This is the post-peer reviewed version of the following article:

Structural marginalisation, othering and casual relief teacher subjectivities

Abstract

Produced through market relations of neoliberal managerialism, teacher subjectivities are becoming progressively commodified. With the increasing casualisation of the teaching workforce, the wellbeing and status of casual relief teachers (CRT) can be seen as an area of concern, at risk of "flexploitation" (Bourdieu 1998, p. 85). More than just a convenient labour pool, CRTs operate on the margins of school communities, a space fraught with a range of issues. In many instances CRTs experience less job satisfaction, less rapport with students and colleagues and less access to school information, professional development, resources and teaching materials. This article draws on a positioning theory to frame the discursive production of casual relief teacher (CRT) selves within the neoliberal milieu. It offers an analysis of collective biographies that explore narrative formations of casual teaching. Schooling discourse is replete with metaphorical language that frame teacher positioning and a range of existing metaphors in CRT literature highlight their vulnerability in particular. Rather than offering an analysis that addresses casual teacher performance as a problem to be solved, this article proposes that the relationship between 'structural marginalisation and the 'othering' that CRTs can experience is associated with the politics of market-related performativity.

Introduction

Over the last thirty years, neoliberal ideology with its market driven political, economic and cultural agenda has significantly influenced Education policy and politics (Ball, 2003, 2013; Connell, 2013). Within schooling, teachers are positioned as "neo-liberal professionals" and "enterprising subjects" who are "represented and encouraged to think about themselves as individuals who calculate about themselves, 'add value' to themselves, improve their productivity, strive for excellence and live an existence of calculation" (Ball, 2003, p. 217). This individualistic and performative conception is epitomised in the casual relief teacher (CRT) who operates as a private contractor selling their services to schools on an ad hoc basis. CRTs are employed when teachers are unable to undertake their routine duties (Cleeland, 2007). This issue is complicated in the UK where supply teachers are contracted through the private sector resulting in a fragmentation of employment infrastructure and a corresponding lack of protection of income and employment (Grimshaw, Earnshaw & Hebson, 2003; Shilling 1991). In the USA there has been a long polemic debate focusing on the effectiveness of substitute (casual) teachers and to what extent they negatively impact student learning (Glatfelter, 2006; Keller, 2008; Miller, Murnane & Willett, 2007; Woods & Montagno, 1997).

Although there is a rapidly increasing cohort of casual relief teachers in Australian schools (Casual Direct, 2012; Lunay & Locke, 2006; VAGO, 2012), this

professional group are underserved in both research and policy (McCormack & Thomas, 2005; author, 2013, Weems, 2003). The issue is highlighted most poignantly by Duggleby and Badali (2007), who observe that "publicly funded schools are hierarchical institutions with many levels or divisions of power. Few members of the teaching profession have less power or authority than substitute teachers" (p. 31). This marginal positioning can be seen as employment precariousness, termed 'précarité' by Pierre Bourdieu (1998) in his account of labour casualisation.

> Casualisation of employment is part of a mode of domination of a new kind, based on the creation of a generalized and permanent state of insecurity aimed at forcing workers into submission, into the acceptance of exploitation. To characterize this mode of domination, …the very appropriate and expressive concept of *flexploitation* [is proposed] (Bourdieu 1998, p. 85, emphasis in original).

> CRT 'flexploitation' is typified by: poor employment security, intermittent access to professional development, negligible entitlement to leave, lower pay rates, and disconnection from teacher unions (Cleeland, 2007; author, 2009). Although there has been some engagement with CRT experiences in the literature (author, 2009; Tromans, Limerick & Bannock, 2001; Weems, 2003), this article aims to redress the paucity of research on power relations and the constructions of CRT subjectivities in schooling settings. Ball and Olmedo (2013) observe how "neoliberal governmentalities have become increasingly focused upon the production of subjectivity [and therefore] it is logical that we think about subjectivity as a site of struggle" (p. 85). Through our analysis we explore neoliberal construction of CRTs subjectivities to navigate this fraught terrain.

> As four academics with backgrounds in Australian CRT work, we undertook collective biography in the form of slow scholarship praxis. We have worked in regional schools as CRTs: two of us in New South Wales; one in Victoria and, one in Queensland. These professional experiences provided us with rich memories that informed our approach to collective biography (Davies & Gannon, 2006). Putting theory to work by exploring our own CRT subjectivities, we aimed to "create a straddling of multiple worlds of deconstruction, critique, and embodied experiences" (Pillow, 2015, p. 57). Framing the instability of casual teacher identities as socially constructed categories (Davies & Harré, 1999; Petersen, 2007, 2008), we problematise CRT category construction and maintenance as a constitutive force of discourse (Petersen, 2008). Categorisation itself is non-binary in that it can be a "resource through which all persons involved can negotiate new positions" (Harré & Langenhove, 1999). While it is possible to demonstrate agency through taking up identity category positions, those who do not conform to matrices of intelligibility risk being penalised through othering. We couple the construction of CRT subjectivities within the neoliberal project to demonstrate both 'absent presence' (Apple, 1983; Lather, 1994) and 'structural marginalisation' as a form of systemic 'othering'.

In providing this account of CRT subjectivities, we explore "points of agonism and struggle" within power relations (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 86). In the following, we outline literature on the politics of CRT work and the way in which metaphors have been used by researchers to couch their positioning within the schooling sector. Further, we share metaphors that emerged through our collaborative project to leverage our examination of the sociopolitical milieu that produces 'structural marginalisation' as an othering of casual relief teachers.

The casualisation of teaching

The casualisation of the teaching workforce is reflective of wider neoliberal shifts that are continually taking place in education. Smyth (2012) makes the important point that teacher casualisation is symptomatic of the performativity-driven influence of economics on education.

> The increasing casualisation of the teaching force is the canary in the mine for a much deeper malaise that has come to settle upon the teaching work forces of most western countries. It is indicative of a panoply of insulting public policy measures that have been visited upon teachers, like standards, benchmarking, performance appraisal/management systems, accountability and high stakes testing regimes and various forms of marketization and market sensitive mechanisms like 'school choice' and other image and impression management 'makeovers', all of which are designed to unremittingly push teaching and the work of schools in the direction of being more like 'businesses'. (Smyth, 2012, p. 14)

Compared with colleagues in ongoing employment, CRTs are likely to have less job satisfaction, poorer student management, less rapport with students, lower professional standing and status, less access to school information and resources and teaching materials, and less of a sense of acceptance by permanent staff in schools (Cardon, 2002; Cleeland, 2007; Grant, 2011; Weems, 2003). Bamberry's (2011) research reported that CRTs are "disposable resources, marginalized in the workplace, with no voice and little influence on decision-making processes who practise as insiders/outsiders at the periphery of school communities" (p. 62), their skills not fully utilised. Cleeland (2007) notes a stark contrast in status reported by teachers in her Australian study.

> [T]he permanent teachers perceived themselves as having better conditions of employment, greater access to school resources, improved lesson provisions, more school and student information, elevated status in the education system, higher levels of job satisfaction, stronger bonds with students and other members of the school community, and superior classroom and behaviour management compared with the CRTs. (Cleeland, 2007, p. 203)

Within schools, casual relief teacher subjectivities are reconstituted in economic terms and "saturated in market relations" (Ball, 2004, p. 8). These values, with their

commensurate commodification, "thoroughly saturate the construction of self and other" (Ringrose, 2013, p. 3). Within the politics of the marketplace, CRTs are a convenient and expendable labour pool, located as border practitioners who work the peripheries of schools. To call this positioning "structural violence" would be an over-reach of Galtung's (1969, p. 171) original concept, since it may be neither deliberate nor malicious. However there is "unequal power" (Galtung, 1969, p. 171) woven into the fabric of relationships that evoke elements of "marginalization", "fragmentation" and "alienation" (Galtung, 1990, pp. 292 & 295). Therefore, we argue CRT positioning can be more accurately described as 'structural marginalisation'. That is, it comprises a neglect of structures and processes, often covert within schools that serve to 'other' CRTs. When "[t]hose in power make decisions for those who are not, and those in power determine how resources are allocated" (Williams, 2005, p. 89), the CRT is structurally marginalised from the privileges afforded to those in permanent teaching positions. These power relations can be seen as othering.

Emerging from postcolonial literature (Spivak, 1985; Said, 1995), othering can be seen in the discursive processes by which powerful groups subordinate others into existence in a reductionist way that ascribes their characteristics to be different, problematic and inferior (Akkerman, & Bakker, 2011; Jensen, 2011; Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012; MacNaughton, 2004; Moreton-Robinson, Singh, Kolopenuk & Robinson, 2012; Soohoo, 2006; Villenas, 2000). "Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate" (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). As a process of subjectification 'others' are "perceived as objects who lack complexity, motivation, rationality and capabilities" while the powerful position themselves as the owners of "emotions, rationality, capabilities, experiences, knowledge and will" (Krumer-Nevo & Orly, 2010, p. 695). "The oppressive power of othering derives from the impassable barrier it draws between 'us' and 'them' and the social distancing it creates" (Krumer-Nevo & Orly, 2010, p. 695). For the casual relief teacher the process of othering, of being subordinated by the power relations within the school context, can be overt and apparent, subtle and nuanced. In the context of this paper we draw together the notion of othering, as a critique of the tyranny of casual teacher invisibility (Winkelmann, 1991; Vinkenburg, 2014), with the powerful and evocative images constructed through metaphors in research.

A Collective Biography Research Process

As non-essentialist memory work, collective biography has been used to explore girlhood studies (Davies, De Schauwer, Claes, De Munck, Van De Putte & Verstichele, 2013; Gonick, 2014; Gannon & Gonick, 2014; Gottschall, Gannon, Lampert & McGraw, 2013), place pedagogy (Devos, de Carteret & Somerville, 2008), as well as the politics and practices of higher education (Kern, Hawkins, Al-Hindi & Moss, 2014; O'Connor, et al., 2015; Zabrodska, Linnell, Laws, & Davies, 2011). In collective biography, "embodied memories" are used in relation to "theoretical concepts that help us to think differently about how we come into being as gendered,

sexualised, racialised, and classed subjects" (Gonick & Gannon, 2013, p. 8). We draw from a 'critical' tradition in social inquiry that seeks to question, articulate and disrupt practices that silence or exploit subject groups (Harris, 2001).

Collective biography does not purport to provide definitive meanings that universalise experience, but rather provide localised accounts of situated truths (Davies & Gannon, 2006). Oriented toward story, collective biography can "be considered as a particular form of narrative inquiry where each participant, in the particular intense, embodied, dialogical space of a workshop, tells and writes vignettes of lived experience" (Gannon & Gonick, 2014, p. 21). As a political project, collective biography destabilises the totalised account of the neoliberal subject and critiques how bodies are regulated within institutions. Rather than a process of truth telling where we could 'know' the people of the stories, we engaged with the retelling to surface the "fleshy moments" as "particular, local and situated truths" (Davies & Gannon, 2006, p. 5). Like Davies and Gannon (2006), we listened to the detail in the stories, not as a "naive, naturalistic" set of truths, but as truths that are "worked on through a technology of telling, listening and writing" (p. 5). The process afforded us to "produce, through attention to the embodied sense of being in the remembered moment, a truth in relation to what cannot actually be recovered – the moment as it was lived" (Davies & Gannon, 2006, p. 5).

To explore the situated subjectivities within the biographies as "specific embodied moments" (Byers, Gannon & Rajiva, 2014, p. 86), we each wrote of a significant CRT experience working in an Australian school. Having all read a range of collective biography literature (Davies & Gannon, 2006; Gonick, 2014; Gannon, & Gonick, 2014), we discussed our emergent process (Somerville, 2007). Over a series of four meetings, we shared these experiences, reading the stories and discussing the positioning and power relations inherent in them. When we listened to each other we constructed, reconstructed and expanded our memories within the structure of our collaboratively negotiated protocols. These comprised sustaining a focus on the evolving stories and intentionally suspending judgment and interpretation. After each story we asked reflective questions to evoke further memories from the narrator. We noticed moments of vulnerability in the stories. These perfomative moments heightened "attention to the embodied and emotional aspects of the memory" (Davies, Browne, Gannon, Honan, Laws, Mueller-Rockstroh, & Petersen, 2006, p. 98). In keeping with the collective biography work of Zabrodska, Linnell, Laws and Davies (2011), we "looked for small moments of feeling seriously at risk within a relation of power, in ways that unsettled our sense of belonging, recognition, competence, or identity" (p. 712).

As we read the biographical memories aloud, it became apparent that threads of neoliberal performativity were emerging. Metaphors with rich imagery also surfaced through this storying process.

Metaphors and casual teaching

Metaphors evoke a powerful form of imagery and although they have been recognised as a rich process for exploration over many years, there is growing interest in their heuristic use in education (Cowie & Abbiss, 2014; Taylor & Bailey, 2014). With their Greek origins in the words '*meta*' meaning "over" and '*pherein*', meaning "to carry", metaphors allow for a cross-pollination between ideas or concepts (Alexander, 2011, p. 269). In research they have been deployed as a means to draw comparisons between unrelated concepts to provide a fresh perspective on a range of issues. Writers have used metaphors to decipher the complexity of organizational life (Jacobs & Heracleous, 2006; Morgan, 2006), the ambiguities of leadership (Alvesson & Spicer, 2011), conceptions of teaching, learning and professional development (Boyd & Bloxham, 2014; Kalra & Baveja, 2012), understandings of distance education (Tuncay & Özçinar, 2009), doctoral experiences (Miller & Brimicombe, 2004; Nye, Foskey & Edwards, 2014), conceptions of identity (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011); and research practices (Fábián, 2013). Describing how metaphors have been used in research work, Richardson (2002) writes that metaphors are "the backbone of social science writing. Like the spine, it bears weight, permits movement, is buried beneath the surface, and links parts together into a functional, coherent whole" (p. 926).

A range of metaphors have been utilised in research literature to frame how CRTs are positioned within the schooling sector. Weems' (2003) ethnographic analysis of 'substitute (casual) teachers' in popular media highlighted the "construction of marginalisation … as a function of both invisibility and hypervisibility" in school contexts, CRT actions were placed "*under the microscope* by other teachers and administrators" (Weems, 2003, p. 26). Like specimens, CRTs were readily observed by the school community, students, other teachers, parents, and administrators. Weems' study demonstrates how CRT subjectivities are open to scrutiny, analysis and judgement. They are an 'absent presence' (Apple, 1983; Lather, 1994) in schools and the evaluation of their worth will pre-empt whether they are subsequently re-employed.

Frequently CRTs have been viewed as *'babysitters'* (McCormack & Thomas, 2005; Pietsch & Williamson, 2009; Weems, 2003), who fill the gaps left by the absent permanent teachers. This suggests a comparison with the void left by parents out for an evening. The metaphor suggests that while both parents and classroom teachers are irreplaceable, CRTs are charged with the responsibility to keep the offspring/students 'safe, well behaved and busy' until the parent/teacher returns. Those who readily use this metaphor in relation to CRTs, do not necessarily expect meaningful learning to be undertaken by the students in this classroom. Learning can be seen as a bonus if it does eventuate (author, 2009).

Negotiating new classroom relationships on an ongoing basis can also present challenges for CRTs. Duggleby and Badali (2007) identified that CRTs reported feeling "*like fresh meat being tested by students*" (pp. 31-32) which implies that students consider them as new playthings for their entertainment. The transience and

uncertainty of CRT employment has been represented as "*disposable as the next tissue out of the box*" (Bamberry, 2011, p. 254). Tissues are used fleetingly, readily discarded, and promptly replaced by others when the need arises. As a member of an underemployed and oversupplied cohort, CRTs may experience a fear of abandonment. For beginning teachers on casual and temporary work, Tromans et al. (2001) suggest that potential of gaining a permanent job can be as rare as *"winning a lottery"* (p. 25).

We did not seek from the outset of our collective biography process to intentionally use a metaphor frame. Rather, they emerged throughout the storying, enabling us to explore the emotions and experiences of CRT work. Metaphor evolved as a primary discursive tool for framing the analyses of the stories. Across all of the metaphors in the stories, a sense of precariousness is conveyed where CRTs are 'othered' in relation to mainstream systems. We have used specific metaphors of 'casual[i]ty' to explore CRT experiences.

Metaphors of 'Casual[i]ty'

Moments of vulnerability emerged through the stories as metaphors. These metaphors disclose a range of embedded discursive practices shaping and regulating CRT subjectivities in schools (Davies & Harré, 1999). We explored the processes of subjectification, considering "how subjects are formed in time, space, discourse, and relations and how these are textually represented in the present" (Gannon, 2011, p. 71). In the following we share three stories with an associated analysis after each one that interrogates the metaphors for embedded discourses and subjectivities.

A wanderer without a home.

The fatigue of itinerance is apparent in our first story. The othering of 'marginalisation' manifests through both Addie's sense of disconnectedness and her sense that she is charged with tasks the permanent teachers do not want to undertake.

> *It was the end of long day, at the end of a long week, and a very, very long term. Standing amongst a sea of grubby, tired uniforms and faces, Addie's efforts in herding the mobocracy swarming around her into some semblance of order, before venturing through the wire gates and onto the buses as safely as possible, was turning into one more battle. Everything these days felt like a never-ending mental and physical battle. Why any school would put a day-to-day casual on bus duty - on their own - never ceased to amaze her, and it happened with perverse regularity.*
>
> *Addie felt bone tired. She was tired of day-to-day casual work, she was tired of having to fill in jobs that no one else wanted to do, she was tired of not having a permanent school presence, and craved to have an identity that was entwined with the school; not an add-on of no consequence. She remembered discussions at university about schools being communities, but she had discovered through personal experience that there are both healthy and unhealthy communities; and every single day, during those four battle-weary*

years as a casual teacher, a soldier with no army, a wanderer without a home, she endured that difference.

In this account the buses, wire gates, uniforms and student bodies comprise an assemblage that can be likened to a battlefield. In her marginal position as a casual teacher with no ongoing relationships with students, war metaphors align with a 'teacher power and control' discourse that suggests 'good' teachers 'survive' in a struggle for control with their students. War metaphors are often used in schools where classrooms are called "trenches" (Grammes, 2011, p. 89) and learning can be "an uphill battle" (Botha, 2009, p. 432). In Addie's story, she is positioned as a soldier without the structure of the well-defined context and support that 'real soldering' entails. No one 'had her back'; there was no one to rely on but herself. The students milling to get on the bus are in high spirits and Addie, in response, felt like she was on a battlefield in the milieu. Of course the comparison of Addie's CRT experience with the hardship of soldering is a tenuous one and there are limitations in the imagery it evokes. However the story does highlight how Addie, as a very young and inexperienced educator, feels not only out of control, but pushed beyond the limits of her training to be a classroom teacher.

Addie's reflection on 'schools as communities' reveals discourses of solidarity and cohesion. Schools are monolithic constructions where there are 'inside-outside' conceptions of connection and belonging (Winkelmann, 1991). "Particular individuals are viewed as being positioned either inside or outside the dominant [school] ideology (p. 2). While Winkelmann focuses on connections with the classroom, the parallels with how CRTs may be perceived by schools are strikingly similar. "The community metaphor itself guarantees that some ... will be inevitably marginalised by interpreters of the [school] text" (Winkelmann, 1991, p. 2). Vinkenburg (2014) also presents the other through the language of 'us' and 'them'. In the vignette solidarity and cohesion discourse reveals itself in the refusal of the students to acknowledge Addie's positional authority in assisting their safe departure from the school grounds. The story surfaces a paradox of positioning. While Addie desires to belong to the school community, there are no supporting structures and the cultural ideology of this school allows marginalisation and othering of casual teachers, as evidenced by her treatment by the students. Being a CRT, Addie is not a permanent member of the school staff, so how can she be part of the negotiated construct that is a community? Is not her otherness therefore, inevitable?

Whiplash

A politics of school power relations are addressed in this second story. Anna's situation is compounded in that she is beginning her teaching career as a casual teacher. There is both a sense of marginalisation and alienation (Galtung, 1998) in that Anna has an 'absent presence' (Apple, 1983; Lather, 1994). She is expected to make no ripples and know what to do in the face of challenging classroom relationships. There is a sense that if she exercises poor judgement, her failure could be highly visible.

It was inevitable then that the naivety of Anna, a true novice, would collide most harshly with reality. Whiplash and crushing chest pain came in the form of a slight, shimmering black haired and very angry Year 5 child, Gabbie. Her arrival announced by the hurtling of her bag across the veranda. Anna's quiet preparations for each session of the day, the polite hellos to new faces and new parents, the addressing of children by name abruptly halted. Anna stood in the classroom not feeling, not being the least bit in charge. Who was this child? What could she do? What was she expected to do? The handful of children in the room quickly vanished into the playground- no safe space here, the fury filling the sanctuary of their classroom. Moments later, Gabbie's mother appeared, hell bent on continuing the struggle to enforce her will, "It's none of your business what Pete and I get up to…." she ranted as she left. The child slumped in the reading corner too exhausted to cry; too crushed to breath. Anna wanted to sit with her and listen, but she could see the child needed her space and she was terrified that Gabbie will start in on her, that she would be lumped with the mother and not have a chance to develop a relationship with the child.

Anna started the morning with the class gathered on the floor playing a couple of the name games that usually worked a treat, but everyone seems subdued. She realized that she was being torn by a myriad of opposing forces: Gabbie who from the foetal position in the beanbag emanated an enormous presence, the children whose faces shone with anticipation, but also the frightening sense that at any moment another teacher or school leader could waft into this space and spuriously form a judgment. She steeled herself, grasped the book she had brought on the myth of Isis and Osiris, and asked the children what they knew of Ancient Egypt. "Ancient Egypt!" Gabbie's voice screeched, I've already done Ancient Egypt!" The whiplash of sheer humiliation buckled her.

Anna's metaphor of car crash reveals an embodied affective response to the collision of discourses in this vignette. Discourses of 'care', 'effective teaching' and 'teacher power and control' converge. The demands on this casual teacher, new to the profession and new to the school clearly demonstrate binaries of 'compassion and command', 'competence and incompetence', and 'power and powerlessness'. The power discourse embedded in this vignette highlights an expectation that classroom power resides solely with teachers. According to Keat (2008) teachers are "less comfortable embracing: control, power, and anger" and "unwilling to use strategies that seem to give over control [and power] to young children … many teachers assume that they must tighten their control over the defiant child as a way of helping all the children" (p. 159). This however is not the case for Anna, an inexperienced CRT. Millei and Petersen (2015) argue that teachers can and should share 'power'; that they are positioned as "traders of power", "in control" or "not in control", who "act (willingly or less willingly) to maintain control in their classrooms" (p. 22). Gabbie resists adult power relations and Anna is "torn" apart by the expectations inherent in the conflicting discourses of care, effective teaching, and teacher power. In

the story Anna wonders if the school expectation is for her to demonstrate her control by othering the child through authoritarian mechanisms of behaviour management. Showing compassion may be read as incompetence, an inability to master the teacher power discourse. Anna is challenged to form profound relationships of trust within a very short timeframe to be successful in her job. Her beginning teacher inexperience is apparent in her "sheer humiliation" that she would broker a topic that the students have some familiarity with.

There appear to be significant parallels between the child and Anna, the new CRT in this story. Both are a turmoil of emotions screaming within, both are seeking trust and reassurance, both are structurally marginalised, both want to belong yet are othered by discourses of power beyond the classroom, neither are prepared to trade off their true selves simply to be seen as compliant 'good girls'. Anna is unaware of the complexities of this child yet demonstrates compassion, competence and the capacity to align her core beliefs with her actions. Irrespective of conflicting discourses, she demonstrates the capacity to be an authentic albeit terrified and uncertain practitioner in this new classroom.

Shag on a rock

This concluding story touches on the demands of casual relief work and parenting. We see the corporeal affect of waiting for the phone to ring and the challenge of arriving in a staffroom as an outsider who does not know the 'rules of the game'. Underpinning the story is an emphasis on being seen by others as competent.

> *The alarm sounded and Loren rushed to the kitchen in the quiet of the morning to start getting the kids' breakfasts and lunches ready for school before the activity of the day was upon her. Before long, both children were bickering over who got to the bathroom first. In amongst the 'busyness' of the morning the phone rings and Loren's stomach churned. She picked up the phone tentatively thinking that it might be a call from the deputy of the school where she had been getting some casual work of late. She dreaded the phone ringing in the morning. It was paradoxical given that she needed the work and yet she jumped every time it rang from 6- 9 a.m. on any given weekday.*

> *Later in the day, she hesitantly entered the school staffroom, her heart beating, her cheeks inflamed by the burning harassment of a year 9 class. On her arrival the majority of the staff turned their faces away from her so that their conversations would not be disturbed. Now, which coffee cup could she use? Did they belong to people or not? In the rush of the morning, she had forgotten to bring her cup and she knew how 'precious' some staff could be about someone else using their coffee cup. Thus, it was better to do without a drink, parched or not! As she didn't have playground duty for once, she thought she would have the chance to socialise in the staffroom. She knew at once, that she would have preferred playground duty. That way, Loren wouldn't have felt so much on the outer sitting alone like a 'shag on a rock', as her mother used say.*

Like a 'shag on a rock', Loren feels alone, bedraggled and disconnected from the remainder of the staff. For Loren this othering is problematic. She has experienced a stressful class, thus appears dishevelled, and may benefit from collegial reassurance or the wisdom a colleague could offer through 'knowing how things work around here'. A number of staff sit in the staff room, comfortably talking with each other, but they turn away as Loren enters. Although they may be discussing a shared school related issue, perhaps even de-stressing themselves, Loren sees this avoidance as a way to isolate her from their conversation. There is a discourse of 'solidarity and cohesion' in play, evident in the rituals of connection such as knowing who to talk with and which cup to select. Have the other permanently employed teachers identified her as other, inferior in some way due to the power, authority and feelings of solidarity they currently enjoy? Despite the expertise Loren may bring to teaching, she is othered due to her status as a casual teacher.

Economic discourse is also apparent in this story. We see the necessity for Loren's employment. The importance of this, coupled with the stress of uncertainty and itinerancy of her casual work, has a negative emotional impact on her body. The physicality of uncertainty manifests through her churning stomach and her unease when she jumps when the phone rings. This stress is compounded when she encounters a challenging Year 9 class as a newcomer who does not 'know the ropes' in the school. Her heart beats quickly and her face is red, highlighting that casual teaching is an embodied practice. The experience of othering was a lonely and isolating feeling for Loren and she thinks that the stress may diminish if she has a permanent job; a position that provides that sense of belonging -where she can gain collegial support. Loren's is a utopian construction of the 'inside' from the 'outside' (Winkelmann, 1991) – a discourse of solidarity and cohesion that serves to compound her sense of 'otherness', thus marginalisation.

Discussion

As the biographies unfolded, the precariousness (Bourdieu, 1998) of the casual teacher accounts were "vividly imaginable" and as a group we extended our experiences "of being in the world through knowing the particularity of another" (Davies & Gannon, 2006, p. 12). In the telling, the stories surfaced feelings of anxiety, powerlessness and marginalisation. The metaphors were discursive devices that evoked embodied responses through imagery. They highlighted the "confusions, complexities and difficulties" associated with CRT subjectivities as "multiple and complex meanings at work" (Alvesson & Spicer, 2011, pp. 31-32). The metaphors served to re-shape subjectivities and in the retelling supported this exploration and unravelling of emotional casual teacher experiences (Davies & Gannon, 2006).

The reflexivity afforded by collective biography surfaced the discursive practices that manifest school power relations. As the stories illustrate, there are discourses of 'solidarity and cohesion', 'control', 'care', 'effective teaching' 'power' and 'economics' that shape and regulate the "agonism and struggle" over CRT subjectivities (Ball & Olmedo, 2013, p. 86). The CRTs in the stories were framed as

other to the normative teacher category. Like Zabrodska et al. (2011), who observed how collective biography touched on the fear and anxiety of victims of bullying within universities, the CRT memory work surfaced intense emotions of isolation and loneliness. This can be seen as a by-product of the insular work of the CRT private contractor who as an enterprising subject operates across schools on an ad hoc basis.

These discourses mobilise processes of "delegitimisation and exclusion" as "acts, articulations and bodies" that 'other' (Petersen, 2008, p. 396). They produce "unequal exchanges" (Galtung, 1990, p. 293), that privilege some teachers (permanent) over others (CRTs) in schools. This notion of an unequal exchange is inherent in neoliberal contemporary education policy that privileges processes of accountability and performativity regimes. Neoliberal influences impact teacher performativity across the profession. Casual teachers are not alone in experiencing unequal relationships, nevertheless they are more vulnerable due to market forces and this is the central purpose of this paper.

In his 2013 University of Cambridge keynote address, Ball posits that we can reimagine research in our neoliberal milieu. "Things are not as necessary as we think they are" and we can reframe our taken-for-granted circumstances as "contingent" and "revokable". Further, he advocates we should "shake up habitual ways of working and thinking to make configurations of power and knowledge intolerable" (Ball, 2013). In our project to examine CRT identity work we make the point that structural marginalisation, although unintentional, can construct othered CRT subjectivities in school settings. Othering is inherent in the 'inside-outside' (Winkelmann, 1991) culture of school dynamics. In schools where these boundaries are firmly established, there are clear demarcations between CRT and permanent staff status with casual teachers marked out as inferior (Lister, 2004). As we have written previously (author et al., 2015), language plays an essential part in the constitution of CRT identities. When we continue to use labels such as 'casual' the position will remain marginalised. For example, the term 'invited teachers' might serve to transform the discourse of inferiority that surrounds CRTs.

Thus, there is a challenge for schools to deploy an ethic of care where CRTs are invited into school communities as contributing members whose knowledge and experience are respected, valued and built on (Noddings, 2003, 2005; Spalding, Klecka, Lin, Odell, & Wang, 2010). For schools and the wider education sector there are also challenges in managing the induction and ongoing professional development of casual teachers (Colcott, 2009). It follows that specific approaches to professional learning and development are required for this transient group. This is clearly an area of particular importance, if pupils are to be taught by teachers with relevant pedagogical content knowledge (Ball, Thames & Phelps, 2008; Shulman, 1986).

Having commented on processes that could address structural marginalisation, we also offer a caveat. We do not conclude this paper with an appeal to "safe, fictive revolutionism that remains a la mode in some parts of the academy" (Ball, 1998, p. 82). We avoid the binary "politics of blame" (Thrupp, 2010, p. 119) that suggest

schools and teachers are at fault; that where there is "illness" there is also "cure" (Ball, 1990, p. 164). For example, we do not espouse utopian models of 'effective communities of practice' or 'leadership strategies' that could rectify the issue of structural marginalisation.

> If self-examination fails, the expert, the authority, the consultant, the moral disciplinarian is at hand to intervene. In effect, given the logic of management, ineffectiveness is seen as a disorder of reason and as such susceptive to cure by the use of appropriate techniques of organization'. (Ball 1990, p.164)

At first glance it appears ironic that four academics, who enjoy positions of privilege within the academy, write of their CRT experiences as structural marginalisation and othering. We do not want to be the "subtle apologists" that Thrupp (2010) writes of, who express "concern about the context of reform and social inequality, but still provide support to market and managerial education either because their critique is insufficiently critical or not emphasised enough within their overall account to provide any serious challenge" (p. 120). We share these stories to make the argument that structural marginalisation is a by-product of neoliberalism's wider influence on education and a form of "flexploitation" (Bourdieu 1998, p. 85). Casual teachers as a transient labour force on the margins of schools are subject to the "inequitable effects of education markets, managerialism, performativity, and neoliberal policy technologies" (Thrupp, 2010, p. 120). For CRTs the social structures in school contexts can impose "avoidable impairment of [their] fundamental human needs" (Galtung, 1993, p. 106), most particularly through a perceived lack of support, resources, or opportunities to develop a sense of belonging and security (Boyd, Harrington, Jones, Kivunja & Reitano, 2010). It is not surprising that CRTs have been seen as an 'absent presence' (Apple, 1983; Lather, 1994) within the education sector as some of the most alienated, dissatisfied and unsupported workers (Duggleby & Baddali, 2007; author, 2009; Lunay and Locke, 2006). We advocate policy development to specifically support CRTs as contributors to school communities. Possibilities for further research and development, that could address CRT marginalisation, include mentoring programmes, professional learning networks and appropriate liaison systems to assist with accreditation and general support.

Conclusion

Each of the metaphors storied in this paper demonstrate the machinations of performativity as hegemonic structural marginalisation. If we are to recognise that the constructions of othered CRT subjectivities are 'contingent' and 'revocable', it calls for an examination of taken-for-granted configurations of power and knowledge in both schools and the wider system (Ball, 2013). In particular, the workings of power inherent in casual teacher 'flexploitation' (Bourdieu, 1998) serve to impoverish how CRTs are positioned in the politics of the market.

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