SHORT- AND LONG-TERM OCCASIONAL TEACHING WORK ARRANGEMENT DIFFERENCES

(Spine title: Occasional Teaching Work Differentiation)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

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Abstract

This general qualitative study examined the differentiated nature of short- and long-term occasional teaching. Five occasional teachers experienced in transitioning between short- and long-term occasional teaching work arrangements each completed a semi-structured interview. Findings demonstrated that the work arrangements were differentiated in three key areas: (1) General teacher expectations; (2) School interactions; and (3) Professional presence. More favourably perceived long-term occasional teaching experiences in all three areas contributed to the formation of an internal teacher workforce values hierarchy that subordinated the short-term occasional teaching work arrangement. In addition, the short- to long-term occasional teaching transition was experienced as a progressive hierarchical shift, whereas a regressive hierarchical shift marked the long- to short-term occasional teaching transition. Hierarchical differentiation among the separate short- and long-term occasional teaching workgroups was found based on the amount of accumulated work. Policy and practice implications include approaching short- and long-term occasional teaching as heterogeneous work arrangements.

Keywords: short-term occasional teaching, long-term occasional teaching, work differentiation, internal teacher workforce values hierarchy.

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Dedication

To my family.

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List of Abbreviations

ETFO	Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario
FTPC	Full-time permanent contract
ITWVH	Internal teacher workforce values hierarchy
LTO	Long-term occasional
OCBs	Organizational citizenship behaviours
OCT	Ontario College of Teachers
PC	Permanent contract
PTPC	Part-time permanent contract
STO	Short-term occasional
TVDSB	Thames Valley District School Board

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines how transitional short-term occasional (STO) and long-term occasional (LTO) teachers experience their work arrangements. The phenomenon of interest is work differentiation within the occasional teacher workforce as perceived by these teachers. Most teachers enter their profession through intermittent work as STO and LTO teachers and in due time become either full-time permanent contract (FTPC) or part-time permanent contract (PTPC) teachers. This research addresses how the STO and LTO teaching position entry points into the teaching profession are heterogeneous work arrangements.

The types of work arrangements that teachers occupy refers to the structure of their labour. Short- and long-term occasional teachers are distinguishable from FTPC teachers due to the structure of their labour. While FTPC teachers work within district school boards indefinitely, STO and LTO teachers occupy temporal work arrangements within these boards. Short-term occasional teachers work on an on-call, per day basis to typically replace FTPC teachers. Alternatively, LTO teachers replace FTPC teachers for a consecutive series of work days. Those teachers who alternate between both forms of temporal occasional teaching are identified within this thesis as transitional STO and LTO teachers.

Motivation to pursue a study of transitional STO and LTO teaching originated from my personal encounters with this form of labour. Since obtaining my teaching certification in 2003, I have assumed the role of a transitional STO and LTO teacher. My teaching career has consisted of only this form of work despite efforts to obtain a FTPC teaching position. Having accumulated six full-time LTO teaching positions spanning over entire or close to entire school years and multiple STO teaching positions, my role within the teaching profession has become defined by a transitional STO and LTO teaching status. What has come to light throughout my

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transitioning is the differentiated nature of STO and LTO teaching within the school workplace. My teaching certification program did not prepare me for the disparate general teacher expectations of STO and LTO teaching, nor did it inform me of how interactions with school staff and students were influenced by the STO or LTO teacher role that I fulfilled at a given time. It was my own transitional STO and LTO teaching experiences that made these sources of differentiation apparent.

In the unique position of a LTO teacher, I was able to utilize STO teachers to fill vacancies within my classroom in the event of absences. I empathized with these STO teachers with whom I shared an occasional teacher title, as I experienced being in a position of greater regard within the teaching profession as a LTO teacher. Nonetheless, the gratifying STO to LTO teaching position transition was countered by the challenging LTO to STO teaching position transition. It was the difficulty in parting with a classroom and school culture of reassurance triggered by the LTO to STO teaching position transition that drove me to intensely examine occasional teaching. I questioned if it was feasible for my reality of discrepant STO and LTO teaching experiences, which favoured the latter, to be relevant to other teachers like myself. What I knew for certain was that the STO and LTO teaching I completed was not a "standard" form of work. The grouping of STO and LTO teaching work arrangements comprises a rapidly growing field of transitory labour identified as "non-standard" work (Ashford, George, & Blatt, 2007). Standard work is characterized by year-round, full-time, and permanent status work with a staple employer. In contrast, non-standard work includes all other forms of work that embody a part-time or temporal nature of labour. Non-standard work also includes labour circumstances where workers hold multiple positions simultaneously or engage in self-employment ventures without the support of paid employees (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003; Krahn, 1995).

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Post-Fordist labour practices that boldly commenced during the early 1970s instilled a differentiated structure of labour within the workforce that evolved partly in response to the rigid labour practices governed by Henry Ford in his automotive plants (Harvey, 1989). Labour practices of the post-Fordist era capitalize on maximizing employee productivity through the exhaustive use of flexible non-standard workers by employers. With the on-set of the post-Fordist era, a thriving pool of "flexible" workers was employed by organizations for an array of non-standard work positions (e.g., part-time, fixed-term contract, seasonal, and on-call positions) (Harvey, 1989). Changes in the structure of work have directly influenced the nature of work associated with standard and non-standard work arrangements (Barker & Christensen, 1998; Bernhardt & Marcotte, 2000). The existence of differentiated work arrangements is presently abundant within the teacher workforce, for it maintains a significant following of non-standard STO and LTO teachers (McIntyre, 2011). Lindley (1994) indicates

> that the functions being carried out by non-regular teachers can actually be quite different from those of the regular teacher. This may, of course, be a consequence of time-scale since short supply periods hardly provide scope for engaging in all aspects of the professional role. (p. 167)

Therefore, the tasks performed for STO and LTO teaching are reflective of the time permitted with these differentiated work arrangements.

Differentiated work experiences for STO teachers within the teaching profession have been rigorously examined by Pollock (2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c). Pollock's (2008) doctoral research currently maintains a highly seminal role in the developing study of occasional teachers, while disclosing the cultivation and perpetuation of an internal teacher workforce values hierarchy (ITWVH). It is the only comprehensive research on occasional teaching to specifically contemplate an ITWVH as it pertains to the experiences of STO teachers and their professional identities, access to work, and feasibility of professional learning

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opportunities. As a reflection of this thesis' decisive relevance to occasional teaching and an ITWVH, there is considerable reference to Pollock's (2008) research throughout.

The ITWVH values core teachers as necessary for the functioning of the teacher workforce and school system, whereas peripheral teachers are supplementary to these core teachers (Pollock, 2008; Soucek, 1994). Standard FTPC teachers are at the core of the hierarchy with a periphery of "other" teachers (Pollock, 2008; 2009; 2010c; Soucek, 1994). Segregated from the core and occupying the least peripheral positioning are FTPC teachers who teach subject areas such as core French (Richards, 2002) and the arts (Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 1985). Part-time permanent contract, STO, and LTO teachers occupy the most peripheral positioning as non-standard teachers (Betts, 2006; Damianos, 1998; Pollock, 2008; 2009; 2010a; Soucek, 1994; Young & Grieve, 1996). While on the periphery, it is frequently the case that STO teachers' "efforts are unrewarded and unappreciated" (St. Michel, 1995, p. 7). Research directed at designated professions can yield influential insights

> by examining the conditions under which some employees, despite their qualifications and experience are engaged under marginal contracts if not in marginal capacities. The functions they perform, their positions relative to fellow professionals and to other occupational groups can reveal aspects of the underlying nature of the labour market concerned which are obscured by focusing only on the mainstream. (Lindley, 1994, p. 174)

Focusing on non-standard teaching labour as a component of the teacher workforce and the larger general labour market brings a voice to the experiences of workers who are marginalized or who experience being on the periphery.

My motivation for studying transitional STO and LTO teachers and their composition as peripheral non-standard workers within an ITWVH is to illustrate that participation within the teaching profession is not experienced uniformly. In the remaining introductory section of this thesis, emphasis is placed on the: (1) Statement of the problem; (2) Research questions; (3)

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Operational definitions of STO and LTO teachers; (4) Significance of the study; and (5) Thesis outline. These emphasized aspects outline the importance and rationale in becoming familiar with STO and LTO teaching.

Statement of the Problem

Education research has raised the awareness of issues pertinent to the comprehensive unit of FTPC teachers and has overshadowed the existence of STO and LTO teachers within the teaching profession. In the limited literature that exists on occasional teachers, problematic incidences materialize in three states:

1. Occasional teaching is referred to as a single work arrangement that in actuality is divided into STO and LTO teaching work arrangements;
2. Short- and long-term occasional teachers are assumed to share the same experiences of work; and
3. Short- and long-term occasional teachers are not appropriately depicted as often transitioning between these dual teacher roles.

What further complicates the study of STO and LTO teaching experiences is the existence of an ITWVH influenced by post-Fordist labour practices. Research by Pollock (2008) on STO teachers has begun to examine STO teaching as a non-standard form of work influenced by these labour practices. Findings of this research indicated that STO teachers were alienated both within their work arrangements and within the ITWVH.

An additional complication with the study of STO and LTO teachers is the overwhelming dominance of available literature on STO teachers relative to LTO teachers. Although LTO teaching is typically associated with FTPC teaching (Betts, 2006; Lindley, 1994; Morrison, 1994a; Pollock, 2008), the nature of this work as its own entity is not entirely clear. Professional teacher identities represent social constructions that are receptive to change over the course of one's teaching career (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000). For transitional STO and LTO teachers, change is standard during the early phases of their careers. How their teaching is

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experienced can present sources of occasional teacher work differentiation. The research question and sub-questions are rooted in inquiring about this work differentiation.

Research Questions

This research isolates the experiences of STO teaching from those of LTO teaching as an initial effort to appreciate their individuality. Of great interest is the manner in which the hierarchical structure of labour within the teaching profession influences the nature of one's work as a STO and a LTO teacher. Examining the experience of non-standard labour through transitional STO and LTO teachers provides a foundation for identifying the specific responsibilities and tasks of relevance to each type of occasional teaching.

The main research question guiding this study is grounded in the structure and nature of non-standard work arrangements that poses,

> How do transitional STO and LTO teachers who transfer between STO and LTO teaching experience these work arrangements differently?

Teachers are embedded within a highly public profession that predisposes them to internalize perceptions of not only how they view themselves and the nature of their work, but also of how they believe others view them and their work. The process of transitional STO and LTO teaching provides a baseline of comparison from the former to the current work arrangement, and this process fosters a distinct sense of professional presence that is perceived with each work arrangement. To account for these "self" and "other" perceptions of STO and LTO teaching, professional presence interpretations, and actual transitional experiences, three sub-questions expand on the main research question:

1. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do as STO and LTO teachers?
2. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements? and

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3. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their professional presence while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and in the transition between these work arrangements?

The main research question and supporting sub-questions interactively construct a representation of STO and LTO teaching as construed by transitional STO and LTO teachers who are well-acquainted with both work arrangements. The operational definitions of these work arrangements now require elaboration in order for them to be clearly contextualized within the scope of this study.

Operational Definitions of STO and LTO Teachers

Distinguishing between the meaning of STO teacher and the meaning of LTO teacher is not a common occurrence in education literature. In most cases, these teachers are defined by varying levels of transient involvement within the classrooms of absent FTPC teachers. The scores of teacher identity descriptors assigned to STO teachers in education literature capture the highly transient nature of their work arrangements: substitute, supply, temporary, on-call, floater, recruitment agency, or relief teacher. In contrast, LTO teachers are often described as being like "real" FTPC teachers (Pollock, 2008) and they receive much less attention in education literature. According to Ontario provincial legislation,

> a teacher is an occasional teacher if he or she is employed by a board to teach as a substitute for a teacher or temporary teacher who is or was employed by the board in a position that is part of its regular teaching staff including continuing education teachers. (Section 1(1.1) Education Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. E.2) (Government of Ontario, 2010)

This legislation acknowledges the role of a STO teacher as a "substitute" and the role of a LTO teacher as a "temporary teacher." Each role descriptor is suggestive of a transient nature and it is evident that STO teachers replace LTO teachers, just as they replace FTPC teachers. A disadvantage of this definition is the lack of specificity in what constitutes a LTO teacher.

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Public English-speaking elementary district school boards within Ontario are composed of an overall teaching labour structure with PTPC, FTPC, STO, and LTO teachers. An Ontario elementary occasional teacher can maintain membership in multiple district school boards simultaneously and participate in "more than one teachers' bargaining unit" [Section 122(277.5)1 Education Act, R.S.O. 1997, Chapter 31] (Government of Ontario, 2010). Across all district school boards, there exist regulated definitions of STO and LTO teachers as determined through collective bargaining between these boards and occasional teacher union locals such as the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO). The ETFO locals uphold the responsibilities of:

- providing local professional development programs,
- providing access to ETFO's provincial professional development programs,
- providing up-to-date communications about a wide variety of educational issues,
- providing access to professional relations services from the provincial office,
- negotiating for the best possible language within local collective agreements to improve working conditions, and
- dealing with many other issues that make employment as a teacher the best professional experience possible. (Ferguson, Glennie, Jan, & Smith, 2002, p. 12)

This study was centralized on a major South-western Ontario district school board, the Thames Valley District School Board (TVDSB) and its affiliated ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teachers' Local. The collective agreement formed between these teacher governing and regulatory parties defines LTO teachers as those who occupy a vacancy in an absent teacher's classroom for 10 or more consecutive days (TVDSB, 2008). Short-term occasional teachers are defined in a dichotomous manner as those who are not LTO teachers (TVDSB, 2008). Thus, once STO teachers have worked a tenth consecutive day in the same classroom, they become LTO teachers. This explanation illustrates how STO and LTO teachers are defined by the number of consecutive days worked in a particular classroom and how a LTO teaching status is dependent upon the accumulation of STO teaching days worked.

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The number of required consecutive days worked as a STO teacher in a particular classroom to obtain a LTO teacher status fluctuates across Ontario district school boards. In South-western Ontario, the range is from 10 to 21 consecutive days (Pollock, 2008). Long-term occasional teachers' work arrangements are formalized via fixed-term or open-term contracts. Fixed-term contracts designate a LTO teaching position's starting and ending date, whereas open-term contracts designate only a starting date with an indefinite ending date.

All elementary occasional teachers hired by the TVDSB are certified Ontario teachers placed on an Occasional Teacher List for the elementary panel, and they remain on this list regardless of whether they occupy a STO or a LTO teaching position (TVDSB, 2008). A formal definition of transitional STO and LTO teacher is not recognized by the TVDSB or in education literature. This is the first known study to operationally define those occasional teachers who regularly enter and exit STO and LTO teaching work arrangements as transitional STO and LTO teachers. It is eclectic in providing areas of research significance for both the teaching profession and the non-standard general labour market.

Significance of the Study

Significance of this study lies in three core areas:

1. Understanding the changing structure and nature of work;
2. Acknowledging the strong presence of STO and LTO teachers; and
3. Learning about the nature of STO and LTO teaching.

In concert, these areas recognize STO and LTO teaching as a valued component of the teaching profession and the larger general labour market. Gaining insight on STO and LTO teachers' realities provides a basis for the application of improvement strategies to benefit the nature of their work arrangements and the work arrangements of other non-standard workers. A

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prerequisite condition for eradicating the avoidance of STO teaching in education research is necessary in order for positive change to be initiated for STO teachers.

> If [short-term] occasional teachers are largely ignored, provided with few resources and little support for on-going professional learning, there is no guarantee that teachers recruited from this pool will be able to fill in adequately or be prepared to take up full-time, permanent teaching positions. (Pollock, 2008, p. 13)

The overarching significance of this study is to address the needs of STO and LTO teachers in order to improve their ongoing professional learning, practice, interactions with others, and experiences of non-standard work. Investing in STO and LTO teachers via research is critical, for it is these teachers who will inevitably build the FTPC teacher population upon transitioning from non-standard to standard teaching work.

A focus on STO and LTO teacher research is beneficial for both these teachers and their temporary students. If these teachers are not given support to adjust to their work arrangements, the quality of their teaching could be jeopardized and in turn adversely affect student learning. Research has confirmed that student achievement is lowered when STO teachers are present in classrooms (Miller, Murnane, & Willett, 2008; Stevens, 2008). Broader availability of professional learning access to enhance the teaching practices of STO teachers is needed in order to counter such a detrimental occurrence (Stevens, 2008), as professional learning access is limited for these teachers (Pollock, 2008; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c). What is ideally needed is an initial understanding of how the nature of work within the teaching profession and the general labour market is undergoing change.

Understanding the changing structure and nature of work. Barlin and Hallgarten (2002) express that in England, "by 2014 as many as 50 percent of teachers may not be on permanent full-time contracts" (p. 18). Canada's elementary school and kindergarten teaching population is developing a trend in this direction with a 38% representation of teachers who are

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not full-time, full-year teachers (Statistics Canada, 2006). These teachers maintain membership within the flexible non-standard workforce that STO and LTO teachers occupy. Notions of standard and flexible non-standard work are concentrated in general labour market research, but there have been applications to education research. These applications have involved linking non-standard STO teachers to contingent labour (Pollock, 2006; 2007; 2008), non-standard STO teachers to various identity sources (professional, occupational, and organizational) (Vorell, 2007), and non-standard LTO teachers to work values, job security, and organizational commitment, identification, and citizenship behaviours (Feather & Rauter, 2004).

"Globalisation and decreasing government labour market involvement have wreaked havoc with the concept of what we once thought of as 'traditional' or 'standard' employment" (McKeown & Hanley, 2009, p. 295). Non-standard work positions are becoming a norm and have the potential to replace standard work positions within organizations (Tregaskis, 1997). The differentiated labour composition of standard and non-standard work influenced by globalization processes and post-Fordist flexible labour practices has precipitated changes in the nature of work. Payette (1998) voices how the imbalance between the nature of standard and non-standard work can be accommodated with an improved framework for non-standard work condition features:

> An effective framework for non-standard work may help to reduce polarization of income, employment status and hours of work, and lead to equitable access to reasonably priced health benefits, adequate short-term and long-term income protection and improved training and development opportunities. (p. ii)

Differentiation in the nature of work across various non-standard work arrangements is also documented within general labour market research (George & Ng, 2011). Heterogeneity in the nature of work across different non-standard work arrangements in the general labour market (Cranford et al., 2003) is a point of interest in this study on non-standard STO and LTO teaching.

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Through learning about interactions with others in the workplace, one can glean perspective on the work quality and levels of respect experienced with STO and LTO teaching. The current research could be highly relevant to other public and private sector professions with non-standard workers and serve as an initiator in the research shift to non-standard workers of public education (e.g., PTPC teachers and part-time/temporary administrators, learning support teachers (LSTs), educational assistants (EAs), and secretaries). This shift is warranted, as "non-permanent employment is an important alternative to permanent employment and is being adopted by organizations, partly at least, as a route for employees into permanent employment" (Tregaskis, 1997, p. 550). Transitional STO and LTO teachers are taking this route and building the presence of non-standard work within public education.

Acknowledging the strong presence of STO and LTO teachers. One-fifth of Canadian teachers occupy an occasional teaching work arrangement (Work and Life-long Learning, 2005). On average, secondary and elementary school teachers are absent from their classrooms 10 days per school year either due to illness/disability or personal/family responsibilities (Statistics Canada, 2011). Short-term occasional teachers replace these teachers during formal absences and additional instances while they attend to professional learning obligations outside of the classroom. An increase in professional learning imposed upon FTPC teachers with intensified teacher expectations has maximized the utilization of STO teachers (Pollock, 2008). Nidds and McGerald (1994) magnify "that many students spend 5 to 10 percent of their class time under the guidance of [STO] teachers" (p. 26). Short-term occasional teachers perform what is addressed as "a vital function in the maintenance and continuity of daily education. In our public school systems, [STO teachers] are the educational bridges when regular classroom educators are absent" (National Education Association, 2011). It is FTPC

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teachers who fashion a link with students and it is STO teachers who are entrusted with "sustaining the integrity of this teacher-student link, whenever teachers are absent" (Bletzer, 2010, p. 403). Short- and long-term occasional teachers sustain the classroom functioning of FTPC teachers during the introductory span of their careers and this span is growing (McIntyre, 2011; Ontario College of Teachers (OCT), 2011b).

With the turbulences of a global economy, rates of teacher retirement have countered forecasts. The unparalleled rate at which teachers are retiring and education graduates are obtaining their teaching certification has formulated a grand market of competition for scarce FTPC teaching positions. The realities of this imbalance are striking with "roughly 7, 000 more certified, qualified teachers entering the profession each year in Ontario than there are retirement spots to fill" (Papadopoulos, 2010, p. 10). A product of this surplus has been the formation of a dense STO and LTO teacher population. The monitoring of "teacher supply and demand is complicated and dynamic. Some years there are fewer full-time, permanent positions available than the number of teachers seeking work, forcing many to work as [short-term] occasional teachers" (Pollock, 2008, p. 181).

Occasional teaching was the predominant entry point into the teaching profession for 2008 education graduates, with 51% of graduates completing STO teaching and 22% of graduates completing LTO teaching (OCT, 2011b). "Of those who did find employment in 2009-2010, 39 per cent were limited to [STO] teaching by year end, 43 per cent worked part-time and 39 per cent taught in more than one school" (OCT, 2011b, p. 8). By the fifth year after education graduates obtain their certification, "two-thirds (34 per cent) of these teachers continue in [short-term] or long-term occasional teaching" (OCT, 2011b, p. 70).

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A prolonged interlude between an occasional teaching and FTPC teaching transition exists, for "new Ontario teachers need even greater determination just to get into a classroom as the search for jobs - even part-time [STO] teaching - grows longer and longer for many of them" (McIntyre, 2011, p. 30). The current assembly line of STO and LTO teachers is at a high count and forthcoming numbers are likely to rise. Short- and long-term occasional teaching have the potential to become new research focal points resulting from the overpopulated teaching profession within the province of Ontario. An important starting point of this research is learning about the nature of STO and LTO teaching.

Learning about the nature of STO and LTO teaching. Short-term occasional teachers were not recognized in education literature until the 1980s when they surfaced in hindsight as an "other" teaching population (Pollock, 2008) that accommodated for FTPC teacher absenteeism and shortages (Galloway & Morrison, 1994b). Morrison (1994b) asserts a peripheral positioning of STO teachers within the literature, for "Much has been written about the professional standing of teaching over the past fifteen years. Far less attention has been given to the contributions of those who make intermittent contributions to teaching" (p. 137).

Education literature pertaining to STO teachers has mainly focused on the classroom management component of their work (Abdal-Haqq, 1997; Arnold, 2006; Dellinger, 2006; Hughes, 2008; Sigel, 1997), or on how organizations can effectively manage these teachers (Pollock, 2008). However, "little is known about these teachers, their approaches, or the contexts in which they work" (Morrison, 1994a, p. 63). The commonality across exiting STO teaching literature is that these teachers require assistance with preparing for, conducting, and coping with their work (Arnold, 2006; Duggleby & Badali, 2007; Kronowitz, 2011; McHugh, 2001; Pressman, 2008; Pronin, 1983; Provencio, 2003; Redwine, 1970; Rude, 2008). Research

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on what STO teachers specifically do for their work and how they interact with others in their workplaces is lacking.

The majority of empirical research on STO teachers has recently been completed by graduate students who in some cases have experienced the nature of this work arrangement (Betts, 2006; Bowles, 2004; Damianos, 1998; Dillon, 2008; Duggleby, 2003; Gonzales, 2002; Johnson-Carpenter, 2001; Pollock, 2008; Stevens, 2008; VanGunten, 1999; Vorell, 2007). International ventures for the empirical study of STO teaching are underdeveloped and Canadian researchers have accounted for important, but limited contributions (Betts, 2006; Damianos, 1998; Duggleby, 2003; Pollock, 2008; 2010b). Research persistently reports that the nature of STO teaching is surrounded by a sense of marginality (Bowles, 2004; Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Cornwall, 2004; Damianos, 1998; Duggleby, 2003; Duggleby & Badali, 2007; Feola, 1999; Fielder, 1991; Lindley, 1994; Pollock, 2008; 2010a; Rogers, 2001; Vorell, 2007; Weems, 2000; 2003). Pollock (2008) positions STO teaching as

> necessary and important, yet if current and future labour practices continue to perpetuate and expand workforce differentiation, marginalization among teachers will continue to increase. Just as marginalization of students does not lead to effective education, neither does marginalization of the adults who are meant to provide the education. If we wish to be meaningful for all students, then the conditions of [short-term] occasional teachers' work and that of other marginalized teacher groups need to be attended to and improved. (p. 277)

Notions of marginalization are not foreign to LTO teachers. Unlike STO teaching research, LTO teaching research is a novel area of research.

The only known comprehensive study of LTO teaching is provided courtesy of Betts' (2006) Canadian doctoral research that discloses some aspects about the nature of this work. Experiences of New Brunswick LTO teachers were investigated to find that the responsibilities of their work were synchronized with FTPC teaching, yet the monetary remuneration and

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collegial interactions as conditions of their work were equitable to marginalized STO teaching. At the time of the study, STO and LTO teachers were not members of teacher bargaining units with their affiliated New Brunswick Teachers' Association. All transitional STO and LTO teachers of this study are members of a teacher bargaining unit and this condition provides an opportunity to learn if the nature of their STO or LTO teaching involves experiences of marginalization. Although LTO teaching has been equated with FTPC teaching, a detailed account of individualized LTO teacher expectations is lacking and is approached in this study.

Thesis Outline

The current chapter provided information pertaining to the research motivations, statement of the problem, research questions, and significance of the study. Chapter Two consists of a literature review that begins with a brief consideration of how globalization processes have influenced the changing structure and nature of the teaching profession. The chapter then progresses with attention directed to general labour market literature on non-standard work. The latter section of the chapter includes a review of literature on the general teacher expectations of FTPC, STO, and LTO teachers in order to situate the changing nature of their work. Identity descriptors of these teachers are also considered as a result of their connection to both the structure and nature of work arrangements. Changes in the structure and nature of work influenced by globalization coincide with the implementation of post-Fordist labour practices within the general labour market and teacher workforce. Chapter Three provides an in-depth presentation of post-Fordist and ITWVH theories that serves as the underlying theoretical framework for this study.

Chapter Four describes the qualitative methodology employed to investigate the main research question and sub-questions. The use of open-ended interviews with the participants

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permitted opportunities for further probing into and exploration of their complex realities. Chapter Five responds to the research sub-question: How do transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do as STO and LTO teachers? Chapter Six concentrates on the research sub-question: How do transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements? Chapter Seven concerns the third sub-question: How do transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their professional presence while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and in the transition between these work arrangements?

In Chapter Eight, the discussion fosters an integrative tone to this study by assimilating the findings, theoretical framework, and literature review. The ninth and final chapter concludes the presentation of this study by identifying aspects of significance to theory, policy, and practice. Lastly, limitations of the study and prospective foci of research are proposed.

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Chapter Two: Literature Review

As a critical component of public education, the teaching profession has adapted to labour market changes regarding the structure and nature of work. Structural changes in the general labour market have materialized as differentiated work arrangements (Polivka, Cohany, & Hipple, 2000). It is these differentiated work arrangements that have attributed to changes in the nature of work and how it is experienced (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid, & Shacklock, 2000). Divisions of standard and non-standard work compose the differentiated work arrangement structure of the general labour market and are accompanied by unique work experiences (George & Ng, 2011). An expansive spectrum of labour within the teaching profession has generated a differentiated work arrangement structure including standard FTPC teaching and non-standard PTPC, STO, and LTO teaching (Soucek, 1994).

This chapter provides a literature review that approaches the structural standard and non-standard work arrangement changes documented in general labour market literature to comprehend how STO and LTO teaching work arrangements can be differentiated. It then draws on existing FTPC, STO, and LTO teaching literature to illustrate the changing nature of work among teachers who occupy these work arrangements. The insertion of the FTPC teaching element is two-fold. Firstly, the nature of work with regards to responsibilities has been reported as equal for LTO and FTPC teaching work arrangements (Betts, 2006). Secondly, the Ontario Ministry of Education invites LTO teachers to participate in a mentorship program identified as the New Teacher Induction Program (NTIP) with newly hired FTPC teachers when they complete their first LTO teaching position of 97 days or longer (Ontario. Ministry of Education, 2011). The comparable LTO/FTPC teaching conditions provide a starting point for interpreting the nature of LTO teaching that is largely underrepresented in education literature.

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Examinations of the changes in work structure and nature become informed by acknowledging processes that have influenced these changes. Globalization processes are one of these influences and a discussion of these processes begins the literature review. The following listing identifies the topic concentrations for the chapter: (1) Situating globalization; (2) General labour market non-standard work; and (3) The nature of FTPC, STO, and LTO teaching. Situating globalization is required in order to identify the meaning of globalization relative to this study and how its influence has loomed in education. The incorporation of general labour market literature on non-standard work creates a path for understanding the disposition of the market that STO and LTO teachers are immersed within. The inadequacies of general labour market literature point to the scarcity of consideration for particular teaching workgroups in isolation. The current study expands upon this limited literature through the entry into transitional STO and LTO teacher realities with the support of conceptualizations from general labour market research to guide and bring clarity to this entry.

Accounting for the nature of FTPC, STO, and LTO teacher work goes beyond a structural experience and into the concrete activities that compose this work. A glimpse at the nature of these activities is an overt source of differentiation that creates boundaries between FTPC, STO, and LTO teaching (Pollock, 2008). It is these boundaries created by differentiated activities that are virtually undocumented between STO and LTO teaching work arrangements, which are compensated for in this study. The upcoming brief overview of globalization gives insight on the changing nature and structure of teaching.

Situating Globalization

In situating globalization, attention is first directed at identifying its complex meaning within general academic literature. How this meaning is applied to the field of education is then

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considered with its corresponding relation to the nature of teaching. A discussion of globalization processes as influencers in the generation of a non-standard workforce concludes this introductory segment on globalization.

Globalization in general literature. A conclusive definition of globalization is non-existent, for it is "an uneven process that has no ending" (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006, p. 30); however, the underlying premise of globalization is change (Gunn, 2005). Globalization processes present themselves through economic, political, and social dimensions (Kachur & Harrison, 1999; Perry-Globa, Weeks, Yoshida, & Zelinski, 2007). A combination of elements from the proceeding series of change processes is typically involved in defining globalization through its economic, political, and social dimensions:

- The transition from national 'walled' and regional economies towards global 'free' trade and markets;
- the declining importance of geographical, national, and cultural borders and boundaries leading to greater interdependence of people and countries worldwide;
- greater connection and interconnectedness through information technologies such as the internet, and cheaper transportation including shipping and air travel;
- more extensive global networks of companies, universities, students, migrants, faith groups, etc.;
- an exponential increase in global flows of goods, money, services, music, film, knowledge, people, information, ideas, tourists, etc.;
- more extensive and rapid diffusion of technologies, knowledge, and ideas;
- the compression of time and space across the planet. (Lauder et al., 2006, pp. 30-31)

These processes are global and have pervaded public education. Monahan (2005) raises that

> Public education may not seem like an obvious site for inquiry into the development and implications of globalization, but as perhaps *the* primary location for social reproduction, values cultivation, and identity construction, it is surprising that research on globalization and education is so scarce. (p. 1)

This study counters the reproduction of research that overlooks underlying motivators for changes in education and unravels the importance of globalization in these changes.

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Globalization processes and education. Globalization, culture, education, and employment are "connected in a network of relationships of ever-increasing complexity" (Oliver, 2005, p. 20). Intertwined within this network is the influential teacher who actively contributes to education and culture while in a work arrangement influenced by processes of globalization. Thomas (2005) stresses how, "Teachers will need to be trained in the years ahead in different cognate areas in order that they can meet the challenges of globalisation. One key cognate area of future training should reflect the socio-cultural dimension of globalisation" (p. 143).

From an education perspective, this study identifies globalization as a system of processes that involves "neoliberal administrative projects, pedagogical alignment with industry, and technological contracts and commitments" (Monahan, 2005, pp. 1-2). Vigorous demands for general teacher expectations have raised levels of teacher accountability via neoliberal initiatives that are based on exercising economic and social control in education to optimize efficiency (Monahan, 2005). Teachers are exposed to "a dramatic shift in the boundaries of control from direct, overt and bureaucratic forms of surveillance, to much more covert forms that take expression in the nature of the way in which work itself is being restructured" (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 3). Pedagogical shifts corresponding to industry functioning have resulted in a teacher workforce with professionals who are

> expected to follow directives and become compliant operatives in the headlong rush to encase schools within the ideology, practices and values of the business sector - never mind that they have histories, aspirations and professional cultures that make them decidedly different to car plants, breweries or fast-food outlets. (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 1)

Globalization processes are credited as "challenging schools everywhere and in multiple ways" (Suárez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007, p. 7). With these processes, "the mission of education increasingly mutates into one of nourishing the private sector while imposing ever more control over the people within the system, especially students and teachers" (Monahan, 2005, p. 2). The

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globalization of education through neoliberal initiatives and pedagogical transitions to a private sector orientation has shaped the nature of teaching (Smyth et al., 2000). Teachers are experiencing depreciating outcomes in their positioning as independent and autonomous stakeholders within their profession as processes of globalization influence public education and generalize its existence to a marketable commodity (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000).

Even though a rise in technology use in education is also associated with globalization, this technicality is not a focal point in the present study. Of stronger appeal is the knowledge economy preoccupation that is associated with technology use (Edwards & Usher, 2008; Spring, 2008). "The knowledge economy appears to be a natural morphing of the industrial economy, with a continuing transformation toward even more knowledge-intensive activities" (Johannessen & Olsen, 2010, p. 502). Knowledge aspirations of globalization contribute to curricula restructuring in education and "changes in the curriculum are promoted in policy and research as bringing the school in relation to changes in cultural, social and economic patterns embodied in phrases such as 'knowledge society' and life-long learner" (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004, p. vii). In line with being a life-long learner, teachers are perpetually encouraged to heighten their repertoire of professional learning activities (Hannay, Wideman, & Seller, 2006). While teachers are to show flexibility with the influences of globalization processes within their profession, these processes promote flexibility with the work arrangements they occupy.

Globalization and non-standard work. Diversification is at the centre of change in the nature of work and exemplifies a regime of being responsive to the demands of globalization. The state and products of a transformational labour market reveal a shift in the locus of control and organization involved in workplaces (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Katz-Fishman, Scott, & Modupe, 2002; Parker, 2002). Globalization has assisted in promoting a more flexible labour

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market that is not confined to standard permanent work positions and also includes non-standard work positions (Appay, 2010). Non-standard work is representative of a flexible form of labour supported through globalization processes to gain economic productivity with work arrangements that meet fluctuating economic market and organization needs (Appay, 2010; Atkinson, 1985; Coffey & Thornley, 2010; Harvey, 1989). The acceptance of flexible labour in education has proliferated the utilization of STO and LTO teachers (Pollock, 2008).

In situating the relativity of globalization to this research as a source for the changes in work structure and nature, attention can now be fully directed to these actual changes. The next section inspects the meaning of non-standard work and its importance in understanding workers and the organizations that employ them. The significant applicability of this non-standard work arrangement to STO and LTO teaching raises the question of why these forms of teaching have yet to be thoroughly investigated within the context of non-standard work. This study highlights the need to view STO and LTO teaching as a larger collective that has a significant role in global labour market functioning and prosperity via the non-standard workforce.

General Labour Market Non-Standard Work

Globalization partly provoked the teaching profession to embark on a path of change with the inclusion of a dichotomous employment framework delegated with standard and non-standard work. In terms of non-standard work, only one known international study has approached the potential for non-standard work differentiation between STO and LTO teaching, Bayram (2010) conducted a Turkish study that found STO teachers have less favourable experiences of teaching than LTO teachers with greater work-related stress and anxiety, detachment from their work organizations, job insecurity, and disadvantage in pay and health service access. Unlike Bayram's (2010) study, the current investigation explores occasional

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teachers' perceived differences between STO and LTO teaching due to experiencing both work arrangements and transitioning to and from them. These transitional experiences provide the teachers with an opportunity to create a holistic view of the STO and LTO teaching experience.

Due to the lack of research pertaining to STO and LTO teaching as non-standard work arrangements, the abundant general labour market research on non-standard work is reviewed to gain an understanding of how STO and LTO teaching have the potential to be differentiated. Two major contributions from general labour market research are reviewed: (1) Characteristics of non-standard work; and (2) Heterogeneity of non-standard work. Each topic provides an overview of non-standard work features relevant to workers.

This literature review fills gaps in education research that disregard the role of work arrangement differentiation stemming from heterogeneity between non-standard work types. Work arrangement differentiation is a source of positioning within the ITWVH that encases the teaching profession (Pollock, 2008). This study informs education literature by noting how non-standard STO and LTO teaching work arrangements fit into the ITWVH based on each non-standard work type. At present, a lack of education research on STO and LTO teachers is reinforcing their erroneous treatment as a homogeneous unit of occasional teachers.

Characteristics of non-standard work. The meaning of standard work stems from the standard employment relationship (SER). The SER includes the following for the employee: (1) Full-time, year-round, and indefinite work; (2) Statutory benefits and entitlements; and (3) Employment by one employer on the employer's premises (Cranford et al., 2003; Fudge & Owens, 2006; O'Connor, 2009; Vosko, 2000; 2004; 2010; Vosko, MacDonald, & Campbell, 2009). Non-standard work consists of all alternative arrangements that do not capture each element of the SER norm and resembles a temporary employment relationship (TER) model of

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work (Vosko, 2000). As such, non-standard workers symbolically shadow the standard workforce (Gleason, 2006; von Hippel, Bendapudi, Tansky, Greenberger, Mangum, & Heneman, 2006). While FTPC teachers embody a work arrangement with a SER, non-standard STO and LTO teachers possess a TER.

The term "non-standard work" has been synonymously associated with the term "contingent work" (George & Ng, 2011). Audrey Freedman (1988) founded the notion of contingent work, which encompasses "conditional and transitory employment relationships as initiated by a need for labor - usually, because a company has an increased demand for a particular service or product or technology, at a particular place, at a specific time" (p. 35). As a contingent worker, the attachment to an employer is not long-term (Polivka, 1996; Polivka & Nardone, 1989). Contingent or non-standard work consists of a myriad of labour arrangements that suit fluctuating economic patterns, diversified global labour needs, and represent "an employer-driven phenomenon" (Lundy, Roberts, & Becker, 2006, p. 99). Such a phenomenon captures an employer's desire to exercise organization flexibility through the temporary employment of non-standard workers in order to achieve the greatest productivity gains with the least financially taxing work arrangements (Atkinson, 1985). As a result of the extensive association between standard and non-standard work in labour market research, the term non-standard work is used throughout this study to refer to both contingent and non-standard work.

Aside from possessing less stability and security as a form of labour, non-standard work is predominantly characterized as flexible. The motivation to pursue non-standard work is commonly attributed to the flexibility of the work arrangement (George & Ng, 2011; Hundley, 2001; Kossek & Michel, 2011). For female non-standard workers, selecting a non-standard work arrangement is consistently related to the time it permits for familial commitments (Ammons &

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Markham, 2004; Carr, 1996; Casey & Alach, 2004; Cohany, 1998; Doerpinghaus, Feldman, & Turnley, 1995; Fredman, 2006; Hakim, 2002; Houseman, 1995; Jurik, 1998). However, most non-standard workers expect that they will partake in the standard workforce and are driven to temporal positions due to bleak preferred standard work opportunities (Morris & Vekker, 2001). The trying times for obtaining standard employment are no exception to the teaching profession, with growing numbers of new entrant teachers participating in STO and LTO teaching for multiple years (McIntyre, 2011; OCT, 2011b). Characteristics of STO and LTO teaching are not widely known, but non-standard work studied in general labour market research demonstrates how there is a collection of heterogeneous non-standard work that is clearly differentiated based on several important considerations.

Heterogeneity of non-standard work. Regardless of the standard work/non standard-work dichotomy, non-standard work itself is not experienced in a homogeneous manner (Belman & Golden, 2000; 2002; Broschak, Davis-Blake, & Block, 2008; Campbell, 2010; Carré, Ferber, Golden, & Herzenberg, 2000; Cohany, Hipple, Nardone, Polivka, & Stewart, 1998; De Cuyper, de Jong, De Witte, Isaksson, Rigotti, & Schalk, 2008; Gleason, 2006; Gottfried, 2009; Kossek & Michel, 2011; Polivka et al., 2000; von Hippel et al., 2006; Vosko, 2004; Vosko et al., 2009; Zeytinoglu & Weber, 2002). What essentially separates non-standard work from standard work is the lack of control it embodies (Conaghan, 2006; De Cuyper et al., 2008). The array of existing non-standard work arrangements predisposes non-standard workers to have various demands in their work and in their levels of involvement with their employers. Aspects contributing to the understanding of non-standard work as being heterogeneous include: (1) A model of differentiation; (2) Core/periphery work allocations; (3) Skill sets; (4) Work organization attachment; and (5) Work organization involvement. The common thread across

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these aspects is the tendency for non-standard work to involve a sense of greater value within the general labour market when the work arrangement more closely resembles standard work.

A model of differentiation. Cranford et al. (2003) have assembled a model that displays the heterogeneous nature of non-standard work in which mutually exclusive categories begin with self-employment and paid employment. Self-employed workers reserve one or more of three divisions: they work on their own-account through contracting (full- or part-time), for employers through contracting (full- or part-time), or for their families without remuneration. These forms of non-standard work are not pertinent to occasional teaching with a district school board organization. Of greater relevance is the paid employment category with two divisions: permanent work (full- or part-time) and temporary work (full- or part-time) (Cranford et al., 2003; Vosko & Clark, 2009). Permanent full-time work is standard, but permanent part-time work is non-standard due to its partial working hour composition that differs from the SER. All forms of temporary work are non-standard. Within the teaching profession, temporary part-time work has progressively increased its presence (Brooks, Young, & Ansara, 1999; Krahn, 1995). Although the exact number of non-standard STO and LTO teachers is unknown, ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teachers' Local has over 1, 500 members acting as STO or LTO teachers (TVDSB & ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teacher' Local, n.d.).

Temporary full- or part-time work is composed of several sub-divisions, whereby it is distributed directly by organizations or indirectly by temporary staffing agencies for organizations as seasonal, on-call, fixed-term contract, or open-term contract work (Connelly & Gallagher, 2004; Cranford et al., 2003; Kalleberg, 2000). The daily mentality of STO teaching corresponds with the temporary part-time "on-call" work sub-division. Long-term occasional teaching contracts with known end dates coincide with the temporary "fixed-term contract" work

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sub-division, whereas LTO teaching contracts with unknown end dates coincide with the temporary "open-term contract" work sub-division. In either scenario, the LTO teaching positions could be full- or part-time forms of temporary work. Applications to differentiate non-standard work based on a full- or part-time status show that depending on the status possessed, non-standard workers may perceive themselves as having more or less of an exterior role within the general labour market.

Core/periphery work allocations. Non-standard work not only has various sub-divisions, but it also differs in how much it deviates from standard work (Aronsson, Gustafsson, & Dallner, 2002; Bernhard-Oettel, Sverke, & De Witte, 2005; Chambel & Castanheira, 2006; Cranford et al., 2003; Davis-Blake, Broschak, & George, 2003; De Cuyper et al., 2008; De Cuyper, Notelaers, & De Witte, 2009; Gleason, 2006; Pfeffer & Baron, 1988; Vosko et al., 2009). These deviations can be thought of as forcing non-standard work to the periphery of standard work within the general labour market (De Cuyper et al., 2009; van Velzen, 2002). Standard workers are at the core of the general labour market and core/periphery work arrangement structures reinforce a hierarchal experience of work (Harvey, 1989; Pollock, 2008; 2010c; Soucek, 1994). Designations of core/periphery work arrangements are by-products of post-Fordist labour practices that position non-standard flexible labour as more disposable, and consequently peripheral, than standard core labour (Harvey, 1989).

When reflecting on the frequently studied sub-divisions of non-standard fixed-term, seasonal, and on-call work, a core/periphery structure can position them apart from standard work. The following order represents the least to most peripheral of these three work arrangements from the core of standard work: (1) Non-standard fixed-term work; (2) Non-standard seasonal work; and (3) Non-standard on-call work (Aronsson et al., 2002; Bernhard-

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Oettel et al., 2005; Chambel & Castanheira, 2006; De Cuyper et al., 2008). This sequencing conveys how non-standard workers directly hired on fixed-term contracts are most like standard workers. Non-standard seasonal workers bear some resemblance to standard workers, leaving non-standard on-call workers on the outermost periphery of the three work arrangements. In addition, non-standard temporary workers hired through an agency are more peripheral than those hired directly by an organization (Chambel & Castanheira, 2006). Put into perspective, non-standard fixed-term LTO teachers such as those in this study could experience a less peripheral existence within the teaching profession when they complete LTO teaching compared to non-standard on-call STO teaching. What also sets non-standard workers apart from each other is the skill sets utilized according to their designated work arrangement.

Skill sets. In alignment with post-Fordist perspectives on labour skill sets, core standard workers are equipped with more specialized skill sets than non-standard workers with their essential role in organization functioning (Soucek, 1994). Van Velzen (2002) found that core standard workers are more highly skilled than non-standard workers and skill levels as measured by educational attainment differ among non-standard workers. Temporary agency hires and direct fixed-term hires for a short duration show lower skill levels than on-call hires and direct open-term hires (van Velzen, 2002).

In a rare study comparing standard permanent contract (PC) teaching and non-standard fixed-term contract LTO teaching in Australia, skill sets were among several sources of differentiation (Feather & Rauter, 2004). Non-standard fixed-term contract LTO teachers reported fewer opportunities to fulfil work values (influence, skill utilization, and skill variety) and demonstrated more job insecurity, organizational commitment, organizational identification, and organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) (e.g., helping behaviour) compared to standard

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PC teachers (Feather & Rauter, 2004). A limitation of this research was that it only differentiated between standard PC teachers and non-standard fixed-term contract LTO teachers, leaving STO teachers out of the equation. Despite this limitation, the study illustrated two important considerations. Firstly, the opportunity to apply skills and the variety of skills applied could be potential sources of differentiation among STO and LTO teachers. Secondly, work organizations are a source of work differentiation.

Work organization attachment. Apart from skill sets, another key feature used to consider how forms of non-standard work differ from each other is attachment (Pfeffer & Baron, 1988; Stone, 2006). Pfeffer and Baron (1988) explain that depending on work arrangements, workers have individual levels of temporal, physical, and administrative attachment to an organization. The attachment levels across the categories can be dispersed, as can the strength of an attachment within a category based on the type of non-standard work. Temporal attachment is graded by how long employees work for an organization. The location of work determines the physical attachment, with employees working from home having a low physical worker-organization attachment. Administrative attachment involves the magnitude of administrative control (i.e., payroll) an organization has over employees. Organizations resort to hiring non-standard temporary agency workers for reduced monitoring of their payroll and administrative management. Those workers with weak temporal, physical, and administrative attachments have highly non-standard positions, such as telecommuting self-employed workers.

Drawing from the non-standard workforce is a movement towards the "externalization of work" in which organizations are consulting labour sources beyond the standard workforce pool (e.g., temporary staffing agencies) and are forming less comprehensive, sustainable organization-worker attachments (Kalleberg, Reynolds, & Marsden, 2003; Pfeffer & Baron, 1988). Situating

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occasional teachers of the TVDSB within Pfeffer and Baron's (1988) conceptualizations confirms that they have a strong administrative attachment through their district school board's control of payroll and a strong physical attachment through on-site work at schools. Heterogeneity in the levels of their temporal attachments to individual schools is not as obvious depending on the frequency of work at particular schools. Inquiry into the formalities of transitional STO and LTO teaching allows for the revelation of LTO teaching as a more or less standard type of work than STO teaching based on temporal attachment, and branches into evaluating how this attachment influences a sense of belonging within schools. A further indication of non-standard work arrangement differentiation is the nature of involvement with work organizations.

Work organization involvement. Studies have shown that as non-standard workers' perceived organizational support intensifies, their organizational commitment strengthens (Connelly & Gallagher, 2004; Connelly, Gallagher, & Gilley, 2007; Coyle-Shapiro & Morrow, 2006; Coyle-Shapiro, Morrow, & Kessler, 2006; Feldman, 2006; Liden, Wayne, Kraimer, & Sparrowe, 2003; Van Breugel, Van Olffen, & Olie, 2005). Similarly, when non-standard workers believe that they are supported, OCBs are increasingly modelled (Feather & Rauter, 2004; Feldman, 2006). This synchronized behaviour sequence coincides with the norm of reciprocity (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). For those non-standard workers striving to convert their positions into standard positions within an organization, higher levels of organizational commitment are demonstrated (Feldman, 2006). The duration of non-standard work has an important role in building organizational commitment. As the duration of a worker's non-standard position increases, so too does his/her identification and commitment with the work organization (Feldman, 2006; McLean Parks, Kidder, & Gallagher, 1998). Longer positions

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promote interactions with standard workers and extra-role behaviours that span beyond the expected behaviours for positions (Feldman, 2006; McLean Parks et al., 1998). This study provides an outlook on the nature of interactions with standard FTPC teachers across the non-standard STO and LTO positions.

General labour market literature provides several circumstances that are relevant to non-standard STO and LTO teaching. It seems that non-standard work poses costs and benefits to both workers and their employers. The remainder of the literature review illustrates how standard FTPC and non-standard STO and LTO teaching work structures as well as globalization processes have affected the nature of teachers' work.

The Nature of FTPC, STO, and LTO Teaching

In opening this section, commentary about what FTPC teachers talk about sets the tone for how the nature of their work has changed. Hall (2004) reveals that FTPC teachers

> talk about the fact that there doesn't seem to be enough time to cover what is expected… They feel that their freedom to make decisions about their work has been constricted… They talk about increased managerialism, paperwork and bureaucracy in schools.

This change is closely tied to globalization as a system of constant, demanding transition that seeks to maximize gains across the general labour market and the teaching profession (Smyth et al., 2000). As a system of efficiency, globalization compresses the use of time and disseminates knowledge, information, and ideas, while promoting collaboration through technologies and community agendas (Lauder et al., 2006). The globalization of education has prompted changes in the nature of teachers' work as displayed through the presence of proliferated general teacher and professional learning expectations (Smyth et al., 2000).

Education literature is monopolized by the experiences of FTPC teachers, yet it cannot be denied that STO and LTO teachers have also followed suit and experienced a change in the

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nature of their work. St. Michel (1995) references STO teaching as "probably the most difficult and demanding job within the field of education and the one that receives the least amount of attention and support" (p. 25). This section reviews the general teacher expectations of FTPC, STO, and LTO teachers. As mentioned, the rationale for the inclusion of FTPC teaching literature rests in two areas: (1) The documented similarities between LTO and FTPC general teacher expectations and responsibilities (Betts, 2006); and (2) The inclusion of LTO teachers with new FTPC teachers in the NTIP while completing their first position of 97 days or longer. Both of these areas suggest that LTO and FTPC teachers share similarities in the nature of their work. The present study explores general teacher expectations as a source of STO and LTO teaching work differentiation. By gaining an understanding of FTPC general teacher expectations, a context can be created that is a guide in contemplating how the general teacher expectations of LTO teaching may manifest themselves. The lack of literature on LTO teachers is off-set by this study that serves as a measure to decrease the reliance on FTPC teacher research as a basis for seeking to understand LTO teaching.

The remaining literature review concentrates on: (1) General teacher expectations of FTPC teachers; (2) General teacher expectations of STO and LTO teachers; and (3) Identity descriptors of STO and LTO teachers. As a socially influenced construct, teacher identity interacts with the ITWVH to affect how STO teachers assign teacher identity descriptors to themselves and how others assign these descriptors to them (Pollock, 2008). The motive for including a teacher identity element within the literature review stems from the plausibility of it shedding light on not only structural, but also socially influenced aspects of STO and LTO teacher differentiation that can in turn influence the nature of STO and LTO teaching. The

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brought to teaching a focus on delivering knowledge with the intent of producing competitive learning outcomes (Smyth et al., 2000). The management of FTPC teaching practices in the classroom to directly meet students' needs through specialized programming, differentiated instruction, team-based learning, efficient classroom management, and the nourishment of a self-improvement culture has intensified.

General expectations of FTPC teaching surpass the "visible work witnessed in the classroom. Teachers also spend hours behind the scenes preparing lesson plans, marking student material… and participating in elaborate accountability schemes" (Pollock , 2008, p. 24). In being accountable for apparently immeasurable general teacher expectations, FTPC teachers' internal professional interests are competing with external demands of how they should perform as professionals. As a response, FTPC teachers have undertaken "a fundamental shift in the locus of control in the teaching profession, from internal to external. This means that teachers must engage with constant self-renewal, which leads in turn to a crisis of continuity" (Gray, 2006, p. 41). Although there is continuity in striving for teaching success, there is discontinuity in the control over teaching practices that has been lost to technical, standardized curricula and testing as well as administrative duties. In the classroom, discourse about standardized test preparation is readily apparent (Lipman, 2004).

A shift in the FTPC teacher responsibility from social change agent to technical agent implementing current teaching demands has disempowered FTPC teachers by subduing their sense of autonomy to some extent (Harris, 1994; Robertson, 1996). Despite FTPC teachers having external pressures to meet high general teacher expectations, they still remain the primary agents in control of their own classrooms. The decision making control within their classrooms is a source of autonomy for FTPC teachers (Friedman, 1999). General teacher expectations for

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the practices applied within these classrooms are informed by professional learning. Attendance at professional learning sessions by FTPC teachers provides STO teachers with work, which in turn provides these STO teachers with the opportunity to exercise their general teacher expectations within a classroom.

General teacher expectations of STO and LTO teachers. The globalization of education with intensified expectations for professional learning in innovative teaching trends, curricula initiatives, and assessment practices has been counterbalanced with heightened labour opportunities for STO teachers. In highlighting this STO teacher labour market state, Pollock (2008) comments on how FTPC teachers' union collective agreements

> provide better coverage for sick days, leave, and professional development for permanent teachers [that] encourage greater use of [short-term] occasional teachers. At the classroom level, as teachers' work becomes more complex with prescribed curriculum and elaborate assessment schemes, the lessons that [short-term] occasional teachers cover are becoming more complex. (p. 23)

Not only have teachers been affected by globalization, but also teacher unions in their pursuit to secure FTPC teachers with funding negotiations for STO teacher coverage while they attend professional learning commitments. This coverage is secondary to the fundamental teacher union securities granted for general instances of illness (Pollock, 2008). Regardless of the reasoning for STO teacher coverage, general teacher expectations for STO teachers can be classified as either synchronized with or detached from the intensification of FTPC teachers' general teacher expectations. In both cases, STO teachers are accountable to the absent FTPC teachers they replace who can view them as also requiring an intensification of their general teacher expectations or not. If a FTPC teacher perceives

> teaching as a nine-to-five job that requires routine application of standard classroom techniques, then that teacher may believe that certified occasional teachers also possess these standard classroom techniques, and provide lesson plans that explain curriculum to

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> be covered but leaves the method of delivery up to the occasional teacher's discretion. (Pollock, 2008, pp. 25-26)

Teachers of this orientation for universal general teacher expectations create nil skill barriers between themselves and STO teachers, which counters post-Fordist notions of peripheral non-standard workers possessing less specialized skill sets than standard workers. Fluidity in programming is an objective of these FTPC teachers. They plan lessons for STO teachers that are reflective of their intensified general teacher expectations for efficient curriculum coverage.

The logic of FTPC teachers that supports post-Fordist notions assigns peripheral non-standard STO teachers to lower general teacher expectations and skill sets. Full-time permanent contract teachers who label STO teachers as poorly skilled and ill-equipped for the complexity of FTPC general teacher expectations can leave behind "filler" lesson plans independent of a curriculum focus (Pollock, 2008; 2010c). Also, the intensity of student instruction is depleted when STO teachers present movies while replacing FTPC teachers (Miller et al., 2008). General teacher expectations of the STO teachers in these cases are detached from the intensification experienced by FTPC teachers in the nature of their work.

The ideal of having STO general teacher expectations synchronized with intensified FTPC general teacher expectations occurs with the establishment of collegial relationships. If FTPC teachers have a rapport with STO teachers, then a curriculum based lesson plan rather than filler activities may be left for the day (Pollock, 2008). Within the guidelines of LTO teaching, all duties of the absent FTPC teacher are assumed by the LTO teacher (TVDSB, 2008). This includes heightened curriculum focused lesson planning, which highlights the transferability of general teacher expectation intensification from FTPC to LTO teachers. In New Brunswick, LTO teachers

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> have a chance to make a good impression while showing that they are willing to do whatever it takes to prove they deserve a contract. The downside is that these novice educators will have all the responsibilities of fulltime contracted beginning teachers without the benefit of: a contract and sufficient pay, job benefits, recall rights and provincial association membership. (Betts, 2006, p. 3)

These teachers describe LTO teaching as an experience characterized by being submerged into a position with little support, while facing a reality shock in response to upholding the intense general teacher expectations of FTPC teaching (Betts, 2006). The experiences of STO and LTO teachers can influence how they perceive themselves and create teacher identity descriptors.

Identity Descriptors of STO and LTO Teachers

With the increase in differentiated work arrangements, non-standard workers are positioned less favourably with their subordinate power relations that can foster helplessness (Appay, 2010). The differentiation between standard core and non-standard peripheral workers reinforces the accessibility to power within the workforce as determined by hierarchical positioning (Harvey, 1989). Non-standard STO teachers are hierarchically disadvantaged relative to standard FTPC teachers who possess greater power as teachers (Pollock, 2008; 2009). The absence of a monolithic quality to power allows it to "be reproduced, maintained, negotiated, challenged, or transformed depending not only on social conditions, but also on how much an individual has invested in and become attached to social categories, labels, representations, and discourses" (Byrd Clark, 2009, p. xi). Power is challenged among STO teachers due to their socially categorized, subordinate hierarchical standing within the teacher workforce that is influenced by their interactions with school staff and students (Pollock, 2008). This subordinate power actuality is relayed in the teacher identity descriptors that STO teachers are assigned by themselves and others.

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The present research extends from occasional teacher identity research by probing into the multiple identities of teachers with a transitional STO and LTO teacher role. In this portion of the literature review, how occasional teachers are described by themselves and others is approached. Prior to disclosing these teacher identity descriptors, an overview of literature is included that captures four elements involved in the configuration of the identity descriptors: (1) The social aspect of identity theory; (2) Legitimacy; (3) Identity influences of FTPC teachers; and (4) Treatment by others. These elements provide a foundation for understanding how the nature of STO and LTO teaching influences the teacher identity descriptors associated with these work arrangements. The literature is laden with STO teacher references and points to an ITWVH at play in the identity perceptions of these teachers.

The social aspect of identity theory. Individual identity formation is a process that entails the amalgamation of impressions derived from one's self and others (Czerniawski, 2011; Danielewicz, 2001; Settlage, Southerland, Smith, & Ceglie, 2009). As socially constructed entities that are multi-dimensional, identities are not static and encounter change with their sensitivity to external surroundings (Byrd Clark, 2009; Czerniawski, 2011; Settlage et al., 2009; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011). Consistent with Mead's conceptualizations, the "generalized other" is the attitude embedded community to which an individual belongs, whereby the attitudes are internalized and the "community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking" (Clark, Chandler, & Barry, 1994, p. 101). This communal influence on identity constructions is deeply felt by STO teachers upon entering their work environment and is understood through notions of legitimacy.

Legitimacy. When STO teachers enter the immediate school communities and classrooms of the FTPC teachers they are replacing, there is a predisposition for the surrounding

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staff and students to assign them with underprivileged professional identity descriptors based on their work arrangements and limited legitimacy (Pollock, 2008). Legitimacy is a quality voluntarily assigned by an organization that assumes its members are knowledgeable about standard rules and allows them to constructively exercise power within or on behalf of the organization (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987). Full-time permanent contract teachers attain identity constructions as legitimate teachers and the school organizations that foster these constructions label them as such. These legitimate FTPC teachers become staple influences in STO and LTO teachers' perceptions of their teacher identities.

Identity influences of FTPC teachers. The work arrangements of LTO teachers and STO teachers are central to their identity constructions as teaching professionals. The FTPC teaching work arrangement infuses these constructions (Damianos, 1998; Pollock, 2008; 2010c; Vorell, 2007). Long-term occasional teachers have mainly been depicted as being like "real" FTPC teachers (Pollock, 2008). Short-term occasional teacher identity descriptors are often constructed by themselves and others in comparison to the hierarchically superior FTPC teacher (Damianos, 1998; Sigel, 1997). Pollock's (2008) study of STO teachers exposed how their

> identities were shaped in relation to full-time, permanent teachers and the dominant culture or discourse of teaching and education in which all teachers were immersed. These identities were influenced by their supposed impact on student learning and on the roles and responsibilities associated with a teaching position. It appears from participants' responses that occasional teachers' identities were contingent on how closely they reflected the dominant culture or the full-time teacher identity. (p. 228)

Short-term occasional teachers identify themselves as marginal due to lacking the power and authority of FTPC teachers who hold designated positions in school organizations (Betts, 2006; Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Damianos, 1998; Duggleby & Badali, 2007). A marginal identity is upheld by "one who is *not* integrated into the formal structure of an institution, and consequently cannot contribute meaningfully to the successful achievement of the desired goals of the

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institution" (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987, p. 314). Short-term occasional teachers are removed from school discourses on organization goals due to the transient nature of their work, and the treatment they experience by others reflects their transient presence within schools.

Treatment by others. St. Michel (1995) recognizes that the identity constructions of STO teachers are influenced by how these teachers are perceived and treated by others, yet

> Rarely does an administrator interact with substitutes, unless, of course, the substitute has a problem. Regular teachers do not go out of their way to work with or interact with substitutes aside from requesting that substitutes leave written notes about their experiences. (p. 19)

Students are similarly distant in their interactions with STO teachers, treating them as "strangers" who are in their classrooms temporarily and who do not know the classroom rules or their names (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987). They are especially prone to perceive these strangers as a sign of freedom and an invitation for misbehaviour (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Damianos, 1998; Pollock, 2008; Sigel, 1997; Woods & Woods, 1974). The STO teacher-student interaction "is often marked by conflict-ridden sessions between [STO] teachers and pupils, each vying for their own space in an attempt to legitimatize their 'right' to claiming ownership of the classroom" (Damianos, 1998, p. 26). Short-term occasional teachers are constrained "in a very contentious situation; they are expected to take the place of the regular teacher, deliver someone else's lesson plans and manage classrooms effectively, all from a position where they lack the necessary authority to do so" (Pollock, 2008, p. 63). The manner in which STO teachers are treated signals the possibility of a meagre tone to their documented identity descriptors.

Identity descriptors. Specialized identity research on LTO teachers is not evident in education literature, but it is evident with STO teachers. The teacher identity descriptors of "baby-sitter" and "not real teacher" are often linked to STO teachers by these teachers themselves and by those with whom they interact with at schools. Students, FTPC teachers, and

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administrators assign the teacher identity descriptor of baby-sitter to STO teachers, claiming that they are not as knowledgeable or experienced as FTPC teachers (Abdal-Haqq, 1997; Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Pollock, 2008; St. Michel, 1995; Vorell, 2007; Weems, 2003). Therefore, the STO teacher is the peripheral "other" teacher who is clearly distinguishable from the FTPC teacher (Pollock, 2008; Weems, 2003). As baby-sitters, FTPC teachers and administrators believe that STO teachers will not teach anything to the students and merely ensure that order is in the classroom (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Sigel, 1997). Consistent with the baby-sitter teacher identity descriptor is the perception that "a day spent with a substitute is too often a complete waste of time and too often a boring day in which students think of their own solutions to their boredom" (St. Michel, 1995, p. 3). Some FTPC teachers explain to their students that STO teachers are "guests" (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987). A guest teacher identity descriptor conveys that STO teachers do not know the rules of the classroom and students internalize these teachers as powerless.

The "incompetent teacher" is a standard STO teacher identity descriptor that can surface from: (1) Students thinking that STO teachers do not understand the lesson plan content; (2) Students recognizing that their FTPC teachers re-teach the material covered by STO teachers; (3) Students observing that the lesson plans left are "busy" work; (4) Administrators believing that STO teachers require regular "check-ins" throughout the day; and (5) Full-time permanent contract teachers knowing that they are paid more than STO teachers (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987). The stranger, baby-sitter, other, guest, and incompetent STO teacher identity descriptors imply that the system of globalization has not afforded these teachers a sense of power and authority. Short-term occasional teachers have intensely participated in the globalization

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initiative to enhance their professionalism, yet they have nearly invisible identities. Pollock (2008) asserts

> Even though occasional teachers in Ontario are certified and have, in some cases, more formal education and professional development experiences than those in full-time teaching positions, this expertise and experience is not formally acknowledged by the education system. Some of the professional development materials, while not using the terms "legitimacy" or "authority," describe how occasional teachers are ignored by staff in the staffroom, are not trusted to deliver a meaningful lesson, and are considered incompetent in either subject areas or teaching skills. (pp. 62-63)

Certain STO teachers may in fact be more competent than FTPC teachers (Sigel, 1997) and they deserve to be perceived with less derogatory teacher identity descriptors. In order for STO teachers to be more positively regarded, their temporary connection to school organizations must be seen as involving legitimacy. Otherwise, STO teachers could experience a further devaluation of their professional identities. The ETFO attempted to evoke thought about the legitimacy and importance of STO teachers with their public campaign, "There Is No Substitute for a Substitute Teacher" (Richter, 2006). Similar publicity efforts would be beneficial. "Ultimately, [STO] teachers want the same kind of authority, privileges, and responsibilities extended to regular teachers. They are professionals who want to be treated as such" (St. Michel, 1995, p. 19). Promoting education research on STO and LTO teachers is a means of raising the awareness of these teachers as legitimate professionals who are non-standard workers.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, globalization processes and post-Fordist labour practices were regarded as contributing to the changing structure and nature of work within the general labour market. Structural changes of work to include both standard and non-standard work arrangements in general labour market literature were applied to contextualize STO and LTO teaching. Through this field of literature, the documented heterogeneity in non-standard work arrangements was

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contemplated in relation to STO and LTO teaching. A complementary review of education literature illustrated that the level of intensity in general teacher expectations is comparable for LTO and FTPC teachers, while STO teachers experience less intensity in this realm. Additionally, evidence of stigmatized STO teacher identity descriptors contributes to the existence of an ITWVH that subordinates these professionals. The next chapter extends itself to the theoretical framework of the study that fuses facets of both post-Fordism and the ITWVH.

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Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Processes of globalization and post-Fordist labour practices have been identified as complementary (Kiely, 1998). The rise of globalization has in part been affected by a post-Fordist era of economic production and consumption. From one perspective, the post-Fordist era has extended a leading role in introducing a diversified and flexible labour organization structure within the private manufacturing industry that is currently implemented at local, national, and global levels across sectors (Harvey, 1989). Payette (1998) stresses how "many organizations have already adopted or plan to adopt staffing strategies that call for a core of permanent employees and a flexible pool of part-time and contingent workers" (p. ii). This structure has established differentiation among workers through a postmodern core and periphery labour model with assorted work demands that has translated into a hierarchical presence within the general labour market (Harvey, 1989). Private/public sector boundaries have become indiscernible with these sectors unified in their production and employment practices that nurture differentiation among workers (Thornley, Jefferys, & Appay, 2010).

Progressively limited access to the core FTPC teaching work arrangement has enlarged the periphery of STO and LTO teachers (McIntyre, 2011; OCT, 2011b) and contributed to the existing internal hierarchy embedded within the teaching profession (Pollock, 2008; 2009; 2010a; 2010c). What remains unknown in education literature is how the ITWVH is principally experienced by transitional non-standard STO and LTO teachers and how it has implications for their hierarchical positioning within the ITWVH. These issues are major concerns in the present research and circumvent generalizations of STO and LTO teachers as uniform labour groups.

Post-Fordism provides an avenue through which non-standard peripheral STO and LTO teacher work arrangements and skill sets for job performance can be interpreted from a general

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labour market perspective. The ITWVH theory accounts for how the structural changes and the nature of work guided by post-Fordist labour practices have influenced the hierarchical positioning of non-standard STO and LTO teachers. A synergy of these theories composes the theoretical framework of this thesis that is organized into the three segments presented in this chapter: (1) Introducing Fordism as the origin of post-Fordism; (2) Post-Fordist labour, flexibility, and production; and (3) The ITWVH. After discussing these segments, the main research question and corresponding sub-questions are re-visited. Post-Fordism operates as a compilation "of organizing logics on which to hang the disparate sets of structures, experiences and contradictions within the world of work" (Menter, Muschamp, Nicholls, Ozga, & Pollard, 1997, p. 126). Fundamentals of post-Fordist theory create a framework for understanding differentiated non-standard STO and LTO teaching experiences that parallels the rise of globalization and hierarchical experiences of labour within the private sector as well as public education.

Introducing Fordism as the Origin of Post-Fordism

Modern Fordist labour practices originated from capitalist notions reinforced by Henry Ford in the automotive industry during the early 1890s (Harvey, 1989). A system of managerialism was implemented in Ford's automotive factories driven by corporate power and efficiency. Efficiency was evident with managers monopolizing the control of assembly lines and limiting worker accountability to mundane skill and digitized machinery use. The nature of work for a Ford manufacturing employee

> was confined to one specific operation on one specific machine in the progressive line, and because he performed the same operation time and time again, day in and day out, there was no need for skill or discretion on his part. (Gartman, 2002, p. 34)

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Digitized machinery can have a bearing on the nature of work through skill sets that undergo a process of deskilling, upgrading, or polarization (National Research Council, 1999). Deskilling involves the re-structuring of a skill set to become simplistic and habitual, whereas upgrading involves gaining a new skill set that is more intricate. Polarization acts as a middle ground between these two processes with the acquisition of both low- and high-level skills to form an overall balanced skill set (National Research Council, 1999). The sense of autonomy for workers is greatest when obtaining training for and applying specialized skill sets (Edlund & Grönlund, 2010). Most characteristic of Ford workers was the deskilling process evident in "purely routinized labour, demanding little in the way of traditional craft skills" (Harvey, 1989, p. 128). Fordism was marked by homogenized production processes and products (Harvey, 1989; Moulaert, Swyngedouw, & Wilson, 1988).

Ford adhered to principles of capital accumulation, which are predicated on the assumption that economical wealth is achieved via the mass production of goods and the regulation of their consumption (Harvey, 1989). A fixation with mass production was partnered with product standardization "as well as mass consumption; and that meant a whole new aesthetic and a commodification of culture" (Harvey, 1989, p. 135). Ford strove to impose this culture on his assembly line workers. They were remunerated five-dollars for their daily eight-hour shifts as a means to maintain their work commitment and to encourage them to participate in the consumption of goods generated by their labour (Harvey, 1989). Rigid demands were imposed upon the lives of Ford's assembly line workers, for he viewed them as profitable contributors to the prosperity of capital accumulation processes. They were expected to uphold considerably high standards of work ethic, assembly-line productivity, and civil responsibility (Harvey, 1989). The height of Ford's scrutinizing practices in 1916 involved dispatching

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> an army of social workers into the homes of his 'privileged' (and largely immigrant) workers to ensure that the 'new man' of mass production had the right kind of moral probity, family life, and capacity for prudent (i.e. non-alcoholic) and 'rational' consumption to live up to corporate needs and expectations. (Harvey, 1989, p. 126)

Fordist initiatives to sustain a body of workers who modelled exemplary assembly line efficiency, product consumption, and moral character inevitably resulted in unfavourable work conditions that were exacerbated with racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination (Harvey, 1989).

By the early 1970s, Fordist labour policies and practices contrasted with the thriving inflation and recession evident in a distressed global economy (Harvey, 1989). The influx of mass product production overrode the deteriorating state of consumer purchase patterns with the outcome being a clear product availability-consumerism discrepancy (Harvey, 1989; Pollock, 2008). Capital accumulation rigidity was in part responsible for the depleting economy (Harvey, 1989). The solution to the supply-demand rigidities of Fordist labour policies and practices was flexibility (Harvey, 1989). In an effort to revitalize the state of the economy, more flexible labour practices were introduced that reflected the principles of a post-Fordist framework.

Post-Fordist Labour, Flexibility, and Production

Diversified product creation of the post-Fordist era has replaced the homogenized product inventories of the Fordist era (Coffey & Thornley, 2010). An economy of scope with various specialized products produced in smaller and less expensive batches is a staple aspect of post-Fordism that counters the Fordist economy of scale with massively produced standard products (Harvey, 1989). Post-Fordist labour practices particularly display flexibility with the customization of products and "just-in-time" production that is synchronous with consumer demand and eliminates the need for stored product stocks (Harvey, 1989; Moulaert et al., 1988; Rifkin, 2004). Post-Fordist labour practices are characterized by the acquisition of more advanced skill sets (Harvey, 1989). Gartman (1998) explains that the advent of post-Fordist

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production modified "the rigidly specialized and deskilled Fordist production process. The new methods had to be flexible, allowing machines and workers to adapt quickly to the wide range of tasks demanded by a diverse and changing product mix" (p. 124).

As a unit, post-Fordist labour practices are strategically infused with a system of production grounded in flexible accumulation rather than capital accumulation. Harvey (1989) contends that flexible accumulation

> rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation. (p. 147)

Flexibility intersects with all aspects of the current age of post-Fordist production and creates a differentiated structure and nature of work for employees in a labour paradigm of less rigidity and uniformity (Appay, 2010; Harvey, 1989). The off-set of standardization and on-set of differentiation in the post-Fordist era creates a dichotomous work arrangement structure that houses core and peripheral occupants who are distinguishable by their standard/non-standard work associations, job security, and skill set variances (Harvey, 1989). Flexible accumulation has spawned diverse levels of control for organizations in the management of their workforces and has differently influenced the post-Fordist work structure (Appay, 2010).

Amidst a flexible organization and management of workers is differentiation in the nature of goods produced and the skill sets required to create them (Gartman, 2002). The skill sets are unique to standard core and non-standard peripheral workers (Harvey, 1989; Soucek, 1994). This review of post-Fordist theory includes an integrative approach with the general labour market of the private industrial sector and its applicability to public education via the following areas: (1) Post-Fordist differentiated work arrangement structures; (2) Post-Fordist flexibility

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regimes and organizations; and (3) Post-Fordist flexibility applications. All three domains are symbolic of the conditions that have created and intensified the existence of non-standard work.

Post-Fordist differentiated work arrangement structures. The flexibility of a post-Fordist labour structure within an organization has introduced differing labour employee dynamics. "Flexible labour can refer both to the skills utilized by a small proportion of the workforce and the extended division of the labour market into core and periphery" (Kiely, 1998, p. 99). These delegations represent the "new work order" in a post-Fordist division of labour that is both dichotomous and hierarchical, with core workers having an advantageous hierarchical positioning over peripheral workers (Harvey, 1989). Post-Fordist notions of the core worker coincide with general labour market notions of the standard worker, while post-Fordist notions of the peripheral worker coincide with general labour market notions of the non-standard worker. An early post-Fordist general workforce model categorized differentiated standard and non-standard work arrangements (Harvey, 1989) that later informed a model catered to the teacher workforce with an emphasis on skills (Soucek, 1994). The former model's specifications are discussed first.

Post-Fordist general workforce model. Post-Fordist theory proposes that core workers of the general labour market appreciate the benefits of traditional FTPC employment (e.g., labour security, professional learning, and pension), whereas peripheral workers experience less secure and stable work conditions (Harvey, 1989). According to Harvey (1989), peripheral workers within the general labour market exist in two capacities that separate them from core workers: (1) Full-time workers who experience high turnover with less significant skill sets and labour security than core workers; or (2) Workers with temporal positions (e.g., part-time, casual, fixed-term, or contract employees) and less labour security than the first periphery tier grouping.

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Harvey's (1989) rationale sets transitional STO and LTO teachers within the second periphery tier. The contention to amalgamate all temporal workers within the second periphery tier suggests that their experiences of work are homogenous and deters from the acknowledgement of non-standard work arrangement differentiation (Broschak et al., 2008; De Cuyper et al., 2008; Gleason, 2006). How peripheral the members of this group are in comparison to their core counterparts can in fact influence their work experiences and this amalgamation neglects the consideration of layered hierarchical positions even within the non-standard workforce (Cranford et al., 2003). One source of work experience heterogeneity within the non-standard workforce stems from worker-organization attachments (Pfeffer & Baron, 1988). With the diversified teaching histories among transitional STO and LTO teachers, Harvey's (1989) isolated tier for temporal peripheral workers is insufficient. A transitional occasional teacher's movement about STO and LTO teaching may provide the basis for different hierarchical experiences and warrant additional periphery tiers. With a push for flexible accumulation in the private sector, the teaching labour market has embraced a re-structuring of work arrangements to synchronize with a standard core/non-standard periphery framework (Pollock, 2008).

Post-Fordist teacher workforce skill model. Soucek (1994) expands on Harvey's (1989) post-Fordist general labour market model to consider a three-tiered hierarchical model of teaching work arrangements differentiated by skill. Representation in the first tier is designated for highly skilled teaching professionals, with the second and third tiers reserved for peripheral teachers. Teaching professionals in the first tier consist of core teachers, senior staff, management, and Advanced Skilled Teachers (AST) who possess specialized expertise. The second tier includes peripheral PC teachers who are fully-skilled. The peripheral teaching staff of the third tier completes part-time, casual, or contract work with the application of generic

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skills. In connection with Soucek's (1994) model, transitional STO and LTO teachers are positioned as members of the third tier. This tier resembles the non-standard workforce with less advanced skill sets outlined by general labour market research (van Velzen, 2002).

Soucek's (1994) model highlights the differentiated skill capacities of teachers at various hierarchical tiers, yet it does not account for the likelihood of teachers transitioning between these tiers and how their skill sets are affected during this process. Like Harvey (1989), Soucek (1994) disregards differentiation among the collective grouping of non-standard workers within the outermost periphery tier. This predicament suggests that STO and LTO teachers share the same skill sets due to their involvement within identical tiers. Viewing STO and LTO teaching as individualized non-standard work arrangements through this research supports the viability of not only learning about skill sets unique to each position, but also about how transitions between the work arrangements may influence the teaching skill sets used.

Soucek (1994) also fails to specify that non-standard peripheral teachers do not limit themselves to acquiring only the generic skill sets unique to their periphery classifications. Short-term occasional teachers have skill sets that often surpass what would be considered generic within the teacher workforce. This is reflective of their conscientious efforts to build credentials and marketability for FTPC teaching positions (Pollock, 2008; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c). Investigating STO and LTO teachers exposes the overt nature of their work, including the tasks they perform and the level of skill involved. Standard core workers of the general labour market and of the teaching profession possess a complex and necessary skill set for the optimal functioning of an organization (Harvey, 1989; Soucek, 1994).

Post-Fordist flexibility regimes and organizations. According to the dependency perspective, organizations rely on the non-standard workforce "to smooth out variable labor

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demand and to 'provide special skills,' thereby reducing their labor uncertainty by ensuring a supply of needed workers" (Kalleberg et al., 2003, p. 547). Through permeating conditions of

> strong market volatility, heightened competition, and narrowing profit margins, employers have taken advantage of weakened union power and the pools of surplus (unemployed or underemployed) labourers to push for much more flexible work regimes and labour contracts. (Harvey, 1989, p. 150)

Organizations have flexibility in stabilizing the number of workers and skill types they require by employing suitable non-standard workers as they see fit (Atkinson, 1985; Gleason, 2006; Harrison & Kelley, 1993; Kelliher, Gore, & Riley, 2002). Organizations considerably benefit from a non-standard workforce in that it supports flexible labour practices and cost reduction (Belman & Golden, 2002; Burke & Ng, 2006; Carré et al., 2000; Chambel & Castanheira, 2006; Christensen, 1998; Houseman, 2001; Kalleberg, 2000; Kalleberg & Reynolds, 2000; Kossek & Michel, 2011; Nollen & Axel, 1998; Owens, 2006; Rassuli, 2005; von Hippel, Mangum, Greenberger, Heneman, & Skoglind, 1997). Managerial intentions of using non-standard workers to lower organization expenses support the cost hypothesis (Kalleberg et al., 2003).

In the pursuit of cost reductions, organizations often use a cost-leadership approach that is evident in their reduced commitment to human resource management practices (George & Ng, 2011; Gramm & Schnell, 2001). This approach aligns with contingency theories of strategic human resource management that call for the implementation of practices that best suit given needs (Sherer & Leblebici, 2001). It is common practice for organizations to hire temporary contracted and self-employed non-standard workers to do standard work at a lower cost (Gramm & Schnell, 2001). Houseman (2001) emphasizes how non-standard hires from temporary agencies and part-time hires are strategically evaluated and screened as potential investments for prospective standard positions by organizations.

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Although flexible labour profits organizations under times of economic tension, it hinders the peripheral workers who are causalities of labour market insecurity (Appay, 2010; Coffey & Thornley, 2010; Davis-Blake et al., 2003; Ko, 2003). The operation of a non-standard workforce has cultivated a culture of insecurity within the labour market (Heckscher, 2000; Herzenberg, Alic, & Wial, 2000). This insecurity is a source of job related stress for non-standard workers (Inoue, Tsurugano, Nishikitani, & Yano, 2010). The basis of post-Fordist theory is flexibility at the expense of peripheral workers and it does not consider the consequences of peripheral positioning on worker identity constructions. This study attends to the teacher identity descriptors that transitional STO and LTO teachers assign to themselves as flexible peripheral workers within a school board organization.

Through flexibility practices, organizations garner a sense of control over their workers and foster differentiation among them. Flexibility is positioned as a neoliberal petition for a malleable labour market (Appay, 2010). With the long waiting period for obtaining a FTPC teaching position (McIntyre, 2011; OCT, 2011b), the teaching labour market may face further malleability with higher volumes of transitional STO and LTO teachers. At the hands of an organization's labour needs, non-standard workers face several forms of post-Fordist labour flexibility that accentuate their peripheral positioning.

Post-Fordist flexibility applications. Characteristic post-Fordist labour practice applications of functional, numerical, and financial flexibility are heavily applied within the non-standard workforce (Harvey, 1989; Pollock, 2008). Each of these forms of flexibility will be presented separately and then synthesized in consideration of their relation to STO and LTO teaching. What weaves the forms of flexibility together is their sensitivity to the intricacies of how non-standard workers can be best utilized in order to benefit work organizations.

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Functional flexibility. Functional flexibility involves the practice of workers being "redeployed quickly and smoothly between activities and tasks" (Atkinson, 1985, p. 11). As a result of this practice, organizations instil the employment of flexible employees who are compatible with a variety of work contexts and tasks. The technicalities of

> Employing appropriate [STO] teachers and deploying the professional skills available (from internal and external sources) is a complex activity. It relies on individual experience and takes place within institutional norms, but it is conducted in a changing world. (Galloway, 1994, p. 83)

Stemming from this changing world, district school board organizations are exercising labour flexibility practices that classify STO teaching as a form of appealing labour bound by versatility, disposability, and frugality. Flexibility is desirable in maximizing non-standard workers' services and their accessibility as workers.

Numerical flexibility. Within the general labour market, "**Numerical Flexibility** is sought so that worked hours can be quickly, cheaply and easily increased or decreased in line with even short term changes in the level of demand for labour" (Atkinson, 1985, p. 11). The flexibility in how many workers are employed at a given time complements market demands and optimizes the resourceful allocation of organization funds, while creating a growing representation of temporal, non-standard workers (Appay, 2010; Atkinson, 1985; Harvey, 1989; Pollock, 2008). The expense of these non-standard workers is also a major concern.

Financial flexibility. Financial flexibility involves the labour practice of providing remuneration that is indicative of the current labour market trends with strategic efforts to administer cheap labour (Atkinson, 1985; Pollock, 2008). Non-standard general labour market literature depicts organizations as utilizing non-standard workers primarily for these aspects of interwoven flexibility and financial management for low labour costs (George & Ng, 2011; Gleason, 2006). Morrison (1994b) summarizes a STO teaching population as the cost efficient

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amoeba that must remain "mobile, flexible and large enough to support the organisms which feed on it" (p. 153). This support of the organisms exposes the population to constant confrontations with post-Fordist flexibility practices.

Flexibility applications to STO and LTO teachers. "Post-Fordist frameworks have had a significant if episodic impact on educational studies and sociology" (Carter, 1997, p. 46), for non-standard teacher employment within public education has actively been driven by flexible labour practices (Pollock, 2006; 2008; 2010a; 2010c). How is it that functional, numerical, and financial flexibility applied by district school board organizations can differentiate between non-standard STO and LTO teachers? Pollock (2008) has taken a leading role in voicing how STO teachers are exposed to functional, numerical, and financial flexibility so that their

> employment arrangements allow hiring and deployment over a number of different activities, and they demand tasks and skills that are presumably transferable to a number of different work environments. [Short-term] Occasional teachers can, and are, hired as needed and released when not required… [Short-term] Occasional teachers are also paid lower wages than their counterparts in permanent teaching positions. (p. 36)

Although a meaningful application is made, it lacks differentiation between forms of flexibility among the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements. Functional flexibility is exhibited when district school boards redeploy STO and LTO teachers across different schools to perform various tasks. This flexibility application assumes that the labour of teachers is technical such that it "does not require professional development but rather simple skill-sets that may be acquired by anyone" (Pollock, 2008, p. 35). The functional flexibility of STO teachers is integral, as their positions involve redeployment on a daily basis and they posses a generic skill set as peripheral workers that is easily transferrable across many work locations.

Numerical flexibility is characteristic of district school board post-Fordist labour practices, as the number of non-standard STO and LTO teachers hired at a given time is

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dependent upon need and vacancies in classrooms for absent standard FTPC teachers. The number of non-standard STO teachers required on a specific school day varies across schools, but the number of non-standard LTO teachers required is more predictable with their lengthier positions and contractual formalities. Pool hiring practices of district school boards for non-standard STO teachers model numerical flexibility due to the demand for more non-standard STO teachers needed to fill FTPC teacher absences. Lindley (1994) highlights the efficiency in constructing "a natural pool of professionally committed but dispensable members, people who will stand in for the regular teacher when illness, training, or other duties take them away from the classroom" (p. 175). The long-standing labour practice of creating a STO teacher pool is sensitive to general labour market trends and its size composition "fluctuates according to the general employment situation in teaching which, in turn, often reflects wider economic trends" (Buzzing, 1994, p. 123). Long-term occasional teachers make use of the STO teacher pool to accommodate for their absences. As a result, the numerical flexibility of STO teachers is enhanced with both LTO and FTPC teachers utilizing the pool of STO teachers.

The public education effort to establish a base of flexible STO and LTO teachers has mirrored the private sector's effort to economize labour. The current study applies post-Fordist theory not only as a tool for understanding labour differentiation, but also as a novel way for viewing the positioning of non-standard workers. How the ITWVH values STO and LTO teachers is an initial indication of work arrangement differentiation.

The ITWVH

The current study defines ITWVH as a system that both implicitly and explicitly structures an organized series of teacher status rankings, which determines one's value positioning among teachers and influences the differentiated experiences of work. With the

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utilization of post-Fordist flexible labour practices and core/periphery employee classifications in education, the distribution of power is shifted and hierarchical positioning is pronounced among teachers (Pollock, 2008). The positioning of non-standard STO and LTO teachers within the teaching profession is that of "marginal temporary employees" (Lindley, 1994, p. 167) among FTPC teachers. The following section establishes how STO and LTO teachers can be perceived from a hierarchical stance with regards to: (1) Educational reform policy and cultural as well as educational practitioner discourses; (2) Divergent work experiences; and (3) Models of teaching status differentiation. The classification of teaching positions has fostered a model of differentiation in the experience of teaching among professionals in education. A teacher hierarchy is formalized with the dominant positioning of standard FTPC teachers who overall experience a pronounced sense of legitimacy, privilege, and authority above STO and LTO teachers (Pollock, 2008).

Educational reform policy and cultural as well as educational practitioner discourses. Hierarchical perceptions of STO teachers that place them at the lower spectrum of the teaching profession have transcended into educational policy and reform initiatives as well as cultural and educational practitioner discourses. Short-term occasional teachers are "viewed with a certain degree of suspicion, as, indeed, are all outsiders" (Knight, 1994, p. 119). An effortless policy response to this suspicion has been the exclusion of peripheral non-standard STO teachers from major education issues. Weems (2003) contends

> that [STO] teachers may be viewed as the Achilles' heel of the educational community. Like the Greek mythological hero Achilles, does the educational community possess a similar vulnerable spot that, if exposed, has the potential to bring down even the most brave and mighty warrior? How are we to think about this absence of [STO] teachers from educational policy in theory and practice? (p. 257)

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This disregard for STO teachers "epitomizes pervasive attitudes in many areas of the education system" (Galloway, 1993, p. 159). It cannot be taken for granted that the peripheral foundation of non-standard STO teachers allows for standard FTPC teachers to have a token of comparison that highlights their superior hierarchical positioning. District school board educational policy naively assumes that all teachers are accounted for and ignores the differentiated structure and nature of work arrangements within the teaching profession. In reality, "Educational reforms may affect [STO] and full-time teachers in different ways" (Shilling, 1991, p. 3). How these educational reforms may affect LTO teachers is unknown. An element of certainty in educational reform policy is that it praises professional advancement in learning for pre-service teachers and in-service FTPC teachers (Weems, 2003).

Professionalization literature on teachers envisions them "as either constrained by power or agents of power" (Weems, 2003, p. 255). "Power relations shaping [STO] teaching impinge on many areas of educational life" (Galloway & Morrison, 1994a, p. 187). In the general labour market, non-standard workers are most often constrained by the power of employer organizations and unions that prevents them from achieving union membership with standard workers (De Cuyper et al., 2008; Gleason, 2006; Kalleberg et al., 2003). For Ontario non-standard STO and LTO teachers, this is one area where they are agents of power as participants in the bargaining practices involved in their own union collective agreement policies (Betts, 2006; Pollock, 2008; TVDSB, 2008).

Perceptions of STO teachers embedded within cultural and educational practitioner discourses portray them as possessing marginal power, skill, and credibility in education (Galloway & Morrison, 1994a; Sigel, 1997; St. Michel, 1995). These teachers are perceived within cultural and educational practitioner discourses as having one of three customary

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dispositions: (1) The incompetent, unqualified teacher lacking professional knowledge, training, and experience; (2) The deviant outsider excluded from the professional framework and culture of teaching assignment schools; and (3) The guerilla superhero created in the media (Weems, 2003). Each of these perceptions renders a poor standing of STO teachers, as they "are marginalized from mainstream teaching" (Damianos, 1998, p. 10). Divergent work experiences endured by STO teachers are grounded in hierarchical logic.

Divergent work experiences. For STO teachers, "the nature of their employment entails the replacement of the 'real' teacher" (Damianos, 1998, p. 8). As stated by Damianos (1998), STO and "real" FTPC teachers "do not occupy the same occupational hierarchy" (p. 7). Oppositional hierarchy arguments of Pollock (2008) propose that these teachers are involved in the same occupational hierarchy, but the value in the nature of their work places them at different levels within an ITWVH. Divergent work experiences naturally evolve from this placement.

Shilling (1991) endorses "the importance of looking at [STO] teachers as a category of employees whose working day can be radically different from that of their full-time colleagues" (p. 3). Short-term occasional teaching consists of unreliable, instantaneous experiences that are bound by less classroom-based and school-wide responsibility. Galloway and Morrison (1994b) perceive STO teaching as having

> both educational and sociological elements… No theory promises to encompass enough of the field, but we would argue that central areas of interest are those of power and visibility, both in terms of systems and structures, and also as evident in interactions between people and groups. (p. 6)

The ITWVH provides a mechanism for formalizing the absence of power and visibility that STO teachers harvest as teaching professionals and in their social interactions among school staff and students (Pollock, 2008). Levels of familiarity with the Ontario school system also strategically place STO teachers within the teacher hierarchy. Internationally educated occasional teachers

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(IEOTs) who receive their original teaching certification in a non-Western country (e.g., India, Pakistan, and Korea), and are now Ontario certified teachers, maintain the weakest hierarchical status and experience of visibility within the ITWVH (Pollock, 2008; 2009; 2010a; 2010c).

The work responsibilities of LTO teachers can be paralleled with those of FTPC teachers, but their social work experiences are not foreign to segregation and invisibility among FTPC teachers (Bayram, 2010; Betts, 2006). Short- and long-term occasional teaching are represented in the collective agreement of the school board and union local of this study with discretely negotiated agendas (TVDSB, 2008). These negotiating efforts identify the importance of viewing STO and LTO teachers' needs separately and of understanding that their work is not uniform. Models of teaching status differentiation help to situate the implications of divergent work experiences among teachers.

Models of teaching status differentiation. Existing models that differentiate among teachers are categorized by core/periphery or hierarchy designations (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Damianos, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Menter et al., 1997; Morrison, 1994a; 1994b; Pollock, 2008; 2010a; 2010c; Shilling, 1991; Soucek, 1994). Such designations are not mutually exclusive; however, the core/periphery model presents a dichotomous view of teaching that does not effectively account for the hierarchical diversity that exists between the core and periphery designations. In response to this limitation, Pollock (2008) crafted a modelled depiction of an ITWVH that taps into work arrangement differences using a gradient filled two-dimensional isosceles triangle (see Figure 1). The upper portion of the triangle is occupied by the PC teacher population and the lower portion of the triangle is home to occasional teachers.

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Figure 1. Model of the ITWVH. © 2008 Katina Pollock. Adaptation of this figure is by permission of the copyright holder (see Appendix A).

The triangle is gradient filled to represent an ascending elevation of the ITWVH, with few PC teachers who are most privileged at the narrow peak of this triangle. The least valued hierarchical status resides at the wide base of the triangle, which is occupied by STO teachers. The model exhibits the leading magnitude of STO and LTO teachers as the subordinates within a hierarchically influenced and arranged teaching profession.

With the ITWVH model having a gradient fill, the power dynamics that differentiate PC and occasional teachers as two collective groups is revealed. As one rises up the ITWVH, it

> signifies more responsibility and brings with it increased financial rewards and social prestige. In teaching, the increased responsibility includes having more of an impact on student learning and more decision-making power. (Pollock, 2008, p. 222)

Continued levels of differentiation among teachers ensure that the ITWVH subsists. Roots of differentiation among teachers are attributed to several aspects, including: (1) Teaching grades and curriculum subject areas; (2) Amount of contact with students; (3) Tasks performed; (4) Access to professional learning; (5) First language; (6) Race/ethnicity; (7) Awareness of the Ontario school system; (8) Years of teaching experience; (9) Nature of accumulated teaching experience; (10) Gender; (11) Salary; and (12) Benefits. The complexities of placement within the ITWVH are evident when "recently retired teachers appear to be more valued than new

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entrants, particularly internationally educated teachers, even though many IETs have content knowledge and extensive teaching experience" (Pollock, 2008, p. 80). Furthermore, the LTO teaching work arrangement possesses greater value and positioning status within the proposed ITWVH model than STO teaching due to elevated classroom responsibilities (Pollock, 2008).

The model does not display designated hierarchal scaling points in order to signal the plausibility of gradual upward or downward mobility within the ITWVH. For instance, retired teachers who transition from FTPC to STO teaching experience a decline in their hierarchical standing. Non-Western IEOTs who initially do not have networking contacts, volunteer experience, or a comprehensive understanding of the Ontario school system can elevate their hierarchical standing to some degree once these elements are achieved.

The "revolving door" phenomenon explains how workers can easily transition into and out of work arrangements within an occupation (Ingersoll, 2001). This is a phenomenon highly applicable to the non-standard workforce. Pollock (2008) briefly makes a revolving door association with non-standard STO teachers, but further explicitness is needed in linking this phenomenon to transitional STO and LTO teachers. In the current study, the revolving door phenomenon is multi-faceted and involves two transition scenarios experienced by the participants: (1) A transition from STO to LTO teaching; and (2) A transition from LTO to STO teaching. A critical acknowledgement necessary in education literature is how the transitional experiences to and from non-standard STO and LTO teaching play out. In one respect, the participants of this study are displaying the flexibility of post-Fordist labour practices that allow organizations to employee workers who easily transition across positions within their organizations. In another respect, how this practice affects the experience of transitional STO and LTO teachers is unknown from an ITWVH standpoint and becomes apparent via this study.

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Pollock (2008) found that when STO teachers engaged in their non-standard work arrangements, several circumstances were involved in creating an adverse and hierarchically disadvantaged nature to their work: (1) Post-Fordist labour practices of cheap labour for non-standard workers; (2) Antagonism from FTPC teachers due to STO teachers' hierarchical subordination within the teaching profession; and (3) Overall alienating experiences. This study probes at the participants' transitional STO and LTO teaching experiences to see if such adverse experiences are revealed.

Despite studying the hierarchical work experiences of STO teachers, Pollock (2008) did not directly examine how these experiences differed from those of LTO teaching. Transitioning between STO and LTO teaching was not isolated as a means of deciphering the individualized hierarchical experiences embedded across these work arrangements as a further source of differentiation within the ITWVH.

The Framework as Guiding the Research Questions

This thesis analyzes the differentiated experiences in the nature of STO and LTO teaching work arrangements as experienced by transitional STO and LTO teachers. By adopting a post-Fordist and ITWVH theoretical framework, the labour conditions and structure of work can be closely studied to interpret how they influence hierarchical positioning within the ITWVH. The perceptions that transitional STO and LTO teachers have about their dual work arrangement roles and the way that they feel others view them can reveal a hierarchical system that exists within the teaching profession. Transitional STO and LTO teaching is a new source of inquiry on the study of work differentiation that resourcefully gleans perspective on two work arrangements. The main guiding research question of this thesis is:

> How do transitional STO and LTO teachers who transfer between STO and LTO teaching experience these work arrangements differently?

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The sub-questions of this thesis include the subsequent focus areas of investigation:

1. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do as STO and LTO teachers?
2. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements? and
3. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their professional presence while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and in the transition between these work arrangements?

Each of these questions gives insight on the realities of STO and LTO teaching as flexible, transitional, and hierarchical. Gathering a greater depth of awareness about the non-standard teacher workforce assists in interpreting how non-standard teachers can be valued to the same extent as standard teachers.

Chapter Summary

Contents of this chapter connected the research focus and theoretical framework that informed the thesis. Post-Fordist theory was introduced as evolving in response to Henry Ford's motives for labour practices that instilled rigidity in the staffing of employees and their skill set use within the private sector. Flexible accumulation of the post-Fordist era has revitalized the structure and nature of work to embrace the vast utilization of a specially skilled core and generically skilled peripheral field of workers. The flexible peripheral field of workers is beneficial for organizations in that it can be easily redeployed, reliably altered in its size, and less graciously remunerated in comparison to FTPC core workers. These work conditions are associated with STO and LTO teaching within public education.

The complement of ITWVH theory with post-Fordist theory provided a lens for understanding the subordinate positioning of STO and LTO teachers relative to FTPC teachers. The research questions are driven to discover sources of differentiation in the nature of STO and

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LTO teaching. Learning of how STO and LTO teaching work arrangements hierarchically differ is a primary concern for the analysis of data. How this data was collected is approached in the following methodology chapter.

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Chapter Four: Methodology

The emphasis in this chapter is the methodological orientation that guided the research and the methods adopted to examine the differentiated experiences of transitional STO and LTO teachers. A general exploratory qualitative methodology was adopted to capture the essence of individualized experiences. This chapter first addresses the logic for conducting qualitative research and then concentrates on each of these designated areas: (1) Method of data collection; (2) Participant selection and recruitment; (3) Data collection process; (4) Participant introductions; and (5) Data analysis. These areas clarify the practical features of this research.

As a transitional STO and LTO teacher, my involvement in the data collection, analysis, and interpretation was necessarily subjective in that personal introspective experiences shaped my associations with the research. Qualitative research exercises a reflective mindset where the researcher is "attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices of those one interviews and those to whom one reports" (Patton, 2002, p. 65). The resulting

> meanings we make from our research projects are filtered through our beliefs, attitudes, and previous experiences… As researchers we bring multiple stances to our studies - in degrees of conscious and subconscious awareness - as we choreograph, depict, and resculpt stories and meanings from what we are examining. (Ely, Vinz, Downing, & Anzul, 1997, p. 38)

My perspectives and experiences were intertwined in understanding the existing complexities of transitional STO and LTO teaching that amplified the eclectic, experiential nature of this qualitative research.

Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative research provides a "highly context-sensitive *micro-perspective* of the everyday realities of the world" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 29). The inquisitive essence of qualitative

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research is rooted in the phenomenological notion that there are multiple realities with participants who possess legitimate voices that others may resonate with (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Eisner, 1991; Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2009; Mertens, 2010; Stake, 2010). These realities are not easily quantified and can lose their intended meaning in an effort to identify distinct patterns of behaviour and circumstances if a quantitative methodology is applied (Gay et al., 2009). As an interpretivist researcher, I understood "that social reality has no existence apart from the meanings that individuals construct for it" (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2010, p. 15). Glesne (2011) states that with interpretive qualitative research

> constructed realities are viewed as existing, however, not only in the mind of the individual, but also as *social constructions* in that individualistic perspectives interact with the language and thought of the wider society. Thus, accessing the perspectives of several members of the same social group about some phenomena can begin to say something about cultural patterns of thought and action for that group. (p. 8)

Transitional STO and LTO teacher realities are multi-dimensional within the social group of occasional teachers and can be precisely understood when opportunities to openly share lived work experiences are both promoted and supported. Person-to-person interactions of qualitative research assist in establishing a trust with the researcher that leads to the disclosure of valuable participant insights relating to their realities (Gay et al., 2009; Mertens, 2010). As the researcher, I possessed an *emic* or insider's perspective rather than an *etic* or outsider's perspective of participants' realities (Merriam, 1998). A qualitative research methodology gave the participants an opportunity to disclose their thoughts, while it elicited meaning from the "individual cases who make up our world" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 27). The end result was an acquisition of knowledge derived from my understanding of others' realities (McMillan & Wergin, 2010).

The inductive nature of qualitative research prizes the engaging process of the construction of meanings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Hartas, 2010a). Creswell (1994) emphasizes

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that "in a **qualitative** methodology inductive logic prevails. Categories emerge from informants, rather than are identified ***a priori*** by the researcher. This emergence provides rich 'context-bound' information leading to patterns or theories that help explain a phenomenon" (p. 7). Recognizing that transitional STO and LTO teacher experiences differ, a qualitative approach more precisely captured the depth, intricacies, and distinctiveness of these experiences. Through this approach, transient social contexts that included interactions with school staff, students, and parents took precedence in giving meaning to the participants' STO and LTO teaching.

In this inquiry-based qualitative research, hierarchical teaching experiences were understood through those who personally experienced them. Positioning the experiences of others as related to or divergent from a collection of theorized conditions and elements built upon developed theories and forged the establishment of novel perspectives. Post-Fordist and ITWVH theories were used as a theoretical framework that challenged the non-standard workforce to be viewed from the hierarchical differences among workers in order to gain an authentic perspective on the nature of transitional STO and LTO teaching.

The qualitative orientation of this research allowed for rich perspective and description to flow from the participants' narratives. Merriam (2009) affirms that "the product of a qualitative inquiry is *richly descriptive*" (p. 16). "Description succeeds as a method of data gathering when every detail is considered. Descriptive data are particularly important because qualitative methods enable researchers to study what people take for granted" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 6). The scarcity of descriptive accounts of STO and LTO teachers' experiences in education literature has limited the revelation of taken for granted experiences that are characteristic of these teachers, which were sought after in this study. Dense descriptive accounts that emerged

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from entry into the realities of others in this qualitative research heightened the thoroughness of the research findings (Gay et al., 2009; Merriam, 1998).

Venturing into the experiences of the participants provided information on the extent to which the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements differed. The critical orientation of much of the existing occasional teacher literature magnifies the marginalized realities of STO teachers (Pollock, 2008; 2010a). Qualitative research "that draws upon constructivism strives to empower participants' perspectives and ideas" (Hartas, 2010b, p. 44). The social constructivist orientation of identity theory, the critical orientation of post-Fordist theory, and the experiential implications of an ITWVH helped view the participants holistically and acknowledge the social and structural elements that influenced their work. Critical theory influences in qualitative research foster a critical orientation towards "social organization that privileges some at the expense of others" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2010, p. 31). A critical stance was applied in seeking to reveal "ways in which discourses are socially and historically constructed and how these discourses support and maintain conditions of inequality, oppression, and exploitation" (Glesne, 2011, p. 10). Voicing the experiences of STO and LTO teachers uncovered any sources and experiences of oppression relative to their work arrangements.

Method of Data Collection

In an effort to access the realities of transitional STO and LTO teachers, first-hand information was obtained through approximately one-hour long semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. One interview was completed by each participant. Interviewing was a source of access into the participants' realities to understand the behaviours of lived experiences that shaped these realities to give them meaning (Seidman, 2006). As an interviewer, I was

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rendered "privileged access to a linguistically constituted social world" (Kvale, 1994, p. 147). With in-depth interviewing, the purpose

> is to hear what the participant has to say in her own words, in her voice, with her language and narrative. In this way, participants can share what they know and have learned and can add a dimension to our understanding of the situation that questionnaire data does not reveal. (Lichtman, 2006, p. 119)

Interviews provide much more detailed accounts than questionnaire surveys (Gay et al., 2009; Lunsford Mears, 2009; Mertens, 2010). Researchers conducting interviews are not only the recipients of participants' dialogues, but also their physical expressions and gestures (McLellan, MacQueen, & Neidig, 2003). These indirect means of communicating are not apparent with questionnaire surveys and can influence the interpretation of participant communications (Gay et al., 2009). The "other" is captured by interviews not as a categorical resemblance, but as a real human expressing oppression in the context of his/her reality (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Rather than viewing the transitional STO and LTO teacher as the "other" to FTPC teachers, the interviews of this study were a tool to understand how differences in work arrangements may have contributed to peripheral experiences.

Eisner (1991) articulates that the self as an instrument of qualitative research "engages the situation and makes sense of it" (p. 34). By directly inquiring about the lives of the participants, I was "the primary instrument of data collection and analysis" (Lichtman, 2006, p. 12). The semi-structured interview questions provided the opportunity to diverge from pre-determined questions and did not restrict the scope of elicited responses that is typical of structured interview questions (Gay et al., 2009; Lichtman, 2006; O'Toole & Beckett, 2010). Through this questioning format, the interview was benefited by gaining "some latitude in the breadth of relevance" (Freebody, 2003, p. 133). I had the flexibility to "explore and probe participants' responses to gather in-depth data about their experiences and feelings" (Gay et al.,

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2009, p. 370). Opportunities to elicit unplanned probing questions enhanced my depiction of the participants' realities by facilitating the retrieval of "more information on issues that seem[ed] particularly analytically relevant" (Gibson, 2010, p. 62).

Numerous qualitative studies utilize interview and observation data collection methods (Gay et al., 2009). Observations as a method of data collection "cannot provide information about past events" (Gay et al., 2009, p. 370), yet these events are accessible via interviews (Best & Kahn, 2006). Observations of transitional STO teachers are limited as a result of the unpredictable nature of their work schedules and locations.

Participant Selection and Recruitment

Five transitional STO and LTO teacher participants (four females, one male) and one union representative participant (female) were involved in the study. The five occasional teacher participants were English-speaking, certified elementary teachers from South-western Ontario completing transitional STO and LTO teaching in public English-speaking schools. They were each from the TVDSB, which is the fourth largest district school board within South-western Ontario. Transitional STO and LTO teachers from only this district school board were interviewed due to the contractual variations across district school boards in defining LTO teaching, allocating salaries and benefits, and describing work conditions. This district school board was also selected as a result of its geographical convenience.

Convenience, snowball, and purposeful homogeneous sampling were employed in recruiting the transitional STO and LTO teacher participants. Four of the five transitional STO and LTO teacher participants were involved as a result of convenience sampling with the networking I had accessible to me as an employee of the TVDSB. One transitional STO and

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LTO teacher participant was recruited through snowball sampling. The purposeful sampling required that each TVDSB transitional STO and LTO teacher fulfilled the participant criteria of:

1. Completing at least two LTO teaching positions that were each at least 97 days long, with at least 15 days of STO teaching in-between these LTO teaching positions;
2. Working in at least two different schools for the LTO teaching positions;
3. Receiving Ontario teaching certification within the last seven years as a newer entrant within the teaching profession;
4. Desiring a FTPC teaching position and never previously holding a FTPC teaching position; and
5. Participating in either STO or LTO teaching in the last four months.

Including the criterion of completing LTO teaching positions of at least 97 days long ensured that the participants had the opportunity to establish themselves within a classroom. When Ontario occasional teachers complete their first LTO of 97 days long, they are able to participate in the NTIP with new PTPC and FTPC teachers. The feasibility of NTIP involvement was the second motivating reason for the minimum LTO teaching position length. The fact that the NTIP groups LTO, PTPC, and FTPC teachers together implies that they have similar work arrangements. In Betts' (2006) study of New Brunswick LTO teachers, they perceived that LTO teaching was like FTPC teaching. Likewise, this study uncovered whether Ontario LTO teachers with lengthy LTO teaching positions within the TVDSB had a similar perception.

The logic for requiring more than one LTO teaching position with STO teaching in-between was rooted in the desire to understand occasional teaching from the viewpoint of participants who were well-acquainted with both LTO and STO teaching. Interest in participants with LTO teaching positions completed at two different schools was based on the potential for teaching experiences to be shaped by a school's culture. The condition for obtaining Ontario teaching certification within the last seven years resulted from the preference to exclude career STO and LTO teachers and retired FTPC teachers who perform STO and LTO teaching. Career STO and LTO teachers only engage in STO and LTO teaching and do not wish to obtain a PC

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teaching position. The transitional STO and LTO teacher participants were to have no PC teaching experience in order to ensure that they were solely occasional teachers seeking the next step in their careers.

Receiving Ontario teaching certification within the last seven years was also selected as a criterion based on the tendency for occasional teaching as an entry point into the teaching profession to involve an increasingly larger number of years (McIntyre, 2011). The criterion of engaging in STO or LTO teaching in the last four months was selected on the basis of participants requiring a current, active role within the STO and LTO teacher community. A four month time span was also selected, as the interviewing occurred over the course of a summer.

As a reflection of the difficulty in having several participant criteria and a summer recruiting period, exceptions were made in forming the participant sample. The contract lengths of LTO teaching positions span drastic ranges and can begin sporadically throughout a school year as determined by the PC teachers who require leaves. The participant criterion of completing at least two LTO teaching positions of at least 97 days long at different schools was determined to be ambitious after learning about the nature of STO and LTO teaching within the TVDSB. What appeared to be realistic was having *at least two* LTO teaching positions with *at least one* of the positions being at least 97 days long. Only one of the involved participants did not meet the length criterion, but was very close. In terms of the locations of LTO teaching, one participant completed all positions at the same school; however, the participant's exposure to two grade level divisions (i.e., primary and junior divisions) and the gaps in-between these positions provided for a diverse experience within the school.

Of the five transitional STO and LTO teacher participants, two of them were originally certified outside of Ontario (i.e., New Zealand and Scotland). An IEOT typically receives

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his/her certification in either a Western (e.g., the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom) or non-Western (e.g., India, Pakistan, and Korea) country (Pollock, 2010b). Western IEOTs hold more LTO teaching positions than career STO and LTO teachers and retired FTPC teachers completing STO and LTO teaching (Pollock, 2010b). Non-Western IEOTs tend to be well-represented in STO teaching (Pollock, 2008). Therefore, the Western IEOT status of the participants in the study was regarded as a fair representation of the transitional STO and LTO teacher population regardless of the expansion in participant requirements.

One transitional STO and LTO teacher participant completed a LTO teaching position outside of the TVDSB in a private school, but this participant's other LTO teaching position was completed as an employee of the TVDSB. Lastly, three out of five transitional STO and LTO teacher participants completed consecutive LTO teaching positions. This meant that no STO teaching days existed in-between these particular LTO teaching positions. Such a consecutive work arrangement is common and results when a PC teacher's leave overlaps two school years. One LTO teaching position is created to cover the first portion of the leave and a second position is created to cover the remaining portion of the leave that continues into a new school year. Interviews are held by administrators for the second position even though it is often awarded to the LTO teacher who completed the first position.

The union representative was recruited through convenience and purposeful sampling due to my affiliation with the ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teachers' Local office and my awareness of the representative's vast involvement in the local. This representative was experienced in union collective agreement bargaining and exceptionally informed about STO and LTO teaching work arrangements, contractual conditions, and professional learning issues. The inclusion of a union representative served as a measure to assist me in becoming better

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acquainted with the work conditions of STO and LTO teachers from the viewpoint of an advocate for these teachers. The transcribed content from the union representative's interview was not included in the data analysis, for it did not provide a first-hand account of transitional STO and LTO teaching. This interview took the form of an informative piece prior to interviewing the transitional STO and LTO teacher participants.

Data Collection Process

The ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teachers' Local was contacted by telephone after obtaining ethical approval from the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board (see Appendix B). A central union representative was informed about the study, invited to participate in the study, and was asked to assist in recruiting transitional STO and LTO teacher participants from the union local by email. The voluntary nature of the representative's involvement in the study was emphasized, and it was specified that an email outlining the shared information about the study would be sent following the conversation (see Appendix C). During the conversation, the representative agreed to participate in an interview and assist with recruiting participants from the union local. A convenient time, date, and location was arranged for the interview.

A Letter of Information (see Appendix D) was read by the union representative during the initial phase of the interview session that detailed the nature of the study. The representative was assured that information disclosed during the interview would be kept confidential and that withdrawal from the study at any time would involve no repercussions. In maintaining a confidentiality agreement, it was noted that any documented references to the union representative's name would be replaced by a pseudonym. Upon agreement to participate, the informed consent form (see Appendix D) attached to the Letter of Information was signed by the union representative. The interview began with gathering basic demographic information that

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was a precursor for these topics related to STO and LTO teaching: (1) Work conditions; (2) Teacher professional identity; (3) Special issues of concern; (4) Professional learning; and (5) Support services (see Appendix E). The interview recording had a length of 47 minutes.

Following the interview, it was agreed that I could email an electronic recruitment letter for transitional STO and LTO teacher participants (see Appendix F) to the union representative that would be forwarded to potential participants within the union local. Keeping in mind the participant criteria, the union representative agreed to forward the recruitment letter via email to a select group of individuals who met these criteria. No candidates were obtained from this process. An email request for another distribution of the recruitment email by the union representative was unsuccessful during the summer, as the representative did not respond to this email until months later when the interview phase was completed. While waiting for a response from the union representative, time restraints led me to utilize my membership access to the occasional teacher community for participant recruitment.

Based on collegial interactions, four transitional STO and LTO teachers who were known to potentially meet the study's criteria were either contacted in person or by email. The aim of this original contact was to inform these transitional STO and LTO teachers of the study's purpose, participant criteria, and email contact information if interest existed in participating. The information relayed to these individuals was identical to the information provided to the union representative in the emailed participant recruitment letter (see Appendix F). All four of the contacted transitional STO and LTO teachers were interested in participating and a convenient time, date, and location for the interviews was determined. Each interview was held at either the participant's home, a school where a LTO teaching position would commence in the fall, a current work site, or at a community facility. The possibility of interfering with potential

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STO teaching opportunities or LTO teaching work days was alleviated as a result of the interviews taking place during the summer.

Prior to starting the interviews, all transitional STO and LTO teachers were given a Letter of Information (see Appendix G) to read and the voluntary as well as confidential nature of the study was emphasized. It was verbalized that withdrawal from the study at any time was feasible without question, and that any documentation of their names would be replaced by a pseudonym to maintain the confidentiality of disclosed information. Each transitional STO and LTO teacher's agreement to participate was then confirmed by signing the informed consent form (see Appendix G) attached to the Letter of Information. The interviews began with a focus on demographic information and then transitioned to questions about: (1) Situating STO and LTO teaching; (2) Teacher identity; and (3) Professional learning opportunities (see Appendix H). The interviews ranged in length from 42 to 59 minutes long. After the interviews, the participants were asked if further interest in the study may exist within their network of colleagues. Only one participant was recruited through snowball sampling.

Response data from the interviews was recorded with a digital audio-recorder and then transcribed using a computer. All dialogue in its original form was included to create an in-depth representation of the participants' experiences (McLellan et al., 2003). Each interview was transcribed with several interrupted sequences to clearly hear the dialogue and was then listened to once as a cohesive unit to ensure transcription accuracy. The electronic transcripts were organized into separate numbered files that did not disclose each participant's identity. The files were saved on a secured internal as well as external computer memory device. Once all interviews were transcribed, an electronic copy was emailed to the appropriate participant for review. No revisions for accuracy were requested by the participants.

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Participant Introductions

The transitional STO and LTO teacher participants had varied levels of teaching experience. The LTO teaching position starting dates and lengths differed across participants. The number of LTO teaching positions completed ranged from one to four and the number of STO teaching days completed ranged from approximately 100 to 300 days per participant. Where the participants obtained their teaching certification and whether or not they participated in the NTIP program are noted in the participant profiles. Alexis, Carmen, Dominic, Elaine, and Layla (pseudonyms) were this study's transitional STO and LTO teacher participants.

Alexis. Alexis graduated in 2006 from an Ontario teaching certification program. She was hired promptly by the TVDSB as an occasional teacher in the fall following her certification. In total, she accumulated three LTO teaching positions. Alexis completed one school year (September to June) of STO teaching before obtaining her first full-time, full-year LTO teaching position. After this position, she completed STO teaching until mid-March of the next school year when she gained her second full-time LTO teaching position that went until June. This second position was at a different school from where her first LTO teaching position was conducted. Her third LTO teaching position started immediately afterwards during the next school year at the same school and was a full-time, full-year position that extended from her previous position.

Alexis recalled attaining a STO teaching day count of approximately 150 days. Within this time frame, there was a three to five month stretch where she worked persistently for five days a week as a STO teacher. In some cases, consecutive days of work were completed at the same school. She did not complete the NTIP as a LTO teacher with the TVDSB. Alexis entered teaching with the intention of pursuing a FTPC teaching position. However, at the time of the

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interview she was expecting her first child and this desire was not as strong with the flexibility of STO teaching being quite appealing.

Carmen. Carmen graduated in 2004 from a teaching certification program in New Zealand. After her entry into the TVDSB as an occasional teacher during the fall of the proceeding school year, she took part in STO teaching for just over a year and a half. During her second year of being a certified teacher, Carmen began her first of four LTO teaching positions. This part-time position started in March and lasted until June. Her next school year began with STO teaching until February, at which point she started her second part-time LTO teaching position that ended mid-May. Carmen immediately earned a full-time LTO teaching position for the remainder of that May until June. The next school year, the same LTO teaching position was extended from September until May on a full-time basis. Her first LTO teaching position was at a different school than the last three positions that all took place at the same school. Carmen recalled accruing approximately 250 days of STO teaching. She did not complete the NTIP as a LTO teacher with the TVDSB.

Dominic. Dominic graduated in 2008 from a teaching certification program in Scotland. He was hired as a TVDSB occasional teacher in his second year after receiving teaching certification. He completed a total of two LTO teaching positions. A limited hiring period hindered him from entering the TVDSB in his first year after certification. In the interim, he provided STO teaching at a private school that began the first November after obtaining his teaching certification. By April, he started a full-time LTO teaching position at the private school that continued until June.

Dominic regularly worked as a STO teacher at the same private school the next year until November when he was hired as an occasional teacher by the TVDSB. Dominic initially

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balanced both the private school and the TVDSB STO teaching, but in January he stopped teaching at the private school due to the volume of work he obtained with the TVDSB. In April of his first year with the TVDSB, he received a full-time LTO teaching position that continued until June. Between the private school and the TVDSB, Dominic accumulated approximately 140 days of STO teaching with about 80 days at the private school and about 60 days in the TVDSB. He did not complete the NTIP as a LTO teacher with the TVDSB.

Dominic was the only participant who did not have a LTO teaching position of at least 97 days long, but his TVDSB LTO teaching position was approximately two-thirds of this participant criterion length. Although Dominic hoped to have a FTPC teaching position, he regarded STO teaching highly for the time it afforded him to spend with this young family.

Elaine. Elaine graduated in 2005 from a teaching certification program in Ontario. In the fall of the next school year, she was hired by the TVDSB as an occasional teacher and completed STO teaching for a short period of time before obtaining her first LTO teaching position in January. This full-time LTO teaching position continued until June and was the first of three that she accumulated. During the next school year, she took a leave from the TVDSB to teach overseas and she also had her first child. Once returning to the TVDSB the next September, she completed her second full-time LTO teaching position from September until February. She then had STO teaching positions until May when she received her third full-time LTO teaching position that ran until June. All three of Elaine's LTO teaching positions were at the same school, and she was the only participant to have this condition of identical school locations. She collected approximately 300 days of STO teaching, and did not complete the NTIP as a LTO teacher with the TVDSB.

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Layla. Layla graduated in 2007 from a teaching certification program in Ontario. Layla was added to the TVDSB occasional teacher list in the fall following her certification. She completed a total of three LTO teaching positions. Layla engaged in STO teaching from the fall after receiving her certification until February, at which point she started her first full-time LTO teaching position that ended in June. Layla returned to the same school the next year to continue this full-time LTO teaching position from September until February. She then participated in STO teaching until obtaining a full-time April to June LTO teaching position. Layla's first two LTO teaching positions were at the same school and the final position was at a different school. She identified completing approximately 250 STO teaching days. Layla did not complete the NTIP as a LTO teacher with the TVDSB.

Data Analysis

The transitional STO and LTO teacher interview transcripts were subjected to an in-depth examination with the support of Creswell's (2005) guidelines for analyzing data. Generalized understandings of the data were formulated with a preliminary exploratory analysis that involved reading each transcript in its entirety and memoing surfacing ideas along the margins as well as in a supplementary notebook. These understandings were contextualized with respect to the literature review, theoretical framework, and research questions. The analysis was heightened by constructively assigning categories to the interview data (e.g., lesson planning, control, and teacher identity descriptors) as a means to classify the data.

The data analysis provided an avenue through which data became sensible as the text was progressively divided into categories, labelled with themes, crystallized by eliminating redundant themes, and synthesized by joining like themes to divulge re-occurring patterns (Creswell, 2005). The exploratory feature of qualitative research was at its peak when critically sifting through the

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collected data to discern the many foci of the interviews that emerged into interrelated categories ultimately represented as major themes. Gay et al. (2009) fittingly capture the experience of data analysis as "a process of digesting the contents of qualitative data and finding related threads in it" (p. 450). A mosaic of vibrant threads was created with the application of a colour coding scheme to assist with managing the categorized data. The major themes emerged through at least five readings of each transcript.

Emerging themes are an intermediary measure joining the data and how it can be conceptualized (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). A "higher-level synthesis" was achieved when the individual themes of the analysis together created "a larger, consolidated picture" (Tesch, 1990, p. 97). Three central themes emerged from the data analysis, each with sub-themes that emanated from the literature review, theoretical framework, and research questions. Chapters Five to Seven focus on a specific central theme that directly relates to one of the three research sub-questions for the study. How transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do is the first central theme addressed in Chapter Five. How transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals is the second central theme addressed in Chapter Six. The final central theme presented in Chapter Seven addresses how occasional teachers experience their professional presence as STO and LTO teachers and in their transitions between STO and LTO teaching. The three central themes demonstrate differentiation among STO and LTO teaching with some hierarchical advantage and disadvantage within the teaching profession dispersed among occasional teachers.

Chapter Summary

The methodological research design of this study endorsed a qualitative orientation. Transitional STO and LTO teacher participant recruitment was established via convenience,

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snowball, and purposeful homogeneous sampling within a major South-western Ontario district school board, the TVDSB. Data collection practices were reliant on single session 42 to 59 minute long semi-structured interviews with the transitional STO and LTO teacher participants. One ETFO Thames Valley Occasional Teachers' Local union representative was interviewed for 47 minutes in a semi-structured format to gain a preliminary understanding of STO and LTO teaching from a union perspective. Only the teachers' interview data was analyzed to expose three central themes that each framed the focus for individual findings chapters. The three subsequent findings chapters each pertain to one of the three central themes and its corresponding sub-themes emerging from the data analysis.

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Chapter Five: How STO and LTO Teachers Perceived Themselves and Their Work

Participants of this study created their own perceptions of STO and LTO teaching as a result of experiencing both work arrangements. This chapter addresses the central theme of the participants' differentiated perceptions about themselves and their work as STO and LTO teachers. How they perceived their work was illustrated in the differentiated general teacher expectations they associated with STO and LTO teaching. How they perceived themselves as STO and LTO teachers was influenced by their reported differentiated sense of school belonging within the schools where they worked. How they perceived themselves was also communicated through the divergent teacher identity descriptors they applied to their roles as STO and LTO teachers. Each of these perceived sources of work differentiation between STO and LTO teaching emerged as sub-themes to the central theme and are presented in the proceeding order: (1) General teacher expectations; (2) School belonging; and (3) Teacher identity descriptors.

Participant insights highlighted that occasional teaching is not a single entity, but rather possesses the sub-classifications of STO and LTO teaching that are composed of distinct work experiences and conditions. In reflecting on their experiences as STO and LTO teachers, the participants revealed that the sub-themes contributed to a hierarchical experience of teaching. The participants described STO teaching as peripheral to LTO teaching with a less dominant and powerful role in teaching. In this chapter, each sub-theme is addressed as it relates to both work arrangements. Short-term occasional teaching is discussed first, followed by LTO teaching.

General Teacher Expectations

This section addresses what the participants felt were the general teacher expectations for STO and LTO teaching. The general teacher expectations represented what the participants felt their positions demanded of them. They reflected what the participants perceived was expected

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of them as a result of interacting with FTPC teachers and administrators in multiple schools within the given district school board.

The participants' descriptions of general teacher expectations were framed by five surfacing sub-themes that differentiated STO and LTO teaching: (1) Lesson planning; (2) Assessment of student learning; (3) Utilization of skills and knowledge; (4) Professional accountability; and (5) Time commitment for teaching duties. Collectively, the sub-themes formed a representation of how demanding the participants felt their STO and LTO general teacher expectations were. These expectations were perceived as being higher for LTO teaching. There was a perception of the general teacher expectations escalating as the participants moved up the ITWVH from their STO to LTO teaching work arrangements.

Lesson planning. In STO and LTO teaching, there were significantly different expectations for lesson planning. Carrying out lessons was a standard component of the participants' teaching, but these lessons were not always created by them. The participants completed their positions as STO and LTO teachers knowing that lesson planning was closely related to having control over a classroom and an awareness of its programming.

Lesson planning in STO teaching. Not one of the participants expressed that there was an expectation for him/her to complete lesson plans as a STO teacher. In only a single case did a participant mention that FTPC teachers may not leave lesson plans for an occasional teacher. Even in these rare cases, the lesson plans constructed by STO teachers are not completely consistent with the existing student programming.

The majority of participants explained that as STO teachers, they merely followed the lesson plans created by the FTPC teachers who were being replaced. They felt that there was an expectation for them to do as the FTPC teachers wished, by "covering A, B, and C" as stated by

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Dominic. With this expectation, there was little control over what the participants were teaching. This sense of a lack of control was illustrated by Layla:

> I think a lot of the time obviously with, with just daily work, you kind of just go in and you familiarize yourself with the day plan and you carry out what another teacher has laid out for you to do and that's pretty much it.

With less control over lesson planning, the STO teachers followed through with the absent teacher's lesson plan regardless of the content. This can be difficult when the STO teacher believes a lesson plan could be constructed differently. Carmen added that "as an [short-term] occasional teacher, you're sort of just fitting into someone else's plan. Sort of, you're just doing whatever they want you to do, whether you necessarily agree with it or not." Despite having less control over what is taught as STO teachers, adhering to these prescribed lesson plans and satisfying the FTPC teachers can secure future work. Although following the prescribed lesson plans involved minimal effort, the participants were detached from these plans that they did not create or in some circumstances agree with.

Lesson planning in LTO teaching. Lesson planning was described as having a staple role in LTO teaching by the participants. The participants perceived that they were expected to complete lesson planning for their classrooms on an on-going basis. A sense of control and ownership over their classrooms coincided with this expectation of extensive planning. By having control over the lesson planning, the participants were able to determine the content of these plans and the manner in which they were delivered. The participants also had the freedom to follow their own plans, while integrating a personal touch. Dominic showed how control played a large role in determining how much of a personal touch he was able to integrate within his LTO teaching as compared to his STO teaching:

> There's just more chances to put in terms of planning… I think there's more of a chance for me to put who I am and sort of my experiences into that 'cause I have more control

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> over how it's going together. Rather than the [short-term] occasional sort of, 'Here's a list of things to cover.' Maybe I could slide a few things that make it my own, but they're minimal based on someone else's plan. Where the other one, the plan is my own so it's easier to control it.

Dominic knew what lesson plans would benefit his students and he wanted the opportunity to include his personal experiences and outlooks in his teaching. The control over lesson planning was beneficial not only for his students' learning, but also for himself as a professional. By having control over lesson planning, LTO teachers are not dependent upon anyone for planning and autonomously determine if the direction of their teaching is sufficient or requires alteration.

Assessment of student learning. The participants' perceptions of the expectations for completing assessments differed in their respective positions. The assessment practices of STO and LTO teachers magnify a divergence in how responsible they are for ensuring that their students have learned specific content. Short-term occasional teachers are often in a classroom for a day and deliver minimal content to the students. Conversely, LTO teachers cover a broad spectrum of curricula across an extended period of time. The importance of student learning along with corresponding assessments of this learning are given different precedence in each of the occasional teaching positions.

Assessment of student learning in STO teaching. None of the participants felt that they were expected to complete assessments of student learning during the time frame of their positions. Actually teaching curriculum content in the context of STO teaching was only mentioned by one participant. The STO teaching experiences of the participants were more directly linked to managing students rather than to curriculum coverage.

Carmen contended that STO teaching positions did not involve any expectations for completing real curriculum based teaching or assessment:

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> Expectations wise, just, the actual assessment piece of it because during [short-term] occasional teaching you don't do that… You're not really teaching… I don't know, some people really like it 'cause they go in for a day, they don't have to do report cards, they don't have to do assessments.

She argued that she did not like STO teaching for the explicit reason that it demanded less teaching and no assessment or report card completion. Participating in meaningful teaching and administering student assessments were viewed by Carmen as a means of understanding her students and creating an accurate picture of their potential. She reasoned that on the day of her STO teaching, the students could be having an "off day" and not project their typical behavioural and academic performance. Most of the participants noted that working with a student for one day was not sufficient to learn all of the dynamics and academic development of that student. This is especially true if the FTPC teachers leave "busy" work for students that does not fully support the curriculum, as is often the case. The possibility of students not projecting their genuine academic potential paired with less meaningful "busy" work justified why the participants felt they were not expected to complete any assessments during STO teaching.

Assessment of student learning in LTO teaching. The assessment of student learning was routinely experienced by the participants in their LTO teaching positions. They perceived a high expectation to teach the curriculum and administer assessments throughout the entire duration of a LTO teaching position. The occurrence of curriculum based teaching and learning was paramount in the participants' working day and overall position. There was an understanding that they were expected to deliver the in-depth teaching, programming, and assessments that the other FTPC teachers within their schools were responsible for.

In LTO teaching, the participants saw themselves as contributing to student learning. They regarded themselves as being expected to educate their students. Elaine stated what she believed was achieved with her LTO teaching: "I'm educating. I'm setting routines. I'm

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establish... Assessment… feedback. Like, you just feel like you're making a difference." Elaine thrived on the opportunity to enrich her students with curriculum based knowledge and offer quality learning opportunities through LTO teaching. Learning and assessment were not seen as mutually exclusive and were further supported by feedback given to the students. The participants illustrated a considerable degree of engagement in their positions as LTO teachers with the content of student learning and the effective teaching and assessment of this content.

The participants all valued the opportunity to see the growth of their students' performance levels over time with LTO teaching. There was also the expectation among the participants to eventually use their assessment data to complete report cards, which was exclusive to LTO teaching.

Utilization of skills and knowledge. The participants referred to skills in the context of this study as classroom management skills and general teaching skills of instructing, planning, and assessing. Knowledge base referred to the knowledge the participants acquired through their teaching certification, professional learning, and personal teaching experience. Overall, the participants perceived different skills and knowledge as contributing to their general teacher expectations in STO and LTO teaching. Each position allowed the participants to use their teaching skills and knowledge base to differing degrees. The participants demonstrated that they expected to integrate a more generic skill set and knowledge base in their STO teaching and a more specialized skill set and knowledge base in their LTO teaching.

Utilization of skills and knowledge in STO teaching. The term classroom management was closely connected to the dialogue of each participant when discussing STO teaching. The participants conveyed that they routinely expected to exercise their pool of classroom management skills and knowledge while completing STO teaching. With a central focus on

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managing the classroom and delivering prescribed lesson plans, the participants did not refer to opportunities to apply their specialized subject and teaching knowledge. Possessing strong classroom management skills was perceived as highly beneficial and as a potential determinant of the success of STO teaching. Alexis expressed how critical it was to have firmly established classroom management skills as a STO teacher:

> I mean, when you're expected to go in for a day or two as a [STO teacher] and have your handle on a classroom, where you could be going into a rough quote-unquote school. You just have to have that background knowledge. You have to have some sort of [re]semblance of order. Otherwise, you will be eaten alive. Like, I've heard of [STO teachers] that go and leave in an hour because of what they see… And, so yeah, you really do have to be comfortable with classroom management. Like honestly, the most important thing when it comes to any grade, Kindergarten to Grade 8, it does not matter, especially with [STO teaching].

As Alexis reiterated, there is an ultimate expectation for STO teachers to have the classroom management skills to proactively manage and control students whom are looking to challenge them. The participants suggested that when the students were familiar with them, these generic classroom management skills were not as pivotal to their teaching performance. In going to new or "difficult" schools, the generic classroom management skills of STO teachers are called to order most, not the specialized knowledge they have about a subject. Although STO teachers possess a broad range of skills and knowledge, their position in teaching can sometimes overshadow their full potential as informed professionals.

Utilization of skills and knowledge in LTO teaching. There was uniformity among the participants' perceptions of LTO teaching more fully utilizing their skills and knowledge. There was an apparent shift in focus from classroom management in STO teaching to planning and assessment in LTO teaching. Carmen elaborated that in STO teaching, "You start figuring out your behaviour management abilities and where your strengths are. And once you get into an LTO, you sort of figure out more of your planning and assessment." Carmen and the other

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participants recognized how their STO teaching helped improve their LTO teaching in relation to classroom management. However, they voiced a minor expectation to focus on this skill set in LTO teaching due to developing a stronger rapport with the students. The participants perceived LTO teaching as requiring the application of a skill set more heavily focused on curriculum driven instruction, planning, and assessment.

Long-term occasional teaching was seen by the participants as an opportunity to apply the skills that would raise their marketability as teachers. Elaine commented on the benefits of LTO teaching: "It gets you your experience for, like, a resume. It gives you teaching experience. It gives you more time to develop your skills or your abilities." The participants viewed LTO teaching as an opportunity to advance their skills and knowledge related to running a classroom, with a foundation of stable teaching opportunities, school support, and teacher-student interaction. They understood that using and developing their specialized teaching skills would help them obtain a FTPC teaching position.

There was a tendency for the participants to convey that they should not only call upon their specialized skills and knowledge, but also further develop them through professional learning as LTO teachers. The majority of participants felt that they were expected to maintain a teaching repertoire that was up to date with the district school board's initiatives and the skills and knowledge that corresponded with these initiatives. A sense of confidence in their skills and knowledge was conveyed when they successfully followed the district school board's initiatives. Carmen completed pathways that were supported by the district school board and involved the design and application of a lengthy teaching cycle catered to a specific learning focus for a classroom. She expressed the confidence she gained in her knowledge and skills when completing pathways:

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> I feel like I'm actually following, say, board expectations because we did a lot of experience with pathways last year and I feel like. I'm not a master or anything, but I feel really confident teaching them and I know that's where we're going and I'm glad that I have that experience. It makes you feel like you're on the right path.

Carmen illustrated how fulfilling professional learning expectations of the district school board not only helped her gain skills and knowledge, but also gave her a sense of feeling empowered by her learning during LTO teaching. It was the opportunity to be in a classroom each day with LTO teaching that allowed the participants to thoroughly apply and build upon their skills and knowledge as professionals. Long-term occasional teaching is enriched with opportunities to reflect on one's professional practice and to seek growth with more intricate skills and knowledge related to teaching particular divisions, grade levels, and students with special needs.

Professional accountability. Dependant upon occupying a STO or LTO teaching position, the participants suggested that they were accountable to different people and to different extents. Accountability was conveyed as the actual responsibilities they were to uphold towards the FTPC teachers they were replacing, administrators, students, students' parents, and themselves as professionals. The general teacher expectations for the participants by these persons varied based on how accountable the participants were to them. The participants interpreted the greater accountability associated with a work arrangement as an indication of how important the position was viewed in education.

Professional accountability in STO teaching. There was an underlying understanding among the participants that they were most accountable towards the FTPC teachers they were replacing as STO teachers for delivering their lessons. A strong sense of accountability towards the students for keeping them safe and immersed in the prescribed lesson plans was also indicated. They were accountable towards administrators for maintaining order in the assigned classrooms. The degree of this accountability varied depending on how visible the

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administrators were in the schools. The more visible the administrators, the greater the level of accountability the participants felt towards them.

Accountability for the participants themselves involved upholding their professionalism in the workplace to secure further positions and to network. There was no indication of accountability towards the parents, as they felt detached from them. In situations when the participants were regular STO teachers at certain schools, they felt that the FTPC teachers had higher general teacher expectations of them. Dominic explained what happened when he frequently worked for the same FTPC teacher:

> …expectations in terms of the classroom can vary so much depending on the school, the teacher, the students. Some teachers, I found that if I was going back more often to the same class, the expectations of what I could teach the class went up each time in terms of actually covering the curriculum that they needed covered.

Dominic asserted that STO teachers become more accountable to FTPC teachers who raise their general teacher expectations of STO teachers over time. In the raising of these expectations, not only did Dominic become more accountable towards FTPC teachers, but also towards the Ministry for covering the curriculum. Short-term occasional teaching is regarded more positively by school staff and students the more that it resembles the work consistency, general teacher expectations, and accountability levels of FTPC teaching.

Professional accountability in LTO teaching. The participants noted a significant sense of accountability towards the students and their parents as well as the administrators with LTO teaching. They perceived themselves as having the same responsibilities as FTPC teachers, whereby they were accountable to: (1) Students for delivering the curriculum to them and meeting their learning needs; (2) Parents for informing them of their child's performance; and (3) Administrators for completing report cards. They each interacted with FTPC teachers in their LTO teaching positions, but did not feel as accountable towards them as they did in their STO

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teaching. Carmen expressed how she perceived her general teacher expectations when beginning a LTO teaching position and the level of accountability she felt towards the students, administrators, and parents:

> You have those kids, like you have to teach them. You have to actually look at them and assess them and at the end of the year, you have to do a report card. You have to actually say to these parents and administration and, 'This is what I've done with this kid.' And it makes you more accountable, I think, of what you're doing within that classroom.

Layla elaborated on the depth of this accountability in LTO teaching and how it compared to STO teaching: "I'm responsible for everything and I'm communicating with parents, with other colleagues, doing reports, assessments, that sort of thing, as opposed to just kind of stepping in for someone else and running their program for the day." Carmen and Layla demonstrated how they attained the power to control a classroom with LTO teaching. In the realm of teaching, such control is inevitably accompanied by greater accountability towards students, parents, and administrators. Power and control over general teacher expectations is essentially what differentiates STO and LTO teaching from a hierarchical standpoint. With consistent access to a classroom, the participants understood that the magnitude of accountability in LTO teaching paralleled that of FTPC teaching. Despite the higher status and accountability associated with LTO teaching relative to STO teaching, FTPC teaching has a greater hierarchical positioning within the teaching profession.

Time commitment for teaching duties. The participants each recognized that they were expected to commit different amounts of time to their STO and LTO teaching duties. When examining a single day of work, the in-class instruction time provided by STO and LTO teachers for a given FTPC teacher should be the same. It is the additional teaching duties involved prior to and following this instruction that differentiate how much time STO and LTO teachers must

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commit to their positions. The participants demonstrated how transitioning between the two positions magnified time commitment disparities for teaching duties.

Time commitment for teaching duties in STO teaching. The participants regarded STO teaching as temporal and limited to a single working day commitment. In order to understand the working day of a STO teacher, a brief outline of this day will be provided. The working day of a STO teacher first involves arriving at the school at least 15 minutes prior to the start of the instructional school day. Throughout the day, the STO teacher completes only those duties typically completed by the FTPC teacher being replaced (e.g., yard duty). After student dismissal, the STO teacher remains in the school for at least 15 minutes to wrap up and write a note for the FTPC teacher on the day's coverage and concerns. The time spent preparing for instruction at the start of the day and wrapping up at the end of the day is nominal.

In the context of the outlined day, it was evident from the participants' descriptions that their STO teaching involved no commitment to "take-home" teaching duties. As a result, this work arrangement did not compromise their personal time. The personal time available outside of school hours was commonly praised by the participants. As Carmen stated, with STO teaching you literally "go in, you do it, and you get out." Carmen did not think that she had to commit extra time to teaching duties or to a school, in general, as a STO teacher. She highlighted how STO teaching was temporal, with few obligations as a teacher relative to LTO teaching where the teacher is committed to the culture of a school. The lack of time commitment needed for teaching duties and the temporal nature of STO teaching were particularly appealing to Dominic and Elaine, who each have children.

Elaine encapsulated how STO teaching was less time consuming and did not infringe on her home life: "I always say that [short-term] occasional teaching is a 'Sweet Gig' because you

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get all the great benefits of doing your work and being with kids, but without the take home." Elaine, Dominic, Carmen, Layla, and Alexis expressed how STO teaching was a favourable position in that it provided them with teacher-student interactions, flexibility, and no time constraints. These circumstances were seen as luxuries of STO teaching. The fact that they were able to go home by four o'clock after a day of STO teaching and not think about lesson planning for the next day put their minds at ease. This worry of day-to-day planning and how it can pervade personal time was articulated by Dominic: "I enjoyed that at four o'clock when I went home, I had the whole evening with my son. Rather than playing with him and trying to think at the back of my head, 'Ok, what's happening tomorrow?'" He relished the time he was able to commit to his son, which was otherwise limited in a more consistent teaching position. Transitioning from LTO to STO teaching made this time availability for his son apparent. The participants expressed a relief in the minimal time commitment to teaching duties in STO teaching, but they knew that this was temporary until starting a LTO teaching position.

Time commitment for teaching duties in LTO teaching. The participants strongly advocated that LTO teaching was accompanied by great expectations for the time commitment to teaching duties independent of instructional time. They professed that the time demanded of them for these teaching duties was extensive. Even the transition from STO to LTO teaching was seen as a "rude awakening" in terms of the amount of time devoted to teaching duties outside of regular instruction. The participants frequently equated the time demands of LTO teaching to those of FTPC teaching. Micro-managing and preparation for program design and implementation was the onus of the LTO teachers. The planning and assessment for this programming required a considerable time commitment for all of the participants. Alexis

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discussed her time commitment to teaching duties, while reflecting on her status as a LTO teacher relative to a FTPC teacher:

> You had the work of a [FTPC] teacher, you did the workload, your expectations were higher, and you developed a really great classroom for yourself, and you were basically a teacher. But again, that was the satisfaction part, but the downside was the prep. Like, you had no choice but to do it. Even though you were considered a quote-unquote, 'A supply.'

The preparation time for teaching duties was the most unappealing aspect of LTO teaching for Alexis and the other participants. Alexis knew that even though she was maintaining the same workload as FTPC teachers, she was not afforded the same privileged status due to having a LTO teacher designation. Alexis' perceptions of time commitment expectations highlighted how a hierarchy of status was embedded within her experience of teaching.

The participants were willing to endure the time commitment for teaching duties as LTO teachers, for they knew the experience would assist them in one day obtaining a FTPC teaching position. The troubling aspect of the time commitment for teaching duties was that it invaded the participants' personal and family time. Managing the time for teaching and family duty commitments was a clear concern for the two participants who each had families. As a parent, Elaine expressed how the demanding time commitments of LTO teaching influenced her family life: "It's way more preparation and it's more taxing for someone with a young family to get everything done." Elaine and the other parent in the study, Dominic, realized that they would need to effectively balance their respective time commitments for teaching and parenting.

The time commitment for teaching duties in LTO teaching was a vital part of the participants' personal and professional lives and they had success with finding an effective balance between the two. Their completion of multiple LTO teaching positions suggested that they were able to adapt to the time commitment demands for teaching duties over time and with

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experience. Through these multiple LTO teaching positions, the participants were able to achieve a stronger and more respectable status as a teacher within schools. How they perceived themselves as STO and LTO teachers was influenced by their sense of belonging within schools.

School Belonging

School belonging was represented by how connected the participants felt to the schools in which they taught and by the degree of acceptance they felt from the school staff. Depending on whether the participants completed STO or LTO teaching, the sense of belonging they perceived within schools differed. The participants illustrated how the sense of belonging within schools was greatly attributed to how often these schools were visited as an occasional teacher.

Throughout this section, it becomes apparent that the peripheral positioning of STO and LTO teachers within the ITWVH can emerge at the school level based on the extent to which these teachers feel they are insiders or outsiders of a school. Occasional teachers who perceive themselves as insiders have established a sense of belonging within a school. On the contrary, occasional teachers who perceive themselves as outsiders lack a solid sense of belonging within a school. The participants' experiences in the following sub-sections illustrate how a sense of inclusion or exclusion within schools was connected to how they hierarchically perceived themselves in STO and LTO teaching. The participants' sense of belonging within schools during their STO teaching is first presented. Afterwards, their LTO teaching school belonging experiences are presented.

School belonging for STO teachers. Participants' school belonging differed depending on how familiar they were with a school and on the scale of acceptance they felt from the school staff during their STO teaching. In less familiar schools where the participants felt that the staff had a negative outlook on STO teachers, they were confronted with exclusionary staff room

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behaviours. Dominic commented on how he worked as a STO teacher in a school where the staff room had designated seating areas for STO teachers and FTPC teachers. Elaine gave a personal account of how she experienced this segregation as a STO teacher: "It depends on the school, but I've been completely ignored. I've been told that I was not to sit at that, in that chair in the staff room." The two examples of staff room behaviour discouraged a sense of school belonging and contributed to the participants having outsider perceptions as STO teachers, which perpetuated their peripheral standing within the ITWVH.

The STO teacher as an insider was characteristic in schools where the participants regularly worked and established their school belonging. A pronounced sense of belonging existed in schools where they did their former LTO teaching positions; however, Carmen stressed that at one point these familiar schools were unfamiliar work environments. She explained how school belonging within unfamiliar schools is unlikely and that building a sense of belonging involves a process for STO teachers:

> As an [short-term] occasional teacher, unless, you're at a school a lot. Like, I find too, a lot of supply teachers get really comfortable, as I did, if when you keep going to the same school. You do feel more like you belong. Like you feel like you fit in because you've been there for so long. But, at the beginning, you don't feel like you belong. And that, I don't think anyone would ever say, 'Yes, I feel like I belong right away,' because you don't. This isn't your school, they aren't your kids, it's not your staff, it's not your teaching. You don't really have any connection. You don't have anything invested in it.

Carmen identified how establishing school belonging is dependent upon becoming a school's regular STO teacher with an insider advantage. This advantage takes the form of staff continuously investing in the regular STO teachers by inviting them to return to their schools and by providing them with an opportunity to develop a rapport with the staff.

Alexis elaborated on the value of school staff investing in STO teachers and how it influenced her school belonging to create an insider perception of STO teachers:

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> Well, it can range from zero to total sense of belonging when it comes to daily supply because if they keep calling you back, if one school keeps calling you back, you know that you're wanted. So you do feel like you're part of the community even though you're just there to take over for a teacher for a day.

She explained how STO teachers can gain a sense of belonging when they are in demand and can feel less peripheral than other STO teachers who are not being called back. Although she still had a peripheral status in teaching, the degree of this status was lowered as she became a regular STO teacher at certain schools. School belonging can be elevated for STO teachers when multiple staff rely on their availability and invest in their capabilities as a teacher. In cases where Alexis and the other participants carried out STO teaching at less familiar schools, they felt as though they were less connected to the staff and had a marginal sense of school belonging.

Layla explained how a marginal sense of school belonging reflected an outsider STO teacher role within the context of a less familiar school: "…no-one goes out of their way to help you or to acknowledge you." She perceived that little acceptance of STO teachers was granted by the staff she interacted with. School belonging for the participants as STO teachers was contingent upon the acceptance they perceived from school staff that either rejected them or placed them as subordinate, yet frequently contributing members of their schools. When they were seen as contributing members, they gained a sense of belonging and in turn felt less peripheral within these schools and as STO teachers. The participants each had regular schools where STO teaching was completed and, as a result, maintained a reasonable insider perception of themselves as STO teachers at these schools. They acknowledged that STO teaching fostered various degrees of belonging within schools, but ultimately, they did not experience the amount of belonging that was apparent while completing their LTO teaching positions.

School belonging for LTO teachers. Significant school belonging was experienced by the participants within the schools where they completed their LTO teaching. They constructed

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a sense of belonging due to feeling accepted by the school staff as part of a team. At times, this acceptance and sense of belonging was immediate, and in other cases, it took time to develop. Elaine described how an adaptation period can be experienced by LTO teachers before a complete sense of belonging within a school is achieved:

> …it takes a while to build-up that belonging and build-up that trust and that, the confidence of the other teachers in you and your skills… the adaptation period was different, but, in general, I always end up feeling like one of the fam., part of the family.

The sense of belonging experienced by Elaine was substantial, which contributed to her feeling as though she was part of the school staff's "family." The positioning within such a family showed how Elaine perceived herself as an insider, along with the other school staff, and was not identified as a peripheral presence within the school. Her hierarchical positioning was higher than it was when she was a STO teacher and this was a reflection of the rapport she established with the school staff as a LTO teacher.

The participants claimed that the school staff made an effort to help them feel like accepted members within their schools by offering direction, advice, and/or support. Layla remarked that as a LTO teacher, the school staff would "go out of their way to help me, to answer any questions that I had, made me really feel like they were happy that I was there." Layla and the other participants felt that as a result of their sense of belonging within a school, they were able to make their own contributions to the school. The school staff could also depend on the participants as a source of support. The participants suggested that LTO teachers and FTPC teachers supported one another.

Dominic's belonging within a school gave him an avenue to support not only the school staff, but also the overall school: "You're able to add more to the school in terms of doing extracurricular activities, being there for different events and supporting, whether it's the staff or

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the students." Dominic showed how belonging within a school allowed him to partake in extracurricular activities. Such an opportunity is not typical of STO teaching and further magnifies how LTO teachers can participate as insiders within a school and not feel alienated from special extracurricular opportunities. Dominic's positioning as a LTO teacher granted him access to extracurricular opportunities that STO teachers can not as easily access.

The development of a sense of school belonging influenced how the participants perceived their LTO schools. They praised these schools and became very connected to them after being there each day. Carmen indicated how, "you're there everyday and you feel like it's your school." She associated with her LTO schools as if she had a sense of ownership over them due to the breadth of her school belonging and involvement within the schools. Identifying with a school as "your school" is not feasible for peripherally situated STO teachers who work in multiple school locations. As a LTO teacher, Layla explained that, "you feel and are regarded as part of the staff even if you're there just for a year, or six months, whatever it may be." Layla knew that even if she was in a LTO teaching position for a short period of time, she would still gain a greater sense of belonging within a school relative to that gained from completing STO teaching. The higher teaching status of LTO teachers provided the participants with opportunities to feel secure and accepted within schools and contributed to the formation of their teacher identity descriptors.

Teacher Identity Descriptors

Teacher identity descriptors represented how the participants perceived themselves as STO and LTO teachers as a result of their teaching experiences in various schools. Different teacher identity descriptors were assigned to STO and LTO teaching. The participants depicted

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occasional teaching as having a hierarchical positioning, with some STO and LTO teacher identity descriptors perceived as more favourable and creditable than others.

Teacher identity descriptors for STO teachers. There was consistency in the participants attaching STO teaching to meagre teacher identity descriptors. The teacher identity descriptors conveyed a "substitute" nature of STO teaching that was intended to fill the void of absent FTPC teachers. With the vast number of STO teachers available to fill this void, Carmen described them as "disposable." She emphasized that STO teachers who did not "cut it" would not be invited back to schools. The teacher identity descriptor of disposable situates STO teachers at the bottom of the ITWVH due to the generic behavioural management skill set they require, which makes them easily replaceable.

Layla, Elaine, and Carmen perceived STO teachers as possessing a teacher identity role that did not demand intricate skills, but rather focused on overseeing the students in the classroom. Layla explained that STO teaching was "like supervising." With the teacher identity descriptor of supervisor, she ensured that the students were well-behaved and that she completed the intended lesson plans of the FTPC teachers. Such a supervisory designation was also perceived by Elaine and Carmen, but it was minimized to a less favourable status: babysitter. Elaine stated, "I sometimes feel like a glorified babysitter for certain classes as a daily occasional." Carmen contended that with this babysitter status, "I am not satisfied as an occasional teacher." Layla, Elaine, and Carmen indentified with teacher identity descriptors that did not adequately represent their credentials as teaching professionals or fully meet their professional needs. Supervisor and babysitter are not regarded as highly creditable teacher identity descriptors within the teaching profession based on their negative connotations solely

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with classroom management. The labels situate STO teaching at a low hierarchical positioning, for they imply that this teaching position does not require substantive credentials.

Alexis and Dominic perceived STO teaching from a physical standpoint. They referenced teacher identity descriptors for STO teaching that related to occupying space within FTPC teachers' classrooms. Dominic explained that he would, "kind of fill the spot, be a warm body, in a way, and keep the kids safe." His teacher identity descriptor suggested that he was a temporary occupant of the classroom who was there out of necessity as a protective adult for the students. He portrayed the need to fill the physical void of an FTPC teacher. Alexis' teacher identity descriptor of STO teachers as "temporary glue" also placed importance in them physically filling the space of FTPC teachers. She perceived that as a STO teacher, her physical presence literally held the classroom and students together by carrying out the FTPC teacher's duties. Alexis' teacher identity descriptor suggested that STO teaching is temporal in nature and does not provide a stable physical setting for her teaching. Carmen also captured the temporal nature of her STO teacher identity descriptor as a "floater." All of the participants took-on the teacher identity descriptor of floater while going from school to school and from classroom to classroom as a STO teacher. They did not have the luxury of occupying a more favourable LTO teaching position within the ITWVH that guaranteed a stable teaching role in the physical space of one classroom while completing STO teaching.

Teacher identity descriptors for LTO teachers. There was a tendency for the participants to perceive themselves as reaching a threshold of credibility in occasional teaching once they became LTO teachers. In reaching this threshold, they assigned themselves teacher identity descriptors that suggested they felt more like FTPC teachers. Layla distinguished how "on paper, I'm an occasional teacher whether I'm doing daily or long-term. But, I think I feel

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more of quote-un-quote a teacher when I'm in a LTO where I'm running my program. I'm responsible for everything." She described LTO teaching as resembling FTPC teaching, knowing that this resemblance meant she had more authority in the classroom. Authority heightened her credibility as a teacher and her standing within the ITWVH.

The perception of having greater credibility as a LTO teacher was reinforced with the teacher identity descriptors assigned by Carmen and Alexis. Carmen commented "as a [STO] teacher I can be myself. Like, I have to just go in, who I am. As an LTO, you are a teacher. Like there, you can't really, you, you set the bar. You're the model." Carmen's teacher identity descriptors of "teacher" and "model" in the LTO teaching work arrangement signified how she felt more accountable for her actions. She demonstrated how LTO teachers possess authority within the classroom by setting "the bar" for teaching and learning. Expectations implemented by a school and staff influence how these bars are set.

Alexis showed that when LTO teachers are given the same credibility as FTPC teachers, they must also maintain the same range of expectations. She noted that in LTO teaching, "your expectations are that of a full-time contract teacher… I really did feel like that was my expectation to be just like the other teachers." Her teacher identity descriptor of LTO teachers as "just like the other teachers" captured how closely she equated LTO teachers with FTPC teachers. In being just like FTPC teachers, LTO teachers book STO teachers as replacements for themselves when they are absent. Long-term occasional teachers have a superior status over STO teachers who fill the voids in their classrooms.

The participants each mentioned a parallel between LTO and FTPC teaching in their teacher identity descriptors. The parallel suggests that there is not a substantial shift in the hierarchical positioning between these work arrangements. The less favourable and creditable

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status of STO teachers implies that there is a notable gap in the hierarchical positioning between STO and FTPC teachers. This gap was displayed through the participants' teacher identity descriptors that differentiated between STO and LTO teaching.

Chapter Summary

This chapter demonstrated how the transitional STO and LTO teacher participants perceived the nature of their work differently while occupying the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements. Participants' general teacher expectations were intensified in lesson planning, assessment of student learning, specialized skills and knowledge utilization, professional accountability levels, and time commitment for teaching duties with the LTO teaching work arrangement. As STO teachers, the participants illustrated that their sense of belonging within schools and how they perceived themselves as expressed through teacher identity descriptors were less favourable. A commonality throughout the chapter was the tendency for LTO teaching to resemble the nature of FTPC teaching and to garner a greater hierarchical positioning than STO teaching. In the next findings chapter, a presentation of the participants' experiences with school staff, students, and parents situates the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements as involving various levels of interaction with these persons.

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Chapter Six: Interactions with Others in the School

Depending on the occasional teaching work arrangement that the participants occupied at a given time, the interactions with secretaries, administrators, FTPC teachers, students, and students' parents were experienced differently. The interactions were representative of how the participants felt they were perceived and treated by these persons within a school environment. The participants identified that they were more valued and positively treated as LTO teachers. They indicated that their interactions with these persons as LTO teachers were more sincere and reflective of the establishment of relationships with them. As STO teachers, the participants characterized their interactions with these persons as more distant and superficial. The participants interacted with the persons when they needed support in carrying out their assigned STO teacher duties or simply as they traveled through the physical layout of the schools. As STO teachers occupying the bottom of the ITWVH, the participants were peripheral to the everyday culture of the schools and their inconsistent presence was less significant to the persons with whom they interacted.

Familiarity with the schools where STO teaching was completed influenced the nature of the interactions with the persons. When the participants completed STO teaching in schools where they worked frequently or had completed a LTO teaching position, the interactions were more favourable. How the participants were treated as STO teachers also reflected a school's culture and its value system for these teachers. Dominic expressed how the value in and acceptance of STO teachers can be greater in some schools. More importantly, he stressed that regardless of a school's mentality of STO teachers, "the longer you're with them, the more you can move forward as well." Consistent with Dominic, the other participants experienced more favourable interactions through regular work at a school.

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This chapter uncovers the many sub-themes that emerged as the participants discussed their interactions with others in schools. The sub-themes include interactions with: (1) Secretaries; (2) Administrators; (3) Full-time permanent contract teachers; (4) Students; and (5) Students' parents. The participants' interactions with these persons, first as STO teachers, and then as LTO teachers are presented in the order listed above. The positioning of STO and LTO teachers within the ITWVH influenced the nature of interactions the participants encountered in their work arrangements.

STO Teacher-Secretary Interactions

When entering a school for STO teaching, the secretary is the first contact person. Logistical matters of locating and unlocking classrooms are generally contingent upon the help of a secretary in schools that STO teachers are less familiar with. The types of relationships that STO teachers have with secretaries influence their work opportunities and interactions. Becoming well-acquainted with secretaries can play an integral role in gaining a position on a school's short list of on-call STO teachers and in receiving favourable treatment from them.

Layla stressed that secretaries can be viewed as "tough" in terms of trying to please and establish a relationship with. She confirmed that regardless of being a STO or a LTO teacher, it is necessary to "get in with the secretaries because if you don't, it's going to be a rough ride." Layla's outlook towards the STO teacher-secretary relationship was that it was a survival tactic. It was the STO teacher's responsibility to establish this relationship with the secretaries. In being a regular STO teacher at select schools, establishing this relationship was more feasible. With each school that the participants worked at as a STO teacher, they were situated within the school's individual teacher hierarchy. The more they taught at a school, the less peripheral their role as a STO teacher became within that school. Those STO teachers with frequent work at a

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school and a positive relationship with the secretary had a higher positioning within the school's individual teacher hierarchy.

Although it is beneficial for STO teachers to establish a positive relationship with secretaries, this can be difficult to achieve due to the unpredictable nature of how secretaries can treat them in less familiar schools. Carmen verbalized the nature of this unpredictability:

> It was a hit and miss. Some of them were really welcoming. Some of them were very open to questions that you have. Other times, if you come in at the wrong time in the office, they just say, 'Ok, you go down there.' And then, you don't hear from them at all. It's not, it's not always the most warm environment.

Carmen illustrated how secretaries were sometimes welcoming and supportive in their interactions with STO teachers. At other times, highly superficial interactions were minimized to technical issues of where to find the teaching classrooms. In the most superficial interactions with secretaries, STO teachers can be minimized to a teacher identification number. Alexis explained that in these interactions all secretaries "were looking for was your number. Just, like, here's the key, here's what's your number, and they see you as person but they don't really associate, it's impersonal. They don't associate you with anything necessarily, except for the board." Interactions involving an emphasis on Alexis' employee identification number signified how she was one of many STO teachers with whom the secretaries dealt with each day. She was not identified as possessing a unique role within the district school board, but was instead viewed and treated as one of many within the pool of peripheral STO teachers. Carmen and Alexis illustrated how the unpredictable and superficial nature of STO teacher-secretary interactions in less familiar schools confirmed the marginal status of STO teachers within the ITWVH.

Layla and Elaine offered insights on how the interactions between STO teachers and secretaries were unpredictable across unfamiliar schools and could evoke feelings of insignificance. In some schools, Layla explained that her STO teacher status was positively

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received and her presence was appreciated. In other schools, she felt unacknowledged with only basic support provided. This lack of acknowledgement was obvious in the interactions. Elaine explained that in these interactions, you feel as though "you're being looked through." With interactions that contributed to feelings of insignificance, Layla and Elaine demonstrated how peripherally STO teachers can be viewed and treated. The adverse interactions and their unpredictability demonstrated the unfavourable nature of being at the lower spectrum of a hierarchical teaching structure. The participants confirmed that the experience of STO teaching can be exclusionary and isolating without the staff support that is provided with LTO teaching.

LTO teacher-secretary interactions. The participants experienced closer relationships with secretaries as LTO teachers. They felt that they were viewed and treated more favourably by the secretaries in this work arrangement. Alexis concluded that as a LTO teacher, the secretaries put forth a greater investment to interact with her. She commented that by making the effort to speak with secretaries, "eventually they do see you as part of a community." Alexis' reciprocal LTO teacher-secretary interactions were indicative of how LTO teachers are accepted into the school culture. Long-term occasional teachers are regarded as members of the school culture alongside their FTPC teacher colleagues. The sense of community that the secretaries foster with LTO teachers displays how they are treated with the same hierarchical status and level of appreciation as FTPC teachers.

The interactions that characterized the LTO teacher-secretary relationship were predictable. Carmen and Elaine expressed that secretaries consistently treated them in a welcoming manner as LTO teachers. Carmen suggested that the fact that LTO teachers have a stable position in a school results in secretaries being, "Much more welcoming. Much more inviting because you're there everyday. Even if you're only there for a couple months, they

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know that you're coming back the next day." The stability of work within a school helped Carmen understand that secretaries also favour a sense of reliability and predictability with the persons entering their schools. Carmen showed how the LTO teacher-secretary relationship was dependent upon the establishment of frequent opportunities for interaction. Both LTO and FTPC teachers often interact with staff and STO teachers have conditional interactions with staff based on whether or not they are working on a given day.

STO Teacher-Administrator Interactions

Positive interactions with administrators were reported by the participants as STO teachers. Elaine said that, "Administrators have always been really professional with me as an [short-term] occasional teacher and as an LTO." She suggested that STO teachers are initially treated equally within their hierarchical positioning and are provided with opportunities to prove themselves as competent STO teachers.

Short-term occasional teacher-administrator interactions are evaluative in nature. Alexis clarified that administrators participate in an evaluative process to rank the quality of STO teachers in their schools, which directly affects if they will be asked to return:

> …administrators see you as a help and a relief for the one teacher that wasn't there, especially if you do a good job. And that's when they call you back or they recommend you to other teachers. Or they just see you as a glorified babysitter and they just need you out of there because you're not helping the school or whatever the case may be, which thank God I've never had the, I've never had anyone say that about me. But, I've seen that from substitutes.

Alexis disclosed how STO teachers are an investment that can sustain the structure that administrators desire within their schools while FTPC teachers are absent. She outlined how the quality of interactions between STO teachers and administrators can set the tone for future interactions with FTPC teachers. Administrators who praise and recommend STO teachers to FTPC teachers help them produce a positive tone in their interactions with these FTPC teachers

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before they even begin. Alexis identified how STO teacher-administrator interactions can be judgemental and support a peripheral experience for STO teachers when they are not considered good enough to return to a school or to be recommended to FTPC teachers. Hence, STO teachers can encounter different ranges of a peripheral teaching experience. Teachers who are regarded as less competent by administrators maintain the outer most ranking within the peripheral hierarchical positioning of STO teachers.

Successful STO teacher-administrator interactions can result in opportunities for STO and LTO teaching work. Carmen shared that she believed the impressions she made as a STO teacher on administrators assisted her in obtaining LTO teaching positions:

> I think that sort of mentality of my sort of setting my expectations, has gotten me my LTOs. Sort of, the principals have seen that, 'You know what? She has a good rapport with the kids because she's earned it. Not because she demands it because the kids look at her as, You know what? If I do my stuff for her, I'll get something good out of it.'

Carmen and the two other participants who were offered additional opportunities for work by administrators felt that they were valued by them. Carmen's reallocation from STO to LTO teaching by administrators exemplified how positive STO teacher-administrator interactions can play an influential role in moving STO teachers up the ITWVH. These interactions are determinants of how favourably a STO teacher can be evaluated and situated within the ITWVH.

From a logistical stance, instigating the contact that is necessary with administrators to have STO teacher-administrator interactions can be difficult to achieve. When administrators oversee large schools, Layla commented that STO teachers may not be a concern for them:

> …if you're in, if you do daily work at a big school, chances are, unless you go out of your way to introduce yourself to an administrator, you probably wouldn't see them. Unless you know them and kind of made an effort. Or, if they're an administrator that is very visible in the building, out walking around during yard and, like, lunch, that sort of thing. Or, if they're someone that's more likely to just kind of be in their office. I think you're more kind of just like a number if you do [STO teaching] work, especially at a larger school.

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Layla validated how STO teachers must strive to become less peripheral to administrators by seeking out opportunities to interact with them. With the sizeable representation of STO teachers within the district school board, having administrators even recognize their faces can constitute a positive interaction and make them less peripheral.

LTO teacher-administrator interactions. Elaine and Alexis noted that their interactions with administrators were professional and positive in both of the occasional teacher work arrangements. Dominic, Carmen, and Layla claimed that the quality of their interactions with administrators as LTO teachers surpassed the quality of their interactions with administrators as STO teachers. The magnitude of administrator support distinguished how the LTO teacher-administrator interactions were more favourable. Dominic was mainly pleased with the administrator support he received while completing a LTO teaching position that began near the end of the school year:

> [Administration was] Very supportive in say, in knowing that sort of coming in three quarters of the year, the kids are already sort of in that mind set of winding down and, and really trying to support me in making sure that they, the kids, are supported and I was supported and helping them sort of thing.

Dominic believed that the administrators were "fantastic" for all of his LTO teaching positions and accommodated his needs. In being a staff member as a LTO teacher, greater support through time and resources was extended to Dominic by administrators. The supportive interactions administrators provide to LTO teachers are reflective of the benefits that can be had. Those who are higher within the ITWVH, including LTO teachers and FTPC teachers, hold the educating framework of the school in place. Administrators must support them to gain optimal learning outcomes for the student population. These outcomes in learning are not as apparent with one day of STO teaching and justify why administrator support is greater with LTO teaching.

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Most of the participants felt that in their LTO teacher-administrator interactions, the administrators recognized the accomplishment of earning a LTO teaching position. Carmen thought that her interactions with administrators as a LTO teacher were more favourable, for they knew that she earned and was entitled to her hierarchical positioning within the ITWVH:

> …as an LTO, they know that you've done your time as an [short-term] occasional teacher. They've seen that you've sort of proved yourself and you've earned a position. So, now they're more willing to either put out the extra little effort, I guess you could say.

Carmen declared that administrators were willing to offer her more support as a LTO teacher, knowing that she had a wealth of experience as a STO teacher. Her LTO teacher-administrator interactions exposed how administrators are selective in whom they choose to support. The support given to LTO teachers by administrators affirms their elevated hierarchical positioning.

Although most of the participants experienced more favourable interactions with administrators as LTO teachers, their interactions were not as favourable relative to FTPC teachers. Layla and Elaine recognized how administrators understood that they deserved their LTO teaching positions, but they felt the pressure to constantly prove themselves to their administrators. Layla reported that as a LTO teacher she had to work hard to prove herself to administrators in order for them to, "(A) Hire me back, or (B) Recommend me to someone else, or to give me a good reference." Layla believed that her interactions with administrators as a LTO teacher were indicators of her future LTO teaching opportunities.

Long-term occasional teachers are predisposed to marketing themselves more to administrators as a result of not having the job security that comes with the hierarchical positioning of FTPC teaching. 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

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standards of their administrators. Elaine commented how it was critical for her to have administrators maintain a positive perception of her as a LTO teacher:

> I'm, I'm always a little bit afraid to let them, to let any administrator know that I don't actually know what I'm doing because I don't ever want... I never want an administrator to feel as though he, he or she, made the wrong choice and don't want to hire me back. So, there's that level of anxiety too.

Elaine confessed to: (1) Being exhausted in her continuous pursuit to impress administrators; and (2) Feeling threatened by the possibility of administrators thinking that she was not deserving of her current position or of a prospective position. Her LTO teacher-administrator interactions shaped how she viewed herself as a professional seeking work stability. In addition, the interactions solidified how the perceptions of Elaine's administrators carried much weight in her positioning within the ITWVH. If Elaine was not regarded as deserving of her LTO teaching positions according to her administrators, she could have faced the return to STO teaching and a hierarchical demotion. As FTPC teachers already have a permanent position, this self-imposed stress of needing to impress an administrator in order to secure a position is not as applicable.

STO Teacher-FTPC Teacher Interactions

Participant interactions with FTPC teachers as STO teachers were less favourable in comparison to interactions with FTPC teachers as LTO teachers. Carmen provided a context for understanding these interactions by reviewing the widely held assumption of a STO-FTPC teacher interdependency: "…we've all heard the phrase, teachers say: 'Occasional teachers are important to us and regular classroom teachers are important to occasional teachers 'cause it's a relationship sort of that you have to... You need each other.'" Carmen and the other participants expressed that STO-FTPC teacher interactions were different across schools and that the proposed interdependency was not always valued by FTPC teachers. Alexis summarized the range of STO-FTPC teacher interactions she encountered across schools:

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> In some schools, they just were polite, but they didn't help at all. In other schools I would go to, they were very polite and did actually come in and ask if I needed anything or did lend a hand, which just showed camaraderie, I guess, between the teachers even though they knew I was a [STO teacher].

The differentiated treatment that Alexis experienced across schools as a STO teacher was indicative of how some FTPC teachers valued STO teachers more than others. It represented how FTPC teachers treated STO teachers as peripheral in their schools and at most partook in superficial interactions to help them with basic tasks. The peripheral positioning of STO teachers translated into the need for FTPC teachers to provide little investment in them.

The FTPC teachers who place little value in STO teachers can promote adverse experiences for them. Elaine and Layla experienced STO-FTPC teacher interactions that resulted in them feeling left out or inadequate. Elaine voiced that as a STO teacher, "I always felt a little. I often felt disengaged and not included by accident or on purpose." This exclusionary dynamic placed her as peripheral to the FTPC teachers. Her lower hierarchical standing was evident due to the FTPC teachers dismissing her presence. Layla experienced more direct STO-FTPC teacher interactions that led her to believe FTPC teachers placed little value in her status as a STO teacher. She noted,

> I think that permanent teachers, and again, maybe it's at the schools that I've been to and that's why I feel this way. I feel that they take me more seriously if I am in an LTO position. Like, I think that they are of the mind set, 'Well, why are you doing just daily work? Can you not get a LTO? Can you not get a contract?' They perceive you as though there's, not something wrong with you, but why are you just doing daily work type thing.

Layla and Alexis recognized that STO teachers are often perceived based on what they do not have as teaching professionals. Alexis specified, "I don't think they see me as a teacher. Unfortunately. They see me as somebody that couldn't get a job as a contract. That's kind of how I feel, or how I feel I am perceived." Layla and Alexis demonstrated how STO-FTPC

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teacher interactions can contribute to feelings of inadequacy due to not occupying a higher status within the ITWVH. The FTPC teachers treated them as if their STO teaching status was undesirable and insignificant.

In schools that the participants frequently attended, the STO-FTPC teacher interdependency was pronounced and they felt more valued. A reliance on particular STO teachers can be established by FTPC teachers who value the interdependency. Carmen described how FTPC teachers become reliant on select STO teachers:

> Because permanent teachers, I know, will say having a good [STO] teacher is, you have to have it. Like, it's part of the repertoire. Like, if you're not there, you want to know that you can have one person to rely on that knows your program, knows your kids, and you don't have to worry. You can go for a day and things will get done, and you can come back and just go right next to the plan.

Carmen demonstrated that the interdependency situated STO teachers more favourably within the ITWVH by granting them a sense of trust in certain FTPC teachers' classrooms. Those STO-FTPC teacher interactions that have led to the establishment of a strong reliance on the interdependency depict STO teachers as invaluable to FTPC teachers. These STO teachers occupy the top hierarchical ranks among STO teachers and have greater work stability in the FTPC teachers' classrooms.

The STO-FTPC teacher interactions foster judgements about the quality of STO teachers. Alexis validated that FTPC teachers evaluate STO teachers based on their effectiveness:

> …permanent teachers see you as an opportunity to get another substitute on their card list, on their short list. To make it easier for them. So they're always, like I can see them asking themselves about you: 'Was she good, is she ok, should I add her to my list'

Layla conveyed how these evaluations by FTPC teachers situated STO teachers in different hierarchical ranks among each other based on their effectiveness, with those STO teachers perceived as most effective occupying the highest standings.

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LTO teacher-FTPC teacher interactions. The participants disclosed that they were favourably perceived and treated by FTPC teachers, while completing LTO teaching. Their LTO-FTPC teacher interactions were not distinguishable from those interactions between FTPC teachers. The positive nature of the interactions contributed to the participants feeling as though they had a strong presence within schools. Alexis shared that she felt as though she "had never left or was always there." The strength of this presence was validated when Alexis explained that her LTO teacher status was mistaken for a FTPC teacher status by FTPC teachers. This same erroneous assignment of status was described by Elaine: "…definitely as an LTO, you are treated as one of the staff. In fact, a staff at this school forgot that I was not a permanent contract teacher." Elaine and Alexis presented how LTO-FTPC teacher interactions are not influenced by the differentiation among hierarchical teaching statuses. Both of Elaine's and Alexis' interactions with FTPC teachers suggested that they were perceived and treated by them as being one of their own and possessing an equally notable presence and status within schools.

A major element that contributed to the favourable LTO-FTPC teacher interactions for the participants was the inclusionary behaviours displayed by the FTPC teachers. Dominic reflected on the inclusionary nature of his interactions with FTPC teachers:

> …once in a, in a LTO, instantly, I was part of a team, part of a group. Included in everything, included in staff activities. Yeah, I found that very quickly, the staff were happy to take the new person on board.

He claimed that FTPC teachers were optimistic and welcoming in their LTO-FTPC teacher interactions. Their inclusion of LTO teachers in staff activities displayed how they regarded LTO teachers as their colleagues. Dominic's experience of inclusion highlighted how the LTO teaching status is a source of access to FTPC teachers. This access provides LTO teachers with opportunities to engage in the broad assortment of interactions that occur with FTPC teachers

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during staff activities that can inform their teaching practice and build collegial trust. The positioning of STO teachers within the ITWVH places them at a disadvantage by not having this access, as they cannot benefit from the professional dialogue and sense of inclusion that exist during these staff activities.

Even though the participants experienced inclusionary LTO-FTPC teacher interactions, they were still subjected to evaluations by FTPC teachers. The evaluations regarded their competencies as teaching professionals. Carmen recognized the existence of such evaluations when she was initially hired. She commented that FTPC teachers

> feel like it's their family and when someone new comes in, they're like, 'Well..." They want to know what's going on with this other person.' They want to know, "Are they a good teacher? Are they really good with the kids? Is there something there that, is there a reason that this person got hired over this person?' There's always those kind of conversations going on.

Carmen demonstrated how FTPC teachers perceive LTO teachers as being capable and having something to offer their schools given that an administrator hired them. She stated that FTPC teachers "want to see what you've got." Consequently, these teachers expect LTO teachers to prove that they are deserving of their status promotion within the ITWVH.

The evaluation of LTO teachers by FTPC teachers intensifies the influence of the ITWVH. Alexis revealed that there is an assignment of status labels for STO and LTO teachers by FTPC teachers. She described that occasional teachers in LTO teaching positions are labelled as being capable of obtaining FTPC teaching positions, whereas STO teachers are labelled as unsuccessful at seeking these positions. Layla reasoned that FTPC teachers evaluate LTO teachers more favourably than STO teachers based on their teaching competency levels: "It sounds bad to say, but I think that other teachers think if you're in an LTO you're more qualified, you're better at what you do." Alexis and Layla raised how the evaluations by FTPC teachers

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place STO teachers at the bottom of the ITWVH and identify them as less competent teaching professionals. These evaluations imply that LTO teaching is a means to obtaining a FTPC teaching position. Moreover, the evaluations create an impression that LTO-FTPC teacher interactions are influenced by an underlying assumption that LTO teachers are more professionally successful than STO teachers.

STO Teacher-Student Interactions

Completing STO teaching in familiar schools elicited more favourable STO teacher-student interactions for the participants. How well-acquainted the students were with the STO teachers influenced their perception and treatment of them. Alexis discussed how students perceived her as a familiar STO teacher when she worked at a former LTO teaching school:

> 'Oh, Mr. So-and-so is away today, but Mrs. X is back, which is cool 'cause she used to teach us and she never did last year.' And they just like the fact that they know I was a teacher there, so they know that I am an actual teacher, and they perceive me as a teacher even though I'm a daily supply. And if I came in off the street, so to speak, and I walked in, they would see me as a sub, which they don't see as a teacher. I don't think students see supply's as actual teachers, so that's where the difference lies. They actually know, they have some sort of reference, frame of reference.

Alexis magnified that students formulate their own hierarchical positioning of STO teachers. Unfamiliar STO teachers are not perceived as "real" teachers and occupy the most subordinate positioning within the ITWVH.

Short-term occasional teacher-student interactions are unique in that they involve tactics to make unfamiliar teachers feel subordinate. The tactics applied by the students involve testing these unfamiliar teachers. Layla discussed how, "I think you're treated better [as a known STO teacher] as opposed to if you had just walked into a school in a classroom where you had never been there before. I think the students test you more." Layla implied that the students test these unfamiliar teachers with challenging behaviours. In doing so, they associate a lower degree of

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authority with the teachers and recognize that they possess less power within the ITWVH. Carmen reflected on how she came to the realization that student misbehaviour was the norm for STO teaching in less familiar classrooms:

> …kids test you and I think what I learned most and I'm glad that when I was in teacher's college, they told me that, 'Teaching is hard. It's not easy.' And when I came out, when I thought I had this glorious picture of teaching. Like the kids are gonna be great, they're all gonna be sitting at their desks and doing activities, and I'd have no problem. But then some, if you go in thinking that, your bubble is gonna be burst because [STO] teaching opens your eyes to a whole different realm of kids who just push the limit. And I'm glad that after a couple of months of [STO] teaching, the teacher's were like, 'Just expect them to be bad.' Then, there's nothing but up from there.

The FTPC teachers advised Carmen to expect that students would automatically try to challenge unfamiliar STO teachers. This exchange of discourse denoted how the FTPC teachers as well as the students recognized the subordinate treatment and positioning of STO teachers. Carmen reasoned that the students "don't really need to respect you, I guess, because you're only there for a day." Her acceptance of this treatment magnified how STO teachers can perceive themselves as subordinate within the ITWVH.

There was acknowledgment among the participants that STO teacher-student interactions improved with exposure to the same classrooms. Alexis remarked that students initially treat unfamiliar STO teachers "like an anonymous person. You don't have an identity. Unless you make the effort to give them an identity right from the beginning, but if you don't, then you're just another face." She argued that in order to set herself apart from the many other STO teachers, it was necessary to connect with the students at a personal level. This bonding enabled the students to assign an identity and teaching status to the STO teachers that placed them in a less subordinate position.

The more Dominic went to a classroom, the more the students "vested interest in, in sort of building some bond." It was clear to Dominic that the students had some hesitancy in trusting

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STO teachers, as they knew these teachers might never return to their classrooms. Dominic experienced students evaluating his status as a STO teacher and how much trust could be placed in him with this status. He discussed student evaluations of STO teacher positioning within the ITWVH that considered the transition to and from STO teaching:

> I guess, from the student's perspective, 'Here's someone who jumps around and does a bunch of different jobs. And then, these are my other teachers, who have permanent work.' So, I guess from a student's perspective, 'Why are you not at this level?' sort of mentality and can exist a little bit. And I remember when I left my LTO last year because it finished and then started to supply teach, one of the students saying, 'Mr. X, why are you supplying? Why aren't you a full-time teacher?' And sort of, and it's hard to judge what his, if my professionalism changed at all in his eyes, but he did definitely make that connection of, 'Oh, you were able to do it before and now you can't.'

His perceptions demonstrated that students were aware of the unstable nature of STO teaching. These observations magnified that STO teacher-student interactions can involve trying to understand the ITWVH and interpreting the professional status of STO teachers. The transition from LTO to STO teaching was seen as subordinate to FTPC teaching, with STO teaching being the most subordinate status.

LTO teacher-student interactions. The students generally treated the participants more favourably during their LTO teaching. The participants identified respectful LTO teacher-student interactions as standard across their teaching experiences. Elaine reasoned why such respectful behaviour was exhibited by the students: "I think that it's natural for kids, when they see the same face everyday, to behave more appropriately, be more respectful, know that this is serious work, this isn't a free day." Elaine regarded the stability and frequency involved in LTO teacher-student interactions as promoting respectful behaviour. The interactions with students each day allow LTO teachers to set firm expectations for behaviour. The ITWVH differentiates between STO and LTO teaching in the time available for student behaviour management. The

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positioning of LTO teaching affords the time needed to establish the behavioural management and structure with students that are prerequisites for respectful LTO teacher-student interactions.

More in-depth interactions with students were experienced by the participants when completing LTO teaching due to forming a positive and influential rapport with them. Dominic believed that students perceived LTO teachers as influential in their lives:

> Professionally, being in the LTO is great because you're able to make stronger bonds with the kids… Whereas a, just a [STO teacher], I guess you, you feel like you're supporting the kids in that moment, but you're not really having... How many students would look back and say, 'Oh the turning point in my [school] career was the day this one teacher came for that one day…' So, yeah, as a [STO teacher], you can still have a good effect, but not a long-term one that as a teacher, I think we strive for.

Dominic conveyed how LTO teacher-student interactions over an extended period of time helped the students form a bond with their LTO teachers. This bond was evident with Dominic's students and it allowed them to feel comfortable enough to inquire about family photos on his desk. These students did not view LTO teachers as having a peripheral role in their lives. They not only wished to learn about the lives of their LTO teachers, but also disclosed personal information about their own lives. The hierarchical positioning of LTO teachers provides them with the time to develop trust with their students that helps in fostering meaningful and influential LTO teacher-student interactions.

The LTO teacher-student interactions involved the students treating LTO teachers like FTPC teachers. Elaine highlighted that "a lot of kids don't even know the difference between their regular teacher and a LTO teacher." In contrast to a STO teacher, Layla said a LTO teacher is perceived by students as "their teacher and you're not just there for however long." Elaine and Layla displayed that the students positioned LTO teachers with FTPC teachers within the ITWVH and viewed them as synonymous with each other. Both of these teachers are a source of dependability for students. Carmen proposed that as a LTO teacher, students "depend on you a

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lot more as, as a regular person in their life." However, FTPC teachers offer the greatest dependability with their continuous positions. Long-term occasional teachers are positioned lower than FTPC teachers within the ITWVH, for the time span of dependability they can offer to their students is controlled by the return dates of absent FTPC teachers.

STO Teacher-Parent Interactions

The involvement with students' parents was non-existent or minimal for the participants during their STO teaching. They revealed that a weak interdependency existed between STO teachers and parents. Only in cases when an issue arose on the day of STO teaching would parent contact be necessary. Carmen emphasized that as a STO teacher, "I've never seen a lot of parents. Unless there's been a situation within that day that is important to really discuss. Other than that, I have no parent interaction as an [short-term] occasional teacher." This lack of a STO teacher-parent interdependency is reflective of the more peripheral role that STO teachers play in students' daily school experiences.

In circumstances when STO teachers often work at specific schools, the parent community begins to invest time in acknowledging them. Layla and Alexis indicated that their regular associations with these schools encouraged conversations with the parents, but the depth of their interactions was limited. Alexis described how these STO teacher-parent interactions amounted to the exchange of greetings in the hallways:

> I know that where I was a regular teacher, regular supply, the parents would kind of get to know me, but it wasn't, it was just to say, 'Hello' in the halls. It wasn't to interact with me as a full-fledged teacher.

Alexis' STO teacher-parent interactions were designated as inferior to the depth of FTPC teacher-parent interactions. She understood that parents did not perceive her in the same manner as FTPC teachers and that their interactions were primarily rooted in being polite. Alexis

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recognized that interacting with FTPC teachers involved considering matters that went beyond student performance for one day. The parents treated her as peripheral to FTPC teachers due to her not having the background knowledge of their children. As a result, parent perceptions reinforce the existence of an ITWVH that differentiates between STO and FTPC teachers.

LTO teacher-parent interactions. As LTO teachers, the participants had considerably more interactions with students' parents. Dominic gave an overview of why these interactions were paramount: "…because of things like report cards and, and EQAO with Grade 6, and stuff like that, there was a fair bit of communication with parents." For Dominic and the other participants, LTO teacher-parent interactions involved matters related to the academic and behavioural performance of students. The LTO teachers were perceived by parents as an inside source of information about the school and students, which gave them more credibility within the ITWVH. A reciprocal sharing of information exists between LTO teachers and parents that evolves as a result of LTO teachers having a stable role in the academic lives of students. Carmen emphasized that parents were more accepting of LTO teachers than STO teachers, as

> they know that you're there everyday. They see the kid change. They've seen the problems. They feel more comfortable telling you about background stuff. Dealing with their student. But as an [short-term] occasional teacher, really it, it doesn't matter, right? Because you're not there everyday. They, you don't need to know the stuff that's making that child the way they are, good or bad.

Carmen showed that the access to information from parents is differentiated among STO and LTO teachers. The higher positioning of LTO teachers within the ITWVH is apparent with greater access to interactions with and information offered by parents. This positioning plays a role in whether or not parents treat LTO teachers the same as FTPC teachers.

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The majority of participants shared LTO teacher-parent interactions that were perceived as being comparable to FTPC teacher-parent interactions. The parents regarded LTO teachers as having a pillar role in the lives of the students. Alexis remarked how,

> the parents would [treat] me as if I was the classroom teacher. I never, I never got the impression that they knew or cared for that matter that I was not there permanently. But that their child would be affected by me for that whole year. That's all they cared about.

Alexis and Elaine regarded the teacher demands for LTO teacher-parent and FTPC teacher-parent interactions as both being high. Elaine gave examples of the demands of LTO teacher-parent interactions:

> …as a LTO teacher, I would say your connection with the parents has to be the same as a contract teacher. You need to be available and make yourself available, and make those phone calls. Have those meetings and I'm well-open to those things. But, as an [short-term] occasional teacher, there's, it doesn't really afford that opportunity.

Alexis and Elaine provided insights on the value of LTO teacher-parent interactions. They understood that parents perceived and treated LTO teachers as having the same involvement in parent concerns as FTPC teachers. Relative to the ITWVH, LTO and FTPC teachers are equally accountable to parents with the standard responsibilities of FTPC teachers.

Layla was the only participant to explain that parents sometimes treated her less seriously due to being a younger teacher. Here, she noted how LTO teachers can be subjected to evaluations by parents based on their age as newer entrants within the teaching profession:

> I think that when parents say, 'Oh, how long have you been teaching for?' That sort of thing or, 'Oh, is this your first LTO?' I think, definitely, they regard you differently if you say, 'Oh, this is my very first LTO.' Or, 'No, I've done a few before…' for me, and a lot of parents have told me this, they think I'm younger than what I am, so they assume that maybe it's my first LTO or, I don't know. I don't know if they don't take me as seriously and then when I say to them, 'Oh no. I've been teaching for three years. This is my third LTO.' Then, they're like, 'Oh. Ok.'

Layla discerned that a combination of the age of LTO teachers and the number of positions they have completed influences parents' perceptions of them. The evaluative process that parents

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partook in undermined her positioning within the ITWVH. According to Layla's evaluative experience, it appears that some parents perceive LTO teachers who are older with additional teaching experience as possessing a more advanced position within the ITWVH.

Chapter Summary

The findings of this chapter provided an outlook on how the participants felt others in their places of work perceived them as professionals in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements. Participant interactions with secretaries, administrators, FTPC teachers, students, and students' parents informed how the participants believed these persons perceived them as professionals. Inclusive, supportive interactions with these persons contributed to the participants believing they were positively perceived while conducting LTO teaching. In the case of the STO teaching work arrangement, the participants implied they were perceived less admirably as peripheral school members through distant, superficial, or judgemental interactions. Most adverse were the disrespectful interactions with students who challenged their authority as STO teachers. A significant finding was the tendency for the quality of interactions among the participants and all listed persons to reach improved levels once becoming a regular STO teacher within a certain school. What the upcoming final findings chapter displays is the propensity for the participants to experience their STO and LTO teaching transitions in a hierarchical manner.

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Chapter Seven: Professional Hierarchical Presence and Transitions

Embedded within the previous findings chapters were connotations of a hierarchical undertone to the STO and LTO divisions of occasional teaching. The differentiated experiences of the participants further unfold in this chapter. References to the functioning of a hierarchically arranged teaching profession illustrated the participants' cognisance of professional status advantage and disadvantage with STO and LTO teaching. This awareness became particularly notable when the participants discussed transitions between STO and LTO teaching. Findings of this chapter disclose the participants' professional hierarchical presence according to: (1) Professional voice; (2) Teaching workgroups; and (3) Teaching transitions.

Overall, the participants concurred that the hierarchical positioning of teachers consists of STO teachers, LTO teachers, and FTPC teachers respectively ascending in their placement within the ITWVH. Layla remarked that

> you haven't arrived until you get that contract. Like, you're not there yet until you get that contract. Like, magically, you become a teacher when you have the contract. It's, but, yeah. Always, I find, and it's different with people who aren't teachers. But, yeah, they ask you what you're doing and the first question after that is, 'Oh, is it contract or LTO?' And, I find myself saying, 'Oh, it's just an LTO.' Do you know what I mean? When comparing it to a contract as though it's somehow not as, like the job is somehow different.

She revealed how even though LTO teaching was more favourable than STO teaching, it was subordinate to FTPC teaching. Similarly, Dominic expressed his appreciation of STO teaching and dismay with its subordinate hierarchical status:

> I'd love to supply teach for the rest of my career, but at the same time, there is a bit of that stigma, 'Oh, you're just, you're just supply teaching. You haven't had an LTO yet. You're not doing an LTO yet.' So yeah, I guess there is a bit of that.

He preferred STO teaching over LTO teaching, for it gave him more time with his family. This preference was also displayed by Alexis due to her expecting her first child at the time of the

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interview, but prior to this life event she preferred LTO teaching. Dominic and Alexis recognized that completing only STO teaching was not a means to achieving a FTPC teaching position or a favourable teaching status. Dominic referred to aspects of STO teaching that contributed to its lower status: "…in a long-term professional basis, there's no benefits, your salary never goes up… it would be difficult to stay in that position for your career." The three other participants preferred LTO teaching, as it was a direct pathway to FTPC teaching.

Layla, Carmen, and Elaine revealed that subordination was even evident within the interactions between STO and LTO teachers. Acquired knowledge was a source of this subordination, as demonstrated by Elaine:

> I think that there's a sense of one up manship and sort of seniority. I felt it on both ends. Occasional teachers who have never had an LTO, when I've had an LTO, I felt as though I was, like, bestowing knowledge upon them, kind of thing. Like, I was telling them, like, 'Oh well, we're doing this right now or this is big in the board right now.' Whereas, I've also been in the other situation where I was an occasional teacher with no LTOs, experience, and I had people doing the same thing for me. So, it's almost like even within, we're all occasional teachers, there's still this human need to have a hierarchy. You can't help it, it's almost like it's ingrained in us. That we need to have that in order to feel like we know where we belong in the board.

She presented how the exclusive knowledge that LTO teachers gained from their positions placed them at a hierarchical advantage. Furthermore, her speculation of the innate human need for a hierarchical placement within the district school board supported the existence of an ITWVH. As an extension of this hierarchy, the separate workgroups of STO and LTO teaching have their own hierarchical systems that collect unique experiences. The professional voices of the participants corresponded to the functioning of the ITWVH.

Professional Voice for STO Teaching

The professional voices of the participants represented how they felt their roles and opinions as STO and LTO teachers would be recognized and have an influence at the school or

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district school board level. Each participant noted that a marginal professional voice existed with STO teaching. Dominic explained that in applying for LTO teaching positions as a STO teacher, it was difficult for him to be heard:

> I just had an interview where 500 people applied for one position. So, and not that I think anyone's doing it purposefully, but I think there is a bit of that, 'Well, if you don't want to jump right now, I've got 499 other people who will.' And on paper, we all probably look pretty similar. So yeah, I feel my voice in that case is a bit, just a bit stunted, because there are so many people and so much happening.

Dominic illustrated that his individual professional voice as a STO teacher was marginal due to the vast number of STO teachers within the district school board. He implied that opportunities to have his voice heard involved a high level of competition during interviews, considering the scale of STO teachers within the district school board. The need to stand out among the pool of peripheral STO teachers was necessary in order to be heard.

At the school level, the participants disclosed how their professional voices were also inferior. Layla discussed STO teachers' voices in the context of interactions with administrators and claimed that, "I wouldn't be one to go and voice a whole bunch of things to a principal if I'm just there in a supply daily capacity." She suggested that the voices of STO teachers were peripheral and that they would not be recognized as influential within a school where temporary work was completed. Elaine proposed that the mere effort to exercise her professional voice among administrators as a STO teacher could be detrimental to her prospective teaching opportunities: "I wouldn't even dare to open my mouth as a daily supply and offer a professional opinion. There's a lot on the line, I feel, as an [short-term] occasional teacher." She anticipated potential disapproval or rejection from administrators if she exercised her professional voice as a marginal STO teacher, for she felt that it was not valued to the same extent as the voices of regular school staff. Elaine disclosed how STO teachers are not in the position to assume that

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their opinions will be openly heard or welcomed by administrators. Beyond administrators, FTPC teaching staff are an additional limitation to the magnitude of a STO teacher's voice at the school level.

Carmen drew attention to the fact that her opinions as a STO teacher were irrelevant to the teaching staff of a school: "I mean, as an [short-term] occasional teacher, I would never go and talk to other teachers and be like, 'Oh well, how did this go?' Well, they don't care if I care. There gonna, you're there for a day." Like Carmen, Alexis felt that the opinions of STO teachers would not be taken very seriously. There was a sense of overstepping boundaries by the majority of the participants in utilizing their meager professional voices as STO teachers within schools. The peripheral role of their professional voices at the school and district school board levels paralleled their peripheral positioning within the ITWVH. There was a general understanding among the participants that exercising one's professional voice and having this voice accepted was a common privilege for teachers higher within the ITWVH.

Professional voice for LTO teaching. The professional voice of the participants as LTO teachers was perceived as more influential compared to when they were STO teachers. Layla understood that a responsibility of her role was to relay her opinions and concerns to administrators and to the parents of her students. She explained that,

> I feel like, definitely in LTO [teaching], I feel like you have a stronger voice. I feel like you have to. Like, it's part of your role to take on that responsibility of being an advocate for your kids, for your parents, for yourself if something is going on in the classroom.

Layla was determined to advocate for her students using her professional voice as a LTO teacher. She believed that her LTO teacher status allowed her to have the same influence in the school as a FTPC teacher and that her role as well as opinions were valued by administrators.

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Carmen saw her interactions with FTPC teachers as also being influential. She confirmed that her professional voice played a key role in providing constructive feedback to colleagues:

> …when you're in an LTO, you go to another teacher and ask them, 'How did this work out? I'm thinking about doing this. Do you think that might work, or what would you do differently if you say you were going to do that again?' It's more of a comfortable environment.

The acceptance of Carmen's professional voice by the FTPC teachers enhanced her degree of influence within schools. Carmen and Dominic highlighted how their voices became stronger when their peers not only accepted their opinions, but also supported them as colleagues. With the support of FTPC teachers, the participants had a teacher hierarchy status that gave them access to expert advice that could inform and strengthen their professional voices.

The professional voice of a LTO teacher was presented as strengthening over time. Carmen shared that when she began a LTO teaching position, she did not have a voice and attempted to establish one:

> So, as you get to the end of your LTO, however long it may be, I think your voice is heard a little bit more because people are, know that you're there and they want to know your opinion. In the educational field, if you don't go to professional development, if you don't go to the meetings, you're not going to have a voice.

Carmen alluded to how her professional voice as a LTO teacher became stronger with the exposure to professional learning opportunities. The positioning of LTO teachers allows their voices to be heard so that they can continue to accumulate a professional status. This professional status was seen as differing even within occasional teacher workgroups.

STO Teaching Workgroup

Short- and long-term occasional teaching compose their own workgroups with accompanying hierarchical structures that consist of differentiated teaching experiences. The majority of participants illustrated how particular teaching experiences exhibited hierarchical

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differences within the workgroup of STO teaching. Entry level positions in teaching most often involve STO teaching. Dominic and Layla emphasized that many teachers cannot get onto the district school board's occasional teacher list, which provides access to STO and LTO teaching positions. Layla expressed her gratitude in getting onto the list and its advantages:

> I am definitely thankful for what I have because I think there's a lot of people that are trying to get on the occasional list. So, they can just start with daily work and work their way up to an LTO.

She magnified how those STO teachers who are not on the district school board's list are peripheral to those who get onto the list and enjoy the gradual movement up the ITWVH to LTO teaching. The ITWVH must, therefore, take into account those STO teachers who are unemployed due to not yet gaining access to a district school board. These are the teachers who are most disadvantaged and powerless due to not having a district school board association. They occupy the lowest positioning within the workgroup of STO teachers.

Layla and Carmen explained that despite being hired onto the district school board's occasional teacher list, the calibre of STO teachers can be questionable. With LTO teaching, they booked their own STO teachers. Layla discussed her impression of this experience:

> …now that I'm in the classroom and I'm on the other side of it, I have people introducing themselves to me and giving me their cards and it is very different. And I think that too, I had always kind of thought that all [short-term] occasional teachers are of a certain calibre, I guess you could say. And, being on the other side of it now, I think that's definitely not true.

Layla's judgement of STO teachers projected how she created her own hierarchical representation of these teachers. It seems that STO teachers of a higher calibre represent a more favourable positioning within the STO teaching workgroup due to their perceived skill sets and quality of work. Higher calibre STO teachers often have more working days booked. Alexis explained that these STO teachers are less reliant on the district school board's automated,

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randomized telephone call-out system for daily job vacancies. Desirable STO teachers have the luxury of being added to a FTPC teacher's personal list of STO teachers to call upon. Short-term occasional teachers who do not have regular automated call-out and personal work offers may have a lower standing within the STO teaching workgroup.

Most participants suggested that there was a sense of competition and comparison among STO teachers derived from the frequency of days worked. Elaine contributed that, "how much [short-term] occasional work you are getting, like one, two, three, four days a week... [Short-term] Occasional teachers ask each other how much work they're getting and they definitely judge each other." She displayed that the number of days worked is a means for positioning STO teachers. As the number of days worked increases, a STO teacher's hierarchical standing among the workgroup of STO teachers advances.

When Carmen performed STO teaching work at a school which had a steady STO teacher, she compared herself to this teacher and internally asked: "…why are you in this school? What, how did you get here? …What do you, you know? What makes you great that you're staying in the school?" Competition for positions was especially evident in schools that were viewed as desirable by the participants. Carmen recognized that possessing specific skill sets or networking connections could place STO teachers in elevated hierarchical standings, where they may be offered work above others within their workgroup. These imbalanced work opportunities among STO teachers stratify them into differentiated hierarchical positions. These positions segregate those STO teachers who have established a network of FTPC teachers and schools that rely on them from those STO teachers who have not established this network. Short-term occasional teachers who are newer to the district school board's occasional teacher list often work fewer days and by default are positioned lower within the STO teaching

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workgroup. Short-term occasional teachers who complete their teacher training within the current district school board and are later hired into it have a hierarchical advantage due to the potential to gain work from established networks. The LTO teaching workgroup is an additional source of work differentiation.

LTO teaching workgroup. The workgroup of LTO teaching is engrossed with a hierarchical system that differentiates among LTO teachers. Each participant recognized that LTO teaching was a favourable position within occasional teaching. Elaine said that,

> if you're an occasional teacher with no LTO experience, it's difficult to get people to buy into you… I feel like if you have a pocket full of LTOs, you have more to offer than if you have 30 days supply.

She reflected upon the fact that the breadth of her LTO teaching experience influenced how she was perceived by others in education. Long-term occasional teachers with a greater accumulation of LTO teaching experience occupy an elevated position within the LTO teaching workgroup. Dominic shared how having LTO teaching experience can have much credence during interviews for additional LTO teaching positions:

> I had several LTO interviews and a few contract interviews over the summer and the one thing I heard back from 80% probably was, 'Great interview. Really, not much you should work on, everything was really good. We went with someone with more experience.' So, so yeah. I think you're definitely judged that you do not have the experience that someone else might have.

Dominic was aware that his volume of LTO teaching experience put him in a less favourable hierarchical position than other more experienced LTO teachers. He demonstrated how a level of competition exists within the LTO teaching workgroup based on accumulated work.

Most of the participants experienced competition in the form of competing for positions or in comparing the number of LTO teaching positions completed. Elaine exemplified how this competition instigated jealously among LTO teachers: "There's a sense of jealousy when

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someone achieves an LTO position and others don't." In these circumstances, LTO teachers recognize others' upward hierarchical movement within the LTO teaching workgroup. Carmen admitted to being competitive when considering the number of LTO teaching positions she completed, but she also stressed that external circumstances aside from your teaching can influence career prospects: "If you've had 12 LTOs, if you've had one. It doesn't matter. It's sort of the luck of the draw. Who you know." Carmen confirmed that within the LTO teaching workgroup, some LTO teachers have an advantage while engaging in the competition for positions on account of who they know.

Those occasional teachers with multiple LTO teaching positions accumulated are at the hierarchical peak of the LTO teaching workgroup and confidently compete for LTO and FTPC teaching positions. However, Elaine elaborated that LTO teachers competing for FTPC teaching positions rely on both their LTO teaching experience and the market to a certain degree:

> …ten years of LTOs versus five years of LTOs isn't gonna make me a better contract teacher in, to my mind. If I had four LTOs as opposed to the person beside me who had one LTO, I would be the better pick. But, five versus ten LTOs, like, you know. So, to a certain degree, yes, I think it does. It increase your, like, bring you closer to that goal. But, in the market right now, I think you could do LTOs 'till you were blue in the face and it wouldn't matter in terms of hiring 'cause there's just no room.

Elaine outlined how the accumulation of reasonable LTO teaching experience is purposeful for securing both LTO and FTPC teaching positions. There comes a point when the number of LTO teaching positions completed and their bearing on one's hierarchical positioning within the LTO teaching workgroup reaches a plateau. With the limited availability of FTPC teaching positions, the number of teachers with multiple LTO teaching positions who occupy the hierarchical peak within the LTO teaching workgroup could become substantial. Closely examining these multiple positions reveals how influential they are in determining placements within the LTO teaching workgroup.

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Layla implied that LTO teachers are hierarchically differentiated within the LTO teaching workgroup as a result of when their positions are completed in the school year and the durations of these positions:

> I know someone who was like, 'Oh, well I've had one LTO. But, it was just at the end of the year. I didn't have to write report cards. I just kind of, like, finished out the year.' I don't think that, that is the same as doing an LTO from say September to June or September to January, that sort of thing. So, even in the kind of LTO that you do is also, and the length, I guess you could say, is different.

Layla alluded that not all LTO teaching positions can be regarded as equally significant in affecting one's positioning within the LTO teaching workgroup. Depending on the time of year, a LTO teaching position can demand greater responsibility such as report card writing. Having positions for longer periods was regarded as most valuable. These positions provided the opportunity to fully participate in all of the duties assigned to absent FTPC teachers. Those LTO teachers with a reasonable number of lengthy positions that include writing report cards appear to be situated most favourably within the LTO teaching workgroup. How these teachers experience STO to LTO teaching transitions projects further hierarchical undertones.

STO to LTO Teaching Transition

The transition from STO to LTO teaching signified a progression up the ITWVH. The transition provided for the participants' attainment of stable work and increased remuneration. Carmen presented her thoughts on work regularity for STO and LTO teaching:

> When you have an [short-term] occasional teacher, you're, it's sort of, 'I could work today, I could work and maybe not.' Like, but, with an LTO, you know that you're working regularly. It's everyday you have to be somewhere, you have to do something. It's comforting because you feel like you actually have a position.

Carmen illustrated how moving up the ITWVH was largely attributed to having stable work and eliminating the unknown element of whether or not she would be working the next day. The STO to LTO teaching transition granted the participants a higher professional status and with this

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status came an increase in their remuneration. Elaine summarized her impression of these gains: "From daily to LTO, feels like a big jump, big step up. More responsibility, more not status, but just more professional status, I guess. More money, more, more everything." Elaine and Dominic greatly appreciated the financial gains with this transition in providing for their families. Dominic gauged the level of stress involved in providing for his family with the STO to LTO teaching transition:

> I would definitely feel that in an LTO, there's less stress, sort of. It decreases stress in my life in terms of paying bills and food and that sort of stuff because I know that, 'Ok. I have this job for this chunk of time. This is how much I'm making. I can budget that.' Where [STO teaching], it's more stressful in terms of, 'Ok, in theory, I should make this amount of money. Who knows, maybe it won't happen. Maybe it will, maybe it'll be more.' So, there's more stress with the [STO teaching] in terms of my personal life.

Dominic believed that the work consistency of LTO teaching alleviated financial stress. The STO to LTO teaching transition was essentially a source of security for the participants. Remuneration for LTO teaching within the TVDSB is specific to accumulated teaching experience and qualifications, unlike STO teaching remuneration that is a daily flat rate for all STO teachers regardless of their teaching experience and qualifications.

The STO to LTO teaching transition resembled being in a FTPC teaching position, according to the participants. Alexis stated that with this transition, you "feel like you're getting ahead because it feels more like a contract." Alexis recognized a benefit of LTO teaching as getting her "foot in the door." Alexis and the other participants knew that their performance as LTO teachers would assist them in moving up the ITWVH. Similarly, they acknowledged that their STO teaching experiences complemented their STO to LTO teaching transitions.

The STO to LTO teaching transition signified a step towards the long-term professional goals of each participant. Elaine reflected on how LTO teaching was more rewarding for her than STO teaching:

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> I think it's closer to what I see myself as a professional in the long run. It's more, I can get more of a sense of what it would be like to have my own job, kind of thing, and establish a classroom with a group of students as a contract teacher. I am able to envision the kind of teacher I want to be better when I'm in an LTO position. Whereas, in a [short-term] occasional, I don't get that sense of the larger picture. It's just sort of day to day to day and it's, it's more, it's... I find it more difficult to get a view of where I'm going daily.

She distinguished how the STO to LTO teaching transition was a means to an end, with the end being a FTPC teaching position. The transition was a milestone that showed how she was able to gain control over her professional career and how it fostered job satisfaction. Carmen and Elaine reported higher levels of job satisfaction during the transitional period where LTO teaching was being completed. The other three participants reported that both STO and LTO teaching provided them with forms of job satisfaction. All of the participants demonstrated how leaving STO teaching was a sign of progress in their careers, and it allowed them to appreciate what they could look forward to in their LTO to FTPC teaching transition. Their LTO to STO teaching transition did not translate into the same outlook.

LTO to STO teaching transition. The transition from LTO to STO teaching was marked by a less desirable end result on the participants' professional advancement. They thought that this transition embodied a regression in their hierarchical positioning within the ITWVH. Layla claimed,

> when you go from an LTO back to [STO] work, for me, I thought I would be ok with it. And then, when the time came, I definitely felt like I was taking a step lower, taking a step backwards. I'll be honest, it was nice not having all of the extra work to do in the evenings. But, I definitely felt like it was almost, and even though I had no control over it, it was almost like a shot to my ego that, 'Oh, I have to go back to **just** doing [STO teaching] now. I'm not in an LTO any more.' Yeah, I definitely felt that way.

Layla was disappointed to return to STO teaching after completing a LTO teaching position. The transitional experience included an affective element, whereby she felt less secure about her status as a teacher. She disclosed that with the LTO to STO teaching transition, "I felt like, yes, I

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was a teacher, but not to the same extent as if I was in an LTO." The loss of a sense of higher status signified a decline in her hierarchical standing to "just" STO teaching. Layla's use of the descriptor "just" for STO teaching over ten times during her interview denoted a subordinate discourse within occasional teaching. Additionally, the other participants referenced the descriptor "just" in conjunction with STO teaching about five times each. The regression from LTO teaching to "just" STO teaching forced the participants to recognize that not only was their LTO teaching position transient, but also the status afforded to this position.

Most of the participants experienced a self-reflection period during the LTO to STO teaching transition that made an impression on how they perceived themselves as professionals and on the process of the transition. During this time, they endured a loss of control and/or purpose. Alexis said the transitioning was

> Awkward. It's almost like you get dunked in like an ice bucket and you have to just remember again why you're doing this and just you get into a pattern each time with [STO] or with LTO and you think to yourself, 'Ok, great.' Like I'm an LTO, I have all my stuff and then you have to pack it up at the end of the year and you don't know where to put it because you're kind of a lost soul. So, you kind of feel like you're extracted from that body and you're thrown into another one… And then you're back in [STO teaching], where you have to get used to the fact that you might not be liked, or kids might be rude to you.

Alexis depicted the LTO to STO teaching transition as an awakening in which she realized that her identity as a teacher was challenged. When she left her LTO teaching positions, she needed to regain an awareness of her STO teacher identity. In shifting from her LTO to STO teacher role, Alexis stated that it "almost felt like you were retiring in some weird way. You wanted to come back, but you couldn't because it's not a contract." She felt that her identity as a teacher was attached to her surroundings. Alexis interpreted the transition as abrupt and involving a sense of loss of the environment and of the people she was surrounded by. This sense of loss

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was experienced by most of the participants and represented how engaging in occasional teaching transitions can be disheartening.

As the participants underwent the LTO to STO teaching transition, their experience of the transition differed in relation to the schools where they completed STO teaching afterwards. Carmen questioned how she would identify with herself in her former LTO teaching position school when returning to complete STO teaching:

> …it puts you into this head space where you're just like, 'This was my home. I was here everyday and now I'm not here and it's sort of kind of going back to like, Well, where do I fit in? Like, I'm, I'm sort of, I was staff. Am I staff anymore? Like, what are my boundaries?' Because you could do whatever you wanted when you were a classroom teacher and regular staff member.

Carmen stated how the LTO to STO teaching transition can create unclear boundaries between the STO and LTO teaching workgroups. It became apparent what her standing was once returning to her former classroom after a LTO teaching position was completed part way through the year. Carmen and Layla enjoyed doing STO teaching work in their former LTO teaching position schools, but returning to their former classrooms during the same school year after a position ended was not as highly regarded. They no longer had the complete control over these classrooms that their LTO teaching status previously awarded. Layla expressed,

> once I got there, and saw what it had kind of turned into and what the class was like, what the behaviours were like, I found it extremely frustrating and I didn't like it at all. However, I liked being in other classrooms at that same school because the teachers were really excited that I was back… I just didn't like going back to my classroom because, and this could go back to me personally liking control.

Layla and Carmen's sense of powerlessness was paired with disappointment in how their professional teaching practices did not carry over with the FTPC teachers they had replaced. Layla and Carmen's experiences exhibited how the control they once had in their former

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classrooms was gained by the FTPC teachers. This shift in power allocation demonstrated how the ITWVH subordinates LTO teachers once the FTPC teachers return.

More welcoming, positive experiences with STO teaching work at former LTO teaching position schools in comparison to unfamiliar schools were shared by the participants. Carmen and Elaine expressed that completing STO teaching work at their former LTO teaching position schools provided them with a sense of being at home. Elaine articulated her sense of comfort as a STO teacher within the school where she did all of her LTO teaching:

> I love it. It feels like coming home and I feel parents recognize me, students recognize me, other staff are welcoming. It's probably one of my favourite things to come back to a school that I've done an LTO as an [short-term] occasional teacher. It's so easy to slide back into the comfort zone.

Elaine was repositioned to the STO teacher hierarchical status, but did not feel inferior due to the school being aware of her previously established LTO teacher hierarchical status. Nonetheless, the day after completing one of her LTO teaching positions she had a contrary experience in an unfamiliar school. Elaine referred to this encounter and mentioned,

> I am not a crier and I was in bits. It was the most horrible feeling. It was a sinking, horrible feeling. No one knew who I was. No one cared who I was. The kids didn't care, the teachers didn't care. I sat at lunch by myself and all I wanted was to come back to my family at my LTO school. And it was the worst, most horrible feeling… and I missed the kids so much. And I missed the sense that I had purpose… But, it was a very, very difficult transition. Very difficult transition, just feeling dejected and feeling lonely and feeling a little bit useless.

Elaine's examples of attending a familiar and an unfamiliar school after LTO to STO teaching transitions identified how an occasional teacher's hierarchical positioning in one school is not necessarily transferred to another school.

Most of the participants referenced how the experience of transitioning back to STO teaching in an unfamiliar school can involve being treated with less respect as a professional than in their former LTO teaching position schools. Layla felt that she was treated less favourably at

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these schools by staff, for they were not aware of her STO and LTO teaching transition history and accumulated professional experience:

> They don't look at me as a colleague, I would say. 'Even though I don't teach in your building and I'm not on your staff, like, I am still a teacher and I have had an LTO.' But, maybe if they don't know that. I just feel like they don't respect me as much if they think I just do [STO] work and that's it.

In transitioning from LTO to STO teaching, the participants no longer had a concrete role in a single school where they could grow as professionals alongside constant colleagues with whom they developed a rapport. They occupied the STO teaching workgroup and once again had to strive to accumulate work days to elevate their hierarchical positioning within this workgroup.

Chapter Summary

As active transitional STO and LTO teachers, the participants' differentiated experiences of the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements were hierarchical in nature not only between, but also within each of the work arrangements. A foundational basis of an ITWVH with FTPC teaching leading, followed by LTO teaching, and finally, STO teaching was soundly acknowledged by the participants. The professional presence of the participants was heightened through their superior level of professional voice as LTO teachers rather than as STO teachers. Within each of the STO and LTO teaching workgroups, the participants noted a sense of competition and comparison based on the number of positions completed. Hierarchical positioning was at an advantage as the number of positions completed increased within each work arrangement workgroup. The participants also identified a hierarchical advancement within the overall ITWVH as a result of the STO to LTO teaching transition and a hierarchical regression in the LTO to STO teaching transition. The proceeding discussion chapter frames an analysis of the findings within the scope of an existing ITWVH that includes references to post-Fordist theory and the literature review.

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Chapter Eight: Discussion

In exploring transitional STO and LTO teaching, the experiences of the participants confirmed the existence of work differentiation within the occasional teacher workforce. These experiences signified the formality of a heterogeneous occasional teacher workforce. The current chapter provides a viewpoint for interpreting the heterogeneous experiences of the participants' STO and LTO teaching. The foundation of this viewpoint is that the occasional teacher workforce is differentiated in a manner that fosters a complex, multi-layered ITWVH. This ITWVH integrates how the participants perceived the value of STO and LTO teaching based on specific work characteristics.

Through the findings, the participants demonstrated that their STO and LTO teaching was differentiated based on the listed work characteristics: (1) General teacher expectations; (2) Sense of school belonging; (3) School interactions; (4) Teacher identity descriptors; and (5) Transitions between work arrangements. Their differentiated work experiences deriving from these characteristics contributed to the complexity of an ITWVH that distinguishes between the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements. They conveyed that work experience differentiation projected a dominant hierarchical valuing and positioning of the LTO teaching work arrangement. A focus on each of the above listed characteristics follows. The first three characteristics are addressed in their own sections as sources of complexity for the ITWVH. The final two characteristics are incorporated into a concluding section that highlights the element of hierarchical mobility, which heightens the complexity of the ITWVH. A closer look at these work characteristics distinguishes how they are entrenched with circumstances that magnify the separate realities of STO and LTO teaching. This chapter amplifies how homogeneity in the occasional teacher workforce is virtually an overgeneralization and inaccurate. Post-Fordist

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influences in the changing structure of work that promoted a standard and non-standard "new work order" simultaneously created circumstances for differentiation in the nature of non-standard teaching. It is evidently necessary to view non-standard on-call STO teaching and fixed-term contract LTO teaching work experiences as unique.

General Teacher Expectations

As stated by Sigel (1997), STO teachers "are the lowest ranking members on the educational totem pole" (p. 1). Differentiation in STO and LTO general teacher expectations supported such a conclusion within the scope of this study. The differentiation presented itself in greater lesson planning, assessment, time commitment, skill set and knowledge utilization, and accountability expectations with LTO teaching. The degree of these expectations was perceived as considerably high, for the participants compared their LTO teacher expectations to those of FTPC teaching. These comparisons supported Betts' (2006) research identifying that LTO teachers have the same teaching responsibilities as FTPC teachers. The reduced general teacher expectations of STO teaching resulted in this position having a lower value than LTO teaching within the ITWVH and demanding less labour intensive investment from the participants. Thus, the scope and intensity of general teacher expectations was an indication of how the participants were placed within the ITWVH for their STO and LTO teaching.

Expectations for skill set utilization and accountability in relation to general teacher expectations were presented as sources of STO and LTO teaching work differentiation by the participants. Each of these aspects of differentiation is individually addressed in the next sub-sections. Afterwards, the power and control differences that the participants portrayed in fulfilling their general teacher expectations as STO and LTO teachers are reflected upon relative to the ITWVH.

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Skill set utilization. While transitioning between STO and LTO teaching, the participants were subjected to their school board's use of the post-Fordist functional flexibility labour practice (Atkinson, 1985). Consistent with this practice, they were redeployed across schools and work tasks as STO or LTO teachers who utilized their skill sets differently. The STO teaching work arrangement was predominantly described by the participants as utilizing their classroom management skill sets, whereas their LTO teaching required a series of more advanced skill sets devoted to curriculum informed instruction, lesson planning, and assessment. Similarly, St. Michel (1995) remarks that STO teaching is often minimized to the skill of maintaining classroom management. All of the participants viewed the classroom management skills acquired during STO teaching as informing their LTO teaching practices.

Although the utilization of a classroom management skill set was germane to the participants' LTO teaching, a greater emphasis was placed on the skills involved in regular interactions with students. Carmen emphasized how STO teaching was a means to establish one's strengths in classroom management skills, and LTO teaching was an avenue through which one's strengths in assessment and planning skills could be established. Consequently, there was a separate skill set utilization focus for STO and LTO teaching that made the presence of a differentiated occasional teacher workforce overt. Skill set utilization findings for the participants' LTO teaching were indicative of their perceived teaching practice having a more esteemed value that created a hierarchical divide between STO and LTO teaching. Differentiation between STO and LTO teaching skill set utilization depicted STO teaching as managing the students, whereas LTO teaching involved extensively teaching students who were already well-managed. This condition relayed how the ITWVH assumes that LTO teachers

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understandably have strong classroom management skills, whereas STO teachers are obliged to prove these skills.

According to the technical notion of teaching, unspecialized skills are required to teach (Pollock, 2008; 2010c). It was the generic technical skill set applicable to STO teaching that supported notions of non-standard workers being generally less skilled (Harvey, 1989; Soucek, 1994; van Velzen, 2002). The differentiated skill set utilization in STO and LTO teaching maintained the heterogeneity of skill sets among non-standard workers within the general labour market (van Velzen, 2002). A rare study on LTO teachers by Feather and Rauter (2004) found that they were not able to fully utilize their skill sets like PC teachers. The current study both challenged and extended their research in two ways by: (1) Revealing how transitional STO and LTO teachers perceived that the skill sets they utilized as LTO teachers were identical to those used by FTPC teachers; and (2) Presenting how specialized skills were more utilized by LTO teachers as compared to STO teachers. These circumstances outlined that a level of rigor and intensification in skill set utilization marked the STO to LTO teaching transition and that the hierarchical positioning of LTO teachers approximated that of FTPC teachers.

A highlight of the current study was the versatility of the participants' skill sets that surfaced according to the occasional teaching work arrangement they occupied. Work skill changes can involve the process of deskilling and upgrading (National Research Council, 1999). Most apparent in the deskilling process is the transition of worker skill demands to become routine with standardized expectations for skill performance (Gartman, 2002; Harvey, 1989; National Research Council, 1999). A routine skill set quality was pronounced among the participants' STO teaching experiences. The participants were not in a constant phase of deskilling during their LTO to STO teaching transitions or of skill upgrading from their STO to

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LTO teaching transitions. As transitional STO and LTO teachers they favourably maintained the same skill sets in both positions, but lacked the teacher expectations as well as conditions in their STO teaching to fully utilize them. These findings identified the limited transferability of the LTO teaching skill set across STO teaching and further exemplified occasional teacher work differentiation. Complexities of the ITWVH pointed to the lack of a dependency on specialized LTO teaching skill sets in order to perform STO teaching. The standardized classroom management STO teaching skill set did act as a foundation for LTO teaching and suggested that in moving up the ITWVH both skill set specialization and utilization undergo advancements.

The lower hierarchical positioning of STO teaching was even more apparent due to the participants' exposure to "busy" work and less curriculum centered lessons. In leaving these types of lessons, FTPC teachers suggested that STO teaching was generally perceived as requiring a less advanced skill set. The hierarchical advantage of LTO teaching skill set utilization was further reinforced through the teaching qualifications of the participants. All of the participants were certified teachers with professional training, yet the STO teaching work arrangement did not call for the full use of the skills formed during their training while the LTO teaching work arrangement did. Elevated levels of accountability with the use of more advanced LTO teaching skill sets were clearly manifested in the participants' experiences.

Accountability. The post-Fordist era is directly related to the heightening of work demands and accountability for fulfilling these demands (Harvey, 1989). This intensification process was shown when the participants claimed that their teacher expectations and levels of accountability towards the FTPC teachers they replaced, administrators, students, and students' parents were notably greater during their LTO teaching. Participants of this study personified

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Pronin's (1983) depiction of the STO teacher as not being accountable for the formation of long-term lesson plans, the generation of report card data, or the participation in parent conferences.

Differentiation in the accountability levels between the participants' STO and LTO teaching experiences represented itself in a manner that created evidence of an ITWVH. As the participants rose in their placements within the hierarchy from STO to LTO teaching, they became increasingly accountable for a greater number of general teacher expectations to a larger group of persons. Increased teacher-parent interactions as LTO teachers relative to STO teachers specifically demonstrated that they were more involved with and accountable towards parents as LTO teachers. Essentially, the ITWVH placed greater value in LTO teachers who were accountable to persons beyond the classroom. Accountability differentiation between STO and LTO teaching highlighted that exposure to the intensified teaching accountability schemes experienced through LTO teaching were advantageous to hierarchical positioning.

Heterogeneity in accountability levels also extended to the STO teaching workgroup. Dominic voiced how as a STO teacher, his accountability levels towards FTPC teachers rose when they provided him with increasingly more curriculum centered lessons as his frequency in their classrooms increased. This source of specific STO teaching workgroup differentiation represented the multi-layered complexity of an existing ITWVH. It also presented how transitions in accountability levels existed both between STO and LTO teaching and within STO teaching to create an elaborate ITWVH. With accountably in teaching, there is the associated perceived power and control over one's teaching that was illustrated by the participants.

Power and control work differences. Work differentiation between STO and LTO teaching was marked by power and control distinctions in the participants' experiences of fulfilling their general teacher expectations. Shilling (1991) expresses that the work of STO

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teachers "is fragmented and teachers in this situation have far less control over their work than do full-time staff" (p. 6). The power and control that the participants exercised as STO teachers was indeed fragmented and far removed from the power and control exercised during their LTO teaching. They had little or no control over lesson planning and assessment as STO teachers, with full control over these general teacher expectations as LTO teachers. The LTO teaching work arrangement allowed the participants to be proactive participants in their work rather than reactive STO teachers who were responsive to the control upheld by the FTPC teachers whom they replaced. General labour market research outlines work control differentiation between standard and non-standard labour arrangements (Conaghan, 2006; De Cuyper et al., 2008). The participants' LTO teaching experiences informed this research by providing evidence of work control differentiation among non-standard workers.

A power and control discrepancy between non-standard STO and LTO teaching modelled that work differentiation existed and contributed to the formation of ITWVH dynamics, which affected the participants' attachment to their work. Layla simply identified with STO teaching as a matter of doing what was laid out for her in FTPC teachers' prescribed lesson plans in a less engaged manner. Conversely, Dominic savoured his control over lesson plan construction as a LTO teacher to integrate personal experiences.

In the instances where Carmen and Layla returned to their LTO classrooms as STO teachers, their lack of power and control as STO teachers was boldly felt when their previously implemented practices were not maintained. Such a predicament demonstrated that the ITWVH differentiates between LTO and FTPC teacher status based on power and control within a classroom. The transitional STO and LTO teachers of this study provided an opportunity to understand how power and control is highly related to the length of time within a classroom and

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to the opportunity to build a presence within this classroom. Ultimately, the FTPC teacher possesses the fundamental power and control within his/her classroom and teaching practice as indicated by the ITWVH (Pollock, 2008).

The complexity of the ITWVH translated into power and control not only within the participants' LTO classrooms, but also in their ability to select which STO teachers they wanted to occupy these classrooms. The mere utilization of STO teachers by LTO teachers portrayed the subordinate positioning of STO teachers within a multi-layered and interrelated ITWVH. The hierarchy displayed a dependency on STO teachers by both LTO and FTPC teachers and a dependency on LTO teachers by FTPC teachers.

The power and control possessed by the participants in fulfilling their general teacher expectations produced implications for their autonomy as STO and LTO teachers that created additional work differentiation conditions. According to Friedman (1999), teachers' work autonomy is conveyed through the extent to which they have control over two dimensions that relate to the activities they perform: level of decisions (principle or routine) and content of decisions (pedagogical or organizational). These dimensions interact to give teachers principle pedagogical, principle organizational, routine pedagogical, and routine organizational decision making control over activities in their classrooms. Each of these dimensions was more pronounced in the participants' LTO teaching in relation to their general teacher expectations.

Teacher autonomy as conveyed through power and control differentiation across STO and LTO teaching brought to light how the participants were exposed to autonomous teaching in the LTO teaching work arrangement. This experience translated into an ITWVH that is embedded with teacher power and control that reaches higher levels with STO to LTO teaching transitions, which creates a sense of ownership and accountability over a classroom. Sense of

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school belonging differentiation due to STO and LTO teaching work arrangements also influenced positioning within the ITWVH.

Sense of School Belonging

A clear aspect of work differentiation between STO and LTO teaching for the participants was the sense of belonging perceived within schools while fulfilling each work arrangement. What the participants illustrated was a tendency for STO teachers to experience a sense of exclusion that was not characteristic of LTO teaching. In this situation, the participants illustrated the differentiated occasional teacher workforce by calling attention to an ITWVH that placed STO teachers as subordinate agents within this hierarchy. For their LTO teaching, the participants enjoyed being a central part of a consistent school location. The differentiated levels of school belonging were necessarily related to the participants' interactions with school staff and the extent to which the staff members valued them as STO and LTO teachers. Such a source of valuing denoted an ITWVH at work that favoured LTO teaching, and therefore, heightened the participants' sense of school belonging in this work arrangement.

Galloway and Morrison (1994a) report that STO teaching is characterized by "an absence of school-based identity and membership" (p. 184). The complexity of the ITWVH became clear when the participants' STO teaching experiences of school belonging differed according to their familiarity with a school. Heterogeneity in the nature of non-standard work is marked by temporal attachment differences between non-standard workers and their work organizations (Pfeffer & Baron, 1988). Temporal attachments were weak for the participants' STO teaching and contributed to their minimal sense of belonging within less familiar schools.

Lengthy non-standard work positions promote interactions with standard workers and extra-role behaviours (Feldman, 2006; McLean Parks et al., 1998). In belonging to a school as a

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LTO teacher, Dominic exhibited how his hierarchical positioning provided him with access to extracurricular activities. Thus, a differentiated sense of school belonging with STO and LTO teaching not only influenced the level of acceptance within a school, but also acted as a prerequisite for the scope of involvement within a school. School interactions contributing to a sense of school belonging require closer consideration in the context of occasional teacher work arrangement differentiation.

School Interactions

The participants' school interactions with secretaries, administrators, FTPC teachers, students, and students' parents disclosed different outlooks on how they believed these persons perceived them as STO and LTO teachers. Shilling (1991) identifies STO teachers as those who "are not full members of a school organization and cannot realistically expect to be treated as such" (p. 4). Correspondingly, the participants perceived that those whom they interacted with in schools saw STO and LTO teaching as distinct and differently valued entities.

The participants perceived a greater valuing of the LTO teacher in their school interactions that supported an ITWVH in which the less favourable treatment of STO teachers was present. This advantageous valuing was clear when Layla felt that FTPC teachers perceived STO teachers as incapable of obtaining a LTO or FTPC teaching position. Such logic alluded to a deficiency mindset of the hierarchically subordinate STO teaching work arrangement and positioned it as a consequence of not obtaining a LTO or FTPC teaching position. The predominant theme of how the participants believed others viewed them as school members or visitors is first discussed, followed by their perceived legitimacy, marginalization, and powerlessness.

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School members or visitors. A commonality across the school interactions was that the participants were perceived as either visitors to a school or as members of a school. These distinctions confirmed differentiation in the occasional teacher work arrangements that magnified the discrepant role of school belonging for STO and LTO teachers. Membership in a school was characteristic of the LTO teaching work arrangement, whereby the participants were treated like the other teaching staff during their school interactions. As visitors to a school, school interactions were distant or non-existent. The underlying treatment of the STO teachers as less significant visitors was obvious when Alexis explained that some secretaries minimized their presence to a job number. The differentiated treatment experienced during school interactions highlighted the separation in the occasional teacher workforce and provided the participants with less professionally fulfilling interactions as STO teachers.

A key difference in the interactions as members and as visitors was the level of investment shown by the school staff, students, and parents in supporting the participants. The time, attention, and assistance extended to the participants as LTO teachers with these interactions displayed how their LTO teaching status was valued to a greater extent than their visiting STO teaching role. The participants perceived that the LTO teacher was identified as the occasional teacher to more readily support than the STO teacher. These circumstances isolated the existence of "many who believe that [STO teachers] are a menace. At best, they are considered necessary evils" (St. Michel, 1995, p. 3).

The supportive LTO teacher experiences favourably coincided with general labour market research on non-standard work, stating that as workers' perceived organizational support intensifies, their organizational commitment intensifies (Connelly & Gallagher, 2004; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2006; Coyle-Shapiro & Morrow, 2006; Feldman, 2006; Liden et al., 2003; Van

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Breugel et al., 2005). The participants' organizational commitment was shown by fulfilling heightened general teacher expectations requiring vast time commitments and by maintaining high accountability levels towards school staff, students, and parents.

What assisted the participants in their interactions was frequently visiting the same schools as STO teachers. The participants perceived that they were more favourably viewed the more often they taught at schools as a STO teacher. The implication here was that movement up the ITWVH was feasible as a STO teacher when a rapport was established with the school staff, students, and parents as a frequently visiting STO teacher. When the participants routinely visited schools at the request of FTPC teachers and administrators, they perceived these persons viewed them as a valued commodity in replacing FTPC teachers. Whereas as a LTO teacher, the participants implied that they were valued in their own right as a teacher. Occasional teacher workforce differentiation rooted in others' perceptions was not without the influence of legitimacy perceptions.

Legitimacy, marginalization, and powerlessness. Support for occasional teacher workforce differentiation originated from the participants' legitimate treatment as LTO teachers and oppressive treatment as STO teachers. Legitimacy is established with the possession of power and authority as a teacher, and FTPC teachers possess a great deal of legitimacy as teaching professionals (Clifton & Rambaran, 1987; Damianos, 1998; Pollock, 2008). The participants demonstrated that based on how they believed school staff, students, and parents perceived them, they possessed greater power and authority as LTO teachers. Their legitimacy as LTO teachers most notably translated into compliant behaviour from students and signified that power and authority increased as an occasional teacher progressed up the ITWVH.

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Heterogeneity in the occasional teacher workforce became more obvious as the participants voiced an oppressive nature to STO teaching that was reflected in their interactions within less familiar schools. Oppression exists in various forms including marginalization and powerlessness (Young, 1990). Marginalization is experienced as systematic exclusion, and powerlessness exists through "inhibition in the development of one's capacities, lack of decisionmaking power in one's working life, and exposure to disrespectful treatment because of the status one occupies" (Young, 1990, p. 58). Marginalization was apparent through the unfavourable and invisibility treatment of the participants by FTPC teachers in less familiar STO teaching work locations, which denoted their lack of school belonging and subordination within the ITWVH. This invisibility treatment disregarded that STO teachers "are an invaluable resource and a vital component of the schooling process" (St. Michel, 1995, pp. 5-6).

A sense of powerlessness was evident in the participants' experiences when they were casualties of disrespectful school interactions with students and FTPC teachers in less familiar schools as STO teachers. The participants crystallized a helplessness quality of non-standard workers (Appay, 2010) in their STO teaching. Clifton and Rambaran (1987) outwardly present STO teaching as "a marginal situation" (p. 311). Marginality is not limited to non-standard STO teaching and influences even non-standard PTPC teachers. The tapered acknowledgement and valuing of PTPC teachers' contributions and capabilities marginalizes their presence and gives way to feelings of invisibility (Young & Brooks, 2004).

The differentiated legitimate and oppressed nature of the STO and LTO teaching school interactions supported Byrd Clark's (2009) argument of power as a non-fixed entity that can be transformed and challenged. The transformations in power experienced by the participants as STO and LTO teachers were representative of an ITWVH that allows for mobility in positioning.

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How this ITWVH influenced the teacher identity descriptors and actual transitional experiences of the participants provided supplementary evidence for STO and LTO teaching work arrangement differentiation.

Mobility and the ITWVH

Pollock (2008) contends that hierarchical differences have always existed between FTPC and occasional teachers, with explicit differences that "revolve around the inconsistency in the actual work, salary, and benefits. Less obvious differences include the temporal nature of occasional teaching and workload responsibilities" (p. 224). Findings of this study added depth to the ITWVH by inspecting differentiation explicitly between non-standard STO and LTO teaching that inevitably resulted in being closely tied to transitional experiences. In this section, mobility within the ITWVH is discussed in relation to teacher identity descriptors and professional presence.

Teacher identity descriptors. The participants inherently identified that transitional STO and LTO teachers have multiple identities as teaching professionals. With their transitional roles, they were occasional teachers who brought their STO or LTO teacher identity to the surface depending on the work arrangement occupied. The participants associated with STO teacher identity descriptors portraying them as disposable, supervisors, babysitters, warm bodies filling spots, temporary glue, and floaters. Each descriptor encapsulated the marginal role of STO teaching and the limited school belonging experienced by the participants as STO teachers that echoed existing research (Pollock, 2008). "Identities are often fashioned under conditions of oppression" (Czerniawski, 2011, p. 54). The oppressive conditions of the participants appeared to influence their identity perceptions as STO teachers. Billman (1994) reported survey findings disclosing how

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> Classroom teachers considered [STO teachers] to be professional educators, essential to the educational process, but they didn't necessarily think the [STO teachers] were effective teachers. [STO teachers], on the other hand, believed themselves to be effective teachers, essential to the educational process, but they didn't necessarily consider themselves professional educators. (p. 31)

The STO teacher identity was not perceived by the participants of this study as a mark of firm professional status. On the contrary, the participants identified themselves as being like FTPC teachers and accepted as professional educators in the LTO teaching work arrangement. A natural discourse was revealed among the participants that involved comparisons of FTPC and LTO teaching, which intertwined the perceptions of these work arrangements.

Pollock's (2008) study of STO teacher identity exposed how STO teachers viewed themselves based on realness. They felt that STO teachers were not perceived as "real" teachers and that FTPC teachers were regarded as "real" teachers. The present study deconstructed such dichotomous notions of identity to reveal multiple occasional teacher identities that were hierarchically differentiated and mobile. The participants' identity descriptors exemplified a dependency on the occasional teaching work arrangement that was fulfilled at the time. A differentiated experience of STO and LTO teaching was apparent as a result of the participants relating to identity descriptors that were independent of their accumulated STO and LTO teaching work experience. They merely labelled themselves with a lower valued teacher identity descriptor as a STO teacher and a higher valued teacher identity descriptor as a LTO teacher. This tendency relayed how they also perceived others viewed them differently depending on whether they fulfilled a STO or a LTO teaching position at a given time. Moreover, it directed to an ITWVH that was not equipped with tiers inhibiting fluidity between the occasional teacher work arrangement occupied and the corresponding perceived teacher identity descriptor. A

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three-tiered ITWVH depicted as an isosceles triangle in Figure 2 exhibits concrete markers of hierarchical value in-between divisions of the teacher workforce.

The figure shows how PC, LTO, and STO teaching are hierarchically arranged and represent fixed teacher identities that uphold a sense of permanence. The tiered hierarchy structure implies that teacher identity formations are constant and there is no room for upward or downward mobility within the occasional teacher workforce.

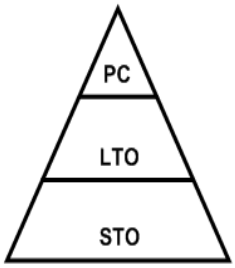

Figure 2. Three-tiered ITWVH model with PC, LTO, and STO teacher rankings.

The participants' reported upward and downward mobility during their transitional STO and LTO teaching experiences paved the way for an active and transition sensitive ITWVH that differentiates between STO and LTO teaching due to this mobility. Changing perceptions of professional presence were involved with this mobility. The next section provides an alternative ITWVH model to capture the hierarchical mobility of occasional teaching.

Changing perceptions of professional presence. The complexity of the ITWVH was exposed when considering the participants' sense of their professional presence during STO and LTO teaching and the transition between these positions. The transitions were suggestive of a non-fixed ITWVH that accommodated the complexities of the participants having multiple

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occasional teacher identities and a different professional presence with each identity. Mobility within the ITWVH was paired with a change in professional presence perceptions for the participants' STO and LTO teaching. The participants' STO and LTO teaching transitions were experienced as a hierarchical regression or progression that provided a source of occasional teacher workforce differentiation rooted in professional presence.

In transitioning from STO to LTO teaching, a progression up the ITWVH was experienced by the participants. This progression represented how the LTO teaching position paralleled with a positive mobility change. In transitioning from LTO to STO teaching, a regression down the ITWVH was experienced by the participants to make a negative mobility change. A reason for the positive/negative associations with the mobility changes was the participants' differently perceived professional voice as an element of their professional presence. Greater professional voice with security in expressing their points of view came with the hierarchical positioning of a LTO teacher and targeted the strong professional presence as well as autonomy in their work.

The progressive/regressive experiences of the transitions were a major source of occasional teacher workforce differentiation that set up an ITWVH without tiers. In doing so, the ITWVH established a foundation for allowing transitional STO and LTO teachers to move up and down the hierarchy and establish their own differences among STO and LTO teachers. The primary source of this differentiation among the STO and LTO teaching workgroups was the amount of accumulated work. More days worked for STO teaching and more positions completed for LTO teaching were perceived as an advantage within the ITWVH. The participants' professional presence and credibility was elevated with more STO and LTO

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teaching experience, especially for LTO teaching, which increased their hierarchical positioning among other STO and LTO teachers.

Pollock's (2008) explanation of a gradient filled isosceles triangle depiction for the ITWVH materialized in the findings of this study. Within this gradient fill are the positions that teachers can occupy. Permanent contract teachers are at the peak of this triangle. Occasional teachers fill the remainder of this triangle, with LTO teachers closer to the middle and STO teachers at the bottom. Figure 3 displays this ITWVH and accounts for how the participants were differentiated in their STO and LTO teaching experiences, while moving up and down the gradient fill to hierarchically depict their professional presence.

Figure 3. Non-tiered gradient filled model of the ITWVH. © 2008 Katina Pollock. Adaptation of this figure is by permission of the copyright holder (see Appendix A).

The key feature of the ITWVH is that there are no designated spots to identify where a given teacher is positioned. Teachers are assumed to undergo alterations in their positioning over time based on a number of work characteristics.

This study defined professional presence as one of these work characteristics that evidently changed with mobility within the ITWVH for STO and LTO teaching. It also specified other work characteristics, including: (1) The nature of general teacher expectations; (2) School belonging; (3) Teacher identity descriptors; and (4) School interactions. These work

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characteristics were an addendum to the previous characteristics (cognitive, emotional, and physical work engagement; access to professional learning and work; and professional identity) investigated by Pollock (2008) with STO teachers. Experiences with the latter work characteristics were not particularly favourable for the STO teachers, which subordinately positioned them within the ITWVH. In the current study, participants portrayed how transitional STO and LTO teachers experienced differentiated realities that were possible through hierarchical mobility. With this mobility, it was feasible for the participants to appreciate the professional status gain in their STO to LTO teaching transition.

Chapter Summary

The chapter discussed the participants' STO and LTO teaching work arrangements as highly heterogeneous with the ITWVH at the forefront of this heterogeneity. A number of sources were attributed to differentiation between STO and LTO teaching that were classified as work characteristics (e.g., general teacher expectations, sense of school belonging) influencing the formation and complexity of the ITWVH. Dominant skill set utilization, accountability, and power and control work characteristics of LTO teaching modelled how the participants perceived they were engaged in a work arrangement that closely resembled the hierarchical status of FTPC teaching. School interactions were important in creating a sense of school belonging and legitimacy that acted as tokens of differentiation. They fostered marginalization, powerlessness, and invisibility for the subordinate STO teaching work arrangement. In discussing the differentiation among STO and LTO teaching, it became apparent that the ITWVH is a non-tiered, gradient filled enterprise that allows mobility between STO and LTO teaching. The forthcoming chapter amalgamates the participants' experiences noted in this research to propose policy and practice contributions.

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Chapter Nine: Conclusion

As a transitional STO and LTO teacher, the insecurities of non-standard work have been deeply felt. Striving to secure a FTPC teaching position has been a journey implicated with having my status validated as a professional. Exploring the participants' realities was cathartic and it conveyed their perceived heterogeneity of the non-standard STO and LTO teaching work arrangements. This research divulged insights on a division of non-standard teachers consumed by existing standard teacher literature that perpetuates their marginalization (Feola, 1999). In pursuing the main research question of how transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their work arrangements differently, the depth of inquiry was magnified with three sub-questions. The current chapter concludes this thesis with an emphasis on: (1) The research sub-questions; (2) Significance for general labour non-standard work research; (3) Significance for theory; (4) Significance for policy; (5) Significance for practice; (6) Limitations of the study; and (7) Prospects for future research. The essence of this thesis resides in the valuing of transitional STO and LTO teachers that can be applied to education theory, policy, practice, and research.

The Research Sub-Questions

The research sub-questions tapped into the participants' perceived nature of their work:

1. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do as STO and LTO teachers?
2. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements? and
3. How do transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their professional presence while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and in the transition between these work arrangements?

Study participants collectively portrayed that LTO teaching was hierarchically superior to STO teaching. The proceeding summative responses to the sub-questions demonstrate this situation.

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How do transitional STO and LTO teachers perceive themselves and the work they do as STO and LTO teachers? Greater general teacher expectations, legitimacy, control, and accountability were perceived by the participants as LTO teachers based on their teacher descriptors and practices that were reciprocal to FTPC teaching. The participants' STO teaching was minimized to less curriculum concentrated lesson plans, thereby inhibiting opportunities to optimally exercise their capabilities. Post-Fordist flexibility practices of the non-standard workforce positioned them as the "other" teaching professionals while engaging in STO teaching. The functional flexibility of STO teaching was pronounced with the participants' daily redeployment across schools and the application of routine skill sets. Reported STO teaching experiences were principally associated with classroom management skills, deficiencies in assessment and planning responsibilities, and diminutive accountability towards administrators, FTPC teachers, students, and students' parents.

How do transitional STO and LTO teachers believe that others in their work environments perceive them as professionals while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements? In Chapter Six, the participants perceived that they were advantageously regarded as legitimate professionals in their interactions with secretaries, administrators, FTPC teachers, students, and students' parents as LTO teachers. These persons projected that LTO teachers were contributing members of their schools. The marginal sense of belonging perceived within schools as STO teachers was partly attributed to the participants' distant or exclusionary staff interactions that created invisibility feelings. The perceived lack of belonging was furthered as a result of disrespectful behaviour exhibited by students. At familiar work locations, the participants verified that staff and student interactions were more forthcoming as a STO teacher. Completing STO teaching at former LTO teaching position schools notably cultivated positive

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interactions with school staff and students for the participants as well as positive perceptions of how they believed these persons viewed them.

How do transitional STO and LTO teachers experience their professional presence while in the STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and in the transition between these work arrangements? Participant experiences of STO teaching resembled non-standard work, whereas their LTO teaching resembled standard work. Short-term occasional teaching was experienced as a temporal attachment with schools, creating a weak professional voice within these schools for STO teachers. Chapter Seven highlighted how transitioning from STO to LTO teaching was a hierarchical progression within the ITWVH, whereas the LTO to STO teaching transition was a regression. The participants marked the feasibility of upward and downward mobility within the ITWVH. General labour market research on non-standard work can now endeavour to explore the long-term implications of this mobility.

Significance for General Labour Market Non-Standard Work Research

The emphasis on transitional STO and LTO teaching in the present study informs general labour market research on non-standard work in two ways. Firstly, this study raised the need to account for the transitioning between forms of non-standard work by broadening non-standard work to dual classifications: (1) *Isolated non-standard work* involving workers who perform only one type of non-standard work; and (2) *Transitional non-standard work* involving workers who typically transition between two or more types of non-standard work. The definition of non-standard work as a labour arrangement other than FTPC work (Burri, 2006; Cranford et al., 2003; Vosko, 2000; 2004; 2010; Vosko et al., 2009) is no longer sufficient for transitioning workers across differing professions (e.g., nursing) who are accustomed to non-standard labour.

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Secondly, this study raised the need to explore additional levels of non-standard work arrangement differentiation. Evidently, heterogeneity in the nature of STO and LTO teaching existed at inter- and intra-group work arrangement levels for the participants of this study. Work experience differentiation was embedded not only between STO and LTO teaching, but also within each teaching work arrangement. Although general labour market research notes differences between types of non-standard work (Broschak et al., 2008), it should strive to look for sources of differentiation within types of non-standard work arrangements. Post-Fordist and ITWVH theories provide a context for interpreting such non-standard work developments in general labour market research.

Significance for Theory

The present investigation has direct implications for post-Fordist and ITWVH theories. Post-Fordist theory implications capitalize on worker skills, while ITWVH theory implications address sources for the differentiated positioning of STO and LTO teachers.

Implications for post-Fordist theory. According to Harvey (1989), standard core workers with advanced skill sets receive greater job security, professional development, and pension benefits than the two tiers of non-standard peripheral workers: (1) Full-time workers who experience high turnover; and (2) Temporal workers (e.g., part-time, casual, fixed-term, or contract employees). This clustering of all non-standard workers within the second periphery tier neglects the documented experiences of the transitional STO and LTO teacher participants. Their experiences support existing general labour market research of differentiation across non-standard work types (Campbell, 2010) and challenge Harvey's (1989) model to have distinct tiers per non-standard work type. Such a model would position fixed-term LTO teachers as less peripheral than casual STO teachers.

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Soucek's (1994) expansion of Harvey's (1989) post-Fordist labour model to teachers additionally configures all non-standard workers within a tier. Highly skilled core teachers (e.g., management, specialists) occupy the first tier. Fully skilled peripheral full-time teachers occupy the second tier. Part-time permanent, casual, or contract teachers possess generic skill sets in the most peripheral tier (Soucek, 1994). If the transitional STO and LTO teachers studied were positioned within the second tier of teachers for their LTO teaching, they would receive recognition for using the same advanced skill sets as them. Soucek's model also overlooks transitioning across tiers. The shift in skill set applicability across STO and LTO teaching work arrangements in this study supported the existence of non-static tiers. Together, Harvey and Soucek's tiered core/periphery models coincide with hierarchal notions of work differentiation.

Implications for ITWVH theory. Pollock's (2008) values hierarchy depicts the ITWVH as a gradient filled isosceles triangle with a dense, expanding occasional teacher population at the base and few esteemed PC teachers at the peak. Based on the findings of this study, sources of differentiation distinguished that STO and LTO teaching are not homogeneous work arrangements and are inequitably valued within this ITWVH. Placement within the ITWVH is now more clearly understood as rooting from several work characteristics that differentiate among STO and LTO teaching:

1. General teacher expectations (i.e., lesson planning, assessment of student learning, utilization of skills and knowledge, professional accountability, and time commitment for teaching duties);
2. School interactions with staff, students, and students' parents; and
3. Professional presence as conveyed via professional voice and actual STO and LTO transitional experiences.

The participants' hierarchically differentiated STO and LTO teaching experiences confirmed Pollock's (2008) conceptualization of a gradient filled ITWVH that is open to change in hierarchical placements. The current study expands on this ITWVH conceptualization with

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sources of occasional teacher workforce differentiation and accounts for the experience of hierarchical mobility present within this workforce. Dual, non-fixed STO and LTO teacher identities predisposed the participants of this study to encounter different hierarchical experiences that were specific to the occasional teacher identities they possessed at the time. Differentiation within the STO and LTO teaching workgroups further demonstrated that the ITWVH must account for divergent experiences even within these workgroups based on hierarchical advantages associated with greater accumulated work. The hierarchical experiences of the participants in this study can pose as driving forces for policy and practice ramifications.

Significance for Policy

Policy initiatives for occasional teachers are scarce and their ratification is much needed. "Positioned at the margins of the discourse-practices of professionalism, representations of [STO] teachers allow us to see the material and discursive limits of contemporary educational reform" (Weems, 2000, p. iii). Achieving professionalism in STO and LTO teaching is necessary through policy and practice efforts imposed by teacher education programs, the OCT, the Ontario Ministry of Education, and negotiating district school boards with teacher federations. These four sources are addressed next and can leverage change in the marginal positioning of STO teachers, which is apparent in this and other research.

Teacher education programs. In guiding teacher candidates through their entry into the teaching profession, teacher education programs encourage them to evaluate their identities (Hattingh & de Kock, 2008). Idealized notions of teacher identity influenced by socially constructed perceptions are generally exclusive of consideration of STO and LTO teaching. Programming that includes a holistic view of differentiated teaching work arrangements from FTPC teaching is lacking across accredited teacher education programs (McHugh, 2001;

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Pollock, 2008). An obligation of programs to prepare teacher candidates for STO teaching is necessary with its escalating prevalence (Bontempo & Deay, 1986). Negligence of programs to confront the realities of STO and LTO teaching impedes on five key processes:

1. Raising awareness of the initiation into the teaching profession via STO teaching in most district school boards;
2. Differentiating between types of occasional teachers and how teaching pedagogies and practices utilized can vary across these teachers;
3. Exposing the realities of an ITWVH;
4. Revealing the mobility within the ITWVH through transitional STO and LTO teaching experiences; and
5. Reducing the negative annotations and perceptions of a marginalized, but vital STO teacher population within the teaching profession.

These programs must spotlight STO and LTO teachers in order to recognize the extent of their "central role in maintaining the continuity of K-12 education" (Duggleby & Badali, 2007, p. 22). The University of Western Ontario has the only known Canadian program to offer both occasional teaching end-of-program workshops (Pollock, 2008) and an elective course focused on the social, political, and legal conditions faced by occasional teachers.

Suggestions for programming to raise the awareness of STO and LTO teaching include:

1. Forming a mandatory course differentiating between the experiences of FTPC, STO, LTO, and transitional STO and LTO teaching;
2. Integrating practicum placements with seasoned transitional STO and LTO teachers;
3. Supporting STO teacher shadowing as a teaching practicum element;
4. Inviting guest speakers to provide a glimpse into STO/LTO teaching; and
5. Exposing the union issues of STO and LTO teaching through the study of collective union agreements and union guest speakers.

It is vital for teacher candidates to be familiar with STO teaching as a potential role they could assume or utilize as a FTPC teacher. Nurturing appreciation for STO and LTO teachers can begin as a teacher candidate while studying the nature of their work and positively interacting with them during teaching practicum placements. How teacher candidates experience their program is influenced by initiatives and regulations of the OCT.

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Ontario College of Teachers. In supporting STO and LTO teachers, the OCT could mandate that accredited teacher certification programs include occasional teaching curriculum. The OCT's advocacy for ethical standards of treatment displayed through care, respect, trust, and integrity for all teaching professionals should also be enforced more adamantly (Pollock, 2008). Rather than generalize that all teachers act ethically (OCT, 2010), the OCT's ethical standards for the teaching profession should deliberately specify that PC, STO, and LTO teachers are to act ethically towards one another. This listing within policy discourse would acknowledge and raise accountability towards STO and LTO teachers. Olssen, Codd, and O'Neill (2004) speak of how policy discourses are culturally influenced. The standard disregard for STO and LTO teachers in policy is reflective of their culturally engraved supplementary positioning to PC teachers (Pollock, 2008; Weems, 2000).

The OCT could further its influence through professional learning for STO and LTO teachers. Ontario certified teachers contribute $22 million a year to their professional learning that amounts to the completion of more than 22, 000 Additional Basic Qualification (ABQ) and Additional Qualification (AQ) courses (Ontario. Ministry of Education, 2004). "ABQs/AQs are set out in legislation, accredited by the College, offered by providers approved by the College and, when successfully completed, recorded on the member's Certificate of Qualification and Registration" (OCT, 2011a). A recent survey administered by the OCT found that a small portion of its members (13%) were interested in completing an occasional teacher AQ course (Jamieson, 2011). This portion must be approached with caution, as it reflected the interest levels of all permanent and occasional teacher members. It would be wise for the OCT to isolate level of interest to its occasional teacher members, at which point the level of interest would likely be more pronounced. The accreditation of AQ courses designed for STO and LTO

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teaching by the OCT would be validation for STO and LTO teachers as professionals with a specialized nature of work. This process would formalize support for these teachers, which could transcend into the larger teaching profession and the Ontario Ministry of Education.

Ontario Ministry of Education. The Ontario Ministry of Education is vital to the funding of teachers' professional learning. In education, STO teachers have been ignored with the "hope that nothing gets broken" (St. Michel, 1995, p. 3). Annually, $37 million issued in board grants is assigned to general staff development (Ontario. Ministry of Education, 2004). It is LTO teachers who receive significant Ministry funding for the NTIP (Canadian Council on Learning, 2008), while STO teachers receive less extensive Ministry funding distributed to their teacher federations (Pollock, 2008). Those LTO teachers with positions of less than 97 days long are restricted from the NTIP and would benefit from inclusion in at least select aspects. Overall, increased use of the NTIP program for qualifying LTO teachers should be stressed by the Ministry due to moderate enrolment rates (34%) from these teachers (OCT, 2011b).

For STO teachers, a Ministry funded Entry to Teaching Induction Program (ETIP) could be created. The purpose of the ETIP would be for seasoned occasional teachers from district school boards to educate and mentor their STO teacher colleagues during an intensive week. An emphasis on Ministry initiatives such as those put forth by the Ontario Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat would be addressed to endow the STO teachers with the knowledge that LTO teachers are already gaining through their positions.

The Ontario Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat promotes the use of Professional Learning Communities (PLCs) for the improvement of student performance (Ontario. Ministry of Education, 2007). An integral aspect of professional learning among teachers is collaboration (Butler, Lauscher, Jarvis-Selinger, & Beckingham, 2004; Hargreaves, 2000; 2007), which is the

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keystone of PLCs. These communities are models for schools that bring together education professionals to improve student learning and achievement by reflecting on their practices, interpreting student performance data, and immersing in inquiry to gain knowledge with on-going consultations (Ontario. Ministry of Education, 2007).

Lave and Wenger (1991) propose that members of a learning community are initially legitimate peripheral participants who later become completely immersed participants. For STO teachers, full participation is not attainable with the lack of accessibility to PLCs that is granted to LTO and FTPC teachers. Ministry policy could be introduced that allows STO teachers to partake in PLCs at the school level to heighten their legitimate peripheral participation. Short-term occasional teachers offer "a wealth of experience to a school's instructional team" (McHugh, 2001, p. 11). A FTPC teacher's professional learning is at its prime within professional communities at the school level (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 2007), and the inclusion of both STO and LTO teachers can enrich these communities. Collaboration can channel positive dynamics with PLC functioning and collective agreement union negotiations amid district school boards and teacher federations.

District school boards and teacher federations. Initiatives guiding district school boards are targeted at "negotiating local contractual agreements, structuring how [short- and long-term] occasional teachers access their work, and providing professional development opportunities" (Pollock, 2008, p. 269). In education, there is a deeply entrusted investment in the professionalism of teachers in order to progress the standard and range of their teaching practice (Hannay et al., 2006; Hargreaves, 1994; 2000; Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009; Morrow & Torres, 2000). Full-time permanent contract teachers participate in much professional learning (Smaller,

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Clark, Hart, Livingstone, & Noormohamed, 2000), and union representatives advocate that professional learning is an ongoing necessity for STO teachers (Pollock, 2008).

Relevant to this study, the district school board of the participants would benefit from increasing sensitivity to and collaboration with its partnering teacher federation local. The equivalent of two fully-funded, complete school days of professional learning have been negotiated for STO teachers (TVDSB, 2008) and this is insufficient. Long-term occasional teachers who complete full-year positions participate in six fully-funded, system-wide professional learning days during the school year alongside FTPC teachers. Short-term occasional teacher union negotiations for four additional days to coincide with the six fully-funded, system-wide professional learning days would be accommodating. These sessions should occur during school days and be dispersed over the months of February, March, April, May, October, and November when STO teachers prefer to engage in professional learning opportunities (Pollock, 2010b). The sessions would provide financial relief for these teachers, as nearly half of their reported professional learning ventures are self-funded (Pollock, 2010b).

A survey distributed to all STO teachers at the beginning of the school year could inquire about their professional learning needs, as existing professional learning is typically customized for FTPC teachers (Galloway & Morrison, 1994a; Pollock, 2008) or inundated with a classroom management focus (Pollock, 2008). District school board professional learning opportunities offered after school hours could be negotiated to prevent the loss of work for STO teachers during the day. Pollock (2010b) found that STO teachers favoured the month of April for professional learning and after school sessions could be offered during this month.

Negotiations for an orientation at the start of each school year are needed for STO teachers. This orientation would inform them of the current teaching practices, resources,

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pedagogical language, and policies applicable to their district school board. It is also critical for secretaries, administrators, and FTPC teachers to become educated about STO and LTO teaching by attending professional learning sessions (St. Michael, 1995). Furthermore, STO teachers do not receive direct access to district school board professional learning opportunities like LTO teachers (Pollock, 2008), and negotiations for equal accessibility are required. Support for STO and LTO teachers is essential not only at the provincial and district school board levels, but also at the school level via practice implementation.

Significance for Practice

Practices applied by professionals within the school environment can mutually affect the empowerment of STO and LTO teachers. A school culture of professional acceptance for STO teachers can be moderated via administrators and FTPC teachers (Bontempo & Deay, 1986; McHugh, 2001; Pollock, 2008). Such a culture is defined as "the guiding beliefs and expectations evident in the way a school operates, particularly in reference to how people relate (or fail to relate) to each other" (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996, p. 37).

Administrators. Administrators can be influential to STO and LTO teachers by: (1) Fostering an inclusive, respectful school culture; (2) Guiding FTPC teachers with lesson planning; and (3) Ensuring direct contact with them. With the responsibility for school functioning, administrators "play a vital role in re-culturing" dynamics (Pollock, 2008, p. 271). Administrators must genuinely strive to display collegiality with STO teachers and to treat them "as *de facto* members of the teaching staff for the time they are in the school" (Duggleby, 2003, p. 125). For example, school wide daily morning announcements may begin with administrators welcoming STO teachers. In situations where STO teachers regularly attend specific schools, administrators can extend an invitation to school based staff meetings, social events, and STO

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teacher orientations. In terms of ongoing support for STO teachers, administrators could form a committee of FTPC teachers who act as contact persons for general assistance they may require throughout the day. The administrators could post the names of these committee members and their classroom numbers for reference in the STO teacher sign-in book.

Administrators should guarantee that effectiveness and continuity in instruction is maintained with STO teachers in the absence of FTPC teachers (Dillon, 2008). St. Michel (1995) explains how administrators can hold FTPC teachers accountable for creating curriculum specific lessons and reviewing behaviour expectations with students prior to an STO teacher's arrival. Interestingly, "School administrators' perceptions of their practices in setting and monitoring expectations for permanent teachers' preparations for [STO] teachers are greater than those reported by permanent teachers" (Morgan, 2004, p. 100). This discrepancy suggests that elevated administrator-FTPC teacher collaboration is needed in preparing for STO teachers.

To guarantee administrator-STO/LTO teacher contact, administrators can routinely perform classroom walkthroughs. This practice would benefit the STO and LTO teachers by allowing them to exhibit their capabilities and to secure future work. Outside of instructional time, administrators could organize meetings with their LTO teachers to consider measures for securing a FTPC teaching position (e.g., interviews). These teachers may collaborate with administrators to host sessions delivering information about STO and LTO teaching differences to visiting teacher candidates from Ontario programs.

Administrator practices may involve having an open door policy for STO teachers to introduce themselves and to present their resume. This practice would be especially useful for transitional STO and LTO teachers who are completing STO teaching in unfamiliar schools and

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are seeking to market their work experience. Along with administrators, FTPC teachers have a powerful influence within the school culture as they interact with STO and LTO teachers.

FTPC teachers. Practices of FTPC teachers with STO teachers should begin with eliminating circumstances of marginalization. Exclusionary and avoidance behaviours targeted at STO teachers in staff rooms and throughout school premises must be terminated. "As long as their teaching peers think of and treat them as inconsequential subordinates, to be dealt with out of sheer necessity, the full potential of [STO] teachers cannot be realized" (Sigel, 1997, p. 24). Professionalism between all teaching staff is integral for both the successful integration of STO teachers within schools and the modelling of appropriate teacher treatment in front of students (Pollock, 2008). Some acceptance of STO teachers can be shown with a section of the staffroom reserved for them to post their business cards and resumes.

The consistent practice of FTPC teachers requesting that STO teachers record the names of disrespectful students would be assistive. In addition to the STO teachers disciplining these students, their FTPC teacher should reinforce this disciplining. Preparing students for STO teachers by reviewing behaviour expectations should be widely applied to benefit all involved parties (St. Michel, 1995). Providing lesson plans that are consistent with current student learning goals is an additional measure to help increase student accountability.

Support for STO teachers can go beyond actions and include welcoming dialogue. Inquiring about their previous occasional teaching would allow transitional STO and LTO teachers to share their accumulated teaching experience. The establishment of FTPC teachers' collegiality with STO teachers is an integral step towards recognizing their individual teacher identities and avoiding the infamous question of "Who are you today?" (McHugh, 2001). One avenue to achieve collegiality among LTO and FTPC teachers is mentoring.

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Mentoring provides the opportunity for FTPC teachers to learn about LTO teachers within their schools. On-site FTPC teacher mentoring of LTO teachers is a practice that may occur informally in schools, but should be obligatory. Long-term occasional teachers would seek mentors on the school staff who would commit to assisting them and informing their practice throughout the duration of their position. For positions of at least one month long, administrators would be expected to provide STO teacher coverage to allow the LTO teacher to observe the mentor teacher and to have a debriefing session. The building of collegial relations within schools is also important between STO and LTO teachers.

STO and LTO teachers. Transitional STO and LTO teachers are perhaps the strongest influencers in changing the impressions of STO teaching. The participants' regressive hierarchical experiences of the LTO to STO teaching transition put them in a position to face the less esteemed general teacher expectations and school interactions of STO teaching. They were in an exclusive position of both being and utilizing STO teachers with the transitional underpinning of their work.

"Professionalism (improving quality and standards of practice) and professionalization (improving status and standing) are often presented as complementary projects (improve standards and you will improve status)" (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 152). Transitional occasional teachers occupying a LTO teaching position can apply these practices to enhance the professionalism and professionalization of STO teaching:

1. Designing lesson plans that integrate curriculum and advanced skill set applications that draw on teacher training for STO teachers;
2. Setting expectations for STO teachers to ensure that students produce a quality of work that is aligned with regular classroom performance;
3. Educating students on the different types of teachers that exist in the teaching profession and the type of work that they do;
4. Voicing their experiences with STO teaching to students and explaining how the nature of student behaviour can positively affect STO teachers' work;

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5. Informing students that all teachers undergo training for certification that makes them legitimate teachers and professionals;
6. Setting the bar for students to produce the same quality of work and to display the same level of respect for all teachers they are instructed by;
7. Communicating to school staff that STO teaching can be an isolating form of work and the support extended to STO teachers improves their teaching experience; and
8. Inviting STO teachers to sit with them during the lunch break in the staff room to deter possibilities of marginalization based on teaching status.

Even though FTPC teachers and other school staff could apply these practices, the connection that transitional STO and LTO teachers have with STO teaching may eminently motivate them to implement change for their own benefit. These teachers shift in their professionalization with different statuses attached to their STO and LTO teaching work arrangements and would benefit from being respected as experienced teaching professionals.

The practices that STO teachers can implement may not be as extensive, but are meaningful. To begin, detailed notes on the content covered should be left for the absent teacher. As a standard practice, STO teachers could leave a copy of their resume outlining any STO and LTO teaching experience with unfamiliar classrooms to potentially secure future work. A practice specific to the classroom involves creating curriculum focused extension activities from the lesson plans. These activities would exercise STO teachers' knowledge and skills, while assisting the classroom teacher in reinforcing learning content. Above all practices, it "is important for each [STO] teacher to be a positive advocate for the professionalization of [STO] teaching" (McHugh, 2001, p. 27). In encouraging others to support them, STO teachers' self-advocacy for their practices and role in education is fundamental. This study endorsed STO and LTO teachers, but was not without limitations.

Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study are principally connected to the participant recruitment and interview questions. Despite its small size, the sample of five participants provided invaluable

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exposure to the transitional STO and LTO teaching experience. "The insights generated from qualitative inquiry depend more on the information richness of the cases and the analytical capabilities of the researcher than on the sample size" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 328). The importance of this rich information is its applicability to the researcher and the research audience (Gay et al., 2009). The audience of this qualitative research was given the opportunity to resonate with the realities of transitional STO and LTO teachers. Considering the rise of non-standard occasional teaching in education (McIntyre, 2011; OCT, 2011b), this research may resonate with the larger non-standard occasional teacher workforce.

Having five participants was beneficial for a small-scale study; however, the depth of the research could have been intensified with a broader and larger sample. Transitional STO and LTO teachers with more LTO teaching experience may have contributed additional outlooks on work arrangement differentiation. Specifically seeking participants with NTIP involvement could have introduced a new dimension to this differentiation with their access to mentorship and professional learning benefits. Perhaps a sample including French qualified transitional STO and LTO teachers might have contributed to additional complexities within the ITWVH, as their qualifications are a particularly valued commodity.

To make gains in recruitment numbers, the call for participants could have been delayed until September when teacher availability is more reliable. Ethically approved entry into the district school board's online communication portal that is accessible to all employees may have been a promising avenue to recruit participants. The scope of recruitment for participants in this study was limited, as was the scope of specific question areas.

Supplementary probing about the participants' transitional experiences could have been directed at learning if district school board practices were in place to assist with transitioning. It

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is possible that occasional teachers confronting these transitions would benefit from initiatives to relieve the aftermath of ongoing labour changes. Aspects such as updating resumes/portfolios and affective adjustment issues may be of significance for LTO to STO teaching transitions. Updates in curricula, planning, assessment, and district school board foci achieved via workshops may be of significance for STO to LTO teaching transitions.

Inquiring about how the participants prepared their students for a mid-year LTO-FTPC teacher transition may have provided valuable information. How they situated themselves relative to the returning FTPC teachers could have disclosed important teacher identity descriptors. Lastly, asking the participants to voice the nature of their interactions with other STO and LTO teachers would have given insight into their professional relations. While all research can be improved, this study is a precursor of future research.

Prospects for Future Research

This study identified some sources of work differentiation between STO and LTO teaching. Future research could elaborate on these findings to determine additional sources of differentiation from the viewpoint of newer FTPC teachers who have completed transitional STO and LTO teaching. Their newer status could provide current insights on how STO and LTO teaching compare to FTPC teaching.

A study solely focused on STO and LTO teacher marketability could target work experience differentiation. Young and Grieve (1996) associate non-standard PTPC teaching with extensive marketability efforts (e.g., exceeding work position responsibilities) to secure current and future employment. The existence and form of such marketability could be studied with STO and LTO teachers. The study could provide perspective on the measures exercised to move up the ITWVH. A similar research effort could consist of deciphering how movement occurs up

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the ITWVH due to administrator and district school board hiring practices. The study could examine hiring practices used by administrators to promote: (1) Short-term occasional teachers to LTO teachers; (2) Short-term occasional teachers to FTPC teachers; and (3) Long-term occasional teachers to FTPC teachers. The hiring practices used by district school board representatives to hire teachers into the STO teacher pool could also be studied. The practices could inform STO and LTO teachers of how to secure work and clarify why some occasional teachers are hired over others.

Future research entailing a major document analysis of ETFO occasional teacher union collective agreements with district school boards across Ontario could be considered. This research could explore the labour precariousness or job insecurity of STO and LTO teaching across district school boards. Labour precariousness is measured by Cranford et al. (2003) based on a worker's: (1) Firm size; (2) Union status; and (3) Hourly wage. As the three indicators concurrently move along a continuum, those work arrangements accompanied by the greatest firm size, union status, and hourly wage are the least precarious. Full-time permanent, full-time temporary, part-time permanent, and part-time temporary work are respectively arranged from the least to the most precarious work arrangements based on their associations with the three indicators (Cranford et al., 2003). The seeming relevance of these levels of labour precariousness to one's hierarchical labour positioning cannot be overlooked. Such relevance heightens the depth of differentiation that can form between STO and LTO teaching work arrangements based on the related labour precariousness and hierarchical nature of these work arrangements and it has yet to be raised in education research.

As all ETFO members are unionized, a broad analysis could be applied to compare labour precariousness for STO and LTO teachers based on district school board size and hourly

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wage/pay rate. Determining these labour precariousness levels could make four key contributions:

1. Identifying whether STO or LTO teaching is a more precarious form of labour;
2. Specifying which Ontario occasional teachers require greater job security;
3. Providing information for occasional teachers that may determine their geographical settlement location to establish a teaching career; and
4. Informing the Ontario Ministry of Education and the OCT if more uniformity across the province in pay conditions is needed for all occasional teachers, regardless of the district school board of employment.

Labour precariousness research in education could disclose the work conditions that STO and LTO teachers endure. Aiming to optimize these conditions may lead to positive work experiences that can in turn favour student learning within the classroom.

Students and school staff are a critical source of information about STO and LTO teachers. This study illuminated how the participants felt they were perceived by students and their parents as well as administrators, FTPC teachers, and secretaries. Future research could involve these persons discussing their interactions with STO and LTO teachers. The findings could inform the current study's depiction of transitional STO and LTO teachers' positioning within the ITWVH. Looking beyond Ontario based research and conducting international investigations is another possibility.

Ontario certified teachers are relocating abroad to obtain employment in response to the scarcity of FTPC teaching positions within the province (OCT, 2011b). A highly deregulated labour market exists in the UK (Fagan & Ward, 2003) with numerous temporary staffing recruitment agencies for teachers (Morrison, 1999). A large contingent of these agencies is also apparent in Asia. Prospective research could examine the experience of non-standard work and its level of labour precariousness for new entrant Ontario teachers employed by a selection of temporary staffing recruitment agencies in the UK and Asia. The findings would bridge the

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research gap between education and the general labour market that has deeply invested in temporary staffing recruitment agencies. Extensions of this research could include how accessible teaching positions are for the new entrant teachers upon returning to Ontario without any domestic teaching experience. A source of differentiation within the ITWVH may not only be non-Western IEOTs (Pollock, 2008; 2010a), but also originally Ontario certified teachers who have only taught abroad following their certification. The research prospects discussed are uniformly capable of informing general labour market and education literature.

Chapter Summary

Non-standard STO and LTO teaching are outcomes of post-Fordist practices in the general labour market that have re-shaped the structure of work arrangements and created a differentiated as well as hierarchical experience of work. Long-term occasional teaching is the more favourable work arrangement and is not confronted with the marginalization that STO teaching is confronted with. The study's findings illustrated how general labour market research on non-standard work can embrace transitional workers and their varied levels of heterogeneity relative to specific professions.

Limitations of this research rest in the small sample size and the questioning that otherwise could have elicited greater insight on the transitions in STO and LTO teaching. Future research can pave the way to obtaining an increased understanding of further sources of differentiation among non-standard STO and LTO teachers that are experienced by them and fostered by the hiring practices of administrators and district school board representatives. Policy and practice efforts to reach a greater equilibrium of experiences between STO and LTO teaching can proliferate a sense of joint importance in these work arrangements for the sustainability of the teaching profession.

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Appendix A: Permission of Copyright Holder © 2008 Katina Pollock

Western Education

Date: February 13, 2012

Re: Permission to Use Copyrighted Material in a Master's Thesis

Dear Annamarie Chalikakis,

As your supervisor, I am aware that you are a University of Western Ontario graduate student completing your Master's thesis entitled, "Short- and Long-Term Occasional Teaching Work Differences." I am aware that your thesis will be available in full-text on the internet for reference, study and/or copy. Except in situations where a thesis is under embargo or restriction, the electronic version will be accessible through the Western Libraries web pages, the Library's web catalogue, and also through web search engines. I am also also aware you will be granting Library and Archives Canada and ProQuest/UMI a non-exclusive license to reproduce, loan, distribute, or sell single copies of your thesis by any means and in any form or format. I acknowledge that these rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by me or by others authorized by myself.

I grant permission for you to include the following material in your thesis: The pictorial depiction of an internal teacher workforce values hierarchy from my doctoral research:

> Pollock, K. (2008). *Occasional teachers' work engagement: Professional identity, work-related learning and access to the profession and to daily work.* Toronto, Ont.: Faculty of Graduate Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto.

The depiction of interest is found on page 219 of my work and it is referred to as "Figure 5. The differentiated teacher workforce hierarchy as depicted using an isosceles triangle." The material will be attributed through a citation.

This is my confirmation in writing that these arrangements meet with my approval.

Sincerely,
Dr. Katina Pollock

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Appendix B: Ethical Approval from the Faculty of Education Sub-Research Ethics Board

APPROVAL OF M.Ed. THESIS PROPOSAL FORM A

If the proposed research does not involve human subjects or the direct use of their written records, video-tapes, recordings, tests, etc., this signature form, along with ONE copy of the research proposal should be delivered directly to the Graduate Programs & Research Office for final approval.	If the proposed research involves human subjects, this signature form, along with ONE copy of the research proposal and Ethical Review Form must be submitted to the Graduate Programs & Research Office for final approval.

IT IS THE STUDENT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE A COPY OF THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL (INCLUDING REVISIONS) TO THE THESIS SUPERVISOR AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

Student's Name: Annamaria Chatzakis

Field of Study: Occasional Teachers

TITLE OF THESIS: Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

DOES THIS RESEARCH INVOLVE THE USE OF HUMAN SUBJECTS: YES ☑ NO ☐

Name of Thesis Supervisor: Katina Pollock

Name(s) of Members of the Thesis Advisory Committee: Julie Byrd Clark

APPROVAL SIGNATURES:

Graduate Student:

Thesis Supervisor:

Advisory Committee: (at least one)

Ethical Review Clearance:

Review #:

Associate Dean (GPR):

A STUDENT MAY PROCEED WITH RESEARCH WHEN A COPY OF THIS FORM CONTAINING ALL APPROVAL SIGNATURES HAS BEEN RECEIVED.

A COPY OF THIS PROPOSAL MAY BE MADE PUBLIC AND KEPT ON A TWO-HOUR RESERVE IN THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION LIBRARY.

The University of Western Ontario *Faculty of Education* *Graduate Programs & Research Office*

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Appendix C: Union Representative Follow-up Email

Hello,

My name is Annamarie Chalikakis and I am a Masters of Education student of the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. I am currently conducting research for my thesis and the main research question is, How do occasional teachers' work arrangements shape their professional identities? I am specifically interested in the work arrangements of daily occasional teaching and Long-term Occasional (LTO) teaching. The title of the study is, "Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements."

I am emailing to ask if you would be interested in supporting my research efforts in order to raise the awareness of occasional teachers' work experiences. I would like to conduct a one-hour interview with four to six occasional teachers who meet all of these criteria:

1. They have completed at least two LTOs that were each at least 97 days long, with at least 15 days of daily occasional teaching in-between these LTOs,
2. They are newer entrants in the profession and have Ontario teaching certification,
3. Their Ontario certification was obtained within the last seven years,
4. They are seeking a permanent teaching position and have never previously held a permanent teaching position, and
5. They have completed occasional teaching in the last four months.

I am wondering if you would be willing to assist me in informing the occasional teacher local union members about my study. Would it be possible for you to send them an email regarding the study?

I am interested in conducting a one-hour interview with up to two union representatives about the work arrangement experiences of occasional teachers. I am particularly interested in interviewing you, if you are available. A time and location that suites you would be arranged for the interview. With your agreement, the interview would be taped. Your identity would be kept confidential with a code replacing your name in the transcript and data analysis. A pseudonym would be used to represent your information in the final report of the study. After the transcribing is completed, you will be sent a copy of the transcript to ensure for the accuracy of your dialogue and any changes can be made as needed.

Anyone interested in participating in the study, including you, can contact me via email. I have enclosed an attachment of the email for the occasional teachers. Would you be interested in supporting this study by forwarding the information to the occasional teacher local union members and/or by completing your own interview? I look forward to your response.

If you have any further questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me at @uwo.ca or 519- - .

Thank you kindly for your time.

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Appendix D: Union Representative
Letter of Information with Informed Consent Form

Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR UNION REPRESENTATIVE

Introduction
My name is Annamarie Chalikakis and I am the researcher conducting this study for a thesis in support of the Masters of Education requirements of the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. The research is focused on the professional identities and work arrangements of occasional teachers and I would like to invite you to participate in the study.

Context of the study
In Canada, one-fifth of the teaching workforce is occasional teachers. The majority of teachers enter the profession through intermittent work as an occasional teacher in the work arrangement of daily occasional teacher or occasional teacher completing a Long-term Occasional (LTO) contract. In the Thames Valley District School Board (TVDSB), a LTO contract begins when more than 10 consecutive days have been taught in the same classroom. Even though occasional teaching is a key entry point into the teaching profession, little is known about this entry process and how it influences occasional teachers' professional identities. Despite their clear presence in education, occasional teachers are a periphery teaching group relative to permanent teachers and research revealing the experiences of occasional teachers is limited.

Purpose of the study
The aim of this research is to gain insight on how the professional identities of elementary occasional teachers may be influenced by the different work arrangements that they find themselves in.

Participants of the study
In order to participate in the study, you must be a TVDSB occasional teacher union representative for the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO). You must work closely with occasional teachers and be well-informed about their teaching practices, work arrangements, collective union agreements, and professional development. Up to two union representatives will be invited to participate in the study.

Your participation
If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a one-hour interview at a location and time of your convenience. The interview questions will be focused on work conditions, professional identities, professional development, and support services associated with occasional teachers.

Confidentiality
The information collected from the interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. All information collected will be kept confidential. To ensure confidentiality of the information, codes only known to the researcher will be used in the transcripts. The codes will replace your name and prevent any association with information which could identify you. Your coded responses will be forwarded to you by mail or email to confirm their accuracy and any necessary changes will be applied.

Use of the information will be limited to research purposes and only the researcher will have access to the raw data (transcripts, tapes, and official documents) and codes in a locked cabinet within a locked office.

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Your information will be identified by code for the data analysis and afterwards it will be represented with pseudonyms in any publication or presentation of the results. A copy of the results will be provided for you. Upon completion of the study, the interview tapes will be destroyed and the coded transcripts will be stored in locked files for two years until also being destroyed.

Risks & Benefits
There are no known risks to participating in this study. Benefits to participating in this study include that more will be known about occasional teachers' work arrangements as well as identities and the role of union representatives in supporting their occasional teacher members. Insights shared by the union representatives will reveal a technical component to understanding the experiences of occasional teachers.

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 without any explanation or adverse outcomes. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, any information you provided will be destroyed.

More Information
If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Manager, Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario at 519- - or @uwo.ca. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at 519- - or @uwo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Katina Pollock at 519- - (ext.) or @uwo.ca. This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

[Signature]
Annamarie Chalikakis

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Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

Name of Researcher: Annamarie Chalikakis
The Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario

CONSENT FORM

Name of Union Representative Participant: _____

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.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent: _____

Date: _____

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Appendix E: Union Representative Interview Questions

Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

A. Demographics

1. Can you tell me about your role in the union?
   Probe for:
   a) How do you deal directly with occasional teachers?

B. Work Conditions for Occasional Teachers

1. How are daily occasional and LTO work conditions different from each other?
   Probe for:
   a) Differences in professional identity, notion of respect, professional development, work arrangements, benefits, pay, and work frequency

C. Occasional Teacher Professional Identity

1. Are occasional teachers judged based on their level of daily occasional and LTO experience?
   Probe for:
   a) Is one arrangement considered better than the other?

2. How do you believe occasional teachers in daily occasional and LTO work view themselves professionally?
   Probe for:
   a) Level of job satisfaction in each arrangement
   b) How valuable they feel in each arrangement

3. Does there appear to be a difference in the teaching confidence levels of occasional teachers who have completed LTOs compared to those who have not?

D. Issues of Concern for Occasional Teachers

1. What are some common concerns that occasional teachers express to the union local?
   Probe for:
   a) Level of voice in the profession
   b) Treatment by others within the school system
   c) Access to daily occasional and LTO work

E. Occasional Teacher Professional Development (PD)

1. What PD does the union local offer to its occasional teachers?
   Probe for:
   a) Differences in access to PD between occasional teachers doing daily occasional versus LTO work

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F. Support Services for Occasional Teachers

1. What support services are offered to occasional teachers by the union local?
   Probe for:
   a) Services that could impact how they view themselves professionally
   b) Upcoming contract negotiations attempting to positively influence how they view themselves professionally

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Appendix F: Occasional Teacher Participant Recruitment Letter Email

Hello,

My name is Annamarie Chalikakis and I am currently conducting a study towards the completion of my Masters of Education at the Faculty of Education of The University of Western Ontario. The title of the study is, "Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements." The aim of this research is to gain insight on how the professional identities of occasional teachers may be influenced by the different work arrangements that they find themselves in. I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

In order to be a participant in the study, you must be an elementary occasional teacher in the Thames Valley District School Board (TVDSB) and meet the following criteria:

1. You have completed at least two LTOs that were each at least 97 days long, with at least 15 days of daily occasional teaching in-between these LTOs,
2. You are a newer entrant in the profession and have Ontario teaching certification,
3. Your Ontario certification was obtained within the last seven years,
4. You are seeking a permanent teaching position and have never previously held a permanent teaching position, and
5. You have completed occasional teaching in the last four months.

Participation in the study is voluntary and would involve an hour-long interview at a location and time of your convenience. If you wish to end your commitment to the study, you may withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. The interview questions will be focused on perceptions of your professional identity and your work arrangement experiences with daily occasional and LTO work.

The information collected from the interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. To ensure confidentiality of the information, codes only known to the researcher will be used in the transcripts. The codes will replace your name and prevent any association with information which could identify you. Your information will be represented by code for the data analysis and afterwards it will be represented with pseudonyms in any publication or presentation of the study's results.

This research is important, as it will make a contribution to the minimal academic literature that exists on occasional teachers. It will provide an avenue for occasional teachers to voice their experiences and contribute to the further development of resources for occasional teachers.

If you are interested in participating in my study or have any questions, please email me at
@uwo.ca.

I look forward to hearing from you!

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Appendix G: Occasional Teacher
Letter of Information with Informed Consent Form

Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

LETTER OF INFORMATION FOR OCCASIONAL TEACHERS

Introduction
My name is Annamarie Chalikakis and I am the researcher conducting this study for a thesis in support of the Masters of Education requirements of the Faculty of Education at The University of Western Ontario. The research is focused on the professional identities and work arrangements of occasional teachers and I would like to invite you to participate in the study.

Context of the study
In Canada, one-fifth of the teaching workforce is occasional teachers. The majority of teachers enter the profession through intermittent work as an occasional teacher in the work arrangement of daily occasional teacher or occasional teacher completing a Long-term Occasional (LTO) contract. In the Thames Valley District School Board (TVDSB), a LTO contract begins when more than 10 consecutive days have been taught in the same classroom. Even though occasional teaching is a key entry point into the teaching profession, little is known about this entry process and how it influences occasional teachers' professional identities. Despite their clear presence in education, occasional teachers are a periphery teaching group relative to permanent teachers and research revealing the experiences of occasional teachers is limited.

Purpose of the study
The aim of this research is to gain insight on how the professional identities of elementary occasional teachers may be influenced by the different work arrangements that they find themselves in.

Participants of the study
In order to participate in the study, you must be an English-speaking TVDSB elementary occasional teacher who has completed at least two LTOs that were each at least 97 days long with at least 15 days of daily occasional teaching in-between these LTOs. At least two of the LTOs must have been completed at different schools. You must be a newer entrant in the teaching profession and have Ontario teaching certification that was obtained within the last seven years. You must be seeking a permanent teaching position and have never previously held a permanent teaching position. Also, you must have completed occasional teaching in the last four months. Approximately four to six occasional teachers will be invited to participate in the study.

Internationally educated teachers are not being considered in the study, as they often have prior permanent teaching experience in their countries of original certification. In addition, career occasional teachers and retired teachers doing occasional teaching will not be considered due to their lack of interest in obtaining a permanent teaching position.

Your participation
If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a one-hour interview at a location and time of your convenience. The interview questions will be focused on the professional identities, work arrangements, and professional development of occasional teachers.

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Confidentiality
The information collected from the interviews will be tape-recorded and transcribed. All information collected will be kept confidential. To ensure confidentiality of the information, codes only known to the researcher will be used in the transcripts. The codes will replace your name and prevent any association with information which could identify you. Your coded responses will be forwarded to you by mail or email to confirm their accuracy and any necessary changes will be applied.

Use of the information will be limited to research purposes and only the researcher will have access to the raw data (transcripts, tapes, and official documents) and codes in a locked cabinet within a locked office. Your information will be identified by code for the data analysis and afterwards it will be represented with pseudonyms in any publication or presentation of the results. A copy of the results will be provided for you. Upon completion of the study, the interview tapes will be destroyed and the coded transcripts will be stored in locked files for two years until also being destroyed.

Risks & Benefits
There are no known risks to participating in this study. Benefits to participating in this study include that more will be known about occasional teachers' work arrangement experiences and identities, which would assist in acknowledging these teachers as a meaningful group to further understand.

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 without any explanation or adverse outcomes. Should you choose to withdraw from the study, any information you provided will be destroyed.

More Information
If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant you may contact the Manager, Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario at 519- - or @uwo.ca. If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact me at 519- - or @uwo.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Katina Pollock at 519- - (ext.) or @uwo.ca. This letter is yours to keep for future reference.

[Signature]
Annamarie Chalikakis

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Occasional Teachers' Professional Identities and their Work Arrangements

Name of Researcher: Annamarie Chalikakis
The Faculty of Education, The University of Western Ontario

CONSENT FORM

Name of Occasional Teacher Participant: _____

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.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name of Person Obtaining Informed Consent: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent: _____

Date: _____

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Appendix H: Occasional Teacher Interview Questions

Interview Questions for Occasional Teacher Participants

A. Demographics

1. To start the interview, can you please tell me about your teaching career?
   Probe for:
   1. How long have you been an occasional teacher?
   2. Are you currently doing daily or Long-term Occasional (LTO) teaching?
   3. Roughly, how many days have you taught as a daily occasional teacher?
   4. How many LTOs have you done?
      Probe deeper:
      a) Can you tell me more about the LTOs?
         Probe deeper:
         i) When did you do the LTOs?
         ii) Were they part or full-time?

B. Situating Occasional Teaching

1. What is the difference between daily occasional and LTO teaching?
   Probe for any differences in terms of:
   a) Work expectations
   b) Treatment from students, administration, secretaries, and permanent teachers
   c) Interactions with parents
   d) Personal job satisfaction

C. Self and Others' Perceptions of Professional Teacher Identity

1. Compare how you feel about yourself professionally when you are doing daily occasional and LTO work.
   Probe for:
   a) Which work arrangement do you prefer and why?
   b) How confident do you feel in each arrangement?
   c) How much do you feel your skills, knowledge, and experience are being used in each arrangement?
   d) What sense of belonging in a school do you have in each arrangement?

2. Let us now consider how others view you. Compare how you think the public sees you when you are doing daily occasional and LTO work.
   Probe for:
   a) How do students, administrators, secretaries, and permanent teachers see you in each arrangement?
   b) How capable are you viewed as being in each work arrangement?
   c) Which work arrangement do you feel is more valued and why?

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3. Describe your transition from daily occasional to LTO work and from LTO to daily occasional work.
   Probe for:
   a) A sense of moving ahead or behind in teaching
   b) How important daily occasional and LTO work are in professional development

4. Do you feel like you are treated differently within a school when you are doing daily occasional teaching compared to LTO teaching?
   Probe for:
   a) What it is like to do daily occasional teaching in a school where LTO work was completed compared to a school where LTO work was not completed

D. Professional Development (PD)

1. How have your PD experiences influenced how you see yourself as a professional?
   Probe for:
   a) How much access there is to PD in daily occasional work compared to LTO work

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