

**CASUALISATION AND CAREER PATHING OF
SUPPLY TEACHERS IN STATE SECONDARY
SCHOOLS IN MAURITIUS**

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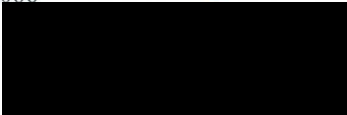
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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother and my grandmother (*Dadi*), my first teachers
and to all teachers.

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I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to my family and friends for providing me with love and encouragement throughout my PhD journey. In particular, I am deeply grateful to my wife, Hema, for her relentless support, for taking so much care of all our family members despite her hectic professional life and for bearing with me. I am thankful to my father for handling so many of my daily chores, thus allowing me the time to focus on my studies.

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Abstract

This qualitative case study examines the casualisation of teachers at secondary school level with the goal of better understanding how short-term contractual teachers carve their careers in response to their casualised status. Despite the importance of teachers in maintaining the quality of education, teaching is becoming a more non-permanent and casualised profession, potentially causing instability in the educational system. The study uses an interpretive lens to explore the ways in which supply teachers personally experienced, perceived and understood the casualisation phenomenon and further probes how these experiences influenced their career path. The conceptual lens of a 'precariat' was used as a starting point to elucidate the insecurities faced by supply teachers in relation to their casualised professional status. Data was produced with different categories of supply teachers as well as non-supply teachers in two phases. Firstly, an art-based methodology was used to compose metaphorical collages representing casualisation of teachers. In the second phase, each metaphorical collage was used as a trigger material to carry out stimulated recall interviews, which constituted the main data production tool. The data analysis included building case reports, which were compared and contrasted intra and inter category wise. A further analysis included unraveling supply teachers' symbolic representation of casualisation and career pathing, firstly, in their narrative reports and, secondly, in the symbolism assigned to numerous aspects of the phenomenon in the metaphorical collages that they produced to portray the professional selves of short-term contractual teachers. The findings suggested that the participants interpreted the casualisation of supply teachers in complex but not always contradictory ways. The supply teachers construed supply teaching both as a no-career job and as an integral part of career-building. The study concludes that the supply teachers were concurrently enfeebled and empowered by their casual status, but they demonstrated hope and resilience despite being cornered by professional precarity. The contribution of this study hinges on the conceptualisations of different categories of supply teachers about the ways their casual status influences their career pathing and on the new perspectives around the ways they convert the challenges of working on short term contracts into leverages for agentic possibilities. The study has implications for broader academic theorisation since it uses Mauritius as a site to generate new knowledge about casualisation in relation to Small Island Developing States.

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List of abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
BA	Bachelor of Arts
B.Ed	Bachelor of Education
CBT	Casual Beginning Teacher
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CPE	Certificate of Primary Education
DT	Design and Technology
EFA	Education For All
EI	Education International
EOU	Education Officers' Union
FoST	Former Supply Teacher
FRR	Freshly Retired Rector
FST	Fresh Supply Teacher
GSSTU	Government Secondary School Teachers' Union
HOD	Head of Department
HR	Human Resources
HRMD	Human Resource Management and Development
HSC	Higher School Certificate
HSSREC	Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IT	Information Technology

MEDCO	Mauritius Educational Development Company Ltd
MGIEU	Mahatma Gandhi Institute Education Union
MIE	Mauritius Institute of Education
MITD	Mauritius Institute of Training and Development
MOE	Ministry of Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PGCE	Post-Graduate Certificate in Education
PMS	Performance Management System
PSAC	Primary School Achievement Certificate
PSC	Public Service Commission
PSSA	Private Secondary Schools Authority
PVRM	Participatory Visual Research Methodologies
RST	Renewed Supply Teacher
SC	School Certificate
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SRI	Stimulated Recall Interview
TSSSTU	The State Secondary School Teachers' Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UoB	University of Brighton
UPSEE	Union of Private Secondary Education Employees
US	United States

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALISING CASUALISATION AND THE CAREER PATHING OF SUPPLY TEACHERS

Introduction

This introductory chapter starts by foregrounding how teaching, as a profession, is being increasingly casualised around the world. It then focuses on how the casualisation phenomenon unfolded in the Mauritian context. This is followed by an exploration of how casualisation of secondary school teachers is influencing the way supply teachers navigate their professional lives and career trajectories. The chapter ends by justifying this research to a broader international audience, beyond the specific context of data production with the aim to understand how casualisation of teachers affects a small island state, as this could have implications for wider academic theorisation.

The chapter comprises four sections as follows:

Section 1 sets the background of the study, highlighting growing casualisation of the teaching workforce around the world. It also reflects on the reasons for this phenomenon and explores the different ways it has been represented in the recent literature. The term ‘career pathing’ as it is used in this study, is defined in the last part of this section.

Section 2 starts by justifying Mauritius as an appropriate site for a case study on casualisation. It highlights the debate on this phenomenon in the country’s education sector and the progressive casualisation of the teaching workforce serving state secondary schools, as well as the short-term contractual status of teachers.

Section 3 sets out the rationale for a study on the casualisation of teachers and their career pathing. It presents the critical questions, and the study’s focus and aim. The section ends with a brief discussion on the theoretical lens used to study supply teachers.

Finally, **Section 4** presents an overview of the thesis.

Section 1: Background of the study

1.1.1 Casualisation of work and a revisited employer-employee relationship

The term ‘casualisation’ has multiple meanings but it essentially refers to ‘non-standard and non-permanent employment relations’ (Scatigna, 2009, p. 231). The traditional concept of lifelong employment appears to be fading as long-term, permanent contracts are being replaced by diverse employment options including contingent, contractual and casualised work (McMahon, 2006; Schilling, 2012). Baruch (2004) notes that the employer-employee relationship is changing from a traditional marriage-like relationship involving ‘strong commitment for life-long togetherness’ into what could be described as a conditional attachment (Baruch, 2004, p. 67). However, such a definition also embeds cultural worldviews as to what constitutes ‘marriage’ in terms of levels of formality and contractual aspects and contests the notion that ‘marriage’ ought to be about mutual benefit to the agreeing parties. There is a large body of fictional literature on the contested and complicated nature of the ‘marriage’ contract which simultaneously embeds personal, emotional, political, cultural and social elements. The question that arises is why it should be expected that the contractual relationships between employers and their employees should be any different. Drawing a parallel between casualisation and conditional attachment does not vilify either of the contracting parties as both of these social agreements comprise choices motivated by a range of factors, including the convenience or strategic opportunities they offer, rather than being restricted to an expression of an emotional and everlasting bond.

There are diverse views on the phenomenon of employment casualisation, with some projecting it as desirable, and others regarding it as unwelcome. The desirability of casual work is often associated with employment flexibility (Wooden, 2001; Wooden & Warren, 2004). For instance, flexibility offers employees the freedom to leave a job as and when they want, and take up another job, remain jobless or retain to the same job. In a study by Bamberly (2011), some women who held permanent positions as teachers expressed the challenges they faced ‘to return to full-time work after parental leave, while maintaining responsibility for young children’ (p. 56). However, the downside of casualisation becomes palpable with a ‘polarisation’ in the labour market, with permanent jobs regarded as the good ones and casual jobs the bad ones (Watson, 2013; May, Campbell & Burgess, 2005). Workers may regard casual or temporary jobs as undesirable due to the insecurities and uncertainties associated with them. Numerous studies have highlighted the casualisation of the teaching profession around

the world (Huberman, 1993; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Kalleberg, 2009; Brown, Goodman, & Yasukawa, 2010; Bamberry, 2011). However, there seems to be an apparent paucity of research on how this phenomenon affects the career trajectories of secondary school teachers in Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

1.1.2 Casualisation of the teaching profession

Casual work is no longer restricted to low skilled vulnerable workers (Bamberry, 2011; Blackham, 2020). Professions, like nursing and teaching that are considered among the key occupations to promote social and cultural well-being, have been affected by casualisation (Bamberry, 2011). In a recent study on precarious work in legal education, Blackham (2020) points that job precarity is becoming the new normal in higher education around the world. A similar view is echoed by Leathwood & Read (2020) who note an ‘increasing casualisation of academic labour over recent years ... across the global north’ (p. 1). Furthermore, this phenomenon is also not bound to specific geographic or economic regions. There is widespread use of short-term contractual teachers in African, American, Australian and Asian countries (Bamberry, 2011; Brown et al., 2010; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Kingdon, Aslam, Rawal & Das, 2013). Moreover, it appears that the employment of teachers on short-term contracts is likely to continue (International Labour Organisation/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Sectoral Activities Department, 2012; Jayakumar, 2011). The 2009 Education International (EI) Report highlighted that the ‘casualisation crisis’ faced by teachers requires immediate action across the world (EI, 2009, p. 3). The existing literature on the casualisation of teachers points to the need to review this phenomenon contextually, theoretically and philosophically to understand the forces acting upon how the nature of teachers’ work and development is evolving within the changing landscape of education. More so, by examining the processes and impacts of casualisation on one specific profession like teaching, it becomes also possible to derive collateral understanding of how other similar professions may be affected.

1.1.3 Terms employed to describe casualised teachers in different contexts

Casualisation of the teaching profession is not limited to a particular educational level. The literature notes that it affects academics at the tertiary level (Lama & Joullié, 2015), secondary school teachers (Murphy, 2006) as well as primary school teachers (Duthilleul, 2005). In

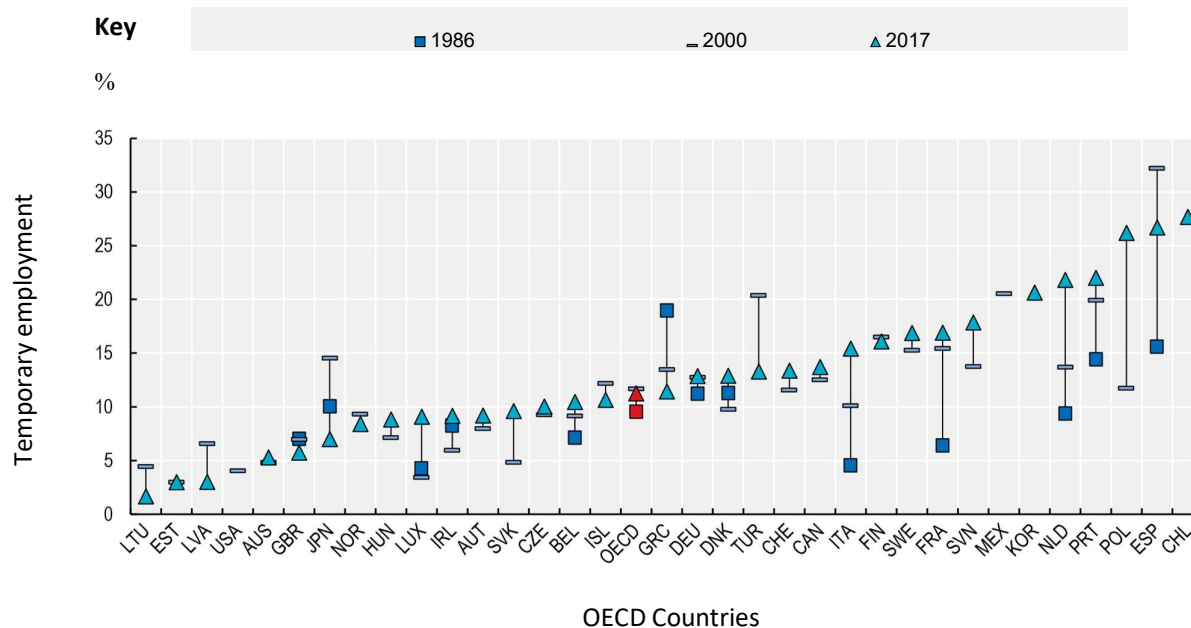
Mauritius, a small island developing state, the short-term contractual teachers serving secondary schools are called ‘supply teachers’. This terminology has also been used in the United Kingdom (Murphy, 2006; Facchin, 2016). Such teachers are referred to as ‘casual relief teachers’ in some parts of Australia (Bambrery, 2011), ‘substitute teachers’ in some areas in the United States (US) (Duggleby & Badali, 2007), and ‘para-teachers’ in India (Toppo & Manjhi, 2013). While there might be nuances in the working conditions of short-term contractual teachers in different parts of the world, for the purpose of this study, the terms ‘casual teacher’, ‘contractual teacher’, ‘short-term contractual teacher’ and ‘supply teacher’ are often used interchangeably. The nuances in the labelling of casualised teachers are largely ascribed to the nature of their job contract. However, these nomenclatures also underline that the casualisation of teachers is a multi-faceted phenomenon. The following section explores the range of motivations for the different kinds of such job contracts.

1.1.4 Hiring teachers on short term contracts

The casualisation process affecting work may be construed as ‘part of a managerial drive for efficiency, rationalization and flexibility ... in the context of globalized market competitiveness at a time of fast capitalism’, an aspect of a broader short-termism across society (Leathwood & Read, 2020, p. 1). According to Hargreaves and Fullan (2012), a business capital model favours ‘a teaching force that is young, flexible, temporary, inexpensive to train at the beginning, un-pensioned at the end, and replaceable wherever possible by technology’ (p. 23). Though the “highest performing economies and educational systems in the world” are employing the professional capital model in their teaching and investing in the human capital, the marked increase in temporary employment across the world may not be overlooked (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012, p. 23). Temporary work in the teaching area, in the form of teacher casualisation, is also becoming more common around the world, demonstrating the progressive expansion of an economic logic into the realm of education and schools (Percy & Beaumont, 2008).

A report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) notes that almost half its member countries are characterised by temporary employment contracts (OECD, 2019, p. 58). The figure below illustrates the growth of part-time employment among these states.

Fixed-term employment as a share of dependent employment¹, all ages



Note: Data are for 1987 instead of 1986 for The Netherlands and Spain; and 2001 instead of 2000 for Australia, Poland and the United States. Source: OECD Employment Database, www.oecd.org/employment/database.

Figure 1 - Temporary employment in OECD countries (OECD, 2019, p. 58)

One among the numerous reasons behind the casualisation of teachers is the fact that it is considered a cost-effective response to the economic constraints faced by institutions in the private and public spheres (Goyal & Panday, 2013; Percy & Beaumont, 2008). Goyal and Panday (2013) observe that increasing school enrolment and budgetary constraints have led numerous states such as India to hire para-teachers (supply teachers). The Mauritian context may not be identical to that of India, but the Mauritian government resorted to hiring supply teachers to overcome teacher shortages to achieve Education For All (EFA) by 2015 (National Steering Group, 2005, p. 1).

Numerous factors seem to have triggered the intake of supply teachers to fill staffing gaps and reduce teacher-learner ratios. Whilst economic and supply-demand factors underpin the growing casualisation phenomenon, this study also explores other contextual and personal

¹ Part-time / Temporary employment

reasons for the casualisation of teachers, including the influence it may have on their career plans. It offers in-depth insight into the inner world of the experiences of casualised supply teachers, and how they make sense of and negotiate their work and career environments. This exploration is motivated by the need to understand both the drawbacks and opportunities that casualisation could offer future as well as practising education professionals.

1.1.5 The impact of casualisation

Casualisation of teachers - A bridge?

Casual employment often appears to play a bridging role since it provides the stepping stones for the unemployed to enter and often re-enter the labour market with the possibility of securing a permanent post. However, critics of casualisation suggest that such bridges are illusory and that most casuals remain trapped in a 'cycle of job churning' (Watson, 2013, p. 2). This entails being caught in professional turbulence, resulting in movement from one contractual job to another, which also includes the possibility of finding oneself in a similar position to the one occupied earlier.

This study also examines 'job churning' in the professional life of supply teachers in order to better understand casualisation and the ways in which it could be influencing supply teachers' professional lives.

Casualisation of teachers – a danger to the quality of education?

Percy and Beaumont (2008) observe that casualisation has been problematised as 'dangerous to the quality of teaching' (p. 1). A research report on the extent and effects of casualisation in Southern African countries highlights that temporary teachers are increasingly being used to replace permanent teachers and that job insecurity may affect the teacher's performance and impact educational outcomes (Bodibe, 2006, p. 8). Goyal and Panday's (2013) study on Indian short-term contractual teachers expressed similar concerns. The authors note that the large number of supply teachers may negatively impact the quality of education given that many short-term contractual teachers have low qualifications and little or no induction or experience.

In contrast, Muralidharana and Sundaraman (2013) found that contractual teachers had a lower rate of absenteeism (16%) than regular teachers (27 %). They observe that high levels of

absenteeism and low productivity among regular teachers suggest that these teachers lack accountability. Goyal and Panday (2013) note that Indian contractual teachers are bound by performance-based contracts which can be terminated if their performance is judged unsatisfactory 'by the village education committee or other local community bodies that have the authority to hire them' (p. 464). Though the short-term contractual teachers are provided with greater incentives to work, they do not have training like the regular teachers. Still, Goyal and Panday (2013) admit that 'contract teachers are a more efficient resource compared to regular teachers' (p. 482).

Casualisation of teachers - right or wrong?

Casual labour is often understood as work 'exempted from most rights' (Pocock, 2008, p. 2). For teachers, casualisation may result into 'job insecurity, heavy workloads and reduced career prospects' and according to Edigheji (1999), women are the ones who suffer the consequences in the education sector as they form the majority of the short-term contractual teachers (p. 38). Standing (2011) does not deny that casualisation results in insecure and unpredictable jobs. However, he emphasises the need to avoid either of the extremes when interpreting casual labour or the casualisation process. To support his argument, he asserts that a non-standard job that is free from 'imposed discipline ... (and) control by somebody in authority' could also be a boon to the worker (Standing, 2011, pp. 15-16). Standing (2008) equates the word 'casual' to 'informal' to convey the element of choice that a person working in a casual position may enjoy. 'Imposed discipline' implies a degree of accountability on the part of the worker (pp. 15-16). This may not be relevant to a casual worker who stays in a job temporarily. As far as Mauritian supply teachers are concerned, a one-year contract may not exempt them from a degree of answerability to their employer, i.e., the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research, henceforth referred as the Ministry of Education in this thesis. Nonetheless, many supply teachers are not subjected to the same rules governing permanent teachers and they may leave to take up another position as and when they wish. Furthermore, few risks are attached to underperformance. While this might affect the quality of teaching, it also gives supply teachers the leeway to act or teach freely or perhaps more creatively. Standing (2008) notes that numerous casual workers who participated in a series of 'Worker Security Surveys' expressed greater job satisfaction than those in non-casual

positions. It can thus be assumed that a casual position in the teaching profession may appeal to some who might wish to be permanently temporary by choice.

1.1.6 Exploring lenses to study casual teachers

This study uses Guy Standing's (2011) theory of a 'precariat' to shed light on the casualisation of the teaching profession and its influence on supply teachers' professional lives. Standing (2011) considers the 'precariat' as a class of marginalised workers facing numerous work-related insecurities. The aim is to better understand the different types and levels of insecurity that may influence their decisions. Different theories (Fessler & Christensen, 1992; Huberman, 1993; Sikes, Measor & Woods, 1985; Steffy, Wolfe, Pasch & Enz, 2000) can be employed to enhance understanding of casualisation and supply teachers' career pathing. However, they lack the robustness of Standing's 'precariat'. A detailed discussion on this theory and the rationale for its use, is presented in chapter 2.

It is vital to understand the relationship between the casualisation of teachers and their career pathing for the following reasons. Firstly, professional learning could be impeded when teachers become entangled in employment issues. Secondly, the profession may lose valuable talent. Thirdly, high turnover rates may also have human resource implications. This study focuses on how supply teachers make sense of their casual status and the factors behind their decision to remain in the profession, to change professions, and perhaps return to supply teaching.

1.1.7 Professional trajectory of supply teachers

In order to understand the career pathing of supply teachers, it is important to distinguish the term 'pathing' from 'pathway'. This research refers to the 'career pathway' of a teacher as a well-established and predestined professional trajectory which every other employee in that position would tread. 'Career pathing', on the other hand, has been referred to as the way supply teachers carve their professional trajectory, resulting in a non-standard, unique path for each individual. While the career pathway seems to be more relevant to the permanent teacher, the professional trajectory of the supply teacher, being transitory, multidirectional and protean, may not fit the pathway standard. As a result, in order to succeed professionally and carve out a niche for himself/herself, the supply teacher will need to be more than just diligent.

Section 2: Supply teaching in the Mauritian context

Mauritius was considered an appropriate site to explore casualisation as a case study as industrial relations in the school contexts have often been characterised as oppressive to teachers due to challenging conditions of work. This section discusses how such oppression could have come about.

Whilst constituting a unique site, Mauritius's history of colonisation and exploitation of its workforce is shared with many countries. The country was colonised by the Dutch, the French and the British, each of which left particular footprints on modern-day Mauritius. Each of the colonial powers adopted different strategies to manage the local workforce to build its empire and governing structures. These included slavery and indentured labour. Local labour remained marginalised members of the colony until the country achieved independence. Labour considerations were thus the founding rationale upon which Mauritius was built. After the abolition of slavery, the British opted for alternative modes of employment, and modern Mauritius's heritage lies in patterns of indentured or contractual labour. The exploitative labour relations in colonial Mauritius originated in the sugar industry and spread to other areas in the private sector (Hazareesingh, 1975; Selvon, 2019).

1.2.1 Tracing the roots of casualisation in Mauritius

Mauritius – A brief history

The Republic of Mauritius consists of the main island of Mauritius, the island of Rodrigues, Agalega, St Brandon, the Chagos Archipelago and Tromelin. The island's strategic position in the Indian Ocean motivated the Dutch's decision to colonise it and use it as a stopover for ships sailing to the East Indies for spices. The Dutch settlers embarked on many activities, including felling the ebony trees that abounded the island. These were exported to Holland to be sold at a high price. The Dutch used slaves as a source of labour. Several ran away, 'escaping torture and capital punishment from the Dutch colonial administrators and military' and chose to stay in caves and gorges (Selvon, 2019, p. xvii). They attacked their ex-masters, stealing food and even setting fire to their crops. Seen from one perspective, these slaves laid the foundation stone for freedom from forced labour.

A fall in the price of ebony in Europe caused the Dutch to leave Mauritius for good in 1710. Half a decade later, the French took possession of the island and named it Isle de France. Their motive was purely commercial since, during a time when they were at war with the British, they wanted to control the spice route. Selvon (2019) states that ‘Mauritius was founded as a nation in 1721-1722 by a multi-ethnic group of settlers, comprising slave-owners, free workers, soldiers, sailors and slaves’ (p. xvii). While the nature of work and workers changed under the French, abuse of the workers or slaves hardly changed.

After having lost the Battle of Grand Port, the British retaliated in December 1810. Having fewer soldiers and weapons, the French capitulated to the British who took possession of the island (Vaughan, 2005, p. 259). The capitulation terms were generous as the French settlers were allowed to retain their laws, customs, language, religion and property, including their slaves (Fauque, 2002, p. 18). The island was renamed Mauritius and slavery continued until 1835, although the British government outlawed it in 1833 (Nath Varma, 2008, p. 60). The planters were forced to resort to a new form of labour.

Within the English world, Mauritius was ‘the first country to adopt the system of indentured labour from India’ (Fauque, 2002, p. 20; Gerbeau, 1986, p. 218). The word ‘indenture’ refers to a written contract entered into by a person to work for another for a given period. Indentured labourers from India who were recruited on ‘contracts which lasted five years’ replaced the slaves (Nath Varma, 2008, p. 71; Peerthum & Peerthum, 2012, p. 30).

The emancipated slaves chose not to work for their ex-masters who had persecuted them. ‘The land appeared a symbol of slavery’ to them and many ex-slaves preferred to remain unemployed (Nath Varma, 2008, p. 61). The ex-slaves left the sugar plantations to settle in the periphery of Port-Louis and the coastal regions and became fishermen, masons and carpenters. Thus, colonisation influenced demographics and led to the emergence of classes through the development of a class of government administrators, with teachers fitting into the lower-middle-class.

The scars of a colonial past

Indentureship can be regarded as the genesis of contractualisation of work in Mauritius. While, unlike the slaves, Indian indentured labourers were not overtly regarded as commodities, they

were often subjected to ill-treatment by planters who previously oppressed their slaves (Younger, 2010, p. 21). The Indian workers worked long hours for a subsistence wage, making their conditions no better than the slaves (Hazareesingh, 1975). The colonial secretary in Mauritius, G. F. Dick, wrote a letter to the Bengal government suggesting that the Indian authorities check the recruiting agents as the employers did not enact the contract as they should. It noted that the 'hours of work are from sunrise to sunset, with two and sometimes three hours for taking their meals' (Selvon, 2019, p. 234). In his work, 'La Misère Noire', Mourba (1978) suggests that indentureship was a repackaging of slavery as a response to the anti-slavery movement. Numerous events have shaped the history of Mauritius and indentureship seems to be decisive as far as contractualisation of employment is concerned.

Apart from the settlers, the slaves and the Indian indentured labourers, numerous free workers were brought to work as artisans, carpenters and masons. The Indian immigrants had to carry passes or Old Immigrant tickets in a small cylindrical tin container and were thus labelled 'Tin-ticket man' (Fauque, 2002, p. 21). Many reported the loss of their documents which had to be replaced at their own cost or they would face imprisonment for seven to thirty days. Many labourers were arrested as vagrants for non-possession of their documents, even though they had not previously broken the law (Peerthum & Peerthum, 2012, p. 37). Indian workers with limited rights thus endured the harassment of the local colonial police.

Adversity can, however, represent a cloud with a silver lining. Mauritians inherited a deep-seated legacy of resilience, forging a determination to achieve despite the odds. The country's history of slavery, indentured labour, and oppressive colonial regimes seems to have given birth to a collective psyche that resists marginalisation. This psyche also seems to have influenced the decisions of the Mauritian representatives involved in negotiations for the country's independence from Britain.

According to Vine (2009), the chief Mauritian official, Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, was given the choice between 'the detachment of Chagos from Mauritius and £3 million, or no independence' (p. 98). Ramgoolam chose an independent Mauritius. This resulted in a bloodless handing over of power that was very different from the manner in which other colonies achieved their independence. However, it conceals an orchestrated plot between 1968 and 1973: 'the United States and Great Britain exiled all 1500 – 2000 islanders to create a major U.S. military base on the Chagossians' island Diego Garcia' (Vine, 2009, p. 16). Jeffery (2011) notes that the 'British authorities skilfully and deceitfully maneuvered to blackmail

Sewoosagar Ramgoolam – heading a divided Mauritian delegation and with allies lukewarm in their support for independence – into accepting the illegal dismemberment of Mauritian territory prior to (before) independence’ (p. 79). Nonetheless, there seems to be a degree of opacity concerning the way Mauritius became independent without any bloodshed. While the notion of a negotiated settlement of contestation was not explicitly expressed or debated in earlier times, the protestations of the Chagossians and the voices of writers triggered press articles and radio debates that gradually became infused in the “psyche” of Mauritian society. This highlights how precariousness or the expedient contracting of relational discourses established itself within Mauritius and why this site is a valuable case study to explore this bounded phenomenon.

The price for an independent Mauritius was paid by the Chagossians, the inhabitants of the Chagos Archipelago, who cannot return to their birthplace. While the Mauritian Government has reiterated the Chagos Archipelago’s claim to sovereignty, it seems that this situation may take many years to be resolved in favour of Mauritius. Delivering its Chagos advisory opinion, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) found that the ‘the UK’s (United Kingdom) continuing administration of the archipelago, which includes the largest US naval base in the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia, is a continuing internationally wrongful act, which the UK was under the obligation to cease as soon as possible’ (Milanovic, 2019, p. 1).

Evers and Kooy (2011) concur that the Americans intimidated the Chagossians to leave the Archipelago and in this way, a unique society was lost. They add that Chagos offers many lessons pertaining to gender issues as it was the only region, apart from Meghalaya in India, with a ‘matriarchal society ... (where) women were economically very important and had many relationships’ (p. 59). Jeffery (2011) reflects that the Chagossians ‘were already marginal within colonial Mauritius and that their marginality was compounded by their relocation to Mauritius during the decade around independence, which was a period of social, economic and political unrest’ (p. 38). The people from Mauritius and its dependencies had to deal with this marginality in multiple ways. The heritage of contractual labour and the issues around employment seem to have been ingrained in the Mauritian psyche. This suggests that labour negotiations underpin the fabric of the society’s political, economic and cultural agenda. Mauritius is thus an appropriate site to research casualisation, temporariness, labour practices and career prospects as none of these are uncommon or new to the country.

The descendants of the slaves and indentured labourers live very different lives from their forebears. Most are educated and are serving their country in different posts. Many have stable and secure jobs in the public and private sectors. Others are self-employed and live a decent life. However, many others struggle to find and retain jobs. Temporary employment may involve different forms of economic insecurity (Standing, 2008). Like their ancestors, most Mauritians of Indian or African origin tend to regard contractual work as indentureship and hence, social and economic regression. Thus, resistance to casualisation may be interpreted as deep-seated resistance to colonisation and oppression.

These arguments open up possibilities for theoretical and philosophical exploration. While it might appear far-fetched to dovetail teachers' experience of casualisation in Mauritius with the population's past colonised status and indentureship, this aspect should not be overlooked. A colonial past may not be sufficient to come up with any generalisations concerning Mauritians' career choices. Still, casualisation seems to be subtly interpreted by many as the gradual re-invention of indentureship. Permanent employment and a job in the public sector remain a sign of social and economic success that is much-coveted, especially by the descendants of Indian indentured labourers. Nonetheless, the phenomenon needs to be explored in the current context to understand it from other perspectives; perhaps representing an opportunity to carve a new present.

1.2.2 Secondary education in Mauritius and its casualising workforce

Supply teachers in a reconfiguring education system in Mauritius

The teachers serving the education system are the products of the system but also contribute to shaping it. Selvon (2019) notes that Lebrun, a Christian missionary, 'helped enormously the coloured population by providing them education, which became their main weapon in their difficult and painful struggle for emancipation' (p. 179). Mass education developed after the British conquest of the island in 1810 and the abolition of slavery in 1833. The first British Governor, Robert Townsend Farquhar, reoriented the education system from French to British. The French 'lycée coloniale' became the Royal College and the curriculum was brought in line with British standards. Access to education which was restricted to the ruling class, was gradually extended to the children of coloured people and slaves.

Education played a pivotal role in the struggle for independence and following its achievement in 1968, the government made it a priority to improve the education system. For instance, in 1976 and 1988 respectively, free education was offered at secondary and post-secondary level. Several private and state secondary schools were established. However, the current education system seems to open the door to casualisation of teachers. It begins with pre-primary schooling up to the age of five. Primary schooling previously spanned six years, culminating into the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE), a qualification formerly awarded (1980 – 2016) after the completion of six years of primary schooling in Mauritius. However, recent changes, including the implementation of nine years of compulsory schooling, meant that the CPE was replaced by the Primary School Achievement Certificate (PSAC), the qualification currently (since 2017) awarded on completion of six years of primary schooling in Mauritius. This is followed by five years of secondary schooling leading to a School Certificate (SC) and two additional years for a Higher School Certificate (HSC).

A fairly recent phenomenon that could possibly reconfigure the recruitment and retention of teachers in the state secondary schools in Mauritius is the mushrooming of fee-paying schools. This phenomenon may potentially affect the way teachers will be recruited in state secondary schools in the coming decade. Though this local trend in the schooling system has not been researched till date, the popularity of fee-paying schools is not a secret in Mauritius. A growing number of students are joining fee-paying schools, and this is bound to impact on the enrolment of students in state secondary schools, causing it to decrease. Under similar circumstances, the recruiting body should be faced with much uncertainty about student enrolment in the coming years. Hence, the recruitment of contractual teachers as and when they are needed in state secondary schools seems to be a safer alternative for the Ministry of Education. Supply teachers seem to be considered useful in filling staffing gaps which may fluctuate with increasing or decreasing student enrolment. Figure 2 below depicts a constant fall in secondary school (including pre-vocational) enrolment from March 2015 to March 2019.

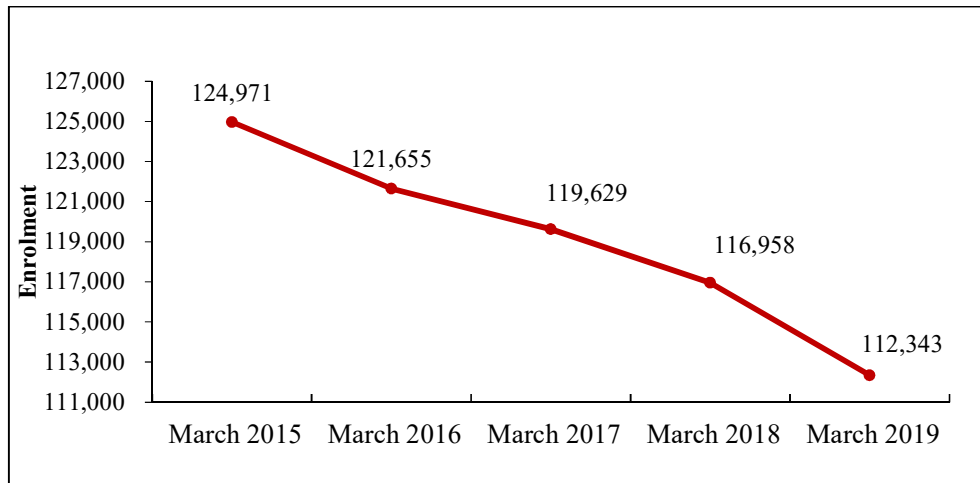


Figure 2 – Enrolment in Secondary Schools (General & Pre-vocational), March 2015 – March 2019
(Statistics Mauritius, 2019, p. 5)

This trend is likely to continue since, as shown in Figure 3 below, there was also a constant decrease in student enrolment at primary school level during the same period (March 2015 – March 2019).

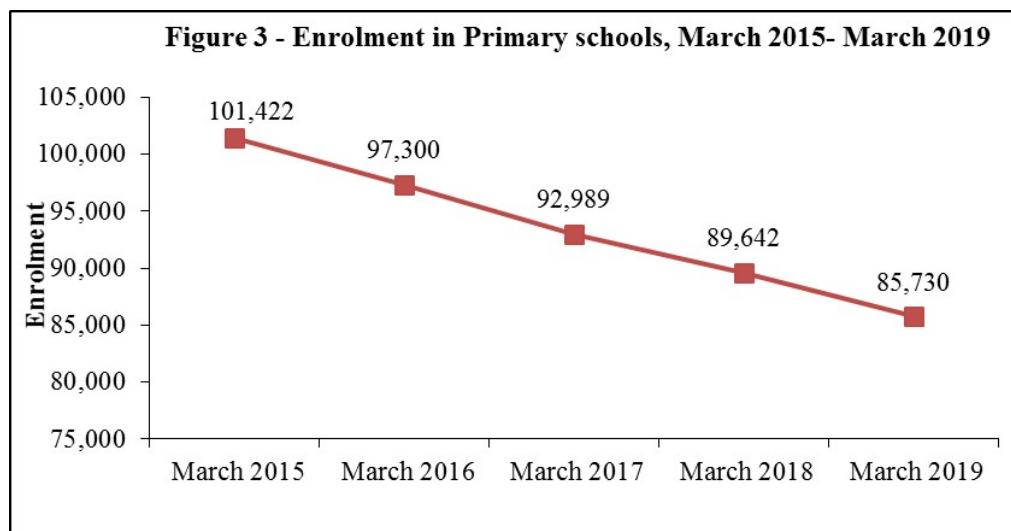


Figure 3 – Enrolment in Primary Schools, March 2015 - March 2019
(Statistics Mauritius, 2019, p. 4)

Declining primary school enrolment will influence future secondary school enrolment. Decreasing enrolment in state secondary schools could mean that recruiting permanent teachers

will result in over-staffing. This has human resource management implications as recruiting permanent teachers may lead to redundancies in the years to come. By casualising the teaching profession, the authorities secure leeway to adjust the number of teachers serving these schools. The current recourse to casualisation could thus be interpreted as a precautionary economic measure. In line with Duthilleul's (2005) observations, it appears that Mauritius will maintain a flexible workforce in response to variations in student enrolment.

There is a lack of data on the number of supply teachers serving state secondary schools in Mauritius as no information on their recruitment is available on the Central Statistics Office website. Furthermore, such data is treated as highly confidential by the statistics department of the Ministry of Education, the recruiting body for supply teachers.

Apart from anonymous comments posted on the net, there is hardly any information on the lived experiences and career trajectories of supply teachers working in state secondary schools in Mauritius. This study thus set out to obtain the views of not only supply teachers but also non-supply teachers who are part of the same work environment. It was also considered useful to solicit the views of the different kinds of supply teachers since there might be nuances in their experiences. In order to fulfil this objective, it was necessary to employ innovative methods that would enable the participants to freely recount their professional experiences and their career decisions. This called for data production tools that were not invasive or intimidating. It was assumed that the voices of these individuals and their personal experiences have been relatively suppressed; therefore, this study has the liberatory potential to enable silenced voices to be heard in the public domain. In this sense, it could claim some elements of a social justice agenda at macro level, albeit via a personal agentic interpretation. Nonetheless, the study was not only based on the experiential views of supply teachers but included analysis at a macro-level systemic context.

1.2.3 Casualisation of teachers – A matter of concern

Contract teachers now form a sizeable part of the teaching workforce in numerous countries and their short-term contractual status is a matter of concern (Jensen, Sandoval-Hernandez, Knoll, & Gonzalez, 2012). The use of supply teachers started more than a decade ago but it seems to have increased with the expansion of enrolment to enable countries to meet United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO's) EFA agenda (Bourdon & Nkengne-Nkengne, 2007; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007). Jayakumar (2011) observes that

casualisation of teaching in India emerged as a ‘stop-gap arrangement’ to resolve the problem of teacher shortages, but subsequently became an alternative way to recruit teachers (p. 21).

While a similar situation seems to prevail in the Mauritian context, there is a paucity of research on the country’s supply teachers. In an article published in a local newspaper, Dr Awootar (2018) laments that ‘the flippant and indifference-fueled system of supply teachers is an oxymoron and a bitter irony’ (p. 1). He describes the frustrations experienced by these teachers in their professional life and the harm done to students’ academic performance. However, his reflections tend to focus on one extreme of casualisation. I maintain that the casualisation of teachers is a much broader phenomenon than supply teachers’ working conditions and experiences. Without a professional anchor, they could become part of a growing precariat ‘where opportunities of decent work has (have) been eroded (and) ... work and life are characterised by precariousness and risk’ (Sheen, 2013, pp. 1-3).

Studies abound on the professional lives of teachers. (Acker, 1999; Day, Stobart, Sammons & Kington, 2006; Huberman, 1993; Rolls & Plauborg, 2009; Sikes et al., 1985; Steffy, Wolfe, Pasach & Enz, 2000). There have also been numerous studies on the casualisation of the teaching profession (Bamberry, 2011; Brown et al., 2010; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Huberman, 1993; Kalleberg, 2009; Pocock, 2008). The gap in the existing literature is the relationship between professional lives and casualisation. This research study aimed to address this gap both contextually and theoretically by exploring the impact of supply teachers’ casual status on their professional trajectory. This includes unique interpretations of casualisation within a developing world context or a Small Island Developing State. However, this study did not delve into the life stories of the supply teachers, nor did it focus on the impact of casualisation on other jobs or other workers.

Section 3: Rationale for the study

1.3.1 The need to study casualisation of teachers and their career pathing

Paucity of research

Teachers have been the subject of a broad range of research interests. However, there is a paucity of research on the way the supply teachers in state secondary schools design their career

path because of their casual status. As noted previously, the material, on Mauritian supply teachers, is limited to a few articles in the press or supply teachers' posts on Facebook. This study addresses this research gap by investigating the impact of supply teachers' casual status and their career pathing in the local context. It explores the meaning supply teachers make of their casual status. This meaning-making is related to their experiences from the time they join as supply teachers or perhaps even before. Previous research examined the professional identity and experiences of supply teachers (Uchida, Cavanagh & Moloney, 2019). However, the review of literature indicated that a connection between the casualised status of supply teachers and the way their professional position influences them to plan their future career, has not come under the lens of research.

Positionality

Before entering the teaching profession, I worked as a casual worker in a range of contexts, as a subordinate to ex-classmates, in precarious job conditions and situations that changed constantly. My previous work and life experiences influenced my expectations when I entered the teaching profession. All the experiences I acquired and the life lessons I learnt from these experiences or my experiential capital thus gave me a privileged vantage point to understand the experiences of people working in different casual positions.

The different aspects of the casualisation process have kept on challenging my opinion about the phenomenon. Numerous supply teachers have shared with me their feelings of insecurity at different moments. With my preconceived ideas, I projected the phenomenon as a form of oppression on the part of the employer and considered that supply teachers are subjected to injustice. However, my journey as a researcher enabled me to understand the phenomenon differently. I would not interpret this change as a metamorphosis, but would describe it as a makeover/remodeling.

This research project was also a personal venture to expand my understanding of work-related insecurities to which the casualisation phenomenon is so closely linked. I anticipated that it would enhance my ability to critically understand this phenomenon and also that improving my thinking and analytical skills would help me to improve my practice as a teacher. Thus, I expected that the study would further my personal and professional interests, ultimately enhancing my career.

Potential to respond to the new demands of the education world

Casualisation is often seen as the cause of multiple entries and exits that could hamper ‘career stability’ and prevent supply teachers from developing expert knowledge in the field of teaching (Huberman, 1993; Fessler & Christensen, 1992). However, it could be argued that prior first-hand practical experience in a particular field in which one wishes to pursue a career as a teacher could be extremely beneficial to teaching and learning. Facchin (2016) considers the knowledge he gained during his thirteen years in sales and marketing to be crucial to his "career and to his own notion of professionalism and identity as a business teacher" (p. 7). With the experience gathered, the teacher can be said to be better equipped with up-to-date knowledge that may be contributory to enhancing the quality of teaching.

Contribution to knowledge

Teachers ‘are experiencing the current shift in the organisation and culture of educational work in complex and contradictory ways’; experiencing disempowerment on the one hand and seeing new opportunities on the other (Rushbrook, Seddon, Angus & Brown, 1996, p. 312). The study aimed to add to the ongoing debate on the casualisation phenomenon which affects teachers worldwide. The current discourse centres on how the employment insecurities faced by supply teachers may impact their performance and educational outcomes (Bodibe, 2006; Percy & Beaumont, 2008). This study sought to extend the existing body of knowledge by pursuing a conceptual understanding of this phenomenon. A deeper understanding of the effects of casualisation on supply teachers serving state secondary schools in Mauritius will not only enhance knowledge of this phenomenon in the local context, but offer a deeper theoretical understanding of how casualisation could be affecting SIDS. It is hoped that its findings will inspire further research on supply teachers, contractual work, and working conditions in state secondary schools.

1.3.2 Key research questions

Reflections on the casualisation phenomenon and its possible influence on the career pathing of the supply teachers serving state secondary schools foreground numerous issues, including

ones which have been under-researched in the local context. Based on these issues, the following critical research questions were formulated:

- CQ1.** What is the relationship between the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers?
- CQ2.** How do supply teachers make sense of their casual status and how does this meaning-making influence them (or not) in their professional life?
- CQ3.** Why does the casual status of supply teachers influence (or not) the way they navigate their professional life?

1.3.3 Focus and aim of the study

1. To critically explore the relationship between the casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers.
2. To contribute to knowledge around the possible influence of casualisation of the teaching workforce on the career pathing of supply teachers and its effect on teacher professionalism.

The primary objective of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of how supply teachers make sense of their casual status and how this might influence their career choices and consequently their career trajectories. It hence focuses on how the mosaic of experiences of short-term contractual teaching influences supply teachers' career trajectories. The critical questions raise numerous sub-questions, the answers to which will enable a sound understanding of this phenomenon. These questions were important in data production and analysis. The sub-questions were:

- How long have the supply teachers been servicing state secondary schools?
- How would they describe their experiences as supply teachers?
- Why would the supply teachers describe these experiences in the way they do?
- What changes do the supply teachers wish to see in the recruitment policy and practices?
- Why do the supply teachers wish to see these changes in the recruitment policy and practices?
- Do the supply teachers want to stay in the teaching profession?

- Why would the supply teachers stay in the teaching profession?
- Do the supply teachers want to leave the teaching profession?
- Why would the supply teachers leave the teaching profession?
- What are the push/pull factors that may influence the decision-making of the new/renewed/former supply teacher to leave/stay /come back to supply teaching?
- What are the push factors that may influence the decision making of the new/renewed/former supply teacher to leave supply teaching?
- What are the pull factors that may influence the decision making of the new/renewed/former supply teacher to stay/come back to supply teaching?
- Where do the supply teachers see themselves in the next five to ten years?

1.3.4 Overview of the study

The study consists of eight chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the topic. It defines the casualisation phenomenon and presents the rationale for studying it. The chapter also unpicks the casualisation phenomenon in the Mauritian context, tracing its possible genesis in the practice of indentureship. It elaborates on the progressive casualisation of the workforce in the education sector and suggests that this could influence the way supply teachers navigate their career trajectory. The chapter ends by discussing the critical questions that guided the study, its focus and aim.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on the casualisation and career pathing of short-term contractual teachers. It foregrounds the metaphorical language used in the current literature to project the professional selves of supply teachers. The influence of teachers' casual status on their career pathing is also considered. The final section of this chapter is dedicated to a detailed explanation of the theoretical framework used as a starting point to study the casualisation phenomenon affecting supply teachers that guided data production.

Chapter 3 sets out the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying this research study. It presents the research design that justified the methodology, the methods and the research tools used for data production. Issues relating to trustworthiness and dependability are discussed, as well as the study's limitations. The chapter reflects on the challenges of researching upward and concludes with an explanation of the methods of analysis and presentation of data.

Chapter 4 presents a first-level analysis, interpretation and discussion on the findings regarding the perspectives of supply teachers. This chapter consists of the collages produced by the three types of supply teachers. It presents the case reports based on the analysis of the data produced using the collages as a trigger.

Chapter 5 consists of a first-level analysis of non-supply teachers' perspectives on the casualisation and career pathing of short-term contractual teachers. It presents the case reports based on the collages produced by a permanent teacher and a rector. It also includes a case report constructed from the responses of a Director of Education on supply teachers in state secondary schools in Mauritius.

Chapter 6 is a cross-case analysis of convergences and divergences in the views of the supply teachers and the non-supply teachers. This analysis includes an intra-category as well as an inter-category examination of the casualisation phenomenon. It focuses on the participants' views on the factors influencing the choice to join supply teaching, as well as the supply teachers' working conditions and experiences of their casual status. Finally, this chapter considers the influence of the casual status of the supply teachers on the way they navigate their professional life.

Chapter 7 elucidates the figurative language used by the participants to provide better access to their worldviews on the casualisation phenomenon and their conceptions of self, shaped by their casual status. It also analyses the metaphorical images from the collages produced by the participants to unpack the symbolic representation of casualisation in the professional life of the supply teachers, triangulating what was verbally expressed by the participants.

Chapter 8 is the thesis chapter which highlights the study's contribution to knowledge. It answers the research questions and presents new philosophical insights into the phenomenon under study. The chapter also explores the implications of the study, highlights its limitations and proposes recommendations. Finally, suggestions are made for future research to expand knowledge on the casualisation phenomenon affecting supply teachers serving state secondary schools.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEWING CASUALISATION OF TEACHERS AND THEIR CAREER PATHING

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of pertinent studies related to this research. It examines the body of knowledge on the casualisation of the teaching profession and sets the context for the research. The chapter consists of five sections.

Section 1 documents the casualisation crisis and the ongoing debate on this phenomenon within the field of education. It elaborates on the downsides and the upsides of casualisation of the teaching profession and gauges the extent to which this phenomenon is considered ethically sound from the viewpoint of both the employer and supply teachers. This section also highlights the metaphorical language used in the current literature to portray the professional selves of supply teachers.

Section 2 explores the work of supply teachers, including their employment conditions and the challenges they face due to their casualised status. It discusses the literature on supply teachers' experiences and employment preferences.

Section 3 analyses the link between the professional trajectories of supply teachers and their casualised work and status. It also examines teacher development issues that arise due to supply teachers' short-term contractual work. Finally, the section discusses the type of training that supply teachers may require to enhance their employability and efficiency in a highly competitive job market.

Section 4 sets out a theoretical lens that illustrates increasing precariousness within the teaching profession and its influence on the career pathing of supply teachers. This theoretical framework also assisted data production and analysis.

Section 5 presents a summary of the chapter.

Section 1: Casualisation of the Teaching Workforce

The existing body of literature on the contractual status of teachers and their careers presents mixed views (Acker, 1999; Bamberly, 2011; Bourdon, Frolich & Michaelowa, 2007; Bourdon & Nkengné-Nkengné, 2007; Brown, Goodman & Yasukawa, 2010; Duthilleul, 2005; Fyfe, 2007; Huberman, 1993; Kingdon, Aslam, Rawal & Das, 2013). However, much of this literature focuses on the primary school level (Chandra, 2015; Uchida, Cavanagh & Moloney, 2019). Mauritius's endorsement of EFA a decade ago could have triggered increased enrolment at the primary level before spreading to secondary school level. The number of state secondary schools has increased in past decades, creating an urgent need to fill staffing gaps with a casualised workforce.

This study critically explores the relationship between the conspicuous casualisation of the teaching workforce (Bamberly, 2011; Brown et al., 2010; Duthilleul, 2005; EI, 2009; Fyfe, 2007; Huberman, 1993; Kalleberg, 2009; Pocock, 2008) and the way the teachers carve out their career trajectory. The intention is not to project casualisation of the teaching profession as a contemporary malevolence as Pocock (2008) would suggest. Neither does this study propose solutions to this phenomenon; instead, it is geared towards thinking differently about the work of supply teachers. This is important because supply teachers seem to regard themselves as a group that will play a key role in the workforce that will serve the secondary education sector in the future.

2.1.1 Reasons for a casualising teacher workforce

The casualisation of the teaching profession may be considered as a response to the new economic demands of a capitalist environment. Supply teachers are hired to serve in state secondary schools for several reasons. The main reasons seem to be the need to fill staffing gaps and to cut costs in light of the financial constraints confronting the education sector in a globalised and further globalising world.

School staffing

Short-term contractual teachers offer 'a degree of flexibility to the (education) sector and facilitate quick adjustments to pressing and urgent demands' in response to variations in student

enrolment or replacement of teachers who are absent, on leave, or retired (Duthilleul, 2005, p. 11). In some Indian states, supply teachers were initially hired to assist ‘single teacher schools to run non-formal schools in remote and tribal areas’ (Goyal & Panday, 2013, p. 465). Besides, Duthilleul’s (2005) research on contract teachers around the world also puts forth that supply teachers were employed to serve ‘hard-to-reach rural and remote areas’ (p. 11). At the global level, governments’ commitment to democratisation of education through access and equity has led to increasing casualisation of the teacher workforce. Accordingly, developing countries have resorted to supply teachers to enable the achievement of resolutions like EFA (Jayakumar, 2011).

Pressures of globalisation

The evolving casualisation or ‘contractualisation of labour relations is a global phenomenon’ (Standing, 2008, p. 2). According to Standing (2008), this agenda seems to be closely related to the ‘pressures of globalisation, via the flexibilisation and informalisation of labour markets’ (p. 2). Carnoy, Hallak and Caillois (1999) and Obadic (2009) identify globalisation and technological advances as the two forces driving a revolution in the organisation of work. This has led to a shift from standard to non-standard employment in almost all sectors, including education.

No one seems to be exempt from the ‘effects of this revolution’, nor do countries have the luxury to choose whether or not to be globalised (Menon, 2008, p. 14). Molankal (2015) postulates that ‘casualisation is an offshoot of globalisation, causing increased employment opportunities for some of the workforce and loss of jobs for others’ (p. 28). This may exacerbate economic inequalities as better educated and more skilled workers are more likely to gain employment than their less-educated counterparts (Bloom, 2007). Along with the world of work, globalisation has had a major impact on the education sector (Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013; Carnoy et al., 1999; Claassen, 1999; Standing, 2011). Carnoy et al. (1999) observe that globalisation is ‘a hotly disputed concept ... (having) a profound effect on education’ at various levels and that this trend is likely to escalate (p. 14-17). Knowledge is central to globalisation and it consequently deeply impacts the transmission of knowledge. It may be said that the changing job context in a globalising world ‘translates into pressure to increase the average level of education in the labour force’ in order to ensure a more skilled workforce (Carnoy et al., 1999, pp. 14-15).

Menon (2008) advises that it is preferable to understand the driving forces of globalisation in order to better plan for society at large than to be caught up in the ongoing polarising debates generated by this phenomenon. However, Molankal (2015) observes that the downsides of globalisation, particularly those affecting the less privileged, need to be addressed by adopting policy changes that could improve ‘the functioning of labour markets and provide adequate social safety nets that cushion the impact on those adversely affected without obstructing the process of adjustment’ (p. 29). While Brown et al. (2010) identify ‘neoliberal flexibilisation and managerial rationalisation’ as the forces driving the casualisation crisis, Bodibe (2006) projects casualisation as a global phenomenon driven by neo-liberal market restructuring (p. 170). Lambert and Webster (2010) and Ferguson, Lavalette and Whitmore (2005) believe that globalisation has become an ‘unstoppable force’ (p. 2). In one sense, casualisation appears to offer more prospects for employment. However, Molankal (2015) notes that such jobs offer poor working conditions. Nonetheless, Parker, Griffin, Sprigg and Wall (2002) suggest that temporary contracts have both positive and negative impacts. This study explored how these impacts affect the way supply teachers design their careers.

Casualisation as an economic move

As a Small Island Developing State, Mauritius has unique specificities. The third OECD (2015) international conference on financing for development highlighted that, ‘rapid population growth in most SIDS creates stress for the provision of basic services and job opportunities’ (p. 1). The Mauritian reality may be slightly different as a rise in population is not predicted. However, the ageing population may affect employment opportunities. Economic issues, whether in SIDS or other countries, may adversely impact employment opportunities and workers’ rights. For instance, in some countries, economic crises, rising unemployment and labour market instability ‘led to an increase in the flexibility of social and labour relations’ resulting in the violation of labour rights (Volchik, Klimenko & Posukhova, 2018, pp. 415-425).

Robotisation and Artificial Intelligence (AI) – Is it a cause of casualisation?

Ashri (2020) notes that, ‘AI is notoriously hard to define’ (p. 15). Still, Davenport (2018) claims that AI and cognitive technologies employ human competences like knowledge, insight

and perception to perform specific tasks (p. 9). At the same time, robots and AI are slowly permeating the world of work and drastic changes may be expected in the field of education (Davenport, 2018; Johannessen, 2019; Mende, Fisher & Kuhne, 2019; West, 2018).

Boobier (2018) philosophises that the very notion of work is driven by *want* and *fear*, highlighting the anxiety that accompanies unemployment that results in the inability to afford both needs and wants. He ponders how such fear might manifest in a future technological age (Boobier, 2018, p. 3). We live in an age where statements like ‘teachers will be replaced by robots and holograms’ should no longer be considered as mythical or cursory statements (Johannessen, 2019, p. vii). Such a claim suggests the demise of a permanent workforce in education, supporting Johannessen’s (2019) assertion that there will remain only ‘contract workers with insecure jobs’ (p. vii). West (2018) observes that ‘automation powered by artificial intelligence will become ubiquitous’ and may result in job disruption (p. 23). However, the claim that ‘AI systems, including advanced robotics and digital bots, will replace humans’ in different fields could be a misconception (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018, p. 11). Boobier (2018) assumes that, depending ‘on the quality and nature of change and the individual teacher’s (personal) relationship with technology, as well as with the pupil’, the latter may be attracted to or shy away from the teaching profession (p. 107). It appears that what mechanisation has been to the agricultural sector, robotisation or AI would possibly be to the field of education. Still, since AI still seems to be handling its teething troubles, it is unlikely that the services of teachers will not be required anytime in the near future.

While a number of arguments may seem to indicate that AI may fodder casualisation in the teaching profession, it would be erroneous to vilify the phenomenon as it could also be a response to remote, blended and distributed pedagogies and may offer numerous advantages. Bootle (2019) notes that AI can afford teachers more time for non-academic subjects like ‘art, music, drama and sport’ for holistic education. However, he adds that teaching involves ‘a special sort of empathy between teacher and student ... (and) however good a robot is at transmitting information, it cannot possibly replicate this effect’ (Bootle, 2019, p. 154). In contrast, Boobier (2018) asserts that ‘intelligent tutoring systems can not only identify student mood but also customise the instruction to match the mood’ (p. 105).

Conti (2017) does not deny that robotisation may cause loss of jobs in many sectors, but proposes collaboration among ‘technology, nature and humanity’ that would enable human beings to be cognitively, physically and perceptually enriched. He believes that such

collaboration would lead to a dramatic change, with a world filled with more variety, connectedness, dynamism, complexity, adaptability and beauty. There is a need for further research on how prospective teachers view their future amid the growing importance assigned to technology.

The existing literature lacks clarity on whether or not robotisation and AI are causing the casualisation of the teaching profession. The lack of clarity might be explained by the uncertainties due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, which led to school closures in numerous countries worldwide (Kalloo, Mitchell and Kamalodeen, 2020). The response of the educational sector through online teaching might lead some policy makers to further argue that having self-directed online study may imply fewer human resource demands on the system and hence justify casualisation. However, the COVID-19 Pandemic seems also to have triggered reflections on the importance of the physical presence of classroom teachers ‘in the educational routines of the school’ (Chaves, 2021, p. 16).

2.1.2 Upsides of a casualising teaching workforce

Some studies put forth that the casualisation of the teaching profession may not have only negative impacts (Percy & Beaumont, 2008; Standing, 2008). Blackham (2020) suggests that ‘allocating teaching to sessional staff can ‘free up’ permanent staff members to allow them to focus on research and leadership’ (p. 431). Murphy (2006) posits that the choice of individuals to join as supply teachers is often motivated by the freedom the job offers, as ‘short-term supply teachers are not usually expected to attend meetings or mark books’ (p. 2). Besides, working in different schools provides them with the opportunity to learn about the different school cultures and develop efficient ‘survival strategies and behaviour management techniques’ (Murphy, 2006, p. 2).

Guest, Oakley, Clinton and Budjanovcanin (2006) note that casual teaching work offers flexibility in one’s professional pathway (Percy & Beaumont, 2008; Sullivan & Crocitto, 2009). For instance, temporary contracts are useful for those seeking work ‘for short spells of time ... (and for) new entrants into the job market to acquire skills and experience’ (Mansour and Hassan, 2020, p. 21). While unemployment leads to skills atrophy, casual employment provides work experience. In that sense, casual employment may be considered far better than unemployment (Chalmers & Kalb, 2001; Kalleberg, 2009) and may be regarded as the first step towards non-casual employment (Berton, Devicienti & Pacelli, 2011). Moreover, casual

employment is instrumental in enlarging job seekers' social network and thus offers valuable links to knowledge of job vacancies (Chalmers & Kalb, 2001; Kalleberg, 2009; Murphy, 2006). Hence, a casual position may also 'play an important bridging role, providing stepping stones for the unemployed to (re-)enter the labour market' (Watson, 2013, p. 2). Blackham (2020) suggests that casual work can be beneficial to individuals seeking to 'balance teaching with other employment' (p. 431). Moreover, acceptance of a casual position points to one's ability and willingness to work and efficient supply teachers may 'be noticed by those with the power to hire' (Murphy, 2006, p. 2). For the employer, 'casual teachers provide a floating population who can, at short notice, fill staffing gaps' (Jenkins, Smith & Maxwell, 2009, p. 66).

2.1.3 Downsides of a casualising teaching workforce

Murphy (2006) notes that 'in secondary schools ... teachers are often called to cover lessons in subjects that aren't their speciality' (p. xi). Often, in such context, the supply teachers are faced with numerous trials: covering numerous subjects, replacing numerous teachers in a single day, keeping the class busy with or without assigned tasks, maintaining discipline, and performing other cognate tasks. Working with different classes and different schools also implies that supply teachers need to carry all their stuff along with them throughout the day. She believes that all these things end up leading to no sense of achievement among the supply teachers (Murphy, 2006, pp. xii - 5). For Jenkins et al., (2009), the supply teachers, whom they refer to as 'casuals', need to keep reframing themselves to be able to 'teach out of their area of expertise and formal training' but they also posit that the work experience they acquire enhances their employability possibilities (p. 72).

Blackham (2020) associates casual employment with 'isolation, limited professional opportunities, poor working conditions, uncertainty and insecurity' having the possibility to impact negatively on one's health (p. 432). In the same vein, short-term contracts imply job precarity and job precariousness implies poor working conditions, uncertainty, unpredictability and risk, with 'risk-shifting' from employers to workers (Maree, 2013; Kalleberg, 2009). Still, the use of short-term contractual teachers has become the 'norm' in some countries (Fyfe, 2007, p. 5). A body of literature highlights that precarious work can be a source of stress due to the insecurities attached to it (Clarke, Lewchuck, Wolff & King, 2007; Seifert, Messing, Riel & Chatigny, 2007; Silla, Gracia, Manas & Peiro, 2010). Toppo and Manjhi (2013) observe that one of the reasons for short-term contractual teachers (para-teachers) in India to experience

burnout was the ‘contractual nature of their job which needs to be renewed every year’ (p. 6). However, studies on the health impacts of such work note that employment insecurity, which is an inevitable effect of casualisation, does not affect all individuals in the same way (Clarke, Lewchuck, Wolff & King, 2007). Murphy (2006) points to the feeling of being isolated as another detrimental element for supply teachers. She feels that, contrary to the supply teachers, the regular staff members ‘feel part of a team’ as they bond in the numerous meetings they attend (pp. 2-8).

2.1.4 The importance of short-term contractual teachers

While the casualisation of teachers is seen differently from different standpoints, their importance cannot be denied in the Mauritian as well as the international context. Lunay and Lock (2006) comment on the decisive role of short-term contractual teachers ‘in the ongoing education of many... secondary students’ (p. 2). Duggleby and Badali (2007) posit that casual teachers play an important role by ensuring the continuity of classes in the absence of permanent class teachers. However, supply teachers do not only act as replacement teachers. They are also used when there is a shortage of teachers to enable the achievement of international resolutions on education. The report entitled ‘Teachers for the Future: Meeting teacher shortages to achieve Education For All- The case of Mauritius’ prepared by the National Steering Group which was set up by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) suggests that teachers need to be provided with more ‘opportunities to participate in decision-making that affects their conditions of service, their work environment, and their well-being’ (National Steering Group, 2005, p. 64).

2.1.5 Metaphors to represent the multiple selves of supply teachers

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), ‘The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’ (p. 13). Nguyen (2016) describes metaphorical discourses as highly insightful expressions to convey an understanding of teachers’ professional identities. Understanding such identities is crucial to promote teacher professionalism (Sachs, 2005). Numerous studies have been conducted on the use of metaphors to describe the nature of teachers’ casualised work and status (Bamberry, 2011; Uchida et al., 2019; Zhao, Coombs & Zhou, 2010). However, most of these studies address the subject from the teachers’ own vantage points (Nguyen, 2016). Uchida et al. (2019) assert that the use of

metaphors as ‘a vehicle for exploration into teachers’ lives and beliefs’ exposes the lived experiences of supply teachers and could assist in identifying their needs (p. 13). Thomas and Beauchamp (2011) suggest that the metaphors used may not be static as their study noted ‘a difference in the metaphors used by teachers at different times in their professional development’ (p. 765).

Uchida et al. (2019) present the metaphors employed by teachers using a tripartite model of self which elaborates on the ‘individual self’, the ‘relational self’ and the ‘collective self’ (p. 9). The first layer of identity, the individual self, foregrounds one’s unique self, for example, seeing oneself as a good teacher or as a teacher on the margins. Barnes (2019), a non-tenured track faculty member, states that, ‘by way of marrying my academic identification as an adjunct, to my definition as (an) educator, the concept of marginalia seems to best define the essence of my academic world’ (p. 3). Therefore, Barnes (2019), sees herself as a marginalised educator because of her lack of tenure.

The ‘relational self’ calls attention to the supply teacher’s interpersonal side, such as a supply teacher and his/her student, each with a well-defined role. The collective self, on the other hand, is used to denote a person’s sense of belonging within unique groups like a supply teacher connected to a network on an e-platform via social media such as Facebook and Twitter (Sedikides, Gaertner & O’Mara, 2010).

The literature suggests that teacher identity or identities are multidimensional and dynamic (Avraamidou, 2016; Danielewicz, 2001). Furthermore, professional identities seem to be subject ‘to change in response to forces beyond the individual’ (Mc Kee & Eraut, 2012, p. 16). They also seem to be conceptualised as an elusive concept because of their complexity (Mifsud, 2018). Elaborating on the perception of identity in the post-modern era, Goodson & Gill (2011) highlight the concept of ‘plastic self’ which conveys the possibility for the self to be ‘multi-faceted, according to the individual’s construction of how the self is to be perceived in particular contexts’ (p. 9). They further expound the concept of self from the perspective of the post-structuralists where ‘identity is also constructed through a process of interaction between people and institutions’ suggesting the consideration of the concepts of time and space to discuss identity (Goodson & Gill, 2011, p. 9). The metaphors used by teachers to describe their dynamic professional selves are expressed in a plethora of terms represented by diverse objects, relationships or professions. Sometimes, supply teachers’ metaphors convey high status and at other times, a diminishing status of their professional selves. For instance, one of Bamberry’s

(2011) participants, a casual teacher, saw supply teachers as being disposable like ‘the next tissue out of the box’ (p. 58). Other teachers see themselves in the supportive and nurturing role of a ‘gardener’ having the primary duty of looking after his/her plants (Uchida et al., 2019). Zhao et al. (2010) found that teachers see themselves as labouring workers, which is indicative of a lack of intellectual elements (p. 389).

While studies exist on metaphors on casualisation of teachers, little research has been conducted on the link between teachers’ perspectives of casualisation and their career trajectories. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, no study has been published on the metaphors used by Mauritian teachers. This study aimed to fill this gap by extending the analysis through a symbolic representation of casualisation and the career pathing of supply teachers (see Chapter 7).

Section 2: The work of the short-term contractual teacher

This section reviews previous studies on the experiences and expectations of casual teachers who, as noted by Duggleby and Badali (2007), have been under-researched. However, within the past decade, social scientists have shown an interest in studying the work of short-term contractual teachers (Bamberry, 2011; Kidd, Brown & Fitzallen, 2015; Uchida et al., 2019).

2.2.1 Types of supply teachers

Supply teachers serving state secondary schools in different countries are not only known by different names but are also employed under different work conditions. Understanding the different forms of casualised teaching enables a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon. Bamberry (2011) refers to different forms of casual teaching in Australia, namely, ‘casual relief teaching’ or ‘day relief teaching’ with teachers engaged for ‘one to three days in a single week’ to replace a permanent teacher. Another type (now obsolete) identified by Bamberry is the ‘casual supply teacher’ or the ‘supply casual’ who worked as casual teachers, but benefitted from permanent employment. This class of casual teachers could be described as being permanently casual. A third type of casual teacher noted by Bamberry in the Australian province of New South Wales, ‘block relief teachers’, are

engaged to replace teachers for weeks, months or even for an entire year. Interestingly, these teachers are entitled to paid sick leave as well as paid annual leave between terms during their service as relief teachers (Bamerry, 2011, pp. 53-54). This would be an impossible scenario in the Mauritian context as supply teachers are engaged to teach on a day-to-day basis as stipulated in their 'letter of offer' (Appendix A). It was thus worth exploring whether or not Mauritian supply teachers would prefer to work under such conditions and the reasons why they would or would not.

In India, the public education sector hires different types of contract teachers including 'community and para teachers' (Goyal & Panday, 2013, p. 465). These teachers have renewable contracts, but, unlike regular teachers, they undergo 'little or no pre-service and in-service' professional training. In contrast to Mauritian supply teachers, they are employed for a period of one to three years and receive a lower salary than permanent teachers who are civil servants (Goyal & Panday, 2013, p. 464).

2.2.2 Supply teaching in Mauritius

There is a wealth of literature on the casualisation of the teaching profession worldwide, but a paucity of published studies on supply teachers in Mauritius. However, numerous articles have been published on these supply teachers in local newspapers, often conveying the precarious nature of their jobs and the corresponding negative effects on their lives, and detailing the way they are contracted, posted, marginalised, terminated and re-contracted.

Job advertisements for supply teaching in Mauritius show that supply teachers are often contracted for a maximum period of a year (see Appendix A). This implies that after the expiry of the contract, those wishing to be reappointed have to make a fresh application. Potential candidates are usually shortlisted through an interview. There is no certainty that a supply teacher will be re-employed even after having undergone an interview. However, those who are re-engaged are posted to different state secondary schools. Mauritian supply teachers must meet the same minimum requirement of a first degree in their teaching field and often have to shoulder the same responsibilities as their tenured counterparts (Awootar, 2018).

Understanding the casualisation of teachers in the Mauritian context requires one to shed one's preconceived ideas and hunches to scientifically explore the phenomenon to develop new

understanding. This study extends the body of knowledge through new theoretical understanding of the casualisation phenomenon in SIDS.

2.2.3 Recruitment and selection of supply teachers

Most supply teachers ‘are recruited on (an) ad hoc basis and there is no formal law to govern the terms and conditions of their contractual engagement’ (Mandal & Mukhopadhyay, 2019, p. 58). In Mauritius, the Ministry of Education recruits supply teachers (see Appendix A). Hence, in the Mauritian context, decision-making power is centralised in the Ministry. In contrast, in the UK, short-term contractual teachers are recruited by private agencies. Murphy (2006) explains that in the UK, one may join supply teaching either through an agency or by contacting the school or the Local Education Authorities (LEA) directly. She adds that normally agencies cover a geographical area and a prospective supply teacher ‘can register with more than one agency’ (p. 3). However,

Grimshaw, Earnshaw and Hebson (2003) note that, ‘there is the danger that educational concerns and equity of teaching provision across schools conflict with the private sector concern to maximise agency revenue’ (p. 267). The manner in which supply teachers are recruited and selected and also the way their services are terminated could influence their decision-making concerning their professional choices. These aspects of casualisation in the teaching profession require investigation in order to better understand their career pathing.

2.2.4 Challenges faced by supply teachers

Teaching learners and learning to teach in parallel

Some studies paint a bleak picture of how casualisation affects teachers and the education system (Bambery, 2011; Charteris, Jenkins, Bannis-Tyler & Jones, 2017; Uchida, Cavanagh & Moloney, 2019). Uchida et al. (2019) observe that the existing body of literature on short-term contractual teachers is based ‘on a model of deficit’ (p. 2). Teachers with a contractual status seem to be challenged in their work in multiple ways as they often have to adapt to ‘new scenarios’ such as a new school milieu, class or routine (Jenkins et al., 2009). Their professional condition is complicated by the requirement to both teach and learn to teach (Feiman-Nemser, 2001, p. 1026). While they teach, they also learn as they confront new situations and are at the beginning of their professional life. Handling teaching and learning in

parallel could be a daunting task for beginner supply teachers. Jenkins et al. (2009) warn that if supply teachers are not supported by ‘induction, mentoring or professional development’ they may find teaching more demanding (p. 66). They add that supply teachers are more likely to be posted to ‘hard to staff schools’ without a proper support structure. Under these circumstances, the casual teachers’ work is tougher as they require more skills than tenured teachers, especially when they are required to deal with classroom management issues and they are not familiar to students (Jenkins et al., 2009, pp. 22-23). These additional challenges may affect supply teachers’ performance, with negative consequences. For instance, contract teachers in India and other developing countries who have performance-based contracts may have their contract annulled if they are ‘adjudged dissatisfactory’ by the hiring institution (Goyal & Panday, 2013, p. 464).

Repeatedly teaching in new space(s)

Supply teachers are not only uncertain about their future career, but may also face a ‘reality shock’, especially as beginners in the teaching profession (Gaede, 1978; McCormack & Thomas, 2005). The fact that their workplace keeps changing may pose new challenges. Jenkins et al. (2009) explain that this hampers them in ‘getting to know the students, the staff and the ways of working in a particular school’ (p. 67). Their non-permanent status is a hurdle in building rapport with their permanent counterparts and feeling part of the school community (Nicholas & Wells, 2016, pp. 5-6). Thus, short-term contractual teachers may experience personal and professional isolation as well as a ‘loss of personal and social identity’ (Maxwell, Harrington & Smith, 2010, p. 43). Maxwell et al.’s (2010) qualitative study in Western Australian government metropolitan primary schools highlighted the alienation experienced by the 20 relief teachers who were interviewed. Supply teachers are further sidelined ‘from the rest of the greater educational community ... (when they) suffer from feelings of alienation and further disconnection from their tenured colleagues’ (Lunay & Lock, 2006). Researching on casualised academic labour, Leathwood & Read (2020) note that the ‘relative lack of security and continuity ... further compromises the development of meaningful pedagogical relationships’ as both teachers and students are mired in precarity (p. 13).

A challenge for the short-term contractual teacher is the need to ‘seek new employment on a continual basis’ while dealing with the anxieties of being on contract (Jensen, Sandoval-Hernandez, Knoll & Gonzalez, 2012, p. 89). Jenkins et al. (2009) highlight the stress of waiting for a phone call to be informed at any time of the morning to rush to any school and describe this as demanding and disappointing, especially when the phone call does not come, taking into

account the energy ‘expended by the Casual Beginning Teacher (CBT) in ensuring readiness’ (p. 67).

Uncertainties breeding uncertainties

The services provided by the supply teacher are ‘liable to be axed anytime along the line’, which means that he/she cannot obtain a secured loan or plan to get married (Awootar, 2018). In their study on the employment terms of casual teachers in Higher Education in West Bengal (India), Mandal and Mukhopadhyay (2019) observe that ‘the social identity of casual teachers is compromised’ to such an extent that even the choice to marry is affected. It is thus important to determine the extent to which these different challenges impact supply teachers’ decision to stay in the teaching profession or pursue another career. This will determine their professional trajectory, which is the phenomenon under study.

Feeling marginalised

Facchin (2016) explains that because of ‘the piecemeal nature of the supply work’ the latter may go unnoticed and even ignored in their place of work (p. 1). A similar point is put forth by Lunay and Lock (2006) who note that supply teachers feel estranged in the school milieu (p. 171). They point to casual teachers’ feeling of meaninglessness, powerlessness and especially isolation, leading to alienation (Lunay & Lock, 2006, p. 179). The authors cite numerous subsidiary factors that exacerbate the feeling of alienation among casual teachers, including ‘specific in-class challenges’, negative relationships, negative images and perceptions of casual teachers, and ‘inequity with tenured colleagues’ in relation to pay and access to facilities (Lunay & Lock, 2006, pp. 179-182). Uchida et al. (2019) point to casual teachers’ feelings of diminished status in the profession, as they have a ‘sense of feeling unsupported and not treated as fully-fledged staff member’ (p. 305). Nicholas and Wells (2016) add that such teachers may not only be denied access to the resources they require to teach effectively, but also side-lined when it comes to professional development.

Hope for tenure

Research by Jenkins et al. (2009) reveals that most newly appointed supply teachers hope to secure a tenured position, but few ever gain a permanent, full-time post. Numerous countries have a career structure that enables new teachers to be initially appointed on a fixed-term

contract and to be permanently employed once they have acquired experience (Jensen et al., 2012; Kidd et al., 2015). For instance, in Tasmania (Australia), permanency in the teaching profession may only be attained via a contractual status (Kidd et al., 2015). However, Awootar (2018) explains that in Mauritius, once the contract has expired, the reemployment of the supply teacher is ‘non-existent even after undergoing yet another interview’ (p. 1). He metaphorically expresses that the relationship with the Ministry of Education is ‘one of dysfunctional marriage in which hope and trust have bottomed out through a complete break-up is not an option’ (p. 1). The remarks of the participants in a research on the expectations and experiences of substitute teachers revealed a "continual cycle of hope and disappointment" (Duggleby & Badali, 2007, p. 30).

Dr Lindsay Paul (2019), a Mauritian who researched the initial formal schooling experiences of out-of-school children (OOSC), critiques two main types of hope: naïve hope and critical hope. His interpretations are grounded in the literature on hope by Duncan-Andrade (2009) and Bozalek, Leibowitz, Carolissen and Boler (2014). Paul’s (2019) work elaborates on the three types of naïve or false hope identified by Duncan-Andrade (2009): hokey hope, mythical hope and hope deferred, to explain the blind faith fueling the expectation that things will get better. Paul (2019) also considered the three elements of critical hope: material, Socratic and audacious.

The ‘role of hope in education has been receiving increasing attention from educational researchers’ (Edgoose, 2010; Webb, 2010). The origins of the constructs of *naïve hope* and *critical hope* lie in the work of Freire and they have been used to understand marginalised students’ aspirations to succeed in schooling. Zembylas (2014) distinguishes naïve hope from critical hope by stating that the former is a blind belief that things will somehow improve, while the latter is ‘grounded in reflexivity and action for transformation’ (p. 13).

Section 3: Exploring the links between supply teachers’ professional trajectory and casual status

The literature concludes that supply teachers’ casual status could influence their career choices. However, it also exposes ambivalence regarding career pathing since the teachers’ conceptualisation of their contractual status seems to be subjective and contextually motivated.

The specificity of each country's casualisation experience gives rise to a plethora of interpretations.

2.3.1 The professional trajectory of the Supply Teacher - Understanding the casual teacher through the teacher career cycle

This section focuses on teachers' choices with regard to their professional life using existing models of teachers' career cycles. According to Bayer, Brinkjaer, Plauborg & Rolls (2009) the comprehensive studies conducted by Sikes et al. (1985), Huberman (1993) and Fessler & Christensen (1992) contributed fresh knowledge regarding career trajectories of teachers and were still considered as significant a decade ago (p. 1).

Research shows that, like other professionals, teachers go through different stages of development (Fessler & Christensen, 1992; Huberman, 1993; Sikes et al., 1985; Steffy, Wolfe, Pasch & Enz, 2000). This study explored whether Mauritian supply teachers progress through stages of development and, if so, how this affects their professional trajectory.

Sikes et al. (1985) suggested that three types of critical events play a pivotal role in shaping the course of a teacher's career through critical choices and decisions. These are external events (e.g., war), personal events (e.g., marriage, divorce, birth or sickness) and internal events that occur during the natural course of their work. Based on his review of studies on the career stages of secondary school teachers, Huberman (1993) identified five career stages, namely, career entry, stabilisation, experimentation, serenity and conservatism, and disengagement. These are illustrated in Figure 4 below.

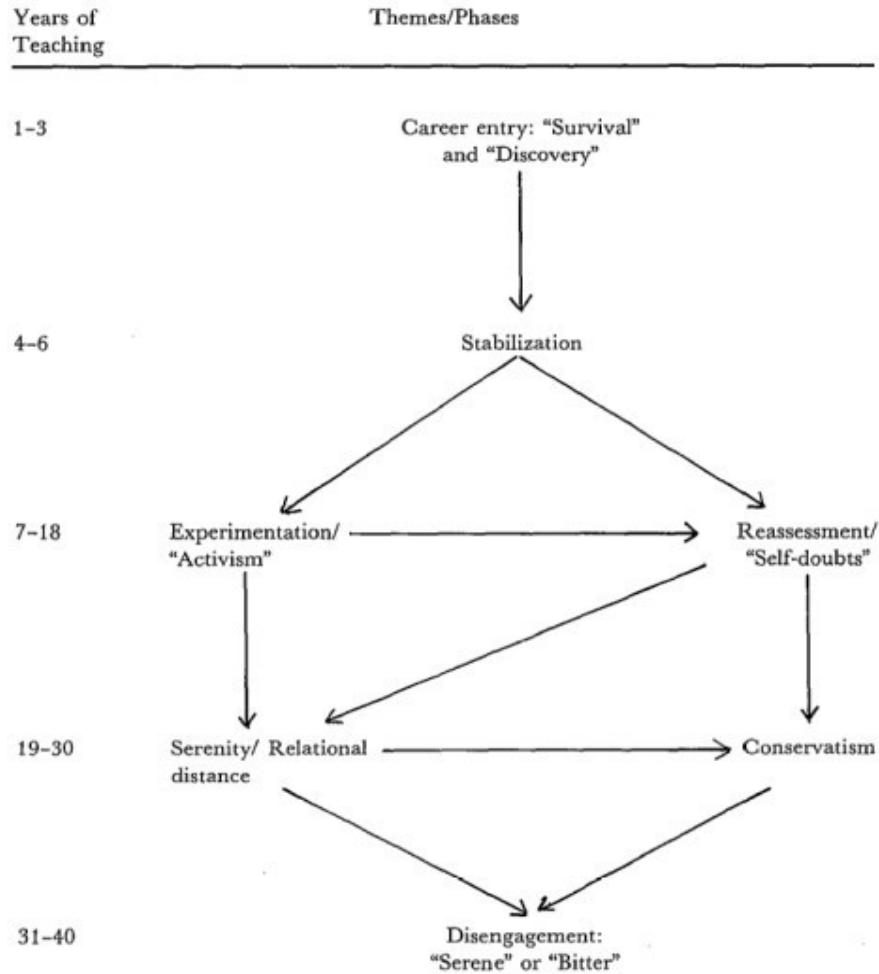


Figure 4 - Successive themes of the teacher career cycle: Schematic model (Huberman, 1993, p. 13)

While the career stages described by Sikes et al. (1985) are age-based, the successive themes of the teacher career cycle presented by Huberman (1993) are based on the teacher's experience. However, both age and experience are denominations of time, which are not applicable to the supply teacher who is employed on short-term contract(s). The career pathing of supply teachers, with repeated entries to and exits from teaching, does not resemble the established career pathway of permanent teachers in secondary schools. While this might suggest that examining the career cycles of teachers might be irrelevant to this research, exploring these issues is important in order to understand what supply teachers would like to change in the teaching profession and what they would wish to remain the same.

Huberman (1995) observes that teachers ‘playing out their careers’ under difficult extraneous conditions are likely to have different trajectories from their peers in standard employment (p. 194). Fessler and Christensen (1992) propose a dynamic and flexible representation of the teacher career cycle. Figure 5 below shows a model of the stages of the career cycle and the environmental factors that affect it.

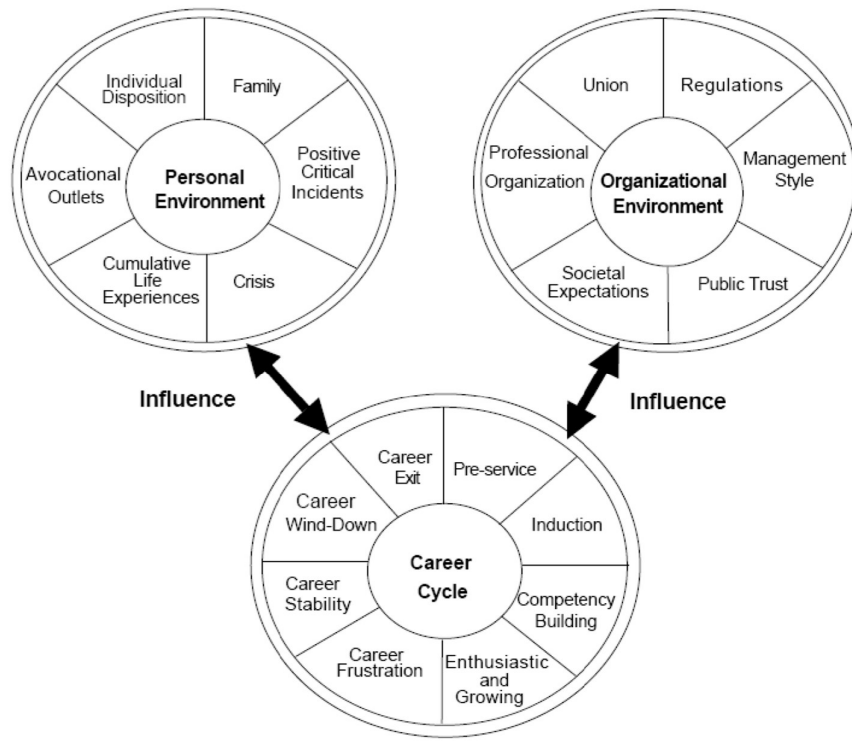


Figure 5 - A model of the stages of the Teacher Career Cycle and the environmental factors that affect it.
(Fessler & Christensen, 1992, p. 36)

The components of the career cycle described in this model are not dissimilar to those identified by Sikes et al. (1985) and Huberman (1993). However, Fessler (1995) highlights that the teacher career cycle responds to the personal environment, which may be very unpredictable, and the organisational environment, which consists of policy decisions which respond to political, economic, social and technological issues.

A common feature of Huberman’s five career stages and Fessler’s career cycle model is the period of career stability between the entry point and the point of disengagement. This is the missing dimension in the case of supply teachers. Career instability is a reality for those who

are contracted for short periods (Murphy, 2006). Fessler and Christensen's (1992) model suggests a supportive environment for rewarding career progression. However, since it was formulated almost three decades ago and the contextual factors have changed drastically, this model may not be useful in gaining a clear understanding of supply teachers' career pathing. For instance, in Mauritius, supply teachers may enter the job without undergoing or having to undergo *pre-service* preparation. Given the contractual nature of their work (see Appendix A), they may also *exit* teaching at any point without ever undergoing proper *induction* which would have enabled them to acclimatise to their role and gain acceptance in their work milieu. Nor would supply teachers have the opportunity to 'socialise in the system' to improve their teaching methods, a phase known as the *competency building* (Marušić & Bodroža, 2015, p. 71). This phase enables teachers who have 'expanded their range of competences' to enter the *growth phase*. However, in many cases, teachers may experience *career frustration* because of job instability, leading to burnout. While frustration could emerge at the start or in the middle of the career of permanent teachers, it might be common among 'teachers whose jobs are insecure' (Marušić & Bodroža, 2015, p. 71). *Career stability* and *career wind-down* seem to be more relevant to permanent teachers than supply teachers. However, supply teachers' *career exit* can occur at any phase.

Lynn and Woods (2010), who employed Christensen and Fessler's model noted that, 'it remains unclear why some teachers are able to (can) successfully negotiate hurdles in their personal and organisational environments, while others who experience similar contextual factors fail to navigate their career paths in a positive direction' (p. 55). This study may have taken teacher "narratives" into account as representations and contextualisations of how teaching develops and is put into practice. However, to comprehend the phenomenon beneath the lens, I opted to use Guy Standing's (2011) theory of a "precariat" which has been elaborated in Section 4 of this chapter.

2.3.2 Career preferences

Casualisation – A symbol of freedom?

Baruch (2004) observes that the traditional career pattern with a linear, static and rigid career path is gradually making way for contemporary multidirectional, dynamic and fluid career paths that consist of mainly short-term relationships. According to Guest, Isaksson and De Witte (2010), it is not clear how contemporary changes involving the flexibilisation of

employment might affect workers' wellbeing. However, they assert that the 'traditional assumption' that casual employees are an underprivileged minority that requires protection needs to be questioned (p. 16). Some scholars project temporary, flexible or contractual work as a symbol of freedom (Bamberry, 2011; Knell, 2000). Such a freedom represents a form of independence and loyalty to oneself and to one's knowledge (Guest et al., 2010). This study thus interrogates traditional assumptions and contemporary conceptions of casualised work in the education sector.

Staying or leaving?

Most of the participants in Blackham's (2020) study were 'involuntarily working in insecure posts' and consequently they sought a permanent position (p. 440). However, Kidd, Brown and Fitzallen's (2015) study found that beginner teachers (in the profession for three years) were unsure whether or not to remain as they were 'uncertain about the potential of teaching as a long-term career' (p. 155). Interestingly, some teachers choose to stay as casuals as they believe that they have become less competitive for permanent teaching and thus fall in the 'trap of sessional teaching' (Blackham, 2020, p. 432). Other studies (Harris, Jenz & Baldwin, 2005; Rhodes, Nevill & Allan, 2004) also note that beginner teachers envisage a short-term career spanning five to eight years.

A study on Tasmanian (Australian) contractual beginner teachers reveals that their experiences in the profession influence their intention to stay or leave (Kidd et al., 2015, p. 170). Skilbeck and Connell (2003) note that, if beginner teachers are to remain in the profession, their induction period should be personally and professionally fulfilling (p. 154). On the other hand, Duggledy and Badali (2007) observe that poor treatment by fellow workers and students causes high levels of dissatisfaction among fresh supply teachers. McCormack and Thomas (2005) note that such factors are central in understanding the influence of their casual position on their efficiency, job satisfaction and the length of their career. It can thus be inferred that the casualised status of supply teachers influences their career pathing. This study investigated how the casualisation of the teaching profession influences the way supply teachers design their career and the choices they make. I assume that, in a context of continual change, this may require a redefinition of their professional development. Understanding such choices would be of benefit to the education sector.

2.3.3 The need to reinvent teacher development

Teacher development is presented as ‘highly complex and multidimensional’. In simple terms, it implies ‘learning’ by the teacher (Kelchtermans, 2004, p. 220). These learning experiences and activities, generated from exchanges, bring about changes in the thinking and practice adopted by teachers (Day, 1999; Kelchtermans, 2004). The changing world of work triggered by economic demands over the past couple of decades has meant that many teachers are more concerned with their survival than their professional development (Day, 2000, p. 101). However, ‘high-quality professional development’ is still considered a key requirement (Guskey, 2002).

The literature reveals that supply teachers are often sidelined when it comes to professional development (Jenkins et al., 2009; Nicholas & Wells, 2016). Kidd, Brown and Fitzallen (2015) observe that beginner teachers employed on short-term contracts ‘are often unaware of professional development opportunities’ and suggest that such training programmes could be made available in an online format in the form of a chat room (p. 170). This study thus explored if teacher development opportunities might influence the retention or attrition of short-term contractual teachers.

The modern organisation of work around the notion of flexibility (Molankal, 2015; Obadic, 2009; Standing, 2008) means that workers change the kinds of jobs they do during the course of their working lives, and that jobs involve more multitasking (Carnoy et al., 1999, p. 15). A non-linear career is likely to require ongoing professional development to acquire new skills for new jobs (Schilling, 2012). Uchida’s (2019) research on the metaphors for the individual self, revealed that the casual teacher’s survival depends on how well he/she can multitask, appear calm and confident, cope efficiently with the unknown, and adapt to unfamiliar and difficult situations (p. 8).

Consequently, this study explored if future teacher development programmes should take into account professional circumstances such as permanent, temporary or casual positions (Jenkins et al., 2009; Charteris et al., 2017). This is important as supply teachers deal with a wide range of stakeholders ‘within a range of schools and contexts in a very short space of time’ (Charteris et al., 2017).

Expanding the argument on the need to reinvent teacher development, Boobier (2018) posits that future teachers will need to become ‘more conversant with enabling technology’ (p. 107). West (2018) suggests lifelong learning to enable employers and employees to cope with digital disruptions and adds that ‘it is vital that people develop new capabilities throughout their lives’ (p. 77). Teacher development may take a new turn via reciprocal apprenticing that will allow ‘on-the-job training for people so they can work well within AI-enhanced processes’ (Daugherty & Wilson, 2018, p. 100). The question that may be raised is whether casualisation of the teaching profession will allow supply teachers to cope with the realities of their job. Given their staggered career path, there are doubts as to how teacher development programmes that acknowledge the growing significance of technology via AI in teaching and learning could include supply teachers.

It is important to note that this study does not prioritise teachers' professional development and, as a result, will not discuss issues related to teachers' professional growth. Rather, the current research focuses on the phenomenon of casualisation and how it affects teachers' career trajectories. A study on the issues of ‘professionalisation’ and subsequent ‘deprofessionalisation’ of teaching globally and its more localized impact would focus on the relationship between individuals and the profession. However, studying the casualisation process of teachers and its influence on their career pathing focuses on the relationship between individuals and the system of education. Therefore, as opposed to the first research, which may focus on the economic element of the teaching profession, the second study would analyse teaching as an occupation from a sociological perspective.

Section 4: The theoretical lens of a precariat

2.4.1 Unpacking the notion

Academic and policy discourse around precariousness and precarious work has grown in recent years, especially in the field of employment relations (Manolchev, Saundry & Lewis, 2018; Campbell & Price, 2016). Debates on precarious work emphasise the multiple insecurities linked to individuals’ professional lives and foreground the threats to their rights as workers (Prosser, 2016). The growth of precarious work has been identified as the reason for the emergence of a category of insecure and marginalised workers described as the ‘precariat’ (Standing, 2011). This study used Guy Standing’s (2011) conceptual framework of a ‘precariat’

as a starting point to design the research and the data production tools and for data analysis. The precariat is identified ‘as a potentially transformative new mass class’ emerging from the ranks of precarious workers (Standing, 2011; 2014, p. 963).

‘Precariat’ was initially used by French sociologists in the 1980s to describe ‘temporary or seasonal workers’. More than two decades later, Castel (2006), a sociologist and researcher at the Ecole des Hautes études en Sciences Sociales, used the term ‘une precarité permanente’² to denote a precariat. Foti (2017) observes that the word ‘precariat’ ‘was first introduced in English in 2004 thanks to the EuroMay-Day movement’ (p. 9). While Standing (2011) acknowledges this as the first stirring of a global precariat (p. 1), he claims that his formulation is a different notion which amalgamates the adjective ‘precarious’ and the noun ‘proletariat’ to create the neologism ‘precariat’ whose fundamental aspect is temporary labour (Standing, 2011, pp. 7-9). However, the notion of a ‘precarious proletariat’ can be traced back to the 1960s (Munck, 2013). In order to comprehend the emerging precariat, it should be understood that a precariat is not akin to the traditional working class (proletariat) which had long-term, stable, fixed-hour jobs with established pathways and different levels of security (Standing, 2011, p. 6). While the precariat retains shades of the ‘working class’, it is characterised by numerous insecurities. It is a group consisting of people working on short-term contracts, on a temporary basis and includes those who find themselves temporarily or permanently jobless (Foti, 2017, p. 9). Standing (2011) adds that the precariat undergoes experiences like ‘anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation’ (p. 19). Anger is often linked to a lack of recognition of their effort as they do not have the opportunity for upward mobility. The feeling of anomie or normlessness, as conceptualised by Emile Durkheim, is mainly associated with the career-less jobs of the precariat coupled with perceptions of them as ‘lazy, directionless, undeserving, socially irresponsible or worse’. While the anxiety of the precariat seems to be the result of chronic insecurity, the alienation experienced by this class of individuals occurs because of the feeling of a lack of purpose. The precariat lacks both self-esteem and social worth (Standing, 2011, pp. 19-21). Standing (2011) further observes that such workers do not feel ‘part of a solidaristic labour community’ because they know that there is no future in what they are doing (p. 12). They may become opportunistic and make the most of what they have as they are aware that they may be asked to leave at any moment.

² French words denoting permanent professional precariousness

The precariat, as a neologism, has attracted criticism from Allen (2014) who asserts that the invention of new words is an astute manoeuvre by academia to marketise novel concepts in books and peer-reviewed publications. Indeed, he goes so far as to ask whether the precariat is ‘a new class or a bogus concept’ (p. 43). While debate continues on this issue, it offers a theoretical lens to examine the casualisation phenomenon in relation to supply teachers. As a direct outcome of globalisation, a ‘precariat’ is understood as a class of individuals who have an unstable professional life which generates a multitude of insecurities (Standing, 2011). Braga (2018) describes a precariat as ‘a class fraction squeezed between the permanent threats of social exclusion and increasing economic exploitation’ (p. 2). However, Standing (2011) clarifies that the precariat should not only be seen as victims. Some people become part of a precariat due to their career choices, or because things went wrong. Others ‘enter hoping it will be a stepping stone to’ pecuniary gain or experience (Standing, 2011, p. 59).

Much of the literature on the growing precariat in the field of education focuses on the primary level or higher education. Furthermore, the recent literature describes the precariat in the education sector as a category of non-tenured workers who ‘exist in (on) the margins ... (and are) seen and often treated as (an) adjunct to the purpose of education’ (Barnes, 2019, p. 2).

2.4.2 The precariat - a dangerous class?

Standing (2011) asserts that the emergence of a global precariat is closely related to neo-liberalism which has triggered labour market flexibility, resulting in the transfer of risks and insecurity from employer to employees and their families, leaving the latter without an anchor in their professional and social life (Standing, 2011, p. 1). Inequality and instability are the head and tail of the coin of work flexibility (Dean, 2012, p. 356). The precariat consists of ‘millennials in contingent employment and the younger Generation Z who are just out of college’ or out of work and one of their characteristics is that they do not trust political systems (Foti, 2017, p. 9). There is growing disgruntlement vis-à-vis the political class which is ‘perceived as being privileged and (but) incapable of solving the working class’ problems (De La Poza, Jodar, Merello & Todoli-Signes, 2020, p. 166). An increasing precarious population creates a breeding ground for populist political parties to emerge; on the one hand, they claim to defend citizens’ rights and on the other, they cause political and economic instability (De la Poza et al., 2020). In similar vein, Standing (2011) cautions that being without an anchor, the precariat may easily ‘listen to ugly voices’ of unscrupulous politicians and dedicate their

resources, like their votes and money to give those voices an increasingly influential political platform (p. 1). The danger lies in the fact that ‘backing populist demagoguery’ correlated with the fears and the anger of the precariat may engender a shift from growing instability to greater instability (Standing, 2011, p. 4). Furthermore, given their potential to displace permanent workers, the precariat seems to have the components of a ‘new dangerous class’ (Standing, 2011, p. 10). Foti (2017) also speculates that ‘it is the precariat that will topple the oligarchy ... (by) defeat(ing) neoliberalism, nationalism, and engender(ing) a radical transformation of capitalism’ (p. 9). In contrast, Munck (2013) believes that the precariat is a blatant hypothesis and that labelling it as a ‘dangerous class’ is equally flagrant (p. 747). The author adds that the concept may have more to do with casualisation and growing job insecurity that is prevalent and of greater concern in the North than ‘for the millions of workers and urban poor in the global South for whom precariousness appears to have been a natural condition’ (Munck, 2013, p. 747). Seymour (2012) interprets Standing’s labelling of the precariat as ‘dangerous’ as a strategy to vilify (Seymour, 2012, p. 1). In general, critics point to a seemingly concealed political agenda behind Standing’s theory (Seymour, 2012; Munck, 2013).

2.4.3 Locating the supply teacher in a precariat

Standing (2011) locates the emerging precariat as a component of a fragmented class structure comprising seven groups. The topmost class, the ‘elite’, consists of very few ‘absurdly’ rich global citizens lording over the universe who are not only magnanimous but also possess unparalleled lobbying power. Below the ‘elite’ is a ‘salarial’ who are permanent employees that enjoy stability. While some salariats wish to ascend to the status of an ‘elite’, most are comfortable with the state-subsidised benefits to which they are entitled; like their paid leave and pension. In Mauritian state secondary schools, educators (permanent teachers), Rectors, Deputy Rectors and senior educators could be considered as ‘salarial’. Alongside the salariat is a smaller group called ‘proficians’ who are self-employed individuals of high stature that enjoy generous earnings but are susceptible to burnout. This is a portmanteau term obtained by conjoining ‘professional’ and ‘technician’. ‘Proficians’ may not be interested in securing a permanent position due to their highly marketable skills. Below the proficians are manual employees who are the ‘core of the old working-class’ which was a male-dominated one with labour rights and employment and job security. However, the solidarity that existed among the members of this class has been seriously compromised and the shrinking proletariat (working class) is progressively making way for an evolving class: the **precariat**. In this description of

a fragmented global class structure, the precariat is flanked by the unemployed and social misfits, who could be classified as the outcasts (Standing, 2011, pp. 7-8). Standing (2011) asserts that, as part of the precariat, wage workers ‘are inherently alienated, requiring discipline, subordination and a mix of incentives and sanctions’ (p. 8). Foti (2017) goes to the extent of describing the precariat as a salmagundi of lower classes who are ‘underpaid, underemployed, under-protected, overeducated and overexploited’ (pp. 9-24).

2.4.4 Understanding the main traits of a precariat

Seen from the perspective of relations of production, a precariat has several traits. Firstly, the precariat is challenged by unstable labour terms, including flexible labour contracts, temporary jobs, and casual and part-time work. Secondly, people belonging to the precariat do not have a secure occupational identity and have to do much ‘work-for-labour’ (Standing, 2011, p. 48). For instance, they have to constantly retrain, network, apply for new jobs and complete all kinds of forms. They are exploited outside as well as inside their workplace, causing much frustration especially when the young people have a level of education that qualifies them for a better job than the one they occupy, which is a present-day reality (Foti, 2017, p. 9). In a nutshell, the precariat has a ‘truncated status’ with a multitude of insecurities which challenge their professional and social life (Standing, 2011, p. 8).

2.4.5 Understanding labour-related insecurities within a precariat

Understanding the labour-related insecurities within the precariat requires one to unpack the concept of labour and related terms like job, work, employment and career. A battery of terms is used to describe work in its different forms, a few of which were considered for this study. The literature makes a clear distinction between work and labour (Arendt, 1958; Standing, 2011). In her book, ‘The Human Condition’, Arendt (1958) describes labour as paid activities that one is compelled to accept to earn a living (p. 83). However, a person is a worker if he/she is personally interested in the job which society pays him/her to do. From this premise, it can be argued that classifying a job as ‘labour’ or ‘work’ is subjective since it depends on individual inclinations.

Armstrong (2006) defines work as ‘the exertion of effort and the application of knowledge and skills to achieve a purpose’ (p. 205). While work is a means of livelihood for most people, it

also provides a sense of satisfaction through a feeling of achievement, recognition, prestige, the opportunity to develop and use abilities, the scope to exercise power, and companionship (Armstrong, 2006). In the same vein, Arendt (1958) highlighted the element of personal interest in work.

Udombana (2006) states that ‘work is a human right because it is a means to an end - human survival’ (p. 187). However, ‘in human rights law and labour law scholarship, some endorse the character of labour rights as human rights without hesitation, while others view it with scepticism and suspicion’ (Mantouvalou, 2012, p. 1).

The precariat’s lot comprises performing labour, especially in less attractive conditions and doing ‘much unremunerated work-for-labour’ e.g., networking and job-hunting. There may not be a panacea for the disadvantages of the phenomenon of precariatization, but Standing (2011) suggests rescuing ‘work that is not labour’ (p. 13).

2.4.6 Labour-related insecurities challenging a precariat

Mantouvalou (2012) states that ‘labour rights are entitlements that relate specifically to the role of being a worker ... some ... exercised individually and others collectively’ (p. 2). Labour rights include a plethora of rights related to free choice of the field in which the individual wants to exercise his/her rights and a rational work setting which may include ‘a just wage ... protection of privacy; a right to be protected from arbitrary and unjustified dismissal; a right to belong to and be represented by a trade union; a right to strike’ (Mantouvalou, 2012, p. 2). Standing (2011) states that a precariat comprises people who are deprived of seven forms of ‘labour-related security’. For example, rising unemployment is challenging labour market security, precluding the precariat from earning enough. Even if they manage to get a job, they do not have a safety net against ‘arbitrary dismissal’ as they lack employment security which comprises regulations ‘on hiring and firing’ along with penalties for violation of rules. They also lack job security as they do not have ‘the ability and opportunity to retain a niche in employment’. Hence, it is a quasi-certainty that they will undergo disruptions provoked by frequent changes in their routine that require them to revisit their skills to meet the new challenges of their continuously revamped job (Standing, 2011). According to Standing (2011), job security also offers the chance to progress both status-wise and income-wise. Hakansson and Isidorsson (2015) note that job insecurity is a key cause of ‘lower job satisfaction’ (p. 6). The precariat is also deprived of work security which refers to ‘health and safety’ regulations

and limits on working hours or ‘unsocial hours’. Furthermore, a precariat lacks skills reproduction security which provides workers with opportunities to acquire skills and make use of them. They do not enjoy the certainty of earning a stable, decent income protected by regulations and measures that reduce the divide between the privileged and the less privileged as they lack income security. Last but not least, the precariat lacks representation security which refers to unionisation as well as the ‘right to strike’ which is imperative to ‘possess a collective voice in the labour market’ (Standing, 2011, p. 10).

2.4.7 Supply Teachers – ‘denizens’ in the education system

The precariat, now ‘a social reality ... is formed wherever stable forms of employment are destroyed’ (Volchik, Klimenko & Posukhova, 2018, pp. 412 - 413). However, Standing (2011) exposes a precariat as a heterogeneous class with individuals facing precariousness in different degrees; some humbly subsist on transitory or casual jobs, others using their ‘wits to survive, networking feverishly’ while being worried about the law, and vulnerable others struggle to earn sufficient to cover their basic needs (p. 13). The commonality in this heterogeneous group is that all ‘share a sense that their labour is instrumental (to live), opportunistic (taking what comes) and precarious (insecure)’ (Standing, 2011, p. 14). He adds that the term ‘denizens’ is one way to portray the precariat, as they have a ‘more limited range of rights’ than citizens. This range of rights includes civil, cultural, social, economic and political rights (p. 14). Like denizens, supply teachers seem to be disadvantaged in terms of social and economic rights as they are not entitled to a pension and medical benefits, nor do they have equal entitlement to undertake income-earning activities. Supply teachers could thus be referred to as ‘denizens with few entitlements and rights’ in the Mauritian education system (Standing, 2011, p. 14). Thus, a study on casualisation of supply teachers needs to examine the pressures at different levels and how the supply teachers gear themselves to live a precariatized life with no ‘secure identity or sense of development achieved through work and lifestyle’ (Standing, 2011, p. 16). The aftermath of such denizenry could be hostilities like those demonstrated by Indian short-term contractual teachers (para-teachers) who have been publicly confronting the government with ‘their complaints about their poor pay and tenuous job security [*employment security* in the words of Standing (2011)], in confrontational, and sometimes violent, demonstrations’ (Robinson & Gauri, 2011, p. 991).

2.4.8 Justification for the use of the theory of a precariat

Much research has been conducted on the concept of precarious work (Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013; Hewison & Kalleberg, 2012). However, there remain ‘areas of uncertainty’ (Campbell & Price, 2016, p. 2). Manolchev et al. (2018) affirm that the precariat framework remains largely untested and underexplored (p. 1). Nonetheless, Standing’s (2011) theory of a precariat appears to be a fairly comprehensive framework to study the casualisation phenomenon especially as it delineates seven labour related insecurities and elaborates on three main groups of precarious workers. Jenkins et al. (2017) assert that ‘casual teachers form a precariat’ as they belong to a social group with no job security and confront numerous uncertainties (p. 163). Standing’s (2011) theory of a ‘precariat’ cannot be described as a deficit model as it not only considers the multiple insecurities and their effects on the short-term contractual worker, but also deals with the advantages of casualisation. It offers fruitful suggestions that could help policymakers to cater for a future labour force. According to Volchik et al. (2018), ‘the phenomenon of precariat forces researchers to change approaches to analysing employment, changing conditions, and rethinking traditional models related to labour relations in both economic theory and sociology’ (p. 412).

The framework of a precariat appears to be a convenient analytical tool (Bidadanure, 2013) to understand the insecurities of short-term contractual workers and the influence of their casual status on their career trajectories. Hence, this study uses Guy Standing’s theory of a ‘precariat’ as an initial lens to understand the casualisation and career pathing of the supply teachers recruited by the Ministry of Education. However, this lens is meant to be a basis for further analysis and conceptual development.

2.4.9 Additional reasons for the choice of the precariat framework

The focus of this study is not limited to shedding light on the casualisation phenomenon affecting supply teachers but also how their contractual status influences their decision making regarding their projected career path. In the current configuration of the world of work where ‘opportunity, insecurity, flexibility, and uncertainty coexist’ (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), lifelong employment and regular promotion do not seem to be part of the employer’s agenda, nor does the employee feel obliged to remain loyal to a single employer (Maree, 2013). In such circumstances, it is difficult to explore the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers using a framework relating to career stages (Huberman, 1993) or the stages of the teacher’s

career cycle such as the one proposed by Fessler and Christensen (1992). One of the reasons is that short-term contractual teachers may exit and return to teaching several times. The advantage of Fessler and Christensen's (1992) model is, firstly, its ability to define the teacher career cycle within the framework of a social system which is both dynamic and flexible. Secondly, this model takes into account the impact of factors both inside and outside the school context, on teachers' enthusiasm or frustration at different stages in their careers. However, it is not a robust theoretical framework as it is a descriptive rather than an explanatory model. While the different theories on the career cycles of teachers (Fessler & Christensen, 1992; Huberman, 1993; Sikes et al., 1985) seem to have the potential to shed light on the case under the lens, they lack the robustness of Standing's (2011) theory of the 'precariat'. Standing's analysis suggests that, in general, the phenomenon of casualisation of the workforce has the potential to produce new conceptions of commitment, loyalty and service to a single organisation. This could have important consequences, especially within the context of formal schooling that is dominated by a regulatory normative governmental agenda of upholding national values through the school curriculum. If teachers are not committed to the goal of serving the organisation, and concentrating on their career prospects, this could have serious implications for the "project of schooling" as a sociological, political and cultural exercise. The relevance of this relationship between casualisation and the wider sociological project is therefore theoretically under scrutiny. Standing's (2011) theory of a 'precariat' is thus appropriate to enhance the potential of the researcher and the participant to 'emerge as partners in the generation of meaning' (Crotty, 1998, p. 9) around casualisation of the teaching profession and its possible influence on the professional lives of supply teachers. Furthermore, the aim is to gain deeper understanding of the different types and levels of insecurities that may influence supply teachers' decisions. While it may appear that, contextually, the focus of the study is a national phenomenon, the related issues 'resonate far beyond national boundaries' (Bayer et al., 2009, p. 1).

Section 5: Chapter summary

The literature review highlights various explanations for the growing casualisation of the teaching profession. It portrays casualisation as a response to the changing economic demands of a capitalist environment in which teachers' professional capital appears to be demeaned. The

benefits and drawbacks of the teaching profession's casualization have been examined. Besides, the use of metaphorical language to project short-term contractual instructors' professional personas has also been highlighted. The chapter also discusses the various sorts of supply teachers and their working conditions, including the difficulties they confront, the varied fears associated with their temporary position, and the perceived ostracism of this group of educators. It also examines the ambiguity around the idea that teacher casualisation is a bad factor that keeps supply teachers caught in a cycle of expectation and disappointment. While it is theorised that disruption will be the hallmark of the future workforce, it also highlights the impact in the form of a growing number of episodic jobs (West, 2018). The review goes on to look at the links between supply teachers' professional paths and their casual status, implying that future casual teachers may need to be recruited and prepared differently. The 'precariat', a theory presented as a fragmented global class structure by Standing (2011), is exposed in the final section of the review. This initial theoretical lens was used to understand how the insecurities accompanying the casualised status of the supply teachers serving the state secondary schools in Mauritius influence the way they manage their career paths. The theoretical lens informed the research design and the choice of the data production tools, as well as data analysis. The chapter concludes with a justification for the choice of Standing's theory. While the earlier sections of the literature review highlighted the various factors related to short-term contractedness within the teaching profession in different contexts, the final ones theoretically extended the argument.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research approach and the research design, setting out the protocol for conducting this study on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers. It discusses the methodological stance adopted and the tools employed to produce and analyse the data. The chapter consists of six sections.

Section 1 re-states the purpose of the study and the research questions. It discusses the ontological and epistemological assumptions before justifying the research approach and the methodological standpoint. The final part of this section elaborates on the case study methodology and justifies its use in this research project.

Section 2 discusses the research design. It provides a detailed explanation of the key data production processes for this study and explains the rationale behind the choice of the research participants. It also deliberates on the practical considerations of negotiating access.

Section 3 highlights the procedures, protocols and ethical considerations for this research study. It also offers a detailed description and justification of the strategies and tools used to generate data. Finally, it discusses trustworthiness and dependability as well as the study's potential limitations.

Section 4 focuses on the challenges of researching upward, including the daunting task of accessing participants in positions of power and also of dealing with rejection.

Section 5 presents an in-depth description of the methods of analysis and the data presentation.

Section 6 summarises the chapter.

Section 1: Research approach

3.1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to understand the relationship between the increasing casualisation of teachers in state secondary schools and how this phenomenon influences the career pathing of Mauritian supply teachers. This involved an in-depth study of the whys and wherefores of the casualisation process and supply teachers' career decision-making based on their interpretations of their casual status.

3.1.2 Research questions

- CQ1.** What is the relationship between the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers?
- CQ2.** How do supply teachers make sense of their casual status and how does this meaning-making influence them (or not) in their professional life?
- CQ3.** Why does the casual status of supply teachers influence (or not) the way they navigate their professional life?

3.1.3 Research paradigm / approach

An earlier description of Guba and Lincoln (1994) refers to a paradigm as the basic set of beliefs that guide a research study. I considered constructivism as a suitable paradigmatic choice for this research study because different types of supply teachers could experience the casualisation phenomenon in different ways and the underlying meaning of these experiences could be interpreted to understand the phenomenon (Cohen, Manion & Morriison, 2018; Hu, 2020). The choice of a research approach being tightly related to the research questions and the research objectives made me reflect on what could be known about the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers and how this could be known (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 93). In short, my reflections centred on my ontological and epistemological assumptions because 'different ways of viewing the world shape different ways of researching the world' (Crotty, 1998, p. 66).

3.1.3.1 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Ontological assumptions

A description of the term ontology introduces it as ‘the way the social world is seen to be and (the assumptions) about the nature and reality of the social phenomena that make up the social world’ (Mathews and Ross, 2010, p. 23). Presented in a concise way, ontology is ‘the study of being’, embodying an understanding of ‘what is’ (Gray, 2004, p. 19). In line with these views, I believe that the ‘philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality’ or the ontological assumptions have been instrumental in making meaning of the data produced around the casualisation phenomenon affecting the supply teachers in the Mauritian state secondary schools (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 26). The understanding of the casualisation and career pathing of the supply teachers is expected to be constructed by the participants, including both the supply teachers and the non-supply teachers as well as by the researcher. While the ontological assumptions seemed to be situated around constructivism, it could not be denied that there is a ‘hidden dimension (that) relates to what we know about the social world as social beings who are part of the world and affects the way we behave and understand our social lives’ (Mathews and Ross, 2010, p. 23). Matthew and Ross (2010) refer to this dimension as including non-observable structures and mechanisms that trigger effects that ‘can be observed in the way people behave’ (p. 26). This study aimed to analyse the experiences of supply teachers as well as non-supply teachers in schools in the educational field and, hence, in the wider socio-professional structure and system of education. However, though taking the systemic dimension on board, the goal remains to understand how systems function through the lens of the experiences of the participants.

Epistemological assumptions

Simply referring to epistemology as ‘the theory of knowledge’ is insufficient for researchers (Mathews & Ross, 2010, p. 23). It is crucial to understand that epistemology ‘provides a philosophical background for deciding what kinds of knowledge are legitimate and adequate’ (Gray, 2004, p. 19). This study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of how the supply teachers carve their professional lives and the extent to which their career trajectories are influenced by their non-permanent employment status. This required that I reflect on ‘how we know what we know’ (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 67).

In deciding on the best methodology to understand the casualisation of supply teachers, my view of epistemology was important as it is interrelated with the theoretical stance adopted for this study, as well as the methodology and the research methods (Crotty, 1998, p. 5). The study adopted interpretivism, a theoretical perspective which is elaborated on in the section on philosophical standpoint.

3.1.3.2 Rationale for using a qualitative research approach

My decision to use a qualitative approach to research casualisation and career pathing of the supply teachers was primarily motivated by my belief that ‘reality’ cannot be existing out there, as such a perspective presupposes that all my participants would experience casualisation in ‘the same way’ (Agostinho, 2005, p. 17). Instead, I believed that supply teachers would construct their own subjective realities concerning their casualisation and career-building conveying that ‘the knower and knowledge are interrelated and interdependent’ (DePoy & Gitlin, 2016, p. 46). A qualitative research approach allowed for the freedom to explore supply teachers’ experiences of their short-term contractedness in order to inductively comprehend how their casual status may be influencing their career paths and to provide new knowledge on the topic. In that sense, a qualitative research would provide authentic and complex representations of the worldview of the participants in a rich and thick description. Additionally, the study embraced many of the elements of qualitative research defined by Yin (2011; 2016). These include learning about the supply teachers’ professional lives in real-world conditions, representing the research participants’ views and perspectives, covering the contextual conditions within which supply teachers live and work, deepening existing knowledge and contributing to new knowledge about supply teachers’ understanding of their career and their decision-making regarding their career trajectory and, finally, using multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source which could include, as in this study, visuals to capture the complexity of the lived world of the supply teachers (p. 9). In line with Yin (2011), this study focused on the past and present professional lives of supply teachers as well as their projected career trajectory. The rationale for using a qualitative approach is also influenced by the view that ‘professional knowledge relies heavily on personal experience’ and for Stake the elements of qualitative research fit nicely to examine the teaching profession (Stake, 2010, p.14).The inability of existing theories to adequately explain the casualisation phenomenon, is another pertinent element justifying the use of a qualitative approach for

researching how the career trajectory of supply teachers could be influenced by the conceptualisations of their casual status (Merriam, 2009, p. 15).

3.1.3.3 Philosophical standpoint

This study adopted 'interpretivism' as a theoretical perspective to study the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers (Crotty, 1998, p. 5). The interpretivist philosophy has also been described using terms like 'anti-naturalist or anti-positivist' and for this reason, it is useful in understanding the subjective world of supply teachers (Blaikie, 2007, p. 124). Furthermore, interpretivist philosophies have been characterised by the *Verstehen* (science of interpretive understanding) tradition (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 191).

Bernstein (1976) describes *Verstehen* as a multi-layered process involving interpretation of the meaning-making of our routine personal actions and the activities of those to whom we relate (p. 139). Approaches like *Verstehen* and 'hermeneutics (uncovering and interpreting meaning)' are useful in seeing 'the world through the eyes of' supply teachers as well as non-supply teachers (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018, p. 20). Blaikie (2007) suggests that 'the study of social phenomena requires an understanding of the social world that people have constructed and which they reproduce through their continuing activities' (p. 124). People, including supply teachers are constantly involved in interpreting and reinterpreting their world. Social worlds are thus interpreted before social scientists arrive in the field. This qualitative case study adopted an interpretivist theoretical perspective as the realities of casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers were influenced by the context, opening the possibility of diverse constructions of such realities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

3.1.3.4 Justification for the choice of the interpretivist perspective

The claims of theorists about the 'interpretive' character of qualitative research convey that the interpretivist perspective seems fitting for studying the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers (Yin, 2011, p. 264; Merriam, 2009, p. 22). Therefore, the purpose of the research study, which seeks the "experiences, understandings, and perceptions" of the supply teachers about their casual status and their professional trajectory, is connected to the rationale behind the selection of an interpretivist perspective or a qualitative approach (Thanh & Thanh, 2015, p. 1). In-depth viewpoints and theoretical understandings of the casualisation of the teaching profession were the goals of this study. Furthermore, it was anticipated that rather

than identifying certainties regarding this phenomenon, it would identify possibilities (Bassey, 1999).

3.1.4 Research Methodology - The case study

As the focus of this basic qualitative research is to understand how supply teachers make sense of their casual status and their work experiences and as the phenomenon is a bounded system (a case), this study is presented as a qualitative case study (Merriam, 2009, pp. 22-23). The very description of case study research as ‘a type of qualitative research’ makes it eligible as a research method for this study (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 395; Merriam, 2009, p. 39). As a methodology, case study has been considered a ‘central feature of qualitative research over the past century’ (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995, p. 317) and it remains relevant in contemporary social science (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2014).

Doing case study research implies ‘an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system’ (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). While a system implies a set of interrelated elements that form an organised whole, it has been described as bounded as the researcher needs to identify its boundaries (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 395). Gillham (2000) asserts that understanding the ‘case’ is crucial in case study research and defines it as a ‘unit of human activity’ which exists and is embedded in the real world and can only be studied in a context (p. 1).

The challenge, however, was to ‘fence in’, in the words of Merriam (2009, p. 40), that unit of analysis which I had to study. Like other systems, the casualisation of teachers is made up of different components or parts and it was important to understand how these parts operate together in order to understand the case. The phenomenon under the lens was casualisation, in connection with its presumed influence on career pathing. However, casualisation in the present setting occurs within the schooling systems made up of an administration, policymakers, the school as an organization and the peers and students, all interacting within the private life spaces of each teacher. Casualisation occurs within a context with different layers in a system and ‘complex things that go on within that system’ (Johnson and Christensen, 2012, p. 395). However, since the merging of the case and the context makes it difficult to draw precise boundaries, this begs the question: what is the case in the phenomenon under study within the current research? The ‘case’ or ‘unit of analysis’ for this study is not an object or an entity with a clear identity (e.g., a group, person, classroom or organisation) (Yin, 2014, p. 39). It is neither an event nor an activity, but a ‘process’: the casualisation of teachers (Creswell,

1994, p. 12; Punch, 2009, p. 119). The fundamental components of the case in this research study are supply teachers in the state secondary schools, the decision-making of supply teachers, the Ministry of Education, which holds the position of power as it is the recruiting body, the state secondary school, which is the workplace of short-term contractual teachers, and the globalisation and internationalisation of education and the job market, which operate as the backdrop of the casualisation process. The study aimed to engage these multiple layers of the phenomenon as they interact with one another, providing insight into the enabling and constraining factors that impact the career trajectory of casualised teachers.

3.1.4.1 Justification for a Case Study in qualitative research

The use of multiple methods to gain a complex, richly textured understanding of the interpreted world of supply teachers as well as non-supply teachers in this study is one among the justifications for adhering to case study research (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Besides, the interpretive or subjective dimensions of social and educational phenomena are best explored using case study methods (Cohen and Manion, 1994). It was thus appropriate to engage with a qualitative case study to understand the relationship between the casualisation of the teaching profession and supply teachers' career pathing.

Case study, as an approach, was useful since the research questions in this study focused on the 'how' and 'why' of the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers, making it an explanatory study (Yin, 2014, p. 10). Besides, it seems an appropriate strategy to investigate a complex unit like casualisation, which consists of 'multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon' (Merriam, 2009, p. 50). Case study has also been presented as relevant to the field of educational research (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Scott & Morrison, 2007; Yin, 2014). Merriam (2009) adds that 'case study results in a rich and holistic account of the phenomenon (which) ... offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences' (p. 51). A downside of studying a single object of research, like the casualisation process, is the quasi-impossibility of coming up with any generalization, but it is also true that 'much can be learnt from a particular case' (Merriam, 2009, p. 51).

Section 2: Research design

3.2.1 Setting up the case study

There is no consensus among qualitative researchers on whether to create a research design before the production of data or to allow the initial field experiences to guide the study. However, as the direction of this research was influenced by the research questions, I opted to start with a detailed data production plan for the pilot exercise. Moreover, I adopted a flexible stance towards adjustments that would need to be made along the way as the data production progresses. Hence, as qualitative research allows the design process to be recursive, my design made room for the design features to be revisited (Yin, 2016, pp. 84-85).

3.2.1.1 Piloting the case study

The pilot study that I conducted had the dual benefit of testing and refining numerous aspects of my final study and providing the opportunity to practise data production exercise (Yin, 2016, p. 39). Upon obtaining the green light from the Ministry of Education to carry out the research, I embarked on the piloting exercise at the school where I was posted.

My initial data production plan included ‘Participatory Visual Research Methodologies (PVRM)’ (Theron, Mitchell, Smith & Stuart, 2011). Hence, for the pilot exercise, a ‘self-portrait’ was used to encourage the ‘participants’ reflexivity’ and to get them ‘to think holistically about their identities and (professional) lives’ (Bagnoli, 2009, pp. 549-550). This exercise was followed by a ‘timeline’, which was intended to be used as a ‘graphic elicitation method to understand ‘significant events ... (and) critical moments’ in the careers of the supply teachers (Hanna & Lau-Clayton, 2012). The diagrams obtained from the two data production tools served as interview stimuli in a subsequent ‘stimulated recall interview’, which was designed to be the main data production tool. However, the self-portrait and the timeline were not appropriate data production tools for non-supply teachers. Consequently, the latter were invited to participate in a ‘collage activity’ followed by a ‘concept mapping’ before carrying out a Stimulated Recall Interview (SRI) (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010; Morgan & Guevara, 2008). The reason behind the use of ‘concept mapping’ for the pilot exercise was because this technique ‘creates a visual representation of the relationships among a set of targeted topics’ and it is also an efficient tool to generate data in qualitative research (Morgan & Guevara, 2008,

p. 108). The aim was to pinpoint ‘various ideas related to the concept’ (Stake, 2010, p. 107). A ‘collage activity’ was the final data generation tool.

The pilot exercise revealed that the ‘collage activity’ was more effective than the other data production tools. Furthermore, it was found that it could be used with different kinds of participants. The pilot study also revealed that some data production tools, although partially effective, should be discarded to avoid a delay in data production and a duplication of data. For instance, the timeline seemed to be a pictorial representation of the biographical datasheet. Furthermore, during the pilot exercise, I became aware that my voice as an interviewer was less present. Moreover, the participants tended to narrate many incidents in their lives that were not critical to the research project. The findings of the pilot exercise informed the corrective measures to be taken during the actual data production sessions.

For instance, care was taken to be more engaging and to gently nudge the participants to bring them back on track when they tended to overelaborate or to be too descriptive when answering interview questions or when relating incidents that had already been described. It was also found that the collage produced by the participants during the pilot exercise was largely a metaphorical representation of their interpretation of the casualisation phenomenon. Thus, I decided to rename the technique, ‘metaphorical collage’.

3.2.2 Selection of participants

In Mauritius, supply teachers, or short-term contractual teachers, are recruited by the Ministry of Education to serve government primary schools and secondary schools. While retired teachers are often recruited for primary schools, the supply teachers hired to teach in state secondary schools have diverse profiles. Casualisation of the teaching profession is more palpable and complex in secondary schools; hence, the decision to study this phenomenon at secondary school level.

I chose the participants for this study using ‘purposive sampling’ as I made the selection in a very systematic and deliberate manner (Yin, 2016, p. 93). The disadvantage of this sampling method is the risk of ‘inadvertently omit(ting) a vital characteristic or ... (being) subconsciously biased in selecting the sample’ (Gray, 2004, pp. 87-88). To minimise the risks, I divided the participants into two categories. Each category was subsequently divided into three sub-categories and each participant had to meet a set of predetermined requirements to

be part of a particular category. In spite of its inherent drawbacks, purposive sampling was the best suit for this qualitative case study research as my aim was not to come up with ‘generalisations’ (Dawson, 2009, p. 55). Moreover, I also wanted to have the leeway to increase or decrease the sample during the research process depending on the ways the data production could unfold (Silverman, 2013, p. 299).

Mauritian schools are geographically distributed in four distinct educational zones: Zones 1, 2, 3 and 4 (**Table 1**). The participants were mainly from two different state secondary schools, one with a large number of supply teachers and the other with a few. The two state secondary schools were selected from Zone 1 as this zone has the largest number of such schools and is thus likely to have more supply teachers than the other three zones. The table below shows the teaching staff in secondary schools (general stream) by zone, type of administration and sex.

Table 1 – Teaching staff in secondary schools (general stream) by zone, type of administration and sex, 2019 (statsmauriti.us.govmu.org> Education>Digest _Edu_Yr19 - Table 4.21)

Zone	All Schools			State Schools			Private Schools		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1.Port Louis / North	2719	1006	1713	1401	469	932	1318	537	781
2.B.Bassin / R.Hill / East	2256	841	1415	1089	374	715	1167	467	700
3.Curepipe / South	2037	779	1258	766	283	483	1271	496	775
4.Q.Bornes / Vacoas-Phoenix / West	1506	467	1039	873	241	632	633	226	407
Island of Mauritius	8518	3093	5425	4129	1367	2762	4389	1726	2663
Island of Rodrigues	295	106	189	-	-	-	295	106	189
Republic of Mauritius	8813	3199	5614	4129	1367	2762	4684	1832	2852

I considered that there was a greater likelihood that participants from Zone 1 would have more exposure and possibly deeper knowledge of the casualisation phenomenon in state secondary schools as they work in a zone with the highest number of supply teachers. The purpose of

recruiting participants from the two categories of state secondary schools was to solicit diverse perspectives on the phenomenon. I assumed that supply teachers having many colleagues serving on a short-term contract would have a different set of experiences as compared to their counterparts in other schools having fewer colleagues having a short-term contractual status. A supply teacher having very few colleagues working in the same conditions as him or her may feel more isolated than another supply teacher who has numerous colleagues in his work environment with whom he or she can relate to. However, since the case study focused on a process, namely, the casualisation of teachers, I also included non-supply staff, namely, permanent teachers, rectors and a Director of Education (see the Data Production Plan, Appendix C, which was designed as a guideline to assist data production).

The insights of non-supply staff were useful as their outsider's view not only served to enhance understanding of the phenomenon under investigation but also provided a critical dimension to the research study, contributing to its credibility. Besides, being part of the figured world of the supply teachers, these non-supply teachers also shape their experiences. This fits the case study approach to understand the participants as part of a wider system. The viewpoints of the non-supply teachers contributed to the generation of epistemological insights regarding casualisation by significant others who are not casuals but are from the immediate milieu of supply teachers. By selecting different types of participants, I aimed to get different worldviews and thus obtain 'the most relevant and plentiful data' on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers in the Mauritian state secondary schools (Yin, 2016, p. 93).

3.2.3 Preparing for the field

The data production exercise required the preparation of the field and my first move was to address emails to the rectors of the state secondary schools in Zone 1³ to inquire the number of supply teachers serving in their institution and the percentage of the total number of teachers they represented. The gatekeeper's letter from the Mauritian Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research (Appendix B) and Ethical Clearance (Appendix D) from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) where I was registered as a doctoral student were attached. Based on the replies, two schools were identified; one with a high number of supply teachers and the other with a low number. This selection was motivated by

³ The choice of this particular Zone is explained in the following sub-section.

the need to gauge the differences in the way supply teachers respond to their casual status in a context where there are either numerous others or very few like them. I assumed that the dynamics might be different for the two groups since supply teachers serving in the two different spaces might share dispositions through ‘their shared sense of collective identity’ in different ways (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2019, p. 320).

The supply teachers and permanent teachers in these institutions were contacted with the permission of the rector (Appendix E). They were given a Participant Information Sheet (Appendices F(i) and F(ii)). The selection of the participants was based on an analysis of the biographical profile of prospective participants via a ‘demographic matrix’ in the form of a Biographical Data Sheet (Appendices G(i) and G(ii)) (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2018, p. 311). After numerous informal conversations with different participants, three types of supply teachers were identified; the newly recruited supply teacher who was referred to as the Fresh Supply Teacher (FST), one who had been a supply teacher at some point in his/her career and had joined the teaching profession anew as a supply teacher (Renewed Supply Teacher (RST)); and one who had been a supply teacher at some point in his/her career but did not choose or had not been selected to join the teaching profession anew as a supply teacher (Former Supply Teacher (FoST)). These participants had varying experience in the field of teaching as well as in other jobs. **Table 2** below explains the abbreviations used to describe each category of supply teachers participating in this study.

Table 2 - Abbreviations used to denote the different categories of supply teachers participating in this study

EXPLAINING THE ABBREVIATIONS USED TO DENOTE THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF SUPPLY TEACHERS			
	ABBREVIATIONS	MEANING	EXPLANATION
1	FST	Fresh Supply Teacher	The category of newly recruited teachers.
2	RST	Renewed Supply Teacher	These individuals have been supply teachers at some point in their career and have joined supply teaching anew.
3	FoST	Former Supply Teacher	This group of people have been supply teachers in the past but did not choose or have not been selected to serve as supply teacher.

The sample consisted of 20 participants which included 15 supply teachers, two permanent educators, two rectors and one Director of Education. The group of supply teachers comprised two FSTs, eight RSTs and five FoSTs. The FSTs and RSTs were accessed at the two selected schools. The FoSTs were hand-picked through a ‘snowball’ or ‘chain’ process with the help of participants who were asked to ‘suggest the names of others who would be appropriate for the sample’ (Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh, 2002, p. 429). Without the support of the RST’s and the permanent teachers it would have been challenging to identify potential participants who were no longer serving as supply teachers. I ensured that these prospective participants were ‘willing to participate in the research study’ (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 231). Snowball sampling was effective in identifying FoSTs (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 232) as it was easier to approach them as the participant who suggested their name acted as a reference, enhancing my ‘*bona fides* and credibility’ as a researcher (Denscombe, 1998, p. 16). The other participants included one permanent teacher recruited by the Public Service Commission (PSC⁴) from each school. As the rector of one of the schools who initially volunteered to participate could not do so for unclear reasons, a Freshly Retired Rector (FRR) was identified through a snowballing exercise as a prospective participant. He was contacted and showed great interest in sharing his experiences of the casualisation of the teaching profession.

Data was also produced with a Director of Education who is well versed in issues relating to the demand, supply, recruitment and posting of supply teachers. **Table 3** presents a breakdown of the initial selection consisting of the different categories and the participants with whom data was produced.

⁴ An institution vested with executive powers under the constitution of Mauritius to ensure that the Republic of Mauritius has a professional and efficient civil service geared towards excellence. It is responsible for identifying and appointing people to the civil service, safeguarding the impartiality and integrity of appointments and promotion in the civil service, and for taking disciplinary action to maintain ethical standards and safeguard public confidence in the civil service.

Table 3 - Breakdown of the categories of participants for data production

Participants	Status			Breakdown of Sample
	FST	RST	FoST	
Supply Teachers	2	8	5	15
Permanent Teachers	2 permanent teachers [1 from each SSS]			2
Senior Educator/ Rector/ Deputy Rector	1 Permanent Rector from each SSS in the sample			2
Director of Education	1 Director of Education from the Ministry of Education			1
Total number of participants				20

The data produced before and during the SRIs were transcribed and coded. Due to the time constraints and to avoid repetition, I focused on the most ‘information-rich’ transcriptions and ultimately decided to consider only six of the 20 participants (Flick, 2018, p. 88). The final selected participants comprised three supply teachers and three non-supply teachers. The supply teachers included one from each category i.e., an FST, RST and FoST whereas the non-supply teachers consisted of one permanent teacher, one acting rector and one Director of Education.

The breakdown of the participants who were ultimately selected and whose transcripts were used for further analyses is presented in **Table 4** below.

Table 4 - Breakdown of categories of participants ultimately selected for data analysis

Participants	Status			Breakdown of Sample
	FST	RST	FoST	
Supply Teacher	1	1	1	3
Permanent Teacher	1 Permanent teacher			1
Senior Educator/ Rector/ Deputy Rector	1 Rector			1
Director of Education	1 Director of Education			1
Total Number of participants				6

3.2.4 Negotiating access

All the teachers from the two state secondary schools were contacted. The sample size was not assigned the same importance as for quantitative studies as the main focus was exploring the casualisation phenomenon and supply teachers' career, which is typically qualitative research (Kumar, 2011, p. 193). Voluntary participation was sought of permanent teachers (Tenured full-time and part-time teachers recruited by the PSC), and a member of the pedagogical/administrative staff, viz., a senior educator (Senior teachers nominated by the PSC to assist Rectors and Deputy Rectors), deputy rector (An officer who assists the rector in his/her daily tasks) or rector (Head of a state secondary school) of one of the institutions. The intention was to explore the phenomenon not only from the perspective of supply teachers, but also that of significant others. Non-supply teachers are part of supply teachers' immediate work environment and are thus likely to have a good knowledge of the latter's daily lives and decision-making. Hence, they would enhance understanding of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession at the secondary school level and the consequences in terms of teacher professional development.

Before data production commenced, the participants were handed a Participant Information Sheet designed for each category of participants. Those willing to participate were requested to sign an Informed Consent Declaration (Appendices H (i), H (ii) and H (iii)). The primary ethical principle to protect research participants is avoiding any harm; this is discussed in

Section 3 of this chapter (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012, pp. 61-66; Wiles, 2013, pp. 60-67). In the case of this study, this was achieved by firstly, obtaining ethical clearance from UKZN. Permission was also obtained from the Mauritian Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research. The main gatekeeper's letter stipulated measures to protect the participants from harm as well as minimise disruption of activities at the selected schools and that the researcher should liaise with the rectors (the second line gatekeepers) of the schools prior to fieldwork. Gaining access to the school was not regarded as a once-off 'event' but as a continual 'process' in order to maintain access throughout the study (Yin, 2011, p. 114). Subsequently, the rectors of the selected schools were approached for permission to access the schools. With the rectors' approval, a contact visit was organised to inform prospective participants about the aims and objectives of the research project as well as their role in data production (Seidman, 1998, p. 40). This established the foundation for 'the mutual respect necessary to the interview process' and also enabled me to familiarise myself with the site (Seidman, 1998, p. 40), as well as initiate the process of informed consent. The voluntary participation of prospective participants was sought and those willing to participate signed the informed consent form. Maintaining access to the field involved building 'trust and rapport' with the teachers and rectors through an explanation of the rationale for the interviews and the reason for conducting the research (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 198). The participants were assured that their responses would remain anonymous and confidential (Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Seidman, 1998). This was essential due to the supply teachers and, indeed, permanent teachers' subjugation to the employing body. However, gaining access to the Director of Education was a daunting task. This is discussed in Section 4 of this chapter. The learning from this exercise was that one 'become(s) skilled at getting access ... by practicing, and failing, and trying again' (Tracy, 2020, p. 111).

Section 3: Beginning the study

3.3.1 Procedure, protocols and ethical issues

While I was aware of the need to address the ethical issues that could arise during fieldwork (Bell, 1993, p. 53) before commencing data production, I had to question whether it was right to conduct research on the casualisation and career pathing of Mauritian supply teachers or even to 'carry out certain procedures' in relation to the research project (Fraenkel, Wallen &

Hyun, 2015, p. 61). The literature notes that, 'fieldwork dilemmas involve researchers in making decisions about how they should conduct themselves in the field and are therefore concerned with the rights and responsibilities of both researcher and researched' (Scott & Usher, 1999, p. 128). Furthermore, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state that 'each stage in the research sequence raises ethical issues' (p. 51).

Among the ethical issues that required consideration was obtaining the participants' consent, which involved providing them with 'clear information about what participating in ... (this) research project (would) involve' and allowing them to freely decide whether or not to participate (Wiles, 2013, p. 25). Informed consent 'protect(s) and respect(s) the right of self-determination and places some of the responsibility on the participant should anything go wrong in the research' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 52). The letters of consent briefly outlined the purpose and procedures of the research project and the data production tools. They also stated that participation was voluntary, that the participants would remain anonymous, and that they were free to withdraw at any point.

It was necessary to ensure the anonymity of the participants and their place of work to avoid any 'accidental breaking of confidentiality ... through the use of pseudonyms' for both (Wiles, 2013, p. 7). Hence, pseudonyms have been used for all participants and for the names of individuals they mentioned during the interviews. Besides, even the names of institutions where the participants or the individuals mentioned by them have previously worked or where they are presently working, have been anonymised in the thesis document.

The participants were also informed that all the information they provided would be used for the purpose of the present research only. The necessary precautions were taken to ensure that 'no one else (had) access to the data' and the participants were free to ask me not to use data collected about them (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2015, p. 61). They were also informed that they would be able to verify statements in the draft research report and they would receive a copy of the final report. Their attention was drawn to the fact that the study was purely for research purposes and that should any information be published at a later date, their permission will be sought (Bell, 1993, p. 53).

3.3.2 Data production

Woodwell (2014) defines data as ‘any type of information that has been created or gleaned by a researcher from the world’ (p. 8). The Latin word ‘data’ means ‘something given’ which might be interpreted as meaning that data is awaiting collection. However, the literature on qualitative research notes that data is systematically and conjointly produced by the researcher and the participant (Mason, 2002; Crotty, 1998; Scott & Usher, 1999). Interpretive research focuses on everyday life experiences and how meaning is constructed and social action is negotiated in social practices (Scott & Usher, 1999, p. 25). Crotty (1998) observes that ‘subject and object emerge as partners in the generation of meaning’ (p. 9). This study aimed to make sense of supply teachers’ experiences of their casual status in their daily lives and to establish whether or not such experiences influence the career pathing of short-term contractual teachers in state secondary schools. Since it is not possible to be a neutral collector of information about the social world and since research implies actively constructing knowledge about the world based on one’s epistemological insights and the corresponding method/s employed, this study refers to this overarching step in the research as data production. This is in line with Mason’s (2002) argument in favour of the use of the term ‘data generation’ rather than ‘data collection’ (p. 52). The research methodology can be described as the design that directs a researcher in the choice of methods to be adopted and shapes the use of these methods (Crotty, 1998, p. 3). However, according to Yin (2011), a formal qualitative research ‘methodology’ may be a myth (p. 10). Thus, it was important to ask ‘what is the fullest and most creative range of methods’ of data production around the casualisation phenomenon affecting supply teachers and its influence on their career pathing (Mason, 2002, p. 27). In line with the qualitative tradition, an eclectic approach which is typical of case studies was adopted (Ary et al., 2002; Yin, 2014; Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Punch, 2009). This involved different methods, instruments and tools as well as different data sources to produce data on the short-term contractual status of supply teachers and its influence on their professional trajectory. A sustained effort was made to use innovative ways to generate data.

3.3.3 Strategies to produce data

A crucial concern in case study methodology is to ensure that the ‘researcher’s selected methods are aligned with his or her particular ontological and epistemological beliefs’ (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 109). I chose to use an art-based method involving a

metaphorical collage to commence data production. The metaphorical collage was then used as an instrument to generate data through an SRI. The following sub-sections provide more detail on these two research methods and the advantages of employing them to produce data.

3.3.3.1 Art-based Research

First-hand experience of the art-based method

While it seems obvious that qualitative research relies heavily on words to express thoughts and feelings, Saldana (2015) proposes researchers to reflect on how their “participants and the field site could be represented as a drawing, sculpture, or collage” (p. 129). This suggestion seemed far-fetched to me until I figured out the efficacy of the collage activity as a data production tool during the pilot exercise. Besides, the pilot exercise triggered the idea of renaming the collage activity as ‘metaphorical collage’ since the art work of my participants was a representation of their understanding of the casualisation of supply teachers and how the phenomenon affected the career pathing of the latter. The metaphorical collages, like other ‘creative and visual methods, offered a powerful alternative’ to explore layers of experience that cannot be straightforwardly expressed in words (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 182).

Use of Art-based method

Participants’ artwork has been used in earlier studies to explore educators’ experiences (Leitch, 2006; Ryan, 2005), including the professional experiences of nursing lecturers (Loads, 2009). I considered artwork an appropriate method to produce data for this study as, in line with the interpretive stance adopted, I aimed to design methods that would generate the participants’ diverse subjective truths (Bassegy, 1999; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012).

Advantages of the Art-based Method

The art-based activity in this research study did not aim to evaluate the participants’ artistic abilities. Instead, it was regarded as an ice breaker that would pave the way for the data generation process (Morrow, 1998). The visual methods, used as data and as tools to produce further data, proved to be efficient ‘openers’ and ‘ice breakers’, especially in a context where supply teachers occupy a low position in the power hierarchy within the current education

system (Morrow, 1998). Focusing on the visual level enabled the participants to go beyond a verbal mode of thinking, introducing broader dimensions of experience that might not emerge otherwise (Bagnoli, 2009). Still, it was important to reflect upon the fact though art-based methods might be valued in data production for their simplicity, tangibility and concreteness and their ‘complexity in the interpretive process’ should not be ignored (Theron et al., 2011, p. 2).

The artwork allowed the research participants to express their complex professional experiences in an ‘indirect, metaphorical or less threatening manner’ (Gourlay, 2010, p. 83). According to Saldana (2015), ‘the arts in qualitative inquiry provide insight into social life because they are symbolic and metaphoric extensions of human thought and feeling’ (p. 120). In the same vein, it is observed that a major advantage of this method is ‘the representation of metaphor, and the relative ease with which a visual representation can be made to stand for an important concept or difficult-to-express aspect of experience’, like the different ways these supply teachers conceptualised their casual status (Gourlay, 2010, p. 83). Furthermore, engaging in an art-based activity and reflecting on that art-work opened up possibilities for a ‘transformed thinking and metacognitive reflections’ (Simmons & Daley, 2013, p. 10).

3.3.3.2 Collage Activity / Metaphorical collage

The ‘Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods’ describes a collage as ‘an arts-based research approach to meaning-making through the juxtaposition of a variety of pictures, artefacts, natural objects, words, phrases, textiles, sounds and stories’ (Norris, 2008, p. 94). For the present research, the participants were given a selection of art and craft materials, which included magazines, scissors, glue stick, A3 paper and coloured pencils and pens. They were requested to produce a collage on ‘what casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers meant to them’. The participants could start with the collage immediately, as they had been briefed about this activity in an earlier introductory meeting. Moreover, a few issues concerning the biographical data sheet, the collage and the stimulated recall interview had also been discussed and clarified beforehand via phone calls. This collage activity offered the double advantage of facilitating exploration of a ‘subtle, abstract and difficult theme (casualisation of teachers and its influence on their career pathing) ... in a creative way’ and allowing the use of metaphor (Gourlay, 2010, p. 83). Besides, the collage was expected to be instrumental in producing ‘metaphoric evocative texts’ through which the participants, as well as the reader,

could create and recreate the meaning they assign to the casualisation phenomenon affecting the supply teachers in the Mauritian State secondary schools (Pushor, 2008, p. 94).

During the data production exercise, I assisted the participants only when they needed additional clarifications on the collage activity. Most participants started by cutting a selection of pictures that appealed to them from the magazines. A lot seemed to happen during the selection of pictures, but no comments were made, nor were any questions asked to avoid any disruption during the data production. Some participants seemed to be looking for more and better pictures that could convey their thoughts about the phenomenon. Often, the participants took longer than the allocated time in their quest to produce a better collage. A crucial and creative part of the exercise seemed to be the composition of the collage since the participants had to create connections between the magazine cuttings, which consisted of pictures and sometimes words. The end-product for every participant was a unique collage and some of them even produced two collages, which were their personal representations of what casualisation of supply teachers meant to them. The collage activity could be said to have enabled the ‘participants (to) weave together and make explicit their tacit knowledge and create new understandings’ around the casualisation phenomenon (Simmons and Daley, 2013, p. 10). However, this study was meant to access the core feelings of the participants and this could have possibly been hindered by the use of traditional methods. Hence, collage was efficiently used to ‘mitigate this challenge by providing an opportunity for research participants to project personal information onto visual artifacts, then using these results as a tangible reference point for conversation,’ which was in the form of a Stimulated Recall Interview (Martin & Hanington, 2012, p. 35).

3.3.3.3 Stimulated Recall Interview

Interviews in qualitative research

Literature around research methodology reveals ‘interview’ as a data production tool *par excellence* (Scott & Usher, 1999; Punch, 2009; Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Ary et al., 2002). For the present qualitative case study, I considered personal interaction more valuable than views expressed by participants through an anonymous questionnaire (Saunders et al., 2012). Besides, Yin (2014) contends that in-depth ‘face-to-face’ interviews are ‘one of the most important sources of case study evidence’ in qualitative research (Yin, 2014, p. 110). However, I was convinced that, like the use of the metaphorical collage, the interview could also be

enhanced using innovative strategies, making them not only engaging and stimulating but also more captivating as compared to traditional interviews. This idea led me to think deeply about the ways interviewing could be revisited for data production on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers.

Re-inventing interviews

My quest to enhance the interviews to produce data was materialised when I went through studies that refer to visual images as interview ‘stimuli’ (Robson, 2011, p. 370; Wagner, 1978). The stimuli used for data production in this research were the ‘metaphorical collages’ produced by the participants. While Robson (2011) advocates for the use of visual images in a myriad of research contexts, especially interviews, he also warns of the complexity of ‘carrying out a project where visual images and their analysis have a central role’ (p. 371). I thus exercised caution in the data production steps that followed.

Firstly, for the production of the ‘metaphorical collages’ by the research participants, I had to carefully consider each step and plan it beforehand. I also made it a point to be honest in my communication with them by providing examples of the kind of output I anticipated from them. I started by refreshing my participants’ memories and presented examples, frequently of collages created during the piloting exercise, even though some explanation about the metaphorical collages had been provided during an earlier briefing session. While making sure that my presence would not obstruct the participant’s creative zone, I would stay around to address any more queries or dispel any lingering reservations regarding the art-based activity. Before I began the interview, I made sure that the participants were prepared. I formally began by telling them that they could decide not to respond to a question if they felt uncomfortable doing so. Even though I followed an interview schedule (Appendices I [i-iv]), I modified my questions based on the participants’ responses to learn about their innermost thoughts and feelings regarding the many ways they experienced their casual status and how these influenced their future career decisions.

The rigour of the data production exercise enhanced the study’s authenticity and also enabled the interviews to be conducted in greater depth than traditional interviewing techniques (Gourlay, 2010, p. 83). I also aimed to ‘elicit and provoke other data’ which I expected to act as ‘springboards for theorising’ (Weber, 2008, p. 47).

Stimulated Recall Interviews

The SRIs used the metaphorical collages produced by the participants as triggers. This enabled the supply teachers to express their views on the casualisation process affecting teachers' professional world. All the interviews were carried out in English. Still, it was noted that participants, as is typical in codeswitching between languages in a multilingual context, had the tendency to use a few French and Kreol Morisien terms to express themselves. The SRIs captured the participants' perspectives from their subjective standpoints on the casualisation phenomenon and their decision-making regarding their career path. The data produced provided insights on casualisation, an existing concept, and precariatization, an emerging concept, both of which explain how supply teachers construct their professional selves.

Advantages of SRIs

As creative tasks, the metaphorical collages and the SRIs encouraged thinking in non-standard ways and it was a means to avoid mechanical answers. The art-based method thus encouraged a holistic narration of the self and helped to overcome silences, including those aspects of one's professional life that might be sensitive and difficult to relate using words (Bagnoli, 2009). The SRI proved to be a powerful way to understand the supply teachers by accessing their 'definitions of situations and constructions of reality' (Punch, 2009). The SRI, which was based on the metaphorical collages, enabled me to 'set up a general structure by deciding in advance what ground is to be covered and what main questions are to be asked,' allowing the detailed structure to be tackled during the interviewing process (Drever, 1995, p. 1). The participant, whether a supply teacher, permanent teacher or a rector, had more freedom to answer in his/her own words than would have been possible in a structured interview (Drever, 1995).

Conducting the SRI

The golden advice which guided me throughout the interviewing process was to 'listen more, talk less and ask real questions and ... avoid leading questions' (Seidman, 1998, p. 69). The use of tailor-made interview schedules (Appendices I (i), I (ii), I (iii) and I (iv)) for the different types of participants prevented the data production exercise from going astray. The interview schedules for supply teachers and participants other than supply teachers contained a list of

questions. The need to obtain thick data, which is the aim of in-depth interviewing, influenced me to select open-ended questions (Seidman, 1998).

Informal and formal conversations with the supply teachers conveyed that both the past and present experiences of the supply teachers had the potential to shape their career preferences. The supply teachers' career preferences and plans were considered to gauge the influence of the casualisation of the teaching profession on their career pathing. This enabled me to inductively gauge whether the casualisation of the teaching profession is related to the career trajectory of a supply teacher. The second page of the Biographical Data Sheet recorded the career preferences of the different categories of supply teachers from each of the participants' viewpoint. It also enabled me to determine how these preferences were influenced by the supply teachers' short-term contractual status. The data production exercise was initially intended to be carried out in their place of work, i.e., the state secondary schools where they were posted. However, in some cases, meetings had to be arranged outside the school premises with the consent of the participants. For instance, data production involving the FoSTs was carried out in 'neutral spaces' such as open public spaces or any other convenient place of their choice (Bamberry, 2011).

3.3.4 Validity

Attending to the issue of validity' is critical for the integrity of any research project (Ary et al., 2002, p. 451). The production of new knowledge around the casualisation phenomenon of supply teachers and their career pathing needs to be credible in order to be trusted and relied upon (O'Leary, 2017, p. 121). For that purpose, it was imperative to explain the extent to which this research study is 'credible, trustworthy and therefore defensible' (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 264). The 'framework for evaluating the credibility' of the present research project was based on a set of questions asked by O'Leary (2017) that allowed identifying the indicators of credibility.

The first indicator of credibility could be identified by asking if the subjectivities have been acknowledged and managed. I have tackled this aspect by showing an appreciation of my own worldviews in the first chapter under **Section 3** on researcher positionality. I considered it important to continuously reflect on my positionality (Chapter 1, Section 3 – 1.3.1) and predisposition, as reflexivity is a key strategy to understand researcher bias. Besides, Johnson and Christensen (2012) warn that 'one potential threat to validity that researchers must be

careful to watch out for is called researcher bias' (p. 264). My reflections were captured in a researcher's reflective journal. An extract of the reflective journal is presented as Appendix J. As mentioned in the section dealing with my positionality, I have been a casual worker in the past. As a result of my experience as a casual worker, I had to be cautious so as not to adopt a stance of advocacy in favour of the supply teachers. The second element within the first indicator of credibility included an appreciation of alternative realities. This aspect of managing subjectivities was tackled by producing data with different types of participants: the FST, the RST and the FoST among the supply teachers and the permanent teacher, the Rector and the Director of Education among the non-supply teachers. Another element of managing subjectivities required me to suspend my initial judgements. This was particularly important in preventing me from falling into the trap of any sort of employer bashing or vilifying those who were sometimes criticised by the supply teachers. However, as the supply teachers represented the highest percentage of participants, I had to be cautious of not 'hearing only the dominant voice' (O'Leary, 2017, p. 125). Apart from 'appreciating alternative realities' and 'suspending initial judgements', as strategies for managing subjectivities as suggested by O'Leary (2017), this qualitative case study also sought and incorporated 'alternative and pluralistic points of view' of the different categories of participants (p. 128).

The second indicator of credibility could be identified by asking if the 'true essence' has been captured. The data analysis conveyed that different categories of participants had different perspectives on the casualisation phenomenon in the education system. Supply teachers seemed to have their own personal constructions of the phenomenon, which had similarities as well as differences from the worldviews of the non-supply teachers. Even the views of one type of supply teacher sometimes differ from the worldviews of another type of supply teacher. Every participant offered a subjective construction of his/ her individual reality around the casualisation and career pathing of teachers. Still, I considered not to celebrate the participants' perspectives or romanticize the data produced. Casualisation is a dynamic phenomenon and the participants' worldviews and their constructions of the phenomenon may also change with time. Hence, the perceived reality may be described as elusive because it continues to evolve in time and space. Under such circumstances, capturing the true essence is a challenge. To capture the true essence, it was essential to obtain a genuine representation of the inner feelings of the participant. This was made possible by 'building trust' and 'listening without judgement' (O'Leary, 2017, pp. 130-133). Furthermore, the use of many low-inference descriptors when writing the research report, i.e. a description phrased very similarly to the supply teachers'

accounts, was highly instrumental in enhancing the validity of this research project (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, pp. 265-266).

Credibility can also be ascertained by inquiring if the methods have been approached with consistency. Briggs (1986) explains that the validity of the methods used refers to the accuracy of the techniques, or tools, or instruments employed to generate data. For this purpose, the research processes for this research on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers in the Mauritian state secondary schools had to be carried out fairly, so that the findings reflect 'as closely as possible' the understanding of the supply teachers and of the other participants (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner & Steinmetz, 1991, p. 93). Hence, the credibility of this study was ensured with the use of more than one method of data production; these were Metaphorical Collages and Stimulated Recall Interviews (Ary et al., 2002, p. 451; Merriam, 2009, p. 215). The SRI's somehow served as a triangulation tool for the representation of the phenomenon as metaphorical collages and the corroboration of the different forms of data produced strengthened the 'trustworthiness of the findings' (Patten & Newhart, 2018, p. 175). Secondly, the use of 'multiple sources of data' from numerous vantage points in the schooling system at the secondary level also added to the credibility of the research study (Merriam, 2009, p. 215). The different sources were from two categories of participants: the supply teachers, including the FST, the RST and the FoST and the non-supply teachers, which included the permanent teachers, the rectors and a Director of Education.

Another indicator of credibility could be identified by asking if the arguments are relevant and appropriate. O'Leary (2017) states that 'making appropriate arguments is about being able to attest to the credibility of ... data and the trustworthiness of ... results in spite of any limitations' (p. 125). One of the limitations of the study was the small sample size of only six participants. However, this research did not intend to come up with generalisations. The aim was to gain an understanding of the casualisation phenomenon and the career pathing of supply teachers from different vantage points. Besides, this was the main reason for categorising the participants in the initial sample, which consisted of 20 participants. Data was produced with all of them but only the information-rich transcripts category-wise were considered for further analysis. The final sample size consisted of six participants from two state secondary schools in Zone 1. The findings of this study, based on data from a small sample, could not be a true representation of the perceptions of all types of supply teachers, permanent teachers, Rectors in the island's state secondary schools and Directors of education. However, the 'systematic, detailed and thorough look' of a qualitative case study, like this one, 'requires researchers to

limit cases to just one or at most a few” (Patten & Newhart, 2018, p. 174). Hence, the sample size for the present research study was kept small as depth was privileged over breadth. In-depth analysis was carried out through intra-case and cross case analyses of the narrative reports on participants. Additionally, the figurative language used by the participants was unpicked to access the deeper layers of meaning given by the participants to their understanding of the phenomenon.

The list of indicators of credibility might not be exhaustive, but the last one considered for this research project can be identified by asking if the present research can be verified. Briggs (1986) defines reliability as the ‘probability that the repetition of the same procedure, either by the researcher or by another investigator, will produce the same results’ (p. 23). However, in a qualitative study like the present one, researchers assess reliability by means of the consistency of the data and the findings in the event of the study being replicated and it is often referred to as ‘dependability’ (Ary et al., 2002, p. 455). I used an ‘audit trail’ which enables a third party to trace the path followed to carry out the research and the motivation for each step. I kept notes, records of the interviews and other data in a well-organised researcher journal so that these could be easily accessed or retrieved. Information on the sample of supply teachers, the selection process and the contextual descriptions, as well as the methods of data collection, and the audio recordings, is readily available. Following data analysis, a third party (critical reader) ‘can consider the findings, conclusions and interpretations and can attest whether they are supported by the data’ (Ary et al., 2002, p. 455). A detailed and explicit record of the study’s procedures and outcomes enables the reader to ‘make (a) judgement about the replicability of the research within the limits of the natural context’ (Ary et al., 2002, p. 455). However, it is crucial to ensure that there is no breach of confidentiality and anonymity. The code-recode strategy is another measure to enhance dependability. After coding the data obtained from the SRI, I left it for some time and then returned to decode it and compare the two sets of coded material (Ary et al., 2002; Bell, 1993).

3.3.5 Potential limitations of the study

3.3.5.1 The sample size

The main objective of this qualitative research study was to explore how the casualisation of supply teachers impacts the way in which they design their career trajectories. The sample group ultimately considered for data analysis consisted of only six participants from two state

secondary schools in Zone 1. The small sample size and limited geographical area may not reflect the perceptions of short-term contractual teachers, permanent teachers or rectors or directors across the country.

3.3.5.2 Lack of support for local researchers

Conducting research in the Mauritian context can be a daunting exercise, especially if it requires the participation of public officers or contractual workers serving state secondary schools as in the present case. This is possibly due to the lack of a culture of research. The authorities were reluctant to divulge statistical information on the number of supply teachers serving state secondary schools and many rectors did not respond to e-mails requesting information on the number of contract and permanent staff serving their institutions.

3.3.5.3 Power relations

I could sense being ‘in an asymmetric position of power’ in relation to the participants’ in this research study (Cohen & Manion, 2018, p. 136). This could have been due to the supply teachers’ professional insecurity. Secondly, the highest academic qualification held by supply teachers in secondary schools in Mauritius is a master’s degree, while the researcher was the prospective holder of a PhD. It was important to formulate strategies to make the participants feel at ease and to enable them ‘to have power over decision-making in the research’ (Cohen & Manion, 2018, p. 136).

The supply teachers seemed to feel highly empowered at the outset of the study when they were informed in writing as well as verbally that they could withdraw at any time. The aim was to ensure that, following data production, they would feel ‘positive about themselves’ as well as about the data production exercise (Morrison, 2013, p. 321).

I consider that the type of conversation the researcher establishes with the participant is an important element that establishes trust. I also believe that the supply teachers sensed my respect for the work they do and my non-judgemental approach. Nonetheless, each participant is a unique being and it could not be assumed that they could all be dealt with in the same way.

3.3.5.4 Fear of not being re-contracted

The FoST seemed to freely recount his work experiences and plans as compared to the FST and the RST. I assume that the FoST, having left supply teaching, was more detached, while the fear of not being re-contracted could have somehow restrained the FST and the RST from openly expressing themselves about their work conditions. While some participants expressed extremely positive thoughts on the casualisation phenomenon, the tentativeness of their responses conveyed their fear of speaking freely. However, the fear of not being re-contracted appears to have been mitigated by two elements: First, by the trust developed through the first face-to-face meeting we had when I went to the institution where they served to seek their voluntary participation. This trust seems to have been reinforced via phone conversations that I had with these participants before the actual data-production exercise. Second, the non-invasive art-based method was also instrumental in generating data that reflected the participants' deeply felt experiences and views.

Section 4: Researching resistance

3.4.1 The challenges of researching upwards

As stated in the section dealing with case study, the Ministry of Education is a fundamental component of the 'case' as it is the body that recruits the supply teachers. The policy decisions and the recruitment and posting of the supply teachers are bound to have an influence on the decision-making of the supply teachers regarding their career pathing choices. In that respect, it was important to have the perspectives of individuals at higher management levels in the Ministry of Education and/or those engaged in policy decision making for the ministry. A Director of Education was spotted as a suitable participant through a snowball exercise and I made attempts to contact the latter. However, accessing people with more power than oneself is not easy (Kezar, 2003). After numerous phone calls to the Director's office, I was able to make an appointment through his secretary for a first-contact meeting. However, numerous issues pointed to the challenges involved in data production with a person in such a powerful position. Firstly, I was informed that the Director of Education was not easily accessible as he often had meetings to attend or he was frequently abroad on missions. I thus planned a once-off meeting for data production. I decided to avoid the use of metaphorical collage and an SRI

for data production as these tools would require a prior meeting for a briefing before their use, and I may also have to contact him several times to seek clarification on the data produced. Hence, I found that these tools would not be suitable data production tools with this individual as they required more time and could cause disruptions in his work. I felt it was my duty as an ethical researcher to be sensitive to my ‘participant’s wants and needs, and not to force (my) research agenda in a space where it is not welcome’ (Tracy, 2020, p. 113). Ultimately, I decided to use a ‘semi-structured interview’ to gather data with the Director of Education (Scott & Usher, 1999; Punch, 2009; Johnson & Christensen, 2012; Ary et al., 2002).

The semi-structured interview firstly enabled me to identify the specific questions to be posed. Secondly, such an interview was convenient as it could be used to ‘stimulate discussion rather than dictate it ... cede(ing) the control of the discussion to the interviewee’ (Tracy, 2020, p. 158). My choice of open-ended questions was guided by the aim of in-depth interviewing, which was to obtain thick data (Seidman, 1998). However, my first contact meeting with the Director of Education revealed that he was cautious about providing details about the casualisation process. He signed the Informed Consent Form and photocopied the document. Then he did something that none of my participants had done. He handed me the copy instead of the original. This conveyed his thoughtfulness before committing himself. He also asked for a copy of the interview schedule before the interview. I noted an inconsistency regarding his willingness to participate in the study. Ultimately, he insisted that he would treat the interview schedule as a questionnaire (Appendix K) and would complete it and hand it back to me. Although I felt that a conversation would have allowed me to access deeper layers of arguments and reflections on the way supply teachers are recruited and posted, I agreed to his request.

The choice to deal with rejection ‘by being flexible’ proved beneficial since the Director of Education made an effort to participate in the study in some way (Tracy, 2020, p. 116). I understand that such individuals may be bound by confidentiality and that this could render their discourse opaque. This apparent obscurity may conceal truths that members of a high-level management team do not want the general public to know about.

3.4.2 Dealing with the challenges of researching upward

Trustworthiness had to be established when ‘accessing an elite interviewee’ like the Director of Education (Tracy, 2020, p. 108). Hence, I sent all the official documents to the prospective participant and sought his permission before meeting him. Another element that seemed to

reassure him was the reminder that my study was a qualitative one and that I would not be using any statistics. It was obvious to him that the findings could not be used to come up with generalisations. I believe that this could have convinced him that my study may not impinge on his interests.

Section 5: Analysing the data

The analysis of data on the casualisation phenomenon may rightly be considered as the heart of this qualitative research (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). The purpose of analysing data produced for this research study was to ‘search for explanation and understanding’ of the relationship between the casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001, p. 207). Additionally, it was also important to comprehend how the casual status could be influencing the career pathing of the supply teachers, creating the foundation for theories to emerge.

Data was produced around the casualisation and career pathing of the supply teachers using relevant techniques from the ‘repertoire of techniques (that) characterises qualitative research’ (Punch, 2009, p. 170). Data production was coupled with organising, summarising and eventually interpreting by ‘searching for significant patterns, and discovering what was important’ (Ary et al., 2002, p. 465). Besides, it is generally accepted that ‘in qualitative analysis, several simultaneous activities engage the attention of the researcher’ (Creswell, 1994, p. 153). I took note of the need to start analysis immediately following production of the first set of data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Still, I may not deny that the analysis of some data began in the field during data production but the large chunk of data organisation began once I had left the site (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998).

The present section details the first-level analysis in the form of ‘case narrative’ which I will refer to as case reports in this study (Wang, 2021, p. 47). The second level analysis is both an inter-category and intra-category cross-case analysis of the case reports, while the third level analysis is a symbolic representation of the casualisation and career pathing of the supply teachers.

3.5.1 Level one analysis

The preliminary analysis of the data comprised several steps to produce case reports for each of the selected participants. These contained ‘minimal in-text references’ as they presented raw data (Hyett, Kenny & Dickson-Swift, 2014, p. 6). The transcript of the audio recording of each SRI was coded to form categories and eventually themes to kickstart the writing process to produce a case report for each participant. In a qualitative case study, ‘a code ... is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data’ (Saldana, 2009, p. 3). I started with a series of pre-conceived themes based on the literature on the casualisation phenomenon. However, the themes kept changing with the emerging categories as the coding exercise progressed. While the structure of the case reports was almost uniform, they were not identical as each had its own specificities based on the participants’ varied experiences. All the supply teachers’ case reports started with the ‘metaphorical collage’ produced by the participant at the onset of the data production exercise. They then set out the participants’ biographical details and their conception of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession. This included what they regarded as the advantages and disadvantages of being a supply teacher. I also included their views on how their casual status might be influencing the way they carve or navigate their professional trajectory. A similar pattern was employed for the non-supply teachers, except for the Director of Education who was not assigned the art-based activity. However, the non-supply teachers were requested to give their opinion on the casualisation phenomenon and how they believed this phenomenon could be affecting the career pathing of supply teachers. Being part of the immediate professional environment of the supply teachers, the non-supply teachers seemed to have much to express on a number of issues related to the career of the supply teachers.

The writing of the case reports was carried out in three main steps:

1. Transcription of the SRIs
2. Coding of transcripts and organising and reorganising the categories to form themes
3. Constructing and honing the case reports

3.5.1.1 Transcribing the Stimulated Recall Interviews

The transcription exercise was carried out using the ‘transcribe’ software available at <https://transcribe.wreally.com/>. This user-friendly online support tool facilitated the

transcription of the audio recordings of the interviews to text. The loaded audio of the interviews could be slowed down, speeded up, re-wound or forwarded at the convenience of the user. This enabled me to carry out the transcription faster and with greater precision. Even then, the transcription exercise was a time consuming and a disquieting experience. Consequently, I decided to outsource the remaining transcriptions. I recruited transcribers who were briefed on the use of the 'Transcribe' software. Upon receiving the verbatim transcription, I verified the document, as I came across words in the transcription which were mistaken for other words in the audio. My knowledge of the context and the subject of the conversation enabled me to identify and correct these errors. A coded interview transcript of Katrina, the Acting Rector, is set out in Appendix L.

3.5.1.2 Coding the Transcripts

I started by using 'the coding manual for qualitative researchers' by Saldana (2009) as a reference for coding the SRI transcripts. I considered it important to understand the different ways to code an SRI transcript using 'Descriptive Codes' and 'In Vivo Codes' and to understand that coding is an interpretive act (Saldana, 2009, pp. 3-4). However, the coding exercise was later influenced by a few YouTube videos including one by Dr Harold Peach (2014) entitled 'Coding text using Microsoft Word' via the link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TbjfpEe4j5Y&t=292s>

Henceforth, the entire coding exercise was carried out electronically in a Word document and was therefore paperless. The critical parts of the text in the Word document were selected and codes were assigned to them via the 'insert comment' option. These codes were meant to be used for the construction of case reports.

3.5.1.3 Constructing Case Reports

The construction of case reports included an analysis and categorisation of the codes. This required the comments inserted as codes (text segments) (Appendix L(i)) to be extracted to a table (Appendix L(ii)) for analysis [using the link

http://www.thedoctools.com/downloads/basComments_Extract.html]

A few changes, based on the suggestions of Peach (2014), were brought to 'office' to enable 'macros' to extract the comments in a different document. Extracting the comments electronically saved much time and the effort which would have been spent in 'cutting' the code and 'pasting' them into an Excel document serially. It would have taken more time and effort to colour-code in the conventional manner using paper strips or sticky notes.

The following is a resume of the steps observed to extract the comments from the transcripts:

Extracting comments from transcript

1. Go to this link to the HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) text of the macro:
http://www.thedoctools.com/downloads/basComments_Extract.htm
2. Open the Word document you want to run it on (e.g., Roy).
3. Go to View. Click on Macros. Go to View Macros.
4. Click Extract Comments to New Document - DED in the Macro Name field.
5. Click Run.
6. Click Extract Comments.

The coding exercise continued by pasting the extracted comments in an Excel table. I pursued this exercise by using the codes in the form of extracted comments to form 'categories'. For that purpose, I carried out the following steps:

1. Select the Final Code from the Excel table.
2. Paste in a new Word document.
3. Select the table on the pasted document.
4. Go to the Tables Tools / Layout tab on the ribbon.
5. Press Convert to Text.
6. Select Ascending/ Descending.

To facilitate the writing up of the first-level analysis, I selected the categories from the Excel table and filtered them to form themes (Appendix L(iii)). I then copied the textual data and the respective comments and pasted them thematically (Appendix L(iv)) and started the write up to produce case reports. These reports were classified into two chapters. The case reports based on the three categories of supply teachers became part of Chapter 4 while the case reports of the three groups of non-supply teachers were the main part of Chapter 5.

I took measures to keep the report simple because I expect that the audience could comprise different types of readers, including emerging researchers who may not have technical knowledge of the phenomenon and the research process. Furthermore, I wrote the report chapters during the research process rather than at the end of the research project. My aim was to gain clarity of thought and to detect ‘where gaps and inconsistencies may be emerging in the research’ and take measures to rectify them (Gray, 2014, pp. 348-351). Though the SRI’s were conducted in English, care was taken to consider translating and explaining words or expressions in Kreol Morisien or in French language which were pertinent to the study. Footnotes were used for this purpose. For the case reports, I opted to use brackets for a number of reasons. Firstly, the words within the brackets showed the grammatically correct version of the words used by the participant. However, I also used the brackets to insert words to allow the reader to know ‘who’ is being referred to. Even filling a gap in the spoken language of the interviewee or clarifying the idea conveyed by the participant was achieved using the same technique. The use of brackets was also made to connect two or more similar ideas expressed by the same participant at different moments of the interview.

I chose not to use direct quotes from my participants as most of them had the tendency to switch to Kreol Morisien, which is their mother tongue and they also used French words when responding to questions asked in English. Though I have used footnotes to explain the meaning of the terms in Kreol Morisien and French, I considered the possibility that direct quotes could lead to ambiguities among international readers. Secondly, the building of case reports was part of the first level analysis and at this stage I had the task of keeping the data produced untampered. Hence, I preferred to keep my commentaries to a minimum. I had to ensure that each report genuinely reflected the participant’s voice and that their words were not inadvertently distorted and wrongly projected due to being overshadowed by my worldview. I heeded Gray’s (2014) advice that, once the writing of a case report is complete, it should be set aside for a couple of days before reviewing it for mistakes, gaps and inconsistencies (p. 352).

3.5.2 Level two analysis: Cross-case comparisons

The cross-case analysis involved ‘searching for similarities and differences across’ the case reports of diverse participants (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 398). Interestingly, the cross-case reports not only enabled a comparison of the convergences and divergences in the

perspectives of the supply teachers and the non-supply teachers on the phenomenon under the lens, but also revealed intra-category divergences. The views of the FST and the RST seemed to diverge in numerous instances from the outlook of the FoST.

The second-level analysis began with a thematic categorisation of the diverging and converging viewpoints between the cases of the supply teachers and the non-supply teachers. The techniques employed in the first-level analysis using paperless coding and analysing, were used to carry out the cross-case analysis. Besides, the prior analysis to produce the case reports was instrumental to the second-level analysis. The themes set out the participants' perspectives on the possible reasons for the casualisation process in the secondary education sector. The cross-case analysis compared and contrasted their viewpoints on the pull factors of a casualised position and supply teachers' working conditions. Furthermore, the converging and diverging elements conveyed the experience of a casual status and the way it influences their career pathing. Throughout the cross-case analysis, the emerging themes were consistently brought in conversation with the literature reviewed and the theoretical framework of the study.

3.5.3 Level three analysis: Symbolic representation of casualisation and career pathing

The third-level analysis required a review of the textual data, the respective added comments and the metaphorical images selected in the collages. The aim was to have an in-depth understanding of the casualisation phenomenon by identifying the verbal and non-verbal figurative expressions used by the participants when reflecting on casualisation and the career pathing of supply teachers. Figurative language is a non-literal way of expressing oneself where one says one thing, but seeks to convey something else (Gibbs, 2012; Davis, 2016). It is usually characterised by initial reference to a concrete object (for example, "a rose") from which comparative abstract analysis and meaning can be conveyed (for example, to reflect the conception of "what love means"). Indeed, the concrete object opens possibilities for multiple re-imaginings of the abstract conception. Philip (2011) suggests that figurative meanings are triggered as a result of 'a mismatch between the *contextual* situation and the *truthfulness or relevance* of the lexical item in question' (p. 22). A typical figurative expression's potential to convey 'complex additional meanings for speakers and writers' renders it an appropriate tool to conduct higher-level analysis (Colston, 2015, p. 4).

The case reports and the cross-case analysis enabled me to make sense of the expressions used by the participants. The figurative expressions were categorised and thematised to come up with two foci: firstly, the supply teachers' conception of their professional selves and, secondly, the symbolic representation of their professional lives through the visuals. The third-level analysis enabled the theorisation of casualisation and the career pathing of supply teachers in the concluding chapter of this research study. This analysis encapsulates a discussion on how the emergent trends concur or do not concur with the original theoretical lens and the literature review. The case reports assisted in moving to a greater level of abstraction towards the development of a thesis.

Section 6: Chapter summary

This chapter presented a case study as 'a qualitative methodology for providing an intensive description and contextual-bounded analysis' of the casualisation process and its effects on the career pathing of the supply teachers serving state secondary schools in Mauritius (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 165). It justified the research methodology, the research methods and the research tools employed to produce data. It also explicates the procedures involved to examine data produced around the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: PERSPECTIVES OF SUPPLY TEACHERS

Introduction

This chapter presents a preliminary analysis of data in the form of the supply teachers' case reports. It details the casualisation experiences of participants who have served or are still serving as supply teachers in state secondary schools in Mauritius. The chapter also discusses the participants' professional journey to supply teaching and their projected career paths.

The chapter consists of three sections, each of which deals with one category of supply teachers. The three categories of supply teachers (FST, RST and FoST) have been detailed in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.3. All the names used in the case reports are pseudonyms. Care was taken to assign pseudonyms to the participants, to the individuals mentioned by them, as well as, to the names of institutions where they had previously worked or where they are currently working.

Section 1 begins with a collage produced by Stéphane, a Fresh Supply Teacher (FST). This is followed by a case report based on the data produced with the participant during a SRI in which the collage was used as trigger material.

Section 2 consists of the collages produced by Sophia, a Renewed Supply Teacher (RST) and a corresponding case report which elaborates her perspectives on casualisation of supply teachers.

Section 3 presents the collage produced by Apu, a Former Supply Teacher (FoST) and a case report based on his perspectives of casualisation of the teaching profession.

Each section starts with a collage produced by the participant as the interviewees tended to refer extensively to these images during the data production exercise. Therefore, the collages are presented before the case reports for ease of readability.

Chapters 4 and 5 seek to offer a faithful presentation of what the participants expressed ‘without any efforts to interpret or analyse so that the richness of the case is not compromised’ (Wang, 2021, p. 47). Hence, they provide a descriptive Level one analysis of the raw field data including contradictions across the data production process. The diverse complexities are analysed more critically (Level two) in Chapter 6 which presents an intra-category and inter-category cross-case analysis of the case reports of the supply teachers and non-supply teachers.

Section 1: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: perspectives of a Fresh Supply Teacher (FST) – Stéphane

4.1.1 Collage

The collage below was produced by Stéphane designated as FST as he had been appointed supply teacher for the first time. Each picture⁵ has a symbolic meaning for the participant. Stéphane also inserted words to convey his thoughts on the casualisation of teachers.

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⁵ The photos and images used by the participants in their collage/s do not depict the individuals, but what they symbolically represent to the interviewee/participant in relation to the task in the data production strategy. Hence, there is no breach of anonymity.

4.1.2 Case Report of a Fresh Supply Teacher – Stéphane

Introducing Stéphane

Stéphane is an FST⁶ at Trochetia State Secondary School in the capital city of Mauritius. He holds a bachelor's degree in Tourism and Hospitality Management from the University of Mauritius and teaches Travel and Tourism to upper secondary students. He is 26 years of age and, while he had only been working as a supply teacher for a year, he seemed to have a good grounding in the essentials of the teaching profession because he had served as a teacher in the past. Stéphane started thinking about his 'career path' when he was at university. He initially leaned towards a career in Information Technology (IT), but later changed his mind. Teaching was not his first career choice. However, he realised that he might be a good teacher as he was 'at ease in conveying information ... when helping (his) ... friends ... at university'. After graduating, he contemplated working in Human Resources (HR) in a hotel as he had been an intern in one and found the work interesting. However, when a friend suggested that he work as a teacher in a training centre Stéphane 'grabbed this opportunity'. He worked there for almost two years teaching diploma courses in Travel and Tourism to foreign students from countries like 'India, Sri Lanka and Nepal'. One of his responsibilities was to impart information on how Mauritius became a tourist destination and its future prospects. Stéphane recalled that he gained much experience at the training centre. He expressed his belief that 'all that is in the books can be explained by what we are seeing around (us)'. However, he observed that 'some students don't ... want to make the connection'. He added that, while the job at the training centre was interesting, the 'aspect of professionalism in ... teaching' was not given sufficient importance. Stéphane 'wanted to prove (himself) somewhere else' and he chose to teach at secondary school level as he believed that he would be 'at ease with youngsters'. He added that 'in the training centre ... (he got the impression) that ... he was teaching well ... (as) the students were doing very well'. While English was not their home language, he was able to help them pass the exams. He said that 'this boost(ed) his confidence' concerning his ability to teach.

Being a supply teacher – the bright side

Stéphane said that he signed on as a supply teacher to gain teaching experience that might 'be ... helpful (in becoming) a fully-fledged educator in the future'. He felt that his interaction with

⁶ Appointed as a supply teacher for the first time.

students was developing his teaching skills and his ability to understand them. He was hopeful that this would enable him to 'better (himself) ... to be able to deal with ... different situations (and) different problem(s) arising in the class'. He assumed that this would enable him to secure a position as an educator or enrol for the Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). Stéphane added that supply teachers also 'contribute to the success of ... adolescent(s)' by being dedicated teachers. However, he also expressed his frustration by relating that some students in the region where he is working do not show much interest in their studies, which led him to conclude that they 'are not ... interested in education'

Stéphane felt that a supply teacher might achieve much if he or she is fortunate enough to secure a fresh contract 'each year'. According to Stéphane, a continuous salary for many years could enable the person to 'get married ... or even take (buy) a car'. He also conceded that 'the salary is quite good at the beginning ... (especially) for a graduate or even for (a) postgraduate'.

Agenda behind the casualisation of teachers

Stéphane speculated that if the same people are recruited continuously as supply teachers, 'at some point in time they (the Ministry will) have to employ' these teachers as part of the permanent workforce. According to him, this might be one of the reasons why the Ministry 'creates the breaks' by terminating the contract after less than a year. He added that supply teachers are posted 'where there is a need' and that this could be for 'two days in a week ... at the end of the month, it's nothing ... in terms of salary'. He strongly disagreed with the Ministry's use of supply teachers to 'just fill the hole ... (when) there is a demand'. However, he added that 'even if the ... situation is very... difficult (one has) to cope with it' because of the rising unemployment rate in Mauritius. Indeed, in his view, the authorities use contractual work to deal with unemployment in the country. Referring to his collage, Stéphane went so far as to claim that, in relation to the issue of supply teachers, 'the Government kind of blew it'.

Ambivalent career path

Stéphane said that he 'was not ... at ease with ... the terms and condition(s)' of work at the training centre and this was another reason for him to seek better job opportunities. He considers himself fortunate since when he joined as a supply teacher, he was posted to Trochetia State Secondary School for 'five days'. Thus, there was 'no need to go (for) two days

in one school and (for) three days in another school⁷. Stéphane noted that many supply teachers 'are sent (for) two days in one school and (for) three days in another school or even (they) just get two days ... or... just three days in a school'. Under these circumstances, Stéphane considered it 'very difficult (to) build (a) career'. He argued that it may be difficult to achieve concrete things in life or have 'future plans' when one survives solely on supply teaching. He explained that supply teaching is fine for him since he earns enough to be 'able to save'. However, he added that 'a lot of people are already suffering' from casualisation. He cited 'friends who ... don't have a fixed job ... it is difficult for them'.

Stéphane inferred that supply teachers live a difficult and stressful life and 'have no real direction (as they) don't know what will happen the next (following) year ... (and) this keep(s) (them) again in ... uncertainty'. The interview was conducted during the school holidays (end of November), and Stéphane observed that 'in these two months it is almost like ... stress ... every day just ... hoping that (he) will get this phone call⁸'. He added that for the current year, he was contacted by phone 'one week after school (had) started'. He observed that '... (in) November (and) December ... (the supply teachers) have just to wait ... to know ... (if the Ministry) will ... take (them) or not ... next (the following) year'. Stéphane said that he is 'thinking ... about ... the future' and to show its significance he affixed the words 'THE FUTURE' in bold and capitalised letters to his collage.

This lingering uncertainty was '... one reason why (he's) still taking (his) time' to get married. He was apprehensive about what would happen if his 'wife (to be) ... is not working'. He worried about what would happen if one year he was 'able to get the job ... (and have a) revenue' and then the following year, did not get a job and have no income. Stéphane said that 'stability is important if (one) want(s) ... to build a social life'. He expressed his desire to 'get the chance to be employed, as a permanent educator'. Indeed, stability is so important that he would consider shifting from supply teaching to a lower grade, but in stable employment, although such a decision might be 'too difficult' for him. However, he asserted that 'if (he's) sure (he's) getting this (stability) in the private (Private secondary schools also provide permanent employment) (he) will ... move to the private'. In Stéphane's view, 'with the (employment) trend going on here (in Mauritius) ... the future ... is still uncertain as (supply

⁷ Supply teachers may be posted to only one school where they may be required to work for five days a week or less, or they may be posted to two or even three schools to work for a total of three to five days a school week.

⁸ Prospective supply teachers are contacted via phone about their new contract and their posting. Missing the call could mean their elimination from the competition.

teachers) don't know ... if every time (they'll have to) face these three people on the board⁹ of interviewers.

Teachers on the margins

Stéphane noted that although supply teachers 'are doing the same thing' as permanent educators, like preparing mock exams, the permanent staff at school 'sometimes ... make (a) distinction between educators and supply teachers'. He added that 'sometimes ... even rectors ... make this distinction'. Referring to the rector to whom he reports, Stéphane avowed that 'she (has) like a ... problem with supply teachers' since she often made such distinctions. He also noted that whenever 'there is a problem with a supply teacher' the rector may report the matter to the Ministry. He described an incident during the exam period when supply teachers were in 'the staff room ... chatting' as they didn't have scripts to correct. Stéphane admits that there was '... some noise' and when the rector came she said that the supply teachers were like naughty students making a noise. He added that the rector convened an urgent staff meeting during which 'she almost insulted' the supply teachers. Stéphane commented that this incident made him feel as if supply teachers 'were nothing there'. He added that they 'are just treated like some dirty thing or even some rubbish there'. Stéphane stated that he has learnt that rectors in other schools have a similar 'way of thinking, so it is ... demotivating' to be treated in that manner. He explained that he and his colleagues ask themselves why, if they are doing the same work as educators, they should be treated in that way. He observed that 'as human beings, we (the supply teachers) are, ... underestimated'. He felt that they 'are here just to fill a post ...' and associated the treatment they were subjected to with the contractual nature of their job. Referring back to the incident with the rector, Stéphane said that 'at the beginning (he) was finding her ... nice but afterwards ... (the staff room incident) ... changed (his) way of thinking about her'.

In Stéphane's view, supply teachers are not only marginalised by permanent teachers or school administrators but also by the authorities. He noted that 'a supply teacher ... (may have) five years' experience ... but it does not count'. He affirmed that a new contract means 'another ten months' but previous teaching experience is not considered for any increment in the salary or

⁹ While the interviewing policy may not be known to the public, the interview panel or the board of interviewers appointed to select and recruit supply teachers has always consisted three people, a team which is constituted at Ministry level.

as a criterion to increase the possibility of their selection when they apply for the post of teacher in the future. Another way in which supply teachers are marginalised is when ‘there's no progression for him (or her) in terms of status’ and salary. Stéphane calculated that supply teachers earn around ‘23 600 (rupees)¹⁰ ... (excluding) the transport (meaning the travelling expenses which includes the bus fare from the supply teacher’s residence to his/her place of work and back)’ irrespective of the subject taught. He pointed out that those with a ‘diploma ... get slightly less’ than those with a degree. He added that, while the pay-packet is ‘based on their qualifications¹¹’ a supply teacher with a master’s degree receives the same as one with a bachelor’s degree. Stéphane felt that this ‘is ... discouraging’ for the supply teacher as he/she may ‘not even ... apply for a loan’.

According to Stéphane, the worst form of side-lining of supply teachers is when they do ‘not get the call for another year’, i.e., they do not get a new contract. For him, this is a clear message from the authorities that ‘we don't need you now’. He said that there are ‘supply teachers who (have been) working (for) five, six, seven years but haven't got ... the call for another year’. Stéphane believed that the very fact of being called to be re-interviewed every year is a form of relegation as ‘it's somehow ... downgrading’ since, while supply teachers know their subjects and the syllabus, the Ministry of Education seems to be testing their knowledge. Stéphane reflected that the Ministry had ‘given them the job once ... because (they) satisfy the criteria’. He accepted that they should be ‘evaluated ... the first time’ but questioned the constant re-evaluation. Stéphane suggested that ‘feedback from the school’ should be used to assess supply teachers and those with good feedback should be granted another contract. To highlight the Ministry’s devaluing of supply teachers, Stéphane explained that, while they gain experience every year, they are ‘put ... at the novice level again’ and have to prove themselves anew. Pointing to the picture at the bottom right-hand side of his collage, Stéphane criticised the process adopted for recruitment and the appointment interview as well as the interview panel, stating that ‘different people... but again three people (are) there ... testing (the) knowledge’ of supply teachers.

¹⁰ Rs 23 600 is equivalent to \$ 665 (Based on the exchange rate on the day of the interview).

¹¹ Supply teachers with a diploma earn less than those with a degree or postgraduate degree. However, at the higher end, all supply teachers earn the same salary. Hence, those with a degree or a postgraduate qualification earn the same.

Shadowy recruitment process

Commenting on the recruitment process carried out by the PSC¹², Stéphane observed that although ‘many ... friends and colleagues ... have master’s degrees ... (and) three or five years’ experience ... still, the PSC (doesn’t) find (them) ... (among the) best candidate(s)’. He said that he was perplexed by ‘the norms... (and the) basis ... on which (the PSC) probably recruit(s)’. Stéphane reported that when one inquires with the PSC, they are always told that the PSC has ‘selected the best’ candidates. However, it was not clear ‘what makes the ... candidates ... best’. Stéphane, as well as many of his friends who are supply teachers, would like the recruiting body to explain the criteria that they ‘need to become the best ... to be able to be selected’. To support his views on the opacity of the recruitment process, he added that during that year, many supply teachers ‘have not got even ... (been called for) the interview’. Stéphane explained that the supply teachers ‘are building up (their) career path ... slowly, and hopefully (in) the future you (they may) get (a) permanent job’. He commented that ‘it would be nice if they (the authorities) could ... recognise ... (that) supply teachers ... are contributing to the education system’.

Dedicated to the job despite the odds

Stéphane made the point that supply teachers ‘are giving ... (their) time ... (and) are ... dedicated’. He added that, despite numerous problems, they ‘contribute to the success ... (and) the education of students’. He also clarified that although supply teachers are burdened by stress, they want students to ‘complete their scholarship ... and be someone in life’. For his part, he asserted that he is ‘dedicated’ to his students and always gives his best. Stéphane demonstrated the dedication of supply teachers via the topmost picture in the collage which depicts ‘a lady in a library ... taking (a) book to study’. For him, this picture, as well as the one in the topmost right-hand side of the collage, show that supply teachers ‘spend many hours, many days to study... to carve our (their) future’. Stéphane made it clear that in the future he ‘want(s) to be ... (a) full-fledged educator, so (he is) work(ing) hard’ to achieve this.

Not unionised but connected

Recounting how he came to learn about the opinions and feelings of other supply teachers, Stéphane explained that supply teachers from across the island are connected via 'Facebook ... so (he is) ... able to know what they think'. He added that they 'keep informed ... keep chatting ... (and) keep in touch'. However, Stéphane revealed that non-supply teachers may only join the group if they 'have a friend ... (who may) add' them. He confirmed that supply teachers share almost everything on Facebook.

Job hunting by the casual teacher

Stéphane explained that when jobs for supply teacher were advertised by the Ministry of Education, he 'did not ... know what ... (the job)' was, but applied for it anyway. He had also applied to teach in private institutions, to no avail. However, he 'got ... (an) interview for supply teaching' and was posted for ten months to Trochetia State Secondary School. Stéphane said that he ultimately aimed to get a permanent job in the public service as such jobs are secure. In the interim, he was 'reviewing all newspapers to know if there (are) some colleges, private schools ... looking for educators'. He went so far as to say that he might leave teaching for 'a permanent post' and that 'even the private sector ... is offering nice options ... as opposed to the Ministry' but preferred to stay with what is known to him. Stéphane believes that remaining in teaching 'can also benefit (him because he) mainly considers the option ... to finish (his) PGCE course'.

Disruptions in the learning process

Stéphane made the point that for students, the short-term contracts of supply teachers and their reshuffling if they receive a new contract 'is like a ... disruption (that) can be very damaging (to) their studies'. He related that when he joined Trochetia State Secondary School, 'the students told ... (him) that they have worked with a teacher ... the previous year ... (and) they (hadn't) grasp(ed)' what was taught and he had to start again. He added that 'if they (the students) ... got (get) someone ... else (they'll get) another type of instruction... (and) it will be different for the student'. Stéphane clarified that he was 'not blaming other teachers as ... (he) know(s) that they work also' but he suggested the need for proper follow-up.

Section 2: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: perspectives of a Renewed Supply Teacher (RST) - Sophia

4.2.1 Collage

Sophia was designated RST as she had been a supply teacher formerly and had joined supply teaching anew. She seemed to have much to express and consequently ended up producing two collages. The first represents the situation regarding the casualisation phenomenon from her point of view. The second collage is a representation of her dreams and expectations concerning her professional life. It also encapsulates why she imagines that these dreams will come true someday.

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4.2.2 Case Report of a Renewed Supply Teacher - Sophia

Introducing Sophia

Sophia had been a supply teacher for the past five years and was teaching English to girls at Palm State Secondary School in the north of Mauritius at the time of the study. She graduated from the University of Mauritius with an ‘English and French joint Humanities’ degree. Nonetheless, she claimed to have ‘a penchant ... for English’ which she owes to her university lecturers, one of whom is Mrs Christine, and her secondary school teachers among whom is Mrs Nasreen who taught her ‘English Main’ (English literature studied at the principal level for the HSC).

Inspiration for joining teaching

Sophia recounted that she liked her teachers and ‘wanted to be like them ... help others ... keep reading ... and learning’. Her three-year degree ended in 2010 but she disclosed that during her second year she ‘was already teaching ... at Vidhoo Classes (a private institution which

offers tutoring and coaching in various fields)’. She noted that teaching in that institution was different from what she does currently since she had to adopt a ‘one-to-one approach¹³’. Sophia remarked that ‘when (she) started teaching, (she) didn’t know ... what teaching was’. She added that while teaching ‘a form V student ... (she) had to look for means to impart that knowledge’. Ultimately Sophia observed that some of the qualities in teachers ‘are inherent ... (while others) are developed ... when (one is) actually ... teaching... (and is) in contact with the student’. She suggested that teachers need ‘to vary (their teaching strategies) ... because (there are) ... mixed ability students’. She shared her love of being in ‘the company of children’ that inspired her to become a teacher. After her Bachelor of Arts (BA) joint degree she ‘enrolled for the PGCE¹⁴ course ... (which is) primordial ... (for) being a professional in the teaching field’. This was a ‘full-time’ course and she was sent to Stella State Secondary School for her School Based Experience¹⁵. She said that she was ‘so motivated that (she) gave (her) best and ... (she) did get good results’. She added that she owes much to the Rector, Mrs Kate, who encouraged her ‘to go forward with (her) project ... (on) Collaborative Strategic Reading’. She ‘graduated (on) ... 27 December (and) ... meanwhile, from August to October, there was a vacancy for supply teacher’. She added that she was looking ‘for a job in ... teaching ... (and) there was no vacancy (advert at) the PSC’. She thus decided to apply for the post of supply teacher and was called for an interview in ‘the mid of November’. Sophia highlighted that she had a good chance of being recruited as a supply teacher as her joint degree in Humanities enabled her to apply to teach both English and French. She noted that the Ministry didn’t send a letter but ‘only call(ed) (her) ... for an interview’. In the last week of December, she was informed that she had been selected as a supply teacher to teach French. Her ‘starting point as a (supply) teacher was at Stella SSS,’ a girls’ school. At the time of the study, she had ‘been working ... as supply teacher ... for five years ... but the last three years ... (she had) been to only one school ... where ... (she) felt like... part of the staff’. She added that this had been a memorable experience.

¹³ The one-to-one approach is a teaching strategy where a teacher engages with only one student, thus giving individual attention and tailor making the lessons to adapt to the student’s learning style.

¹⁴ PGCE – Postgraduate Certificate of Education – A one-year full-time (two-semester) / two-year part-time (four semesters) professional qualification in the field of education offered by the Mauritius Institute of Education.

¹⁵ SBE – School Based Experience is a module within the PGCE programme where students are posted to a school to gain first-hand knowledge of teaching.

What it means to Sophia to serve as a supply teacher

Sophia said that she considered joining the profession as a supply teacher as a good option ‘to gain experience ... (as she) was new ... to the teaching field’. She remarked that she had ‘learnt so much about teaching (and) about (the) school system’ but was still learning. Sophia stated that she would encourage others to join supply teaching ‘because if (the) labelling (is put) apart ... it’s all about teaching experience’. For her, ‘teaching is not only about imparting knowledge... it is also about the relationship ... between ... a teacher and the student’. Defining the teacher’s role, Sophia noted that a teacher should ‘motivate ... see what was (is) missing ... (and) praise ... for whatever good’ comes from the student. She attempted ‘to depict (the) supply teacher’ via the collages that she produced. She said that she decided to produce two collages in order to interpret the phenomenon of casualisation of teachers from ‘two different perspectives ... like (the) two sides of a coin’. She used them to project both the ‘drawbacks and the advantages’ of being a supply teacher. Referring to the first collage, Sophia pointed to a picture showing a person with books around her. She noted that the person ‘is reading ... learning ... (and) reflecting’. In her view, the picture conveys that supply teachers ‘are doing so (many) sacrifices ... so it takes time, ... energy, ... (and) so much ... determination ... to go through exams and then ... after that (they) don’t have a (permanent) job ... (and) at the end (they are) not ... part of the system’. She added that this raises the question of, ‘is it worth doing it?’ She noted that she did not know what others would say, but ‘till now ... (she’s) not getting anything but (she) still keep(s) on learning ... (and) working as a supply teacher’. Sophia assumed that the supply teacher in the picture may be ‘depressed ... (but the) learning (is) making her ... get through’ her suffering. Referring to the picture of an elephant in the first collage, Sophia, who ‘believe(s) in God ... (and) prays a lot’, remarked that this creature reminded her of Lord Ganesha¹⁶. She said that she was ‘keeping optimist(ic) that God could not have forgotten ... (her)’. According to her, ‘everything happens at the right time’ and perhaps the appropriate time had not come for her to be appointed to a permanent post. She ‘just hope(s) that He (Lord Ganesha) removes all the obstacles’ impeding her success.

¹⁶ Ganesha – The elephant-headed God of knowledge in the Hindu pantheon who is also regarded as the Lord of obstacles. This God either creates or removes obstacles for the benefit of the virtuous.

Feeling marginalised

Sophia expressed concern about the subtle ways in which supply teachers are demarcated from permanent educators within the school milieu and also condemned the way they 'are labelled'. She reported that 'at times some messages come from the administration (the administrative section of the school) ... (mentioning) ... dear educators and supply teachers ... (thus) making the distinction' between the two categories of teachers. Sophia suggested that starting the message with 'dear educators' would suffice as supply teachers 'are educators too ... doing the same job ... having the qualifications ... engaging in every activity ... be it ... curricular or... extracurricular, ... trying to work for the betterment of the student, of the school, ... (and) of everyone, like any other teacher'. She expressed her dissatisfaction with the modus operandi of the school administration for excluding supply teachers from the system and making them 'feel (an) emptiness' inside and also dissociated from the staff. Sophia added that 'maybe some supply teachers ... don't show so much motivation (or) they don't do the work well'. Nonetheless, she said that 'when the work is recognised ... the mentality changes ... (making the supply teacher) feel ... integrated'. For Sophia, this 'bring(s) satisfaction and it motivates ... (the supply teacher) to continue'. She stated that 'once ... (engrossed) in the job, at times (one) forget(s) (being a) supply teacher'.

With regard to the different experiences of supply teachers and permanent educators, Sophia made the point that while the supply teacher experiences stress while waiting for an interview at the end of the academic year, the 'permanent teachers ... are ... at home ... with (their) family ... relaxing ... (and) making the most of those holidays'. She explained that supply teachers are 'stressed because ... (they) don't know if ... (they) have been selected'.

Sophia added that, apart from indicating their posting, the appointment letter states that the salary will be 'on a pro-rata basis'; hence, if they are absent, they will not be paid. She noted that supply teachers 'get discouraged ... because ... at times they want to absent ... (when they) are feeling very sick ... (or when) they are very tired'. The salary also depends on the number of days they are teaching per week as supply teachers may be posted 'either full time. i.e., five days or (only) three days or (only) two days'. She noted that 'at times ... (a supply teacher) can get ... three days ... (in) one school (and) two days ... (in) another school'. Nonetheless, she Sophia 'thank(s) ... God ... because (she has) a job', unlike many others.

Dreaming of permanency

Some of the magazines chosen by Sophia to get the pictures for her metaphorical collage were in French language. She happened to use a few French terms which were pertinent to the topic of research in the collage. During the SRI Sophia was questioned about the reasons for choosing these French words for this art-based activity. Commenting on the French words ‘*nos rêves*¹⁷’ which seem to have been used as the title of the second collage, Sophia suggested that the dreams are not solely about herself but are those of ‘all supply teachers’. She connected those dreams with other French words in the collage; ‘*Très demandée*¹⁸’ to convey that there is ‘great demand for supply teachers’. She drew attention to another French word in the collage; ‘*optimiste*¹⁹’ close to the picture of a confident-looking woman, as in her view ‘the lady ... can represent supply teacher(s)’. Furthermore, she pointed to another picture of a woman who has turned around to look behind her. According to Sophia, this is a representation of herself and other supply teachers. For Sophia, the focus of the person is that point in time in her professional life when her career path diverged towards temporariness for obvious reasons. Sophia reflected that ‘all supply teachers dream to be... recruited by the PSC’ and that this’... would be one of (her) greatest achievement(s) in life’. She added that she had been ‘doing the job (and she) just hope(s) that ... whatever years (she has) been dedicating (to) the teaching profession does not go idle’. Once again, she stressed that she was not just thinking about herself, but ‘about all those people who are in (her) shoes’. In her collage, she depicted the contentment evoked by securing a permanent post via a picture of a group of people ‘who are happy’ in her collage (2nd Collage - bottom middle picture).

Contractual job: A job at least

Sophia used a picture of a lonely (apparently somnambulist) woman walking in the dark and running the risk of falling from a great height (bottom right-hand – 1st Collage) to point out the consequences of losing a job. For her, finding oneself jobless is like ‘falling in the empty ... (being) alone ... deprived of everything ... (and) feel(ing) like ... the world has ... crumbled’. She narrated the story of one of her friends, Mrs Mishra, who has ‘a master’s (degree) in Economics ... (and) this year would have been her 10th year’ as a supply teacher had she been

¹⁷ Nos rêves – French for ‘our dreams’.

¹⁸ Très demandée – French for ‘high demand’.

¹⁹ Optimiste – French for ‘optimist’.

selected. Sophia felt that ‘it is unfair (and) the system is failing’ because Mrs Mishra has the qualifications, experience and a clean record, but her place was given to someone else. She noted that her friend ‘was depending on that supply teacher’s (job) (as) she has a family’. Sophia added that she ‘feels so bad when people (who) are ... motivated (and who do their) ... work well’ are not recruited. She said that she did not ‘find it ethical at all’ for the employer to discard dedicated employees.

Sophia noted that she had been ‘working as supply teacher ... for the sixth year’ and that, like most other supply teachers in that situation, she depends on the job. She clarified that, for her, the central issue is not money as someone dissatisfied with the pay ‘can go for another job ... but when (one) ... want(s) to be a teacher’ and is not selected for a new contract, there is a feeling that something has been taken away. The gloomy aspect in this collage is further stressed by the darkness around the woman which is symbolic of uncertainty as Sophia felt that one doesn’t ‘know what is in front’. While prospective supply teachers have to undergo interviews and wait for a long time even up to the new year to sign the contract at the Mauritius Institute of Training and Development (MITD²⁰), Sophia was of the view that, ‘at least (they) have a job’.

Navigating uncertainties

Highlighting the instability experienced by supply teachers, Sophia pointed out that ‘even if (one) go(es) for the interview (and is) selected ... it does not bring any (a complete) relief ... (as) in the beginning ... (the supply teachers) are not sure that ... (they) are going to stay’ in the school where they have been posted. She noted that ‘at times ... (they) already start ... to prepare lesson plans (and) the scheme of work ... and then by the end of the day, (they) find that ... it was useless’ since they are required to leave. Sophia added that the newly recruited supply teacher needs to prepare plans ‘again for another school’. Drawing on her personal experience, especially after her first postings to Clavisque State Secondary School in the capital of Mauritius, she shared that she found it ‘confusing ... (and) so stressful’ when she was offered another contract the following year and was tossed from Stella State Secondary to Indici State Secondary before it was confirmed that she should remain at Marris State

²⁰ Institute for prevocational and vocational education in Mauritius operating under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research.

Secondary for five days a week. She asked herself how she was 'going to live in that ... unstable situation' and averred that 'it's high time that ... people realise that ... (the Ministry) can't play with the life of people ... (and) make them feel so unstable'. She concluded that 'it's enough'. She used her collage to express this feeling via the French word 'ça suffit'. Sophia was of the view that 'it's time that we look for a solution ... (and) try to recruit (permanently) those supply teachers maybe who have been working for ... many years and are doing the job as any other teacher'. She added that a supply teacher 'wants stability' as he/she may be 'working now ... (but he/she doesn't) know what is reserved for (him/her) in the future'. She referred to her artwork to express that she 'can fall (at) any time' like the somnambulist woman. She confessed that because of this instability and uncertainty, she would 'start applying for other jobs'.

The no-career job

Sophia observed that 'to become rector (or) senior educator ... (one) should have ... (a) number of years of experience'. According to her 'it is one of the criteria but given that ... (the supply teacher) works on a contractual basis so after one year ... (when the) contract terminates, ... (the supply teachers) don't even have one year of experience'. She added that 'supply teachers ... don't have ... (a permanent) job ... (hence) career-wise (they) ... are not achieving anything (as) ... after the contract is over ... (they) are again jobless'. Sophia noted that supply teachers 'tend to get depressed at times' due to remaining in the same position. She expressed her frustration in her collage through 'pessimist pictures'. To stress the time factor, Sophia pointed to a picture of a clock in the collage, which symbolises that time is passing. This also suggests that as the supply teacher does not accumulate years of service, they are not eligible to apply for senior management positions which require a certain period of continued service. For instance, a minimum of 15 years' service is required to be eligible to apply for the post of deputy rector in a state secondary school. A person in a permanent position in a state secondary school that previously served as a supply teacher for 10 years, would only be able to apply for this post after 15 instead of five years. This has serious career mobility implications for supply teachers.

Teachers with truncated rights

Sophia pointed out that sometimes, supply teachers may not take leave even though they 'are feeling very sick ... (or) tired' as they are not entitled to benefits such as sick or annual leave. She explained that they know that if they do not report for work, they 'won't be paid' and that, regardless of the circumstances, they 'have to be present ... (and) punctual'. Another issue raised by Sophia is that supply teachers work for almost the 'whole year and when it is November (and) December (they) are not paid because (they) are not working'. She reasoned that if one 'get(s) a permanent job ... at least ... (one has) savings when ... (one) retire(s) (as one is) going to get a lump sum'. One 'can rely on that money ... (because one) wants to be secure for old age'.

Furthermore, supply teachers are not unionised. However, Sophia asserted that she is 'not unionised but connected'. She explained that she has 'friends who are supply teachers' but was not on Facebook or other social sites. She did not see the need for a revolt, but believed that the 'people (at the Ministry of Education) should know ... that it is not good' to refuse teachers their right to unionise. She also cautioned that when somebody tries 'to make a union, people ... don't see it in that ... perspective' and interpret it as a form of revolt. Sophia added that since 'so many supply teachers ... depend on that job ... (which) is their only means of living ... they would fear to ... take the lead'. She assumed that anyone who would be referred to as a leader 'fighting for the others ... influencing everyone... in some way or the other is least likely to get the job' or a permanent position. Sophia was of the view that supply teachers would not ... revolt '... (as) otherwise, it would have been done earlier'. She concluded that 'this fear' is a strong deterrent to any kind of rebellion.

Murky recruitment procedures

Sophia previously thought that she had more chance of obtaining a permanent position since she had 'been working as a supply teacher for so many years' but she realised that this is not the case. She claimed not to know 'the flaws ... (and where she) failed' in the interviews which led her to interrogate the modus operandi of authorities like the PSC. She commented that supply teachers should be advised of the reasons for their non-selection so that they don't remain without 'direction ... (not) know(ing) where (they) are going ... (and) choose another field'. In a nutshell, Sophia considered that much opacity surrounded recruitment of supply teachers.

Sophia stated that she had made numerous applications to private secondary schools, but only received a reply from one school. She noted that, except for one, 'none of (her) other friends' who applied were called for an interview. This led Sophia to speculate that the advertisement and recruitment exercise in private schools might 'only be an eyewash ... (as) the personnel section had not even conducted the interviews for most of them'.

The haunting stress

Sophia observed that supply teachers are required 'to go for ... (an) interview every year ... (and) it becomes more competitive' as an increasing number of new graduates vie for positions as supply teachers. She commented that the process is not an easy one and recalled waiting until 3 o'clock in the afternoon before attending an interview on 'the 31st of December' at the MITD. She added that even after the interview, 'supply teacher(s) ... are stressed because ... (they) don't know if (they) have been selected'. She also recounted waiting until the last day of the year for a call from the Ministry following an interview. Sophia highlighted that supply teachers are contacted by phone by the Ministry 'anytime ... after office hours ... (even) at six (or) seven in the evening'. Consequently, they have 'to keep (their) phone with (them) every time ... (even while preparing dinner) because they ... can't miss that call (as) it's so important'. Referring back to her friend, Mrs Mishra's experience, Sophia reported that when she contacted the MITD to inquire why she was not called for an interview, she was told that they had 'called her (but) she did not take the call'. Consequently, she found herself jobless after serving as a supply teacher 'for nine continuous years'. Sophia added that 'when ... anyway, you go there (to the Ministry) ... you are happy because at least you got the call, you know that you would have a job'. She noted that at times, supply teachers are contacted upon resumption of school. 'It was (on the) 7th of January' that she was contacted for her current posting.

Sophia remarked that, while supply teachers 'are a bit relieved ... (when they) have already signed' the contract, this is not total relief as once at the school, he/she might be informed that he/she 'won't be needed' as they already have a permanent teacher in the post. Sophia added that the supply teacher is only relieved when he/she is informed that the school needs 'a teacher to work for the whole year'. Even then, he/she is not completely stress free.

Influence of casualisation

According to Sophia, an efficient teacher is one who is 'doing the job ... self-assessing (and) ... improving ... (and this) is a... lifelong process'. However, she believes that 'as a supply teacher ... (one feels the need) to prove oneself every time ... (and) at times it can become stressful to see to it that ... the job ... is being done ... and the deadlines are being respected'. Sophia made the point that casualisation of the teaching profession may affect the 'quality of education'. She clarified that a new supply teacher would replace the one who left and 'at times in a whole year (the school) get(s) (around) three supply teacher(s) working (with the) same class'. 'When ... each year ... student(s) ... get new supply teacher(s) (with) ... different ... teaching ... techniques, ... it is a disadvantage'.

Sophia added that the casualised status of a supply teacher may also affect their career pathing as the experienced supply teacher is 'more liable to get a job in the PSC'. For this reason, she 'thought that (since she's) been working as supply teacher ... (she has) more chances to be selected but ... apparently, it is not the case' for most supply teachers. She explained that not getting an answer after having gone for interviews at the PSC for five or six years would make her 'feel that (she's) doing so many things but (she's) not recognised ... for whatever (she's) doing'. She asks herself 'for how many years (she's) going to live in that ... unstable situation'. Sophia suggested that the government should have recruited supply teachers who had served on a contractual basis 'after three (to) four years ... (since) they are doing the same job'. She added that most supply teachers join the teaching profession in the hope that they 'are going to be recruited and be part of the PSC'. A supply teacher 'wants to be stable ... (and) secure for old age'. She noted that a permanent job will enable the teacher to have savings upon retirement, 'get a lump sum ... (and he/she) can rely on that money'. Describing her current situation Sophia said that she is 'working now ... (but she doesn't) know what is reserved for ... (her) in the future' and how her trajectory will unfold.

Sophia went to the extent of saying that she may forgo teaching for a stable career 'even if ... (she wouldn't) feel happy' doing that. She conceded that 'it would be difficult for (her) ... to forget all about teaching ... and doing (do) something else' as that 'won't be ... (her) dream profession'. However, she said that if there is a vacancy within her field of expertise like editing for newspapers especially 'if ... it (is) permanent ... (she would) opt for it ... (as she doesn't) want to continue with supply teacher for long'. Sophia shared that she had started to apply for other jobs from the 'start of this year ... (but she) did not get an answer from the PSC.' She

believes ‘there is no ... guarantee that ... (she is) going to be taken (recruited) and ... (she doesn’t) know if there is (a) waiting list’. Sophia observed that under these circumstances it is ‘better... (to) look for other scopes ... where (one) would get that stability ... (through) a permanent job ... (to) be able to prepare for the future’. She divulged that she has been ‘constantly working ... and (she doesn’t) like to stay idle ... (and) that’s why I (she) give(s) tuition after school’. This seems to be common practice in Mauritius. The pecuniary needs of the teachers who feel they are underpaid, seem to be the main motive behind this shadow education. However, Sophia noted that she doesn’t offer tuition ‘for money ... (but) because (she doesn’t) want to be sitting idle, have (having) nothing to do’.

Clinging a little longer to teaching

Despite all the challenges that she has faced as a supply teacher Sophia maintained that she ‘still wants to continue in that field’. She remarked that when one is ‘not made to feel like ... a supply teacher, it seems like ... (one has) already integrated the group, the staff, the school, the system ... like any other teacher’ and this motivates her to cling to teaching. She averred that ‘even if (she’s) not having those privileges like ... holidays ... it does not matter to (her)’. She claimed that she is ‘a punctual person ... (she) go(es) to school every day ... (and she) do(es)n’t take holidays’. However, she added that one cannot remain motivated or optimistic all the time and ‘it might happen that after two ... (or) three years ... maybe (she’ll) get discouraged and decide ... to change profession’. While these could be the reasons for Sophia to question ‘why ... (she’s) still in that profession’, she noted that she is ‘still persevering ... (and she’s) going to reapply this year again for supply teacher ... because (she is) keeping a positive attitude’. To explicate further she referred to her collage, pointing to a picture of a glass and said that she is ‘not seeing the glass, like half ... empty ... (but as) half full’. Sophia assumes that if she is ‘continuing to work as supply teacher it is because ... (she has) that hope ... that maybe ... (she’ll) be recruited (permanently)’.

Recognised and valued

Sophia felt that supply teachers ‘should have been given (the) same privileges (as permanent teachers) ... even if (their job) is on a contractual basis’. She added that they should not be required to ‘go for interview every time’. She reasoned that it can’t be said that a supply teacher

is 'no more liable to become (an) educator because ... (they) have been teaching ... for so many years'. She claimed that even her 'Head of Department (HOD) ... recognised (valued) the work (she) was doing'. Fortunately for Sophia, the following year she received a call informing her that she had been posted 'at Palm SSS for two ... or three days'. She added that 'the rector ... called ... Mr Gavin (an officer at the Ministry of Education) and he said that (her) timetable is still pending (and) he wants (would want) only (Sophia) to come'. Sophia argued that the authorities should also 'recognise the job done by supply teachers'.

Recycling Alternatives

According to Sophia, while the 'government is saving money' by having supply teachers she questions its impact on the person with contractual status. She believes that supply teachers 'should look for (a) solution'. As far as her case is concerned she recounted that she doesn't need to worry much as in the words of her fiancé, who has a permanent post, it 'doesn't matter if ... (Sophia doesn't) have a job'. She also explained that she is 'not ... (a) homely person ... so (she) continue(s) with ... tuition'. She went so far as to suggest that perhaps she 'will start working ... for (herself) ... (her) own business ... (and) continue to apply ... in private colleges'. The issues relating to the casual status of supply teachers led Sophia to question if there is a 'humane' way to deal with the matter. She referred to her collage and pointed to a man who is being interviewed by a journalist (3rd picture in Collage No. 1). For her 'the man is representing ... a politician ... (or) the government ... (and is) liable to answers ... because it (the government) has taken the decision to employ supply teachers... (and) it is time that ... (it) answers: ...what is the future of supply teachers?' If the government ignores supply teachers, they may 'choose to look for another profession ... (and) we are going to lose so many ... efficient teachers'.

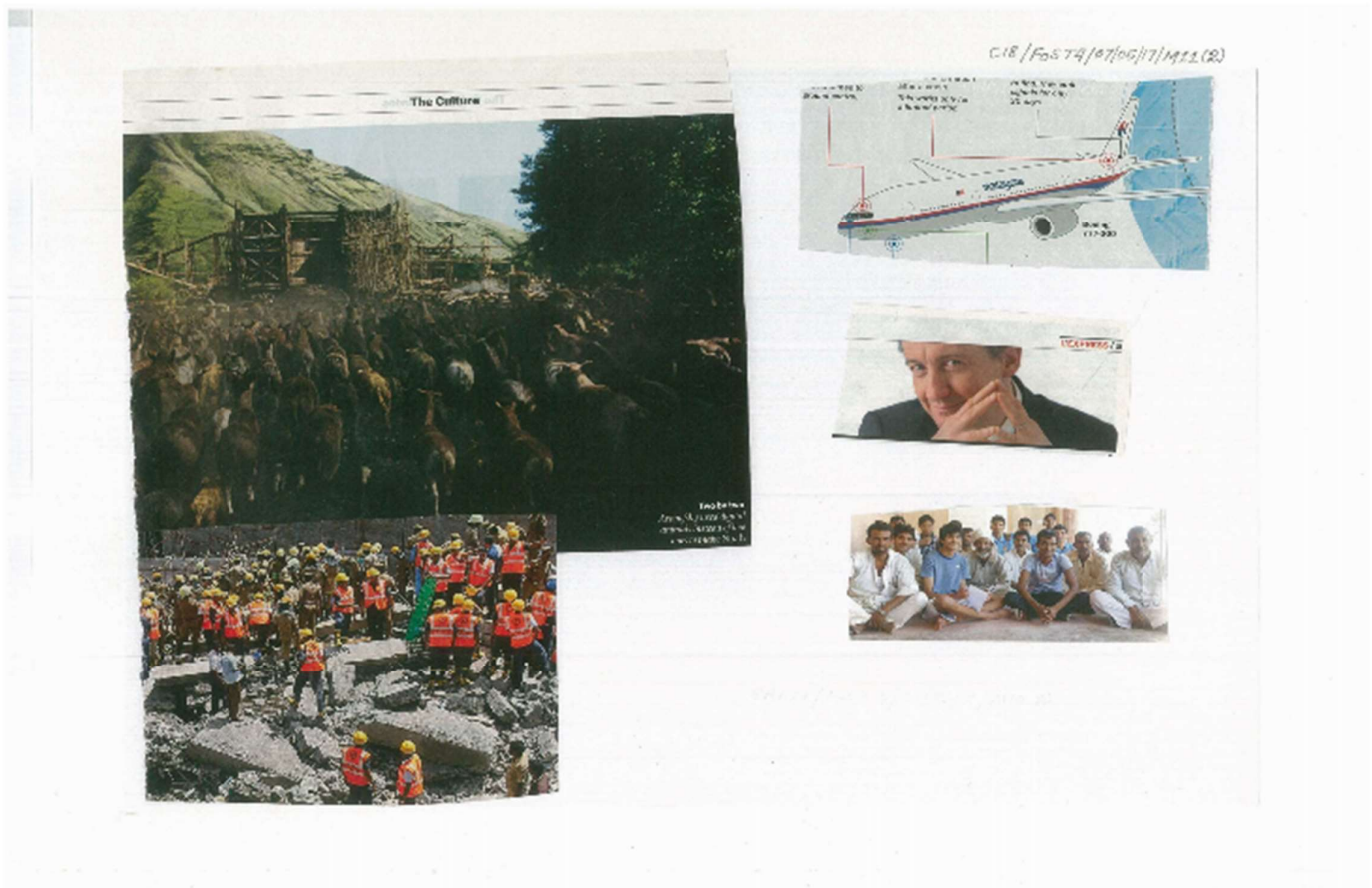
Section 3: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: perspectives of a Former Supply Teacher (FoST) - Apu

4.3.1 Collage

Apu produced two collages to represent his feelings about casualisation. A bird's eye view of his art-based work immediately shows the significance of time for supply teachers. Apart from the collage which was used as a trigger for the data production exercise, Apu provided much additional, telling information directly or indirectly related to his former occupation as a supply teacher in state secondary schools.

C18/FoST4/07/05/17/M11(1&2)





4.3.2 Case Report of a Former Supply Teacher – Apu

Introducing Apu

Apu is an FoST who at the time of the study was working in a private secondary institution, Mountain View College²¹. He taught French Language and enthusiastically related his journey towards professional life; and the teething troubles as well as numerous other challenges he was facing. Describing himself as ‘an average student’, Apu retraced his path from Kestrel Government Primary School in Treebo Village to the Citadelle College, a private secondary school in Luxville, the capital city of the island. However, due to his mother’s dissatisfaction with the location of the college, he moved to Eastern Boys State Secondary School for almost a year. He noted that discipline was a serious issue in the school. He ‘resat for CPE’ to improve his marks, which secured him a seat at Platinum College, a Catholic school, in Brown Town. Apu enjoyed attending this college as it offered a large ‘space ... and a big football pitch’ and had a view of the seaport of Luxville. A teacher invited him to join the school football team and he played as ‘goalkeeper’. Apu also remembered the tears he shed due to having to travel so far to attend school and feeling isolated. Things seem to have changed for him until his

²¹ College is the common appellation for secondary schools in Mauritius.

success in SC at his second attempt. He recounted that he was expelled for skipping school when he was in Lower Six²². Apu admitted that he was at fault, but also revealed that the decision seemed to be racially motivated, since ‘only three Hindus ... were expelled (whilst) the entire class had failed’. This class had only three Hindu students of which he was one.

First glimpse of a professional life

Apu confessed that he could not complete his HSC²³ and his idleness motivated his family to seek help from a relative who was a chef and he ‘got a job at (the) St Géran Hotel’. This was a tough job and he worked almost ten hours a day. Apu showed a scar on his little finger from an injury when he ‘was cutting watercress’. This incident was the final straw that made him think seriously about improving his work conditions. To avoid working under pressure, he ‘joined as a packer²⁴ ... in a textile company’ where he had worked during school vacations. The only issue with such jobs, according to him, is that one doesn’t ‘use (one’s) education’ to the fullest.

The turning point

Apu said that his life changed a year later when his aunt, who resided in France, offered to finance his education. He commented on the luxury of being able to ‘quit (his) job and ... continue ... with (his) studies’. Having improved his HSC results at his third attempt, he flew to France to complete his tertiary education with the ‘thought that maybe with a better ... certificate’ he might easily get a job in Mauritius. However, his first year was not a success and he ‘had to repeat ... the modules that (he had) failed’. In ‘second year (he) completed all the modules and (he) never repeated’. He highlighted the rigour in French universities and added that he completed his ‘Licence²⁵ after three years ... then (he) did (his) maîtrise²⁶’.

²² The first year of the Higher School Certificate (HSC) programme.

²³ The Higher School Certificate is the highest academic qualification, marking the completion of the final stage of secondary school. It is organised by the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate, in conjunction with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate of the Cambridge International Examinations Board.

²⁴ A worker who packs the finished products in a factory.

²⁵ The French term for First Degree.

²⁶ The first year of the French Masters which requires the submission of the main points of the Memoire (Dissertation) which is handed in in the second year.

Beginning a career in teaching

Apu recounted that on his return to 'Mauritius in 2010 ... (he) got a job ... at Le Matinale Newspaper (a Mauritian daily) but ... (he) wasn't very happy (as they) didn't have (a) computer to write (type) articles ... so (he) quit the job'. On the recommendation of a cousin he joined Newton College as a teacher, 'but after one year the contract was terminated' for some obscure reason. Apu regarded this as unjust since he maintained that he had 'worked extremely hard in the college'. He observed that, although teaching might sometimes be a bit monotonous, it 'is a noble profession (and) first and foremost it is about the students'. However, after this incident, he 'understood ... (that) the life of a teacher ... is the life of an ass'. Apu pointed out that most teachers in private colleges don't have much freedom and are made to 'work a lot' as the managers exploit them. However, he indicated that 'there are some teachers who enjoy more freedom' than others because of the practice of 'de lizie²⁷' by school management. A recurrent sub-text of social inequities pervades this case.

Apu was happy to subsequently join Citadelle College as the rector's handshake and words showed that he 'wanted (Apu) at his college so he ... stayed there ... (for) one year without ... any absence'. Unfortunately, in January the following year, he was asked to come 'to take (his) testimonial' which implies the termination of his contract. Apu was downhearted and his efforts to convince the rector to keep him were vain. He was only paid two months' salary. Apu said that he was so despondent that he sought 'the help of a Minister, Mr Arnaud ... (who) promised that he would do something'. He was then asked to teach 'at Himark College ... in the month of May ... to replace ... a teacher who was going to Canada'. Apu assumed that 'the pressure was too hard for her (the emigrating teacher) to take'. He divulged that 'the workload there was five (to) ten times more ... (with) too much paperwork'. Apu let slip that he 'worked there but ... was clever enough ... (as he) knew that perhaps they would terminate (his) contract so now (he) was more prudent (and he) applied for supply teacher'. As expected, he was 'throw(n) out once again ... (and) on the last day' he was told that his contract had been terminated.

²⁷ Expression in kreol Morisien signifying 'partiality'.

Working as a supply teacher

Apu recounted that following his application to become a supply teacher he was called for an interview at Phoenix²⁸ and he assumed that he 'did very well in the interview'. He was subsequently contacted by an officer offering him a one year posting at 'at Princess State College'. Apu described 'the first few months ... (at) Princess State College (as) very difficult ... because the level (of students was) very high (compared to) the low achieving students ... in private colleges (and he) had to adapt (and) be prepared'. He also recounted that, in the very 'first month the rector, Mr Maxwell ... called (him) in the office and told (him that) it is not because (he is) a supply teacher that (he) won't work hard'. However, Apu noted that after a few months, working at Princess State College became 'the best experience of (his) life ... (and it was) the first time ... (that he) enjoyed being a teacher'. He said that 'the students were more ... friendly ... more responsive ... (and) there were classes where (he) went even ... before the French period started'. Apu recalled that these students 'carried out the Music day without the help of any teacher ... (and) it was extraordinary'.

Apu had great hope that one of his students, Anabelle Essoo, would be named as laureate and 'she ... was ranked second in the Arts side'. He added that 'the fifth student also ... was (from his) class ... and many ... student(s) got A in French sub ... (and) most of (his) student(s) got A in French Main'. 'It was a great year' for Apu but he remarked that supply teachers are never congratulated. He noted that 'there was a ceremony at the college ... (and) they (the administration at Princess State College) invited the colleagues who work(ed) there ... (but) they forgot to invite' him. Apu, who was then working at Echo Parakeet State Secondary School, observed that supply teachers 'are somewhere else (posted to other schools)'. The following year he was awarded a new contract and was posted to Fody State Secondary School. Apu stated that 'even if it was (a) quite deserted place ... it was a very good experience ... (as he) had much liberty there ... (and) the teachers had their classes'. He reminisced that 'there was a student called Amir ... (who often) came to see (him) ... with his work'. Amir, whose 'father was a fisherman, (was) from a very poor family ... from Rubik's Village'. Apu said that he expected him to be 'ranked²⁹' and this eventually materialised and the student received a scholarship. Apu was of the view that one has 'a bit more freedom as a supply teacher or even as an educator in state secondary schools'. He said that, while he could not generalise, in the

²⁸ The location of the Headquarters of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research.

²⁹ A scholarship for outstanding performance in the final exam for secondary education.

private colleges where he served it is common practice to work for ‘seven periods’ at a stretch. He noted that ‘sometimes more often than not ... (they) have to replace another teacher ... (for) one period per week’. However, he explained that it depends on the subject the supply teacher teaches since ‘if (one is) doing³⁰ Urdu (one has) much more freedom (than one) doing French’.

Supply teaching – a no career job

‘Not a human job ... a very tough job’ - these were the terms Apu used to describe one facet of supply teaching. He recollected being ‘fed up working as a supply teacher’ to the point of quitting the job at some point in his professional life. Today, he hopes to never join supply teaching again although he considers that ‘it was a good experience’ and despite the fact that his employment contract at Mountain View College could end soon. Apu lamented that supply teachers ‘are just ‘bouche trou³¹ ... use(d) ... and then ... throw(n) in the dustbin’. He added that ‘there’s no consideration for supply teachers’ as they are taken for granted. He remarked that he ‘would prefer to work ... in ... a hotel knowing that they would confirm’ him and he would have a career. He highlighted the injustice endured by supply teachers who served for four or five years and yet were not offered a new contract while ‘freshers³² ... have been selected’. Apu felt that ‘there’s no career path’ for supply teachers. While he claimed to not have any grudge against freshers, he nonetheless queried whether ‘someone who has just come ... from university ... can handle a class of forty students ... (at) Princess State College’. He felt that ‘it will be difficult ... (if) he has no experience’.

Making a career of a no-career job

Apu observed that the ‘uncertainty (and) instability ...’ experienced by supply teachers may prevent them from building ‘anything ... concrete’. He said that he ‘would personally ... discourage people’ from joining supply teaching and working on a contract which may be terminated in a year or a day. This seemed to be the reason why Apu had only recently married at the late age of 40³³. He suggested that one might join supply teaching for a few years but one ‘must always look for other options ... be active in searching ... a job’ and consider developing other qualities via courses which may increase one’s chances of obtaining a job.

³⁰ Verb meaning ‘teaching’.

³¹ Derogatory expression in kreol Morisien meaning ‘quick-fix / stand-in/ substitute’.

³² Informal term (British) for freshman, or a first-year university student. However, Apu uses the term (as in India) to mean a new graduate looking for his or her first job.

³³ Participant’s perception

Apu also said that he would ‘urge’ a supply teacher to join a private school if he/she is offered a permanent job. He added that supply teachers should ‘always have two or three sources of income’ and that one may choose to work as a supply teacher if one has ‘another source of income (or) a secondary business’.

De-professionalising supply teachers

Apu described the interviews for supply teachers as ‘a big celebration at the ... Phoenix College next to MITD’. He noted that many are accompanied by ‘their parents ... mothers ... or husbands’. However, he noted that ‘the interview is done like ... (one is) in a jungle’ and that ‘it is like a carnival’. He noted that there are ‘three or four chairs next to (a) class ... and ... a panel of three interviewers’. The interviews last ‘two minutes (or) at most five minutes ... (and they) get the job’. He questioned whether this can be described as a ‘professional interview’. Moreover, successful candidates are only given ‘a photocopy of the contract’ and some receive nothing at all. Apu felt that this practice ‘is not professional nor do they (the Ministry of Education) take it professionally ... (and) this is why when (the) PSC advertise(s) for secondary educators ... experience as supply teacher’ is not taken into consideration.

Dehumanising the teacher

Apu remarked that, unlike supply teachers in state secondary schools, contractual teachers ‘in the private colleges (are) not labelled’ or called supply teachers. He questioned ‘why (there is) one kind of treatment ... (for) the secondary educators and (another for) the private educators’ and suggested a ‘uniformisation of the private and the state’ since there is no difference between supply teachers and teachers working on contract in private schools. He referred to the picture of chess pawns in the first collage to convey his viewpoint that the authorities (government) consider ‘workers are just chess (pawns)’. He felt ‘that modern society tends to use workers ... (and) dehumanise’ them by treating them as just a mind, a number or a name. Apu reflected that ‘this is what Kafka³⁴ was saying when he wrote all his plays and all his novels ... (since) there's nothing human’ in such a practice.

³⁴ A German-speaking Bohemian Jewish novelist and short story writer, widely regarded as one of the major figures of 20th-century literature.

Despite his misgivings about supply teaching, Apu expressed his deep respect for all workers. His statement that ‘in Mauritius ... workers are being treated like slaves’ is a direct allusion to the Bangladeshi³⁵ workers to whom he referred as modern slaves. Apu speculated that ‘we would have been better in the hand(s) of British colonisers (as) sometimes ... the black ... or the brown people like us ... are ten times worse than’ them. He asked ‘how long ... the injustices ... will continue ... (and) how long people will accept all this’.

Apu noted that ‘the choice of university course’ is another factor contributing to the dehumanisation of teachers and the commodification of education. He pointed out that ‘there are many university courses in Mauritius which... are ... creating ... jobless people’. Noting that ‘many people don't have an option ... other than ... being a teacher’, he also observed that ‘many people enter the teaching field because ... they think about ... vacation ... (and) less work’ but this does not reflect the reality.

Fear - the invisible springboard

Apu said that he believes that ‘a society ... needs to’ rectify past injustices and ‘there is no bigger injustice in Mauritius than the injustice done to the workers’. He added that ‘this has to be reversed ... through a revolution ... so that ... we can live in (a) democracy’ in the true sense of the word. He pointed to the fact that in Mauritius ‘there are many workers but they ... are not a force ... (and) they can't command anything ... (as they) don't have (a) good union’. He described workers as ‘a silent mass of people who don't know that they are ... bigger than the small government’. Apu felt that the government has set up a system ‘to control the masses’ by instilling fear in people. Elaborating, Apu quoted a sentence from an old Hindi movie entitled ‘Sholay’: “Jo Dar Gaya Samjho Mar Gaya³⁶”. He also quoted Friedrich Nietzsche’s dictum, ‘ce qui ne te tue pas, te rend plus fort³⁷’. Apu noted that supply teachers were using Facebook as a platform to express their concerns regarding their work conditions but he felt that they need ‘to be better ... (and) more powerful than the fear’. Apu advocated that supply teachers ‘can ... (and) should be unionised’ and suggested that they should start at the individual level and progress to form a group and ultimately a mass. He mulled that it takes ‘une étincelle pour créer un feu³⁸’. Apu averred that ‘there won't be a revolution ... (or) change

³⁵ Imported labour from Bangladesh for the textile industry

³⁶ Hindi expression implying ‘those who feared, have died’.

³⁷ French expression meaning ‘what doesn't kill you makes you stronger’.

³⁸ French expression signifying that ‘a spark is enough to create a fire’.

without people going on the street (or) without protestation(s)'. He maintained that there won't be any 'solution ... (for) the supply teacher's situation or any (other) situation in Mauritius' unless Mauritians protest. Apu said that he was optimistic that 'the future generation will bring the change'; however, he excluded the older generation as agents of change, as he felt that they would always protect and preserve what they have. He also omitted those who are only interested in making money. Citing a book, Apu said that 'the beautiful ones are not yet born, meaning ... those who will bring change are not yet born'. He added that this referred to those who are 'ceux qui sont radical³⁹' because, in order 'to become a teacher ... (one has) to have some sort of a revolt' within. Elaborating on the modus operandi of future change, Apu referred to the picture of 'a herd of cattle' in his second collage. The cattle are facing a shed which is in poor condition with an entrance that is too narrow for the big herd moving towards it. He observed that 'supply teachers should be the herd of cattle that will ... collapse the system ... (and) bring the change'. Apu reflected that supply teachers 'need to collectively ... create a group of active members ... (and) to regularly go to the press or do something that alerts the public opinion'. He predicted that 'if they remain in their own ... comfortable ... (zone) there won't be any change'.

Demolition – the first step towards reconstruction

Commenting on the academic performance of secondary school students, Apu observed that 'the level has been going down ... every year', creating the dire need 'to adopt another system'. He remarked that 'it is always disheartening when ... student(s)' do not pass their exams. He referred to the picture in his second collage of a crowd of people near 'a building that has ... collapsed (been demolished)' to convey that the education system needs overhauling. Apu also referred to the last picture in the second collage showing a youngster among old people to represent that he hopes that Mauritian students will not 'discriminate between people, be comfortable with older people (and) help the poor people'. For Apu this picture represented the 'future of Mauritius ... (and confirmed his) belief in youngsters ... to bring the change in the country'. He affirmed that young people need to use their time effectively and reiterated his belief that 'the beautiful ones ... will end the corruption in Mauritius ... someday'.

³⁹ French expression meaning 'those radical'.

Influence of a casualised status: Daring to cross the borders

Apu highlighted that not having permanent work leads to ‘an unstable life’. He added that if he were to be offered a permanent post in the public sector even on a lower grade or with low pay, he would ‘most probably ... accept’. Apu advised supply teachers to ‘always look for other options’. He explained that he adheres to the principles of Chanakya⁴⁰, a philosopher, who said, ‘if you don’t get your due in one country, quit that country.’ Apu elaborated that he can migrate anywhere as he doesn’t ‘think about citizen(ship) ... (or) patriotism’. He described supply teachers as being ‘like birds ... (which) can ... cross boundaries ... (and) go anywhere they want ... in the world’. He mentioned that his next move ‘would most probably (be to) go to the embassy ... (of) Canada or (any other embassy) ... (to) look for information to leave the country and ... to find a job elsewhere’. Apu highlighted that if one doesn’t find what one wants in life in one’s country then one should ‘quit that country ... (and) find another country where (one) will get (one’s) due’. He referred to the picture of an aeroplane in the top right-hand side of his second collage, noting that this ‘will perhaps take (him) where (he) will have value for ... what (he) can offer ... (and) where people will value (his) work’. He hoped that ‘it will be a new beginning’ and added that he thought about moving every year, but ended up staying in Mauritius. However, possibly ‘this year will be the final year’ if his contract is not confirmed. He said that he was ‘thinking of moving ... maybe (to) Canada or Australia’. Apu noted that ‘it’s not always the way people treat you ... it’s also how you treat yourself if people are ill-treating you’ that matters. He asserted that ‘the supply teachers also are to (be) blame(d) if they are in this situation ... as it is not always about the system, it is about us also’. He added, ‘if you continue to let people ill-treat you like this, not giving you your worth, then you are also to be blamed.’

Revolution Feminised

Apu referred to a picture in his collage of women wearing burkas⁴¹, to convey ‘the control of women’ and said that whilst this attire is visible, the government is imposing an invisible burka on everyone to ‘control ... the masses’. He maintained that ‘it is becoming more and more difficult to live in Mauritius ... (because) there’s no freedom in this country’. Apu pointed to

⁴⁰ Indian teacher, philosopher, economist, jurist and royal advisor of the 4th century BCE.

⁴¹ Also known as chadri or paranja in Central Asia, a burka is an outer garment that covers the body and the face. It is worn by women in some Islamic traditions to cover themselves in public.

the feminisation of the teaching profession resulting in ‘too many ... young girls ... (among) the teachers’. He also speculated on the possibility of a revolution in Mauritius by ‘the women ... (as) they are more eager ... (and) more fitting’.

Race against the clock

Apu used the picture of a watch in his first collage to show that ‘time is ticking’. He predicted that the possibility of him joining teaching via the PSC was ‘nearing the end ... (as he) will be ... 40 years old’. He said that he may ‘find ... another college ... (or) do something else ... (as he) need(s) something very concrete’. He added that he would not go back to working for a newspaper as he had ‘a bad experience ... (and one is) not free to say what (one) want(s)’ because everything is controlled by the editor. Explaining his penchant for teaching Apu said that he was ‘born for teaching ... (and he may not) be able to do other jobs’. He added that he ‘love(s) working ... (and goes) to work every day’. However, he ‘hate(s) ... the way PSC functions ... (and the way) they recruit people’. He traced a link between recruitment issues and nepotism among politicians which he considered a ‘familiar thing’ in Mauritius. He also referred to the picture of the clock to state that ‘time is always against the politician ... because ... they have to go ... (and) they are not prepared’ to leave their position. He remarked that ‘we can't ... always have ... the people ... (who) have money ... (to) represent us ... (since they) don't know about poor people’.

Staying in the teaching profession

Apu referred to the picture of a man in his collage (bottom middle) to express that even with friends around, teaching is a ‘lonely job’ as a teacher has to face his/her difficulties alone. He said that even if he is ‘not satisfied with everything that is going on ... (he) keeps ... going to school ... (because of) the smiles of the students ... (their) good camaraderie’. He commented that his ‘only chocolate of the day ... or of life ... is ... when (he goes) to the class, when the students are happy to see (him), when (he) talk(s) to them ... (and) jokes with them’. Apu said that he ‘values his students ... (and) pushes them on to work’. He made it clear that ‘the relationship (he has) with (his) student(s) ... (and) the change (happening to) the student(s) ... is what push(es) him ... to go on’. He confirmed that he ‘wishes to stay in the private college ... or private sector’ and imagined that ‘one day he’ll be an old teacher ... perhaps with the

same energy ... (and) with the same verve of not accepting what has been going on'. Apu referred to 'a poem from Blake, Holy Thursday', to convey that perhaps he will be a 'cruel outworn teacher'. He referred to the picture in his second collage of 'a gentleman ... who has been the editor of L'Express ... in France ... (and whose name is) Christophe Barbier'. Apu described him as 'a very ... nice Frenchman ... who ... has attained something in life ... (and) people recognise him ... (and) respect him'. Apu declared that he doesn't 'have any role model ... (but) this is where (he) want(s) to go (reach)'. He added that perhaps he wants 'something more' than recognition.

Section 4: Chapter summary

The case reports of the supply teachers unveil rich data on the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession. The different participants provided detailed accounts of how their casual status influences the way they navigate their professional lives. The case reports also point to numerous convergences as well as divergences regarding the different aspects of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the three categories of supply teachers. These are critically analysed in Chapter 6 as part of the further abstraction of the data.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: PERSPECTIVES OF NON-SUPPLY TEACHERS

Introduction

This chapter adopts a similar approach to the previous one to present the case reports of three different types of non-supply teachers: a permanent teacher, an Acting Rector and a Director of Education. The last case report is based on data obtained via a questionnaire completed by the Director of Education.

The chapter consists of three sections, each focusing on one category of non-supply teachers as follows:

Section 1 provides a thorough explanation of the conception of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession in state secondary schools through the lens of a permanent secondary school teacher.

Section 2 presents the case report of an Acting Rector working in a state secondary school where almost 48% of the teaching staff are supply teachers.

Section 3 comprises a case report constructed with the data provided via a Director of Education's written answers to a questionnaire.

Section 1: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: Perspectives of a permanent teacher – Roy

5.1.1 Collage

The following collage was produced by Roy who composed it with pictures cut from magazines. He explained that the choice of dark peripheral pictures in contrast to the single central picture was intentional.

C11/PE2/15/12/16/P3/M5



5.1.2 Case Report of a Permanent Teacher

Introducing Roy

Roy is a permanent teacher in a state secondary school in the north of Mauritius. He is passionate about teaching and learning English. After graduating with a bachelor's degree in

English from the University of Mauritius in 1999, Roy decided to apply for a teaching post as he believes that are job possibilities for someone with a degree in English. He joined as a temporary teacher, then known as ‘replacement teacher’, in a school in Luxville. By 2002, Roy had worked in five different private schools. In that year, he joined the public sector and since then he has taught in three different state secondary schools. He claimed that he understands supply teachers since he had been ‘in their shoes’. It was a very ‘difficult moment’ when he was told that his services were no longer required at a parastatal secondary school after having served that institution for more than a year. Roy had assumed that he would be permanently employed, but was extremely disappointed when two graduates were recruited to teach English in his place. Roy said that he understands the casualised status of supply teachers and ‘he knows that it is a very tough ... for them’.

The traits of Supply Teachers

According to Roy, one comes to learn about supply teachers’ circumstances when one ‘get(s) close to them (and) ... start(s) making friends with them’. In his view, most have ‘already made up their mind ... to become teachers’. Furthermore, many have completed ‘their PGCE ... and they know what the job is all about’. Roy asserted that ‘maybe they don't have a lot of experience but they show a lot of enthusiasm (and) ... they are ready to learn’. For him, the supply teacher is someone who ‘has a lot of ambition ... (and is also) a hard worker’. In his collage, Roy chose to represent the supply teacher as a ‘well-dressed ... smart guy’. However, the irony is that a young man dressed in a suit who one would expect to find ‘in an office’ is working with an axe.

Casualisation of teachers - Causes and implications

Roy explained that casualisation seems to be a response to the ‘excessive qualified people in our country’. For him, ‘it is all a game going on ... on the part of the government’. He added that ‘the government knows that they can ... get people at any time they want’ to work in schools. As ‘supply is greater than demand’, the majority may not get a job. Employing only a minority might lead to frustration, which may not be a very good situation for the government as these people are also potential voters. By adopting casualisation, the government is playing ‘on the safe side ... (and in a position) to hold all the wires and play the game’.

The influence of casualisation on the career paths of supply teachers

Roy noted that, the longer supply teachers work on a contract basis ‘the more their career path is going to be affected’. In fact, ‘the number of years (as supply teachers) will not be counted as experience’ if they are working on contract. Only when ‘they get a permanent job (will) their years of experience (in permanent service) ... be counted’. Thus, their ‘career path can be affected and then that can have a kind of domino effect on what they want to do in the future’. For instance, ‘if they aspire to become a rector’ the number of years spent as a supply teacher ‘might affect ... how fast they can be a rector’. HODs for different subjects are also selected ‘in terms of seniority’ in state secondary schools.

Benefits of joining as a supply teacher

Roy asserted that the only benefit of being a supply teacher ‘is the experience that they get (in the field of teaching) especially if they are going to become teachers later’. He added that many ‘have accepted to be supply teachers ... just to get the experience’ as one ‘never know(s) how the experience that they are getting might help them later.’ Another benefit is the opportunity to be mentored; Roy explained that he was ‘a kind of mentor (to a supply teacher who) was following a course at Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE)... three or four years ago (and who) is now a full-fledged teacher’. He also noted that joining as a supply teacher makes them hopeful as they assume that they will be a supply teacher for a year or two and ‘then maybe when there will be recruitment, they are going to be taken on board’. Nonetheless, Roy added that ‘at least they are able to get a job ... (and) a salary’.

Downsides of being a supply teacher

Roy’s prior work as a ‘replacement teacher’ in private secondary schools provided first-hand experience of working as a temporary teacher. He identified numerous downsides of working as a supply teacher in state secondary schools. Firstly, Roy observed that there is ‘a sense of uncertainty’ among supply teachers. This is probably due to ‘know(ing) that their service is not required permanently’. He related that a supply teacher explained ‘that every year he has to apply again (and) even when he is going ... for the interview, he's not sure that he will get the

job'. Roy also elaborated on the 'the hardship of being a supply teacher'. For him, it is only 'when he (the supply teacher) starts working and when he gets in that environment (that) he realises how hard the work is for him'. Roy remarked that some supply teachers come to 'realise the hardship of the job ... (when they join a) difficult school in terms of students' behaviour, in terms of management, etc... because some of them, maybe they've not ... been trained to be an educator'. He stated that 'there's a lot of mental struggle on the path of the ... supply teacher'. It is possible that 'someone ... younger than a supply teacher with less experience also might become the HOD instead of the one who's been working a long time as a supply teacher.' Roy noted that supply teachers 'are not ... remunerated during holidays ... (and) if they are absent, they are not ... paid'. He suggested that 'even during that lapse of time that they are working in a school they should be given at least some flexibility at work ... (through the provision of) casual leave or even some sick leave'. Roy added that training facilities should be extended to them and 'if ever they want to continue studying' they should be provided with facilities.

Recruitment and Selection of Supply Teachers

Roy expressed concern at the way supply teachers are selected. He felt that it doesn't seem appropriate that they have to undergo 'the same process again' at the end of each year. He also critiqued the recruitment process, which he described as being carried out 'in the dark ... (since) we are not ... aware (of) what the government is doing' which caused him to believe that there might be a hidden agenda. Roy maintained that those involved in the recruitment exercise 'work ...in the dark ... (and) maybe they know that others do not know ... who exactly is taking the decision'. He explained further that 'we might not ... know ... who is that (the one/those), playing the game'. This was based on his belief that 'that there is a lot of political intervention'.

Reflecting on a recent exercise to recruit supply teachers, Roy asserted that 'it might not ... matter whether that person has been working as a supply teacher or not (as) some candidates (were) ... recruited without any experience (while) some supply teachers have not even been asked for (an) interview' even though they are fully qualified. In a recent conversation with a supply teacher, Roy learnt that he holds a PGCE and has teaching experience, as he had worked for some years as a supply teacher. While receipt of his application was acknowledged, he was

‘not even called for (an) interview’ nor he was given a reason for this. For Roy, ‘that is the big question’.

Being permanently temporary

Roy commented that, although supply teachers are made to feel that they are ‘in the same boat (as permanent teachers) the latter know that ... they do not belong to that boat ... (since) they might be asked to leave the boat ... at any time and if (one is) at sea ... it is, of course, difficult to leave that boat’. For him, the supply teacher is ‘permanently temporary’ and this status creates many difficulties. As an example, he recounted the experience of a supply teacher who was working at the school where he was posted and whose contract was terminated at the end of the year. She ‘left the school because her service was no more required.’ However, ‘she was asked again to work in (that) school for one week’ to replace a permanent teacher who was on leave. Roy noted that this teacher received a call from the Ministry of Education asking her ‘to come to (that) school because ... she's quite familiar ... with the culture of the school’. As an HOD in the school, Roy was disappointed when the supply teacher did not turn up, but she later explained that ‘it would be harder to come for only one week ... and to leave again’. Roy described this incident as ‘unforgettable’. The supply teacher also told Roy that ‘she did not want to come again because she had the impression of being manipulated... and exploited’. Roy gathered that she enjoyed her experience as a supply teacher as ‘she had learnt a lot (and) she'd made a lot of friends ... but coming back again and getting that feeling ... of being so good (happy) for such a short lapse of time (would be) ... very disheartening’. Roy also happened to meet another ex-supply teacher who told him that he was ‘working in an office ... and (he) is happy ... because ... at least he knows that he has a (permanent) job and that he can start building his life’. Roy commented that he ‘is not in that waiting mode anymore ... (and) at least he has something and he can plan his life because most of them (supply teachers) want also a sense of stability ... in their life which they are not able to get’.

The dehumanisation of the teaching profession

Expressing his feelings regarding supply teachers through the collage, Roy pointed to the authorities’ (government) lack of consideration towards supply teachers. One of the pictures shows only a pair of shoes and a wig and Roy explained that we ‘can't find the person in the

same way when these people are employed'. He added that these teachers are regarded as 'something that can deliver a service'. Neither the government nor permanent teachers seem to see a supply teacher 'as a person with feelings, with emotions, with aspirations and with all his or her difficulties'. Roy highlighted that 'we are neglecting the humane aspect of that issue and this why the human being is not there in the picture'.

Invisibility - The darker side of casualisation

Roy used the word 'exploitation' to describe the way supply teachers are treated in state secondary schools. He referred to the same picture in the collage showing a pair of shoes and a wig to represent such 'exploitation'. He explained that it is 'a very dark picture (showing) only the hair and the shoes'. For Roy, casualisation of the teaching profession is 'inhuman exploitation because we are trying to get ... all that we can from that human being'. He wanted to convey the extent to which the 'government or the authority can go ... to exploit that person'. He added that, 'finally when (we) look at the human being (we) are not ... seeing that human being but (we) are only seeing ... what is left'. Roy described this as 'a theme of invisibility (as) the human being is not there (but we only have) an object and part of that human being'.

The struggle and suffering of supply teachers

Roy used the picture of a solitary woman soldier to represent the struggle of the supply teacher. He explained that the woman soldier is 'alone (and) is struggling (and likewise) often they (supply teachers) suffer in isolation'. Roy noted that as 'they are not allowed to have a trade union (they) don't have that collective power ... (and) very often ... the fight is done alone'. He remarked that this causes supply teachers to become 'very close to each other' and he had observed that supply teachers tend to form a group and stay together at school. Roy also noted that supply teachers 'tend to have this cluster of friends in all the schools (where) they go'.

Roy also used a 'very dark picture ... (of) an old man ... who seems to be undergoing a lot of suffering (to) represent the suffering as well as the voicelessness of supply teachers'. He described it as 'an image of despair (as) there is (a) lot of silence also in that picture'. He believes that 'very often they (supply teachers) are suffering in an atrocious ... (and) also in a silent manner'. He added, 'if I try to feel the way that the person is feeling, I would say that

you have ... entered a situation ... where you feel that the more you're trying to find a way out, the more you're trying to struggle, the more you are being trapped in that situation'.

To be or not to be a supply teacher

Roy argued that a supply teacher 'will not be able to continue in that waiting mode ... (if he/she) has aspirations ... (or is) going to get married ... take a loan ... (or wants) stability'. Under similar circumstances, personally he 'would have chosen a different job'. A supply teacher once told Roy 'that he would not be able to continue working as a supply teacher especially because ... every year he has to apply again ... (and) even when he is going ... for the interview, he's not sure that he will get the job'. Roy averred that 'because of that he finally decided to start working in a different field ... and the guy is quite happy now'. He added that although this person had followed a full-time PGCE course at the MIE and perhaps 'he's already spent three or four years of his life ... starting to become a teacher' he realised that things could not go on like that.

Roy stressed that he would never advise anyone 'to even apply for supply teacher'. He would suggest that prospective teachers join 'a private school as a permanent teacher ... (or) work in the public sector'. He proposed that one should 'secure a job first and then ... try to move on because there is no security being a supply teacher'. Roy warned that there are many 'qualified people in our country ... (and) with a first degree, anyone can become a teacher'. He assumed that this might be why so many people apply for an educator's post whenever a vacancy arises. However, according to Roy 'it would be advisable to look for a job where you have less competition'. Turning to the possibility of teaching outside the island, Roy noted that 'our degree(s) or even our training at the MIE' may not be recognised in many other countries. Consequently, prospective teachers 'would have to start again'. If one ... wants 'to start a career path quickly ... the only way out' is to leave supply teaching.

Casualisation of teachers - The future

Roy believes that fewer supply teachers will be recruited in the years to come but 'there will still be the need for supply teachers'. He said that as long as this is the case, 'their conditions of work ... (and) the difficulties that they are facing will remain the same'. Roy insisted that the use of supply teachers will 'affect schools' as, for instance, if a supply teacher is posted to

a school for a very short period, this will not even be sufficient for them to adapt to their place of work. He added that since it is obvious that the teacher's presence is meant to prevent students from being ill-disciplined during this short time, the work is not continuous and it may not positively 'affect the performance of the students by the end of the year'. On the other hand, being posted to a difficult school at the very outset or providing supply teachers with the relevant 'training (like being an oral examiner for English) will affect the performance of the students by the end of the year'. Nonetheless, according to Roy, there is 'more darkness than light ... (in) a life ... without anchorage'.

Section 2: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: Perspectives of an Acting Rector – Katrina

5.2.1 Collage

Katrina chose to produce her collage in two distinct pages. She seemed to easily understand the objective of the data production exercise as she had conducted research at doctoral level.

C5/AR1/08/11/16/PL3/F4 (1&2)





5.2.2 Case Report of an Acting Rector - Katrina

Introducing Katrina

Katrina is the Acting Rector in a girls' state secondary school in the city of Luxville. She explained that she had been leading schools for the past five to six years but started teaching 'some twenty-five years' ago. She had also 'been (an) examiner for French intermediate and advanced examinations (and she visited) a number of countries in the Indian Ocean'. Katrina started working as a teacher in Rodrigues⁴² when she 'was very young.' She regarded her posting in Rodrigues as a 'godsend' since an additional disturbance allowance of 25% of her salary permitted her to plan for future studies which she was intending to pursue in France. Katrina continued her studies in French 'locally and with the University of Réunion'. She was awarded several degrees and a master's and worked with an international organisation that aims to promote French language and culture around the world, which enabled her to obtain a number of scholarships. Later on, she developed an interest in the field of education, pursued a master's degree with the University of Brighton (UoB) and became a 'lifelong learner'. She enrolled for her doctorate with a university in the United Kingdom and although she had to travel two to three times every year, this was a very enriching experience. Katrina worked in

⁴² Rodrigues – One of the outer islands of the Republic of Mauritius.

different state secondary schools in the east and west of Mauritius but she mainly worked in the urban regions. At the time of the study, she had been based in Luxville for almost 11 years. She explained that she had ‘never come across supply teachers’ when she was a teacher or HOD. However, as a school leader she ‘had to work with the supply teachers’ and she had known quite a number of them, especially in 2016 when she had 43 supply teachers in her school, representing almost 50% of the staff. According to Katrina, while this is not a common situation, there might be ‘a dire need for educators (in zones with) many state secondary schools’. Katrina clarified that her conversations with supply teachers related to work and studies, but they ‘won't talk about their personal life with’ her.

Describing the Supply Teachers

For her collage Katrina chose a picture showing dancers at a carnival to convey how she sees supply teachers. For her, they are ‘living on a day to day basis, laughing, shouting, going out ... they do work but ... having fun is a big part of their life’. She noted that most supply teachers are ‘very optimistic ... that things will come their way’ and that things will be better the following year. She noted that, sometimes supply teachers are like ill-behaved secondary school students who ‘don't know (that) they need to say hello when they come (or apologize) if they are late’. Katrina asserted that, although the supply teachers are free to express themselves like any other member of staff, they should understand that their freedom ‘stops where the freedom of (their) neighbour starts’. She recalled that she once she had to talk to supply teachers who were making a lot of noise in the staff room. When she entered the room, she ‘saw somebody sitting at a table, and talking to somebody who was at the other end of the staff room’. She observed that the person could have gone closer to talk instead of shouting from a distance. Katrina felt as if she ‘was near a classroom without a teacher’ and she had no choice but to intervene. She reflected that these supply teachers ‘had some kind of a shock that day (as) they were not expecting that reaction’ from her but she also revealed that she was shocked as she was not expecting that behaviour from them. Katrina added that she had to take this matter up in the next ‘developmental meeting⁴³ (and) things got quiet after that’. She said that such behaviour might have been due to the fact that there were so many supply teachers in that school since in the school where she worked previously, there was only a handful and there was never ‘any problem like this’. She added that supply teachers could ‘plan their work ...

⁴³ Regular meetings carried out to brief teachers on the ways to enhance teaching and learning.

discuss issues' during their free period, but this should be done in such a way that it doesn't affect other colleagues in the staff room. Katrina stressed that teachers should 'discuss ... their professional life ... their practice (or the) problems they have had in class' rather than engage in unproductive conversations. She conceded that supply teachers may 'have a jolly good moment ... from time to time' but they should not forget that they are paid for their time. For Katrina, 'the main business of the school is teaching and learning where teachers need to learn ... to become -better teacher(s)'.

Katrina acknowledged that there are also 'a number of ... supply teachers who are very enthusiast(ic), eager to learn ... (and willing) to participate in school life'. They are members of clubs and committees and actively participate in events like sports day and the end of term lunches which are regarded as 'additional responsibilities' by many teachers. Pointing to a picture in the collage showing some footballers standing together, Katrina added that 'there's a very good team spirit among the supply teacher themselves', although this might not be the case between supply teachers and educators. She had 'come across a number of (supply) teachers who want ... to get a deeper understanding of pedagogy'. They often come to Katrina to ask 'what they should do, what they should try and what they should read' and she considers that they will be 'very good educators'.

Katrina added a third category of supply teachers 'who go a step beyond' like putting into practice things that had been discussed in pedagogical meetings, such as peer coaching with the support of a booklet provided to them. Katrina stated that this technique enabled some of her teachers to coach themselves and there was no need to assist them as 'there's a protocol about' how to do things, what needs to be done, what needs to be observed, and how to write the plan before going to class. Katrina emphasised the need for commitment, which she described as 'that thing' which sends signals to one and causes one to 'go and look for solutions (when we) don't know'. She observed that not only the students are 'isolated because of the competitive system' but teachers are isolated as well. She remarked that 'they (supply teachers) can be together ... for a short span of time laughing, eating'; however, 'when it comes to real things, things that matter, are they really together, do they share?' Katrina added that we might be 'technologically linked (but to) have the proper attitude' is also important. While training is important, it is difficult to 'become a good teacher even with technology ... (without having) values, dispositions, engagement and commitment'.

Interpreting the casualisation of teachers

Katrina had first-hand experience of being a temporary teacher as she ‘worked on contract’ at the very outset of her career in Rodrigues. However, she recollected that in those days, contractual teachers could opt to have their contract renewed ‘after three years’. She explained that some of her colleagues ‘left Rodrigues and went to Seychelles⁴⁴ (while she) came back to Mauritius’ and since then she had worked in numerous state schools. She felt that the experience she acquired in Rodrigues was instrumental in applying for a post in Mauritius and added that contractual teachers had a range of choices in those days as different possibilities were available.

Katrina noted that, while she did not regard the current way of using short-term contractual teachers as an ‘honest’ process, this is but one point of view. According to her, from the capitalist standpoint, casualisation of the teaching profession owes its existence to the ‘law of demand and supply (as) probably there are ... many ... educators on the market ... (but) there are not that many vacancies’. Katrina remarked that supply teachers are ‘aware that it is a tough competition and it’s a tough world out there’. She added that casualisation of teachers is a global phenomenon and she had ‘the impression that the world of business has been adopted inside (within) the education system’ leading to the commodification of education. She noted that ‘everything has a price ... it’s only a question of money ... clients ... and profits.’ To support her argument Katrina cited the implementation of the Performance Management System (PMS) in state secondary schools.

Upsides of joining as a supply teacher

Katrina said that becoming a supply teacher not only enables people to earn a living but is an opportunity to ‘gain experience (though) being a supply teacher would be just ... one very small step towards the teaching profession’. She gave examples of how such work allowed those that completed tertiary studies but could not find a job to support themselves. A prospective ‘engineer ... (who) couldn’t get a job ... became a DT⁴⁵ supply teacher’. Katrina added that even prospective doctors who couldn’t find a job applied for supply teachers’ posts and noted that most people ‘get into teaching (as they) ... need to make a living’. She also

⁴⁴ Seychelles – A former dependency of colonial Mauritius which gained independence in 1976.

⁴⁵ DT – Design and Technology (A field of study taught in secondary schools in Mauritius).

recalled people who studied and even worked in the UK and when they ‘lost their job they came to Mauritius (and joined) as a supply teacher (but) ... at the end of October or November, they had to go’. Some of the supply teachers with whom Katrina interacted during class observations ‘seem to love teaching (and) this is why ... they want to ... gain a foothold in teaching’. However, she also believes that supply teaching has numerous downsides.

Being a supply teacher – the darker side

Katrina highlighted that once the ‘job is over in one school there's no guarantee’ that supply teachers will have a job the following year. She considered this ‘insecurity’ as the darker side of the casualisation process. She clarified that when a permanent educator returns to work after ‘two or three months’ of vacation leave, the supply teacher replacing him or her has to leave. ‘The nakedness of it tells you (that) it’s quite inhuman,’ said Katrina, adding that ‘there is a kind of dehumanisation of ... teachers’. In her collage Katrina used a picture showing mass-produced stereotyped dolls to express her interpretation of dehumanisation within the teaching profession. She noted that the second picture in the collage of a man performing a messy job on an oil rig shows that supply teaching might not be ‘an easy job (for) quite a number of them’. According to Katrina, if one is posted to a girls’ school in Mauritius, the situation is fine, but if the posting happens to be in a boys’ school and if the supply teacher wants to make a difference, there will be many challenges and the supply teacher might have a rough time and perhaps ‘be very lonely’. Hence, she noted that recruitment and posting of supply teachers should be matters of concern.

Recruitment and posting of supply teachers

Katrina said that the recruitment and posting of supply teachers reminded her of mass hiring in a factory, which she expressed via a picture in her collage. She said that she was concerned because with ‘contract work, those teachers ... can be fired at any time’. Katrina argued that retaining teachers is essential ‘to build ... skills (and) competencies’. She also noted that some supply teachers work as short-term contractual teachers ‘year after year’ but are never recruited as permanent teachers. The year prior to the interview, she had a teacher who had served ‘for eight years as (a) supply teacher’, which she felt was unfair.

Katrina added that posting of supply teachers is a confusing process and she failed to understand how ‘people from the south’ of Mauritius from places like Chemin Grenier⁴⁶, could come to work in Luxville. She noted that they travel long distances to work and ‘they come late (and) they are tired’. Katrina questioned the ‘factors (that) come into play’ in posting supply teachers as, logically, the Ministry of Education should post a supply teacher to a school closest to his or her residence. However, she conceded that a distant posting might be inevitable if the person teaches a subject that few teachers are qualified to teach. Using a fictitious example, she explained that someone residing at Cap Malheureux⁴⁷ and teaching Mandarin might be posted to ‘Forest-side because there are no teachers in the vicinity⁴⁸’. Katrina also recounted that she sat on a panel to select supply teachers and that when candidates were asked whether they would accept work in a school ‘far from their home’, they always agreed and also promised to be on time.

Katrina clarified that the posting of supply teachers is done at ‘Ministry level’ and that school leaders have no say, although, on rare occasions, the supply teacher might be requested to choose. She cited the example of a Hindi Teacher who ‘was asked to select the school she wanted to go and teach’ and she chose the school where Katrina works because she had been there since the previous year. She added that a rector could informally request that a certain supply teacher be posted to their school as they are accustomed to the culture of the school and reappointing them would promote its smooth running. However, Katrina observed that such requests are not always entertained because firstly, recruitment and posting are at the discretion of the Ministry of Education and secondly, the supply teacher might want to take their career in a new direction.

Casualisation – influence on the career paths of supply teachers

Katrina revealed that the previous year, she had a staff member who had been working ‘for eight years as a supply teacher’. However, under the current system, there is no guarantee that the Ministry will hire the supply teacher ‘again the coming year’. She noted that many short-term contractual teachers seek ‘alternatives to ... being a supply teacher in state schools, but

⁴⁶ A village in the extreme south of Mauritius.

⁴⁷ Cap Malheureux is a fishing village in the extreme north of Mauritius.

⁴⁸ A person travelling from Cap Malheureux to Forest-Side, located in the town of Curepipe in the inland district of Plaine Wilhems, may have to change buses two to three times as there is no direct bus and the whole trip may take around two hours.

what they look for is a teaching post in the private sector' because it seems that most would like to remain in teaching. Katrina recalled interacting with a couple of supply teachers who 'were offered a permanent post in the private sector and they preferred to go'. She remarked that they were happy and this led her to assume that 'it's all a question of security'. Katrina avowed that she does not 'know of anybody who has changed the job ... from teaching to something else'. She identified a kind of agency among supply teachers as they are proactive in the sense that some told her that 'even if they don't get a contract next year they will apply for the PGCE full time'. Moreover, Katrina said that she had 'come across a number of teachers who wanted to ... get a deeper understanding of pedagogy'. Katrina also recalled a supply teacher who 'left for Canada ... two months ago'. She supposed that that person 'doesn't see much hope ... for her, in Mauritius' and believes that the teacher would have started 'all the steps towards migration years before, for her to be leaving in ... September'.

Power game

Katrina was tempted to believe that 'there's a power game (with an) agenda of bringing down teacher status (via the) kind of hiring and firing and contract work' in the teaching profession. She said that in the absence of an official document 'on professional teacher standards' she uses the Developmental Meeting as a platform to inform supply teachers what is expected of them and that this is set out in internal circulars.

Casualisation of teachers – the future

In Katrina's opinion, the future of supply teachers seemed somewhat 'gloomy' since the government did not want to invest in teaching. However, she hoped that 'things will be changing for most of them' as she learnt that interviews were being conducted to recruit permanent teachers. Katrina described the PGCE as an important professional certification that will enable the supply teacher to be 'acknowledged as a trained teacher'. She also proposed action research that could help supply teachers to 'improve their place of work' and emancipate themselves and their students.

Teacher Development revisited

Referring to a picture showing enthusiastic students, Katrina said that this represented that supply teachers ‘are shaping ... our students ... (and) their responsibility is ... equal as that of educators’. She observed that although these teachers are novices in the field ‘they are not faking ... teaching ... (as) they are doing the real thing (since) they are preparing students for exams (and) they are supposed to be developing a number of skills (in) our students’. Katrina noted that support from an HOD, a rector or a senior educator, ‘make(s) a professional learning community’ which can produce a good educator. Had there been written documents on teaching standards, ‘things would have been very clear for everybody’. According to Katrina, teachers also ‘need to learn (and) to look for information to keep abreast of ... new findings’ in the field of teaching. She remarked that a teacher needs to be a ‘researcher (to) improve his/her place of work’.

Section 3: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers: Perspectives of a Director of Education

5.3.1 Case Report of a Director of Education – Alexander Voronine

Introducing Alexander

Alexander Voronine is one among the Directors in the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific research’. Previously, he ‘successively served in the same Ministry as Educator, Deputy Rector, Rector (Principal) and Assistant Director⁴⁹’. Alexander is a mature person with a sound knowledge of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession in the local context. He explained that planning the recruitment of supply teachers involves:

⁴⁹ A senior officer in the Ministry of Education tasked with assisting the Director of Education in translating the vision of the Ministry by implementing strategies in tertiary education, science, research and technology and formulating plans for implementation of related policy decisions.

- Estimating the total staffing requirement for state secondary schools, including supply teachers.
- Supervising the recruitment of supply teachers.
- Posting supply teachers.
- Identifying training needs and organising workshops and training sessions for the professional development of supply teachers.

Defining the Supply Teacher

Aexander defined the ‘supply teacher’ as ‘an officer appointed as and when his/her services are required on a day-to-day basis as per job specifications laid down by the Public Service Commission’.

The use of Supply Teachers

Aexander explained that ‘supply teachers are recruited to palliate shortages of educators in schools arising out of temporarily unfilled vacancies and educators on prolonged sick leave, maternity leave, vacation leave, leave without pay and those proceeding on pre-retirement leave’. He noted that, ‘approximately 400 *full-time equivalent* supply teachers are required on a yearly basis⁵⁰’. He added that ‘the figure given by ‘Le Défi’⁵¹ (4 February 2017) may be erroneous since the number stated (600) does not take into consideration that many supply teachers are posted on a part-time basis (working for two days in one school and three in another). Aexander did not deny that cutting costs via the use of supply teachers might be economic logic in an era of globalisation. He also believes that the aim is ‘to give equal opportunity for newcomers and more qualified ones to be employed as supply teachers’. Commenting on the possibility that the government might have started to casualise the teaching profession to check the generous benefits enjoyed by permanent teachers like vacation leave, time-off, among others, Aexander explained that ‘the conditions of service of all civil servants

⁵⁰ The number of secondary teachers in the general stream stood at 8,222 (3,202 males and 5,020 females), hence supply teachers represent 4.86 % of the teaching workforce in Mauritius.

⁵¹ Also known as ‘Le Défi Plus’ this weekly Mauritian newspaper is known for its controversial views and investigative reporting.

are governed by the Ministry of Civil Service and Administrative Reform. Consequently, educators on permanent establishment take leave as per their normal entitlement'. According to Alexander, there is no abuse of these privileges.

The recruitment process

Alexander explained that enlistment of supply teachers is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education which is tasked with this duty by the Public Service Commission. Elaborating on the recruitment of supply teachers for state secondary schools, he identified several steps. Before advertising a post for a supply teacher, the Ministry of Education works 'in close collaboration with rectors (regarding) the staffing requirement for each school and each subject offered, taking into consideration new subjects introduced in the curriculum structure'. Hence, 'the shortages and surpluses of educators in each subject for each school' are taken into account. Alexander added that the 'possibility of redeployment or transfer of surplus educators in schools' is also considered. The Ministry calculates the shortages per subject taking into consideration the above criteria regarding 'each subject for each school'. Approval is then sought 'from the Public Service Commission for the enlistment of the services of supply teachers indicating (the) number required with justifications'. The posts are advertised and a panel is established to conduct interviews, with briefing sessions for the 'panel members'. This is followed by the 'screening exercise of applicants' and the best-qualified candidates are interviewed. Finally, 'the list of selected candidates (on a priority basis) is sent to the Public Service Commission for approval' and supply teachers are posted to state secondary schools 'as per (the) approved list'. Alexander emphasised that 'the recruitment exercise is fair, transparent and the best suitable candidates are recruited'.

Remuneration

Alexander noted that all supply teachers (first time supply teachers and others with several years' teaching experience) 'are remunerated on a monthly basis based on the number of days employed and (they) receive the same starting salary as an educator on establishment irrespective of the number of years of service'. Furthermore, 'travelling allowances are paid to all supply teachers'.

The short-term contractual workforce

Alexander stated that ‘since supply teachers are employed as and when their services are required from a pool/list’, it is difficult to provide an accurate figure for the proportion of supply teachers posted to state secondary schools in comparison to permanent educators. However, he claimed ‘that approximately 5% of the teaching workforce may be considered to be in post at any particular moment in time’.

Professional Support and monitoring

Alexander affirmed that supply teachers are given the necessary support and their work is monitored. For instance, an ‘induction course is carried out by resource persons from the Ministry of Education’. Moreover, he stated that ‘they are mentored and monitored by their respective HOD under the supervision of the Rector, Deputy Rector and the Senior Educator (and) feedback on their performance is sent to the Director of the Human Resource Management and Development (HRMD), on a regular basis’. He added that there are ‘regular visits by Quality Assurance officers to give pedagogical support to the supply teachers’.

Motives for becoming a supply teacher

Apart from the shortage of jobs in Mauritius, Alexander cited some factors that motivate young people to sign on as supply teachers. According to him, many hope to be employed permanently and joining as a supply teacher helps them ‘to gain teaching experience to be globally competitive’. Moreover, ‘students following PGCE courses need on-the-job training as part of the *requirements*’. Hence, becoming a supply teacher is an opportunity to fulfil this requirement.

Supply teaching Revamped

Alexander did not expand on the history of supply teachers in the local context. However, he stated that compared to the past, the ‘recruitment procedures are ... more transparent and fair’. He also noted that supply teachers are provided with ‘training’ at regular intervals and that the ‘conditions of service have changed; for example, the list of selected candidates is valid for a period of one year and the recruitment exercise is carried out every year’.

The future of supply teaching in Mauritius

Although Alexander did not provide any information on what might change in the selection and work of supply teachers, he shared valuable information on the novel strategies adopted to enhance teaching and learning. Alexander believes that ‘our education system is dynamic and (the) methods of teaching and (the) teaching strategies are constantly being reviewed to be more child-centred’. He added that ‘emphasis is now (being laid) on the holistic development of students and new subjects such as Life Skills and Values, Social and Modern Studies and Technology Studies have (thus) been introduced in the lower secondary curriculum’. He also noted increased demand for new subjects at the upper secondary level, such as Physical Education, Travel and Tourism, Enterprise Education and Business Education. Innovative pedagogies are being introduced; the ‘class size is constantly being reduced (and recruiting) support teachers and remedial education ... (are the) steps taken by the government to improve students’ attainment (and) to bridge learning gaps among students with different learning abilities and styles’. Alexander commented for these reasons ‘more teachers are required and every year the government makes provision in the budget to create more posts for the substantive appointment of educators (310 in 2016-17 and 250 in (the) 2017-18 budgets)’. Commenting on the possibility of protests by supply teachers due to their working conditions akin to those by Indian para-teachers (short-term contractual teachers in India) who participated in demonstrations demanding regularisation of their jobs and even embarked on hunger strikes, Alexander stressed that ‘there are clear, fair and well-established procedures regarding the employment of supply teachers in Mauritius (and) all applicants are made well aware of their conditions of employment before’ they apply for the job.

Section 4: Chapter summary

The non-supply teachers had much to say about supply teaching and while they may have expressed both diverging and converging opinions, their discourses reveal that, to a great extent, supply teachers’ casual status and career pathing are related to the choices they make about their professional life. Some of the non-supply teachers showed empathy for the casuals as they had personally experienced the insecurity of being in a non-permanent position in their early career. However, this did not prevent them from portraying casualisation and supply teachers without taking up their cause.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter offers comparative perspectives across the data sets and examines the convergences and divergences in the views of the supply teachers and non-supply teachers. It presents an ‘inter- and intra-category’ cross-case, in-depth examination of the casualisation of teachers and their career pathing based on the thematic categories developed from the participants’ case reports and the reviewed literature.

The chapter consists of five sections.

Section 1 presents a comparative analysis of the casualisation of teachers in the secondary education sector based on the viewpoints of the supply teachers and non-supply teachers.

Section 2 delineates the converging and diverging opinions of the two categories of participants about the supply teacher’s job. It discusses the factors that motivate individuals to join as supply teachers and highlights the disadvantages of the job.

Section 3 analyses the work-related insecurities faced by supply teachers in the secondary education sector. It supports and challenges the seven forms of work-related insecurities identified by Standing (2011) in relation to an emerging class of workers, the precariat.

Section 4 presents an abstraction of the data related to the career pathing of Mauritian supply teachers.

Section 5 presents concluding thoughts on the converging and diverging elements of the supply teachers and non-supply teachers’ perspectives of the casualisation phenomenon, the supply teacher’s job, the relationship between the two, and how this relationship shapes supply teachers’ career pathing.

Section 1: Casualisation of the teaching profession

6.1.1 Viewing the casualisation phenomenon through the lens of the participants

An in-depth analysis of the supply teachers' views on the casualisation of teaching as a profession revealed two main emerging perspectives. The first considers casualisation as a response to the authorities' poor human resource planning. Disinclination to fill vacant educator posts in state secondary schools results in staffing gaps in numerous schools. In the Mauritian context, such gaps place pressure on school administrators and may cause parents to call on the Ministry having responsibility for education to address the issue so as to avoid disruption in their wards' studies. In the absence of formal policy responses, supply teachers are recruited to fill these vacancies. Both Sophia (RST) and Stéphane (FST) contemplated on this issue and noted that the casualisation phenomenon reflects the Ministry of Education's short-term approach to planning.

On the other hand, Apu attributed casualisation to deeper forces of disempowerment which he believes are legitimised by the "brown"⁵² man. Supply teachers in Mauritius do not have the right to unionise. Therefore, casualising the teaching workforce undermines existing teachers' unions. Seen from this perspective, casualisation may not be a symptom of mismanagement but part of policymakers' strategy to reduce the power of teacher trade unions. Apu asserted that there is a deliberate strategy to silence the voice of supply teachers. Given that their contracts are limited to a year and that they fear not being considered for another contract, supply teachers are loath to confront the authorities. The supply teachers suggested that the authorities have ulterior motives and aim to ensure a malleable teaching workforce in order to stymie any opposition.

These views contrast with the perspectives of the non-supply teachers, especially the policymaker who refuted negative interpretations of the practice of casualisation and stated that supply teachers are an efficient way of responding to a temporary staffing crisis at state secondary schools. The other non-supply teachers, Katrina and Roy, described casualisation as a strategy to respond to high demand among new graduates for posts in secondary schools. However, Roy noted that casualisation could be a cagey move by the government to minimise

⁵² Refers to the skin colour of the formerly colonised and oppressed people who are now emancipated, but those in positions of power have taken on the role of the oppressor and are perceived to be worse than the former colonisers.

frustration among job seekers who are also potential voters by recruiting them for short-term contracts.

For Apu, the FoST, casualisation of the teaching workforce might be a strategy to fill the gap created when permanent educators take leave. Unlike supply teachers, permanent teachers are entitled to different kinds of paid leave. If they use all their leave entitlements, classes are bound to be disrupted, negatively impacting the smooth running of the school. School administrators have to deal with the problem of teachers' absenteeism on a daily basis. Still, the Director of Education does not view teacher absenteeism as an abuse of privileges by the permanent teachers, as he opines that the latter take leave in accordance with their conditions of service. The Director of Education also presented the casualisation of teachers as an opportunity for newcomers to join the teaching profession. However, the case reports of the supply teachers convey that casualisation of teachers in state secondary schools is more of a necessity for the Ministry of Education than a social measure to provide jobs to the unemployed youth.

6.1.2 Participants' understanding of the casualisation process

For the supply teachers as well as for Roy, the permanent teacher, there seems to be a degree of opacity around the recruitment of teachers by the different institutions, namely, the PSC, private secondary schools, and the Ministry of Education. Apu observed that this could be due to widespread nepotism in the local setting. The teaching participants⁵³ spoke out against several aspects of the recruitment and selection process, and the posting of supply teachers. They concurred on a number of issues in this regard, including the amateur manner in which prospective supply teachers are contacted via phone to inform them of the time and venue for the interview or their selection after the interview, repeated interviews, the layout of the space where the interviews are held, the ongoing stress experienced by supply teachers even after being informed of their selection, and the humiliation of being told to move from one school to another or of being informed that their services are no longer required.

Katrina, the Acting Rector, highlighted the importance of teacher retention to build 'skills and competencies' and warned of the consequences of the factory-like hiring and firing of supply teachers that creates employment insecurity. However, Alexander averred that the recruitment

⁵³ The participants can also be categorised as teaching and non-teaching. Hence, the teaching participants would be all the supply teachers and the permanent teacher.

procedures are ‘transparent and fair’. He justified this statement by noting that the procedure is based on guidelines drawn up by the Ministry of Education in close collaboration with the heads of state secondary schools and the PSC. Contrary to the opinions of the teaching participants, Katrina and Alexander did not seem to acknowledge the inconvenience of the interview process. Their views were clearly influenced by the fact that they had both participated in this process as representatives of different education authorities, Katrina as an interviewer and Alexander as part of decision-making on the recruitment and selection of supply teachers. Apu’s reading of the situation should be understood in light of his repeated interactions with the system which produced unfavourable outcomes. These three participants’ perspectives were thus produced by the context and the nature of their experience with the system.

The massification of the selection and recruitment of supply teachers should raise concerns for two main reasons. Firstly, the ‘factory-like’ hiring and firing of teachers reveals a contradiction in the government’s stance of valuing education as key to personal, economic and social success. This calls for a far more professional approach to select teachers. Secondly, the hiring and firing of supply teachers has estranged them from the system. Repeated entries and exits cause the supply teacher to feel powerless (Lunay & Lock, 2006). Perceptions of a lack of empathy on the part of the authorities and the resultant lack of loyalty to the system undermine supply teachers’ commitment to their work.

Section 2: The supply teacher’s job

The exploration of the supply teacher’s work produced a rich set of data that reveals numerous convergences and divergences around supply teachers as workers, the challenges of serving in a casualised position and their career preferences. This section adopts the initial lens of a precariat elaborated in Chapter 2 of this thesis to understand the participants’ views.

6.2.1 Reasons for joining supply teaching

The literature review identified a range of reasons for the use of short-term contractual teachers in an education system. Staffing issues and limited budgets are important factors. The literature on teacher casualisation also illustrates that, apart from earning an income, the main motive for

aspiring teachers to join teaching on a short-term contract is the need to acquire work experience which could enhance their possibility of obtaining a permanent position. Secondary factors include entering the teaching profession on a short-term contract to demonstrate their willingness to work, and to enlarge their social network, amongst others. The field data reveals similarities as well as differences in the participants' views on the reasons for joining as supply teachers.

Joining supply teaching for its working conditions

Standing (2011) states that many individuals enter the precariat in order to earn a salary (p. 59). Alexander, the Director of Education, noted that a supply teacher with a full-time posting (i.e., five days a week) earns a pay packet equivalent to the starting salary of an educator in the establishment. This seems to have attracted Stéphane to the teaching profession. He also said that a supply teacher's working conditions were better than those in his previous employment. However, his views were not shared by the other participants who had been employed as supply teachers for a number of years. Sophia and Apu explained the challenges of working in a casualised position. Non-supply teacher, Katrina described the supply teacher's job as 'messy' since they are often posted to state secondary schools with challenging contexts where permanent teachers would not wish to work.

Roy, the permanent teacher concurred with Katrina and noted that the hardship of a supply teacher's job only becomes apparent after one has been in this position for some time. However, his comment seems to hinge on the common tendency in Mauritius to equate better working conditions with less work and a higher salary. This assumes that a teacher carries a light work load and enjoys long vacations. Such a conception may lead to disenchantment when one is confronted with the realities of the supply teacher's work. Like other members of the precariat, supply teachers may not be spared from 'anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation' (Standing, 2011, p. 19).

Joining supply teaching to gain an opportunity to professionalise

Katrina affirmed that the PGCE is a must-have⁵⁴ for a prospective teacher in Mauritius. This course is offered in two modes, part-time and full-time. Alexander explained that students wishing to register for the part-time course must be practising secondary school teachers. There seems to be higher demand for the part-time PGCE course as it allows serving supply teachers to earn a salary while studying since it is run after school hours and on Saturdays. There was almost unanimous agreement among the participants that one of the common reasons for joining supply teaching is to enrol for the part-time PGCE course run by the MIE. The full-time PGCE programme that runs on weekdays may not appeal to those that need to earn a salary. The need to increase their chances of obtaining a permanent position or a short-term contract seems to be driving the push towards obtaining professional qualifications. A PGCE is also attractive to young people who want to make a career of teaching and thus accept a temporary casual status.

It is worth noting that the Bachelor of Education (Secondary) [B.Ed (Hons)] for prospective teachers who are holders of an HSC, was not available at the time of data production. Consequently, the PGCE programme was the only option available for aspiring teachers to professionalise and to increase their chances of being recruited. The participants' discourses point to the need for professionalisation and upgrading of qualifications in order to secure a firmer foothold in the teaching profession and supply teaching enables individuals to embark on this journey.

Joining supply teaching to acquire teaching experience

The literature notes that some people choose to work in a short-term contractual position in order to gain work experience (Standing, 2011). Roy and Katrina stated that this was a positive aspect of the casualisation process. Alexander went a step further and asserted that the teaching experience acquired would enable supply teachers to be 'globally competitive'. Some of the supply teachers participating in this study said that they acquired teaching experience in different private institutions before joining as supply teachers and that supply teaching added to their experience. With hindsight, Sophia reflected that a teacher needs a repertoire of

⁵⁴ At the time of data production, the B.Ed (Hons) course was not available and the PGCE was the only course allowing teachers to professionalise in Mauritius.

teaching strategies and efficient techniques to identify students' learning styles. Apu also conceded that working as a short-term contractual teacher made him a more efficient educator. Thus, the supply teachers and non-supply teachers agreed that the choice of joining as a supply teacher in secondary schools is often motivated by the aim of gaining teaching experience (Jensen et al., 2012; Kidd et al., 2015; Mansour & Hassan, 2019). Both Stéphane and Sophia considered teaching experience as *sine qua non* for those who wish to make a career in teaching. However, for Stéphane, such experience is a springboard that would enable the neophyte teacher to achieve a higher level of professionalism in the field of teaching. While the supply teachers noted that their years of service in a casual position and the teaching experience acquired are not taken into account should they acquire a permanent position, they assumed that the experience acquired during their short-term contractual work might increase the likelihood of obtaining a permanent job.

Firstly, a supply teacher that has acquired teaching experience might respond more confidently to interview questions. Secondly, while supply teachers' work experience is not officially recognised, the interview panel might not necessarily ignore it. Furthermore, work experience makes supply teachers potential candidates for a permanent post as they have more skills than candidates with academic qualifications, but little on-the-job experience.

The supply teachers were of the view that some qualities could be inherent to a teacher while others are developed when the teacher engages with learners in a classroom setting. There are thus numerous reasons to suggest that teaching experience gained while serving as a supply teacher might be a stepping stone towards a permanent position. Interestingly, the PSC's non-consideration of supply teachers' work experience does not seem to deter supply teachers from joining the profession, nor are they distracted from seeking to make teaching their career.

Joining supply teaching to maximise the possibility of securing employment

Roy highlighted the unlikelihood of an aspirant teacher obtaining a permanent position in the public service in a setting where jobs are scarce. Citing the example of a prospective engineer who joined as a supply teacher, Katrina remarked that supply teaching is mainly a means for new graduates to earn a living (Molankal, 2015). It is thus important for supply teachers to maximise their chances of securing employment, whether it is short-term contractual or permanent. Apu explained his choice to join supply teaching in a state secondary school as a strategy to increase his chances of continuous employment. While it might sound strange when

an FoST talks of this option, the FST and the RST and even the permanent teacher and the Rector also expressed concern about the insecurities linked to the contractual status of supply teachers. Apu's statement should also be understood in light of his experiences as a teacher in a private secondary school, which revealed that the management of such schools offers minimal employment security. Private secondary schools have adopted the same *modus operandi* of recruiting teachers on a contract basis as the Ministry of Education. Hence, applying to join as a supply teacher is one of the means to increase the possibility of gaining and maintaining employment countrywide rather than limiting one's possibilities to one private secondary school. Supply teachers find comfort in being an anonymous cog in a wheel of the big education system rather than being a cog in the wheel of a smaller system for the simple reason that the bigger system offers better opportunities than a smaller one.

The findings in this section suggest that neither the Ministry of Education nor the Private Secondary Education Authority (PSEA) seems to have an interest in providing the opportunity of a career path to prospective teachers. There is hardly any information about a possible link between private secondary schools and the Ministry of Education concerning the practices adopted around the casualisation of secondary school teachers. However, according to a redeployment agreement between the Ministry of Education and the Private Secondary Schools Authority (PSSA) which is now known as the Private Secondary education Authority (PSEA), all redundant teaching and non-teaching (permanent) staff of a private secondary school (including the Mauritius Educational Development Company Ltd (MEDCO⁵⁵) schools) that closes are to be redeployed in state secondary schools. The policy seems to be protective of permanent teachers within private schooling. The preference afforded to this group of teachers over supply teachers can be explained in two ways: Firstly, the Government, as the main shareholder in the MEDCO, is bound by an agreement to redeploy redundant workers in private secondary institutions. Secondly, as permanent workers, private secondary school teachers are protected by the Worker's Rights Act. Furthermore, private secondary schools played a pivotal role in the development of secondary education in Mauritius. Nonetheless, this situation raises questions like: Why and how are some private secondary schools forced to close? Who benefits the most from the closure of a private secondary school? Who benefits when the staff of a private secondary school is redeployed to state secondary schools? How does the redeployment of teachers from private secondary schools affect supply teachers in state secondary schools? Apart from the last one, most of these questions are not within the scope of this research. It is

⁵⁵ MEDCO is managed by a board of directors appointed by the Ministry of Education.

understood that supply teachers may not be concerned by such redeployment as they are short-term contractual workers. However, it reduces the number of vacancies in state secondary schools, thus increasing competition among supply teachers to secure a contract. Moreover, uncertainties surrounding the number of private secondary schools that may have to close in future could influence the PSC's recruitment of permanent teachers. More aspiring teachers may find themselves excluded from the career path they opted for, further precariatizing the teaching profession.

Joining supply teaching for validation by learners

All three supply teachers conveyed that their 'love' for students and the respect they earn from them were among the reasons they chose to join the profession and possibly carve a career as a teacher. This was true even for Stéphane as he taught in an institution before joining as a supply teacher.

Teacher-pupil rapport may not necessarily be a pull factor for other FSTs as they may not have first-hand knowledge of working with students. Furthermore, it seems more plausible that the teacher-pupil connection retains supply teachers rather than attracting them to the teaching profession. For example, Apu described his work experience at Princess State College as his best professional experience and he ascribed this to his harmonious relationship with his students.

Apu stated that he reported for duty despite numerous issues at his workplace as the teacher-pupil relationship generated reciprocal care and concern and was his 'only chocolate of the day'. Sophia described teaching as her first choice of career despite the challenges she confronted on the job. Her thinking could have been influenced by her admiration for her teachers. However, this is a romanticised view of teaching which calls for further investigation. While it offers both the motivation and the legitimacy to join as supply teachers, Roy, a non-supply teacher, saw things from a different perspective. He noted that the teacher-pupil relationship may not have the same meaning for a supply teacher posted to a school with students with behavioural disorders.

It can thus be argued that supply teachers' decision to join or remain in the teaching profession may also be driven by the kind of relationships they develop with learners (Boobier, 2018; Jenkins et al., 2009; Lunay & Lock, 2006). Indeed, this seems to be their greatest reward that

may persuade them to remain despite being demeaned by the administration or the authorities. The classroom seems to be the only professional space where supply teachers feel valued for their work. Furthermore, this validation outlives their stay in the institutions they currently serve. Thus, their job provides supply teachers with the opportunity to extend their professional selves through the positive aspects of their ‘individual’ and ‘relational’ selves (Uchida et al., 2019). The short-term casual job puts the supply teacher in the driver’s seat for most of the time and it allows them to feel valued as they undertake the work that is required for their students to succeed.

6.2.2 The major disadvantages of the job

Most of the participants in this study expressed concern about the precariousness of the supply teacher’s job and the accompanying stress (Clarke, Lewchuck, Wolff & King, 2007; Seifert, Messing, Riel & Chatigny, 2007; Silla, Gracia, Manas & Peiro, 2010). The field data also revealed pertinent details with regard to the disadvantages of supply teaching in the local context. All the supply teachers’ case reports illustrated their feelings of being sidelined in different ways irrespective of whether they are an FST, an RST or an FoST. The numerous insecurities that characterise their professional life, their ‘truncated rights’ and their marginalised status, suggest that supply teachers are becoming part of a growing precariatized workforce in the education sector (Standing, 2011, p. 8).

This marginalisation of supply teachers operates in two different spheres; firstly, within the workplace and secondly, outside the working space. However, the feeling of being marginalised seems to depend on external as well as internal conditions. The external conditions relate to the way the authorities treat them and the extent to which people within their work environment and outside it value/do not value contractual work. The internal factors relate to the supply teacher’s self-conception of his/her casual status. These factors determine their responses to casualisation and their career trajectories.

Marginalisation of supply teachers within the workplace

Sophia explained that being labelled as a supply teacher projects one’s casual status and this generates an emptiness within, causing one to feel excluded from the system. This might be due to a feeling of inadequacy because one is not recognised as a fully-fledged teacher by others. Stéphane and Sophia noted that the distinction between supply teachers and permanent

teachers is a form of discrimination in state secondary schools. According to the supply teachers, these categories of teachers often have the same responsibilities in the same workspace, but they feel that their permanent colleagues, whether teaching or non-teaching staff, look down on them. Sophia observed that it is difficult for supply teachers to feel integrated when they are given the impression that they are not part of the school community. Any distinction between them and permanent teachers triggers a sense of diminished status (Uchida et al., 2019). However, Sophia's case is exceptional as she served as a supply teacher in the same state secondary school for three consecutive years. Interestingly, she adapted to her workplace and felt accepted in the school community. Sophia's account suggests the need for a review of the annual reshuffling of contractual staff. The supply teachers also gave the impression that they are more at home in a school with a large number of casual staff. This is not to suggest that the marginalisation of supply teachers should be tackled by further marginalising them. The Acting Rector of a state secondary school with a large number of supply teachers, observed that supply teachers seem to stick together in the school milieu and are also technologically linked, but questioned whether they remain united when confronted with a serious issue.

The marginalisation of teachers becomes a serious matter when supply teachers who have served in state secondary schools for five to ten years are humiliated and overlooked by the authorities. Mauritian supply teachers may not accept being treated as an 'adjunct to the purpose of education' as they feel that they are doing the same work as their permanent colleagues (Barnes, 2019, p. 2). Many have played an important role in assisting students to perform well in their examinations. Despite their feelings of being unfairly treated, these supply teachers gave their best and achieved tangible results. For example, one of Apu's students was a laureate at the HSC level. The supply teachers' interpretation of the unfairness they endure is linked to their understanding of the authorities' failure to treat them as full-fledged teachers, although they are confident that they can offer the same service as a permanent teacher. However, rather than generating a feeling of disempowerment among supply teachers, such marginalisation seems to lead to a fixation on permanency which tends to sustain their choice to remain in teaching and improve themselves professionally.

The supply teachers also shared the way they were treated by non-teaching staff in the school milieu. While Sophia recounted the unflinching support of her Rector in her daily work and projects, Stéphane and Apu conveyed a sense of a deep bitterness towards the Rectors with whom they worked. They considered a Rector's warning that one's contractual status should

not be an excuse to shun work as a subtle insult to supply teachers. Stéphane commented that treating supply teachers as ‘naughty students’ for being noisy pointed to the Rector’s disdain for supply teachers. Sophia noted that the opening sentence of a message from the school administration to all the teachers, ‘dear educators and supply teachers’ made the supply teachers feel undermined. However, the supply teachers noticed a positive change in the attitude of their colleagues following such incidents, which made them feel better. It appears that the participants who are supply teachers might be exaggerating their marginalisation because their work experiences and challenges are sometimes if not often, similar to those of permanent teachers. It is noted that the supply teachers’ internal marginalisation is caused by various practices, including differentiation in the public and private discourse at school and the expectations of supply teachers. Interestingly, a kind of internal inclusion starts to take shape in parallel with the supply teacher’s marginalisation. However, acceptance by their colleagues is more likely to occur after a few years’ service in the same school. This can be enhanced by support from school leaders and by the success of supply teachers’ students. Respect from the in-house community is a source of job satisfaction and could motivate supply teachers to remain in teaching.

Marginalisation of supply teachers outside the workplace

The case reports convey that other dimensions of marginalisation are endured by supply teachers outside their workplace. Stéphane considered the annual re-interviewing exercise by the Ministry of Education as a form of relegation, as for him, it downgrades the person when they are examined and re-examined for their ability to teach. He felt that this exercise is unnecessary as the fact that they were selected earlier implies that these supply teachers have the competence to serve in a state secondary school.

Sophia stated that annual re-interviewing should not be a source of distress to young applicants. Nonetheless, she conceded that as one grows older and handles more responsibilities, these interviews might become a nuisance. However, far worse than the annual re-interviewing seems to be the ruthless way casual teachers are excluded from the system when they do not receive a phone call from the Ministry of Education for another year’s contract. This appears to be cause for concern among many supply teachers, as they consider it as a signal from the authorities that their service ‘is needed no more’.

In the same vein, Apu felt that it is unjust that current practices do not officially recognise the value of supply teachers' experience. Every year, numerous supply teachers with several years' experience are no longer appointed to state secondary schools. Instead, the Ministry recruits new graduates. Apu posed the question of whether it is feasible to expect a novice with no teaching experience to manage a crowded class in a high demand state college. He was of the view that this would be challenging for a beginner.

It was also observed that supply teachers' casual status has far-reaching implications for their personal life. For instance, they are not eligible for a long-term loan, including a housing loan and personal decisions like marriage may be delayed due to their lack of stable employment. Culturally, having a permanent job is always an advantage, although this belief is changing. While supply teaching does not offer rosy prospects for progress career-wise or status-wise, Stéphane observed that supply teachers can 'achieve much' if they manage to secure a contract each year. Although this points to an optimistic and positive attitude, it is quite difficult to secure a contract since numerous factors determine the outcome, including the economic situation, policy decisions and political decisions, among many others. However, it is interesting to note that many supply teachers use their casual status and its accompanying vulnerabilities as a springboard to empower themselves by enhancing their credentials through further studies. Most have a backup plan if ever they find themselves jobless: starting a business for Sophia, and emigration for Apu. Surprisingly, all the supply teachers claimed to have a passion for teaching and many felt that they were role models for their students. Instead of feeling that their professional life has been cornered by their casual status, the supply teachers seem to continuously reconstruct their individual, relational and collective selves to adapt to the new realities of their professional life (Uchida et al., 2019). This reconstruction seems to depend on their perceptions of the different ways they gain the attention, appreciation and acceptance of their students, colleagues and the administration.

Professional loneliness

An unexpected disadvantage of supply teaching identified by the participants is the professional loneliness they experience despite being surrounded by colleagues. The picture of a lonesome man in Apu's collage and that of a solitary woman soldier selected by Roy to represent supply teachers, highlight experiences of solitude in their professional environment. While this could be due to the fact that they are not allowed to unionise to fight collectively for

their rights, the field data suggests that professional loneliness is caused by their workplace conditions. Apu and Katrina pointed to a lack of autonomy as the cause of the loneliness experienced by supply teachers. Furthermore, shifting from one school to another every year and often in less than a year may prevent supply teachers from building interpersonal trust. Such feelings could be minimised if they were able to share their difficulties and seek help from senior staff members

Stéphane and Sophia's experience differed from that of Apu as they claimed to be surrounded by several friends and colleagues. However, Sophia did not deny the loneliness that the supply teacher experiences on being laid off. Katrina believes that if the supply teacher is confronted by multiple challenges with no means to deal with them, loneliness is bound to occur. Her case report also highlighted that the relational patterns among supply teachers in a given institution vary according to individuals and the organisational culture. While some may experience deep loneliness, others may operate in a more collaborative set-up where bonds are created.

The above analysis of the supply teacher's job and their professional experiences offers a deeper understanding of the casualisation phenomenon and its influence on supply teachers' career pathing. It shows that many aspiring teachers tend to overlook the disadvantages of casual employment if they have experienced worse working conditions in the past. Furthermore, the findings suggest that Mauritian jobseekers value professional development and that those that aspire to a career as a teacher consider that supply teaching offers an opportunity to be employed, acquire experience and to professionalise. Interestingly, many supply teachers tend to overlook the hardships they endure and remain in the field because they are valued by their students. However, the participants also pointed to the marginalisation of supply teachers as a major disadvantage that fosters exclusion and inequity in different spaces. One of the consequences seems to be the sense of professional loneliness among some supply teachers. However, this is not an all-pervasive characteristic of supply teachers. Their choices and the way they design their careers seem to depend on several factors; however, different types of job-related insecurities appear to be a common element. The following section discusses the convergences and divergences between the two categories of participants in relation to the job-related insecurities that challenge a precariat in state secondary schools.

Section 3: Understanding the field data through the theoretical lens of a PRECARIAT

The analysis in this section extends the original theoretical lens of a ‘precariat’ used for this study. Standing (2011) defines the ‘precariat’ as an emerging class of workers on the margins that faces numerous professional insecurities. In this section, supply teachers are referred to as a precariat in the secondary schooling system. Standing (2011) lists seven forms of labour-related insecurities faced by this class of teachers. While the analysis does not deny that supply teachers are part of a growing precariat in the Mauritian education sector, it highlights the way they respond to each of the labour-related insecurities and contests the pessimistic undertone of the original theoretical lens. The gloomy picture associated with the concept of a ‘precariat’ discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis seems to revolve around its origin and use among French sociologists in the 1980s, who used the term to refer to unprotected, temporary or seasonal workers as a new social class. Others like Foti (2017) trace the genesis of the concept to the EuroMay-Day movement in 2004. Standing (2011) seems to have reinvented the term ‘precariat’ as a neologism by amalgamating ‘precarious’ and ‘proletariat’. He notes that this emerging class is characterised by numerous insecurities (p. 1).

The supply teachers’ case reports illustrate that they experienced their casual status in similar and dissimilar ways. The non-supply teachers also demonstrated a sound understanding of the casualisation phenomenon even though they may not have had first-hand experience of it. Some commonalities and differences are also evident in the supply teachers and non-supply teachers’ views. While the supply teachers’ case reports highlighted the downsides of working in a casual position and the numerous insecurities they face at different levels, they also stated that serving as supply teachers contributed to their professional growth as they learnt more about the teaching profession and the schooling system. Such knowledge may inform their future choices with regard to their career pathing.

The data thus confirms the job-related insecurities posited by the theoretical lens, but goes further by adding to the existing body of knowledge on casualisation and teachers’ career pathing. The seven forms of labour-related insecurities are dealt with sequentially. The first is labour-related insecurity, which Standing (2011) defined as the lack of ‘adequate income-earning opportunities’ (p. 10).

Labour market insecurity

Unemployment is permeating every field of work in Mauritius. In an era when demand for jobs exceeds supply, job hunters compete with one another. Roy commented on how hard it is to find work, while the supply teachers noted that labour-market insecurity means that even a short-term contractual job is valued as it is better than no job. Furthermore, both the supply teachers and non-supply teachers observed that the work experience acquired in a short-term contractual position could be highly beneficial. For those who are passionate about teaching, casualisation seems to be a first step towards becoming a ‘fully-fledged educator’ (Uchida et al., 2019) and to secure permanent employment in the future. Labour-market insecurity also seemed to be a reason for supply teachers exploring different employment possibilities: remain a supply teacher in a state secondary school, become a teacher in a private secondary school like Apu, obtain a permanent job in a different field like Stéphane and Sophia, or even start a business. The possibilities also include a supply teacher leaving and returning to teaching more than once. At first glance, this would seem to disrupt their career. However, further analysis reveals that different employment possibilities allow the emerging teacher workforce to acquire qualities like polyvalence, which may give them the competitive advantage of being all-rounders rather than specialists in one field.

In a small island insular state where labour market insecurity is blatant, being an all-rounder not only enhances one’s possibility of obtaining a job, but retaining it. The numerous transferable skills teachers acquire in different occupations improve their practice as teachers. However, obtaining a job is one thing; protection against arbitrary dismissal is another.

Employment insecurity

Employment insecurity is caused by short-term contracts and a lack of protection against loss of employment (Standing, 2011, p. 11). According to Standing (2011), employment security is achieved when workers are protected against arbitrary dismissal through regulations on hiring and firing (p. 10). As noted in the ‘letter of offer’ (Appendix A), supply teachers are enlisted ‘on a purely temporary basis’ or ‘on a month to month basis’ as long as their services are required. It can thus be inferred that the supply teachers lack employment security.

The process for recruitment of supply teachers starts with a telephone call from the Ministry of Education informing the prospective supply teachers to report to the said Ministry to collect the ‘letter of offer’ (Appendix A). They must then notify the Ministry of Education in writing of their acceptance of the position. The ‘letter of offer’ (Appendix A) and the document witnessing their acceptance of the offer constitute the contract between the parties. The letter of offer and the document witnessing acceptance meet all the requirements of a legally valid contract as set out under article 1108 of the Code Civil Mauricien⁵⁶. Moreover, when the concerned individual reports to the school where he/she is posted, this confirms the ‘acceptance’ of the ‘offer’ or, technically expressed, the ‘consent’ of the supply teacher.

While the PSC recruits permanent teachers to serve in the state secondary schools, the Director of Education explained that supply teachers are recruited by the Ministry of Education under delegated powers of the PSC. The enlisted FST’s and RST’s are aware that their employment can be terminated at any time (Awootar, 2018). Still, Roy and Katrina alluded to an almost occult hand controlling the recruitment and termination of supply teachers; a process which Katrina refers to as a ‘power game’.

As workers in the education sector, the supply teachers are supposed to be protected by existing laws, for instance, the Workers’ Rights Act (Ministry of Labour, Human Resource Development and Training, 2019) and the Equal Opportunities Act 2008 (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2011). In fact, Section 13(5) of the Workers’ Rights Act 2019 (Act No.20 of 2019, published in the Government Gazette of Mauritius No.87 of 23 August 2019) provides that for ‘a worker employed on a fixed-term contract, his (or her) terms and conditions of employment shall not be less favourable than those of a worker employed on an indeterminate contract performing the same or similar work, having regard where relevant, whether they have a similar level of qualifications, skills or experience’.

⁵⁶ Article 1108 of the Code Civil Mauricien provides as follows –
“Quatre conditions sont essentielles pour la validité d’une convention:

1. le consentement de la partie qui s’oblige;
2. sa capacité de contracter;
3. un objet certain qui forme la matière de l’engagement;
4. une cause licite dans l’obligation”.

[English Translation]

“Four conditions are essential for the validity of an agreement:

1. the consent of the obliging party
2. its capacity to contract
3. a motive which forms the core of the contract
4. a lawful cause in the obligation

According to Section 63 of the Workers' Rights Act 2019, the work agreement may be terminated either by giving to the employee at least one-month notice or by payment of an amount of 'remuneration the employee would have earned had he remained in employment during the period of notice'. It would, therefore, appear that the content of 'letter of offer' shows incoherence with this provision and would, if true, convey a type of social inequity.

Interestingly, employment insecurity does not deter supply teachers from giving the best of themselves in their job. Such a professional dedication appears to be driven by their determination to prove their commitment to teaching. Stéphane and Apu expressed their dissatisfaction with the way supply teachers are treated by the authorities but their dedication to their work remained unaltered. Even though they know that their commitment to their duty will not necessarily allow them to secure a further contract, they strove to produce the best results with the available resources. Nonetheless, supply teachers are not immune to the pressure of job insecurity. Standing (2011) observes that, 'in discussions of modern labour insecurity, most attention is given to employment insecurity' but he argues that job security is also an essential feature (p. 11).

Job insecurity

Job insecurity is characterised by the inability to retain a niche in employment. It impacts short-term contractual teachers around the world as they are called on to adapt to 'new scenarios' in their place of work and in routines (Jenkins et al., 2009; McCormack & Thomas, 2005). When their contract expires, they may find themselves in a completely different field from teaching. While they might rejoin the teaching profession in the future, continual disruption does not enable them to develop expert knowledge and create a niche in the profession, leading to 'upward mobility in terms of status and income' (Standing, 2011, p. 10). The importance of job security can be gauged from Standing's (2011) description of a system called 'time to move' that subjected employees of a well-known company to systematic job insecurity. The resulting stress caused many among them to commit suicide (p. 11).

The supply teachers that participated in this study were affected by job insecurity in different ways. Sophia was the least affected as she was able to secure a contract for five years in a row. Apu had worked as a supply teacher or in a private secondary school without interruption. However, Stéphane inserted the words 'THE FUTURE' in his collage to reflect his concern about the uncertainties ahead. He remarked that his future professional life could not be

predicted as his career had ‘no real direction’ and it was therefore difficult to design a career path. However, supply teachers who secure a contract for a few consecutive years gain the necessary experience that enables them to hope for a permanent position. Nonetheless, the question arises of how long a supply teacher can work without any salary increment or the right to sick leave. These elements are part of another type of insecurity faced by supply teachers that is known as work insecurity.

Work insecurity

Standing (2011) defines work security as ‘protection against accidents and illness at work, through safety and health regulations, limits on working time, unsociable hours, night work for women, as well as compensation for mishaps’, etc. While supply teachers in Mauritian state secondary schools do not work unsocial hours, they confront different forms of work insecurity from workers in other fields. Based on his personal experience, Apu highlighted that the situation seemed to be quite different and more difficult for teachers in private secondary schools. He was of the view that supply teachers serving state secondary schools work under less stressful conditions. Section 5 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act 2005 protects the work security of Mauritian employees. However, the supply teachers’ case reports revealed that they experience much stress not only prior to their selection but throughout their contract. Firstly, these teachers are continuously seeking new employment while still working as a supply teacher and dealing with the challenges of being casual workers. On-going stress may affect their psychological health (Jensen et al., 2012). The fear of being laid-off exacerbates the situation. When their contract expires, the process is repeated.

‘Work-related stress’ thus poses a health hazard to those who cling to supply teaching. For instance, the three supply teachers that participated in this study all described the annual interviews with the ‘three persons’ as traumatic. Stéphane depicted this in the picture of three neatly dressed individuals in her collage. She and Sophia described the trying times they experienced before, during and after the interview, while their permanent colleagues were enjoying their paid holidays.

Supply teachers’ contracts do not provide for protection against accidents and illness at work and they are not allowed sick leave. According to the Workers’ Rights Act 2019 ‘a worker employed on a fixed-term contract shall be deemed to be in continuous employment where there is a break not exceeding 28 days between any 2 fixed-term contracts’ (p. 680). Having

served for ten months (covering the three terms in an academic year), Mauritian supply teachers undergo an interview for a fresh contract for another academic year two months later. Hence, the annual interviews enable the Ministry to comply with labour law and to maintain a floating workforce of temporary teachers.

According to the participants, supply teachers' stress levels reach their peak during November and December when they are waiting 'for the phone call' from the Ministry to confirm their selection for the following academic year. Indeed, Sophia reported that she once had to wait until the last week of December. This could also be the cause of health issues among supply teachers.

While supply teachers appear to work the same number of hours as permanent teachers, they dedicate much of their time to hunting for new jobs. However, Katrina was of the view that they are not necessarily bothered about the future. As a Rector, she inferred that supply teachers are carefree and sometimes need to be controlled.

Work insecurity seems to mainly affect those who are new to supply teaching or those that depend solely on their job as a supply teacher. Most RSTs are used to these processes and seem to have accepted them as part of their job. This could be why Sophia chose to join supply teaching anew. She also seemed to be better positioned due to her joint degree in Humanities, which allows her to apply to teach either English or French in secondary schools, thus increasing her chances of being recruited. Furthermore, she seemed to be highly internally motivated by her religious philosophy and her field of study, i.e. English literature.

Supply teachers' employability is tied to subjects that are in demand as well as appropriate qualifications. In Mauritius, English and French are mandatory core subjects in state primary and secondary schools. Sophia's joint degree in these subjects doubled her chances of securing a contract. Hence, employment practices in the education sector could be influenced by numerous factors, depending on demand for subjects at particular levels and the needs of the region and the school.

Skills reproduction insecurity

A job providing skills reproduction security offers 'opportunities to gain skills ... (and) to make use of competencies' (Standing, 2011, p. 10). Most of those who become supply teachers hope to gain experience which will enable them to become fully-fledged teachers. However, a supply

teacher's years of teaching experience or teaching skills acquired may not be officially considered by the Ministry of Education or the PSC. Nonetheless, such experience might equip the supply teacher to respond well to interview questions and, ultimately, the skills acquired could be instrumental in securing a new contract or possibly a permanent position. Furthermore, supply teaching enables the individual to continue to hone his/her teaching skills as long as he/she remains in the profession. However, due to the contractual nature of their job, supply teachers may take up jobs where they might not use these skills. They may also acquire skills in other jobs which they may not use if they return to supply teaching. Hence, skills reproduction insecurity is tangible evidence of labour-related insecurity.

The field data revealed that numerous skills acquired by the participants in their previous jobs seemed transferable to their job as a supply teacher. Horizontal mobility implies direct reproduction of skills as the similarity is high, but intersectoral mobility is low because of the specific nature of the teaching profession. However, soft skills are intersectorally transferable. The teaching skills Stéphane and Sophia acquired as tutors in other institutions enabled them to perform well as supply teachers. Sophia also earned an additional income by offering tuition. Apu noted that his job in a factory did not contribute to his professional growth. However, he developed qualities such as patience and resilience that could have been instrumental in enabling him to continue teaching after having left supply teaching. Interestingly, apart from teaching skills that may or may not be transferrable to other jobs, supply teachers learn coping strategies that enable them to deal with their emotions. They also develop management and leadership skills which will be instrumental in any career. Nonetheless, gaining skills and competencies is not of much value without the 'assurance of an adequate and stable income' which Standing (2011) defines as *income security*.

Income insecurity

Another important issue affecting the growing precariat in the education sector is earning a decent and stable income protected by regulations. The study participants expressed different opinions on supply teachers' salaries. While they agreed that the monthly pay-packet is decent, they noted that supply teachers that only work two days per week cannot make ends meet.

Stéphane remarked that a supply teacher with a full-time posting earns sufficient, but added that they are paid on a 'pro-rata basis' [based on the number of days of attendance] as stated in their 'letter of offer' (Appendix A). Consequently, they are not able to take leave, nor are they

paid a salary for the months of November and December, during the summer holidays. Furthermore, they do not receive a year-end bonus. Thus, Stéphane and Sophia considered themselves fortunate to get a full-time posting in a state secondary school.

Income insecurity is also related to uncertainty about whether or not the supply teacher will secure a further contract. Sophia cited the example of Mrs Mishra, who did not obtain a contract after having served for ten years. Both Stéphane and Sophia pointed to colleagues who were not recruited after having served as supply teachers for five to nine years. Sophia, who had served for six continuous years as a supply teacher, felt insecure because, having devoted herself to this field for a long time, she might find herself jobless. However, her case also shows that supply teachers adapt to their situation and find new ways to earn a living such as offering private tutoring or pursuing business ideas as a backup should they not be granted another contract. Although it was the month of May when data was produced with the FoST, he was planning to emigrate in search of better job opportunities. The supply teachers also noted that, being able to unionise and thus gain representation security, could address the labour insecurity they confront.

Representation insecurity

Supply teachers' contracts are silent on the question of their right to join a union. However, certain clauses highlight the precarious nature of their jobs: 'Your enlistment will be on a purely temporary basis, as and when required'; 'your enlistment may be terminated without notice or compensation ...' (see Appendix A). Such uncertainty as well as the fact that they might move to other jobs outside the profession, might discourage unionisation. Furthermore, membership of existing teachers' unions in Mauritius is confined to permanent educators in state or private secondary schools. These include the Union of Private Secondary Education Employees (UPSEE), the Mahatma Gandhi Institute Education Union (MGIEU) for teachers serving secondary schools falling under the aegis of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and the Education Officers' Union (EOU), Government Secondary School Teachers' Union (GSSTU) and The State Secondary School Teacher's Union (TSSSTU) for those in state secondary schools.

The field data revealed different opinions on the option of joining a union. Apu felt that supply teachers need to be unionised. Indeed, he foresaw that their worsening conditions of work may trigger them to embark on mass protest. This would be illegal under the current circumstances since they are not members of a union. In contrast, Sophia felt that protest would be pointless

because supply teachers are aware of their conditions of work and choose to accept the situation. However, this did not prevent her from being dissatisfied with the inequities that she confronted.

The ‘principle of freedom of association is at the core of the ILO’s values ... (and) it is also a right proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)’ (International Labour Organisation, 2019, p. 33). The Workers’ Rights Act 2019 of Mauritius specifies that ‘an agreement shall not be terminated by an employer by reason of a worker becoming or being a member of a trade union, seeking or holding a trade union office, or participating in trade union activities outside working hours or, with the consent of the employer, within working hours’ (p. 723).

Supply teachers are finding ways to gather and communicate through virtual platforms. The participants revealed that supply teachers share their experiences via Facebook, which could be regarded as a reinvention of unionisation. However, Sophia said that she did not use social media sites, but was well informed by her friends who are supply teachers. While she did not support the notion of protest, she affixed the words “*ça suffit*”⁵⁷ in her collage to convey that it is time to think seriously about how casualisation is affecting the teaching profession. Given that it is unlikely that the Ministry will reconsider casualisation without supply teachers taking a stand, this is a somewhat unrealistic perspective. A clue to Sophia’s stance lies in her observation that, if supply teachers unionise, this could be interpreted as ‘a form of revolt’, resulting in termination of their contract. Thus, the fear of being laid-off seems to be a strong deterrent to the creation of a union.

Section 4: Career pathing of Mauritian supply teachers

All the supply teachers’ case reports convey their desire to secure a permanent position (Jenkins et al., 2009). Sophia even considered the possibility of forgoing teaching for a stable career, but added that this would be a difficult decision as teaching is her dream profession. In contrast,

⁵⁷ French words meaning ‘it’s enough’.

Stéphane seemed willing to move to any permanent job. Stability was the main motivation for obtaining a permanent position.

6.4.1 The need for stability

The original theoretical lens outlined in Chapter 2 indicates that the multitude of insecurities faced by the precariat is caused by their unstable professional life (Braga, 2018). The research participants agreed that it is quite rare for a supply teacher to be posted to the same school upon re-selection. However, Sophia described her stay in one school for three consecutive years as memorable because she felt that she was part of the school staff. She linked her job satisfaction to 'stability'. Stéphane observed that stability is crucial 'to build a social life', while Katrina noted that job security is crucial and that supply teachers believed they would achieve this stability.

Apu and Stéphane expressed their preference for a stable job even if it were in a lower grade over a short-term contractual position that is unstable. Hence, for these supply teachers, stability rates higher than rank or status. Apu went further to describe 'work' as pivotal to stability in life and added that permanency is the means to attain stability. In his view, a permanent job enables a person to be productive and face life confidently. Roy also observed that supply teachers might not be able to constantly remain in 'waiting mode'. Thus, stability in work was equated to stability in life. However, with reference to Huberman's (1993) five career stages and Fessler and Christensen's (1992) career cycle, career stability may not be a possibility for most supply teachers and they are thus likely to experience career frustration due to numerous entries and exits during the survival and discovery stage. This results in a fixation on permanency.

6.4.2 Fixation on permanency

The supply teachers indicated that permanency creates stability in both the work and the life of an employee. Their uncertain employment seems to have caused them to become opportunistic workers, undermining their loyalty to both their job and their employer (Standing, 2011, p. 12). Stéphane felt that the private sector might offer better job opportunities and he was tempted to sacrifice teaching for the sake of a permanent post. However, like the other participants, he aspired to become an educator in the public service. Sophia remarked that, being appointed as

an educator by the PSC would be one of her greatest achievements in life, and her collage shows that a permanent position would bring ‘smiles’ to supply teachers. On-going demand for supply teachers makes Sophia optimistic. Indeed, she suggested that those that have worked as supply teachers for several years should be recruited permanently as they have ample teaching experience. Sophia referred to her collage to explain the retrospection of a woman on her non-selection and her optimism that she would obtain permanent employment in the future. While she said that this picture represented any supply teacher, it seemed to be a close reflection of her personal feelings. Sophia’s views suggest that some supply teachers could become despondent because traditional linear career paths are being replaced by multidirectional short-term career trajectories (Baruch, 2004). The prospect of permanency might be a delusional expectation that causes teachers to be trapped in subservience.

6.4.3 Serving as a supply teacher: Dead end or an opportunity to re-invent career mobility?

Katrina remarked that she had come across supply teachers who had been working for eight years but were uncertain about whether they would be recruited the following year. Such a situation makes it difficult to envisage a career in teaching. Roy noted that serving as a supply teacher for a long time before obtaining a permanent position in the public service could have consequences for one’s career pathway. Permanent civil servants are entitled to certain benefits which are contingent on their length of service such as travel allowances, duty-free facilities, and accumulated leave, among many other things. Furthermore, long service enables them to move up the ranks. Permanent teachers in state secondary schools are eligible for promotion to Senior Educator, Deputy Rector and Rector, and some join the Quality Assurance and Inspection Division. Supply teachers’ previous years of service are not taken into account should they become permanent educators, negatively impacting their benefits and the possibility of promotion.

In this regard, a supply teacher’s job could be regarded as a dead end. Should this cause them to pursue a career elsewhere? There is no conclusive answer to this question, since ‘no future of security or identity’ seems to be the lot of the precariat in almost every field of work (Standing, 2011, p. 25). While Sophia said that she would encourage new graduates to join supply teaching as this is an opportunity to enrich one’s teaching experience, Stéphane, Apu and Roy stated that one cannot make progress in this job. Indeed, Stéphane suggested that it is

utopian to believe that one could build a career when one is solely dependent on supply teaching and pointed to the serious consequences of a casual status. Apu also expressed the need for a concrete foundation to build his life and noted that this is not possible in the midst of uncertainties and the instability associated with supply teaching. The casual nature of supply teaching, and the inhumane working conditions as well as the amateur manner in which supply teachers are selected, caused him to leave. Indeed, he said that he would rather work in a permanent position in a hotel where he could build his career.

Thus, in different ways, the participants felt that supply teaching is a no-career job and that trying to make a career of it may not be feasible. Apu used the term ‘seasonal’ to convey that supply teachers may be employed at times, and unemployed at others. The participants noted that it may be unrealistic to consider a ‘career trajectory’ as a supply teacher, since they regard themselves as exploited yet also privileged to have a job. This perpetuates ‘legal abuse’ by the authorities in which supply teachers are complicit since they do not resist. Their passivity appears to be linked to their dream of permanency. Nonetheless, some supply teachers would take up a permanent job in a field other than teaching if they remain continuously on the margins. While the analysis appears to confirm the original theoretical lens, there are instances where the participants’ views contradict and challenge it.

Section 5: Concluding thoughts

The field data appears to indicate that the teachers who participated in the study show a keen interest in their job as teachers. However, they are concerned about building a career as their future is uncertain. Some of the supply teachers went so far as to define supply teaching as a no-career job. Based on their personal and professional experiences, they regard their casual status as a source of mental stress. There seemed to be unanimity among the supply teachers that a secure job is imperative to progress in life. Consequently, every supply teacher aspires to a permanent position. However, they understand that this might not be possible as there are limited opportunities. Nonetheless, they believe that supply teachers stand a better chance of being selected since they have work experience.

The participants noted that neither their experience nor their contribution to the secondary education sector was recognised. They also expressed dissatisfaction with the recruitment process. In some cases, the participants’ need for a stable job seemed to override their love of

teaching. Some would accept a job in a lower grade provided it is permanent. Leaving teaching would not be their first choice, but they might be forced to do so in order to gain security. From a geo-cultural perspective, the fixation on permanency seems to be more of an insular than a continental phenomenon.

Given SIDS' growing populations, job opportunities are shrinking. While the US and European countries offer more opportunities, enabling people to change jobs, Stéphane noted that, due to rising unemployment in Mauritius, supply teachers cannot afford to turn down a job offer, while Sophia highlighted the need for supply teachers to engage in continuous professional development. At the surface level, it appears that casualisation has caused Mauritian supply teachers to be caught in an insular trap. However, closer analysis reveals that the casualisation phenomenon has not only been a source of insecurity for supply teachers, but has also allowed them to shape and reshape their professional selves, and to develop resilience to face the challenges associated with supply teaching and the agency to come up with creative means to keep afloat.

In contrast to the other participants, Sophia's case report shows that her religious philosophy sustains her and enables her to cope with the challenges she confronts. She seemed to adopt a very positive attitude and expressed gratitude for being selected. The FST and the FoST also said that they were grateful for being selected as supply teachers as others did not even get a response from the MITD. Such gratitude might be a reason for the participants' dedication to their work despite numerous challenges.

The analysis in this chapter not only highlights the converging and diverging viewpoints of the supply teachers and non-supply teachers on labour-related insecurities, but also illustrates that work-related insecurities are lived, interpreted and represented differently. Numerous Mauritian supply teachers have found ways to overcome the challenges of being continuously precariatized. In the same vein, the analysis signals the need to recognise the importance of decent work that improves 'the life and dignity of men and women' (International Labour Organisation, 2019, p. 13).

The data analysis foregrounds numerous issues relating to the casualisation of teachers and uncovers new elements which could be considered contextually significant. For instance, few existing studies on casualisation present it as a calculated measure to maintain unemployment at acceptable levels. Interestingly, the cross-case analysis showed that casualisation is projected as an efficient and economical way to meet staffing needs. However, the field data showed that

it could be used to disempower and control teachers. The pull- and push-factors discussed in this analysis influence supply teachers' decision-making in multiple ways and determine the way they carve out their professional lives. While their unstable job situation generates multiple insecurities, it seems to point to the gradual precariatization of the teaching profession. The analysis also challenges the initial theoretical lens of a 'precariat' by highlighting the positive ways in which supply teachers respond to the multiple insecurities generated by the short-term contractual nature of their job. This highlights that 'there is a huge potential in embracing the unknown, in staying in the liminal space between (assumed) certainties' (Pätzold, 2021).

CHAPTER 7

SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF CASUALISATION AND THE CAREER PATHING OF SUPPLY TEACHERS

Introduction

This chapter extends the analysis by considering the figurative language and symbolism used by the participants. The aim is to probe representational interpretations of casualisation and its influence on supply teachers' career pathing. I employ an interpretive stance to uncover the figurative language around the casualisation phenomenon in the participants' responses. I also examine the most evocative metaphorical images from the collages produced by the supply teachers at the beginning of the data production exercise. The verbal and visual subtleties are brought into dialogue with the literature to access the deeper layers of meaning the participants give to their interpretation of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession. This chapter thus builds an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon to promote the theorisation of casualisation and career pathing.

This chapter consists of three sections:

Section 1 focuses on the images and symbols created by linguistic means in the *figurative language* used to express the supply teachers' conception of the self, their subjective descriptions of the casualisation phenomenon and the reasons for their state of being and their agentic predispositions vis-à-vis their professional life.

Section 2 centres on the *symbolic representation* of the casualisation process relating to the supply teachers' *professional lives* via the visuals produced by the participants, emphasising the researcher's sense-making of Section 1. It takes on board the agentic predilections as an offshoot of the precariatization of the teacher's job. This section also highlights time trajectories as a factor that influences the supply teacher's career route.

Section 3 presents concluding thoughts.

Section 1: Images and symbols created by figurative language

The data produced for this study revealed the participants' use of a 'wide array of figurative kinds of language' (Colston, 2015, p. 4). However, this chapter does not aim to delve into semantic dissection to identify the phrases as 'metaphoric, idiomatic, metonymic, ironic, satirical, proverbial, hyperbolic, oxymoronic, and so on' (Gibbs & Colston, 2012, p. 79). Instead, it seeks to understand the participants' critiques of how the casualisation phenomenon affects the teaching profession in the secondary education sector through an expressive means: figurative language. Indeed, the case reports within this study hardly offer any example of dialogue that is 'completely non-metaphoric' (Sullivan, 2018, p. 26). Besides, the use of figurative language seems almost ubiquitous in every discourse (Colston, 2015). It appears that the participants chose to use these figurative expressions to depict their not-yet-completely articulated thoughts on the phenomenon under the lens as their imagery enabled them to think and conceptualise. It is also possible that it reflects their lack of confidence in conveying their thoughts in English (often not their first language or mother tongue), which they believed the research process required. This chapter thus unpicks the images and symbols created by the participants' figurative expressions to gain a deeper understanding of supply teachers' casualisation and career pathing.

7.1.1 Conception of self

The supply teachers' conception of self centres on how they choose to figuratively depict their professional identity. The participants' discourse appears to reveal heightened self-diffidence, inner conflict, awareness of the need for self-revaluation, and the vagueness of life goals. Mifsud's (2018) assertion that inherent dialogical re-conceptualisations characterise the nature of a teacher as a professional, points to a professional identity crisis among supply teachers (Sadovnikova, Sergeeva, Suraeva & Kuzmina, 2016). Their conception of selfhood seems to have a profound impact on the way they see themselves and the way they feel they are seen by others. Thus, the challenges they project are not simply the result of existential questioning and reflection; but involve a fundamental re-questioning of their roles and purposes on a wider and deeper scale.

7.1.1.1 Pawn - A metaphor for supply teachers

The figurative language used by the participants seems to convey both the hopeful prospects and the downside of a casualised status. It sheds light on the diverse ways in which they see themselves: as objects or as animals. Their language illustrates how, at times, they are elated and at other times, they may be discredited or even ignored. Stéphane's and Apu's discourse includes belittling terms like 'dirty thing', 'rubbish', '*bouche-trou*' (meaning quick-fix) or derogatory expressions such as 'used ... and thrown ... in the dustbin' that were used to refer to supply teachers. These terms somehow convey the extent to which they felt their status being reduced and that they were deprived of their identity as teachers at some point in their career. Some of these terms project how some supply teachers feel about themselves in their workspace, while others convey their feelings about the way they are treated by the authorities. This chapter focuses on a few of the expressive figurative expressions used to describe supply teachers.

The use of the term 'chess' (chess pawn) as a metaphor for workers seems to powerfully express the way supply teachers are objectified by the authorities (the player) when posting them to different state secondary schools. Apu noted that the employer does not consider the time supply teachers take to travel to and from school⁵⁸. As an object, a chess pawn has no say in the way it is moved by the player. While the player is restricted in terms of moving the pawn as the game is bound by rules, he/she has the autonomy to decide where to move it. Furthermore, the pawns protect the more important chess pieces. Metaphorically, the important chess pieces in this case would be the students, the school administration and the schooling process, among others. Ironically, in order to win the game, the player may have to sacrifice a pawn.

The chess pawn as a symbol of the supply teacher foregrounds the notion that supply teachers and the authorities (the player) have a utilitarian relationship since they need one another. The supply teacher needs a job because he or she requires an income (Standing, 2011, p. 10), while the authorities need supply teachers to palliate a shortage of teachers in numerous state secondary schools. However, this method of recruitment seems to have become a common and cost-effective means to temporarily fill vacant posts. From the supply teachers' perspective, in

⁵⁸ While distances within a small island context might appear small, the time required to undertake journeys from one part of the island to another is compounded by the lack of adequate infrastructure and congestion on most national roads. The conception of distance/space/time is a relative one where the macro-environmental context determines normative understandings of what constitutes a lengthy journey between home and school.

its current form, casualisation could be considered an inhumane method of recruitment and deployment. It appears that, like pawns, supply teachers have no choice but to comply with the Ministry's decision to post them to remote locations, exacerbating the 'job insecurity' they already face (Standing, 2011, p. 10). Furthermore, when their services are no longer required, their contract is terminated, thus sacrificing them just like chess pawns. This demonstrates, to some extent, the 'employment insecurity' elaborated in the theoretical lens selected for this study (Standing, 2011, p. 10). Moreover, seen from another vantage point, the situation of the supply teachers also points to these individuals being caught in a power game with the authority. Because of their pecuniary needs, the supply teachers would hardly find any form of insurgency as an alternative. However, their discourse suggests a rejection of their casual identity that often translates into ongoing efforts to seek a permanent position. Besides, the hope for a better professional status often instills a form of resilience within them that allows them to keep clinging to their casual job despite the challenges. The fact that job insecurity is on the rise in the current global context, creates the longing to find that last oasis of permanency in the public sector. Furthermore, permanency comes with a benefit package and a middle-range but secure salary. Finally, there seem to be perceptions that the salary paid to supply teachers does not reflect their efficiency, which is very different from the situation in the private sector.

7.1.1.2 Dehumanising job – A metaphor for supply teaching?

The supply teachers used several figurative terms to highlight the dehumanising aspect of their job. 'Not a human job' is a revealing catchphrase which brings to light how supply teachers could feel at their core. The non-supply teachers also employed expressions such as 'it's quite inhuman' or 'inhuman exploitation' to convey the ruthless nature of the casualisation phenomenon. Apu asserted that 'there's nothing human' about this profession, while Katrina and Roy confirmed such dehumanisation using subtler terms. Roy recounted the story of one of his mentees who felt manipulated and exploited as a supply teacher. In his metaphorical collage, Stéphane inserted the words, 'the Government kind of blew it'. While Sophia and Roy suggested a 'more humane way' to deal with the casualisation of teachers, Apu asserted that supply teachers should engage in self-analysis rather than a blame game to demean the authorities. In contrast, Aexander noted that all prospective supply teachers are aware of the conditions of employment before applying for the post, hence the question of feeling dehumanised or exploited by the employer should not arise.

7.1.2 Career pathing of supply teachers

The career pathing of supply teachers seems to be influenced by their interpretation of their casualised status as either possibilities or limitations. Ultimately, these interpretations engendered either their cleaving to the teaching profession with the hope of having better days ahead or the feeling that they are trapped in it. The professional despondency of the supply teacher was depicted by projecting them as people who become further entangled in the process of trying to get released ('The more you're trying to struggle, the more you are being trapped in that situation'). Furthermore, the lack of career mobility, which was described as 'staying in the same position' could lead to frustration. It also suggests that casualisation renders supply teachers a class of their own: a 'precariat' in the secondary education sector (Standing, 2011). This symbolic representation questions their state of being.

Supply teachers may remain in this situation due to a number of factors. Sophia made a conscious choice to remain, particularly motivated by her feeling of being integrated into the school milieu. Stéphane was driven by his unwillingness to sacrifice the time spent studying to 'carve (his) future'. Supply teachers do not want their efforts to 'go idle' and, accordingly, clinging to teaching, though in a casual position, could be perceived as a means to sustain a professional identity, the lack of which would be synonymous with being unsuccessful despite having academic qualifications. An additional reason for supply teachers to stick to teaching is their unbridled optimism, or hope, that someday they will obtain a permanent position. While a few might achieve this, these expectations appear larger-than-life. As noted by Sophia, gaining a permanent post would be the 'greatest achievement in life'. Casualisation may thus be an opportunity to entertain new possibilities. However, in light of theories on teachers' professional life cycles and stages of development, it can be deduced that supply teachers never reach the stage of stabilisation (Huberman, 1993; Sikes et al., 1985). The main reason is that they seem to be inconsistent in committing themselves to teaching or leaving the job. Ultimately, the contractual nature of the supply teachers' jobs prevents them from taking any decision to settle in the profession (Huberman, 1993, pp. 5-6). At this stage, it was important to unpeel the concept of hope, which seems to emerge as the driving force propelling supply teachers to adopt a stance vis-à-vis their career that does not follow the general pattern.

Hope, whether in the Freirean sense or any other form, is generally perceived as progressive because it influences the future capability of every being. The extent of supply teachers' hopefulness has implications for their professional lives. The choice to focus on the bright side of casualisation fits with a field of study known as positive psychology. Park and Peterson

(2008) describe positive psychology as an approach to studying ‘those things that make life most worth living’ (p. 85). Martin Seligman (2012), the father of positive psychology, asserts that the focus on positive experiences and influences in life is a powerful way to ascertain one’s well-being (p. 17). Elaborating on a theory of well-being, he states that it is comprised of the following elements: positive emotions, engagement, meaning, positive relationships and accomplishment (Seligman, 2012, p. 23).

7.1.3 Unpeeling hope and its shades

My interpretation of hope is based on descriptions of this construct by Paul (2019). This study draws on those constructs to apply them to supply teachers, who seemingly have a marginalised status but who also have the agency to redefine and reinvent themselves.

Naïve hope

Naïve hope, as described by Paul (2019), would keep supply teachers continuously clinging to the teaching profession with the expectation that an imminent political or policy change would allow them to secure a permanent position in state schools. This kind of false hope or *naïve hope* may not be attainable. Nonetheless, a penchant for naïve hope seems preferable to succumbing to hopelessness, although from the layperson’s point of view, they seem to be equally fruitless. Naïve hope is simply false hope coated with aspiration on the part of supply teachers for something better to somehow happen. However, the desire for change may never materialise. Hopelessness, on the other hand, is bereft of any expectation that something positive will happen with regard to the supply teacher’s job. Hopelessness highlights the lack of a feasible way to prevent the authorities from using the supply teaching workforce as a sacrificial cog in the form of staffing needs for the smooth running of the education system. Consequently, a layperson’s viewpoint may project the authorities as being unfair and unjust to the supply teacher as a worker. A similar feeling of inequity may well pervade some supply teachers as professionals. Blaming the system rather than the supply teachers for their career choices would be an example of ‘hope deferred’ (Paul, 2019, p. 299).

The supply teachers that are driven by hope show little concern about the discrimination or imbalances directed at them. However, when hope is naïve, it may lead to delusion, because

false hope is also like a dream that fills the supply teachers with feelings that enable them to accept their casual status as part of their professional life and, consequently, to give the best of themselves in their work. Conversely, the unsettling feature of naïve hope is the immaturity of overlooking the complexity of a system that is geared towards econometric understanding of the entities involved. In a nutshell, naïve hope keeps the supply teacher in a comfort bubble with an almost speculative optimism that things will change on their own. Such supply teachers may not be aware that they are being used by the system as low-cost labour to fill staffing needs. Moreover, there seems to be an unfounded expectation to the extent of a quasi-certainty among supply teachers that they will be recruited for permanent positions in the years to come. The main motivation nourishing such hope could be that they witnessed a few of their former colleagues obtaining permanent posts. Paul (2019) would describe such hope as ‘mythical hope’ since the ‘success of one or two individuals is celebrated, giving false hope’ to teachers serving under similar conditions.

The supply teachers’ fixation on permanency seems to be linked to their interpretation of the instrumental role of a permanent position for upward career mobility, which is traditionally interpreted as the exclusive path to a successful professional life. However, naïve hope may not be static, as everything is bound to progress or regress with time. It may turn into hopelessness if the dreams of the supply teachers do not materialise or if they find themselves either without a job or still serving as supply teachers in state secondary schools after numerous years. It may also turn into mature hope, which would be at the other end of the hope continuum and which could safely be called critical hope.

Critical hope

Critical hope seems to be connected to the supply teachers’ belief in their agentic capabilities to create possibilities even when everything seems dark or gloomy. It is a predisposition that allows the supply teacher to carve a professional path using all the available resources to keep afloat professionally, whether in the field of teaching or elsewhere. In a nutshell, critical hope causes supply teachers to create an efficient network and reinvent the concept of career mobility that warrants their professional survival, like creating space to ‘grow roses on concrete’ (Duncan-Andrade, 2009). These agentic moves would be described as ‘material hope’ (Duncan-Andrade, 2009; Paul, 2019).

The element that demarcates critical hope from naïve hope is the supply teacher's commitment to achieve his or her career design. Resilience is also associated with such hope, as it enables these pockets of supply teachers to bounce back despite the odds that they could have faced or are currently facing in their professional life. The commonalities between naïve and critical hope are collective optimism in anticipation of a better future and acceptance of uncertainty as a fact of life. While it might also be collectively agreed that a casual job is far better than no job, supply teachers with a predominance of critical hope have the firm belief that even if they are not awarded a new contract to serve state secondary schools, they will look for or create other alternatives, like starting a personal business, offering private tuition, or emigrating to another country.

Lucy Hone (2019) would describe these supply teachers as individuals that epitomise resilience as they are aware that 'suffering is part of every human existence'. They also have the ability to make a truthful assessment of their situation and they focus on things that they have the potential to change and somehow come to terms with those that they may not be capable of altering. Such knowledge can be assumed to prevent supply teachers from feeling discriminated against when faced with adversity in different forms in the school milieu.

The predominance of critical hope among supply teachers seems to impel them to create a network even though they have no right to unionise. They may not have the leeway to bargain with the authorities through their unofficial groupings via social media, but they use these platforms to express their grievances and the challenges of serving as supply teachers. Their revolutionary concept of career mobility, which rejects upward mobility as the only path that can lead to a fruitful professional life, is also noteworthy. For supply teachers, an inter-sectorial career path provides the opportunity for transferability of skills that may be beneficial to either sector; for example, experience in the tourist industry augments the content to be taught in a Travel and Tourism class and vice-versa. Furthermore, supply teachers self-empowered by critical hope acknowledge the possibility that a linear career path can be equally efficient and productive depending on what the individual makes of what life throws at him/her.

Mystical hope

The findings of this research also foreground a kind of hope which may not fit into the naïve or critical hope frameworks. This type of uncommonly expressed hope is engendered by the belief that there is a higher reality keeping account of the pains and gains of every individual.

This near-to-faith hope is henceforth referred to as *mystical hope*. As shown in the data, the three denominations of hope may not be independently and exclusively present in supply teachers. A supply teacher seems to embody all three types of hope, often with a predominance of one.

Remarkably, in the present context, the process of accepting pain as part of one's life seemed easier for a supply teacher who adopted a higher philosophy that enabled her to connect the events in her life to a divine will. Thus, mystical hope may be a coping device for some individuals. The view that suffering is part of life appears to project an almost fatalistic approach. However, the supply teachers' agentic moves to cope despite their professional setbacks mean that they have not made suffering a way of life.

7.1.4 Fear of a strange triad

Chapter 6 elaborated on the different ways that supply teachers respond to the seven types of job-related insecurities and challenged the pessimistic undertone of the theoretical lens of a precariat. However, this class of teachers also confronts other uncertainties and even traumatic experiences that translate into different kinds of fear. One such nerve-wracking experience is facing the 'three people on the board of interviewers'. This is linked to their anxiety that stems from constant reassessment of their teaching competence. The frequency with which prospective supply teachers have to face the interviewers and possibly the bureaucratic nature of the recruitment and selection exercise, put their state of being to the test. The field data conveys that the supply teachers seem to be haunted by this powerful trinity. In point of fact, three is the minimum number of individuals to ensure that the selection exercise is impartial. Moreover, given that there is high demand for these posts, re-interviewing seems to be designed to give a fair chance to all prospective supply teachers.

7.1.5 Transforming stopping stones into stepping stones

As noted earlier, the notion of being figuratively treated like a chess piece appears to create a feeling of disempowerment among the supply teachers. Closer analysis also reveals seemingly antithetical truths around the casualisation phenomenon, as supply teachers do not always regard their casual status as deleterious to their professional life. The field data revealed that many regard a temporary job as a springboard to a permanent position since it equips them

with teaching experience and boosts their confidence. Some also appreciate that their casual status allows them the freedom to choose to stay or to leave as and when they wish. This enables supply teachers to 'cross boundaries ... like birds'; a privilege not shared by permanent educators. Apu's belief that one should not remain in a country where one does not get one's due and that one should not consider citizenship and patriotism as shackles binding one to a place, could facilitate the decision to emigrate.

Birds could be described as creatures denoting freedom since they not only walk and swim but also soar in the sky, defying the law of gravity. Birds are not destined to stay in one place or subject to authority orders unless they are caged. The words 'birds can cross boundaries' were used by a participant to convey that a supply teacher might choose to emigrate to a country with better employment possibilities.

Like several other species, birds have been affected by changing ecological and climatic conditions, which have led to some species' extinction. However, by crossing boundaries, they have not only been able to survive but have also ensured the survival of their species by reproducing before returning to their country of origin. Mauritians are privileged to witness birds like 'migrant waders' and 'terns' which fly thousands of kilometres from the northern hemisphere to gather at Rivulet Terre Rouge Estuary Bird Sanctuary on the northern side of Port Louis harbour (Cheke & Hume, 2008). Like these birds, supply teachers may choose to emigrate to countries where they may have better job opportunities or better work conditions. For instance, most of the participants in Bambrery's (2011) study chose to switch from a permanent position to a contract teaching post due to the freedom a casualised job offers. Blackmore (2014) makes the point that 'teachers' professional identity is not closely tied to a place or any sense of loyalty to the institution or its owner, but primarily to the strength of being connected to the profession of teaching and the collegial relationships formed within their schools' (p. 9). It thus appears that supply teachers may consider crossing boundaries like birds to survive professionally.

Statistics show that unemployment has increased in Mauritius (Statistics Mauritius, 2020). Many young Mauritians seek greener pastures outside the island. Apu spoke of moving to Canada. Ironically, while migratory birds migrate from cold countries to tropical countries like Mauritius for their physical survival, Mauritians aspire to move to cold countries to survive professionally and improve their living conditions. It is hard to predict whether or not they will retain their ties with the island once abroad. Finding a way out by crossing boundaries like

birds epitomises the supply teachers' agency to carve their professional trajectory in a space that they assume would offer better job opportunities, conditions of work and quality of life. This enables them to separate their real limitations from their perceived ones and make their own choices (Iyengar, 2012).

Crossing boundaries can also be interpreted as challenging established patterns and creating a new way of career pathing. For instance, having experienced the system, Apu suggested the need for supply teachers to be 'smarter than the system' and to always seek other options, develop additional qualities and take supplementary courses to increase their employment possibilities. He added that teaching should not be considered the only possibility, especially if one has already been a supply teacher for two to three years. Apu was of the view that supply teachers need to leave their comfort zone and actively hunt for other employment prospects. Such arguments shatter the traditional 'one individual, one job' model, as Apu held that supply teachers should have multiple sources of income. He asserted that it is better for a person who already has a business to join supply teaching. Given growing contractualisation, it is possible that supply teachers will end up having numerous jobs, but the question that arises is: 'How will this new model affect future schooling?' While there might be multiple ways in which the model may unfold, the field data suggests that the future short-term contractual teaching workforce will be a dynamic and versatile one that will pass on much in terms of resilience to the future generation.

Section 2: Symbolic representation of supply teachers' casualisation and career pathing via visuals

The visuals representing casualisation in this study are the metaphorical collages that served as triggers for data production through SRIs. As the name suggests, metaphorical collages are more than just a juxtaposition of images. Each is a unique mosaic, symbolically representing the casualisation of the teaching profession and its influence on the professional trajectory of supply teachers. An analysis of the visuals is important as the metaphorical collages are the repository of the data produced in this research endeavour. Furthermore, theorisation of supply teachers' casualisation and career pathing through the visuals offers deeper insights into the phenomenon.

7.2.1 Precariatizing teachers: The consequences

The analysis of the selected images is not only inspired by what the participants have said in their interviews but also by what has been graphically represented, though incomplete but in line with their responses. However, there are instances where my interpretations of their expressions have been reflected but I took the precaution to avoid giving these views a new dimension. This analysis mainly considers the most evocative visuals. I chose one visual from each of the two categories of participants: Apu from the category of supply teachers and Roy from the category of non-supply teachers. An analysis of Apu's 1st and 2nd collages offered insight into the power dynamics around the casualisation phenomenon. A scrutiny of the topmost picture revealed an eloquent but mutilated phrase, which upon completion would read, 'to become the best, you have to use the best'. Behind the words, there is a picture of a chess pawn visibly eliminating another pawn. Using the best to become the best, in the present context, implies that only the best candidates are supposed to be selected to serve as supply teachers. While this idea of selecting the best has been oft-mentioned in the discourses detailing the selection exercise and recruitment of supply teachers by numerous participants, the picture in this visual further reinforces what has been verbally expressed. Assuming the term 'best' is to be interpreted as 'the most competent', I consider it reasonable for the authorities to choose or to claim to have chosen the best teachers. However, these ideas raise doubts and project the recruitment procedures of the supply teachers as having some inconsistencies. If it is claimed that the selected candidates are the best, then the necessity of re-interviewing the supply teachers year after year is questionable.

The concept of power expressed in this picture also seems to reveal that the selection could involve more than simply choosing the best candidates for the job. One could question the existence of maneuvers aimed to motivate supply teachers to continually improve themselves or, bluntly expressed, to domesticate and control them. This conception is in line with the concept of lifelong learning as a trajectory for even permanent professional teachers, who are constructed as being in a perpetual state of incompleteness and therefore always deficient and in need of "repair or updating" (euphemistically called 'development'). This is not to deny that, as a professional, one ought to keep abreast of epistemological and methodological trends. However, the supply teachers participating in this study seemed to articulate the view that their development is permanently impermanent. Whatever they do in the name of 'development' would be cast as inadequate. Given their limited choices and curtailed rights, supply teachers'

elation on being appointed to temporary posts may not endure as they would be disempowered by a system that side-lines one of its main stakeholders, teachers, in subtle and multiple ways.

Roy's metaphorical collage presents a somewhat strange view of power. The silhouette of *three persons* to represent the interviewers seems to be a comprehensive representation of the entity that holds power. This triad has also been conveyed verbally by him and by Stéphane. Still, it seems difficult to determine if the power is centred on the Ministry of Education or if the locus of power is concealed and distorted. This question hints at a handful of individuals that are the foremost class having the potential to influence policy decisions: the Plutonians, as deliberated by Standing (2011) according to his way of stratifying modern society.

Through his collages, Apu conveys a power standoff between the authorities and the supply teachers. The picture of the chess pawns in the first collage depicts a system where power is in the hands of the authorities. However, the second collage includes a picture of a big herd of cattle moving towards a shed in a manner suggesting that they are bound to pull it down. The implication is that the herd of cattle, representing supply teachers, has grown so big that it is capable of pulling down the shed, which represents the education system for the participant. The initial theoretical lens presents the precariat as a class of individuals that will grow bigger than the system that created it and will eventually collapse the very system (Standing, 2011).

As workers, supply teachers could have internalised the fact that they may come to grief if they attempt to confront the authorities individually. Consequently, it appears that they feel the need to adopt a strategy to collectively protect their professional well-being and perhaps even embrace animosity, symbolically, as a counterbalance. However, it is unlikely that any sort of upheaval as deliberated in the theory of a precariat will be initiated by Mauritian supply teachers and that they will transform 'from strugglers into deviants and loose cannons prone to listen to populist politicians and demagogues' (Standing, 2011, p. 132).

A striking aspect of the findings is supply teachers' unwavering optimism that their professional trajectory will somehow unfold for the better despite the multiple job-related insecurities associated with their career. Apu used images of person/s and objects (a plane) to express his hopes for the way his career might unfold. While the first image shows a person who is tense and thoughtful about the present because of his casualised status, the second shows a person that seems to express a sense of achievement, implying optimism about the future. The plane in the second collage signifies that the supply teacher may choose to emigrate in search of better job opportunities.

The metaphorical representation of ‘persons’ or ‘mechanical objects’ reveals that the disruptive nature of the casualisation phenomenon prompts the supply teacher to look for ways and means to improve his/her professional life. It inspires supply teachers to believe in their ability to control their own destiny and shape their professional lives. The supply teachers seem to be doing more than just hoping for their lot to change. They are actively working towards the future they desire.

7.2.2 Time – the determining factor in a career pathway

The metaphorical collages also emphasise the crucial role of time, represented by a clock in the first collage, in supply teachers’ experience of their casual status, especially if they aspire to a permanent position. Their initial casual status impacts the prospective permanent teacher’s years of service, thus affecting their seniority and the possibility of moving up the career ladder. Time also seems to be another tool used by the authorities. Firstly, by granting contracts for a year or less, the Ministry seems to be using time as a control mechanism. Secondly, retaining supply teachers in a contractual position for several years and eventually recruiting some of them permanently seems to indicate an agenda of retaining the best teachers in the profession, which fits with the initial statement on becoming the best by using the best represented in the first collage.

The maximum age limit for permanent recruitment by the PSC is another aspect of time that favours the Ministry rather than the supply teacher. Supply teachers approaching this age are more likely to feel desperate, especially if they do not intend to leave teaching for another career. At this point, they would be aware that unless they work in a private secondary school, they will not be able to obtain a permanent position. The passing of time is an irreversible process that could be highly detrimental to the careers of supply teachers. For instance, Apu’s dream of a permanent position in the public service may never materialise since at the time of data production he was close to 40 and this is the age limit set by the PSC unless the applicant is already employed in the public service. The case of Sophia is different as she was much younger than Apu and also seemed to be highly optimistic that she would obtain a permanent post when the time is right. This seemed to be linked to her spiritual convictions, represented by the picture of an elephant in her collage, an animal associated with the Hindu God, Ganesha who is regarded as the remover of obstacles. She appeared to identify with one of the characters in her collage, a woman supply teacher who is looking back, which implies going back to the

point in time when her career path diverged towards temporariness. While the past seems to be a missed opportunity, she is leaving no stone unturned at present and remaining optimistic for the future. Roy used the words ‘permanently temporary’ to describe supply teachers to explain their contractual status and its relationship with time, while Katrina said that supply teachers should respect time as they are paid for it.

The time factor may also be tied to an economic agenda. For instance, when supply teachers are recruited after having served for numerous years, almost a decade in many cases, the government saves on benefits like a duty-free car, travel or car allowance, leave and pension after retirement.

The metaphorical collage produced by a permanent teacher also points to the time dimension. It depicts the present through the picture of a young person holding an axe and the future through the image of a desperate old person sitting in the dark. For this participant, the present portrays a professional identity crisis as the young man is dressed in a suit but, contrary to what could be expected, he is working with an axe. In the professional milieu, a suit would represent a white-collar job, while the axe is the tool of a manual worker. In the field of teaching, the suit could symbolise the supply teacher’s professional aspirations; a calling compatible with his/her qualifications as he/she has the required credentials. The axe would represent the hardships in the form of onerous working conditions that he/she would have to come to terms with in order to earn a living. Hence, the young man with the axe would represent the unfulfilled teacher, constantly hankering to shed the identity of a half-breed among teachers. However, this dishevelled identity could serve as leverage for agentic behaviour among supply teachers. This collage also expresses optimism with the depiction of a flower on a light background amidst dark pictures representing supply teachers’ aspirations.

Section 3: Concluding thoughts

The linguistic and visual means take the data analysis process a step further through a scrutiny of the figurative language and the symbolism used by the participants. Despite their contractual status and the corresponding additional tribulations endured by the supply teachers, they seem to have adapted to their unstable work conditions and the accompanying insecurities. The supply teachers reported not only being steadfast in their pursuit of tenured positions but also devising mechanisms that allow them to use their casual position as a springboard to cultivate

a versatile career orientation. The resilience of the supply teachers is demonstrated by their capacity to successfully adjust and recover from trying professional situations.

CHAPTER 8

THEORISING CASUALISATION AND CAREER PATHING

Introduction

This final chapter details my contribution to theorising the phenomenon of the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers at secondary school level. It consists of five sections:

Section 1 presents a conclusion by responding to the research questions on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers and represents deeper levels of abstraction from the fieldwork.

Section 2 begins by justifying this study's focus on the silver lining of the casualisation of teachers and demonstrates that some supply teachers find hope and resilience in an age of professional precarity.

Section 3 discusses the study's contribution to philosophical insights at the contextual, theoretical, practical, and methodological levels and the implications of its findings on being a supply teacher and career mobility.

Section 4 sets out the study's limitations and the recommendations arising from its findings.

Section 5 proposes future research to extend knowledge of the casualisation phenomenon affecting teachers and the way they navigate their professional lives. The chapter ends with the concluding thoughts on the 'whys' and the 'so whats' behind contractual teachers' career pathing.

Section 1: Responding to the critical research questions

The study's critical research questions were:

- (1) What is the relationship between casualisation and the career pathing of supply teachers?
- (2) How do supply teachers make sense of their casual status and how does this meaning-making influence them (or not) in their professional life?
- (3) Why does the casual status of supply teachers influence (or not) the way they navigate their professional life?

8.1.1 The relationship between casualisation and career pathing

This study addressed a theoretical gap by examining the nature of the relationship between the casual status of supply teachers and their career trajectories. Rather than depicting a categorical, deterministic relationship that focuses on the negative influence of casualisation on the career pathing of supply teachers, the fieldwork analysis (as reported in the previous chapters) reflects a continuum of possibilities linking casualisation and supply teachers' career pathing. While one end of the continuum represents casualisation as a no-career job (a negative relationship), the opposite end presents it as an integral part of career-building (a largely positive relationship). Nuanced permutations of these relational perspectives exist along this broad continuum.

8.1.1.1 Supply teaching as a no-career job

The data analysis projects supply teaching as a no-career job, mainly because it offers few opportunities for supply teachers to ascend a career ladder. This is captured by the slim likelihood of supply teachers becoming part of the permanent teaching workforce. A no-career job, also described as a dead-end job, offers little or no chance of career development and progression to a higher-paid position. This interpretation tends to project supply teachers as victims that suffer a high degree of injustice as workers rather than professionals. Supply teachers interpret themselves as marginalised and at the mercy of the authorities, which do not appear to have their long-term future interests as individuals in mind. They tend to see themselves as being at the mercy of the Ministry which is the recruiting body. Supply teachers

thus feel that the authorities and management discourses within the schooling system regard them as technical functionaries.

A no-career job engendering frustration

The interpretation of supply teaching as a dead-end job may create the notion that these teachers are technicians rather than professionals. Such a notion of de-professionalisation creates frustration, resulting in demoralised supply teachers lacking commitment to the schooling agenda, to teaching and learning, or to the ethos of a school environment. The repeated entries and exits of the supply teachers also seem to engender frustrations by impeding their career stability and causing further disempowerment of teachers, as deliberated in the review of literature and the analysis. Often, supply teachers may not be socially accepted by their peers in permanent positions or legally (in the Mauritian context) by teacher professional bodies as part of the official permanent teaching fraternity. Supply teachers who interpret themselves as appendages to the schooling system feel that they have no way of progressing in their careers and, thus, they tend to see themselves at a dead end in their professional path. Many supply teachers indicated that they hold on to the hope of converting their casual status to a more secure one.

A no-career job engendering self-exclusion

As a result of being tied up to a static position that has little prospect of evolving over time and with scarcely any career progression, supply teachers feel on the margins as compared to other teachers. It is interesting to note that supply teachers' primary focus revolves around how they interpret their casual status and how they establish rapport with their permanent colleagues at school. Many tend to retreat into an inner circle of communication with their fellow non-permanent teachers, and this hampers their ability to connect with other colleagues and consequently they are caught in a trap of continuous side-lining. This strategy, which results in further marginalisation, is not only imposed but self-selected marginalisation that creates two enclaves. Besides self-marginalisation, it seems that school managers or rectors have strong potential to influence how other staff interpret the casualised status of supply teachers. For example, senior management's disposition towards supply teachers could influence how permanent teachers and other school staff regard or value supply teachers. The supply teachers

who took part in this study expressed feelings of being infantilised and reduced to commodities to be traded in the schooling system's marketplace. It appears that they view themselves as being subtly constructed by the employer, the rector, and other staff as simply fulfilling the goals of keeping the organisational agenda afloat with no commitment to their incorporation into the mainstream ethos of the schooling culture. It is challenging for supply teachers to build a career in a space where they are constructed as functionaries of a system and an organisational agenda, especially when their sense of community is affected by being continually side-lined. As a result, the majority of supply teachers tend to self-exclude.

A no-career job engendering inequities

The set of duties performed by the supply teachers are likely to be similar to the duties of a permanent teacher in the Mauritian context. Although both categories of teachers share the same workplace, the additional benefits enjoyed by permanent teachers relocate supply teachers on the margins, increasing the existing inequity in the professional status of the teachers. The national education system's budgetary constraints could be one among the additional causes of such an inequity. Given growing unemployment and high demand for teaching jobs, the Mauritian government may not be able to place every prospective teacher in a permanent position. Furthermore, the unpredictability of school enrolment has led to the government opting for a floating workforce in the form of contractual teachers to fill staffing gaps when the need arises and to terminate the contracts of those whose services may not be required. Only having a permanent workforce might be risky for the government, since decreasing student enrolment in state secondary schools may result in over-staffing, leading to many teachers being made redundant.

A no-career job with a silver lining

While a no-career job may generally be seen as a gloomy prospect for supply teachers, their impermanence has positive benefits for the government as well as students. Firstly, supply teaching working conditions seem to synchronously create a "push-out factor" and a "pull-in" factor. The push-out force seems to rejuvenate the organisation with a renewed supply of young teachers, which may be assumed to be beneficial to the organisation because of their relatively new or updated professional and theoretical insights.

Secondly, the no-career job seemingly serves to weed out those teachers who are not willing to devote time and effort to the declared school agenda. This has the net effect of retaining those who are genuinely interested in the teaching profession. In the scenario of push-out and pull-in factors, the marginalisation of supply teachers is thus interpreted as having an overall positive influence on the schooling system, despite its negative personal impact on supply teachers' lives and professional status. The existence of supply teaching as a category of employment enables the national education system to ensure that the best is provided in terms of learning experiences to enhance the students' well-being. However, there is no certainty that those who stay are the 'best teachers' since numerous other facets exist that were not explored in this study. Whether students indeed interpret this strategy as serving their learning interests is worthy of future research. An issue that is worth consideration is that casualisation enables prospective entrants to experience teaching and decide whether it is meant for them. Trial and error on the part of the individual serves the systemic purpose of best fit in the long term, and this could be considered as a silver lining.

8.1.1.2 Supply teaching - an integral part of career-building

An analysis of the relationship between casualisation and the career pathing of supply teachers also reveals that casualisation is not opposed to the notion of a career path. Instead, the opposite end of the continuum of perspectives suggests that being a supply teacher and enduring casualisation or de-professionalisation, activates the search for an alternative career-building pathway that is not necessarily restricted to education and schooling. This materialises through the work experience acquired in dynamic spaces when supply teachers are in the teaching profession, moving to another profession, or returning anew to teaching.

This begs the question of whether the schooling system is pushing for a de-professionalised workerist conception of the workforce rather than a professionalised teaching force. While common sense projects supply teaching as a no-career job with the casual status as a 'stopping-stone' in the professional path of the supply teacher, the fieldwork analysis suggests that there are also numerous supply teachers who scrupulously convert these 'stopping-stones' into 'stepping-stones'. Regarding the casualisation process as an integral part of career-building allows them to manoeuvre to achieve greater heights career-wise by focusing on the upside of the process.

Career-building through teaching experience

The field data conveyed the instrumental role played by work experience that renders supply teachers eligible for a wide range of prospective jobs. The numerous challenges that supply teachers face seem to allow them to gain valuable work experience and job exposure to build unique resilience in their professional selves. The casual work experience seems to motivate the supply teachers to improve their practice, drawing on operational and contextual first-hand experience to learn to cope with their peers and management. The skills acquired in planning, executing and evaluating practical actions represent life experience that spans many jobs and careers beyond the school pedagogical environment of teaching, learning, assessing and managing systems and personal actions.

Career-building as a web rather than a linear pathway

It is useful to consider a career path as not only characterised by linear, vertical steps to climb a ladder. The data from this study suggest that it is more related to a web of possibilities, offering numerous trajectories of branching lines that radiate in multiple directions. This career web is a more useful metaphor than the simplistic vertical career ladder that dominates most depictions of career planning. In the web model of career networking, a supply teacher does not restrict himself or herself to a limited utilitarianist worldview, developing a career path only in the realm of education. The networked web can be likened to a spider. This analogy assists in making sense of the strategies supply teachers use to survive and construct a web-like career, which challenges the very idea of a pathway in the professional life of permanent teachers.

Spiders are skilful creatures that weave some of nature's most clever traps – tangled webs, funnel-webs, cobwebs, irregular webs, sheet-webs and intricate orb webs – to ensnare their prey (Trueit, 2012). Webs are strategically designed and fashioned by different kinds of spiders in a range of creative and imaginative ways, depending on how the specific genus of spider chooses to position itself within its environment. A web might be considered an entrapment, but it is also a natural and unique *chef-d'oeuvre* from a different perspective.

Like spider webs, the career web of each supply teacher is unique because each has a unique professional trajectory. The web is instrumental in achieving an end: a meal for the spider and a contract for the supply teacher. The spider's web is temporary and serves the purpose of

obtaining the day's meal. Likewise, temporariness or impermanence is part and parcel of a supply teacher's professional life. The multiple entries and exits, which seem to make the supply teacher's career challenging, also allow them to build a larger and better network that provides them with space as well as the spirit to keep going despite the odds. As designers of their web to enhance their employment possibilities, supply teachers display highly agentic capabilities. Like the spider, supply teachers learn about every nook and cranny of their network and make optimal use of it.

There are supply teachers who, unlike their colleagues, do not need to make use of a network to maximise their employment opportunities. Their qualification, consisting of a joint degree in two core subjects, is a plus point that increases the possibility of being recruited twofold as most candidates have an 'Honours degree'. Such supply teachers do not network like other supply teachers, but what they possess enables them to survive where others would possibly fail. Supply teachers that have twice the chance of being recruited, whether on a contract or in a permanent position, could be likened to an ingenious spider that constructs two webs to catch a single prey. The strategies deployed in supply teachers' career trajectory planning show that their casual status is a central part of their career building.

The emerging theoretical argument suggests the conception of career trajectories as negotiating the building and maintenance of a career web, which opens up the possibility of thinking about career mobility in a more holistic, broader national and international dimension that links conditions of employment, employability and the making of prospects. It challenges narrow and insular definitions of career development within a single track or of linking career mobility with concerns around rank, progression and promotion within the same domain.

8.1.2 Making sense of one's casual status - concurrent empowerment and disempowerment

The supply teachers who participated in this study responded in diverse ways to convey how they make sense of their casual status and how this meaning-making drives them in their professional life. Their responses were analysed at different levels. At a cursory level, the case reports convey both the elating and demeaning aspects of their contractual job. Higher-level analysis of the supply teachers' figurative language and interpretations of the collages they created, on the other hand, reveal additional multiple meanings that they make of their casual status.

Enfeebled and bolstered in tandem

The analysis of the field data projects the supply teachers as a workforce that is concurrently empowered and disempowered. Disempowerment seems to mainly relate to the demeaning nature of their casual status and to the way they are perceived to be treated by their employers. One of the numerous factors engendering the feeling of a loss of dignity seems to be the employer's failure to consider the time spent commuting each day. Permanent teachers serving in state secondary schools and residing in a specific zone are rarely transferred to a school in another zone. This is not the case with supply teachers, who may spend hours travelling to and from work. They feel that they are at the mercy of the authorities as they can be posted to any school, creating the feeling that they are being used as 'pawns' and 'quick fixes' to palliate teacher shortages at secondary school level. This feeling is disempowering and may negatively impact their teaching.

On the other hand, one of the factors that seems to empower supply teachers is their freedom to navigate their career without incurring any loss. In this sense, a supply teacher seems to have an advantage over his/her colleagues serving as permanent teachers. Supply teachers justly considered themselves to be 'birds' with the freedom to 'cross boundaries'. Another factor that empowers supply teachers is the in-house training they receive in the absence of a formal Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programme for casual teachers. The ability to prepare lesson plans and notes was described as empowering, as a teacher with such skills is more confident, comes across as professional, and is a more effective teacher. Hence, the ability to form productive pedagogical relationships and access to professional development are empowering. Whether enfeebled as a 'pawn' or a 'quick fix', or bolstered like a 'bird', it is imperative to reflect on why supply teachers would evoke metaphors that reflect a depersonalised view of the way they feel being manipulated or objectified, or even seen as having developed agentic predilections. The responses point to dichotomies that need to be unpacked. The coexistence of the two descriptions of supply teachers, disempowered and empowered, both of which were articulated by the same group of individuals, may not be contradictory but entangled with each other.

Empowerment and disempowerment, though opposites, reveal nuances in the casualisation process and point to what seems to be concealed in terms of the career pathing of supply teachers. While all teachers are likely to have to simultaneously negotiate empowerment and disempowerment, in the case of supply teachers, this seems to be externalised. The analysis

shows that the concurrent empowerment and disempowerment experienced by supply teachers is multi-layered because it is linked to numerous elements. The factors empowering or disempowering supply teachers are varied. They could be by the number of years they have been serving as casual teachers, their age, the subject they teach, the teaching medium they use, their life experiences and their past work experiences, which may or may not be limited to the field of teaching, among other things. Interestingly, the concurrent empowerment and disempowerment of supply teachers seems to translate into enabling and disabling factors, respectively.

Making sense of the disabling factors

An FST may experience disempowerment due to being new to the teaching profession. An RST, who is often posted to new schools, may experience disempowerment or feel marginalised by being confronted with new students and a new school culture. For most supply teachers, commuting time, repeated interviews and their casual status that leads to side-lining are potent disabling factors that are a source of frustration and could act as a 'push-out factor' career-wise.

Making sense of the enabling factors

The enabling factors create a sense of hope among supply teachers and are among the reasons that they cling to the teaching profession. However, clinging to the profession may be due to decreasing job opportunities. Unemployed young graduates often turn to supply teaching as a means of earning a living and consider a job offer an opportunity. Supply teaching has thus become almost a depository of graduates that are unable to find jobs, as, in the Mauritian context, it is considered a generic profession where a first degree is sufficient. This might change as Mauritius adopts international expectations of a graduate teacher with a professional qualification. Furthermore, most supply teachers that aspire to remain in the teaching profession enrol in the PGCE to increase their chances of gaining another contract or securing a permanent position.

Making sense of the enabling factors: Credentials

Academic credentials seem to be a powerful enabling factor for supply teachers, especially if one has a joint degree, as this increases the chances of recruitment and of gaining a permanent post. As noted above, this is why many supply teachers enrol in the PGCE. A casual teacher workforce with high-level credentials will have different types of expertise that promote modern students' academic success. The qualifications of current supply teachers are comparable to those of the permanent workforce.

A casualised workforce with higher and better qualifications might point to young graduates' desire to enter the teaching profession or suggest that supply teaching is regarded as an easy option to enter professional life when jobs are scarce. While the benefits that a casual workforce with upgraded qualifications will bring to schools cannot be predicted, this trend may lay the foundation for the reinvention of the teaching profession. Higher credentials could boost supply teachers' morale and prevent them from being marginalised in certain ways. Furthermore, practical knowledge in their respective fields of study other than teaching may promote the development of transferable skills that may make teaching more relevant.

Making sense of the enabling factors: A sense of belonging

A sense of belonging to an institution may empower a supply teacher to such an extent that he/she may lose the sense of his or her casual status and feel part of the staff. Unlike most supply teachers, one of the participants who had worked in the same state secondary school for more than a year felt part of the school community. This enabled her to value her professional life. The vital factors that triggered such a feeling in this supply teacher seem to be the time spent in the school, an unchanging space and perhaps her attitude towards herself and others. It takes time to build relationships, and a supply teacher who is posted to different schools each time they receive a new contract may not be able to develop the sense of community that is crucial for school staff to function as a team.

Another factor that was found to reinforce the sense of community among supply teachers was 'feeling-at-home' due to the high number of supply teachers among teaching personnel. The supply teachers who worked in a school where almost half the teaching staff were supply teachers described the collegial atmosphere that initially existed in the staff room. While empowerment and disempowerment may be experienced in a plethora of ways by supply

teachers in different spaces and times, it should be noted that both influence supply teachers' career decisions and, in due course, their career path.

Section 2: The thesis - Culminating conceptions of casualisation and career pathing

This study emphasises the need for a more nuanced understanding of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession that goes beyond the dichotomous categories of supply teachers and permanent teachers. Drawing on the range of fluid categories of supply teachers, as well as how they reinterpret their roles and perspectives in different times and spaces, it is more appropriate to view supply teachers as a flexible, evolving entity with both liabilities and affordances, rather than caricatured as a 'marginalised' or oppressed group.

The existing literature on casualisation in the teaching profession reinforces the liabilities associated with the phenomenon. While the findings of this study acknowledge the oppressive nature of casualisation, they also point to pockets of possible affirmation of this phenomenon in the teaching profession. This thesis chooses to acknowledge the inspirational potential that casualisation could offer, exploring opportunities for affirmation, success and capability rather than focusing on the known failure, despondency, victimhood or oppression. There is a conscious choice to deliberate on the glimmer of hope in the face of professional precarity. The analyses presented in this research indicate that, despite being challenged by the numerous difficulties, some of the supply teachers have a positive outlook on their job and also exhibit other elements of well-being. Thus, while acknowledging that both affordances and liabilities are expressed in the supply teachers' worldviews, wallowing in self-pity or foregrounding only the negative aspects of the casualisation process may reinforce self-fulfilling feelings of marginalisation.

The present thesis contributes to the academic body of knowledge in two essential ways. Firstly, it adds to the body of literature dealing with the conceptualisations of different categories of supply teachers around how their casual status influences their career pathing. While most readings refer to supply teachers as a monolithic category of workers in the education sector, this study highlights the career choices of three distinct sub-groups within this category of teachers in the Mauritian context. The stress on the diverse as well as common

ways in which the different types of supply teachers carve their professional paths may also be contributory to a theoretical understanding of the bearings of casualisation in the education sector in SIDS.

Secondly, this study challenges how employment status distinguished along the lines of permanent or casual status shapes how teachers understand and engage in their work. Although this connection is meaningless in other contexts, it is significant in the SIDS context because policies in favour of casualisation ignore the negative effects of a managerial human resource strategy in education. Yet, unexpectedly, it also contests the views that teachers are objectified through this policy and despite a small sample, the need to explore how teachers overcome these to enact a more agentic version of themselves. The case study of casualisation in the teaching profession may reveal a more nuanced reading of the casualisation effect.

This cross-sectional qualitative case study also contributes to reiterating the worth and efficacy of art-based methods in the production of data since the metaphorical collages that were used as trigger materials for interviewing the participants allowed them to express quite profusely their work conditions and their career decisions. The importance of the piloting exercise needs to be highlighted for its instrumentality in the choice of the appropriate data production tools to produce thick data. The research procedure for the selection of relevant participants may as well not be unheeded since researching casualisation at secondary school level had to involve the different types of supply teachers for their first-hand experience of working in a casualised position. Besides, the responses of the non-supply teachers may be considered as adding to the credibility of the study as they allowed the phenomenon to be viewed from different vantage points. The analysis of the data was carried out at different levels. A preliminary analysis required coding the raw data to construct case reports, which was followed by a cross case analysis of the reports of the two main categories of participants: the supply teachers and the non-supply teachers. The last level of the data analysis involved unpeeling the symbolical representations of the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers. Numerous elements could be considered as leverages to the credibility of the study. These include the consideration of my personal subjectivities as well as of the alternative realities via the viewpoints of the different categories of participants. Secondly, the use of low-inference descriptors to construct the case reports, also contributed to enhancing the credibility of this research work. Thirdly, the use of more than one method to access and assess the experiences of the participants and the SRI somehow triangulating the data from the metaphorical collage may also be considered to enhance the credibility of the study. A significant element ensuring the credibility of this study is the acceptance of its limitations.

8.2.1 Finding hope and resilience in an age of professional precarity

An oasis in the desert of despair

The findings reveal that, despite the trials endured due to their casual status, there are pockets of supply teachers who think and act in ways that enable them to navigate their unstable professional path with what could almost be described as a serenity that conceals their fast paddling legs below the surface of the water. These supply teachers may not perfectly fit the mould of an emerging precariat (Standing, 2011) within the teaching workforce. As posited in the initial lens of a precariat, supply teachers confront different types of job-related insecurities, but unlike many others, they often do not perceive these uncertainties as debilitating. In this age of precarity, it cannot be denied that deliberate marginalisation, loss of perspective, professional frustration, and traumatic work experiences are the dominant discourse with regard to the supply teacher's career. The deliberate move to foreground a category of resilient supply teachers as a way of theorising and developing the present thesis is motivated by the intention to transform that which may immediately be perceived as a 'stopping-stone' into what may ultimately be described as a 'stepping-stone'.

Surprising elements of the findings reveal that there are spaces where supply teachers demonstrate hope and resilience. These pockets of supply teachers seem to be connected to the transitory nature of their job and they convey an awareness that the quest for a better future should not compromise the professional capital they can derive from their present work experience. The serenity they display does not represent a fatalistic stance as their discourse conveys an awareness coupled with concrete action. It is clear that their intention is to use their experience in their casual position as leverage to make themselves more marketable professionally. Consequently, in some sense, a casual status seems to be an instrumental transitory position that enables the supply teacher to aspire to be in a permanent position in his or her career path.

Hope in every state and at every stage is the antithesis of hopelessness, because the former is the way forward, while the latter is a dead end. However, holding on to hope does not guarantee that those supply teachers will not be faced with a dead end. Interestingly, supply teachers empowered with critical hope display the potential to also deal with the dead end. Critical hope as leverage converts each obstacle into an opportunity and every stopping stone into a stepping stone, providing the supply teachers with the capital that contributes to an enhanced

professional life. Resilience is the quality *par excellence* that gives the extra mile to critical hope.

8.2.2 Understanding the resilience of the supply teacher

Resilience is a complex term. In the present context, it could be interpreted as supply teachers' tenacity in facing failures and challenges in their professional lives and the ability to bounce back. There seem to be numerous ways in which supply teachers counteract their vulnerabilities to rebound in their professional lives.

Wobbling without falling

Supply teachers seem to be aware that a life that is immune to suffering is a myth, implying that everyone confronts challenges. This aspect of resilience can change a mindset from revolving around the 'why me?' syndrome to asking 'why not me?' However, it appears that supply teachers' resilience has not allowed such questions to arise. While their sense of community seems to be affected by their casual status, their words convey that they have come to terms with their vulnerability. This is crucial for teachers, as they are required to be creative, innovative, caring and responsive, which may not always be possible for someone experiencing constant threats to their professional life.

Looking on the bright side

Hone (2019) observes that resilient people are able to accurately appraise their situation and to focus on things that they have the potential to change, while coming to terms with those they cannot alter. Supply teachers' career choices would have been easier if they were confronted with both threats and opportunities, but they are constantly surrounded by threats in the form of uncertainties. This continuously shifts their centre, with the potential to turn them into bitter individuals. Despite such instability, supply teachers exhibit great resilience by consciously focussing on the bright side of their casualised status which, they express in numerous ways; describing their temporary position as an additional opportunity to gather work experience, which they expect would be instrumental in securing future contracts; hoping to secure a permanent position in the years to come, being an agent of change, being seen as a source of

inspiration, making a difference in the lives of students, and more. They appear to have realised that it is not worth it to be consumed by negativity; instead, they give their best to express their gratitude for being able to pursue their passion; teaching and learning. Even after having served as supply teachers for numerous years, many wouldn't choose to lose what they have. In a nutshell, supply teachers seem to have turned their weak spots into strengths.

Professional drives of supply teachers

Critical hope and resilience allow supply teachers to create more employment opportunities to compensate for the insecurities they are faced with. Hoping to join teaching as a permanent teacher while being contractual and choosing to work in a private institution in a completely different set-up during the weekend, finding the time to offer private tuition during one's free time and having a backup plan to set up a personal business in case one fails to get a new contract the following year, depicts the agentic predisposition of supply teachers. Their resilience shows that they have made choices that put them in the driver's seat.

Section 3: Implications of being a supply teacher and career mobility

This study has numerous implications for policy, practice and operational issues at management level in a school context.

8.3.1 Contextual

Uncertainties breeding uncertainties

Contextually, a vital question is why there is a need to keep supply teachers at a distance and not regard them as full members of the schools. Furthermore, why is it necessary to adopt 'short term fixes for long-standing problems' (Awootar, 2018, p. 1). The literature suggests that the government's stance vis-à-vis supply teachers and the growing casualisation of the teaching workforce could be linked to the changes affecting the world of work. The economic agenda and the pressures of globalisation are the forces that seem to determine the government's decision-making (Carnoy et al., 1999; Obadic, 2009). If it is true that forces operating in an

increasingly globalised world are deterring the authorities from coming up with a feasible plan for the educational system in decades to come, it is rational that the government will stick to short-term and at most medium-term plans. The reasons for re-imagining schooling needs for a fundamentally different future are multifaceted. These include the subjects to be taught, the way they will be taught, the teachers teaching these subjects and their working conditions.

The obsolescence of subjects as the new technological revolution takes root

One of these uncertainties is linked to the possibility of some traditional subjects becoming obsolete in years to come. Mauritius is already witnessing the gradual phasing out of certain subjects and the emergence of others at the secondary level. This is often determined by their potential to generate employment possibilities in the future. However, subjects may also be overhauled in response to the demands of a multi-disciplinary world. Expertise in a single subject may not be enough to cope with new demands. Some subjects were phased out because they were less popular among students or because they were simply not offered by the school. It would therefore not be logical for the government to recruit permanent teachers who may become professionally redundant in years to come. Furthermore, the demands of the changing world of work are bound to influence the curriculum, which may need timely adjustment. This fourth industrial revolution and its associated digitisation and automation, will affect life and the work of individuals. ‘Teachers will be affected as schools ... will be totally different’ from the way we presently know them (Bast, 2019, p. 10).

Given rapid technological progress, it is impossible to predict how the educational landscape may change, but it might be expected that there will be a need to recruit teachers with a new set of skills. This may include readiness to adopt a ‘range of acclimatisations’ including *staff capacity development programmes* to embrace online, digital, and flexible blended learning approaches (Samuel, 2021). It is also difficult to predict the size of the workforce that will be needed in decades to come because of the possibility of decreased enrolment in state secondary schools due to the numerous fee-paying secondary schools mushrooming on the island. Amid these uncertainties, employing only permanent teachers would add to the economic pressure on the government. Nonetheless, the government’s stance may be detrimental to future generations, as Mauritius depends on its human capital and an educated population is a much-needed asset. Hence, the government will need to respond strategically.

From the above vantage point, recruiting supply teachers to maintain a floating workforce seems to be a survival strategy that suits both the authorities and new graduates. The authorities have the leeway to handle teacher shortages and more individuals are able to gain work experience on a rotational basis as demand for jobs exceeds supply. However, there is a possibility that an uncertain scenario is bound to breed further uncertainties.

The push towards a two-tiered education system

It is also worth reflecting on how the mushrooming of fee-paying private schools will affect the casualisation of the teaching profession. An increasing number of fee-paying secondary schools imply lower enrolment in state secondary schools, which, in turn, will prompt the government to maintain a floating casualised workforce which can be done away with when their services are no longer required. The casualisation of teachers may thus contribute to and sustain the emergence of a bifurcated education system: one for the privileged in elitist cocooned schooling and the other for the relatively under-served (in mediocre public schooling). Growing inequity would result, with one type of schooling served by teachers that are less able to offer quality education.

Casualisation sustaining systemic inequities

In Mauritius, after completion of the PSAC examinations, students are allocated a place in a state secondary school or a government-funded private secondary school. However, given the increasing number of fee-paying secondary schools, there will be more vacancies for students in state secondary schools. This may lead to decreasing enrolment in private secondary schools. The policy decision to reintroduce credits in five subjects as a prerequisite for admission in Grade 12 to study for the HSC is also of concern to the managers of private secondary schools, as they believe that it will contribute to a phasing out of HSC classes in their schools (Geoffroy, 2017).

Under these circumstances, it seems that decreasing enrolment may lead to the closure of more and more private secondary schools, especially if they fall into the category of schools that do not satisfy the 'threshold of 150' (MOE, 2008). When a school closes, there is a 'redeployment scheme for the teaching and the non-teaching staff to be redeployed on no less favourable terms' (MOE, 2008). The casualised floating workforce, which may be dismissed at any

moment, is thus possibly designed to act as a buffer to allow redeployment of teachers from private schools via MEDCO. This measure covered 109 private-aided and non-aided schools compared to 69 state-administered schools in the Republic of Mauritius as at March 2018 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development - Statistics Mauritius, 2019, p. 13).

The redeployment of teachers

As indicated in Table 1 (Chapter 3), the workforce serving private secondary schools in Mauritius is comparable to that in state secondary schools. Numerous private state secondary schools have closed recently and the government is bound by the redeployment scheme to absorb the teaching as well as the non-teaching staff. Added to this is declining enrolment in pre-primary schools over the period 2009 to 2018, which may continue in the years to come (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development - Statistics Mauritius, 2019, p. 28). This will exacerbate the enrolment trend in state secondary schools and consequently, the services of many teachers may not be required. These uncertainties seem to be a motive for even private secondary schools to contractualise their workforce.

While it would seem that casualisation of the teaching force will continue, the authorities need to deal judiciously with this sensitive issue, as supply teachers may not continue to accept this exploitative practice (Awootar, 2018). However, regarding the authorities as the cause of casualisation or seeing the process itself as a malevolence is a blinkered view. Failure to determine the material cause of the casualisation of teachers may lead to the belief that it is the result of artificial needs or greed, which translates into the commodification of the education system at the mercy of a highly marketised world.

The casualisation of teachers is symptomatic of the redefinitions that are likely to occur as more and more jobs become irrelevant and previously normative structures of schooling, education and the workplace are redefined in the new technological era (Samuel, 2020). This will also entail a redefinition of the notion of what it means to be a teacher and what career progression requires. Given that the work is no longer associated with security, it is in itself a hallmark of the importance society accords to the profession. Since continuity may no longer be a concern, teacher identities may instead be shaped by the nature of the teacher's work rather than through stability conferred by the conditions of employment. The future of teaching will be influenced by the collective decisions made by teachers.

8.3.2 Theoretical

The theory of a precariat provided an initial theoretical lens that proved instrumental in understanding the phenomenon of casualisation affecting the teaching profession. This theory enabled an understanding of the different types of insecurities faced by supply teachers. However, additional aspects were unveiled or reinterpreted in this research. For instance, like a precariat, supply teachers face various forms of labour-related insecurities and they experience precariousness in multifarious ways. However, these casualised teachers seem to be more than the common portrayal of a powerless, monolithic precariat in the education system. The supply teachers that participated in this study did not all perceive their labour as instrumental, opportunistic and precarious. Had this been the case, there wouldn't have been any question about a career path.

The analysis revealed that there are pockets of supply teachers who acknowledge the precarious nature of their job, but they may not be judged as opportunistic as they have the agency to create opportunities and carve their professional trajectory in the way they want. This confirms the claim in the literature that the theory of a precariat may not be a deficit model since it also considers the positive aspects of casualisation. Interestingly, a new element among the positive aspects is that, despite the fact that, technically, they belong to a different category of teachers, some supply teachers feel part of the school's (permanent) staff under certain circumstances, such as being posted to the same school for more than a year or when they are among numerous other teachers with a casualised status.

This seems to suggest that, in the case of Mauritian supply teachers, these individuals might feel that they belong to a precariat but they mirror a salariat under certain circumstances. Furthermore, they seem to fervently reinvent what they have been denied. For instance, as supply teachers have no right to unionise, they have created a digital platform to express their feelings about their work and its accompanying challenges. This could be the initial step towards an innovative way for supply teachers to establish representation security. It might appear utopic for supply teachers to think about the possibility of being granted the right to strike, but they can start to express themselves as a collective. Standing (2011) posits that continually depriving the precariat of their rights could give rise to hostilities. On the one hand, this research study suggests that a female-led protest could be anticipated (given the growing feminisation of the teaching profession). However, on the other hand, the act of accepting a casual position undermines supply teachers' space to manoeuvre to seek automatic permanency.

Supply teachers' efforts to empower themselves through attempts to unionise or to group in some way to strive for better working conditions could be seen as risky. Leading such a group or being part of it could jeopardise the possibility of being offered further contracts. Nonetheless, like a precariat or as a precariat, supply teachers need representational security. Still, armed with hope and resilience, some may not opt for the traditional way of being represented by a union.

While there is no unanimity about the way things will unfold in the future, supply teachers' uncertain career path can be likened to a slick road with potholes ... one that is difficult to tread. A simplistic viewpoint projects the authorities as being unfair to supply teachers in comparison to their permanent counterparts. However, from a more sophisticated perspective, it could be that the slick roads with potholes have given the supply teachers the added skill of treading a difficult path while keeping their balance and leaping higher and farther.

Supply teachers seem to have chosen to use their precarious work conditions as an add-on to fuel their career mobility. They have also used their insecurity to revisit their conceptions of what it means to be a temporary teacher. In a nutshell, the fact that the career path of supply teachers is non-linear and not restricted to teaching may enhance the agency they develop for their survival as teachers.

8.3.3 Methodological

Sampling and data production

The purposive sampling to select most of the participants and the snowballing exercise for the selection of others proved significant for the data production exercise. Each sampling strategy was used strategically to facilitate the selection of participants and the co-creation of data with the researcher. However, during the course of the data production and analysis, I decided to consider only the most information-rich transcripts per category of supply teachers or non-supply teachers. Consequently, the sample size was reduced from 20 participants to six participants. This research work, like other qualitative case studies, placed less emphasis on sample size because it did not seek to generalize. As I privileged depth over breadth, I thought it convenient to limit the number of cases to a few (Patten & Newhart, 2018). In that process, I excluded participants whose responses could be considered a subset of those participants who

were considered. Still, I realise that the small sample size could somehow be considered a limitation in this piece of research.

This study could also have taken another direction if considerations were given to the impact of the 2007-2009 global financial crisis and the subsequent rise of the ‘gig economy’ which has been accelerated by the global pandemic. Consequently, this could have required further critique and a possible re-positioning of the use of the initial theoretical lens of a ‘precariat’. Still, it is worth noting that the pluralised forms of employment, which appear to be a response to market forces, offer apparently more flexibility to workers, especially those who are in the Global South, who now have the possibility to earn income through gig work. The argument that a large proportion of workers who were already experiencing vulnerable work conditions are now earning high incomes appears to have become part of a policy rhetoric that masks the more sinister agenda of the corporate sector, which can now access cheap labour all over the world. The rhetoric is designed to present gig work as allowing workers from the Global South to compete with those in more developed settings (Stone, 2016).

The impact of the gig economy on the teaching profession is yet to be re-assessed in a Post Covid-19 era, especially as the experiences of remote teaching have revealed possibilities, which though not unmitigated, have been quickly picked up by ICT corporate sectors. However, while trade unions have strived to achieve assurances of stability, permanence and a range of associated rights in many developing contexts, the predominance of gig work as an emergent culture in more commercial sectors is likely to be attractive to governments seeking to reduce the cost of education (Anwar and Graham, 2020). Though not technically “gig”, the principles underpinning gig work could produce variants in the education sector as manifested in the form of contractual labour.

Art-based activities to minimise intrusiveness

This study employed a novel combination of data production strategies that can be described as innovative and efficacious. The art-based activity used as a data production tool was instrumental in the production of rich qualitative data while being less invasive than other traditional data production strategies. The use of these strategies also seemed to influence the gatekeepers to grant access. Initially, officials at the Ministry of Education were reluctant to sanction research on supply teachers. Moreover, formal requests for statistical data on supply teachers in Mauritius remained unanswered. The gatekeeper’s letter was only granted to access

state secondary schools when the researcher explained the art-based method to the relevant official and when it was stated that this was a purely qualitative study. The fact that the authorities are careful about granting access to sensitive information could be due to the lack of a research culture in Mauritius. It is also likely that there is a lack of trust in researchers' integrity in interpreting the data on supply teachers.

Shifting the centre

Furthermore, the art-based strategy proved to be a good icebreaker, and the participants expressed themselves more freely and genuinely when the SRIs were conducted and rich data was produced. This could be due to the fact that the SRI made it easier for the interviewer to ask questions and the interviewee to give answers in relation to a metaphorical collage than would have been the case in a traditional interview, with direct questions and answers on issues regarding the authorities, especially when interviewees are in a vulnerable position.

Auto-triangulation

The data generated utilizing the metaphorical collages as trigger material for the SRI are reliable because these were triangulated when the participants were questioned on their representations of casualisation. Only the participants could interpret their artwork as the assemblage of pictures was their composition. As a prelude to the SRI, the metaphorical collage gave the participants time to reflect on each part of the composition that was material to them. Consequently, when they were interviewed, the collage was used as a trigger to enable unfolding within the participants, like a spring unwinding in a spring-driven clock.

8.3.4 Implications for policy

A teaching workforce that constantly fluctuates between the working and waiting modes has the potential to redefine teacher professionalism. Given that casualisation in the secondary education sector is a growing phenomenon, any policy change should consider information related to supply teachers. Unilateral changes may increase frustration among certain supply teachers, with negative impacts on the education sector. Teachers are important agents of

change who put into practice what has been designed by policymakers. For instance, supply teachers who were exposed to a certain field in their previous job and who are teaching in that field could enhance students' performance. Such supply teachers are an asset to the education system and should be given the recognition they deserve. Any form of sidelining will have an influence on the way supply teachers deliver in class.

8.3.5 Recommendations

8.3.5.1 Contextual

Improve working conditions

Mauritian supply teachers' fixation on permanency implies that they are not satisfied with their current conditions of work. While the literature points to casual work as a preferred choice among teachers in Australia, this does not seem to be the case in Mauritius. Local supply teachers would prefer a permanent position. While the ideal situation would be for more supply teachers to be granted permanent positions, this is unlikely in the prevailing economic situation. Reviewing the working conditions could make contractual jobs more appealing and less degrading and enable career mobility. This would motivate teachers and inspire them to give their best.

There is also a need to reflect on the steps that could be taken by the authorities to prevent the systematic marginalisation of casual teachers. A different appellation with the same conditions of work would be a cosmetic change. Well-informed, concrete steps to reform the conditions of work for supply teachers could make supply teaching the preferred choice over a permanent job as a teacher in the future.

Basic professional development

The study's findings detail the support and mentoring provided by senior teachers and the rector to the FST. However, there is no consistent official support for supply teachers serving state secondary schools. A crash course to equip supply teachers to face the realities of their job could serve as a life-jacket to start with. Secondary school teachers need to be able to multitask and if the supply teacher is posted to a school where learners are ill-behaved, his or her job could prove to be more challenging. Providing prospective short-term contractual teachers with basic training would be a worthwhile investment.

Enhanced stability

Job instability hampers supply teachers' ability to bond with their students and their colleagues. Good relationships contribute to sound social or professional networks. The fieldwork revealed that a supply teacher who remained in a school for more than a year had a growing sense of belonging to the institution. In order to foster such ties, supply teachers' contracts could be extended for more than a year, and they could remain in the same institution for the term of the contract. Extending the contract to a minimum of two to three years could also reduce supply teachers' feelings of instability and make casualisation a more humane phenomenon.

Promote social justice

Seen through the lens of social justice, it is likely that the casualisation of the teaching profession could be regarded by future generations as a dark period in the history of secondary schooling. While there may not be any straightforward formula to do away with the perceived discrimination and inequality generated by the casualisation of teachers, some form of levelling is required to secure social justice for these teachers who are sacrificing their productive years for a noble cause; imparting their knowledge. For instance, when supply teachers are granted permanent positions, the number of years they have already served as casual teachers should be taken into account in setting the terms of their employment. Deep reflection is also required on ways and means of preventing supply teachers from experiencing any form of sidelining that could undermine their commitment to their students.

8.3.5.2 Theoretical

While some scholars have critiqued the framework of a precariat as underexplored and largely unverified, it remains a powerful lens to explore job-related insecurities. The way the framework is arranged creates the impression that it is an airtight, novel stratification. However, the analysis in this study points to a nuanced polychromatic scenario that allows percolation of individuals from one class to another. Furthermore, there are nuances within a single class like the precariat. Improving the framework through research on the underlying fluidity, divisions and sub-divisions within and across the classes stipulated in the social stratification suggested by Standing (2011) may shed additional light and deepen knowledge on the lives and identities of teachers in the 21st century.

As far as the career pathing of supply teachers is concerned, it seems that Fessler and Christensen's model of the stages of the Teacher Career Cycle (Fessler & Christensen, 1992, p. 36) and Huberman's five career stages (Huberman, 1993, p. 13) need to be re-examined, especially when they are employed to understand the career pathing of teachers working on short-term contracts. For instance, some stages that are common to both models, like career stabilisation, do not fit with the case of supply teachers, as stability seems to be a myth in their career path. Nonetheless, it appears that most supply teachers have come to terms with the unstable nature of their jobs. A revised model that depicts the career path of short-term contractual teachers could take the form of a three-dimensional lattice structure containing the main elements in the two models, with the exception of career stability. Furthermore, the 'technological environment' and its components could be included in the model.

8.3.5.3 Methodological

The use of art-based research methods should be encouraged as they shift the psychological load from the shoulders of the participant to the artwork/tool for the data production exercise. While art-based methods could appeal to different types of participants and researchers, they could be especially recommended for research participants who have difficulties expressing themselves about sensitive issues. Furthermore, as an effective ice-breaker, they offer an opportunity to build trust, which is a *sine-qua-non* for the participant to open up. Finally, art-based methods within qualitative research work can facilitate the granting of access to the field when researching controversial issues, especially in governmental institutions.

8.3.5.4 Policy

The policy of not considering the number of years supply teachers have served secondary schools seems arbitrary. It is recommended that previous service should be taken into account when a supply teacher applies for a position in the public service or a parastatal, even if it is staggered. Supply teachers should also be given the option of a permanent position after having served for a minimum of five years in a state secondary school.

Furthermore, despite being as qualified and experienced as permanent educators, supply teachers are not eligible to hold the position of HOD in their subject area. While this is understandable as their contract may be terminated without notice, a more flexible approach

could be adopted that values supply teachers by allowing them to assist the HOD and remunerating them accordingly.

A painstaking exercise undergone by all supply teachers is being repeatedly interviewed year after year to serve in the same post. This undermines supply teachers' morale and, in any event, might not be of any significance if the supply teacher has served for numerous years and has received favourable reports. The Ministry could consider doing away with annual interviews for supply teachers who have served for a minimum of five years and have received favourable reports from rectors and the quality assurance department.

Section 4: Limitations of the Study

Parija and Kate (2018) observe that all research studies have some limitations. This study is no exception, as a few potential limitations were identified and addressed in its early stages.

Poor research culture

A few incidents during the data production exercise point to the prevalence of a poor research culture in Mauritius. In one state secondary school, I was confronted by a senior educator who expressed his disagreement with the research I was carrying out in a very blunt and rude manner. He dismissed every form of research, except action research, and was unwilling to listen to any explanation. I admit having been upset and destabilised by his conduct. However, I had to remain calm and listen to him since my position as a researcher did not allow me either to convince him or to negotiate with him. Besides, I realised that, as a researcher, I need to be equipped with patience and courage to deal with challenging situations that may crop up during fieldwork. Later, a conversation with my local supervisor about this issue allowed me to sort out my feelings and continue with the fieldwork. The positive aspect of this experience is that it enabled me to see things from a broader perspective and understand that stakeholders may not hold research as a priority and they should not be judged for this.

Secondly, my sampling techniques and my choice of state secondary schools to carry out data production were based on information provided by rectors on the number and percentage of staff who were supply teachers. A few schools did not provide figures even after being reminded more than once. However, when I had almost completed the data production exercise,

I learnt that one of the schools, from which I did not get a response, had the highest number of staff members who were supply teachers in Zone 1 and possibly on the island.

Researchers often confront challenges in accessing data on government institutions and recruiting volunteers to participate in their studies. For instance, despite numerous requests, the Ministry of Education did not provide data on the number of supply teachers recruited to serve state secondary schools. This could constrain this study's findings and the transferability of the conclusions. However, in a qualitative case study, such limitations may not significantly impact on the outcomes of the study. Although access to the field and data production for this study were not compromised, I was left with the impression that a poor research culture could be the cause of the numerous unnecessary challenges that could confront researchers.

Researching upward

I had to alter my data production tool with one participant while researching upward. Due to his professional obligations, he could not take the time to participate in a customary data production session. Instead, I was asked to send a copy of the interview schedule for the SRI, which was improvised into a questionnaire and subsequently answered and mailed to me.

Some experiences are perhaps very personal to participants. They believe they will be unable to describe them and they do not expect others to understand. This could be a situation where they have gone through emotions that they would not be willing to share with me. While these feelings must be respected, access to such experiences could have enhanced the study.

Parallel influential factors

Apart from the casualisation process affecting the teaching profession, the study did not consider other parallel factors that could be influencing supply teachers' career pathing. These could be linked to their vocation or the opportunities available locally and overseas. However, taking these concurrent factors into account would have extended the research to other dimensions, possibly making it overwhelming for the researcher.

Unexpected factors

One of the most unexpected factors that might affect the findings of this study is the COVID-19 pandemic. This pandemic has upended the lives of workers around the world and it can be anticipated that the casualisation process in most sectors could grow out of proportion. In the Mauritian context, the teaching sector could be more affected by casualisation than it was in the past decade. It is possible that the influence of casualisation on supply teachers' career pathing might appear inconsequential in the face of the devastating consequences of the pandemic. However, since the data production exercise for this research preceded the COVID-19 pandemic, the analysis could not consider this unexpected factor.

Class status and perceptions of casualisation

This study focused on supply teachers' employment status. However, the class status of individual participants could also influence their choice of being or not being a supply teacher. For a prospective teacher from an affluent middle-class home, being employed and earning a salary might not be a priority. On the other hand, for a person from a working-class background, employment and earning might be a necessity. This study could have included the supply teachers' biographical characteristics to probe whether different classes or genders might perceive the status and role of supply teachers differently.

Methodological constraints

This research project was a small-scale study and its findings thus cannot be generalised to the entire population of supply teachers in the Mauritian context. Under different macro-systemic and institutional systemic contexts, the worldviews and opportunities for supply teachers might be different. For instance, a longitudinal study involving a larger sample could have produced different results. However, it may not be a feasible endeavour to conduct a longitudinal study on a career for a PhD study that lasts less than a decade.

Section 5: Future Research

This research study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the way casualisation of the teaching profession influences the career pathing of supply teachers servicing state secondary schools. While it sheds light on some areas, numerous other areas could be investigated in future research.

Casualisation of teachers in Small Island Developing States

While there is a rich literature on short-term contractual teachers in Europe, Australia, Africa and other continents, few studies have been conducted on the casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers in SIDS. Future research could examine how the casualisation process is affecting teachers and their career trajectory and how the outcomes could be re-shaping the education system in SIDS. The findings could inform those researching the casualisation of teachers in small island contexts or former colonies as they share numerous commonalities in terms of ‘specific social, environmental, (and) cultural characteristics which generate a particular set of circumstances and challenges’ (Mariaye & Samuel, 2016, p. 145). For instance, ‘rapid population growth in most SIDS creates stress for the provision of basic services and job opportunities’ (OECD, 2015). The decreasing and ageing population are additional factors that are likely to fuel casualisation.

Supply teachers’ professional development

The rector of the school with a high number of supply teachers explained that she regularly provided in-house training to the supply teachers in her institution. Interestingly, the supply teachers serving in that school displayed a high level of confidence. Their wide-ranging knowledge of teaching and learning despite having no formal training was noteworthy. Research on the mentoring and support provided to supply teachers would open new avenues concerning a teacher’s professional development.

Being a supply teacher – What does it mean for the lineage of indentured labourers?

The phenomenon of casualisation dates back to the era of indentureship in Mauritius. This suggests a connection between a macro-conception within society and how the notion of careering is understood. Future research could compare understanding of being a teacher among the following types of individuals: those whose ancestors came as indentured labourers and those whose lineage can be traced back to plantation owners. Research could also be conducted to understand how the descendants of indentured labourers reconcile their past casual identity with their current casual status as teachers.

Sampling and longitudinal study

This study was confined to a single educational zone in Mauritius. Further research on the casualisation of teachers could consider the other three educational zones, the primary education sector and the outer islands, which are part of the Republic of Mauritius.

Section 6: Closing Thoughts

Casualisation of teachers in the state secondary school sector is a growing phenomenon in Mauritius. Considering the central role of teachers in any education system, this qualitative case study aimed to have a deeper understanding of the ways in which supply teachers carve their career path in response to their casual status. Participants expressed their conceptualisations of the casualisation phenomenon affecting the teaching profession through a metaphorical collage, which was ultimately used as a trigger instrument for a stimulated recall interview. The captured insights were analysed at different levels and the analyses presented supply teaching from two different vantage points. From one standpoint, supply teaching is seen as a no-career job, while from another, it is viewed as an integral part of career building. The study found that supply teachers challenge the concept of careering in this modern time and they make sense of their casual status in a multitude of ways, which convey both empowerment and disempowerment of this casual teaching workforce. The findings point to a more nuanced perspective than the one suggested by the theoretical lens of a precariat, as numerous supply teachers find hope and resilience in this era of professional precarity. Modern supply teachers set new rules that may possibly reshape the way supply teaching is conceived.

Researching themes that deal with fears and apprehension enabled me to develop new visions of casualisation and provided insights into agentic dispositions to make sound choices in trying times.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A - Letter of offer



REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES, TERTIARY
EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Date: 07 January 2017

Dear Sir,

With reference to your application for enlistment as **Supply Teacher (Secondary)**, this is to inform you that you have been selected to teach **Travel and Tourism** in the State Secondary Schools of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research.

2. Your enlistment will take effect from **the date you assume duty** and will be on a month to month basis. You will be paid at the rate of **Rs. 25,525** per month plus salary compensation at approved rate on a pro-rata basis (**based on the actual number of days of attendance**). Travelling expenses at approved rates will also be refunded on a pro-rata basis. You will be posted to SSS.
3. You will, as soon as convenient, be required to undergo a medical examination and, if you are found medically unfit, your enlistment will be terminated immediately.
4. Your enlistment will be **on a purely temporary basis**, as and when required. It will not give you any claim to permanent appointment as Educator (Secondary) in the Government Service. In case you wish to be considered for appointment in the grade of Educator (Secondary), you will have to submit your application in response to advertisement from the Public Service Commission.
5. Your enlistment may be terminated without notice or compensation in lieu of notice in case your services are no longer required or in the event of incompetence, misconduct or insubordination. Your work and conduct will be monitored by the Rector and/or the Deputy Rector of the school where you are posted **and** by officers of the Quality Assurance & Inspection Division so as to ascertain your performance.
6. You will be required to contribute to the National Pensions Fund (NPF) and the National Savings Funds (NSF) in accordance with the provision of the National Pensions Fund Act.
7. You are requested to inform me, in writing, **whether you accept enlistment on the above terms and conditions**. If you are agreeable, you should report for duty to the **Rector on Monday 09 January 2017 at 08.00 a.m.**

Yours faithfully,


[Redacted Signature]
[Redacted Name]
[Redacted Title]

Appendix B - Gatekeeper's Letter



REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS
**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES, TERTIARY
EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH**

Our Ref: ME/305/3 T8

Date: 11 September 2015

Mr Devpreetum Kumar Boodhoo
Narad Road
Petit Raffray

Dear Sir,

Subject: Access to State Secondary Schools for PhD Research

Please refer to your letter dated 10 August 2015 in connection with the above subject.

2. I am pleased to inform you that approval has been granted for you to carry out your research in two State Secondary Schools in Zone 1 as requested in the letter under reference.

3. The above is, however, subject to the following:

- No classes will be disrupted while the survey is being carried out
- Participation will be strictly voluntary and at the discretion of the Educators/ Supply Teachers/Administrative Staff concerned
- A report on the outcomes of the study will be submitted to this Ministry within one month after its completion.

4. You are kindly requested to liaise with the Rectors concerned prior to conducting your survey.

Yours faithfully,

E. Pillay (MRS)
for Ag. Senior Chief Executive



MITD House, Phoenix 73544 - MAURITIUS
Tel. No: 601 3458 Fax No: (230) 697 5305
E-mail: moe-secedu@mail.gov.mu

Appendix C - Data Production Plan [Statement of Purpose - Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers]

Critical Questions	Sources	Criteria for selection	Timeframe for data production	Research Strategy	Data Analysis Strategy	
1. What is the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and career pathing of supply teachers?	[5 Supply Teachers]	Purposive Sampling	Stage 1: Pilot study followed by refinement of tools (1 September- 16 September 2016) Stage 2: Main study (19 September – 28 October)	<p>Prior to the commencement of the Pilot and the Main study it needs to be ascertained that all the relevant clearances have been obtained and are readily available [e.g the ethical clearance, the gatekeepers' letter]. The tailor made documents for each category of participant like the Participation Information Sheet should have been administered and the Informed Consent Declaration signed. The Biographical Data sheet, should have been distributed, filled by the prospective participants and collected, analysed and the participants hand-picked by the researcher.</p> <p>Instrument 1: Art-based projective technique: The Self-Portrait will be carried out at the workplace of the Fresh and renewed Supply Teachers while the venue will be negotiated with the Former supply teacher.</p>	<p>An inductive approach will be used because qualitative research is the major design of the inquiry.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Data will be organised 2. An explanatory/exploratory framework will be identified. 3. Data will be sorted in to framework 4. The framework will be used for descriptive analysis 5. Second order analysis – Narrative analysis. 	
	2 Supply Teachers working in a State Secondary School with a high population of Supply Teachers	Refer to Biographical Data Sheet [BDS-E (i)] to hand-pick 1 Fresh + 1 Renewed Supply Teachers	45 mins x 2 = 1 ½ h (19 Sep- 23 Sep)			
	2 Supply Teachers working in a State Secondary School with a low population of supply teachers	Refer to BDS E(i) to select 1 Fresh + 1 Renewed Supply Teachers	45 mins x 2 = 1 ½ h (19 Sep – 23 Sep)			
	1 Former Supply Teacher	Locate through Snowballing - suggested by the four Supply Teachers participating in the study, then hand-pick through BDS E(ii)	45 minutes (19 Sep – 23 Sep)			
	2 Permanent Teachers + 1 Staff from the pedagogical/administrative section from any one of the State Secondary Schools	Purposive Sampling based on data obtained from the BDS E (iii)				Instrument 2: Collage Activity will be carried out at the workplace of the participants
	1 permanent Teacher recruited by the PSC					
1 permanent Teacher recruited by the MEDCO	45 minutes (26 Sep – 30 Sep)					
1 staff (Senior Educator/ Rector/ Deputy Rector)	45 minutes (26 Sep – 30 Sep)					
2. What explains the nature of the relationship between	The 5 selected Supply Teachers as above	Purposive Sampling based on data obtained from the BDS E(i) & E(ii) via snowballing	45 mins x 5 = 3 ¾ h (3-7 October)	Instrument 3: Graphic elicitation method: Timeline will be carried out at the workplace of the Fresh and Renewed Supply Teachers while the venue will be negotiated with the Former supply teacher		

casualisation of the teaching workforce and career pathing of supply teachers?					
	The 2 permanent teachers + 1 staff from the pedagogical/administrative section as above	Suggested by 2 nd line gatekeepers (Rectors) then handpicked through BDS E(iii)	45 mins x 3 = 2 ¼ h (10- 14 October)	Instrument 4: Concept Mapping will be carried out at the workplace of the participants	
3. To what extent could the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and career pathing of supply teachers re-define teacher-professionalism?	The 5 selected Supply Teachers as above	Participants who engaged themselves in the production of the self-portrait and the Timeline		Instrument 5: Stimulated Recall Interviews will be carried in English with all the participants and will be audio-recorded with their consent. All Stimulated interviews will be carried out at the workplace of the participants, except for the Former Supply Teacher who will be contacted to negotiate the venue.	
			1 hour x 4 = 4 hours (17- 21 October)	2 Fresh + 2 Renewed Supply Teachers Interview Schedule F(i)	
			1 hour (17- 21 October)	1 Former Supply Teacher Interview Schedule F(ii)	
	The 2 permanent teachers + 1 staff from the pedagogical/administrative section as above	Participants who were involved in the Collage Activity and the Concept Mapping	1 hour x 2 = 2 hours (24- 28 October)	1 Permanent Teacher recruited by PSC + 1 Permanent Teacher recruited by MEDCO Interview Schedule F(iii)	
			1 hour (24-28 October)	1 staff [Senior Educator/ Deputy Rector/ Rector] Interview Schedule F(iv)	

Appendix D - Ethical Clearance Certificate



30 November 2015

Mr Devpreetum Kumar Boodhoo 213573066
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Boodhoo

Protocol reference number: HSS/1538/015D
Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 19 October 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Supervisor: Professor Michael Anthony Samuel
Academic Leader Research: Prof P Morojele
School Administrator: Ms T Khumalo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymann@ukzn.ac.za / mohunn@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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Appendix E - Access to school

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Title of Project: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers.

The Rector.

Date: 21 October 2016

***** State Secondary School.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Ref: Access to school for data production

I am a Secondary Educator working for the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research posted at Triolet State Secondary School. Presently, I am carrying out a research project as part of a PhD study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban (Edgewood Campus) in collaboration with the Mauritius Institute of Education. My project focusses on casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers.

I have the approval of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research to carry out the study in State Secondary schools of Zone 1 and I have also obtained the Ethical Clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of University of Kwazulu Natal. This study will involve supply teachers and permanent teachers as well as other members from the academic or administrative section of your institution: the Senior Educator, the Deputy Rector or the Rector.

I would be highly thankful to you if you could grant me the permission to carry out data production regarding this qualitative case study in your institution.

Should I be given your authorisation to carry out the research in your institution, I undertake to stick to the following procedure regarding the production of data.

Procedure:

- I will submit a copy of the Ethical Clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of the University of Kwazulu Natal to the administration section of your institution.

- I will submit a copy of the approval letter from the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research to access the State Secondary Schools for the purpose of data production regarding my research work.
- I will get in touch, through you, with the participants: 3 supply teachers, 1 permanent teacher and 1 staff from the teaching/administrative body of your institution (Senior Educator/ Rector/ Deputy Rector).
- The participants will be briefed on the objectives and the methodology of the study. This will be followed by an exposé of the rules of the tools that will be used for data production.
- The participants will be informed of their rights which include their freedom of not answering a question or to completely withdraw from the study.
- The participants will be informed of the benefits of participating in the study.
- The participants will be asked to read the Participant's Information Sheet and seek clarifications if needed.
- The people who volunteer to participate in the study will be requested to sign an informed consent form declaration.
- Utmost care will be taken so that the production of data does not cause disruption in the work of the participants by arranging for meetings when they are free.
- The participants will be solicited for the data production outside school hours
 - (i) To carry out a collage activity will last 30 minutes.
 - (ii) To carry out a Stimulated Recall Interview which will last one hour and which will use the collage as trigger material.
- The participants will be required to ultimately check the report to ascertain its accuracy.
- A draft copy of the research instruments which includes the different interview schedules, a guideline for the Stimulated Recall Interview will also been submitted to you and any change brought to these research instruments will promptly be brought to your notification.
- A data production plan will also be submitted.
- Every document pertaining to the research will be destroyed at the end of the research.
- Pseudonyms will be used for the teachers' names. Moreover, the school name will **not** be used to ascertain anonymity.

Procedure (continued)

- All data produced on the field will be used solely for my PhD thesis.
- The permission of the participant is *sine qua non* for the publication of the findings in the form of research reports, conferences presentations and publication in research journals.
- Key findings from the study will be shared with the participants upon the latter's request.
- All meetings will be negotiated with the participants to avoid disruption in his/her work.

If you require any further information regarding this research project you may contact the Research Department of the Mauritius Institute of Education on 401 6555 or contact the supervisors for this project who are Professor

Michael Anthony Samuel from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Education and Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye from the Mauritius Institute of Education.

<u>Principal Investigator</u>	<u>Supervisors</u>
Name: Mr Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar Telephone: 283 5137 Cell: 5 7501278 e-mail address: devpreetum@gmail.com	Name: Professor Michael Anthony Samuel e-mail address: samuelm@ukzn.ac.za Name: Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye e-mail address: h.mariaye@mieonline.org

You may also contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

Their email address is as follows:

Name : Mr Premlall Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za OR	Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za
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Thank you for your collaboration.

Mr BOODHOO Devpreetum Kumar

Appendix F(i) - Participant Information Sheet-Supply Teachers

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Participant Information Sheet – Supply Teachers

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Dear Participant,

My name is Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar, and I am presently conducting a research on ‘casualisation and career pathing of Supply Teachers’ as part of a PhD study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban (Edgewood Campus) in collaboration with the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE).

I have obtained the authorisation of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research to access State Secondary Schools for data production regarding the aforementioned research. I have also obtained the approval of the Rector of the school where you are posted. Moreover, this project has been granted Ethical Clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of University of Kwazulu Natal. Following this I hereby invite you to participate in the research project.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To critically explore the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers.
- To contribute to knowledge around the possible influence of casualisation of the teaching workforce on the career pathing of supply teachers and its long term-effect on the future of the schooling system in Mauritius.

Your participation in the study will firstly involve you in a ‘Collage Activity’ which is an art based research approach to meaning making through the juxtaposition of a variety of pictures, words, phrases etc. This exercise will last around 30 minutes. The objective of this technique is to allow you to create your own meaning of the casualisation and how the phenomenon could possibly be influencing your career pathing it may as well depict your past and present career and also your projections and expectations of your future professional life. You will be provided with magazines rich in pictures, a pair of scissors, glue stick and an A-3 size sheet of

paper at the beginning of the data production session. You will not be required to bring any material for the purpose.

You will be guided throughout the ‘collage activity’ and the end product of the 30-minute work session will serve as a trigger material for a Stimulated Recall Interview which will be carried out right afterwards and which will last one hour. You are ascertained that you will not be evaluated for your artistic abilities.

The data production will be carried out outside school hours. The venue of the data production session will be negotiated with you. Moreover, all meetings will be arranged with your consent to avoid disruption in your work. The accuracy of the report that I will produce from the data generated will be ultimately verified by you.

There are no risks from participating in this study. All the information that you provide will be kept **strictly confidential**. The recording of your speech will be used solely for the purpose of the research and for no other purpose. All data produced on the field will be used solely for my PhD thesis.

Your permission will be requested for the publication of the findings in the form of research reports, conferences presentations and publication in research journals. However, your name and any other identifying information will not be revealed. Key findings from the study will also be shared with you upon your request. You are highly advised to use a different name during the Stimulated Recall Interview for the sake of protecting your identity. The data recordings and interview transcripts will be kept in a safe place, inaccessible to anyone else except myself and these will be destroyed at the end of the research.

Your participation, being voluntary, allows you to withdraw and stop participating at any time you wish. You may request that any data produced on the field during your participation not be used for the study. You will not be penalised in any way if you withdraw and stop participating in the study. You may as well refuse to answer any question without being subject to prejudice.

I earnestly hope that participating in this study will allow you to have insight on the casualisation of the teaching profession and the career pathing of the supply teachers. Moreover, the goal of this study is also to convey the voices of supply teachers to a different platform and to stretch the ongoing debate on the casualisation of the teaching profession and career pathing of short-term contractual teachers.

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact the Research Department of the Mauritius Institute of Education on 401 6555 or contact the supervisors for this project who are Professor Michael Anthony Samuel from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Education and Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye from the Mauritius Institute of Education.

<u>Principal Investigator</u>	<u>Supervisors</u>
Name: Mr Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar Telephone: 283 5137 Cell: 5 7501278 e-mail address: devpreetum@gmail.com	Name: Professor Michael Anthony Samuel e-mail address: samuelm@ukzn.ac.za Name: Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye e-mail address: h.mariaye@mieonline.org

You may also contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

Their email address is as follows:

Name :Mr Premlall Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer

e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

OR

Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer

e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your collaboration.

Mr Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar

Appendix F(ii) - Participant Information Sheet- Non-Supply Teachers

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Participant Information Sheet – Non-Supply Teachers

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Dear Participant,

My name is Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar, and I am presently conducting a research on ‘casualisation and career pathing of Supply Teachers’ as part of a PhD study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban (Edgewood Campus) in collaboration with the Mauritius Institute of Education.

I have obtained the authorisation of the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research to access State Secondary Schools for data production regarding the research. I have also obtained the approval of the Rector of the school where you are posted. Moreover, this project has been granted Ethical Clearance from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) of University of Kwazulu Natal. Following this I hereby invite you to participate in the research project.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To critically explore the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers.
- To contribute to knowledge around the possible influence of casualisation of the teaching workforce on the career pathing of supply teachers and its long term-effect on the future of the schooling system in Mauritius.

Your participation in the study will firstly involve you in a ‘Collage Activity’ which is an art based research approach to meaning making through the juxtaposition of a variety of pictures, words, phrases etc. This exercise will last around 30 minutes. The objective of this technique

is to allow you to create your own meaning of the casualisation process affecting the supply teachers and how the phenomenon could possibly be influencing their career pathing.

You will be provided with magazines rich in pictures, a pair of scissors, glue stick and an A-3 size sheet of paper at the beginning of the data production session. You will not be required to bring any material for the purpose.

You will be guided throughout the 'collage activity' and the end product of the 30-minute work session will serve as a trigger material for a Stimulated Recall Interview which will be carried out right afterwards and which will last one hour. You are ascertained that you will not be evaluated for your artistic abilities.

The data production will be carried out outside school hours. The venue of the data production session will be negotiated with you. Moreover, all meetings will be arranged with your consent to avoid disruption in your work. The accuracy of the report that I will produce from the data generated will be ultimately verified by you.

There are no risks from participating in this study. All the information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential. The recording of your speech will be used solely for the purpose of the research and for no other purpose. All data produced on the field will be used solely for my PhD thesis.

Your permission will be requested for the publication of the findings in the form of research reports, conferences presentations and publication in research journals. However, your name and any other identifying information will not be revealed. Key findings from the study will also be shared with you upon your request. You are highly advised to use a different name during the interviews for the sake of protecting your identity. The data recordings and interview transcripts will be kept in a safe place, inaccessible to anyone else except me and these will be destroyed at the end of the research.

Your participation, being voluntary, allows you to withdraw and stop participating at any time you wish or you may request that any data produced on the field during your participation not be used for the study. You will not be penalised in any way if you withdraw and stop participating in the study. You may as well refuse to answer any question without being subject to prejudice.

I earnestly hope that participating in this study will allow you to have insight on the casualisation of the teaching profession and the career pathing of the supply teachers. Moreover, the goal of this study is also to convey the voices of supply teachers to a different platform and to stretch the ongoing debate on the casualisation of the teaching profession and career pathing of short term contractual teachers.

If you require any further information regarding this research project or your participation in the study you may contact the Research Department of the Mauritius Institute of Education on 401 6555 or contact the supervisors for this project who are Professor Michael Anthony Samuel from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Education and Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye from the Mauritius Institute of Education.

<u>Principal Investigator</u>	<u>Supervisors</u>
Name: Mr Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar Telephone: 283 5137 Cell: 5 7501278 e-mail address: devpreetum@gmail.com	Name: Professor Michael Anthony Samuel e-mail address: samuelm@ukzn.ac.za Name: Dr Hyleen Sandra Mariaye e-mail address: h.mariaye@mieonline.org

You may also contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

Their email address is as follows:

Name :Mr Premlall Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer

e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za OR

Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer

e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for your collaboration.

Mr Boodhoo Devpreetum Kumar

Appendix G(i) - Biographical Data Sheet-Supply Teachers

BDS				
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Biographical Data Sheet [Supply Teacher]

Aim: The Biographical Data Sheet is destined to collect biographical data to facilitate handpicking of the participants who best suit the requirements of the research project.

N.B: All the information provided in the Biographical Data Sheet will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the targeted audience is assured complete anonymity irrespective of the individual being contacted or not for further query.

1. Name:
2. Contact Number:
3. E-mail:
4. Name of State Secondary School (Present posting):
5. Qualifications (Please Tick as appropriate):
 - Masters
 - Degree
 - Diploma
 - HSC/ GCE A Level
 - SC/GCE O Level
 - Any other (please specify):
6. Highest level studied/ or presently studying:
7. Present Occupation: Date Joined:
8. Reasons for choosing present occupation:
9. Pre-service Training for present Occupation:
10. Projected career possibilities:
11. Reasons for projected career possibilities:
 - (i) (ii)
 - (iii)..... (iv).....

(Continued)

	List below the type of occupations you have engaged with since leaving secondary school.	Name the institution/company at which this occupation was undertaken?	Which years did you practice in this occupation?	What were the reasons for your leaving this occupation?	What official training/ qualifications did you have for practicing in this occupation? Where did you train/study for this qualification/ training?	Any other notes you may wish to list regarding your previous occupation before coming to this present school.
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

Appendix G(ii) - Biographical Data Sheet- Non-Supply Teachers

BDS				
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Biographical Data Sheet [Permanent Teachers/ Senior Educators/ Deputy Rectors/ Rectors]

Aim: The Biographical Data Sheet is destined to collect biographical data to facilitate handpicking of participants who best suit the requirements of the research project.

N.B: All the information provided in the Biographical Data Sheet will be treated with utmost confidentiality and the targeted audience is assured complete anonymity irrespective of the individual being contacted or not for further query.

12. Name:

13. Contact Number:

14. E-mail:

15. Name of State Secondary School (Present posting):.....

16. Highest level studied/ or presently studying:

17. Present Occupation: Date Joined:

18. How many supply teachers have you met in your career till date?

- 0
- 5-10
- 11-20
- More than 20

19. In a scale of 1- 10, what would you assign to how much you know about supply teachers.

.....

20. What strikes you most among this category of short term contractual teachers? (*indicate briefly*)

.....
.....

21. Any other comments regarding supply teachers?

.....

Appendix H(i) - Informed Consent- Declaration - Supply Teachers

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme Informed Consent: Supply Teachers

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Declaration

I (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the content of the Participant Information Sheet which comprise the purpose and procedures of the research project [Document *]. Moreover, I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study and I have been answered to my satisfaction.

Therefore I consent to participating in the following:

- A Collage Activity
- A Stimulated Recall Interview

I understand that my participation in the study is entirely voluntary and I have the freedom to withdraw from the research project at any time, should I so desire, without affecting any of the benefits that I am entitled to.

For any further queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher or the supervisors. Moreover, for further clarifications about my rights as a study participant or any other aspect of the study I may as well contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

The contact details as follows:

Name :Mr Premlall Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer

e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

OR

Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer

e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent where applicable

	YES	NO
I hereby provide consent to audio-tape my interview		

Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Stamp of Institution:

Appendix H(ii) - Informed Consent- Declaration - Non supply Teachers

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Informed Consent: Permanent Teacher/ Senior Educator / Deputy Rector/ Rector

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Declaration

I (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the content of the Participant Information Sheet which comprise the purpose and procedures of the research project [Document *]. Moreover, I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study and I have been answered to my satisfaction.

Therefore I consent to participating in the following:

- A Collage Activity
- A Stimulated Recall Interview

I understand that my participation in the study is entirely voluntary and I have the freedom to withdraw from the research project at any time, should I so desire, without affecting any of the benefits that I am entitled to.

For any further queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher or the supervisors. Moreover, for further clarifications about my rights as a study participant or any other aspect of the study I may as well contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

The contact details as follows:

Name :Mr Premllal Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer

e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

OR

Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer

e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent where applicable

	YES	NO
I hereby provide consent to audio-tape my interview		

Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Stamp of Institution:

Appendix H(iii) - Informed Consent- Declaration – Director

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Informed Consent: Participant from Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Declaration

I (full name of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the content of the Participant Information Sheet which comprise the purpose and procedures of the research project. Moreover, I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research study and I have been answered to my satisfaction.

Therefore I consent to participating in a semi-structured interview. I understand that my participation in the study is entirely voluntary and I have the freedom to withdraw from the research project at any time, should I so desire, without affecting any of the benefits that I am entitled to.

For any further queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher or the supervisors. Moreover, for further clarifications about my rights as a study participant or any other aspect of the study I may as well contact the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

The contact details as follows:

Name :Mr Premlall Mohun- Senior Administrative Officer

e-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

OR

Name : Ms Phumelele Ximba - Administrative Officer

e-mail: XIMBAP@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent where applicable

I hereby provide consent to audio-tape my interview	YES	NO

Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Appendix I(i) - Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule FST&RST

Stimulated Recall Interview (SRI) Schedule - Supply Teachers

[MIE/UKZN PhD Programme]

Topic: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

The SRI will use the collage, produced at the beginning of the data production exercise, as trigger material. The interview will focus on three chunks of time pertaining to the supply teacher. Firstly and briefly on his/her aspirations and expectations prior to starting his/her professional life. The focus will then be shifted to his/her early work experiences as well as their actual work experiences after joining as supply teacher. The last chunk of the SRI will focus on the projected plans of the supply teachers regarding their future professional life and the strategies they envision to materialise their goals.

1. The aspirations of participants prior to becoming supply teachers

- a. Before we begin with the interview I'd like to confirm that you've read and signed the informed consent, that you understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, that you may refuse to answer any questions and that you may withdraw from the study at any time.
- b. Do you have any questions before we proceed?
- c. Would you like to tell me a little about yourself? Your student life, your aspirations as a student?
 - What you wanted to do when you were at the university?
 - What were the career options that were available?
 - What are the jobs you applied for?
- Did you work in other places prior to becoming a teacher?
- d. How were the work similar or different to teaching? What past professional experiences made teaching appealing?
- e. What motivated your decisions to join as supply teacher? / How you came to teaching? / How did you choose to become a supply teacher?

[10 minutes]

2. The early/actual experiences of supply teaching within the school milieu.

- a. Could you tell me about something that you cannot forget during you stay at school as supply teacher (Without mentioning the name of the school)?
Why do you remember this event?
What makes it memorable?
What did you learn from this event?
- b. What do you find good in your job that motivates you to stay in the profession as supply teacher, despite its contractual nature? [private tuition, popularity to have more students for Private tutoring as you keep on changing school]
- c. What are the positive aspects of being a supply teacher as opposed to a permanent teacher?
- d. What is so bad that may offset the advantages and cause you to look for something else? [Travelling long distances / how do supply teachers interpret the move of the Ministry to post them in schools distant from their residence?]
- e. If you were to have a conversation with a student graduating from university with a degree, what would you say to him/her about the career paths of a supply teacher?
- f. What influence do you think being a supply teacher has on one's career prospects?
- g. Career wise, what you can and what you cannot achieve as a supply teacher?
- h. What should have been different for a supply teacher in state secondary schools according to you?
- i. May I ask you to explain to me your collage?
- j. Why did you choose to represent supply teaching in this way?
- k. What is the reason for showing ...? / What do you want to convey through ...?

[25 minutes]

3. What Next?

a. Immediate future

- You have joined anew as supply teacher. Would you please tell me if you intend to continue as supply teacher till the end of the contract or you may shift to another job if you get a better opportunity?
- What opportunities would appeal to you and why?
- Do you have any short term plan?

b. Near future

Scenario 1:

Imagine you had the choice to do something else, apart from teaching, what could be the immediate options available that may appeal to you? / How do you consider recycling yourself?

Scenario 2:

Imagine next year you don't get a job as supply teacher. What will you do?

Scenario 3:

Imagine next year you are given an opportunity to serve as supply teacher. After having worked for three months you are offered a permanent post but in a lower grade. What will you do and why?

Scenario 4:

You said earlier that you have a degree in If next year you are offered a post of for a short term and you are also offered to join as supply teacher by the Ministry of Education. What will you choose and why?

c. Faraway future

Scenario 1:

Imagine a change in Government policy suggests recruiting the supply teachers after they have served for five years and after having been favourably reported. What decisions you may take and why?

- Career wise where do you think you will be in a decade? Why?

d. Closing

I: Is there anything else that you would like to add?

I: Well, thanks for taking the time to talk with me today. I really appreciate it. If I need to have some more clarifications later, if there are one or two questions, may I contact you anew?

[25 Minutes]

Appendix I(ii) - Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule FoST

Stimulated Recall Interview (SRI) Schedule - Former Supply Teachers

[MIE/UKZN PhD Programme]

Topic: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

The SRI will use the collage, produced at the beginning of the data production exercise, as trigger material. The interview will focus on three chunks of time pertaining to the former supply teacher. Firstly and briefly on his/her aspirations and expectations prior to starting his/her professional life. The focus will then be shifted to his/her early work experiences as well as their later work experiences after joining as supply teacher. The last chunk of the SRI will focus on how the former supply teachers are living their present career and what are their projected plans regarding their future professional life and the strategies they envision to materialise their goals.

2. The aspirations of participants prior to becoming supply teachers

- f. Before we begin with the interview I'd like to confirm that you've read and signed the informed consent form, that you understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, that you may refuse to answer any questions and that you may withdraw from the study at any time.
- g. Do you have any questions before we proceed?
- h. Would you like to tell me a little about yourself? Your student life, your aspirations as a student?
 - What you wanted to do when you were at the university?
 - What were the career options that were available?
 - What are the jobs you applied for?
 - Did you work in other places prior to becoming a teacher?
- i. How were the work similar or different to teaching? What past professional experiences made teaching appealing?
- j. What motivated your decisions to join as supply teacher? / How you came to teaching? / How did you choose to become a supply teacher?

[10 minutes]

2. The early experiences of supply teaching within the school milieu.

- l. Could you tell me about something that you cannot forget during you stay at school as supply teacher (Without mentioning the name of the school)?
Why do you remember this event?
What makes it memorable?

What did you learn from this event?

- m. What did you find good in the job that could have motivated you to stay in the profession as supply teacher, despite its contractual nature? [private tuition, popularity to have more students for Private tutoring as you keep on changing school] / What are the positive aspects of being a supply teacher as opposed to a permanent teacher?
- n. What is so bad that could offset the advantages and cause a supply teacher to look for something else? [Travelling long distances / how do supply teachers interpret the move of the Ministry to post them in schools distant from their residence?]
- o. If you were to have a conversation with a student graduating from university with a degree, what would you say to him/her about the career paths of a supply teacher?
- p. What influence do you think being a supply teacher has on one's career prospects?
- q. Career wise, what you can and what you cannot achieve as a supply teacher?
- r. What should have been different for a supply teacher in state secondary schools according to you?
- s. May I ask you to explain to me your collage?
- t. Why did you choose to represent supply teaching in this way?
- u. What is the reason for showing ...? / What do you want to convey through ...? **[25 minutes]**

4. Why Former Supply Teacher?

- e. Now that you are unemployed, how are you living presently? How do you spend your day?
- f. What could be done to improve your present situation?
- g. I know life might not be easy for you. Still, for the sake of the interview I would like to ask you if there is a bright side to what you are living now?
- h. What are your future plans? Short/ medium and long term

Scenario 1:

Imagine you had the choice to do something else, apart from teaching, what could be the immediate options available that may appeal to you? / How do you consider recycling yourself?

Appendix I(iii) - Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule - Permanent Teacher

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule – Permanent Teacher

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of Supply teachers

Purpose of interview: The aim of this interview is to explore the permanent teacher's knowledge around the casualisation of the teaching profession in the state secondary schools through a review of the critical incidents involving their immediate colleagues, the supply teachers. These include the stories that the supply teachers might have shared with their permanent counterparts as well as accounts from their daily routine work. Being co-workers in a school set-up, it is assumed that the permanent teachers might possess pertinent information pertaining to the casualisation experiences of the supply teachers (STs) and its influence (or not) on the latter's (STs) career trajectory as.

The data production exercise will start with a collage activity which will last 30 minutes. This collage will then be used as a trigger material for the SRI which will be carried out subsequently.

The interview will last around 1 hour and will probe on:

- i. What the participants know through what the supply teachers might have shared with them about what were their aspirations prior to joining as supply teachers
- ii. The participant's knowledge regarding the early and actual professional life of Supply Teachers based on experiences that these Supply Teachers could have shared with them previously
- iii. What the participants know about the potentiality for the 'casual-status experience' of the supply teachers in shaping, or not, the career trajectory of the supply teachers

START

- k. Before we begin with the interview I'd like to confirm that you've read and signed the informed consent form, that you understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, that you may refuse to answer any questions and that you may withdraw from the study at any time.

- l. Do you have any questions before we proceed?

- m. Would you like to tell me a little about yourself? Your professional life? What you did prior to joining teaching? What brought you to teaching? How long have you been in this profession? In how many schools have you worked till date?

- n. Having such a rich career in the secondary, you must have met and personally known many supply teachers? They might have surely shared many of their experiences with you?

- o. What do you find striking about the supply teachers?

- p. Is this what you want to convey through your collage?

[10 Minutes]

1. The aspirations prior to joining as supply teachers

- a. Did any supply teacher share with you about his/her aspirations prior to joining as supply teacher? What they wanted to do? What possibilities were available were available for them after the completion of their degree?

- b. Was supply teaching their first job? Was it their first choice?

- c. Did they tell you why they chose to join as supply teacher?

[10 Minutes]

2. The early and actual professional life of Supply Teachers

- a. Can you tell me of an incident / event in your place of work which involved a supply teacher that had a lasting effect on you? Something that made you reflect on the person/s.

- b. What makes you remember this event?

- c. How do you think the supply teacher felt about the event? What do you think s/he saw as positive / negative learning experiences from this event?
- d. Imagine you are a supply teacher. How would this be different from your present position as a Rector/ Deputy Rector? What would you be able to think /do/feel/act as a Supply Teacher compared to your present position?
- e. What does your collage convey about how the supply teachers do/feel/act?
- f. What would you like to see changing in the work of the Supply Teacher?
Why?

[25 Minutes]

3. The career trajectory of the supply teachers

- a. Has any supply Teacher explained to you why s/he wished to reapply as supply teacher? What were the reasons evoked?
- b. Did any Supply Teacher tell you that s/he would prefer another job to supply Teaching? What were the reasons that were suggested?
- c. If someone close to you chooses or expresses his/her wish to be a Supply Teacher, what would be your advice to that person? Why?
- d. Do the supply Teachers whom you know usually share their future plans with you? Would you share some of the plans that appealed to you? Why did you find these plans appealing?
What about the plans which were less appealing? Why do you find these plans less appealing?
- e. How are the supply teachers whom you know recycling themselves?
- f. What do most of the supply teachers whom you consider as ideal?

I: Thank you for giving me so much of your precious time. I'm really pleased, I've got rich data. If I need to have some more clarifications later, if there are one or two questions, may I contact you anew?

[25 Minutes]

Appendix I(iv) - Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule - Rector

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Stimulated Recall Interview Schedule – Rector / Acting Rector / Retired Rector / Deputy Rector

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of Supply teachers

Purpose of interview: The aim of this interview is to explore the participant's knowledge around the casualisation of teachers in the state secondary schools through a review of the critical incidents involving the supply teachers or stories that the supply teachers might have shared with the participants (Rector / Acting Rector / Retired Rector / Deputy Rector) regarding their career. Being a staff at the managerial level Rectors/ Deputy Rectors are not only part of the immediate work environment of the ST's, but the latter are also immediately accountable to them. Hence, it is assumed that the Rectors, Acting Rectors, Retired Rectors and Deputy Rectors must be having pertinent information pertaining to the casualisation experiences of the supply teachers (STs) and its influence (or not) on the latter's (STs) career trajectory.

The data production exercise will start with a collage activity which will last 30 minutes. This collage will then be used as a trigger material for the SRI which will be carried out subsequently.

The interview will last around 1 hour and will probe on:

- iv. What the participants know through what the supply teachers might have shared with them about what were their aspirations prior to joining as supply teachers
- v. The participant's knowledge regarding the early and actual professional life of Supply Teachers based on experiences that these Supply Teachers could have shared with them previously
- vi. What the participants know about the potentiality for the 'casual-status experience' of the supply teachers in shaping, or not, the career trajectory of the supply teachers

START

- q. Before we begin with the interview I'd like to confirm that you've read and signed the informed consent form, that you understand that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, that you may refuse to answer any questions and that you may withdraw from the study at any time.
- r. Do you have any questions before we proceed?
- s. Would you like to tell me a little about yourself? Your professional life? What you did prior to joining teaching? What brought you to teaching? How long have you been in this profession? In how many schools have you worked till date?
- t. Having such a rich career in the secondary, you must have met and personally known many supply teachers? They might have surely shared many of their experiences with you?
- u. What do you find striking about the supply teachers?
- v. Is this what you want to convey through your collage?

[10 Minutes]

4. The aspirations prior to joining as supply teachers

- d. Did any supply teacher share with you about his/her aspirations prior to joining as supply teacher? What they wanted to do? What possibilities were available were available for them after the completion of their degree?
- e. Was supply teaching their first job? Was it their first choice?
- f. Did they tell you why they chose to join as supply teacher?

[10 Minutes]

5. The early and actual professional life of Supply Teachers

- g. Can you tell me of an incident / event in your place of work which involved a supply teacher that had a lasting effect on you? Something that made you reflect on the person/s.
- h. What makes you remember this event?
- i. How do you think the supply teacher felt about the event? What do you think s/he saw as positive / negative learning experiences from this event?

- j. Imagine you are a supply teacher. How would this be different from your present position as a Rector/ Deputy Rector? What would you be able to think /do/feel/act as a Supply Teacher compared to your present position?
- k. What does your collage convey about how the supply teachers do/feel/act?
- l. What would you like to see changing in the work of the Supply Teacher?
Why?

[20 Minutes]

6. The career trajectory of the supply teachers

- a. Has any supply Teacher explained to you why s/he wished to reapply as supply teacher? What were the reasons evoked?
- b. Did any Supply Teacher tell you that s/he would prefer another job to supply Teaching? What were the reasons that were suggested?
- c. If someone close to you chooses or expresses his/her wish to be a Supply Teacher, what would be your advice to that person? Why?
- d. Do the supply Teachers whom you know usually share their future plans with you? Would you share some of the plans that appealed to you? Why did you find these plans appealing?
What about the plans which were less appealing? Why do you find these plans less appealing?
- e. How are the supply teachers whom you know recycling themselves?
- f. What do most of the supply teachers whom you consider as ideal?

I: Thank you for giving me so much of your precious time. I'm really pleased, I've got rich data. If I need to have some more clarifications later, if there are one or two questions, may I contact you anew?

[20 Minutes]

Appendix J - Reflective Journal [Extract]

24 July 2017

I met [.....] in Port Louis [my wife's office] and briefed her on my expectations regarding the transcription exercise that I was assigning her. I handed over a pen drive with the audiotaped Stimulated Recall Interviews of Katrina and Picasso. It was when on my way back I happened to go through Bissondoyal Street that I recalled that it was the road leading to Gayasing Ashram. It's then that I started to have memories of a motorcyclist... of my mother holding my hand and walking with me and talking to me. I started to remember and connect each and every word of Professor Michael who was talking about the notion of TIME & SPACE.

25 July 2017

I am being haunted by some questions. Is permanency the solution or is it THE PROBLEM? Permanency deprives a chance to others while temporariness would ideally give equal chance to everyone. Is equality not to be promoted? Referring to what Roy said in his Interview, even the politicians seem to be aware of this and they are casualising jobs in every sector. We can't have a permanent job with a temporary life. Everything is temporary. However, a so-called permanent job relieves the employee of the feeling of being permanently temporary. The suggestion is to prevent jobs from being precarious.

26 July 2017

Replied mail to participant from Ministry of Education. Mailed supervisors Roy and Sonia's Transcript, with comments for Roy. Worked on coding for the whole day. Thought of writing Case Study Reports instead of narratives.

27 July 2017

While coding Roy (p.23) I realised that the art-based method can be instrumental in cross analysis of data as in an earlier interview Katrina has used a particular picture to represent the dehumanization of the teaching profession and this has also been done by Roy in an equally evocative way. It was not too difficult to notice this emerging theme because of the collage used by participants to represent casualisation of the teaching profession.

I had a conversation with Manish and I told him my dilemma regarding analysis of the data I had produced. I was confused about whether I need to produce case study Reports or should I write narratives. He advised me to produce a narrative and get the opinion of my supervisors. He gave me numerous words of caution and advised me to consider three key elements in a narrative [that he got from the work of Ricoeur]

Appendix K - Questionnaire (Director Education)

MIE / UKZN PhD Programme

Questionnaire – Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Project Title: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Dear participant,

I would start by expressing my gratitude to you for accepting to participate in this research. This study explores the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers. It aims to contribute to knowledge around how the casual status of supply teachers influence the way they navigate their professional life and how the relationship between casualisation of the teaching workforce and the career pathing of supply teachers may redefine teacher professionalism.

To attain the above objectives it is imperative to understand the present discourse around the casualisation of the teaching profession through different vantages. This study is not meant to find fault or criticise the policy of supply teacher nor is it intended to condemn the Ministry of Education as these would be anti-scientific. Moreover, I am also bound by the data production protocol of the MIE and the UKZN which adopts a no-harm philosophy to the individuals participating in this study. I have maintained and I will maintain strict confidentiality and utter anonymity.

Please note that

- (a) You have the right to refuse participation at any time without having to give any reason.
- (b) You may refuse to answer a question without having to explain the reasons guiding your refusal.
- (c) The questionnaire is anonymous.
- (d) The data will be used only for this study.

Questionnaire

Section A – Background

1. A brief introduction of yourself (*please use a fictitious name*)

2. How have you been involved in decision-making pertaining to supply teachers?

Section B – Supply Teachers

1. How would you describe a supply teacher?

2. Why are supply teachers recruited to work in state secondary schools?

3. What are the different steps involved before the Ministry of Education advertises the post of supply teacher to work in the state secondary schools?

4. What are the different steps involved prior to the intake of the supply teachers to work in the different state secondary schools?

5. Once the supply teachers are posted in state secondary schools, how are they provided support and how is their work monitored?

6. When and why were the first supply teachers recruited to work in the secondary schools in Mauritius?

7. It was brought to my attention during the memorial of Frank Richard that even Mrs Shakuntala Hawoldar, who is a well-known person, joined the teaching profession as a supply teacher (post-independence). What has changed since then in the recruitment pattern and the work conditions of supply teachers?

8. A lot can be read in the press about the supply teachers. For instance, Le Défi Média mentioned [on 4 February 2017] that Government will be recruiting more and more (600) supply teachers. I take this statement from the press with a pinch of salt and I would like you to shed more light on this.

9. What is the proportion or percentage of supply teachers on establishment (i.e. who are posted in the state secondary schools) at present and how does that compare to permanent educators?

10. Do all the supply teachers [the first time supply teachers and the others with several years of teaching experience] get the same salary? What is the reason for remunerating the supply teachers in this way?

11. What is/would be changing regarding the selection and the work of the supply teachers?

12. One of the reasons for young people to join as supply teachers in the State Secondary Schools is the prevalence of employment scarcity. Are you aware of other reasons young people would wish to join as supply teachers?

13. Generally, we need to be very careful about the use of Government Funds and cutting down costs is an economic logic in an era of globalisation that perhaps explains the reason why supply teachers are not recruited for more than a year. However, is there anything more than this economic logic to explain the reasons for recruiting supply teachers?

14. Recently [Défi Média of 14 April 2017] the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI/RTI) recruited 81 permanent educators. This came as a blow to the former supply teachers who had been serving the MGI/RTI for several years, as none of them were selected. These supply teachers criticised the recruitment process by the MGI especially because two persons known to them as close relatives of the MGI directorate were chosen for the post. They reported this case to the ICAC. Despite the fact that the Ministry of Education is known to carry out the selection, recruitment and posting of supply teachers in total impartiality, do you think that such a situation may arise regarding the supply teachers who apply to work in state secondary schools?

15. In India the contractual teachers who are known as Para Teachers have carried out demonstrations demanding regularization of jobs and some have even sat on hunger strike and the opposition has been fueling those protests. Though supply teachers are not unionized in Mauritius we know from the press that there is a representative for the group [Défi Média 25 Oct 2016]. We also know that they communicate via Facebook and they also have the support

of some Trade Unionists [e.g The President of the Union of Private Secondary Education Employees – UPSEE - Défi Media- 5 October 2016] as well as that of politicians [e.g. Rama Valayden – 6 February 2016].

How would the Ministry of Education handle such a situation if ever such an upheaval arises in Mauritius?

- 16.** Some supply teachers opine that it is less probable for them to be recruited as permanent teachers as there are many MEDCO teachers who have been redeployed in the State Secondary Schools. If more private state secondary schools close their doors, the Government will be compelled to absorb this additional workforce in the state secondary school. This would technically be possible if Government keeps on recruiting supply teachers according to them. How far is this a rational argument explaining why the Ministry of Education will keep on recruiting supply teachers?

- 17.** It is commonly assumed that permanent teachers have made an abuse of the privileges that they have been granted; leaves, time-offs, permissions to name some. Consequently Government has been having recourse to supply teaching to check the excesses. To what extent is this a plausible argument?

- 18.** Any additional comments:

Appendix L (i)- Coded Interview Transcript [Katrina – Acting Rector]

SRI/05/R1/08/11/16/PL3/F

Topic: Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers

Research Interview No.5 Stimulated Recall Interview with Katrina (Acting Rector)

Date of Interview: 08.11.16

Duration: 1 hour 1 minute

P- Participant/ Interviewee

I- Interviewer

I: Uh good morning Katrina.

P: Good morning Mr Boodhoo.

I: Katrina before we begin the interview I would like to confirm that you have read and uh signed the Inform consent and that you've understand that the [] your participation is uh is uh entirely voluntary and uh you may refuse to answer any question, you may also withdraw from the study at any time.

P: Hmm, fine I've read everything, I agree to participate in your study and uh the only thing that I would like is you to know for you to keep me in first draft to see uh whatever you've taken from my words uh would be agreeable to me or will not cause any problem.

Commented [Dev Boodh1]: Ethics

I: Of course.

P: Yes.

I: Thank you.

P: That's all.

I: Uh Katrina would you like to tell me a little bit about yourself, about your ... I mean professional life?

P: Hmm ... yeah of course. For the time being I'm an Acting Rector. So, I lead a school. I've been leading schools for five to six years now. I've been a teacher from a very very long time ... some twenty five years and uh besides teaching I've also uh uh been examiner for DALF ... DELF and DALF and uh in that capacity I have been to uh a number of countries in the Indian Ocean either to follow courses or to give a hand to uh to colleagues.

Commented [Dev Boodh2]: Bio

I: Yeah. And uh since you have a long experience long I mean uh you have spent many years in the secondary schools uh may be you can tell me about uh in the different secondary schools you have worked?

P: Oh! I have worked in very many secondary schools starting from Rodrigues.

Commented [Dev Boodh3]: Bio

I: Ah!

P: Yeah I worked in Rodrigues when I was very very young. My ... in fact that was my first job. I wanted to go, I wanted to uh pursue my studies in France and uh you know going to Rodrigues was a kind of uh, of godsent to me because you were you were given twenty-five percent more on your salary. Uh but then what happened is that uh I met my husband there and I got married.

Commented [Dev Boodh4]: Bio

I: [laughing]

P: So I returned back to Mauritius and I pursued my studies in French uh locally and with the University of uh of Reunion and ever since I've started studying I never stopped. I went from you know from a uh first

degree to a 'licence'... to a 'masters' to several 'masters' and doing you know I was with I worked with l'Alliance Francalse also so I had a number of uh small scholarships where I went to to Tampon in Reunlon and uh and then I got interested also in education. I studied with Brighton and then what happened, Brighton only offered masters.

Commented [Dev Boodh5]: Bio

I: Yeah

P: [And this , when I finished my masters I wanted to do something else and uh because they didn't have anything in Mauritius nothing that I was interested in I mean [sound of a chime] so I uh I applied to uh to UCL. Universty College London and uh they accepted me as a doctoral student and I pursued my study my studies for five years in UK going two or three times a year and that's it so this was, this has been quite an enriching experience I would say and probably as you have noticed I'm a lifelong learner.

Commented [Dev Boodh6]: Bio

I: [laughing]

P: Yes

I: Having worked in so many state secondary schools may be you have come across uh of course you have come across many uh supply teachers?

P: No. In fact no. In my long uh career as a teacher

I: Yeah

P: There never used to be supply teachers in schools, not in state schools at least.

Commented [Dev Boodh7]: Pre-casualisation period

I: Yeah

P: I was in in Rodrigues, I was a contract teacher. I worked on contract

Commented [Dev Boodh8]: Bio/contact teacher

I: Ah!

P: Yes and uh after you had the possiblity of uh renewing your contract after three years uh or not. Some people left Rodrigues and went to Seychelles, you see? But I left Rodrigues I came back to Mauritius and I've been roaming in all the states school in Mauritius. No, I would say no except for Rodrigues where after you knew after three years either you'll be out or you could uh apply again. And uh then what happened also is that with the uh experience that you had in Rodrigues you could apply for, on the Mauritian establishment also. Ok? So you had all these possibilities.

Commented [Dev Boodh9]: Bio informing work conditions long ago

I: Yeah

P: At that time.

I: Yeah

P: [Uh so I worked in uh when I came to Mauritius I worked in Bambous, in Dhanpatlala, so in you know in the east, the west but mostly on the central plateau in Curepipe, in Quatre Bornes and then I worked for almost eleven years in Port Louis

Commented [Dev Boodh10]: Bio

I: Yeah

P: [And what happened is that. No I never came across uh supply teachers in my years as a, as a teacher or as a head of depart, as a head of department, What I came across with was tutees and mentees from MIE ...

Commented [Dev Boodh11]: Pre- casualization period

I: Yeah

P: ... for university but no, no other form of uh contract like teachers except as a uh. as a school leader

I: Yeah

P: Uh I ... yeah as a school leader, well we had to work with the uh supply teachers

I: Yes and you met many of them?

P: Well quite a number of them I would say.

I: Many

P: Yes, from RCC, Forest-side, and here, I've never ... this year has been a miracle here because we have had like forty-three supply teachers here.

I: Yeah, yeah and earlier you have seen that there were fewer of them and now there are more.

P: I can't say if there were fewer of them but in the school that where I was.

I: Yeah

P: There were very few of them may be it depends on zones you know in some zones there are very many educators may be in in this zone where you have so many state secondary schools and there is a dire need of educators which, which you don't have in the in the surrounding areas could be.

I: Yeah. Uh did any or some of the supply teachers uh share any experience with you, I mean uh their work experience, uh whenever they have lived, uh during in their professional life.

P: Uhm as a school leader not really. They can talk very officially about, you know what the things that they want, studies they were pursuing and uh some were even you know lecturing in some places

I: Yeah

P: Because they were not sure

I: Hmm

P: And and probably the salary was not enough for their living. But they they no they won't talk about their personal life with me. No I'm not probably I'm not that kind of rector [laughing].

I: What did you find striking about them?

P: What I found unfortunate is that some people come, keep coming year after year.

I: Yeah.

P: So some people have been supply teachers for years and this is uhh I, I don't think it is fair, I don't think this is honest but then this is one point of view but if you look at uh, at the system from a capitalist point of view it is the law of uh you know demand and supply. So probably there are very many uh educators on the market probably there are not that many vacancies unfortunately ...

I: Yeah

P: Or probably the government does not want to invest, to invest in in teaching or probably they don't want to invest now they will be investing because I hear now the interviews are going on so things we'll be changing for I hope most of them.

I: Did anyone share or do you know from so many years why is people join supply teaching?

P: Uhm yeah but then this would, this would not be first-hand information. I've heard that uh, you know, somebody was an engineer for example

I: Yeah.

P: Uh couldn't get a job

Commented [Dev Boodh12]: Known supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh13]: Work with supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh14]: Work with supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh15]: Supply teachers in the secondary

Commented [Dev Boodh16]: Supply teachers in the secondary

Commented [Dev Boodh17]: Power relations

Commented [Dev Boodh18]: Uncertainty

Commented [Dev Boodh19]: Possibly not well paid

Commented [Dev Boodh20]: Power relations

Commented [Dev Boodh21]: Unfortunate to keep on being a supply teacher

Commented [Dev Boodh22]: casualisation

Commented [Dev Boodh23]:

Commented [Dev Boodh24]: Demand and supply

Commented [Dev Boodh25]: Change of system

Commented [Dev Boodh26]: Reasons to join supply teaching

Commented [Dev Boodh27]: Reasons to join supply teaching

I: Yeah

P: And uh he applied for a job as teacher because he had to live. Okay and he became DT DC DT supply teacher and then I even heard that, I don't know to what extent that is true that there were doctors you know who didn't have a job and they applied as teacher. I know about that DC DT uh teacher and that one is true, about the doctor I am not very sure because this has been uh told me by somebody else.

Commented [Dev Boodh28]: Reasons to join supply teaching

I: Yes

Commented [Dev Boodh29]: Career pathing

P: So I won't know and uh I know of people who has left UK they were studying in UK.

Commented [Dev Boodh30]: Reasons to join supply teaching

I: Yeah

P: And then uh they tra, they worked in UK and then they lost their job they came to Mauritius.

Commented [Dev Boodh31]: Reasons to join supply teaching

I: Yeah

P: They came as supply teacher and well at the end of of October or November they have to go. So most importantly I would say it is because those people need to make a living, to earn their living. That's why they get into teaching.

Commented [Dev Boodh32]: Reasons to join supply teaching

I: Hmm

Commented [Dev Boodh33]: Career pathing

P: But the supply teachers I've seen here with whom you know when I do class observations and when I have formal or informal talk, some of them they love teaching. This is why they are here, they want to gain a foothold in teaching. They want the experience. So, uh I suppose for a good uh majority of them this would be the reason they see it as the job they want.

Commented [Dev Boodh34]: Reasons for retention

Commented [Dev Boodh35]: Acquire experience

I: Yeah, yeah. Since it's a very short term contract, one year contract uh how do you find them recycling re-cycling themselves?

Commented [Dev Boodh36]: Love for teaching

P: Re-cycling?

I: Re-cycling or I mean do they think of other opportunities that uh you know?

P: Yeah I think I do. They do think of alternative uh alternatives to uh being a supply teacher in state schools but what they look for is a teaching post in the private sector. I've got a couple of them who've gone to private schools.

Commented [Dev Boodh37]: Re-cycling

Commented [Dev Boodh38]: Career pathing

I: Yeah

P: Okay, uh as a on a permanent basis and uh well uh they've come a couple of times and I've seen them happy.

Commented [Dev Boodh39]: Career pathing

I: Yeah

P: They want to stay in teaching, most of them.

Commented [Dev Boodh40]: Wish to stay in teaching

I: Most of them

Commented [Dev Boodh41]: Retention

P: Yeah most of them.

I: And those who went to the private schools...

P: Yes

I: ... what was the motive behind according to you?

P: Because they were not sure they were going to be appointed to to get a permanent uh post ..

Commented [Dev Boodh42]: Reasons to join the private schools

I: Yeah

P: ... teaching post in the state sector, that's why. When they were offered a permanent post in the private sector they preferred to go. So it's all a question of security.

I: Yeah

[Sound]

I: That question of security, how do you think it affects the supply teacher in his work?

P: I think it depends on, it depends on on supply teachers themselves. Some of them they are I would say not that young so uh I suppose it uh it , it weighs on them but some of them they are like school children, they are like secondary school children so they are very optimistic about, you know, things will come their way and uh some they they they already have [had] their uh interviews uh at the PSC so they think that uh things will be brighter for them next year.

I: Yeah

P: So I think it depends really on, you know, on maturity of uh supply teachers

I: Of the supply teachers.

P: Yeah but they are they must be aware if that it is a tough uh competition and it's a tough world out there.

I: Yeah

P: They are aware of that

I: And that's why uh they are using uh means to join uh in a permanent position.

P: If they can because even there, there are not that many vacancies, there also the com.. the competition is rough. Yeah, but some manage because they have been teaching in State Schools they have had three or four years experience. So that's a plus

I: Yeah. You have been working uh in this school for many years in.

P: No. Two years now.

I: Yeah. Uh I mean from these two years do you gather uh what do you gather about the way the supply teachers are recruited uh do you find them, like you know the same supply teacher coming uh uh one uh I mean working for this year and coming for next year or you have uh another cohort of teachers I mean another group of teachers who are completely different from the ones who were there earlier?

P: Uh general we don't have the same teachers. It does not depend on us.

I: Yeah.

P: But what happens is, may be you've uh you've met that hindl teacher she was here last year

I: Yeah

P: And she she was asked fortunate for her

I: Yeah

P: Uh she was asked to select the school she wanted to go and teach

I: Yeah

Commented [Dev Boodh43]: Influence of casualised status on career pathing

Commented [Dev Boodh44]: Job security

Commented [Dev Boodh45]: Metaphor

Commented [Dev Boodh46]: Easy-going / unnecessarily optimistic

Commented [Dev Boodh47]: How the supply teachers view security

Commented [Dev Boodh48]: Competitive job market

Commented [Dev Boodh49]: The need to understand the present difficulties to get a job

Commented [Dev Boodh50]: Competitive job-market

Commented [Dev Boodh51]: Job market

Commented [Dev Boodh52]: Work experience

Commented [Dev Boodh53]: Referring to a teacher

Commented [Dev Boodh54]: Fortunate enough to be able to choose her posting

P: Okay and she chose this school because she been here before ... okay. So that's quite rare I think uh this kind of thing is done at Ministry's level, it is not of at our level.

Commented [Dev Boodh55]: Posting of supply teachers normally done by Ministry

I: Of course.

P: But what we could do, for example, I suppose if uh we need teachers next year and they are, they have been hiring supply teachers I could ask you know do you have so and so because that person is already use to the culture of the school. He's already used to, you know, to uh to the staff ...

Commented [Dev Boodh56]: Rector's discretion / intervention

I: Yeah

P: ... to my rectorship, so it could be good to have uh that person. Well, these are things to think about next year.

Commented [Dev Boodh57]: Rector's discretion

I: Yeah.

P: It's too early now.

I: Yeah but do you think, I just want to know uhm do you think if a supply teacher is posted from one school I mean uh when the con when the contract is renewed ...

P: Yes

I: ... and if that person is posted to another school will it be more beneficial for students and for the administration or it is better to have new supply teachers?

P: No. I you you have you need to teacher retention for you to build the skills to build competencies you need the same teacher.

Commented [Dev Boodh58]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: Because what happens in my school is that each month when I do that staff meeting I don't twist that meeting. I do a developmental meeting. So I teach them in a way what they need to know ...

Commented [Dev Boodh59]: Staff meeting – a platform to impart to supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: ... you know going from the basics as uh uh lesson plan, school development plan, assessment, formative, summative I talk about uh teaching standards. I don't just talk talks. We have discussions, we have workshops we have group work ...

Commented [Dev Boodh60]: Staff meeting – a platform to impart to teachers

I: Yeah

P: ... and they work on it. So am building competencies, I am building those teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh61]: Alternative way for Teacher Development

I: Yeah

Commented [Dev Boodh62]: Metaphor

P: I have to build them because they need to work with my student they need to, they need to build that community that we have at school but then what happens is that they leave in November, I can't do anything about it. Will I be having the same, no ... of course not.

Commented [Dev Boodh63]: The need to build teachers

I: And what happens to you then when

Commented [Dev Boodh64]: Determined to help but helpless

P: I start all over again

Commented [Dev Boodh65]: Restart the same work

[laughing]

P: Yeah

I: And how do you find this experience of restarting anew with you know

P: It's kind of frustrating because you waste your energy in things that have already been done when you could have been doing something more productive.

Commented [Dev Boodh66]: Casualization affecting teaching and teacher development

I: Yeah

P: But uh, but there are basics with which you can't uh, well you you which which you you have to address. You can't, you to, you cannot forego, you can't shut your eyes on things, as basics as etiquette, for example, or as courtesy.

Commented [Dev Boodh67]: Traits

I: Yeah

P: You know this why I was telling you that sometimes they are like secondary school students,

Commented [Dev Boodh68]: Traits

I: Yeah yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh69]: Metaphor

P: There are things they don't know. They don't know how, they don't know they need to say hello when they come [coughing]. They don't know if they are late they need to apologize or can you imagine? Now they can come late and they ask the senior educator to lend them her pen. They don't even have their tool ready. Sometimes, they come and they cheat in the time they come, so there's no ethics. Sometimes the goal... the bell goes, they have not gone out of the staff room but this is not restricted to supply teachers okay so uh. But when you are a new teacher you need to do things correctly. So these these I could you know enumerate a number of things I have observed.

Commented [Dev Boodh70]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh71]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh72]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh73]: Traits

I: Hmm.

P: But what I'm telling you is that I need to address basic things first when I say first first, it could be the whole term.

Commented [Dev Boodh74]: Traits

I: Yeah. And why do you think a supply teacher would behave like that I mean uh uh not uh mean ... not treat uh uh the elders I mean uh the seniors in a polite way or I mean ask the seniors to write the time, wrongly insert the time. Why why could be, I mean what are the reasons according to you?

P: I am tempted to tell you know you would get the the reason from them. If you ask them the question you would know.

I: Yeah.

P: But uh well am not generalising.

I: Yeah.

P: I suppose this kind of things it comes with your education.

Commented [Dev Boodh75]: Traits

I: Yeah.

P: With the upbringing.

Commented [Dev Boodh76]: Traits - possible causes

I: Yeah.

P: And uh training does not make that much difference. It comes with you, with your innate qualities ...

Commented [Dev Boodh77]: Traits - possible causes

I: Yeah

P: The way your parents brought you up ...

Commented [Dev Boodh78]: Traits - possible causes

I: Yeah

P: The way you have been educated throughout all your life saying hello, saying thank you, saying excuse me. If this does not come naturally so when so. But when you are an educator it is my job it is my duty to make sure that you behave in the right way.

Commented [Dev Boodh79]: Traits - possible causes.

Commented [Dev Boodh80]: Ascertain good behaviour

I: Yeah uh Katrina did you observed good things, positive things in these supply teachers?

P: Oh yes [coughing] Yes there are there are very well like I told you to not uh condition you on uh ...

I: Of course.

P: ... because uh [sound] Yes there are a number of uh supply teachers who are very enthusiast. They are very eager to learn. They want to participate in school life. They belong you know because belonging to clubs and committees and working for events that are held at schools spots day or uh you know end of term lunches and things like that these are additional responsibilities.

I: Yes

P: But some very happily you know take those responsibilities but I won't say they are very many of them ...

I: Yeah

P: ... and so this is one thing and second thing is that I've come across a number of teachers who wanted to to get a deeper understanding of pedagogy and they those they came to me asking me what they should do, what they should try, what they should read, and things like that and uh so these I think this this second group of people would be uh very good educators because they want to improve ...

I: Yeahh

P: ...and then there is a uh there is a third category who go a step beyond. You know I just uh in my, in my meetings in my uh communication with teachers sometimes I throw uh ideas I tell them you know these are things that you could try but these are risks. But it doesn't mean that when you try them you need to succeed in them, for example, I told, I gave them a photocopy uh of small booklet called peer coaching ...

I: Hmm.

P: ... you know when peers, you know teachers, they coach themselves, I don't need to go there and uh there's a protocol about how you do things, what you need to do, what you need to observe, how you write, how you write together your plan before going to class. Suppose I'm working with you ...

I: Hmm.

P: I'm I'm uh your peer in that coaching project we work together on for example I've been I've been teaching I will tell you you know uh I'm not sure that students are interacting enough in my class ...

I: Hmm.

P: Alter

I: Yeah

P: Okay, and then you would come back after the class and would discuss what you have seen...

I: Yeah

P: ... and ways in improving, in improving that that part and the, then you will invite me to your class ...

I: Hmm.

P: ... and we would decide on what aspect we would observe. You know, so we would be improving one aspect at a time.

I: Yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh81]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh82]: Handling additional responsibilities

Commented [Dev Boodh83]: Handling additional responsibilities

Commented [Dev Boodh84]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh85]: Agency

Commented [Dev Boodh86]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh87]: Traits

Commented [Dev Boodh88]: Alternative way of Teacher Development

Commented [Dev Boodh89]: Alternative way of Teacher Development

Commented [Dev Boodh90]: Alternative way of Teacher Development

P: And uh of course there's a reflection that goes into the peer coaching so each one would write his or her reflection.

Commented [Dev Boodh91]: Alternative way of Teacher Development

I: Hmm.

P: And uh in fact for the English department I did that in my school.

Commented [Dev Boodh92]: Alternative way of Teacher Development

I: Uh huh.

P: With one supply teacher.

I: Yeah

P: Okay and I was uh I was gratified, grateful and gratified that they took the risk, that they plunged themselves into it, they took the risk and they they came out the small booklet on their whole experience so that was one uh one uh educator and one supply teacher. So we have people who want to learn who want to know who want to improve who would be lifelong learners but there are others I won't say they are bad I would say they need to be trained. Unfortunately the training is absent in our system.

Commented [Dev Boodh93]: Agency

Commented [Dev Boodh94]: Lifelong learners v/s those who need continuous professional development

I: Yeah, means uh these supply teachers are ... should be trained.

P: But not only supply teachers but educators need to be trained continuously.

Commented [Dev Boodh95]: Need for training

I: Yeah.

P: But uh supply teachers even more.

Commented [Dev Boodh96]: Imperative training for the supply teachers

I: Yeah yeah.

P: Okay because there are so many things they don't know [coughing].

Commented [Dev Boodh97]: 'so many things they don't know'

I: Katrina uhm I would like you to express a little bit on the collage that you have produced

P: Yes

I: Yeah and uh I let you start and may be if I have questions to ask you on whatever you produced in the last uh you know uh,

P: Yes

I: earlier ...

P: Allow me to thank you because it was uh kind of uh uh very. Yeah it was creative and it was a very de-stressing you know using scissors and paper. Uh yes uhh look at this for example ...

Commented [Dev Boodh98]: Found collage 'creative and de-stressing'

I: Yeah

P: I uh I find it quite striking

Commented [Dev Boodh99]: 'Striking'

I: Yeah

P: You know ...

I: Yeah.

P: Because it reminds me of the, because I've have had so many supply teachers in my schools 43 of them who are almost fifty percent of my staff.

Commented [Dev Boodh100]: Number of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: Or more, more than fifty percent of my staff were supply teachers.

Commented [Dev Boodh101]: Number of Supply Teachers

I: Yeah.	
P: But it is a I feel there is a kind of dehumanization ...	Commented [Dev Boodh102]: Dehumanisation of teaching.
I: Yeah.	Commented [Dev Boodh103]: Metaphor
P: ... of the of the teaching ...	
I: Yeah.	
P: ... because whatever it is they are teachers.	Commented [Dev Boodh104]: Supply teachers are teachers after all
I: Yeah.	
P: Novice teachers but teachers.	Commented [Dev Boodh105]: 'Novice teachers but teachers'
I: Yeah.	
P: So I think there is a kind of dehumanization of the, of teachers.	Commented [Dev Boodh106]: 'a kind of dehumanisation of teachers'
I: Yeah.	
P: With that kind of hiring and firing and contract work.	Commented [Dev Boodh107]: 'With that kind of hiring and firing and contract work'
I: Yeah.	
P: Okay because those those teachers they can be fired at any time.	Commented [Dev Boodh108]: 'Fired at any time'
I: Hmm.	
P: Somebody was was uh absent an educator is absent he or she is absent for two months three months once he or she comes back that supply teacher goes.	Commented [Dev Boodh109]: 'Utilitarian purpose'
I: Yeah	
P: Okay. So this is the reason why I chose this one. They are all the same you know they are treated and the nakedness of it tells you it's quite inhuman	Commented [Dev Boodh110]: Inhuman
I: Hmm.	
P: This is for one.	
I: Yeah.	
P: And the second I suppose for quite a number of them it is not that it is not an easy job if you've got a good school its okay.	Commented [Dev Boodh111]: Posting and retention or attrition
I: Yeah	Commented [Dev Boodh112]: Career pathing – determining factors
P: If you've got a girl's school its okay in Mauritius. But if its if you got a boy's school and you are a good teacher and you want to make a difference, things are going to be very challenging for you. Uh you will be, its going to, you will have a rough time. The tides would be very high.	Commented [Dev Boodh113]: Posting and retention or attrition
I: Yeah.	Commented [Dev Boodh114]: Career pathing influences
P: Some, you will be very lonely.	Commented [Dev Boodh115]: Isolated
I: Yeah.	
P: And look at the mud...	Commented [Dev Boodh116]: Ref to collage – also explained after the interview that teachers especially the supply teachers handle the messy part in the education system.
I: Hmm.	

P: Okay so just to tell you uh in fact I've been in school where it was always raining.

I: Hmm.

P: And uh the school was quite far from the bus station and you had to run because you know once the 'navette' is gone for 30 minutes you won't get any anybody to, you won't get any lift, and you need to run have no umbrella, you have no raincoat, you get wet like this, ...

I: Hmm.

P: Coming to work and the third one there's, this is the, you know, they are young people.

I: Hmm.

P: Okay and uh when you look at them. They they seem to be uh I think happy together with laughing uh going out, looking for fun, so these why I chose uh that uh that picture.

I: Yeah.

P: Reminds me of you know a bit like like like children you know.

I: Yeah.

P: Okay they are not really, they they have not come into the mould of the teacher yet.

I: Yeah.

P: They are on on a, on some kind of boundary.

I: Yeah.

P: Okay uh, it's going to depend on them ...

I: Yeah.

P: ... to become you know that teacher that uh people who are who uh earns respect. So for the time being I see them a bit like that you know uh living on a day to day basis, laughing, shouting, going out.

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah they do work but uh having fun is a big part of their life.

I: [laughing]

P: So that would be it.

I: Yeah. Uhm from this I gather that their work is a bit messy.

P: Hmm.

I: Hmm and what uh do you think should be changed? What are the changes that should be brought according to you? Uh that could may be ease their life or make them more responsible and uh and uhh uh referring to this picture.

P: Hmm yeah of course ...

I: Yeah.

P: The big thing that is messing

I: Yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh117]: Ref to collage to convey teachers need to be dedicated

Commented [Dev Boodh118]: Getting the job done whatever it takes.

Commented [Dev Boodh119]: Collage to convey the easy going attitude of the supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh120]: A sense of immaturity

Commented [Dev Boodh121]: 'they are not really, they they have not come into the mould of the teacher yet.'

Commented [Dev Boodh122]: 'On some kind of boundary'

Commented [Dev Boodh123]: Becoming a worthy teacher is a self-decision

Commented [Dev Boodh124]: Easy-going attitude of supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh125]: 'They do work but uh having fun is a big part of their life'

P: It's not missing for the it is, sorry the the big thing that is missing

I: Yeah.

P: I say missing and missing ok.

I: Yeah.

P: Is missing.

I: Yeah.

P: Is not, it is not that that thing is missing for the supply teachers only, the thing is missing in the whole system. What is missing are professional teacher standards.

Commented [Dev Boodh126]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeah.

P: When you go into, when you come into teaching, you just copy what the others are doing, or you follow a bit some kind of routines.

Commented [Dev Boodh127]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeah

P: But you there's nothing nowhere written what you need to do ...

I: Yeah

P: ... with yourself, within the organisation uhh related to your head of department, related to the rector of the school, related to parents, related to students, if these things were very explicit they would know for the time being not only them but even the educators that are chosen by the PSC when they come it is the same thing for them, they don't know. They don't know this is why when I tell you of uh about saying good morning, good afternoon...

Commented [Dev Boodh128]: Professional standards missing

I: Hmm.

P: ... and sorry, these are assumptions. You assume that people know, but in fact no, they don't know.

Commented [Dev Boodh129]: Professional standards missing

I: Hmm.

P: You assume that people would know at what time they need to go into their class. You would assume that they know at what time they should release the students in the afternoon but do you think they know? What can happen is that one person sees a colleague allowing his students to go at two fifteen instead of two thirty and he does the same he or she does the same. Not understanding the consequences of such an act. Whereas if it had been written, things would have been very clear for everybody but teaching standards do not exist in our system. You have duties ...

Commented [Dev Boodh130]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeah.

P: ... and responsibilities. Nothing do you, do the, does any document tell you about ethics for example. Now with the new uh curriculum the policy makers are talking about a teachers council.

Commented [Dev Boodh131]: Professional standards missing

I: Hmm.

P: Prob... probably it will come but when I do not know and teachers tend to be afraid of councils because councils you know they may have the right to accept members or to reject and as we were talking uh before in the states your licence may not be renewed for example.

Commented [Dev Boodh132]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeah.

P: So there's a power game that could go there also.

Commented [Dev Boodh133]: Power game

I: Hmm.

P: But we come back to the to the problem of making things easy for them knowing what they need to do, it has to be a written.

Commented [Dev Boodh134]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeahh

P: It is not written this is why I have my dev developmental meeting just to tell them, look this is what is expected of you.

Commented [Dev Boodh135]: Professional standards missing

I: Yeah.

P: Okay and I have these written you know in internal circulars.

Commented [Dev Boodh136]: Actions to remedy

I: Very good uhm, I was really uhm, amazed because I saw you producing one more collage [laughing] and I really

Commented [Dev Boodh137]: Actions to remedy

P: Oh yeah.

I: Yes.

P: Okay

I: And in fact uh I was expecting you to produce one but you produce two and I would like you to explain this one also to me.

P: Well, of course.

I: Yeah.

P: Yes [...] I looked at this.

I: Yeah.

P: And I saw how gloomy the future was for our supply teachers.

Commented [Dev Boodh138]: Gloomy future

I: Yeah.

P: Okay. So you see that kind of uh only two colors.

Commented [Dev Boodh139]: Collage to convey monotony

I: Hmm.

P: Quite monotone, monotonous.

Commented [Dev Boodh140]: Monotonous.

I: Hmm.

P: And I felt that they must be feeling, you know, they must be feeling the same way, you know, once your job is over in one school there's no guarantee that they will have another another job next year.

Commented [Dev Boodh141]: Insecurity

I: Yeah

P: Okay. So this was symbolic of what I felt about those uh supply teachers.

I: Yeah.

P: I talked to you about time.

Commented [Dev Boodh142]: Time

I: Yeah.

P: You know other etiquette being on time, being on time for your own dignity, not cheating on time, not cheating, not cheating students' time, you need to be in class to teach you students. you don't, you should not

be uh allowing them to go because they are minors you have been picked to do a job, so this is why the symbol of the watch ...

Commented [Dev Boodh143]: Time

I: Yeah

P: I thought about this people coming together for some kind of work, this is what is missing not only for our, for our supply teachers but for the whole uh teaching system is continuing professional development this is how teachers improve their work.

Commented [Dev Boodh144]: CPD

I: Yeah.

P: Well, it is how everybody improves.

Commented [Dev Boodh145]: CPD

I: Yeah

P: You need to continue to teach to, you you need ...

I: To learn.

P: ... you need to learn. You need to look for information to keep ahead of what is coming, to be abreast of uh of new uh new findings, new research.

Commented [Dev Boodh146]: CPD

I: Yeah.

P: You need to be you yourself a kind of researcher...

Commented [Dev Boodh147]: CPD

I: Yeah.

P: ... for you to improve your place of work okay so this is why you have uh you know at the MIE and other uhm uh teacher training places you have uh you put so much emphasis on action researches.

Commented [Dev Boodh148]: CPD

I: Hmm.

P: Because action researches change, improve their place of work, emancipate themselves and their students

Commented [Dev Boodh149]: Action Research

I: Hmm.

P: You can't do do you can't be doing things in a routine way you won't progress.

Commented [Dev Boodh150]: CPD

I: Yeah.

P: Okay? You need that dissonance, somebody to tell you, no you are doing it wrong, you know, but you have to take that risk, okay? So that that this is the the continuing professional development thing.

Commented [Dev Boodh151]: CPD

I: Hmm.

P: But they are nice to watch, they are nice to observe.

I: Hmm.

P: They are, they are as I told you they are children almost.

I: Hmm.

P: They are they are very young adults and they have a kind of optimism, they have a kind, a kind of warmth, they have energy, they have dynamism, all this should be uhm channeled properly.

Commented [Dev Boodh152]: Traits

I: Have you also observed a sort of agency in them?

P: Uh you know I'm not very close to the staffroom, it is only when I have workshops or when I come close to the yes, yes in some of them yes.

Commented [Dev Boodh153]: Agency

I: Yeah.

P: In some of them. Not very many of them. I've seen a willingness. No, more than a willingness.

Commented [Dev Boodh154]: Willingness

I: Yeah.

P: Uh they have, yeah, they have found their catalyst of how they would go out of, you know, their their comfort zone and uh they they really want, you know, to uh become better.

Commented [Dev Boodh155]: Catalyst to get out of comfort zone to improve

I: Yeah.

P: They really want to have a chance in life.

Commented [Dev Boodh156]: Chance in life

I: Yeah and uh do you uh are you aware of what they are doing to have a better chance to increase their, may be their chances of employability.

P: Yeah, yes what they are thinking of...

I: Yeah.

P: ... fortunately even, they, they, some of them told me even if they don't get the, a contract next year they will apply for the PGCE full time.

Commented [Dev Boodh157]: Increase chances of employability

I: Yeah

P: So that they have some more chances you know having a PGCE, you will be uh acknowledged as a trained teacher.

Commented [Dev Boodh158]: 'acknowledged as a trained teacher.'

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah this would be a professional professional develop, professional certificate.

Commented [Dev Boodh159]: Get a professional certificate.

I: Yeah.

P: Well at least some of them. Okay, but may be the others are too frightened of me, they don't come to me.

I: [laughing] Yeah.

P: And this.

I: Yeah.

P: I thought of team spirit.

I: Yeah.

P: Okay. There's a very good team spirit among the supply teacher themselves not that much between supply teachers and educators.

Commented [Dev Boodh160]: Collage to convey team spirit among supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: Okay? Because some educators have been complaining to me about supply teachers. Yes they are very loud.

Commented [Dev Boodh161]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: They are loud, they are noisy.

Commented [Dev Boodh162]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

I: I would like you to elaborate on this.

P: Sorry

I: I would like you to elaborate on this.

P: But they they they they are forty-three of them.

I: Yeah.

P: So they they they they outnumber the educators.

I: [laughing]

P: Okay and the staff room is a small one.

I: Yeah.

P: But in my days when I was in in the staffroom it was a place where I could read, work, prepare ...

I: Hmm.

P: ... my work.

I: Yeah.

P: But what they do there is chatting and laughing not being aware that this is uh quite irritating and disturb and they disturb their uh their colleagues.

I: Their colleagues.

P: They are not aware of it.

I: Yeah

P: But nobody came to me with that. Nobody came to me with that problem. But then what I noticed that so many teachers go to the library. They are working in the library instead of working in the but the staff room is very comfortable we have there the air con and then the ... our library school I need the library for for my students.

I: Yeah.

P: And then I came to know that uh some of them were quite loud.

I: Yeah

P: Uh well I didn't do anything because I don't listen to uh, you know uh, palavers like this. What I need to know is to have facts.

I: Yeah.

P: Uh so uh a rare coincidence, a couple of days after, after, somebody came to me telling me that he uh a group of people they was quite noisy in the in the staff room ...

I: Hmm.

P: ... I was, you know, I was quite stressed one day and I needed to walk a bit. So I walked in front and it was, the sun was so uh. It was 'comment dire'¹ uh, you know the the Port Louis sun, how it can be ...

I: Scorching.

P: Yeah, very scorching. Then I thought I would sit on a bench outside.

Commented [Dev Boodh163]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh164]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh165]: In the past the staff room was a silent place

Commented [Dev Boodh166]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh167]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh168]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh169]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh170]: Educators complaint about supply teachers

¹ 'Comment dire' – French words meaning 'how shall I say it'

I: Yeah.

P: I sat on the bench, it was as if I was near a classroom without a teacher ...

I: [laughing]

P: ... with very naughty kids.

Commented [Dev Boodh171]: Noisy staffroom

I: [laughing]

P: I thought no or may be it is something it would pass fifteen minutes, thirteen minutes, forty-five minutes it went on like this.

Commented [Dev Boodh172]: Continuously noisy

I: Yeah.

P: So then I stepped in and I talked to them.

Commented [Dev Boodh173]: Solve issues pertaining to supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: And then I took that problem into my next developmental meeting.

Commented [Dev Boodh174]: Solve issues pertaining to supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: So telling them what freedom is? Freedom of expression ...

I: Yeah.

P: ... it stops where the freedom of your neighbour starts.

Commented [Dev Boodh175]: Solve issues pertaining to supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: So you see, I think these are things uhm you'd assume they would know.

I: Yeah

P: But they don't know.

I: Yeah [laughing].

P: You can't you can't talk loudly, you can't shout and then what happened on that very day when I went into the staff room I saw somebody sitting at a table, and talking to somebody who was at the other end of the staff room, you understand.

Commented [Dev Boodh176]: Behaviour expected from teachers

I: Yeah, yeah

P: I think this is not done.

I: Yeah [laughing]. Yeah.

P: If any uh I mean even at home we don't do that. You go and talk to the person, you don't shout.

Commented [Dev Boodh177]: Demeanour of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: So they are young so.

[Crosstalking and laughing]

P: So uh anything you want to know else on that

I: Yes, in fact I wanted to understand when they are uh, sort of, when they outnumber the permanent teachers, do they behave differently and have it been uh at school when they are few in numbers may be they would have behaved differently.

P: Of course, yes. Here it was different because there were so many of them. Okay?

I: Yeah

P: In, where I worked before there were there were supply teachers but there were a handful of them.

I: Yeah

P: Okay. So I never, there never was a a any problem like this.

I: Yeah

P: And then also what happened was that uh, those teachers they did not know those supply teachers.

I: Yeah

P: Why they were given three periods, I told them about the concept of protected time for teachers.

I: Yeah

P: What they need to do in this, during that time is you know working in your department, planning your work, discussing issues, but discussing in a way that your neighbour does not hear you.

I: [laughing]

P: Yes you can have you, you can of course you can from time to time have the jolly good moment but this time is given to you, you're paid for that, for that time.

I: Yeah.

P: Okay. So you're you need to work for you to become a better teacher.

I: Hmm.

P: Okay. Not, you know, shouting and laughing within a big group of seven or eight or ten people. This this is a school, the the main job, the main business of the school is teaching and learning where teachers need to learn. So I think they had some kind of a shock that day.

I: Yeah.

P: They were not expecting that reaction from me, I was also, I was shocked.

I: Yeah.

P: I was not expecting that behaviour.

I: Yeah.

P: So this is the way it went and then things got quiet after that.

I: Yeah.

P: After that but it all comes with the not only your, the the way the rector is going to address you, it comes with who you are.

I: Yeah.

P: Okay, this we 'won't be able to make much difference.

I: Hmm, but can we can we conclude from this, not conclude but let's think about may be when they are uh in great numbers they are more extrovert that's why they behave in that way.

Commented [Dev Boodh178]: The demeanour of the supply teacher may depend on their workforce.

Commented [Dev Boodh179]: No issue when they are few

Commented [Dev Boodh180]: 'Concept of protected time' causes the supply teachers to have more free time.

Commented [Dev Boodh181]: What supply teachers are expected to do when they are free.

Commented [Dev Boodh182]: What supply teachers are expected to do when they are free.

Commented [Dev Boodh183]: 'you need to work for you to become a better teacher'

Commented [Dev Boodh184]: Reminding teachers of their duties.

Commented [Dev Boodh185]: Shocking

Commented [Dev Boodh186]: Unexpected behaviour

Commented [Dev Boodh187]: 'things got quiet after that'

Commented [Dev Boodh188]: The character of the supply teacher is determining

P: Uh is it is quite normal.

I: Yeah.

P: It is quite natural and it is quite positive to be extrovert.

I: Yeah.

P: But you should not be noisy.

I: Yeah yeah.

P: It is very very good to be extrovert.

I: Yeah

P: Because where you are extrovert you are you will share.

I: Yeah.

P: You will share things.

I: Yeah.

P: You will become a generous person, hopefully.

I: Yeah.

P: But, that does not mean that you need to shout.

I: Of course.

P: Uh because what happens when you are in a group and when you want to talk and nobody is listening, you raise your voice.

I: Yeah

P: This is what happens. So they are quite ... they are kids

I: Yeah

P: In very many ways

I: Yeah [laughing]

P: Okay so eh.

I: Yeah you have one more picture I think.

P: Yeah

I: One or two were picked

P: Yes uhh this eh I've put it just to because that uh

I: Yeah

P: Sent a signal that you know today.

I: Yeah

P: We have tablets on each table but look at the isolation. They are all isolated. You can be [...] you can be technology, technologically linked but if you do not have the proper attitude.

Commented [Dev Boodh189]: The importance of being extrovert

Commented [Dev Boodh190]: Metaphor

Commented [Dev Boodh191]: 'technologically linked but if you do not have the proper attitude'

I: Hmm.

P: You don't have the proper uh disposition.

Commented [Dev Boodh192]: No proper disposition

I: Hmmmm

P: Uh train, I don't talk about training I suppose you must have had training but if you don't have have values uh dispositions, engagement, commitment you won't become a good teacher, even with technology.

Commented [Dev Boodh193]: Commitment

Commented [Dev Boodh194]: 'A good teacher'

I: Yeah.

P: Okay.

I: Yes.

P: You need to have that uh drive uh that commitment.

Commented [Dev Boodh195]: Commitment

I: Yeah

P: That thing that makes you go and look for solutions even when you well when you don't know. Mostly when you don't know you don't just stay there.

Commented [Dev Boodh196]: Commitment

I: Yeah

P: It it has to to send signals into you.

Commented [Dev Boodh197]: Committed to learning

I: Yeah

P: So you you need to be able to reflect but all this kind of things come with uh with not only intrinsic qualities ...

Commented [Dev Boodh198]: Commitment

I: Hmm.

P: ... with training and probably with the kind of context in which you are teaching also.

Commented [Dev Boodh199]: Commitment

I: Hmm.

P: Okay.

I: Yeah.

P: If you've got, if you don't have anybody to oversee what you are doing, probably you won't become a very good teacher, unless you are a genius.

Commented [Dev Boodh200]: mentoring

I: Yeah

P: But if you've got a very good head of department looking at your work, looking at your lesson plan ...

Commented [Dev Boodh201]: Professional development

I: Hmm.

P: ... who is nice who talks to you, who shares things with you, in whom you can confide ...

Commented [Dev Boodh202]: Professional development

I: Yeah.

P: ... and then you have a rector also or a senior educator with whom, where there is, that those links that make a professional learning community, you will become a good educator.

Commented [Dev Boodh203]: Professional development

I: Yeah.

P: Okay. But here for the time being, the way our system is ...

I: Hmm.

P: I see people, students isolated because of the competitive system, I see our teachers isolated. They can be together, you know, for a short span of time laughing, eating ...

I: Yeah.

P: ... but when it comes to real real things, things that matter, are they really together, do they share?

I: Yeah.

P: Do they discuss about their professional life?

I: Yeah.

P: Do they discuss about their practice? Do they discuss about you know problems they have had in class?

I: Means this also applies to supply teachers.

P: Yes, these supply teachers but they are shaping in the our students even though they are supply, they may be supply but their responsibility is as equal as that of educators. Because they are not, they are, it is not faking teaching.

I: Yeah.

P: They are doing the real thing.

I: Yeah.

P: They are preparing students for exams. They are develop, they are supposed to be developing a number of skills into into our students, are they doing it? So you see.

I: Yeah.

P: They may be called supply teachers ...

I: Yeah.

P: ... but in the classroom they are teachers they are educators.

I: Yeah.

P: So this is it [...] And then this reminds me of the mass you know the mass hiring like just like a factory, mass hiring of teachers, you know they take they hire and they fire.

I: Yeah.

P: And they send you anywhere you know, its just, you know, in it. I don't know who does it, what goes, what what uh factors come into play when they need to put somebody in a school, I really do not know, is it uh distance, I do not know because I have hear people, I'm, we are in Port Louls and we have people from the South coming to work here.

I: Yeah.

P: From the South Chemin Grener,

I: Hmm.

P: So its quite tough.

I: Yeah, yeah, you see its tough for the supply teacher.

P: Yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh204]: The present system

Commented [Dev Boodh205]: The present system

Commented [Dev Boodh206]: Professional life

Commented [Dev Boodh207]: Professional life / practice

Commented [Dev Boodh208]: Professional life

Commented [Dev Boodh209]: 'they are shaping our students'

Commented [Dev Boodh210]: Equal responsibility

Commented [Dev Boodh211]: Real teaching

Commented [Dev Boodh212]: Real Teaching

Commented [Dev Boodh213]: Real Teaching

Commented [Dev Boodh214]: 'in the classroom they are teachers they are educators'

Commented [Dev Boodh215]: Referring to collage

Commented [Dev Boodh216]: Metaphor

Commented [Dev Boodh217]: 'mass hiring and firing'

Commented [Dev Boodh218]: Posting of supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh219]: Posting of supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh220]: Posting of supply teachers

Commented [Dev Boodh221]: Posting of supply teachers

I: And how can it be a problem for other people also I mean uh the school and students.

P: They come late.

Commented [Dev Boodh222]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: They are tired.

Commented [Dev Boodh223]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah. And how can this situation, I was just asking your suggestion. Do you uhm, can you suggest something how can this situation be changed or ...?

P: About the

I: Yeah

P: The system

I: Yeah. I mean uh what could be done?

P: In the education system itself ...

I: Yeah.

P: Unless you get, you put that person in a, in a school nearer to his or her place of work.

Commented [Dev Boodh224]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: But that can, but what happens also is that probably that person uh teaches a scarce ...

Commented [Dev Boodh225]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: A scarcity subject.

I: Yeah.

P: You know where for example, Mandarin.

Commented [Dev Boodh226]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: If you are, if you teach mandarin you may be living in I don't know in Cap Malheureux and you go to work in in Forest Side because there are no teachers in the vicinity.

Commented [Dev Boodh227]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: Or even in the, in the zone. So it could be scarcity subject.

Commented [Dev Boodh228]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Hmm.

P: And those people when you, when uh, you know, I've been on the, on that panel choosing uh supply teachers, you ask them if you are given a a school quite far from their from their home would you accept and they say yes and you ask them would you be in time would you manage to be in time yes yes of course madam yes but then once they get into it.

Commented [Dev Boodh229]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah may be it's their priority to get the job.

P: Of course.

I: That is the reason why.

P: Yeah

I: They say yes

P: Of course but then

I: Yeah

P: As I told you we come back to the teaching standards, we come back to teaching ethics. If you are in UK ...

Commented [Dev Boodh230]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: The the [...] your employer.

I: Yeah

P: Will not look into where you live you need to be at your place of work in time.

Commented [Dev Boodh231]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: If if if twice you have not been in in time.

Commented [Dev Boodh232]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: You are out.

I: Yeah

P: They fire you

Commented [Dev Boodh233]: Posting of supply teachers

I: Yeah

P: So because they have a whole list, and then there's the mod ... you need to be a model to students, you I can't have I can't have sanctions for students coming late and uh I don't do anything for teachers coming late.

Commented [Dev Boodh234]: Be on time

I: Yeah, yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh235]: Posting of supply teachers

P: So, ...

I: Yeah, do you know many teachers who come late like this.

P: Yes.

I: Without mentioning their names,...

P: Yeah

I: Uh, did you talked to any one of them and ...

P: Of course.

I: ... and what was the uh reaction of supply teachers?

P: So uh unfortunately there were only a couple of teachers, of supply teachers, coming late. ...

Commented [Dev Boodh236]: Lateness

I: Yeah.

P: ... and uh yeah they there was always a kind of excuse why they came late. Sometime it was a parent who was sick so.

Commented [Dev Boodh237]: Reasons or excuses for lateness

I: Yeah.

P: Uh you know you have to have empathy at those moments.

Commented [Dev Boodh238]: Empathy

I: Yeah.

P: But uh coming late, yeah and then transport problems.

Commented [Dev Boodh239]: Reasons or excuses for late arrival

I: Yeah.

P: But then you have to talk to them, you know, you, you need to know why they are coming late.

Commented [Dev Boodh240]: Dealing with lateness

I: Yeah.

Commented [Dev Boodh241]: Dealing with lateness

P: If it is, you know, uh transport problem then the problem is focus, the how would I say, the onus is on you. You need to look for ways to be in time.

Commented [Dev Boodh242]: Dealing with lateness

I: Yeah.

P: Because I tell them you know look I go I I am on the road I hit the road at ten past seven.

I: Yeah

P: Because I need to be in my place of work in time. I can't accept anybody coming late but then yeah you listen to them then you talk to them. You know being a rector, means that you always talk.

Commented [Dev Boodh243]: Dealing with lateness

I: Hmm.

P: You always have to remind them and they always forget, you know why?

Commented [Dev Boodh244]: Why teachers forget?

I: [laughing]

P: Because, those teaching standards they are not there.

Commented [Dev Boodh245]: Because, those teaching standards they are not there

I: I will ask you something Katrina. Uh If uh you have someone close to you who chooses to, uh, or expresses his or her wish to become a supply teacher, what would be your advice to the person?

P: I think it's going to depend on the person.

I: Yeah.

P: I need to know the person first.

I: Yeah.

P: I need to know if that person is really motivated.

Commented [Dev Boodh246]: A motivated person can be advised to join teaching

I: Yeah.

P: Has the, you know, qualities of, a of a committed ...

I: Yeah

P: ... of commitment, engagement, have dispositions, has values. These are more important than anything else.

Commented [Dev Boodh247]: commitment

I: Yeah.

P: Okay, for example a, you won't get many teachers staying after two thirty ...

Commented [Dev Boodh248]: commitment

I: Yeah.

P: ... because a student needs them, there has been a problem.

I: Yeah.

P: You won't get that.

I: Yeah.

P: But if you get that kind of people who are not, I'm not talking about certification and qualification, I'm talking of values if you get that kind of person who uh who have at heart, the interest of students, yes.

Commented [Dev Boodh249]: commitment

I: Hmm.

P: So I would tell you it would depend on intrinsic qualities of that person. This is the first thing and then the second thing, to what extent that person wants to learn.

Commented [Dev Boodh250]: intrinsic qualities and desire to learn

I: Yeah.

P: Wants to learn and improve himself.

Commented [Dev Boodh251]: desire to learn and improve

I: Yeah.

P: If that person thinks that he's happy or she's happy what he or she has done ...

I: Yeah

P: ... doesn't think he or she needs any form of professional development then teaching is not for you. Okay?

Commented [Dev Boodh252]: CPD

I: Yeah

P: And then you, teaching demands sacrifices.

Commented [Dev Boodh253]: Teaching demands sacrifices

I: Yeah

P: Okay, because there would be times when uh you will have to, you know, to look for for work, you will spend so lot of time uh for the content you are teaching in class.

Commented [Dev Boodh254]: Job commitment

I: Hmm.

P: If you do it routinely you are not going to be a good teacher. You need to be able to find that thing that's going to trigger interests, to motivate. You need to uh to surprise your students.

Commented [Dev Boodh255]: Surprise your students

I: Yeah.

P: So if you are not going to be that kind of person better not be a teacher.

I: Uh Katrina uh if uh someone uh fresh from the university uh who may be wishes to join the teaching profession or just wants to know about supply teachers, about the career path of supply teachers. I'm saying career path because uhm you see there is a pathway for teachers who are recruited on a permanent basis. But for the supply teachers uh they may be here at the school uh one year and the next year may be uh they've recycled themselves doing something else. So, what would be your answer to the person I mean uh ... how would you describe the career path of a supply teacher uh based on what you know about supply teachers.

P: There's no guarantee.

Commented [Dev Boodh256]: Career path of supply teachers

I: Yeah.

P: If you want, you can't, you can't be willing to become a supply teacher, you can't, you can be willing to become a teacher.

I: Yeah.

P: And being a supply teacher would be just, you know, one very small step towards the teaching profession in the sense that you would gain experience.

Commented [Dev Boodh257]: Gain work experience

I: Yeah.

P: But with the, with the actual system, sorry with the current system, there's no guarantee that once you are a supply teacher it will continue.

Commented [Dev Boodh258]: Career path

I: Yeah

P: That you are going to, uh your contract will be renewed.

Commented [Dev Boodh259]: Career path

I: Yeah

P: Or well there's not even a contract. The contract is for one year only. That they will take you, they will hire you again the coming year.

Commented [Dev Boodh260]: Career path

I: Hmm.

P: But if you really like teaching you have to take a chance or a risk.

Commented [Dev Boodh261]: Chance or risk

I: Yeah [laughing]

P: This is it, this is what I've seen because I've seen, I've seen uh supply teachers being supply teachers for I think eight years.

Commented [Dev Boodh262]: Career path

I: Hmm.

P: I had somebody here last year for eight years as a supply teacher.

Commented [Dev Boodh263]: Career path

I: Yeah.

P: So would you be willing to, to go through that path that you are saying, I don't think so.

Commented [Dev Boodh264]: Career path

I: Yeah.

P: If somebody wants really to teach he or she may be, needs to look, yeah you look at the secondary system but you ... you look also at other system.

I: Yeah. Do you know of supply teachers who are no more supply teachers uh these days, I mean they were supply teachers earlier, now they are no more supply teachers.

P: No unfortunately.

I: Yeah.

P: I don't remember.

I: Yeah.

P: No.

I: Yeah.

P: I don't remember. Because once they go. I don't meet them again.

I: Yeah of course.

P: But I know of educators who are no longer educators, who chose to be uh to uh to other things.

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah, this I know.

I: [laughing] I will not ask you too much about educators.

P: Yeah because this is not the focus of your study.

I: Yes my focus is ...

P: Yeah, but ...

I: Yeah I ...

P: But uh no I don't know. I really really do not know.

I: Yeah.

P: Uhm I know a supply teacher who uh who left the country uh migrated to Canada.

Commented [Dev Boodh265]: Migration

I: Hmm.

P: But I don't have any idea of what she is doing there.

Commented [Dev Boodh266]: Migration

I: Yeah.

P: I know people who got married and who uh resigned.

Commented [Dev Boodh267]: Married and resigned

I: Uh huh.

P: But I don't know of anybody who has changed the job.

Commented [Dev Boodh268]: Change profession

I: Yeah

P: Change from teaching to something else.

Commented [Dev Boodh269]: Change from teaching to something else.

I: Yeah. The person who got married uh resigned uh from the post of supply teacher?

P: Yeah.

I: And uh do you know the reason why?

P: No.

I: Yeah [laughing] yeah

P: May be she married somebody who leaving the country.

I: Ah! May be.

P: Yeah

I: Yeah

P: I don't know

I: Yeah and the one who left for Canada.

P: Uh this was this year. She left for Canada uh I think two months ago.

Commented [Dev Boodh270]: Migration

I: Yeah.

P: I don't know, because when you go to Canada you won't be getting a job right away.

Commented [Dev Boodh271]: Migration

I: Of course.

P: Yeah.

I: Of course.

P: Yeah I I have no idea what she will be doing there.

I: Yeah, but did she share with you why she is leaving this job?

P: No

I: No [crosstalk]

P: No she was leaving the country. May be it, if she was if she ...

I: Yeah

P: If uh

I: Was it because of the job?

P: Oh no no because you know what happened is that she must have been uh uh starting all the the steps toward migration years before for her to be leaving in, in September.

Commented [Dev Boodh272]: Migration

I: Yeah

P: Yeah, in Sep, she left in September.

Commented [Dev Boodh273]: Migration

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah.

I: So it means that uhm she had already you know uh.

P: Undertaken a number of uh

I: Steps

P: Yeah of of things

I: Yeah

P: Hmm.

I: Yeah

P: No, maybe she she doesn't see much uh uh hope, for her, in Mauritius.

Commented [Dev Boodh274]: Limited opportunities in Mauritius

I: Uh Katrina, if you have any question for me, I don't know.

P: Hmm no I don't have any question I just hope uh, I was just wondering why ...

I: Yeah

P: ... you chose to work on supply teachers.

I: In fact uh I find this uhm a phenomenon which is uh you know, uh which existed outside and is coming to Mauritius and this is becoming very you know uh something very conspicuous these days.

P: Hmm.

I: And uh there are more and more supply teachers and in fact I find that teaching itself is being casualised. That's why I chose that phenomenon.

P: Hmm

I: Because it is in fact something I find uh you know since I'm working in a state school, in states schools for the last seven years may be. So I find more and more supply teachers. I wanted to understand this phenomenon that's why I undertook ...

P: Hmm

I: a research on supply teachers but also because uh you know at some moments in my life I was myself you know feeling insecure about my job so I wanted to understand that feeling in others also.

P: Hmm.

I: So that's why I undertook this research on ...

P: Hmm

I: ... supply teachers.

P: Hmm.

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah, you are right. I think it is a quite global phenomenon because uh everything is, uh well everything has a value, everything had has a price.

I: Yeah.

P: There's performativity everywhere.

I: Yes.

P: And uh if everything is, I don't know, I have the the impression that the world of business ...

I: Yeah.

P: ... has been adopted ...

I: Yes.

P: ... inside education system, with the PMS for example.

I: Yeah.

P: And uh its only question of money.

I: Yeah.

P: Of money.

I: Yeah.

P: Of clients, of profits ...

I: Commodification of education.

P: Yeah absolutely. Casualisation, commodification. Yes and uhm I was wondering if there was not a, another agenda of bringing down teacher status. Because teachers you know are not considered as professional.

I: Yeah

P: Yeah so it was not a question of you know bringing down even I don't know to what extent the profession itself.

I: Yeah.

P: Yeah, so there is, well you are right to to carry that research and to be some kind of activist afterwards

I: Yeah [laughing] Thank you thank you Katrina.

Commented [Dev Boodh275]: Casualisation- a global phenomenon

Commented [Dev Boodh276]: ' the world of business has been adopted inside the Education system'

Commented [Dev Boodh277]: PMS

Commented [Dev Boodh278]: Mercantile society

Commented [Dev Boodh279]: Clients and profits

Commented [Dev Boodh280]: Casualisation and commodification

Commented [Dev Boodh281]: agenda of bringing down teacher status

Commented [Dev Boodh282]: teachers you know are not considered as professional.

P: It was a pleasure

I: Thank you for your precious time. I got very rich today.

P: I hope so

I: And uh may be I may have some more uh issues to ask for clarifications.

P: Oh absolutely

I: I can come back to you ...

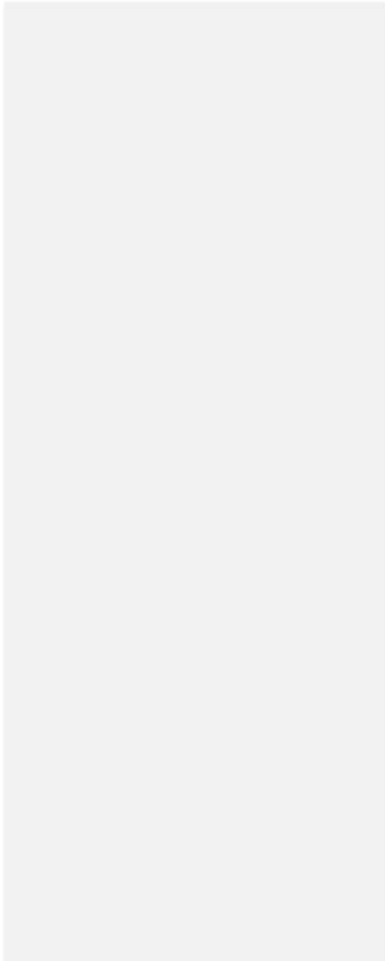
P: Yes.

I: ... but really I'm I'm really happy uh and I thank you again.

P: Thank you. I would just want you to to give me uhm a ring or a send me a message in case you want uh you want to meet me at school. I won't be at school during this December.

I: Of course.

END OF INTERVIEW



Appendix L (ii)- Extract of tabulation to illustrate theme generation and meaning making [Katrina – Acting Rector]

Page	Textual data	Preliminary coding	Final Coding	Categories	Themes
4	There were very few of them may be it depends on zones you know in some zones there are very many educators may be in in this zone where you have so many state secondary schools and there is a dire need of educators which, which you don't have in the in the surrounding areas could be.	Supply teachers in the secondary	Work with supply teachers	Intro	Introducing Katrina
4	Uhm as a school leader not really. They can talk very officially about, you know what the things that they want, studies they were pursuing and uh some were even you know lecturing in some places	Power relations	Exchanges with supply teachers	Intro	Introducing Katrina
4	Because they were not sure	Uncertainty	Uncertainty	Downside	The dark side of supply teaching
4	And and probably the salary was not enough for their living	Possibly not well paid	Assumptions about supply teachers	traits	Traits of ST's
4	no they won't talk about their personal life with me. No I'm not probably I'm not that kind of rector	Power relations	Exchanges with supply teachers	Intro	Introducing Katrina
5	I found unfortunate is that some people come, keep coming year after year	Unfortunate to keep on being a supply teacher	Permanently Temporary	recruitment	Recruitment and posting
5	some people have been supply teachers for years and this is uhh I, I don't think it is fair	casualisation	Permanently Temporary	recruitment	Recruitment and posting
5	I don't think this is honest but then this is one point of view but if you look at uh, at the system from a capitalist point of view it is the law of uh you know demand and supply. So probably there are very many uh educators on the market probably there are not that many vacancies unfortunately ...	not honest	Unfair	Downside	The dark side of supply teaching

Page	Textual data	Preliminary coding	Final Coding	Categories	Themes
5	I don't think this is honest but then this is one point of view but if you look at uh, at the system from a capitalist point of view it is the law of uh you know demand and supply. So probably there are very many uh educators on the market probably there are not that many vacancies unfortunately ...	Demand and supply	Causes of casualisation	Casualisation of teachers- the causes behind	Causes for casualisation
5	Uh couldn't get a job	Reasons to join supply teaching	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher
5	And uh he applied for a job as teacher because he had to live. Okay and he became DT DC DT supply teacher and then I even heard that, I don't know to what extent that is true that there were doctors you know who didn't have a job and they applied as teacher.	Reasons to join supply teaching	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher
5	I know about that DC DT uh teacher and that one is true, about the doctor I am not very sure because this has been uh told me by somebody else.	Career pathing	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher
6	I know of people who has left UK they were studying in UK.	Reasons to join supply teaching	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher
6	they worked in UK and then they lost their job they came to Mauritius	Reasons to join supply teaching	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher
6	They came as supply teacher and well at the end of of October or November they have to go. So most importantly I would say it is because those people need to make a living, to earn their living. That's why they get into teaching.	Reasons to join supply teaching	Joining as a supply teacher	Upsides	Upsides of joining as a supply teacher

Page	Textual data	Preliminary coding	Final Coding	Categories	Themes
6	<p>they worked in UK and then they lost their job they came to Mauritius.</p> <p>I: Yeah</p> <p>P: They came as supply teacher and well at the end of of October or November they have to go. So most importantly I would say it is because those people need to make a living, to earn their living. That's why they get into teaching.</p>	Career pathing	Career pathing	Influence of career paths	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
6	This is why they are here, they want to to gain a foothold in teaching	Reasons for retention	Teacher by choice	Choice	Recruitment and posting of ST's
6	They want the experience	Acquire experience	Teacher by choice	Choice	Recruitment and posting of ST's
6	But the supply teachers I've seen here with whom you know when I do class observations and when I have formal or informal talk, some of them they love teaching. This is why they are here, they want to to gain a foothold in teaching. They want the experience. So, uh I suppose for a good uh majority of them this would be the reason they see it as the job they want.	Love for teaching	Teacher by choice	Choice	Recruitment and posting of ST's
6	They do think of alternative uh alternatives to uh being a supply teacher in state schools but what they look for is is a teaching post in the private sector. I've got a couple of them who've gone to private schools.	Re-cycling	Re-cycling	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
6	alternatives to uh being a supply teacher in state schools but what they look for is is a teaching post in the private sector. I've got a couple of them who've gone to private schools.	Career pathing	Career pathing	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
6	on a permanent basis and uh well uh they've come a couple of times and I've seen them happy.	Career pathing	career pathing	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.

Page	Textual data	Preliminary coding	Final Coding	Categories	Themes
7	They want to stay in teaching, most of them	Wish to stay in teaching	Stay in teaching'	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
7	stay in teaching, most of them	Retention	Career pathing	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
7	Because they were not sure they were going to be appointed to to get a permanent uh post	Reasons to join the private schools	Joining private schools	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.
7	When they were offered a permanent post in the private sector they preferred to go. So it's all a question of security	Influence of casualised status on career pathing	Career pathing	Influence on career	Casualisation - Influence on the career paths of supply teachers.

Appendix L (iii)- Tabular representation of Themes

<p><i>1. Introducing – Katrina</i> Bio Ethics Surprise your students Work with supply teachers Encounter with supply teachers Exchanges with supply teachers</p>	<p><i>2.The traits of Supply Teachers through the eyes of Katrina</i> Traits of supply teachers Assumptions about supply teachers Demeanour Attitude Team spirit commitment handling the messy job Lateness Immaturity Striking Supply Teacher outnumbering the permanent teachers</p>	<p><i>3.Casualisation of teachers – the logic behind</i> No supply teachers in the past casualisation and commodification Causes of casualization Global Phenomenon Mercantile Society Job market contractual status experience Solving the problems pertaining to the education system through the tools used in Business Clients and profits</p>
<p><i>4.Upsides of joining as a supply Teacher</i> Joining as a supply teacher Work experience Mentoring Motivation Security Additional Responsibilities Respectable Teacher</p>	<p><i>5.Being a supply teacher- the darker side</i> Monotonous Isolated Sacrifices Complaint Uncertainty Unfair Utilitarian purpose Dehumanisation Inhuman</p>	<p><i>6. Recruitment and posting of Supply Teachers</i> Posting Fortunate Permanently Temporary Time Take the chance Teacher by choice Who should join teaching</p>
<p><i>7.Casualisation - influence on the career paths of supply teachers</i> Career pathing Insecurity Change Profession Agency Re-cycling Stay in teaching Migration</p>	<p><i>8. Power game</i> Power Game Agenda of bringing down the status of the teacher not considered as professionals hiring and firing Remedy</p>	<p><i>9. Casualisation of teachers - The future</i> The present system Action Research Recognition Novice Teacher but teachers they are teachers after all Changes in the pipeline Gloomy Future</p>
<p><i>10. Teacher Development</i> Alternative Teacher Development Influence of casualisation on Teacher Development Teacher development Teaching standards Teaching. CPD Building teachers Helpless PMS Professional development Professional life Professional Standards Training</p>	<p><i>11.Metaphors depicting casualisation of teachers</i> Metaphors <i>Collage</i> De-stressing</p>	

Appendix L (iv)- Grid to theorise casualisation and career pathing

	A	C					
	CHAPTER 2	CHAPTER 7					
	ORIGINAL THEORETICAL LENS FOR THE STUDY	METAPHORS AFTER FIELDWORK					
	Key constructs	Key constructs	CONFIRMED	REJECTED	NEW	SURPRISING	SO WHAT??
1	Insecurities related to labour (Standing, 2011, p.10)	1 Not a human job (Apu)	Inhuman exploitation No-career job Used & thrown away	Some ST's are satisfied as they have at least a job. Besides they accepted the contract.	The fear could be related to their colonial past	An exaggerated fixation on permanency	The fixation on permanency in the local context could be related to the colonial past of the Mauritian / more recent '4 jours à Paris' phenomenon. Most of the Mauritian are the descents of slaves or the Indian immigrants who came to work on contract in the island. While these phenomena could be events that took place long time back, the narratives could have been shared in the community.
2a	Marginalisation / objectified	2a Treated as Pawns (Apu)	Posted wherever they are needed without paying heed to the commute time	ST's need the job	The utilitarian relationship between the ST's and the authority	A chess pawn has an important role in protecting the important chess pieces.	Like the chess pawns, the ST's have an important role in school staffing/ smooth running of the system. The other important chess pieces would be the students/authority/school administration/schooling
2b	Denizens -Limited rights (Standing, 2014)	2b Birds / plane (Collage)	Symbol of freedom /agentic attitude to carve their professional life	Trapped as a ST / stuck in quicksand	The ability to think differently / of being proactive/ agentic (e.g. emigrate)	The ST's may not be loyal to the employer/ country	Numerous divergences in the opinions of ST's. From one standpoint supply teaching is equated to freedom of choice while from another standpoint, supply teaching entraps the prospective teacher who stays in the job or wishes to join anew though unwillingly.

	A	C					
	CHAPTER 2	CHAPTER 7					
	ORIGINAL THEORETICAL LENS FOR THE STUDY	METAPHORS AFTER FIELDWORK					
	Key constructs	Key constructs	CONFIRMED	REJECTED	NEW	SURPRISING	SO WHAT??
3a	Authority / Ministry of Education / employer	3a 'three people' as a metaphor of power (Collage) (Roy/ Sophia/ Stéphane)	There seems to be a mistiness around the interviewers and their modus operandi (Roy)	Easy going / carefree (Katrina)	A new type of workforce having to earn everything / which may not take anything for granted	The ST's are interviewed again and again to ascertain their competence as teachers while the permanent teachers never have to undergo such hassles	ST's seem to be haunted by this strange powerful trinity. The repeated interviews renew the traumatic experiences the ST's undergo every year. However, the number 3 is the minimum number of individuals that could be engaged to make the selection exercise impartial. Besides, given that there is a high demand for supply teaching, re-interviewing seems to be a single alternative to give a fair chance to all the prospective teachers.
3b	Power / Plutonians (Standing, 2011)	3b Opacity seemingly concealing the locus of power ... (Roy)	Mistiness around the selection and recruitment of Supply teachers. (Roy)	Herd of cattle (Collage) – ST's may collapse the whole education system on becoming big (Apu) The whole recruitment process of the ST's is transparent according to the Director of Education	Widespread nepotism in the local setting (Apu)	Despite all the odds ST's are hopeful that things will change for the better. ST's expect to be understood by the authority. They hope for a change in the system. They hope their work conditions to improve. (Stéphane and Sophia)	The ST's are not passively expecting things to change so that there is improvement in their conditions of work. They seem to be keeping account of every move of the authority. Some ST's believe that there is no reason to protest for they knew the conditions of work stipulated in the contract (Sophia) prior to joining as ST. However, others believe that the ST's will react to the way the government is treating them
4	Professional self (Uchida et al., 2019)	Identity crisis/ dishevelled identity	Man dressed in suit with an axe (Collage)	ST's are aware of their roles. Once they are absorbed in their work, they are no more conscious of their casual status (Sophia)	A flexible workforce	ST's not hesitant to engage in manual work/ petty business (Sophia)	The professional development of the ST is bound to happen in a different way. The ST's individual/relational and collective self would possibly be completely different from those of the permanent teachers.

	A	C					
	CHAPTER 2	CHAPTER 7					
	ORIGINAL THEORETICAL LENS FOR THE STUDY	METAPHORS AFTER FIELDWORK					
	Key constructs	Key constructs	CONFIRMED	REJECTED	NEW	SURPRISING	SO WHAT??
5	Uncertainty	Present and future (Collage) (Roy)	Man dressed in suit with an axe (present) > Old man in the dark (future) (Collage) (Roy)	Flower (Collage) in a lighted background represents Hope (Roy)	The ST's are faced with multiple challenges, often not even imagined by the permanent teachers	The ST's look for ways and means to improve their present and ascertain a better future.	'What doesn't kill you, makes you stronger' uttered by Apu who cited KAFKA ... shows that the new teaching workforce is an epitome of resilience.

Appendix M - Declaration of Professional Edit

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24 August 2021

This serves to confirm that I have edited the thesis, "Casualisation and Career Pathing of Supply Teachers", by Devpreetum Kumar Boodhoo, student number 21357066.

DISCLAIMER: The editor cannot be held responsible for any errors introduced due to changes being made to the document after the editing is complete.

Yours sincerely,

A solid black rectangular box used to redact the signature of Deanne Collins.

(Ms) Deanne Collins (MA)

Appendix N - Turnitin certificate

Casualisation and career pathing of supply teachers.

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