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AUTHOR Young, Beth; Grieve, Kathy
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ABSTRACT

An increasing proportion of Canadian teachers is employed part-time. In order to explore some of the day-to-day realities of part-time teaching and some of the politics and ideologies giving rise to those realities, this study described and compared the enactment of three types of "reduced-work" employment policies for teachers in an Alberta school district. Data were derived from semistructured interviews with a total of 30 teachers, administrators, and teacher-association representatives who were involved in implementing one or more of the three different reduced-work policies. Two-thirds of the sample were teachers (most of them women). This paper focuses on two types of part-time employment arrangements, examines the motivations for engaging in those arrangements, and discusses the informal negotiations associated with them. The two employment arrangements included: (1) one in wh ch the amount of time was left largely to administrative discretion (arrangement A); and (2) one that allowed full-time continuing teachers to negotiate a part-time assignment for a defined period of time (arrangement B). Many of the female teachers chose part-time teaching in order to create personal space in which they could fulfill family and domestic responsibilities. Teachers in general also chose part-time employment in order to make career transitions and to create professional space. Both teachers and administrators frequently expressed concerns about students and program needs as the deciding factor in negotiations at various levels. However, they defined these needs differently. Teachers repeatedly pointed to the importance of their supervising administrators' attitudes in determining whether or not any negotiation would occur. In addition, gender played a role in teachers' motivations and the negotiation process. A key distinction between the two part-time work arrangements was the degree of negotiability. Women who wanted to work part-time because of family responsibilities had very different options. The contrast underscores the career penalty that women pay for taking on family responsibilities. (Contains 38 references.) (LMI)

Negotiating Time: Reduced Work Employment Arrangements for Teachers

Work-in-Progress

Beth Young and Kathy Grieve

University of Alberta

DRAFT

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Abstract

An increasing proportion of Canadian teachers is employed part time. In order to explore some of the day-to-day realities of living out this trend, as well as some of the politics and ideologies giving rise to those realities, we have conducted a study that describes and compares the enactment of three types of "reduced work" employment policies for teachers in one Alberta school district. Using semi-structured interviews, we have sought the perspectives of 30 teachers, administrators, and teacher association representatives. Each of them is involved in the implementation of one or more of these three different policies. We have documented their views on the advantages and disadvantages (personal, educational/professional and organizational) of the policies.

In this paper, we focus on two types of part-time employment arrangements. We discuss the theme, "Negotiating Time," by linking two subthemes -- Motivations, Negotiations -- that we have discerned in our interview data. We also begin to explore how micropolitical analysis might be helpful to our understanding of the relation between these subthemes and various assumptions about professionalism, gender, and work.

Introduction

In a trend that echoes changes in the structure of the wider labor market, an increasing proportion of Canadian teachers is employed part time and over 90% of those teachers are women. Two different but overlapping aspects of this trend are pertinent here. One aspect reflects more opportunities for optional "reduced work" [1] employment arrangements. The teachers who opt for those arrangements are most often women teachers seeking some flexibility to reconcile the multiplying demands of their professional and domestic responsibilities, as they - and significant others - interpret those responsibilities (e.g. Apple, 1983; Acker, 1995; Bilden, 1986; Young, 1992). A second aspect of the trend reflects reduced opportunities to obtain (or regain, in some cases) the traditional sort of full-time continuing employment. Fewer such jobs are on offer as employing school districts seek to increase their staffing flexibility and lower their fixed staffing costs (unpublished interview data). Both aspects of the overall restructuring of employment have been widely discussed and debated for some years and from many different perspectives (e.g. Broad, 1991; Negrey, 1994; White, 1983).

However, we cannot discover any systematic and sustained scholarly attention directed toward this phenomenon as it pertains to Canadian public school teachers. What are the day-to-day realities of living out this trend, and what politics and ideologies engender those realities? Our focus is the web of informal negotiations between individuals and their ideological origins (Foster, 1995) and contexts (Ball & Goodson, 1985).

The Study

Our exploratory study describes and compares the enactment of two types of "reduced work"[2] employment policies for teachers in one Alberta school district. Each policy enables a different type of reduced-work arrangement -- one for part-time employment with the amount of time left largely to administrative discretion (arrangement A) and one that allows full-time continuing teachers to negotiate a part-time assignment for a defined period of time (arrangement B). The first policy provides something akin to market-driven "old concept" part-time work (Negrey, 1994, p. 13), because the teachers have minimal control over their hours of work and their teaching schedules. The second policy could be regarded as enabling voluntary, "new concept" part-time work (Negrey, 1994, p. 13), because teachers have more power to negotiate their work arrangements.

The concurrent implementation of the two different policy approaches to reduced work is a significant feature of this district, because it permits comparative analysis of these policies and their interaction. This school jurisdiction has therefore provided a fruitful site for the identification of issues around the negotiations and negotiability of reduced work arrangements at the micro level. Moreover, the inclusion of administrators as study participants broadens the range of perspectives that is being explored.

Following a constant comparative approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1994), we have sought the perspectives of teachers and administrators who are involved in the implementation of different types of reduced work arrangements. About 30 people have participated in semi-structured audio-taped interviews. Two-thirds of these participants are teachers (most of them women), some of them employed under each of the different reduced-work policies in the district. The

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[1] Negrey (1994) uses the term "reduced work" to refer to those forms of paid employment, such as part time and job or work sharing, that involve a reduction in the overall hours of paid compared to the full-time continuing employment arrangements that have been regarded as normative in the past few decades. White (1993, p. 119) defines part-time work as "part-week work, including both regular and casual work of less than the usual full-time weekly hours of work."

[2] The employment arrangements we are studying are all "part-week work," which are specific forms of "reduced work." The employment contracts themselves may be temporary (i.e. for a specified period of time) or continuing (i.e. tenured employment), and the hours of employment are, under one policy, variable at the discretion of administrators, but on a semester to semester rather than a daily or weekly basis.

remaining one-third are administrators (school site and central office) who have supervised or are supervising the implementation of the District's various reduced-work arrangements.

The interviews were conducted in the spring and the fall of 1995, almost always at the schools where the study participants were on staff. Each person was interviewed once only. We are the only ones who know who has actually been interviewed. The purpose of the interviews was to learn how those who participate in, organize or administer "reduced work" arrangements regard and experience such situations. We invited each individual's views about the perceived advantages and disadvantages (personal, educational/professional and organizational) of each of the three specific reduced work alternatives as those currently exist both in policy and in practice within the cooperating school district. The taped interviews and verbatim transcriptions of them are our primary data source. We are in the early stages of analysis and member checking.

All 32 participants were employed by one medium-sized public school district, located in an affluent urban-satellite community. The district has an enrolment of approximately 6000 students and over 350 professional staff. Twenty teachers were interviewed (17 female, 3 male). They represent roughly 1/5 of the district's teachers who are employed on part-time contracts. The female/male breakdown of teachers interviewed is roughly proportionate to that for part-time teachers in this district. The teachers were all employed on one or another of the different part-time arrangements. They taught in various types and sizes of schools, that is, elementary, junior high, elementary-junior high and high schools, and at many different grade levels. All of the principals in the district were offered an interview and 10 principals, or 4/5 of the administrators agreed to participate. Seven of the eleven male principals were interviewed and all 3 of the female principals. In addition, 3 participants were central office personnel, 2 female and 1 male.

Alberta Context

Newly implemented provincial government cutbacks have profoundly affected public schooling (Peters & Richards, 1995). Between 1993 and 1996, the province reduced funding for K-12 education by 15%. All public employees, including teachers, agreed to an involuntary 5% salary reduction which was calculated into annual grants to school boards. The boards were not permitted to compensate for the cutback by raising local property taxes. In addition, funding for early childhood education was decreased by half. Other provincial government policy changes had an impact on school administration. Districts have been consolidated and the government has insisted on the devolution of many powers and politics to individual school sites.

Existing Alberta legislation gives employing school districts and their administrators unusual latitude (Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1989) concerning temporary (School Act, 1994, s 82) and part-time (School Act, 1994, s 84) employment contracts. The part time, s 84 contract (what we're referring to as Arrangement A) pre-dates the current provincial government and states:

> When the Board employs a teacher on a part-time contract of employment, the Board may, unless that teacher's contract provides otherwise, vary the amount of time that the teacher is required to teach in the subsequent semester or school year [anywhere in a range from .1 to .9 FTE].

This means that for teachers on those part time contracts, there is no right to receive similar FTE assignments from year to year or to move from full time to part time or the reverse. This legislation is not constrained by collective agreements in this province. Only in 1993 did the Alberta Teachers' Association pass a policy (1994, 5.B.17) urging that the School Act be changed to reduce that latitude.

In 1994, several boards (including the one where our study is situated) introduced policies enabling full time continuing contract teachers to negotiate part time employment without loosing their full time status. These agreements specify the amount of time that the teacher will teach and the duration of the part time agreement (what we're referring to as Arrangement B). However, these arrangements are not part of the collective agreement.

The intensity of the current financial pressures on Alberta's public schools (Peters & Richards, 1995) does seem to have increased the acceptability of both voluntary and involuntary reduced-work approaches to employment. In these circumstances, school administrators, teachers, parents, and employing school districts need and want more detailed information about

"successful" or fair reduced-work arrangements, arrangements which benefit students and their teachers, schools and their administrators

Statistics About Part-Time Teachers

In 1988-89, part time teachers represented 9.6% of Canada's kindergarten to grade 12/13 educators (Statistics Canada, 1993). By 1992, part-time teachers in Canadian schools constituted 12 % of the teaching force, the effect of a 30 % increase in their numbers over the preceding five years (Statistics Canada, 1993). These percentages represent national averages and provincial proportions vary.

This trend is intensifying in the province of Alberta, where part-time teachers constituted 14.5% of the teaching force by 1994-95, a 37% increase over the past five years. Of these teachers, 92% were women (Alberta Education, 1995; Statistics Canada, 1993). The proportions of male and female teachers in the overall teacher workforce remained about steady at 67-68% female, during this same period (Alberta Education, 1995).

Motivations

Overall, the motivations for engaging in part-time employment arrangements that were stated by participants in our study are similar to motives already documented in research about part-time employment. All part-time employment arrangements for teachers in this and other Alberta public school districts are at the discretion of school and district administrators. Given their determining role with respect to the negotiability of reduced work arrangements, it seems important to consider what principals note as their own motives for supporting or engaging in reduced work arrangements, what teachers' motives they regard as acceptable grounds for making such arrangements, and how those compare with teachers' stated motives for engaging in reduced work arrangements.

The teachers in this study expressed a number of motives for choosing, or accepting, part time employment as teachers. The motives varied with the individual and between groups of individuals with differing types of circumstances. Even so, the espoused motives might be divided into three, not entirely distinct, categories. The teachers indicated that working part time rather than full time helped them to create needed or desired personal space or professional space in their lives, or it helped them to effect various life transitions. Individual teachers often had several motives, or their motives shifted with time and circumstances. That is, although one motive might be primary or most pressing at a certain time, other unforeseen benefits or anticipated benefits might also become valued motivations once they were experienced.

The principals' motives for offering or agreeing to part-time teaching arrangements in their schools were sometimes, but not always, complementary to the motives articulated by the teachers. These school administrators liked the staffing flexibility that could be achieved through the use of part-time teachers, flexibility that was responsive to fluctuating program needs, student enrolments, and funding. They also wanted to be responsive to their veteran staff members' needs while bringing in new teachers who could contribute fresh ideas and energy to the life of the school. And, they acknowledged that part-time teachers generally provided proportionately more service for the money than their full-time colleagues.

When asked about the benefits of part-time employment to the teachers concerned, the principals' responses emphasized certain motives on the part of those teachers. They seemed to find those motives most acceptable as reasons for teachers to seek or accept part-time assignments.

Following are three sub-themes that illustrate types of motivations, as identified by teachers and principals in this study. The first is women teachers' often-mentioned motivation of creating personal space to fulfill family responsibilities. The second demonstrates some teachers' strategy for creating more professional space for themselves and others. And the third speaks to the use of part-time employment by individual teachers to effect transitions into full-time employment or retirement and its use by employing principals to act as a buffer for fluctuating enrolments.

Family Responsibilities

Many of the women who were study participants chose part-time teaching as a way of creating personal space in order to fulfill family and domestic responsibilities, especially child care. These women had often held full-time continuing contracts as teachers with the District before moving to part time under [School Act] s. 84 provisions; more recently, some of the women have had and exercised their option to move to part time under the district's job sharing and "new" [term-certain] part time policies. None of these women made problematic their role as primary care-giver for their families, although some did remark that they were fortunate to be financially able to forego full-time salaries.

Both the teachers and the principals who participated in the study took for granted that female teachers would be motivated to work part time for domestic reasons . Indeed, two teachers characterized the female part-time teachers as the district's "very large part-time lady workforce." They were among the few study participants to initiate comment on the phenomenon. When asked, the principals could not recall any male teachers who had worked part time in order to fulfill their family responsibilities. Nor were we able to locate any such men in this school district.

According to other available research, part-time work arrangements may be beneficial for teachers who need or want time to fulfil other responsibilities or pursue other interests. The teachers who opt for those arrangements are most often women, and they are seeking some flexibility to reconcile the multiplying demands of their professional and domestic responsibilities, as they - and significant others in their lives - interpret those responsibilities (e.g. Apple, 1983; Acker, 1995; Biklen, 1986; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Hargreaves, 1994; White, 1983; Young, 1992). Indeed, feminist scholars have often called for more flexible employment arrangements that acknowledge and accommodate personal/domestic responsibilities as well as professional ones, for both women and men (e.g. Acker, 1995; Grant, 1989; Young, 1992). However, if it is only women who take up part-time paid work for the reasons just described, then their doing so reinforces the established sexual division of labour as a social structure. Not only is it women who exercise that "option" but it is an activity that involves caring (providing direct caregiving) for others, again a traditionally acceptable role for women. These "choices" sustain a particular gendered interpretation of what "family responsibilities" are, and of how they differ, for women and for men. Practice thus supports the traditional gender order rather than transforming it (Connell, 1987; Negrey, 1994). A significant dimension of the gender regime (Connell, 1987) of the district and schools in our study is made evident in this pattern, in which the ideology of the good mother is taken for granted by teachers and administrators alike (Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 350-351).

Job Intensification

A number of teachers indicated that working part time helped them create the professional space to do their jobs without compromising their own standards of professionalism (see also Hargreaves, 1994, pp. 126-128). These teachers valued having more time for mental recuperation from today's demanding school and classroom situations. Because of ever-increasing workloads, some teachers saw themselves as "buying" more preparation time by reducing their teaching assignments (and their pay) to a fraction slightly below a full-time load. In some cases, the reduction allowed them to exercise greater control over the specifics of their teaching assignments, such as teaching schedule and subjects/courses. Creating professional space also had the effect of reducing stress, according to the teachers.

While these motives were emphasized by several teachers, they were acknowledged much less often by the administrators in our study. When asked, many of the principals addressed the stress reduction rather than the job intensification (Acker, 1994; Apple, 1983; Hargreaves, 1994) or job enlargment (Brannon, 1994) aspects of this issue. Indeed, one administrator strongly disputed the "buying prep time" notion, in spite of admissions that work loads, especially in subjects that involve marking a lot of written assignments are increasing. This principal saw the workload as a predictable consequence of an individual's (informed) choice to teach in that area. His negative reaction was in marked contrast to his eagerness to accommodate teachers' needs for flexibility related to family responsibilities. Another principal dismissed even the stress-reduction motive with a comment that anyone who finds teaching stressful full time probably isn't suited to teaching at all, and won't be much better off once having gone part time.

In general, then, principals did not legitimize the concerns about professional space and standards that were expressed by many teachers in the study. The administrators did often invoke the language of professionalism when speaking about their expectations of teachers (and sometimes their expectations of part-time teachers in particular). However, opting for reduced work was more usually construed as "unprofessional" or a sign of inadequacy or inability to cope with change, in much the same way that seeking counselling through employee assistance programs may be regarded (Tucker, 1995). One principal who provided a refreshing contrast to this pattern noted that if he were to return to the classroom himself on a full-time basis, he would privately hire an assistant to help him with marking. A few others indicated that new teachers who were hired on part-time contracts found that to be an advantage, because they were better able to cope with the demands as they got started. Still others pointed out that their own jobs as school-site administrators were becoming more complex and pressured as well, with the increased use of part-time staff contributing to the intensification of their work.

The teachers and the principals used a common language and ideology of professionalism to define rather different realities. In this instance, where teachers and principals' constructions of the issue conflict, it is the principals who have the power to impose their definitions (Hargreaves, 1994; Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 351). Many appeared to be quite willing to invoke that power, by validating teachers' reduced-work motives related to family responsibilities but not their motives related to gaining some control over demanding and deteriorating working conditions (e.g. ATA, 1993; Edmonton Public Teachers, 1996).

Transitions and Buffers

Some study participants were teaching part time as a transitional measure. A number of teachers accepted part-time employment (arrangement A) because it was the only teaching employment available. They hoped that it would lead eventually to a full-time teaching contract in that district. Others requested part time arrangements as they prepared for retirement or another career (arrangement B). These two motivations for working part time were identified and accepted by both teachers and administrators. However, it was usually teachers who pointed out a third motivation related to transitions. That is, some full-time continuing teachers were opting for part time under arrangement B in order to share the available employment with new teachers who would not otherwise have any opportunity to get employment in teaching.

While principals acknowledged that taking part-time employment did afford teachers a "way in" to the district, they indicated that the traditional pathway from part time contracts to full time continuing employment would not be open to very many new (or returning) teachers in the forseeable future. Several principals were troubled because they would not be able or willing to reward their hard-working, cooperative part-time staff members with the secure full-time positions those teachers were seeking.

On the other hand, the principals spoke of wanting to employ teachers part time (and on temporary rather than continuing contracts) in order to have greater flexibility to meet program needs and respond to fluctuating enrolments in times of severely reduced funding, while also being freer to bring in well qualified specialists. Principals liked having more staff members around to share in the worklife of the school. They also saw new part-time staff members as a source of energy and fresh ideas, a means to some organizational renewal. And they observed that most part-timers, whether veteran or newcomer, contributed proportionately more as professionals than did full-timers, because they had more unassigned time to give to their work. They saw part-time and temporary full-time appointments as the way of the future. Although they could no longer reward excellent performance in the traditional manner, some were relishing the challenges and changes they saw in the ways that schools and employment in schools might be organized.

Viewed from the employer's perspective, part-time employment contracts may be used by schools and school districts to reduce personnel costs and/or increase staffing flexibility, sharing around the available work to include new and specially qualified teachers (Kumar, 1978; Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1989; Mitchell, 1986). As a result, fewer traditional, full-time continuing jobs are available (Broad, 1991; Handy 1990; Negrey, 1994). Reduced-work arrangements afford administrators the flexibility of a buffer zone for responding to fluctuations in enrolment and program demands without increasing the core of employees who are guaranteed full-time

continuing employment (Handy, 1990; Negrey, 1994; Sparke, 1994). This approach has particular appeal at a time when financial resources are dramatically reduced .

These school administrators are engaging in a form of "uncertainty absorption" (March & Simon, 1958 cited in Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 351). They are making "one-case-at-a-time microalterations" to existing patterns and structures (Marshall & Scribner, 1991, p. 351) at their school sites. The adjustments enable the inhabitants of the school to carry on from day to day, but . . . do not directly address any larger questions about the structure of schooling or schools as workplaces. Concurrently, the principals' language reflects and reproduces two contemporary, sometimes conflicting but largely uncontested assumptions in our province. One is that "program needs" or "student preferences" dictate staffing decisions. The other is that decreased and fluctuating funding is the determining force. These two apparently disparate rationales are mediated through the use of part-time, temporary staffing. That resolution reflects, in turn, the new orthodoxy about organizational "flexibility" in the postmodern era (Hargreaves, 1994).

Negotiations

In the highly politicized local school environments (Ball & Bowe, 1991) depicted by many of the principals (and some teachers) in our study, much depends on informal rather than formal negotiations. Most of these occur at the school rather than the district level. School principals are continually faced with mediating a variety of complex and often conflicting demands (Ball & Bowe, 1991; Levin, 1993; Peters & Richards, 1995).

The very timetabling of teaching assignments and other events within the school becomes both symbol and concrete image of the micropolitics of the school. Students, parents, the school district, and the provincial government have expectations that various (specialized) courses, programs, and services will be offered and that staff and program continuity and other "community standards" will be met in the process. These demands are voiced regardless of existing constraints related to the human and financial resources that are available. Meanwhile, teachers each have their own needs and preferences regarding types of contractual arrangements and the nature and timing of their assignments in the context of those arrangements. It is the principals who are faced with mediating these multiple demands while organizing the school with the "best interests of students" in mind, however those interests are construed (Walker, 1995).

Both teachers and administrators returned frequently to concerns about students and program needs as the deciding factor in negotiations at various levels. In some cases, defining what that meant was also a matter for negotiation, since such definitions are often contested. The parameters are established explicitly, most often, through an administrative determination of "program needs." The content of those "needs" is influenced variously by cooperative planning with or pressure from sub-groups staff, parents, and students (Ball, 1987; Blase, 1989). Those "program needs" then become an objectified rationale for staffing decisions (cf. Walker, 1995). While the language of "program needs" infers the use of professional judgement, the person with the power to impose his/her interpretation of program needs through timetabling and staffing decisions is the principal, not the teachers. Thus the control over programming and staffing is vested in the hierarchical position of the principal, rather than in the professional community as a whole, or in the collective power of teachers as workers (Ball, 1987).

Who has power in these situations? In this study, we have seen that power is continually being negotiated and re-negotiated at each school-site (Ball, 1987). This process occurs between and among principals, parents, full-time continuing teachers, teachers working under arrangement B, part-time teachers with in-demand specialist preparation, and, finally students and part-time teachers working under arrangement A. The power moves around.

Especially for part-time teachers, whether under either arrangement A or B, the overall parameters of the negotations are set by the administrator(s) rather than by the teacher(s). The micro-politics of timetabling (Hargreaves, 1994) and staffing negotiations between principals and teachers - and sometimes teachers and teachers - may promote acquiescent and ingratiating behaviour (Blase, 1989) on the part of those teachers who have little power to affect the conditions of their employment.

The teachers we interviewed -- and many had long part-time employment experience with the district and even in a particular school -- repeatedly pointed to the importance of their supervising administrator's attitude. Indeed, under existing policy provisions (provincial legislation, district

policy, local collective agreements), the administrator's attitude determines whether or not there will be any negotiation at all. The principals clearly had and were prepared at times to exercise the power of their "pocket vetos" (Iannaccone cited in Marshall & Scribner, 1991). Teachers repeatedly articulated their awareness of this power differential.

Those who were happy with the specifics of their arrangements were quick to credit their principals with a supportive interest in accommodating the teachers' expressed needs and preferences. While this hardly seems surprising, the importance of something that amounts to benevolence on the part of the administrator implicitly reinforces the power differentials between principal and teacher concerning the conditions of the teacher's worklife. These women teachers were quite unwittingly conjuring up the image of the "benevolent patriarch." Because these teachers had the right motive for wanting to work part time, the more traditional school principals worked hard to accommodate their preferences. In return, the teachers work very hard to justify this consideration.

These arrangements take for granted the rationale of the traditional gender order (Connell, 1987). It was assumed that women teachers who were employed on full-time continuing contracts would forfeit them in exchange for reduced-work arrangments (arrangement A) when they became mothers. The teachers expressed gratitude for kindness within the context of this gendered employment structure (Sparke, 1994), because the "option" of working part time rather than full time was an important convenience in their lives. In every respect, then, practice reinforced the traditional gender regime of the school district (Connell, 1987).

In a quite different micropolitical process, new teachers contracted under part-time arrangement A were engaging in various strategies to secure their own continued or increased employment. They were marketing themselves, and particular courses and programs. Recruiting more students was one marketing goal. The idea was to attract adequate enrolment, so that the accumulated per pupil funding would be sufficient to justify the teacher's salary. A second goal was to impress the principal. Principals themselves commented that new teachers would "do anything...wash your car if you'd let them" to distinguish themselves as desirable employees. These teachers were "extra milers" (Blase, 1989, p. 120), taking on extra-curricular responsiblities well beyond those the principal assigned, to the point where some principals spoke of urging the newcomers to curtail their activities. Some of these newcomers were actually hired to fulfill roles as "stars," specialists in high visibility areas (Blase, 1989, p. 121), whose job was to give the school a positive profile in those activities. Principals expressed some ambivalence about the disproportionate amount of time and effort these teachers contributed, but they also invoked the language of competitive professionalism to justify the job intensification that these teachers were enacting (Acker, 1994; Apple, 1983).

As is the case generally with hiring decisions, some teachers with sought-after specialist qualifications are in a stronger negotiating position than other teachers because there is a "market" for their skills. For those teachers, at least two parameters of the negotiation are evident. One is the extent of the school's need (as interpreted by the principal) for those specialist services. A second is the teacher's willingness or availability to provide those services and, perhaps, others at times and under conditions that the principal considers acceptable.

One principal provided this example. The principal sought the services of a qualified elementary-school counsellor, but could only afford to buy those services for a few hours each week. As is typical in these situations, the counsellor was "shared" by several schools, each paying for a few hours. Recently, those schools found that they are also "sharing" the counsellor with a private counselling business. The counsellor needed more income than the schools, jointly, could offer. So this principal and the counsellor negotiated a rather complex schedule. They attempted to accommodate the counsellor's need to put together several jobs in her specialization providing the equivalent of one full-time income. Because the principal was committed to having a qualified counsellor on staff, she negotiated away some of her usual employment conditions, such as regular attendance at staff meetings and a share of supervison duties. Other staff members, in turn, contested that agreement as special treatment. The principal then had to negotiate an understanding with the rest of the staff.

A key dimension for comparison between part-time work arrangements A and B is their "negotiability." There are important differences between the two policies in the amounts and types of negotiability that are even hypothetically available to the teacher and the principal. While arrangement B is voluntary on the part of the teacher, the same cannot be presumed for arrangement A. As well, there are complex interactions and unanticipated consequences when

the two policies are being enacted concurrently on one school site. For example, the introduction and use of arrangment B affects the scope of negotiability available to those on arrangment A , because the specifics of an arrangement B will be negotiated first. An especially embittering version of this is now being played out between women. These are women who share the same motive for voluntarily entering into part-time arrangements. The motive is "family responsiblities," but the arrangements available to them are very different. Some women teachers are now able to take advantage of arrangement B. Other women in the same school are stuck in arrangement A because B was not available when they opted for part time. The contrast underscores the career penalty that so many women have paid for taking on "family responsibilities."

Conclusion

Our study presents the experiences of some teachers and principals involved inpart-time employment arrangements. In this paper, we have examined certain motivations that those teachers and principals have expressed for engaging in part-time teaching arrangments, and we have discussed the informal negotiations associated with those arrangements. The negotiations regarding part time arrangements illustrated rather vividly the internal labour market of district schools. There may be similar negotiations between full time continuing teachers and their principals about the details of their assignments, but for those teachers the right to full-time employment is protected. For part-timers, employment itself may be at stake.

The title of our paper, "Negotiating Time," is meant to signal the importance both of time and of negotiations. We have tried to show some of the ideological "origins" (Foster, 1995) of the micropolitics in the situations described. We have queried certain taken-for-granted assumptions (Capper, 1993) in the discourses of the teachers and of the administrators, respectively. And we have looked at some ways that power moves around [Ball, 1987] in these negotiations and re-negotiations. We have made apparent the gendered construction and the construction of gender that is being played out in the micropolitics of these motivations and negotiations. In these ways we have attempted to show some of the many levels and layers involved in negotiating time.

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