Emotional Labour and the Permanent Casual Lecturer: Ideas for a Research Project

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Like most other parts of the Australian public sector, Australian universities have been required to do more with less over the past decade. A key strategy in reducing costs has been the increased casualisation of teaching. This paper uses a hard/soft model of Human Resource Management as a framework within which to argue that increased casualisation of university teaching has increased the emotional labour associated with casual teaching. The intensification of emotional labour is usually accompanied by increased workplace stress. Furthermore, this emotional labour is neither recognised nor valued by university managers, hence it is unremunerated. This paper briefly reviews the concept of emotional labour and then identifies a range of issues that are contributing to the intensification of the emotional labour that is being performed by casual teaching staff. The paper concludes with a call for a more systematic investigation of the issues identified here.

emotional labour, psychological contract, human resource management

INTRODUCTION

The Dawkins *White Paper* (Dawkins, 1988) initiated the movement from an elite to a mass higher education system in Australia. These reforms have not only stimulated growth in the number of university students, it has also restructured the Australian student body, which is much more diverse than it was 20 years ago. Likewise, the Dawkins reforms have also restructured the teaching staff of Australian universities. Since the late 1980s, public funding for Australian undergraduates has not kept pace with the growth in student numbers. Hence, *per capita* funding, in real terms, has fallen steadily, a trend that has gathered pace since 1996.

A key strategy employed by Australian universities to help offset the fall in funding has been to increase the casualisation of their teaching activities. It is therefore not surprising that the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) argues that the university sector now has the second highest rate of casual employment of any industry in Australia, second only to tourism and hospitality. The NTEU also argues that casual staff now conduct 70 per cent of all first year classes. It is therefore not surprising that as part of the current round of Enterprise Bargaining Agreement negotiations with all three South Australian universities that the union is attempting to place a cap on casual teaching.

Teaching is a form of emotional labour. Furthermore, the methods by which the casualisation of teaching has been implemented at Australian universities has intensified the emotional labour aspects of teaching for both "permanent" and casual lecturers. However, there a number of other factors that are operating in Australian universities that are also leading to the intensification of the emotional labour performed during teaching, which is detrimental to the staff members involved. However, it will be argued in this paper that university managers do not appear to acknowledge the existence of this problem, which is further intensifying the problem.

Furthermore, it will be argued that increased casualisation of teaching reduces the effectiveness of universities.

This paper commences with a brief review of the concept of emotional labour. The third section briefly outlines the key factor intensifying the emotional labour associated with casual teaching, the violation of the psychological contract. The fourth section briefly outlines a number of factors that are leading to the intensification of emotional labour. This paper is based largely on the casual observations of the author undertaken in all three South Australian economics or business schools. Hence, all the relevant issues may not have been identified and they may not be relevant to other parts of the university sector. The purpose of this paper is to conduct a preliminary review of the issues associated with the emotional labour associated with casual teaching. The factors that are intensifying the emotional labour of university teaching affect both "permanent" and casual academic staff. Nevertheless, casual lecturers are the focus of this paper. This paper is therefore the first step in a much broader study into this topic. The paper concludes with a call for a more systematic investigation of the issues identified here.

What is Emotional Labour

The term "emotional labour" refers to the management of human feelings that occur during the social interaction that takes place as part of the labour process (Hochschild, 1983, 1993). This is clearly different to "emotion work". During emotion work, the feelings of employees are managed in order to maintain an outward appearance and to produce particular states of mind in other people for private purposes. Hochschild (1983, p.37) identifies two forms of emotional labour, where employees induce or suppress their feelings, or emotions, as part of the labour process. First, surface acting involves pretending "to feel what we do not … we deceive other about what we really feel but we do not deceive ourselves". Second, deep acting means to deceive "oneself as much as deceiving others … we make feigning easy by making it unnecessary".

Furthermore, Taylor (1998) identifies three characteristics that define emotional labour and hence distinguish it from emotion work. First, feelings management is performed as part of paid work. Second, emotional labour is predominantly undertaken during social interaction within the workplace. The product of emotional labour is often a change in the state of mind or feeling within another person, most often a client or a customer. The cognitive processes of assimilation and accommodation that students perform during learning activities are very similar to the changes in the state of mind that Hochschild refers to. Third, there must be some attempt to prescribe or supervise and measure employee performance. The various processes that universities are increasingly using to under take student evaluations of teaching and learning activities of casual lecturers seem relevant here.

The intensification of emotional labour among casual lecturers is a problem for university managers at two levels. First, increased emotional labour is associated with higher levels of workplace stress (Adkins and Lury, 1999), with its associated negative impacts on employee health and well-being. Second, the increasing level of emotional labour that is being performed by casual lecturers is unrecognised and hence it is not valued by university managers. Consequently, it is unremunerated (Adkins and Lury, 1999). This in turn can have a negative impact on the recruitment and retention of teaching staff, both casual and "permanent" staff. The key factor that is operating to intensify emotional labour among casual lecturers is the violation of the psychological contract between employers and employees, at least in the business/economics departments of the three South Australian universities that are the focus of this paper. This issue is expanded upon in the following section. The fourth section discusses a number of less important, yet still significant causes of the intensification of emotional labour among career casual lecturers.

VIOLATING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT

Introduction

The increased casualisation of university teaching has been justified largely in terms of scientific management and comparative advantage. These concepts run like a unifying theme through the *Green Paper* and the *White Paper* (Dawkins, 1987, 1988). That is, casual teaching allows the planning and development of teaching programs to be separated from the actual doing of teaching. It is asserted by university managers that this will allow universities, or at least the three faculties on which this discussion is based, to exploit the economies of scale on which the *Green Paper* and the *White Paper* (Dawkins, 1987, 1988) were premised. There may well be economies of scale in higher education, but this question is not the focus of this paper. Rather, this section will analyse the effects of separating the planning and development of teaching from the actual doing of teaching using a Hard/Soft model of Human Resource Management (HRM) as an analytical framework.

Hard or Instrumental HRM "stresses the rational, quantitative aspects of managing human resources. Performance improvement and improved competitive advantage are highlighted" (Stone, 2002, p.10). This approach is usually reserved for the management of peripheral employees, invariably those who are engaged in the actual production of goods and services. These employees are viewed as just another variable cost that needs to be minimised in order to reduce production costs and improve competitive advantage. On the other hand, Soft or Humanistic HRM recognises the need for the interaction of human resource polices and practices with the strategic business objectives of the organisation, while emphasising employee development, collaboration, participation, trust and informed choice (Stone, 2002, p.10). This approach is usually reserved for the management of those core employees that are viewed as an asset as they provide the organisation with its competitive advantage through the development of new products, processes or markets.

The planning and development of teaching programs is almost exclusively conducted by a group of core academic staff that enjoy all the benefits of the standard form of employment relationship. This core group of employees is at best static in size, in South Australia, if not shrinking as older and more experienced academics take advantage of early retirement and generous state government funded superannuation schemes and voluntary separation packages. These staff members invariably return to work the next working day following their "retirement" as adjuncts. Their salaries shifted from the university payroll to a superannuation fund, which is financed out of State Government consolidated revenue. These people may indeed undertake teaching activities for the university on a casual basis following their "retirement", but they remain part of the core group of employees. Such casual staff are qualitatively different to the vast majority of casual staff. Due to their status as part of the core group of employees, despite the fact that they are not longer employed, they get to pick and chose what teaching they want to do. Hence, they invariably undertake rewarding postgraduate teaching and supervision; never, the unrelenting, demanding and unrewarding first year teaching and marking. Furthermore, they are the source of the new ideas, products and process that Australian universities require in order to gain and retain their competitive advantage in an increasingly competitive global market for education services. Hence, these core staff fit nicely into the Soft HRM framework.

Whereas, the bulk of university teaching, the unrelenting, unrewarding, emotionally draining, hack work of first and second year undergraduate teaching and marking, is increasingly being conducted by a rapidly growing group of people employed in various non-standard forms of employment. Indeed, the methods by which universities have responded to funding constraints have given rise to a new group of academic employees, career casual lecturers. The working

conditions of this group of people are being further eroded by the continual intensification of the emotional aspect of this type of work. This group of people are treated as if they were yet another factor of production whose cost needs to be minimalised in order to maximise profits. Or in the case of undergraduate teaching, whose costs are to be minimalised in order to cross-subsidise latter year undergraduate subjects and postgraduate courses. Hence, these peripheral staff fit nicely into the Hard HRM framework.

The casualisation of university teaching can also be analysed in terms of the historical model of the development of HRM developed by Dunphy (1987). It can be argued that prior to the reforms that accompanied the release of Dawkins *Green Paper* and *White Paper* (Dawkins, 1987, 1988) the Australian university sector fitted quite nicely into the defender category. The two key features being the relatively stable and predictable external environment and the limited range of services provided by Australian universities (Dunphy, 1987). However, over the past decade and a half, the Australian university sector seems to have made the transition to the analyser category. The two key features being the increasingly dynamic, turbulent, uncertain and unpredictable nature of the external environment and the increased variety in the products and services offered by Australian universities (Dunphy, 1987). From the perspective of the Dunphy model, the core academic employees of universities are not just the planners and developers of the teaching programs. They are the source of the new ideas, products and process that Australian universities require in order to gain and retain their competitive advantage in an increasingly competitive global market for education services.

The Hard/Soft models of HRM and the historical model of the development of HRM complement each other as explanations for the increase in the casualisation of university teaching. Regardless of the process that is driving the casualisation of the university workforce, university teaching is becoming increasingly casualised. Furthermore, there are a number of factors that are operating that are intensifying the emotional labour aspect of university teaching. Moreover, these factors are not recognised by managers to the detriment of both the universities in South Australia and the teachers concerned. This section will briefly discuss the key factor leading to the intensification of the emotional aspect of university teaching, the violation of the psychological contract.

The psychological contract

Smithson and Lewis (2000, p.681-682) argue that the psychological contract relates to the expectations of both the employer and the employee that operate over and above the formal contract of employment. The psychological contract was identified and labelled by Rousseau;

> The term psychological contract refers to an individual's beliefs regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange between the focal person and another party. Issues here include the belief that a promise has been made and a consideration offered in exchange for it, binding the parties to some set of reciprocal obligations (Rousseau, 1989, p.123).

Furthermore, Hiltrop (1995, p.287) argued that;

> Psychological contracts are, by definition, voluntary, subjective, dynamic and informal, it is [therefore] virtually impossible to spell out all detail at the time a contract is created. The dynamic character of the psychological contract means that individual and organisational expectations mutually influence one another. People fill in the blanks along the way, and they sometime do so inconsistently. Yet these 'additions' are a reality that has many implications for the success of the organisation.

That is, it is the perception of the different parties to an employment relationship of which each party owes the other. Central to the psychological contract are the beliefs, values, expectations and the aspirations of both the employer and the employee. In particular, the psychological contract reflects the implicit social contract that under pinned the standard form of employment relationship. That is, full time, secure and remunerative employment in a formal sector organisation. Hence, employees view hard work, security and reciprocity as being linked (Cabrera and Albrecht, 1995). Employees develop the expectation that hard work will inevitably lead to secure employment and reciprocity from their employer. Such expectations reflect the experiences of previous cohorts of employees. However, such expectations may not reflect current realities.

The psychological contract has two key components. First, the transactional aspect, which contains the terms of exchange between the employer and employee that have some pecuniary value, that is the wages and conditions of employment. Second, the relational aspect contains those terms that may not be readily valued in monetary terms and which broadly define the relationship between the employer and the employee.

Violating the psychological contract

The increased casualisation of teaching has violated the psychological contract by emphasising the transactional aspect and downplaying the relational aspect. Indeed, it would appear that many local managers have totally abrogated their responsibilities regarding the relational aspect of the psychological contract. Furthermore, although casualisation of teaching now emphasises the transactional aspect of the psychological contract, local managers take extraordinary steps to avoid their financial obligations to casual employees. All three South Australia universities have Enterprise Bargaining Agreements (EBAs) that specify casual pay rates and working conditions. Yet, in the brave new world of HRM in South Australian universities, local managers, such as heads of schools and departmental heads now have HR responsibilities. This gives them the authority, or at least the space, to use a wide variety of techniques to circumvent the relevant EBA and avoid paying casual staff what they are entitled and hence further erode their conditions of work. Hence, EBAs which, at least in South Australia, are increasingly incorporating features to protect the interests of casual employees are best ignored and at worse treated with contempt.

The myriad of strategies that local managers use to avoid their EBA obligations send two clear messages to casual teaching staff. First, the university does not value teaching in general and second, the university does not value your teaching in particular. The downward flexibility of pay and conditions, in contravention to the terms and conditions of the various EBAs essentially means that payment for a teaching task, such as conducting a tutorial, are spread over a larger number of hours. Two common strategies are to require tutors to attend lectures for which they are not paid, or to undertake marking duties that extend beyond the scope of the conditions of the EBA. Hence, these strategies essentially reduce the hourly pay rate for teaching below what many tutors feel reflects their true worth. This violation of the transactional aspect of the psychological contract devalues teaching and further enhances the emotional labour of teaching.

The demographics of the casual teaching staff in South Australia have changed markedly over the past decade or so. Granted, there is still a sizeable proportion of casual staff that are postgraduate students who undertake casual teaching to gain teaching experience or to extend their inadequate scholarships or indeed as a substitute for a scholarship. However, there is a growing number of career casual lecturers in South Australian universities that stitch together a livelihood from snippets of casual, part-time and short-term contract work with a variety of employers. The career path followed by these people is not associated with promotion up the so-called, “greasy pole” of the formal sector internal labour market career structure of the university. This is the preserve of

the fortunate few in the core group of employees. The career structure for career casuals is the enterprise of self.

The career casual lecturer is a creation of university HRM policies designed to reduce teaching costs. However, local managers do not appear to recognise the existence of this group of employees. Their mindsets about casual teaching are deeply rooted in their own experiences as postgraduate students. Hence, they cannot empathise with the problems that career casual lecturers face. The day-to-day experience of career casual lecturers is one of a constant collision between their work and their lives. How do career casual lecturers balance all of the competing demands placed on their limited time and energy, such as children, partners, parents, social commitments, study, sport and other part-time or casual employment, when their employers do not allow them to plan their working lives. The failure of local managers to make commitments to casual lecturers that allow them to make realistic expectations about their working lives is a primary cause of the work/life collision (Pocock, 2003). The observation that casual employment as a tutor or lecturer is no longer a pathway to an academic career reflects the abrogation of the relational aspect of the psychological contract discussed above. Yet, local managers refuse to take any responsibility for the problems that they have caused by allowing casual staff to develop unrealistic expectations about future standard employment. This lack of acknowledgment of the lifestyles that career casuals endure intensifies the emotional labour of university teaching.

Insecure employment, combined with a HECS debt, increases the difficulty that career casual lecturers have in gaining access to financial services. In the short-run this increases the difficulty of obtaining car loans and mortgages. However, the long-term impact on the life choices of people in insecure employment can be significant (Smithson and Lewis, 2000). It is not unrealistic for career casual lecturers to earn a reasonable income, but the combination of insecure employment and HECS debt may prevent them obtaining a mortgage. This can lead to the deferment of key life goals, such making plans to get married or start a family. The deferment of such key lifetime milestones can lead to sense of social exclusion. This is turn can intensify the emotional labour of casual teaching. This is another example of the abrogation of the relational aspect of the psychological contract.

There is a sizeable employment relations literature relating to the violation of the psychological contract. This literature argues that the violation of the psychological contract may lead to a range of negative behavioural or attitudinal responses, which include reduced organisational commitment, reduced job satisfaction and increased cynicism (Robinson and Morison, 1995). Dean *et al*. (1998) and Pate *et al*. (2003) define cynicism as a negative attitude that involves the belief that the organisation lacks integrity, which fosters negative emotions about the organisation and promotes the tendency for employees to engage in critical behaviour of their organisation. Not surprisingly the targets for cynicism are senior executives, the organisation in general and organisational policies and procedures. Violating the psychological contract may also break the relationship between employers and employees, leading to reduced employee effort, loyalty and commitment. Consequently, violating the psychological contract may have negative implications for both the employee and organisational performance. However, no studies have been undertaken into the effect of violating the psychological contract in the Australian university sector.

OTHER FACTORS INTENSIFYING EMOTIONAL LABOUR

Introduction

The previous section discussed in some length the key factor driving the increased emotional labour associated with being a career casual lecturer, the violation of the psychological contract. This section will briefly review four other less important, but by no means insignificant, factors

that are acting to intensify the emotional labour of casual university teaching. Individually each may only be a minor contributor to the problem of increased emotional labour. However, in the schools/faculties on which this study is based, it was observed that these three factors act together to some extent and hence reinforce each other. The four factors that are discussed in this section and the one that was discussed in the previous section do not present a comprehensive coverage of all the factors that are intensifying the emotional labour of university reaching, for both permanent and casual staff. Consequently, a more thorough investigation of this topic needs to be conducted, at both the theoretical and empirical levels, in order to identify these factors. Nevertheless, the four factors that are discussed here are important and need to be briefly reviewed.

Frontline work

Increased competition in the market for both local and international students is encouraging a stronger customer focus in Australian universities. The need to "keep close to the customer" reflects the new growth in consumer sovereignty (Frenkel *et al*., 1999, p.6). Consequently, frontline workers, being those employees who operate at the interface between the organisation and its customers or clients, are becoming increasingly important. Frenkel *et al*. (1999, p.7) identify the defining features and implications of frontline work:

1. Frontline work is people oriented. Employees are required to interact constantly with customers in ways that are advantageous to the organisation's goals. Workers are "on stage" undertaking tasks that involve emotional labour (Hoschild, 1983).
2. Frontline work is rarely completely routinised. Because social interaction is part of the product or service being supplied, workers are usually given some discretion to tailor their behaviour to customer requirements.
3. Frontline work is especially sensitive to changes in internal and external organisational environments. Variations in demand for products … and in supply … often affect front-line employees strongly and unpredictably. These employees are expected to "go with the flow", to display emotional resilience and flexibility. There are usually no buffers to protect front-line workers from these "spikes".
4. Frontline work is often strategically important. This reflects the position of front-line employees at the organisation-public interface. As boundary spanners, frontline workers are often required to generate revenue through selling and to perform an intelligence-gathering role, in effect, helping to develop a customer knowledge base for future innovation.

The increased importance of frontline work in Australian universities has some important implications for the organisation of the work of casual lecturers. Work tasks require increased customer, read student in this context, knowledge. Products, procedures and processes change frequently. Organisational revenue becomes directly linked to employee, that is lecturer, behaviour. Furthermore, intense market competition encourages managers to continuously reduce costs. The most insecure employees of the organisation become increasingly vulnerable to reduced hours, wages or working conditions or all of the above. All these factors acting together "results in employment restructuring and changes in work regimes, including demands for more worker flexibility and greater employee commitment" (Frenkel *et al*., 1999, p.9). The rise and rise of frontline work in Australian universities leads to further growth in non-standard forms of employment. As argued above, increased employment insecurity leads to increased emotional labour.

Increased isolation

The "traditional model" of casual university teaching created space for considerable interaction between casual and tenured staff. In the past, casual staff, who were usually postgraduate students in the Department in which they taught, were required to attend regular tutor's meetings and have some consultation time with students. These additional teaching activities were either paid for separately or undertaken *in lieu* of marking tutorial papers. Nevertheless, these activities brought casual staff into regular, if not frequent, contact with other staff members. This regular contact allowed casual lecturers to develop networks that not only reduced their social and professional isolation, but provided friendship and professional support and created and sense of belonging to the organisation.

Staff meetings and consultation times are no longer a feature of casual university teaching. Regular meetings have been replaced with an induction meeting at the start of the semester, where contract details are sorted out and teaching materials are distributed. Staff may not meet again until the end of semester when examinations scripts are distributed. Consultation time is now the responsibility of permanent staff or casual staff who have been engaged specifically for these duties. Meetings times and other opportunities to interact with other staff have been replaced with marking as the sole responsibility of the directed duties of casual staff. Consequently, it is much more difficult for casual staff to develop the supportive networks that they require to be effective teachers. Hence, casual lecturers are becoming increasingly isolated from each other and other staff members of the school or faculty. Isolation from other staff members is compounded by the physical isolation from the workplace that results from the necessity for many casual lectures to work from home as universities are facing increasingly binding space constraints. Such isolation not only directly increases the emotional labour of teaching, it also indirectly intensifies emotional labour by helping local managers to create the space they need to intensify the emotional labour of teaching by violating the psychological contract.

On call 24:7

The previous sub-section explained how regular meetings and consultation time in the past provided casual lecturers with the opportunity to develop supportive networks. Furthermore, these fixed time commitments prescribed the out of class time commitments of casual lecturers. Hence, there was a clear distinction between home and work. However, things have changed markedly in the last decade or so. In particular, the distinction between home and work has become increasingly blurred. All three South Australian universities provide casual lecturers with email accounts. This allows students to contact them at any time of the day or night, which is not a problem in its own right. However, university netiquette policies require that student emails be responded to promptly, that is within 48 hours. Furthermore, at least one South Australian business/economics school requires casual lecturers to provide their students with an out of hours telephone contact number. Consequently, in a very real sense, casual lecturers are increasingly feeling as if they are on call 24:7. This in turn further blurs the distinction between home and work, which further intensifies the emotional labour of casual university teaching. Furthermore, this is not recognised by local management, which further intensifies the emotional labour of casual university teaching.

A constant stream of emails and telephone calls means that more out of class time is devoted to teaching. That is, the work associated with any given set of lectures or tutorials has additional out of hours work attached to it. However, there is no extra remuneration forthcoming. Hence, being on call 24:7 intensifies work by spreading the duties associated with a set number of lectures of tutorials over a longer period of time. That is, work is extensified. These additional out of class duties further reduces the effective per hour rate of teaching. Further violating the transactional

aspect of the psychological contract and hence intensifying the emotional labour associated with casual university teaching.

Much of the discussion about the budgetary effects of using casual staff to reduce teaching costs is related to reducing the variable costs of the organisation, that is reducing wages. However, increased use of casual lecturers also allows universities to reduce their fixed costs, or at least not to increase them as much as if they employed an equivalent number of full-time contract or continuing staff. Casual staff require office space in which to work. However, universities do not provide the same level of office accommodation for casual lecturers as they do for lecturers employed on a contract or continuing basis. Casual lecturers are usually provided with access to a sessional staff room. However, limited space, limited furniture and the demand for space that exceeds the number of desks means that desks are essentially hot-seated. Consequently, casual lecturers have to do the majority of their out of hours work, that is preparation and marking, at home in offices that they have to provide at their own expense. This further blurs the distinction between home and work. The necessity to work form home also intensifies feelings of isolation and exclusion. All of which intensifies the emotional labour of being a casual lecturer.

Unproductive investment

The factors discussed in the previous two sub-sections all lead to an effective reduction in the hourly pay rate of casual teaching by extending the amount of out of class work associated with any given teaching or learning activity. Indeed, the effective hourly rate of casual university teaching may be as low as $12 to $15 per hour. Traditionally, casual lecturers managed the risk of effectively low per hour pay rates by investing heavily in teaching preparation by developing teaching resources that could be reused in the future. This means that the first class requires lot of preparation, but subsequent classes can be taught with the minimum of preparation. Consequently, the investment in developing teaching resources can be amortised over a number of teaching periods, which effectively increases the hourly teaching rate when these teaching resources are reused. However, this strategy is only effective if the subjects taught do not change for a few years at a time.

However, in recent years this system has broken down. The need to constantly develop new teaching programs means that new subjects are constantly being developed, and old subjects are retired. Furthermore, it is apparent to most casual lecturers that first year teaching is not valued among the core group of academics nor is it recognised as a teaching speciality in its own right. Hence, first year subject coordinators change with monotonous regularity. Each new subject coordinator invariably means some change to the curriculum or the textbook or the tutorial program or the assessment activities or all of the above. This constant state of flux means that there is no incentive for casual lecturers to invest heavily in teaching preparation as there is little or no prospect of a return on the investment over the required number of future semesters or years that would make this sort of investment worthwhile. This represents yet another form of work intensification and hence another source of increased emotional labour. Furthermore, less teaching preparation reduces lecturer effectiveness.

CONCLUSION

The increased casualisation of the university teaching workforce, especially in high-enrolment first and second year subjects, has contributed to the intensification of emotional labour for casual teaching staff. These staff members are increasingly ‘career casuals’ who are often highly skilled and experienced workers, who have replaced workers who previously worked under standard forms of employment. The viability of university teaching, especially in big first and second year subjects, increasingly depends on the skills and experience of these workers Yet new forms of

HRM fail to recognise their contribution, the burden of casual work, or the dependence of the organisation on the skills and expertise of these workers. This is an area of educational research that has been largely ignored, but which has potentially significant ramifications for the higher education sector. Two initial strands of research warrant further investigation. The first is to document the extent of the casualisation of the university teaching workforce. The second is to document the extent of the experiences described in this paper.

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