responses

The lack of teaching positions is not only a supply-side issue of too many graduates, but is due to a lack of demand as well. Ontario is facing declining student enrolments in most parts of the province, as well as challenges to school funding and school closures. A lack of demand will only perpetuate teacher un(der)employment regardless of supply-side measures being enacted.

Teacher retirements drive the majority of new FTPC teaching positions in Ontario each year (OCT, 2013) particularly as student enrolment numbers continue to decline (People for Education, 2012). Thus, one measure which could create effective demand for teachers would be to (re)incentive teacher retirements. Incentivizing retirements for teachers provided much of the impetus for the expected teacher shortage over 15 years ago (McIntyre, 1998) and the introduction of the "85" factor for teachers spurred retirements. Encouraging the retirement of teachers who are nearing the end of their teaching careers could possibly bring teacher supply-demand closer to balance.

The simplest way to improve teacher employment opportunities would be to demand what teacher labour organizations have perennially argued for—smaller class sizes and/or lower student-teacher ratios (ETFO, 2000). However, under the current political climate of austerity, class sizes in Ontario have been suggested to be increased (Drummond, 2012) and educational expenditures reduced. Thus, as there appears to be little political will at this movement in time to do so, the onus must then be placed on teachers, labour federations and the public to

demand government responses which would lead to supporting teacher employment. Smaller class sizes and lower student-teacher ratios do positively impact students (Schanzenbach, 2014) and should be continually emphasized to promote the creation of teaching jobs and therefore strong environments for student learning, achievement and success.

Supply-side responses neglect the broader socioeconomic dynamics and workplace realities facing workers today—specifically the growth in precarious employment and labour market precarity highlighted in this study. As noted, teachers do not appear to readily exit the teacher labour market due to a lack of comparable opportunities in the private sector or in other fields. While teachers’ commitment to teaching is in part due to occupational choice, it is also indicative of the lack of “good jobs” available for not only teachers, but for many workers (Kalleberg, 2011). The casualization of employment remains connected to the issue of teacher un(der)employment, as other employment alternatives are not readily available or accessible. Hence, workforce development model must include the employer/demand side of the labour market. This means that employers—in the public, private, labour and community sectors—all need to encourage creating more secure forms employment (Lewchuk et al., 2015, p. 144).

New Modalities of Teacher Work

Under a Keynesian model of full employment, the welfare state would commit to ensuring employment opportunities are readily available for all those willing to work. As the essentially singular employer of teachers, the Ontario government (through funding provided to school boards) remains the only viable employer for most teachers in the province. This reality, along with concerns over precarious employment, should provide the impetus for considerations towards full(er) employment for educators in the province. Below, new conceptualizations surrounding teacher work are outlined which consider the ways in which teacher employment may be structured to enhance employment opportunities in Ontario.

Embracing Labour Flexibility

Occasional teaching, in the form of STO and LTO teaching, remains an essential component of teacher work. However, involuntarily remaining in such positions for years on end can lead not

only to a lack of career progression, but also economic scarring in the form of lower future earnings and the erosion of skill and professional development. As Standing (2011) argues, a resistance to workplace flexibility in the early 1990s was a strategic error made on the part of labour organizations. If they had accepted flexibility as a concession towards improved employment security, more good jobs would have been secured in both the short and long term. New alternatives to teacher employment should be considered, specifically models of employment which emphasize employment and income security (Mulholland & Wallace, 2012; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2011) rather than simply the raising wages for a core group of employees at the expense of those on the outside—as has generally occurred in the post-Fordist era.

As of 2015, the Ontario College of Teachers holds a membership of approximately 250,000 actively certified teachers. This is more than twice the number of FTPC teaching positions available in the province. How many of these teachers remain unemployed or underemployed is unclear, but the numbers point to a potential reserve army of labour which could challenge the very foundations of teacher employment in Ontario along with the provision and delivery of public education. If state sponsored education is unable or unwilling to provide employment opportunities for un(der)employment teachers—then those teachers may begin to look elsewhere for employment possibilities. Understood as part of the precariat (Standing, 2011) such workers may grow increasingly disillusioned and angry, and seek out opportunistic alternatives that, on the surface, may appear to be in their best interests.

There a number of schemes under the umbrella of school choice which hold the theoretical potential to reduce teacher un(der)employment. Such arrangements, advocated under the ideology of the free market, assert the need to privatize and deregulate educational systems in order to promote innovation and competition between schools. Based on current supply-demand dynamics in Ontario, the surplus number of teachers would likely drive down teacher wages, but employment rates would likely increase. While school choice and privatized education schemes may hold promise to improve teacher employment, they also contain potential consequences for public education (Barlow & Robertson, 1994; Burch, 2009; Mindzak,

2015; Saltman, 2000; 2007; 2010). Nevertheless, un(der)employed teachers may drift towards such opportunism if other opportunities are not presented to them.

Work Intensification & Teacher Demand

In many ways, teachers in Ontario have managed to resist the forces of casualization, privatization and commodification. Thus, teaching in Ontario's public schools remains an attractive career, and precarious employment has not crept into the teaching workforce unilaterally. Nevertheless, the impetus for reimagining teacher work should come from classroom teachers themselves. A prevailing trend in the neoliberal era has been the intensification of work for a growing number of labourers (Reich, 2000). Work intensification broadly, refers to increases in time or workload within a given job. This could be a result of "doing more" (extra roles, tasks and responsibilities) and/or "coping with less" (decreased supports, staff, resources) (Burchielli, Pearson & Thanacoody, 2006; Kelliher & Anderson, 2010). Several studies have explored what appears to be growing work intensification for teachers and school staff in recent years (Clark and Antonelli, 2009; Day, 2012; Mulholland & Wallace, 2012; Naylor, 2001). As Froese-Germain (2014) discusses:

with the deterioration of conditions for teaching comes an equivalent deterioration of the conditions for learning. It is impossible to disentangle teachers' working conditions from students' opportunities to learn. Reduced decision-making authority for teachers and greater constraints on curriculum and pedagogy mean teachers' ability to shape educational delivery to address students' academic needs is constrained. Work intensification for teachers, particularly if it involves greater time spent on administrative tasks, means less time and attention can be paid by teachers to their students. (p. 9)

To improve teacher employment, a focus should remain on teacher working conditions (Leithwood, 2006) and how teaching work can be allocated and more equitably distributed to best support teachers' work and student learning. Extremely busy or stressed out teachers with low morale are not conducive to students' learning, and neither are un(der)employed teachers constantly worried about their economic security.

When considered in relation to the growing number of teachers who are unemployed and underemployed, work intensification reveals the growing disparity between working time and polarization within labour force (Ross, 2009; Kalleberg, 2011). On the one hand, there are a number of workers who must labour for longer hours and greater periods, while for others, there is a lack of paid employment opportunities. The intensification of teachers' work provides a premise to assert the need for either more teachers or else work sharing considerations. Such a paradigmatic debate attempts to shift the discourse from "there are too many teachers" to instead problematize the fact that there are "too few good jobs" which can employ them.

It would be a difficult if not impossible to outline and subsequently argue in favour any single model of teacher employment which would alleviate teacher un(der)employment, improve student outcomes and take in to consideration the universal concerns over limited resources. Nevertheless, exploring alternative teaching arrangements or at least reconceptualizing teacher employment can at the very least open up a new space for dialogue and ideas for how to create demand for teachers seeking employment and consider how the distribution of both labour and wages can be accomplished in a more equitable manner (Jackson, 2016).

New models of teaching work which emphasize work security and classroom continuity would benefit both the working conditions of all teachers and learning conditions of all students. More teachers inside of classrooms working with students could improve Ontario's educational system and provide further high-quality education and opportunities to all students. How such arrangements could be practically conceptualized remains difficult to imagine, but appears increasingly necessary in the face of growing unemployment, underemployment and the reality or precarity for many teachers in Ontario. Having a greater number of happy, healthy and productive teachers inside of classrooms must be viewed as a positive measure for improving the educational outcomes of students in such schools. If teachers' working conditions are their students' learning conditions, then all teachers should centrally advocate for the best possible environments for education.

Conclusion

There is a new class whose voice will soon be at the centre of Canadian life. It is the precariat, the growing mass of Canadians who are in precarious work, precarious housing and hold precarious citizenship: the perpetual part-timers, the minimum-wagers, the temporary foreign workers, the grey-market domestics paid in cash, the young Canadians who will never have secure employment, the techno-impooverished whose piecemeal work has no office and no end, the seniors who struggle with dwindling benefits, the indigenous people who are kept outside, the single mothers without support, the cash labourers who have no savings, the generation for whom a pension and a retirement is neither available nor desired. (Standing, 2015b)

Precarious work has become a reality for a growing number of workers, and the condition of precarity has begun to entrench itself into the public imagination. Precarity, as an experience, is unlikely to go away anytime soon (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008). The socioeconomic challenges facing un(der)employed teachers are those same conditions facing a growing number of workers in places such as Ontario. Under such conditions, the very foundations of critical, democratic and emancipatory education—and the educators who have the ability to impact our current and future students are severely restricted and inhibited. Below, some concluding words surrounding teacher un(der)employment explore these themes.

Social Considerations

As Lewchuk et al., (2015) outline, precarious employment has become a growing reality for many workers in Ontario. If precarious work has spread and become a dominant socioeconomic reality, measures must be taken by policymakers, labour organizations and workers themselves to combat precarity in places such as Ontario.

Movements resisting precarious work and precarity have been ideologically intertwined with calls for raising minimum wages. The emergence of living wage campaigns assert the need for greater income equity and the issue of living wages and income inequality (Block, 2013; Ontario Common Front, 2015; Tiessen, 2015). Such calls for reform have generally surrounding low-waged work in the private sector, as in Canada, public sector workers currently enjoy a significant wage premium versus those in the private sector (Shillington, 2014). This would also explain why un(der)employed teachers continue to seek out employment primarily in the public

sector. For un(der)employed teachers, while jobs in education outside of employment in public school boards would still likely remain less attractive—if such jobs could ensure a social income, there would be less impetus of un(der)employed teachers to flock towards public schools, essentially the sole provider of “good jobs” for teachers (Kong, 2015)

Ontario is currently in the long overdue process of revisiting and revising the Employment Standards Act (ESA) (2000) and the Labour Relations Act (1995). The Changing Workplaces Review will seek to examine the changing nature of work and worker demographics, along with the increase in precarious forms of employment. As Standing (2015b) notes, a \$15 minimum wage and revising the ESA will not be adequate unless rights are extended to all individuals, regardless of their work status. Such changes would greatly benefit workers (Cohen and de Peuter, 2013; Fudge, Vosko and Tucker, 2002) including un(der)employed teachers and provide a greater degree of economic security in their working-lives.

Finally, as this thesis has been strongly influenced by the work of Standing (2011, 2014a) it would be remiss to not include a brief discussion of his continued advocacy and arguments in favour of a basic income guarantee/grant (BIG) as a potential solution for combating precarity and precarious work. While basic income projects vary in their approach and scope, a general outline of its underlying tenets are rooted in equity, social justice approaches to providing every person a basic security. Such security “provides us all with an anchor on which to develop our potential and to act responsibly and rationally towards our relatives, neighbours, friends and colleagues” (Standing, 2012). Basic economic security is thus viewed as a condition, which ensured, provides a basis for people to act more altruistically rather than competitively. A BIG functions as a form of social assistance, provided to every single citizen, regardless of age or employment status, and without means-testing or any other restrictive requirements. Thus, it replaces existing forms of social security such as employment insurance, workfare, welfare, disability and many others. In doing so, it becomes much more economically viable, as such programs cost Canadians billions of dollars per year. Thus, despite its massive scope, a BIG can be economically viable (Rainer & Ernst, 2014; Vinik, 2013).

The idea of a BIG has roots in Canada (Forget, 2011) and continues to be an actively deliberated proposal in the Canadian context (Blais, 2002; Keenan, 2015; Rainer & Ernst, 2014; Regehr & Benn, 2016; Segal, 2013; Shingler, 2014), including a policy resolution from the newly elected Liberal Party of Canada and more recently a pilot project in the 2016 Liberal budget in Ontario (Tencer, 2016). A basic income grant then provides an alternative view with resists the very foundations of neoliberalism, utilitarianism and the punitive state which currently pushes more and more workers into a precarious existence, (Standing, 2014a). While any great transformation in work and social relations would require not only considerable support and resources, it would first require a monumental paradigm shift in the ways in which we understanding work, labour and democratic citizenship.

Considerations for Equity

As both the certification requirements and expected time to secure permanent employment increase, future teachers will continue to face disproportionate and unequal access to teaching work and employment. Expecting individuals to undertake 6 years of postsecondary education (with Ontario holding the highest tuition rates in Canada), alongside current estimates of approximately 5-7 years required in order to obtain a permanent position, appears to indicate that the contours of precarity will continue to define a large number of teachers throughout Ontario. The experiences of precarious media and culture workers in Cohen's (2013) study in Ontario warrant similar considerations as she discusses that in:

An already exclusive sphere in terms of access to employment, the more precarious cultural and media work become, the more difficult it will be for a diverse range of people to participate. As media and cultural work becomes more competitive and more reliant on personal contacts and informal networks to navigate entry to jobs, fewer people will be able to afford to pursue media work, further limiting diverse portrayals of gender, race, and class experiences in media. (p. 336)

The experiences of un(der)employed teachers and precarious work outlined in this study resonates clear comparisons to the issues of access, equity and diversity in Ontario's current and future classrooms. The teacher labour market increasingly appears to be a war of attrition—those who can last the longest largely under the conditions of precarity in the

internal teacher labour market—may eventually secure permanent positions inside of Ontario’s public schools. The employment opportunities for many un(der)employed teachers thus no longer represent educational credentials or meritocratic ideals, and labour market conditions reveal that it is not the “best and brightest” of teachers who will be able to enter careers as teachers but rather those who are either fortunate, or else able to survive the arduous process of securing permanent positions.

Considerations for Pedagogy

Authentic pedagogy remains rooted in autonomy, and thus emancipatory education must allow educators the security—economic or otherwise—to engage in such practices without fear of reprisal from employers. Teachers and indeed many educators, continue to be indoctrinated in a culture of deprofessionalization, sacrifice and false consciousness, where caring about students and earning a decent wage or salary become falsely dichotomized. Engaging in critical forms of teaching and learning become more difficult under the conditions of austerity and serve to further diminish opportunities for organic and critical forms of pedagogy to occur inside of classrooms while teachers fear for their jobs.

At the heart of the matter is a need to reconceptualize the meanings and purposes behind education, looking beyond a narrow human capital development model and understanding that education lies at the very heart of democracy, community and building a better future. Teachers must come to understand that their relative employment outcomes are less the result of personal failures and rather than pathologize their own shortcomings, they must come to better understand the structural forces and inherent deficiencies associated with a hyper-capitalist economy as well as the problematic tenants of neoliberal ideology. Coming to such an understanding then creates the critical space to begin conceptualizing some of the possibilities and alternatives alongside organizing, resisting and acting collectively with common purpose to eliminating un(der)employment and the conditions of precarity. Only collectively can we begin to reassert the fundamental importance of teaching, and the infinite possibilities of education when there is no such thing as “too many teachers”. When we choose to devalue our schools and our teachers, we are devaluing both the present and future for our students.

Garnering public support requires a reimagining of the goals and purposes of education at the most fundamental levels. Such conceptions of education require a rethinking what teachers can and should do in our classrooms and for our future students. The possibilities of having so many qualified teachers in the province provides a basis from which endless opportunities may be conceived with respect to student achievement, teacher workload, classroom sizes, collaborative forms of teaching and inquiry, extracurricular activities, professional development, and addressing growing mental health and wellness issues. There are not many schools that can be found which would claim to have “too many teachers”. Many of the goals and purposes of education which have seemingly been disappearing; the development of critical thinking, nurturing personal growth, preparing individuals for democratic life, and empowering individuals to seek out social change with the ethics and ethos of social responsibility—must be brought back to relevance. Such a conversation involves rekindling and reasserting the working conditions of educators, whether as a classroom teacher, educator in a private day-care facility, or as an adjunct lecturer in our universities. Across the spectrum we are witnessing challenges to education workers and the material conditions of teaching fundamentally antithetical to the values of emancipatory pedagogy, equity and democracy.

Final Thoughts

Precarity is a lived experience which penalizes workers economically, socially and psychologically (Lewchuk et al., 2013; Lewchuk et al., 2015; Standing, 2011). At a time where the very structure of opportunities appears to have collapsed (Kalleberg, 2012) and growing economic inequality and wealth polarization continues to define life in Canada and around the globe (Piketty, 2014), the time is ripe for a new public imagination to emerge. Such a revolution must recapture the language and politics of progress, and must come from those who wish for a better present and future, for themselves and for their progeny, as “triumph will only come when the precariat has abolished itself” (Standing, 2014a, p. 388). Unemployed and underemployed teachers, and indeed all education-workers collectively, must seek to reshape and redefine their working-lives and combat the experience of precarity—for not only themselves, but for what they wish education can and should be(come).

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Appendix A

Interview Guide- Unemployed & Underemployed Teachers

- 1) Tell me a little bit about yourself professionally and personally...How did you get to become a teacher?
- 2) What was your perception of the labour market when you became a teacher?
- 3) Can you tell me a little bit about your teaching experience so far?
- 4) If someone were to ask “what is your job/what do you do?” how would you respond?
- 5) Do you feel like you are a part of the/a teaching community?
- 6) In terms of being an educator, what are your career goals?
- 7) What kinds of work or jobs are you currently engaged in?
- 8) Do you feel like you are in control of your work?
- 9) Do you feel like you are in control of your time?
- 10) How do you understand the role of teacher union(s) in terms of your teacher work arrangement(s)?
- 11) Overall, how do you feel about your current employment situation?
- 12) Is there anything else that you would like to add?

LETTER OF INFORMATION



Introduction

My name is Michael Mindzak and I am PhD Candidate at the Faculty of Education at Western University. I am currently conducting research exploring the work and lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario and would invite you to participate in this study. The purpose of this letter is to provide you with information required to make an informed decision regarding participation in this research.

Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to more accurately understand the experience of being an un(der)employed teacher in Ontario today and the challenges that such teachers face as they seek employment in the contemporary teacher labour market.

Criteria for Inclusion/Exclusion

You may participate in this study if you are a teacher who has completed your degree and certification requirements in Ontario at least one year ago and are currently unemployed or underemployed as a teacher in Ontario.

Participation

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to participate in a person-to-person interview with myself at a mutually convenient location. If it not possible to meet in person, other arrangements can be made for an online interview (using Skype). During the interview, I will ask you about the types of work you are engaged in and your experiences with un(der)employment as a teacher. The interview will take approximately 60 minutes. Interviews will be conducted between September—December, 2014, whenever and wherever is most convenient for you. You will not be compensated for your participation in this research.

Privacy & Confidentiality

The information collected will be used for research purposes only, and neither your name nor information which could identify you will be used in any publication or presentation of the study results. All information collected for the study will be kept confidential. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed into written format. If you do not wish to be audio recorded, you may still take part in the interview if you so choose. Information given during the interview containing any identifying information will be removed to provide anonymity for you, as well as any other persons mentioned. If the results of the study are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact me directly.

Risks & Benefits

I do not foresee any risks for you that would result from participating in this study.

The main benefits of this study are that it serves as an opportunity for you to reflect on your work experiences as a teacher. Results from this study will hopefully serve to create awareness and support for un(der)employed teachers in Ontario.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the study at any time.

Questions

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Office of Research Ethics, Western University at [REDACTED] or [REDACTED]

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me directly at [REDACTED]

This letter is yours to keep for future reference

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM



Project Title

Exploring the Working Lives of Unemployed and Underemployed Teachers in Ontario

Study Investigator

Dr. Katina Pollock, Michael Mindzak

I have read the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me and I agree to participate. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

Participant's Name (please print): _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Person Obtaining Informed Consent (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D

LETTER TO OCCASIONAL TEACHER FEDERATIONS



To _____,

My name is Michael Mindzak and I am a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education at Western University.

I am writing to you to inform you of my study concerning the working lives of unemployed and underemployed teachers in Ontario. As the over-supply of new teachers in Ontario continues, many teachers appear to be struggling with securing both occasional and permanent work. In this study, I seek to better understand the experiences and challenges that un(der)employed teachers face in the contemporary labour market.

I will be asking approximately 20-30 teachers across various cities and school boards in Ontario about their experiences with unemployment and underemployment as teachers. I am contacting your Local because there appears to be many teachers currently working in occasional teaching who are working towards contract or full-time positions. Also, it is my belief that teachers in your membership may have teacher colleagues that are also dealing with un(der)employment, and could possibly forward my contact to them.

If you could send the attached poster to anyone in your membership who you feel may be interested it would be greatly appreciated. Anyone interested in participating in the study can contact me directly, and all efforts will be made to ensure the anonymity of any participants.

If you have any questions, concerns or require any additional information please contact me directly.

In solidarity,

Michael Mindzak

Western



UNEMPLOYED AND UNDEREMPLOYED TEACHERS

Research Participants Needed

Many teachers in Ontario face significant challenges with securing employment. This study seeks to better understand the experiences of un(der)employed teachers in Ontario today as they continue to seek teaching work.

If you currently are an unemployed or underemployed teacher, or know any other teachers who are looking for employment in Ontario, please read below or share this poster with anyone you may believe to be interested.

If you volunteer in this study you will be asked to:

- Participate in an hour-long interview where you discuss your experiences with un(der)employment as a teacher.

If you are interested in sharing your experiences or have any questions or concerns please contact:

MICHAEL MINDZAK





**Western University Health Science Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice**

Principal Investigator: Dr. Katina Pollock
Department & Institution: Education\Faculty of Education, Western University

NMREB File Number: 105634
Study Title: Exploring the Working Lives of Unemployed and Underemployed Teachers in Ontario
Sponsor:

NMREB Initial Approval Date: October 29, 2014
NMREB Expiry Date: December 31, 2014

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

| Document Name | Comments | Version Date |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------|
| Western University Protocol | | 2014/09/15 |
| Recruitment Items | Letter to Occasional Teacher Federations | 2014/09/15 |
| Recruitment Items | RECRUITMENT POSTER | 2014/09/15 |
| Letter of Information & Consent | | 2014/09/15 |
| Instruments | INTERVIEW GUIDE | 2014/09/15 |

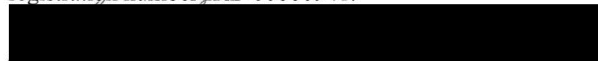
The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the HSREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of HSREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.



Ethics Officer, on behalf of Riley Hinson, NMREB Chair, or Board Member designee

Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Erika Basile ebasile@uwo.ca | <input type="checkbox"/> Grace Kelly grace.kelly@uwo.ca | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mina Mekhail mmekhail@uwo.ca | <input type="checkbox"/> Vikki Tran vikki.tran@uwo.ca |
|---|--|---|--|

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Michael William Mindzak

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy (2016)

Western University, London, Ontario

- Faculty of Education: Critical Policy, Equity & Leadership Studies

Dissertation

- *Exploring the Working-Lives of Unemployed and Underemployed Teachers in Ontario*

Masters of Education (2011)

Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario

- Faculty of Education: Administration and Leadership in Education

Thesis

- *Saliency of Charter Schools in Educational Policy Debates in Three Canadian Provinces: 1993-2010*

Masters of Science (2009)

D'Youville College, Buffalo, New York

- Faculty of Education: Adolescent Education

Honours Bachelor of Arts (2008)

McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario

- Faculty of Humanities and Social Science:
Major: History & Political Science
Minor: Classical Studies

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

- The Ontario College of Teachers (OCT)