

Casual University Work: Choice, Risk, Inequity and the Case for Regulation¹

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Abstract

Australian universities now have a headcount casualisation rate near the national workforce average. Reasons for, and impacts of, this development are explored, and an argument is made for the role of industrial regulation in reconciling requirements for flexibility, security and equity in university employment. Responses to a large survey of casual academic and general staff suggest that this employment mode is a minority preference. Discrete groups of casual university staff, including those seeking university careers, those with other secure income sources, and students in transit to other careers, experience different forms and levels of insecurity and inequity. Appropriately targeted regulatory responses thus include criteria-based caps, a general staff conversion mechanism, a work value review, access to increments and service entitlements, and workplace representation rights.

Introduction

The extent of Australian university casualisation is under-recognised outside the sector. In conservative full-time equivalent terms,² Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) figures suggest that 20 per cent of academics and 13 per cent of general staff are employed on hourly casual contracts. In the head-count terms used in other industries, an estimated 40 per cent of academic staff are now casual employees

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(McAlpine, cited in Buckell 2003:19). This is a higher casualisation rate than the Australian workforce average of between 23 per cent and 27 per cent, depending on definition (Campbell and Burgess 2001; Wooden and Warren 2003; Pocock et al. 2004).

Competing approaches to casual employment derive from the relative values placed on the concepts of flexibility, insecurity and inequity. Flexibility arguments, on the labour demand side, identify casualisation with market efficiency (Murtough and Waite 2000). University casualisation, however, will be shown to be a creature of political regulation rather than market freedom. On the labour supply side, flexibility discourses define casual employment as an outcome of individual lifestyle choice, over-zealously policed by those who misperceive it as '... a type of employment of last resort that would not be voluntarily chosen by any rational individual' (Wooden and Warren 2003: 2). Casual university employment, however, will be shown to be a minority choice.

Discourses of insecurity, by contrast, refer to the presence or absence of protections from a range of individual and social risks associated with casual employment (Campbell and Burgess 2001; Bohle et al. 2001). Arguments for industrial regulation arise from a view of the insecurity of casual work as itself a regulatory construct – an '... officially sanctioned gap in protection' and a '... startling example of social exclusion at the very heart of the labour regulation system' (Campbell and Burgess 2001: 171, 176-178). The concept of exclusion brings us to discourses of inequity, which lend support to legal, industrial and political efforts to moderate both the 'less favourable' treatment of individuals on non-continuing contracts, and the socio-economic effects of casualisation, such as fragmentation or polarisation (Junor 1999; Mylett 2003; Watson et al. 2003). Insecurity and inequity arguments thus overlap (Standing 1997). Recent claims that the risks of precarious employment have been overstated are based on a uni-dimensional identification of security and equity with employment duration. Whilst the average duration of casual jobs in Australia is around three years (Wooden 1998), this does not mean that such jobs are secure, well-paid or linked to benefits or career paths. Whilst long-term employment has grown over the past decade (Doogan 2003), so has precarious employment – a development consistent with the polarisation thesis.

In assessing the relevance of the flexibility, insecurity and inequity paradigms to university casualisation, we begin with a contextual sketch of changes in funding regimes and governance, and an outline of industrial regulations defining, constraining and enabling the use of casual and alternative employment modes in universities. After a brief outline of the research methodology, survey evidence is then used to explore

aspects of choice and insecurity, based on typologies of casual academic and general staff, and to examine issues of inequity, particularly in pay. The conclusion recommends a multi-faceted approach to regulation.

The Policy Context: Regulating for Labour Cost Flexibility

In Australian universities between 1994 and 2000, rapid enrolment growth was accompanied by a loss of 718 full-time equivalent (FTE) continuing staff, counterbalanced by FTE increases of 1,609 (29 per cent) in casual academic staff levels and 1,749 (33 per cent) in casual general staff levels. Although non-casual staff numbers recovered between 2000 and 2002, their growth was insufficient to prevent a continued increase in FTE casual density, which rose between 1994 and 2002 from 15.4 to 20.2 per cent for academics and from 8.2 to 13.1 per cent for general staff (Table 1).

Table 1. Full Time Equivalent University Staff, Australia, 1994-2003

	Academic Staff			General Staff		
	Non-Casual	Casual	Casual density %	Non-Casual	Casual	Casual density %
1994	30,276	5,497	15.4	39,983	3,592	8.2
1996	31,256	6,095	16.3	41,447	4,301	9.4
1998	30,148	6,306	17.3	39,426	4,858	11.0
2000	29,894	7,106	19.2	39,648	5,341	11.9
2002	30,997	7,862	20.2	41,943	5,513	13.1

Source: DEST 2003 Appendix 1.5 and unpublished figures.

Australian universities have strongly embraced the international trend towards increased use of non-continuing staffing to mitigate the costs of moving from an elite to a mass higher education system in a context of public funding constraint (Rhoades 1998; Altbach and Davis 1999: 9).³ Labour market flexibility, based on casualisation, has been a means to under-funded staffing growth. Since 1995, the federal government has imposed a higher education productivity dividend, replacing full cost adjustments to the staffing component of operating grants with funding increases indexed only to minimum national wage case movements. Within universities, devolved management of the resulting tight budgets has been a transmission belt for casualisation. Middle managers have competed for funds on the basis of capacity to meet enrolment increases

and performance targets within fixed or shrinking budgets (Marginson and Considine 2000: 10-11; 35; 64-7; 81). Employment security has been seen as an impediment to restructuring (Weller et al. 1999). Unit managers have used savings generated by casualisation to stretch staffing budgets (Bradley 1995:143-144; Mullen 1995).

At Government level, too, casual university staffing has been favoured as a vehicle for labour-cost flexibility. In September 2003 the Australian Commonwealth Ministers for Education, Science and Training and for Employment and Workplace Relations sought to tie \$404m. of university funding to Higher Education Workplace Relations Requirements (HEWRR) which included an interdiction, in the name of flexibility, on casual employment ceilings (Nelson and Abbott 2003). In December 2003 these requirements were lifted from direct Commonwealth Grants Scheme conditionality, but remain attached to \$55m. earmarked for future salary increases under the Workplace Productivity Program.

The flexibility and efficiency outcomes of casualisation have not, however, been demonstrated at institution or system level. Various hidden administrative and quality costs have been identified in overseas studies of contingent university employment (Leatherman 1997; Benjamin 1998; Foster and Foster 1998; Nollen and Axel 1998: 133-142; Bryson, Rice and Scurry n.d.). In the Australian survey data reported here, 30 per cent of survey respondents used an open-ended question to draw attention to similar system issues. On the other hand, the equity implications of the growth of casual staffing are clear. The 19 per cent casual density of Australian academic staff in 2000 (Table 1) was a composite of casualisation rates of 25 per cent for women and 15 per cent for men (DEST, unpublished data). By 2003, it was still the case that only 38 per cent of full-time continuing academic employees were women (DEST 2003, Table 7). Gendered casualisation is not helping the slow process of altering this imbalance (Bradley 1995; see also Crannell 1998: 38; Hargens and Long 2002).

The survey evidence outlined below suggests that a significant group of casual university staff are fully-qualified seekers after secure jobs. In a form of disguised unemployment, many make a precarious living from multiple casual jobholding, which has a high incidence in the education industry (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 1997a). The ABS defines multiple jobholding in terms of main and second job, but in the survey evidence presented here, whilst 29 per cent of casual academics held another full-time job, 41 per cent were assembling a livelihood from between two and five part time and casual jobs, none of which was 'primary'.⁴ This pattern is one reason for clarifying the regulatory definition of casual university employment, and for mapping the possible role

of regulation in mitigating its insecurities and inequities.

Defining Casual University Work

The *Higher Education Contract of Employment Award 1998* (the *HECE Award*, Australian Industrial Relations Commission [AIRC] 1998) codified long-standing and widely understood definitions of university academic and general staff employment modes. These definitions are reflected in institution-based collective agreements. A casual employee is defined in the industry as ‘...a person engaged by the hour and paid on an hourly basis that includes a loading related to award based benefits for which a casual employee is not eligible’ (*HECE Award*, AIRC 1998: Clause 2.4). Part-time employment is defined as being for less than the normal full-time weekly ordinary time hours, and as attracting pro rata entitlement to relevant award/agreement benefits. Fixed-term contracts, lasting for a specified time or ascertainable period, can be offered only on the basis of certain criteria of non-continuity (work on a defined task or project, research work of no more than five years, temporary staff replacement, recent professional practice, pre-retirement work, or engagement subsidiary to a studentship), normally with rights to notice of contract renewal and severance pay entitlements. The *HECE Award 1998* used the term ‘full-time employment’ to describe any employment that is not part-time, fixed-term or casual. In practice, the more accurate term ‘continuing employment’ is often used. The *UNSW (Academic Staff) Enterprise Agreement 2003*, for example, states: ‘Continuing employment means employment with no fixed end date’ (AIRC 2003).

As alternatives to ‘casual’, the designations ‘sessional’ or ‘part-time (non-fractional)’ linger in some universities. While ‘sessional’ appears to capture more accurately than ‘casual’ the 12 to 15 week engagements of casual academics, it is a misleading term. Casual engagements are not weekly but for a defined number of hours over the session. The time-tabled regularity of these hours does not mitigate their insecurity. Even when the work extends over many years, casual academic employment is based on re-engagements from one teaching session to the next, always uncertain, and punctuated by unpaid breaks. It is not work on the sort of indefinite basis (Tham 2004), which enabled the Automotive, Food, Metals, Engineering, Printing and Kindred Industries Union (AMWU) to secure the right of conversion to permanent employment after six months of regular casual work with an employer (AIRC 2000). On the other hand, casual general staff employment in universities is closer to the metal industry model, and in 2003, a draft consent award variation was negotiated, providing for a conversion process for casual

general staff employed on a continuous basis for over twelve months.

Regulating Insecurity in Casual University Work

In applying for the determination that became the *HECE Award 1998*, the university unions were unsuccessful in gaining criteria-based regulation of casual employment, comparable to the principles, noted above, governing fixed-term contracts. Leave was however reserved to revisit the issue if the new restrictions on fixed-term employment could be shown to generate an upsurge of casualisation. The National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) is likely in 2004 to pursue a restriction of casual academic employment to two sets of criteria, one based on operational requirements (short-term, expert and replacement work), the other based on individual criteria accommodating genuine choice, postgraduate study being an example.

Direct caps on casual numbers are no longer allowable in awards, but can be negotiated in agreements. There is a question of what precisely should be capped. One approach, dating from 1989, has been to cap individual casual employees' class contact hours at sixty per cent of a full-time load. This approach survives in most university certified agreements, but was deleted from the academic salaries awards as part of the package of decisions leading to the *HECE Award 1998*. Used in isolation, it has failed as a mechanism for conversion to fractional short fixed-term contracts, and as a cap it has had the unintended effect of limiting individual casuals' hours in an institution, thus encouraging multiple jobholding. Conversion is costly. The 'sixty per cent rule' in the University of Newcastle academic staff enterprise agreement was recently the subject of consideration by the AIRC: the outcome was a settlement requiring payment of the fractional salary and pro rata benefits for 26 weeks, rather than the 13 weeks typical of casual teaching sessions (AIRC 2002b). Managers try to avoid the conversion trigger. A new containment approach has been adopted in the fourth enterprise bargaining round, based on the capping of casual budgets, rather than individuals' hours. In the *UNSW (Academic Staff) Enterprise Agreement 2003* (AIRC 2003), for example, the university-wide casual academic budget was capped at its 2002 level of 8.5 per cent of academic salary expenditure, with a provision that casual positions can be reduced only by creating additional continuing or fixed-term positions or other workload protections.

Regulating Inequity in Casual University Work

Before 2003, there was no consolidated safety net of pay and conditions for casual academic and general staff. State and federal general staff conditions are now tending to be codified in institutional awards, and the 1995-1998 academic rates case, translated into the *Higher Education Academic Salaries Award* (AIRC 2002a), has provided the basis for hourly casual academic rates in institutional agreements. Inequities can be shown to remain in loadings and in the work value nexus between casual and non-casual rates.

The loading to compensate casual employees for lack of leave and other amenities has remained at 20 per cent since 1987. Consent award variations, which should be given effect by April 2004 and flow into fourth-round enterprise agreements, will raise the loading to 23 per cent. This is still well short of the 30 per cent estimated as being required to compensate for casuals' lack of access to the recently-enhanced range of non-casual leave entitlements generally available in Australia, nor does it compensate for lack of increments, lost time between engagements, and differential access to other sources of security, such as superannuation, career paths, representation rights and physical facilities.

A key pay equity issue is whether casual university staff are compensated for all hours worked. For casual general staff the issue of unpaid or unequally paid hours should be solved by April 2004, when new consent award variations provide casual and non-casual staff with standardised access to overtime and shift penalties. When flowed into agreements, these provisions should help ensure conformity to the Metals Case principle (AIRC 2000), that there be no cost advantage to employers in choosing casuals over non-casuals for the same work. For casual academics, the unpaid hours issue turns on defining the amount of work underpinning the student contact hours on which remuneration is calculated. In this regard, institutional certified agreements reflect two principles established in the 1995-1997 academic rates case and codified in the safety net award (AIRC 2002a). One is to pay various kinds of class contact hours at rates which include loadings for between one and four hours of associated work; another is to pay some marking at a fraction of the hourly contact rate. The ratios were reached by industrial compromise, and still leave some casual work unpaid. In 2004, the NTEU is likely to seek award variations providing casual academics with increased loadings for associated work, payment for student consultation and an allowance covering up to 30 hours per year spent in scholarship and in the maintenance of disciplinary currency.

A second pay equity issue for both academic and general staff lies in the work value relativities between hourly casual rates and the hourly

remuneration of non-casual staff doing similar work. For casual general staff, there is no regulatory barrier to payment at any grade, but in practice, the survey responses outlined below suggest that casual general staff may be assigned to grades that are low relative to their qualifications. For casual academics, regulatory barriers inhibit pay equity. Regardless of length of time spent as a casual academic, lecturing rates and tutoring rates are currently based on the second steps of the lecturer and associate lecturer scales, although doctoral qualifications and subject coordination cannot be paid below the sixth associate lecturer step. A likely union strategy will be to seek advancement by one or more incremental steps for possession of a Masters degree or on the basis of experience. Such marginal improvements in salary progression will move in the direction of pay equity, without fully achieving it.

We turn now to survey-based evidence, in order to test the need for existing and further regulatory address to the insecurities and inequities of casual university work.

The Research Data

The analysis draws on 2,494 questionnaire responses from casual academic and general staff, 195 academic and general staff on contracts of less than a year, and a control group of 197 continuing staff or staff on longer fixed-term contracts. Questionnaires were sent to the complete populations of over 9,000 casual staff and staff on contracts of less than a year in five universities, along with a control group of 500 staff with more secure employment. A pilot was run in late 2000, and four universities were surveyed late in first semester 2001 and 2002. Given the logistical difficulties of reaching casual staff, participating universities generated mail-outs from payroll lists, mainly to home addresses. To ensure respondent confidentiality, the researchers were not involved in this process. The response rate of 29 per cent was reasonably representative, particularly as the surveys were based on the universities' entire casual populations, rather than samples. The universities were chosen to cover a range of types – rural, regional and urban, research-based, technology and post-1987, single campus and multi-campus – in four eastern Australian states and territories. DEST data confirmed that the demographic and financial profiles of the survey universities conformed to national averages for their types.

The survey questionnaires covered five main areas – employment duration and regularity; respondents' tasks/roles, pay and conditions; their other income and time commitments; their satisfaction, preferences and aspirations; and their demographic characteristics. Two final open-ended

questions were answered by 70 per cent of casual academic and 75 per cent of casual general staff respondents: these comments were coded into fifteen main categories. The terminology of questions (for example the use of 'casual' or 'sessional') was adjusted to reflect that commonly used in each of the survey universities and was re-standardised in reporting the findings.

Evidence: Choice and Flexibility in Casual University Work

In other survey-based studies, preferences for casual employment tend to be inferred from responses to questions about reasons for working casually, or about satisfaction with casual work (ABS 1997b; Wooden and Warren 2003). By contrast, the present survey asked directly, 'If you could choose your mode of employment in this university, which of the following would be your first preference?' Whereas 40 per cent of casual general staff respondents preferred casual employment, only 28 per cent of casual academics did so (Table 2). Both rates of preference suggest lower levels of satisfaction with casual contracts than the indirect indicators used in the cross-industry study by Wooden and Warren (2003). A minority 6 per cent of casual academics and 11 per cent of casual general staff used the open-ended question to indicate that they were very happy with their casual jobs. Amongst academic and general staff on contracts of less than a year, well over 80 per cent wanted continuing work, either part-time or full-time (Table 2).

Long-term preferences for casual and short-contract work were less strong than short-term preferences, but there were some interesting differences between academic and general staff. Overall, casual academics had a higher preference than casual general staff respondents for remaining in university and education industry work (Table 3).⁵ Such preferences were evenly divided between ongoing casual academic work (30 per cent) and a non-casual university career (32 per cent). Whilst casual academics' short-term and long-term preferences for casual work remained steady at 28-30 per cent, casual general staff respondents' preference for their present casual job fell from 40 per cent in the short term to 25 per cent in five years' time. Amongst staff on contracts of less than a year, over two-thirds of academics aspired to be in university work or other education industry work in five years' time but only 9 per cent wanted to continue in their present employment mode, whilst one-third of general staff wished to remain in university work or other education work and 21 per cent were happy to continue on short-term contracts (Table 3).

Table 2. Preferred Employment Mode – Academic and General Staff Survey Respondents Employed Casually and on Contracts of Less than One Year

Employment mode Present	Casual Academic		Casual General Staff		Academic on Contract of <1year		General Staff on Contract of <1year	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Preferred								
Casual	366	28%	452	40%	0	0%	1	1%
Fractional continuing	452	35%	345	31%	15	22%	28	23%
Full time continuing	276	21%	220	20%	43	64%	81	66%
Part time contract	176	14%	77	7%	5	8%	7	6%
Full time contract	34	3%	34	3%	4	6%	6	5%
Total	1304	100%	1128	100%	67	100%	123	100%

Table 3. Five-Year Employment Preference – Academic and General Staff Survey Respondents Employed Casually and on Contracts of Less than One Year

Present Employment Mode Preference in 5 years' time	Casual Academic		Casual General Staff		Academic – Contract <1 year		General Staff – Contract <1 year	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Continue current employment mode	398	30%	278	25%	6	9%	25	21%
University career	425	32%	255	23%	34	52%	39	32%
Career in other education sector	90	7%	129	12%	11	16%	5	4%
Career in non-education industry	281	21%	324	29%	3	5%	31	26%
Leave paid work	57	4%	69	6%	7	11%	7	6%
Other	69	5%	67	6%	5	8%	15	12%
Total	1320	100%	1122	100%	66	100%	122	100%

These differences in short and long term preferences can be explained by variations in life-cycle stage and in educational and employment commitments. Tables 4 and 5 present typologies of casual academic and general staff, based on such factors. Casual academics were divided into postgraduate students seeking academic or outside industry careers, qualified academic jobseekers, various groups whose main work lay outside the university, and retirees. There was relatively little overlap amongst the first seven groups in Table 4 although the 267 outside industry experts included 61 of the self-employed contractor group. The

last two categories – those without other employment and those with other part time and/or casual jobs – whilst mutually exclusive, were distributed across these seven typology groups. For example 150 self employed were multiple part-time casual jobholders, suggesting an element of disguised underemployment in this group, and there were also high levels of multiple part-time casual jobholding amongst qualified academic jobseekers and academic apprentices.

Table 4. Typology of Casual Academic Survey Respondents (n=1337)

Shorthand Term	Abbreviation	Number	Definition
Academic Apprentice	AA	222	Enrolled full-time or part-time in a postgraduate degree; seeking an academic career
Industry Professional Apprentice	IPA	142	Enrolled full-time or part-time in postgraduate degree, seeking career in an industry outside education
Qualified Academic Jobseeker	QAJ	161	Holds higher degree; has a preference for continuing full-time or fractional academic work
Outside Industry Expert	OIE	247	Holds a full-time position in an industry other than education
Cross Sectoral Non-Casual Education Worker	XS	83	Holds a full-time position in a non-university education sector
Self-Employed	SE	267 *	Own business is a main or further source of income in addition to casual academic job
Retiree	R	95 *	Aged over 54; income from superannuation or pension, and agreed that 'as a retiree I like this work'
Multiple Part Time/Casual Jobholder	MPC	558	Holds other part-time and/or casual positions, but no full-time continuing position (overlap of 146 with SE)
Casual Academic Only	CAO	401	Holds no other paid employment

5 universities; n=1337 unless otherwise stated; * 4 universities; n=1236

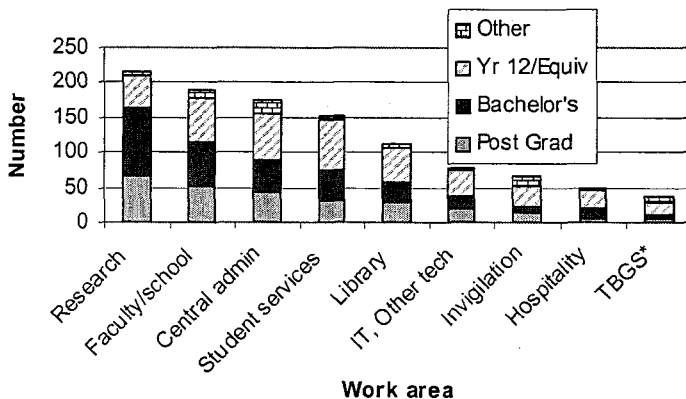
Table 5 suggests that the significant drop in preference for longer-term casual university employment amongst casual general staff was related to the fact that 241 were undergraduate student employees, a group mainly heading towards later employment outside the university, with no parallel amongst casual academics. The invigilator group of casual general staff, who resembled academic retirees in age, but not in qualification levels, were the most identifiably intermittent or seasonal of all casual university staff. Although the highest proportion of casual general staff were employed in a research capacity, overall a lower percentage of general staff respondents than of academics were interested in pursuing a university career, for reasons relating partly to their distribution across the occupational groups shown in Figure 1.

Table 5. Typology of Casual General Staff Survey Respondents (n=1154)

Shorthand Term	Abbreviation	Number	Definition
Undergraduate student employee	USE	241	Undergraduate student using casual general staff work as income support; probably oriented to career outside the university
Postgraduate student employee	PSE	230	Enrolled in postgraduate study, employed on general staff; 70 seeking an academic career
General Staff Jobseeker*	GJ	91	Casual general staff employee who is seeking a general staff career in a university
Other Secure Full Time Employment*	OSF*	122	Full time continuing or fixed term position inside or outside the university
Self Employed*	SE	81	Own business is a main or further source of income (not all respondents saw this as employment)
Invigilator*	Inv	73	Employed intermittently to oversee examinations
Multiple Part Time/ Casual Jobholder*	MPC	184	Holds other part-time and/or casual positions, but no full-time continuing position
Student Casual General Staff Job Only	SCGO	243	Undergraduate or postgraduate student employee; in no other paid employment
Non-student Casual General Staff Job Only*	NCGO	242	Non-student casual general staff employee with no other paid employment

Note: * 604 casual general staff respondents who were not enrolled in university study were distributed across these categories.

Figure 1. Casual General Staff Survey Respondents – Work Area by Highest Qualification



*TBGS = Trades, Buildings, Grounds, Security

Table 6 shows that amongst casual academics, preference for casual employment was concentrated amongst retirees and amongst people who held other continuing full-time jobs. Table 7 shows that amongst casual general staff, preference for casual contracts was again highest amongst people with other full-time jobs and the seasonally employed Invigilators. Tables 6 and 7 suggest that even amongst those who were studying and heading to careers outside the university, casual employment was a minority preference. As 51 per cent of casual general staff were aged under 35, they might have been expected to be satisfied with casual jobs providing flexibility to attend lectures, and pay and conditions at least comparable with student casual jobs in retail and hospitality. In fact, however, only 45 per cent of undergraduate student employees and 41 per cent of postgraduate student employees indicated that hourly casual work was their preferred employment mode (Table 7).

Table 6. Typology of Casual Academics – Demographic Features, Employment Mode Preferences and Preferred Hours (n=1337)

	AA 222	IPA 142	QAJ 162	OIE 247	XS 83	SE 267	R 95	CAO 401	MPC 558	All 1337
Average Age	36	30	40	39	42	44	62	40	42	38
Per cent										
Gender: Female %	60	53	55	37	62	49	22	55	57	54
Caregiver %	50	37	53	39	60	52	63	53	55	51
Children <11 %	34	15	39	36	46	43	15	33	33	42
Highest Qualif'n										
PhD %	6	2	<u>40</u>	11	6	11	25	11	13	13
Master's %	33	20	<u>60</u>	32	30	29	28	255	30	29
Other PG %	17	12	0	21	23	19	14	16	20	19
Bachelor's %	39	45	0	30	31	31	14	40	25	30
Other %	5	20	0	6	10	10	21	8	11	9
Enrolled	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	43	21	22	25	13	53	68	40
Preferred Contract										
Fract continuing %	50	12	63	16	24	12	7	33	21	34
Casual %	8	15	0	42	29	28	48	27	23	28
F/time continuing %	32	31	37	24	27	36	28	23	42	21
Fixed term %	10	42	0	18	20	24	17	17	14	16
Career Aspirations										
As now %	0	0	0	45	43	43	48	24	27	30
University career %	<u>100</u>	0	<u>100</u>	19	30	21	1	33	36	32
Other ed. career %	0	0	0	4	14	7	1	8	6	7
Other ind. career %	0	<u>100</u>	0	23	6	17	7	25	22	21
Leave paid work %	0	0	0	4	5	3	22	5	4	4
Other or N/A %	0	0	0	6	1	8	21	6	5	5
Preferred Hours (4 unis; n=1198)										
More %	56	43	68	40	43	49	46	45	55	47
Fewer %	5	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	3	3
Same %	39	55	30	58	56	49	51	51	41	49

Note: Underline signifies defining characteristics of the typology groups.

Table 7. Typology of Casual General Staff – Demographic Features, Employment Mode Preferences and Preferred Hours (n=1154)

Group (n=)	USE 241	PSE 230	GJ 91	OSF 122	SE 81	Inv 73	MPC 184	SCGO 243	NCGO 242	All 1154
Average Age	30	35	40	39	41	52	37	33	42	38
Per cent										
Gender: Female %	63	64	82	74	67	61	66	60	70	67
Caregiver %	18	18	41	29	35	21	18	16	26	21
Highest Qualif n										
Higher degree %	0	8	6	18	22	9	13	11	12	13
Other PG %	0	9	17	19	16	14	9	7	12	11
Bachelor's %	1	83	12	345	22	13	33	33	27	30
Yr 12/equiv %	93	0	51	26	33	41	41	45	36	39
Other %	5	0	13	3	8	23	5	4	13	7
Enrolled %	100	100	35	27	33	25	47	100	0	45
Preferred Contract										
Fract continuing %	30	27	33	19	30	16	32	24	26	31
Casual %	45	37	2	58	37	77	41	46	40	40
FT continuing %	17	22	57	16	19	3	18	20	23	21
Fixed term %	9 ^A	14	8	10	14	4	9	10	11	10
Career Aspirations										
As now %	11	9	0	49	34	68	17	8	30	25
Uni career %	21	26	100	17	18	4	23	28	23	23
Non-uni career %	56	53	0	23	40	6	45	50	32	40
Leave paid work %	3	6	0	8	55	145	6	7	9	6
Other or N/A %	8	5	0	4	3	7	9	7	6	6

Note: Underline signifies defining characteristics of the typology groups.

Caregiver – 3 universities (n= 738) – Children under 11 and/or care for frail aged or family member with disability.

There is no question that casual employment provided flexibility for survey respondents. Table 8 shows strong levels of satisfaction with capacity to negotiate the timing of working hours. The survey evidence, however, provides only moderate support for the view that this flexibility was valued as a way of combining work and family. Tables 6 and 7 suggest that, whilst a higher proportion of casual academics (51 per cent) than of casual general staff (21 per cent) were caregivers, 37 per cent of casual academics, compared but 44 per cent of casual general staff agreed mildly or strongly that a reason for working casually was that the work fitted well with their family responsibilities. Decomposition of the casual general staff data, using the 'Davis-d' technique (Davis 1985) showed that age was the most significant determinant of casual preference, but that controlling for age and enrolment status, preference for casual work was stronger by a difference of 15 percentage points amongst men, compared with women. These findings give only limited support to the view of casual employment as a means for women to achieve work/family balance.

Table 8. Flexibility of Work Arrangement – Importance and Satisfaction levels, Casual Academic and General Staff Survey Respondents

Issue	Possible respondents	Issue is important to respondents Number (%)	These respondents are satisfied			
			Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Fully
Ability to negotiate number of hours worked	Academic n=1337	896 (67%)	81 (9%)	133 (15%)	306 (34%)	376 (42%)
	General n=1154	827 (76%)	59 (7%)	82 (10%)	228 (28%)	458 (55%)
Control over the time of day worked	Academic n=1337	983 (73%)	69 (7%)	146 (15%)	336 (34%)	432 (44%)
	General n=1154	896 (78%)	32 (4%)	70 (8%)	240 (27%)	555 (62%)
Control over the days of the week worked	Academic n=1337	971 (72%)	81 (9%)	151 (16%)	335 (35%)	410 (42%)
	General n=1154	909 (79%)	41 (5%)	74 (8%)	218 (24%)	576 (63%)
Flexibility to deal with emergencies	Academic n=1337	778 (58%)	58 (7%)	122 (16%)	240 (31%)	358 (46%)
	General n=1154	806 (56%)	32 (4%)	58 (7%)	162 (20%)	554 (69%)

Table 9. Preferred Hours of Work by Employment Mode, University General Staff Survey Respondents

Preferred hours, compared with present	Casual		Contract of <1 yr		Continuing/ Fixed term	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	372	33%	24	19%	25	22%
Decreased	220	19%	10	8%	13	12%
No change	538	48%	91	73%	73	66%
Total	1130	100%	125	100%	111	100%

When we examine preferences for the number of casual hours worked per week, casual academics were almost evenly divided between those who were happy with their present hours, and those who wanted more: the proportion wanting fewer hours was negligible (Table 6). In line with the disguised unemployment hypothesis, 68 per cent of qualified academic jobseekers wanted more hours. By contrast, whilst casual general staff were less satisfied than contract or continuing general staff with the number of hours worked, only one-third wanted more hours and a fifth wanted fewer (Table 9). This difference may be explained by the fact that casual general staff were younger and more likely to be enrolled than casual academics. Given the higher incidence amongst casual aca-

demics of mature-aged workers seeking careers in education, it is not surprising that academics had a greater preference for the income security provided by longer hours, than for flexibility in the distribution of hours.

We have established that overall, casual employment was a preference for a minority of university casual staff. We have identified that one-third of survey respondents were qualified jobseekers or teaching and research apprentices, mainly postgraduate students. A second group of postgraduate academic staff and postgraduate and undergraduate general staff were in transit to outside careers. A third group were outside industry experts and retired academics. While the first group might be expected to prefer continuing employment, the surprise is that even amongst the groups who were transitory, outside experts or retirees, casual employment was seen as less attractive than more secure part-time or contract work. Apparently, the flexibilities of casual employment were not adequately offset by its insecurities and/or inequities, which we now consider in turn.

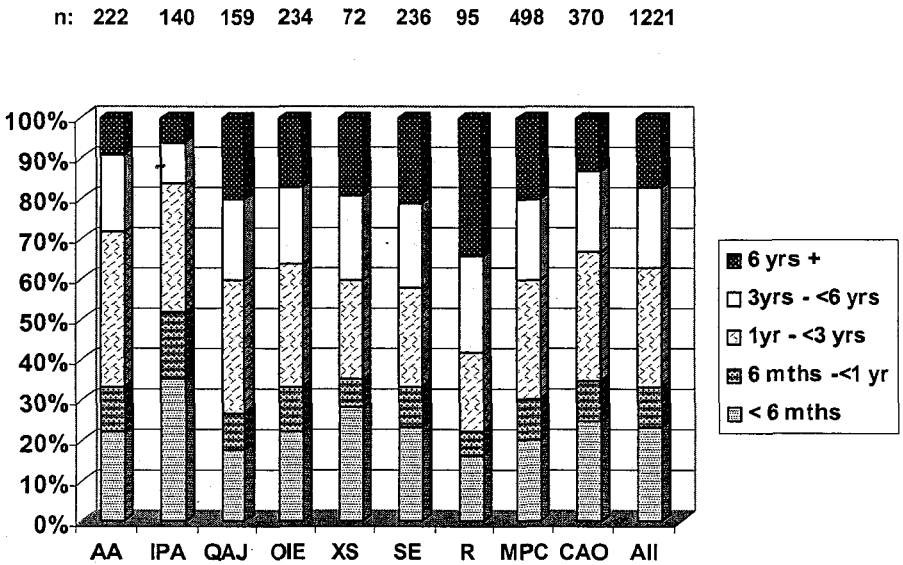
Evidence: Insecurity in Casual University Work

The survey responses suggest that employment duration alone cannot guarantee two of Standing's (1997) forms of security – labour market security (chances of being recruited when without employment) and employment security (protections from job loss or in the event of it). Figure 2 shows the employment duration, in the university at which they received the survey questionnaire, of 1221 casual academics from four universities.⁶ Overall, 70 per cent had been at the university for a year or more. As would be expected, those moving on to professional careers outside the university had the shortest employment duration and retirees had the longest, but 40 per cent of the qualified academic jobseekers and 30 per cent of academic apprentices had been employed casually at the survey university for over three years. Together with the low preference for casual employment amongst these groups, this result suggests disguised unemployment.

Further evidence that employment duration was not enough to safeguard security can be found in Table 10. We find here that 57 per cent of casual academics saw employment insecurity and financial uncertainty as significant issues, and of this group, 81 per cent reported moderate to severe levels of financial worry. Of those worried about employment insecurity, 212 used the open-ended question to write, often eloquently, of its impact. Whilst a minority 30 per cent saw casuals as being open to the risk of unreasonable work demands, 68 per cent of this minority re-

ported moderate to severe worry about task insecurity or vulnerability to arbitrary redefinition of work roles – another of Standing's (1997) forms of insecurity.

Figure 2. Casual Academics – Employment Duration in Four Survey Universities by Typology Groups



Amongst casual general staff respondents, 40 per cent had been in their positions for over a year. Casual employment duration was linked to age, and it was older workers with secure outside employment and intermittent examination invigilators who expressed a majority preference for casual contracts. Amongst the other typology groups of casual general staff, however, a majority wanted a more secure employment mode, and their subjective experience of insecurity mirrored that of casual academics, apart from a lower level of concern about employment risks in refusing unsuitable work (Table 10).

Table 10. Feelings of Insecurity: Significance and Sources – Casual Academic and General Staff Survey Respondents

Issue	Possible respondents	Respondents for whom Issues is Important Number (%)	Degree to which issue is a worry for these respondents			
			Very minor	Minor	Moder-ate	Major
Discontinuity of employment	Academic n=1236	712 (57%)	47 (7%)	155 (22%)	241 (34%)	296 (38%)
	General n=1079	615 (57%)	39 (6%)	115 (19%)	220 (36%)	241 (39%)
Impact of income uncertainty on financial planning	Academic n=1236	602 (49%)	28 (5%)	86 (14%)	186 (31%)	302 (50%)
	General n=1079	507 (47%)	30 (6%)	75 (15%)	146 (29%)	256 (51%)
Insufficient notice of (re) engagement	Academic n=1236	599 (49%)	29 (5%)	124 (21%)	216 (36%)	230 (38%)
	General n=1079	401 (37%)	36 (9%)	73 (18%)	154 (38%)	138 (34%)
Impact of variable hours on family life	Academic n=1236	416 (34%)	33 (8%)	134 (32%)	146 (35%)	103 (25%)
	General n=1079	328 (30%)	55 (17%)	94 (29%)	109 (33%)	70 (21%)
Employment risks in refusing demands seen as unreasonable	Academic n=1236	361 (29%)	36 (10%)	80 (22%)	112 (31%)	133 (37%)
	General n=1079	301 (28%)	63 (21%)	81 (27%)	182 (28%)	73 (24%)

Figure 3. Casual General Staff – Employment Duration in Survey University by Age Group (n=1054)

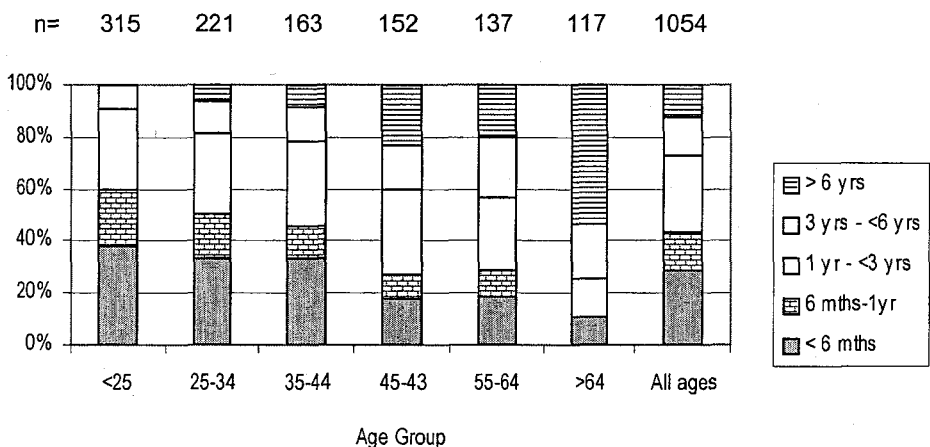


Table 11. Academic and General Staff Survey Respondents – Experiences of Integration and Skill Development

Criterion	Academics			General Staff		
	Casual	Contract <1 Year	Continuing/Fixed Term	Casual	Contract <1 Year	Continuing/Fixed Term
	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly	(Sample)* Agree moderately/ strongly
Finds it easy to get advice on job requirements, methods and standards	(n=1236) 577 (47%)	(n=66) 46 (70%)	(n=81) 57 (70%)	(n=1154) 603 (52%)	(n=126) 89 (71%)	(n=113) 79 (70%)
Has much contact with other staff	(n=1236) 547 (44%)	(n=66) 42 (79%)	(n=82) 77 (94%)	(n=1078) 537 (47%)	(n=126) 108 (86%)	(n=113) 101 (89%)
Appointment letter set out duties, hours, rates, entitlements	(n=642) 273 (43%)	(n=49) 28 (57%)	(n=80) 40 (50%)	(n=738) 295 (40%)	(n=86) 60 (70%)	(n=113) 78 (69%)
Gets useful performance feedback	(n=1236) 506 (41%)	(n=57) 28 (49%)	(n=82) 39 (48%)	(n=1078) 626 (54%)	(n=125) 72 (58%)	(n=113) 61 (54%)
Attends conferences and seminars (academic)/ Has access to staff development (general)	(n=1236) 409 (33%)	(n=56) 32 (57%)	(n=82) 58 (72%)	(n=738) 222 (30%)	(n=85) 44 (52%)	(n=113) 71 (63%)
Included in social activities	(n=1236) 364 (29%)	(n=57) 44 (77%)	(n=82) 69 (84%)	(n=1154) 592 (51%)	(n=126) 98 (78%)	(n=113) 87 (77%)
Has been made aware of entitlements under awards, agreements, policies	(n=1337) 380 (28%)	(n=66) 36 (55%)	(n=80) 45 (56%)	(n=1154) 460 (40%)	(n=126) 72 (87%)	(n=113)8 80 (71%)
Has been advised on career options	(n=1337) 256 (19%)	(n=66) 15 (38%)	(n=80) 46 (31%)	(n=1154) 363 (31%)	(n=126) 44 (35%)	(n=113) 30 (27%)
Included in meetings and decision-making processes	(n=1337) 201 (15%)	(n=66) 36 (54%)	(n=82) 53 (66%)	(n=1154) 389 (34%)	(n=126) 60 (48%)	(n=113) 72 (64%)

* To reduce questionnaire length, a spine of common questions was asked in all universities, with several different supplementary questions being asked in different combinations of universities.

Standing's (1997) multi-faceted concept of security includes skill reproduction security (ability to maintain currency of training and to gain skill recognition) and representation security (union rights). I extend the latter term to cover inclusion in communication and decision-making. I also add a new dimension to Standing's typology: career path security.

Drawing on this extended definition, Table 11 shows that the majority of casual survey respondents, particularly academics, felt considerably more marginalised than either continuing or short-term contract staff. A minority one-third of casual academic and general staff expressed satisfaction with access to staff development, which in the case of academics includes maintenance of disciplinary currency through conference attendance. The adverse impact of casual employment on career paths was the issue nominated most frequently in open-ended responses by casual general staff (155). It was nominated equal third by casual academics, alongside desire for regular work (211 each).

Representation insecurity was keenly felt by casual academics, only 15 per cent of whom agreed that they were included in decision-making forums. In the open-ended responses, exclusion from communication was the most commonly named concern of casual academics (274 responses) and the second most frequently mentioned issue amongst casual general staff (145 responses). In terms of wider occupational participation, approximately 50 per cent of casual academics and 20 per cent of casual general staff survey respondents were members of a professional association. Low awareness of employment rights (Table 11) may be linked to the fact that 13 per cent of casual academics and 10 per cent of casual general staff were members of a union on campus, although the same proportions of each group belonging to unions off-campus or with location not specified.

Thus even long-running casual employment does not obviate insecurities relating to work continuity, income, career paths, skill maintenance, and representation and job rights. We turn finally to evidence that casual university work was also experienced as inequitable.

Evidence: Inequity in Casual University Work

Inequity, in the context of this study, covers any less favourable treatment based on employment mode (Vigneau et al. 1999). There is space here to consider only pay inequity. Moreover, we will consider only short-term pay inequity, although the life-cycle income disadvantages of casual employment increase with its duration.

The survey responses allowed a rough estimation of casual academics' pay over a semester in the survey university. Respondents reported their contracted hours of various kinds, such as lecturing, tutoring, demonstrating, marking, per semester. Individuals' hours in each category were multiplied by a weighted average of the hourly rates paid by the participating universities in late 2001 and early 2002. All lectures were assigned a 'developed lecture rate' of \$169.15, which was the most

common rate indicated by respondents. All tutorials were assumed to be neither repeat nor involving full coordination, and to be paid at \$72.75 per hour – the average base hourly contact rate of \$24.25, multiplied by 3 to reflect two hours of associated non-contact work. Each individual's unique combination of hours was used to determine total rate of pay for the semester at the university from which the questionnaire had been received. These pay rates were then ranked into percentiles and quartiles. Table 12 provides the results, indicating a roughly estimated median total remuneration per semester in the survey universities of \$3,102, or \$3,053 netting out ELICOS and clinical supervision rates. These amounts included the 20 per cent casual loading. This pay is low relative to the professional responsibilities of casual academic work.

Table 12. Casual Academics – Estimated Remuneration over Semester for Casual Work Performed in Survey University (2001-2002 rates)

Band	Pay Range for Semester	
	All respondents (n=1136)	Excluding ELICOS and Clinical (n=1045)
Percentile 1 – Lowest 10%	\$128-\$646	\$145-\$630
Percentile 5 – 41% to 50%	\$2,327-\$3,102	\$2,282-\$3,053
Percentile 10 – 91% to 100%	\$10,150-\$31,633	\$9,760-\$31,633
	Interquartile Range	
Quartile 1 – 25% cut-off	\$1,387	\$1,353
Median	\$3,102	\$3,053
Quartile 3 – 75% cut-off	\$5,972	\$5,053
Mean pay rate	\$4,398	\$4,303
Pay range of 50% of respondents	\$1,387-\$5,972	\$1,353-\$5,053

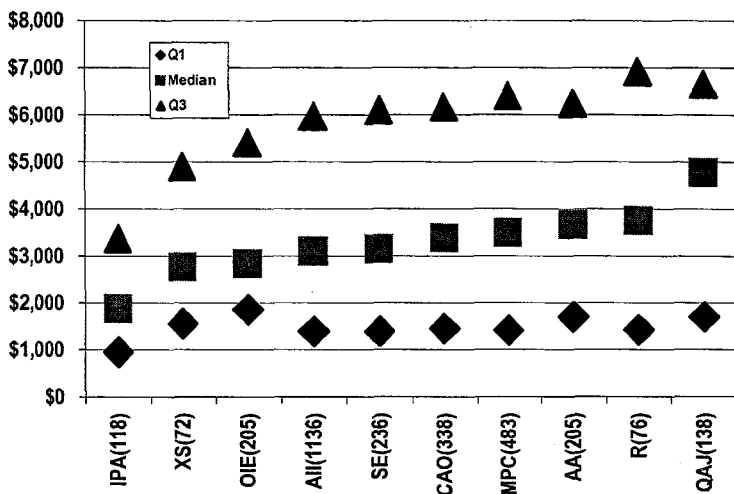
Note: Outliers below \$128, and one outlier of \$47,682 excluded

ELICOS – English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students

Clinical – Practical supervision of trainee nurses.

Figure 4 shows pay variations by academic typology group. Clearly the academic apprentices were taking on more hours than the industry professional apprentices and outside industry experts. The qualified academic jobseekers had most hours, and a heavier involvement in lecturing – confirmation of the disguised unemployment amongst them. The self-employed group, with a wider than average interquartile pay range, were divided between those like outside industry experts, with marginal attachment, and those who were in fact disguised multiple part time casual jobholders.

Figure 4. Casual Academic Typology Groups – Median and Interquartile Range Semester Income in Survey University (2001-2002 rates)



Short-term pay equity issues for casual academics arise from two sources. The first is the adequacy of the multipliers in compensating for all work associated with the contact hours on which remuneration is largely calculated. The second issue is the appropriateness, in work value terms, of the nexus between casual and non-casual rates, particularly in light of casuals' lack of access to incremental progression. A quantification of the first issue was considered beyond the scope of this survey, owing to validity and reliability problems in the 'cold' self-reporting of non-contact hours worked over a semester. Nevertheless, casual academics tended to be aware of whether their hours of preparation and follow-up 'spilled over' beyond those factored into their hourly rates. In responses to the open-ended questions, unpaid hours ranked as the equal third most common cause of concern (211 respondents). Table 13 provides a broad-brush picture of the range of contributions casual academics reported themselves as making, and of the degree to which they saw this work as being wholly or partly compensated, or as being performed without pay.

A full analysis of the second issue, that of casual academic work value, would require comprehensive qualitative interview-based data. Nevertheless, casual employment duration is an indicator of two commonly-used work value factors – know-how and experience. Without

incremental progression, casual employees do not gain monetary reward for increased competence based on experience. So far, we have considered employment duration only in the survey university. More relevant to work value and incremental progression, however, is overall experience in the university sector. Survey responses indicated that 27 per cent of casual academics had been working casually in the sector for between 2 and under 5 years, 20 per cent had been doing so for five to under ten years and another 20 per cent for ten years or more (Figure 5). The median duration of university employment was 3.6 years, with an interquartile range of 1.5 to 8 years. If extrapolated to all universities, these figures suggest the current nexus to Step 2 of the Associate Lecturer and Lecturer scales for tutoring and lecturing respectively may under-value the teaching experience of many casual academics. They thus suggest that there is a strong case for incremental steps in casual academic employment.

Table 13. Selected Paid and Unpaid Activities Reported by Casual Academic Survey Respondents

Activity	No. of unis	Total persons reporting activity	Wholly paid	Partly paid	Wholly unpaid
	Maximum responses	Number % of max responses	Number % of total reporting	Number % of total reporting	Number % of total reporting
Teaching and teaching-related activities					
Student consultation	Four 1138	778 (68%)	350 (43%)	86 (20%)	342 (37%)
Marking	Four 1138	791 (70%)	580 (73%)	91 (12%)	120 (15%)
Responding to emails	Three 955	269 (28%)	96 (36%)	17 (6%)	156 (58%)
Administrative activities					
Full subject coordination	Four 1138	112 (10%)	76 (68%)	3 (3%)	33 (29%)
Supervising field trips/placements	Four 1138	139 (12%)	75 (54%)	3 (2%)	61 (44%)
Scholarship and professional development					
Professional reading	Four 1138	297 (26%)	69 (23%)	11 (4%)	217 (73%)
Seminars/conferences/staff development	Four 1138	234 (21%)	73 (31%)	11 (4%)	150 (65%)
Research and research supervision activities					
Research/publication work	Four 1138	204 (18%)	77 (38%)	12 (5%)	116 (57%)
Supervising honours/PG research students	Four 1138	111 (10%)	47 (42%)	9 (6%)	55 (52%)

Figure 5. Casual Academic Survey Respondents – Overall Employment Duration in the University Sector (n=1337)

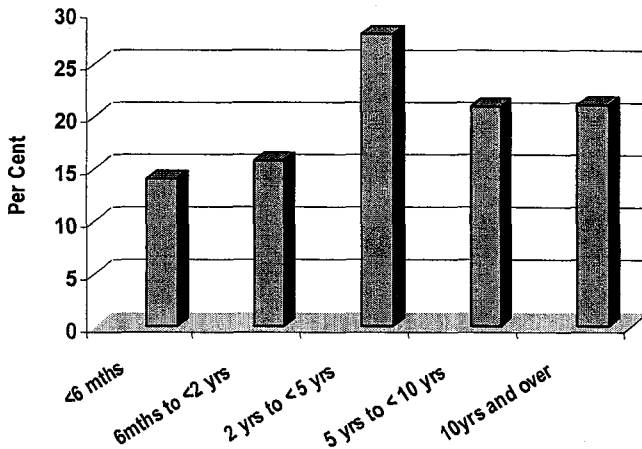


Table 14. Salary Levels and Hourly Pay Rate Ranges, 2000-2001 rates, Casual General Staff, Five Universities (n=1112)

Salary Level and Rate Range	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative %
HEW 1-2 or less (\$15 to \$21 per hr)	634	57%	57%
HEW 3-4 (\$19 to \$25 per hr)	275	25%	81%
HEW 5-6 (\$23 to \$31 per hr)	140	13%	94%
Above HEW 6 (Over \$30/31 per hr)	63	6%	100.0%
Total	1112	100.0%	

HEW = Higher Education Worker

Note: salary bands include casual loadings. The ranges relevant to the designated HEW levels at the time of surveying were provided in the university-specific questionnaires

Work value concerns for casual general staff survey respondents arose from their concentration in the lowest salary bands (Table 14). Contributing factors may have been the high incidence of young respondents, and the higher numbers of casual general staff with short employment duration, as well as the presence of retired staff working in-

termittently as Invigilators. Nevertheless, 81 per cent of respondents reported being paid at Higher Education Worker Level 4 or below, although only 46 per cent did not hold university degrees. As a university degree is a criterion in the level 5 position descriptor, this suggests either a tendency to engage casual general staff below their skill levels, or a degree of misclassification and underpayment.

Without even touching on the life cycle dimensions of casual pay inequity, such as the cumulative impact of casuals' differential access to superannuation, we have identified inequities relating to unpaid hours, the work value nexus to non-casual employment, and incremental progression.

Conclusion

It has been shown that, particularly in the case of academic work, concentrations of casual employment in universities are now high, relative to the Australian labour market as a whole. In head-count terms an estimated academic casualisation rate of 40 per cent is above the national average. The past decade's growth in casual university employment, largely budget-driven, is an indicator of hidden unemployment, and of risks to sustainability and equal employment opportunity. These considerations support the capping of casual budgets and the redirection of funds into merit-based recruitment to new secure positions.

The present regulatory definition of casual university employment is helping to drive its growth. Contrary to the principle that there be no purely cost-based incentive to casualisation (AIRC 2000), the contradictions between intermittent hourly paid engagements and ongoing employment duration have provided cost savings that far outweigh any administrative need for numerical flexibility or individual need for time flexibility. Criteria-based regulation is thus a priority. Such criteria would limit casual engagements to situations where work organisation demands a short-term contribution from industry experts, or the coverage of emergency, supplementary or short-term replacement staffing needs. They would also cover situations where individual casual staff were apprentice teacher and researchers, or retirees who genuinely preferred the flexibility of ad hoc engagements.

We have noted that for a minority of casual general staff, their work involves 'an implicit contract for ongoing employment' or a 'long-term employment relationship with their employer' (Murtough and Waite 2000: 8-17; see also Wooden 1998). In these cases, there should be no impediment to conversion from casual to continuing status. Such conversion is important in redressing disadvantages in areas such as super-

annuation and career paths. In the case of casual academics, the issue is more complex. Apparent employment duration disguises a pattern of hourly-paid work during teaching weeks that last often for half a semester, punctuated by unpaid spells in which re-engagement is never certain. In effect, the long-term casual is donating unpaid time in maintaining communication, updating disciplinary currency, and developing expertise that is not rewarded through salary increments. There is an argument for reducing the cost differential between casual and fractional staff by genuinely remunerating casual academics for all work performed, including work outside teaching sessions. A disciplinary currency allowance, which would include funded training and conference attendance, is a possible step in this direction. Meanwhile the longer an academic works casually, the further behind he or she falls in terms of access to salary progression and the cheaper he or she becomes to employ. These are arguments for providing casualls with increments and accrued entitlements. They are also arguments for replacing a proportion of casual budgets by budgets for merit-selected contract and continuing staff.

Inequitable pay relativities are also providing cost incentives to casualisation. It has been shown that present hourly casual academic rates under-compensate for actual hours of preparation, follow-up, administration and maintenance of disciplinary currency. The rates do not cover research at all. Full work value assessments, based on techniques such as work diaries, are part of a much-needed research agenda in this area. In the meantime, there is strong evidence supporting an increase in the size of the various multipliers applied to contact hours as partial compensation for the background work associated with classroom teaching. For casual general staff, the survey findings suggest a discrepancy between qualifications and salary levels: this requires further investigation. For all casualls, short-term and long-term, academic and general, a loading of 23 per cent is below the metal industry standard of 25 per cent, and well below the 30 per cent level estimated as necessary to compensate for loss of leave and entitlements such as superannuation savings.

This study has focused mainly on evidence of the individual impacts of university casualisation. The strongest message conveyed by survey respondents was their desire for a voice, respect and inclusion. The adverse systemic effects of ten years of ad hoc staffing have emerged as a corollary. It has been shown that criteria for the appropriate use of casual labour, and constraints on the less favourable treatment of casual staff, would remove budgetary incentives to further casualisation, and encourage the substitution of more sustainable staffing practices.

Notes

- ¹ This paper is based on evidence collected during one phases of an Australian Research Council SPIRT Grant funded project. Industry Partners were three TAFE Institutes, the ACTU, the National Tertiary Education Union and the Australian Education Union. Iain Campbell, Jennifer Curtin and Barbara Preston were research associates in the other phases of the project. Thanks to Harry Oxley and Margaret Wallace for help with survey design and statistical analysis in the university phase. The views are those of the author alone.
- ² The DEST formula for counting full-time equivalent (full year) casual academic staff divides the number of 'contact' lecturing hours by 9, and then by the number of teaching weeks in a full year in the institution. It divides the number of 'contact' hours for tutorials, demonstrations and workshops by 25 and then by the number of teaching weeks in a full year, whereas in reality the standard weekly tutorial load for a level A academic is closer to 15 hours per week. Non-casual staff are counted on the basis of a 52-week year.
- ³ By 1999, government budgets provided 52 per cent of Australian university funding: only in Korea, Japan and the United States amongst the OECD countries was the ratio of public to private university funding lower (OECD 2002).
- ⁴ The other 30 per cent had no other job.
- ⁵ The 50 per cent of contract general staff wanting university work reflect the inclusion of research staff on general, staff payrolls in the participating universities.
- ⁶ The total number of possible responses was 1236. Different duration ranges were used in the fifth university, to enable cross-checking.

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