

ADVANCING THE ROLE OF TEACHER UNIONS IN SHAPING FORCES OF NEOLIBERALISM THAT SURROUND TEACHERS' WORK AND CONDITIONS

Mihajla Gavin
The University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia

Abstract

Neoliberal and marketised agendas that shape global education reform have had a significant impact upon the work and lives of teachers working in public schools in New South Wales (NSW) and Australia, more broadly, since the mid-1980s. Despite extensive examination on the effect of these agendas on the work and conditions of school teachers working within public education systems, there has existed a notable silence around the role of trade unions who represent these workers. The omission of teacher unions from research on educational reform and policymaking is concerning given the current climate of neoliberalism and marketisation as it limits understandings of how teacher unions can use their power and influence to challenge neoliberal forces that affect teachers' work and lives. This paper presents preliminary insights from research which examines ~~whether~~how the teacher union representing public school teachers in NSW, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, has strategically responded to neoliberal forces affecting public school teachers since the mid-1980s in NSW across the areas of salaries, staffing and status. This paper will also expand more limited understandings of how teacher unions can deploy strategy to challenge neoliberal forces.

Introduction

Teachers working within public education systems in New South Wales (NSW), and, more broadly, Australia since the mid-1980s, have been significantly affected by education reform underscored by neoliberal and marketised agendas. According to Harvey (2005, p. 2), neoliberalism 'proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.' Under the force of 'economic rationalism', Australia began moving towards a neoliberal state following the election of the Hawke Government in 1983 which produced a range of social and economic changes in Australia and subsequently transformed the education system in Australia (Peetz and Bailey 2011). Within the context of education, such forces have facilitated the rise of self-managed schools, the standardisation of teaching and learning practices, international organisations that promote a reform agenda in schools, and the creation of a knowledge economy where education is transformed into an economic tool used to drive efficiency and productivity (Carter, Stevenson and Passy 2010; Helsby 1999; Robertson 2005; Whitty, Power and Halpin 1998). As a result of this transformation in recent decades, teachers have experienced an extensive plethora of challenges not limited to increased workloads and work intensification, de-skilling in some aspects of work, higher levels of burnout and turnover within the profession, and increased stress incurred by heightened accountability and performance measures (Angus 2013; Connell 2009).

Despite the theorisation around the effect of such forces on teachers' work and conditions, little research has critically analysed the role played by the collective organisations that are charged with representing teachers' interests and concerns – teacher trade unions – and the response of these organisations to neoliberal and marketised forces (Carter, Stevenson and Passy 2010). This gap is concerning given the context in which teachers currently work. Teacher unions, within a context of decline in the union movement, are unique in having retained a high level of membership and comparative influence. Yet little is known about the practices and behaviours adopted by such unions to protect and advance the interests of teachers in an era of neoliberal education reform. Research

currently being undertaken by the author is examining whether and how the union representing public schools teachers in NSW, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation (NSWTF), has responded strategically to forces affecting teachers across key areas including salaries, staffing and status. Through a critical analysis of union documents including annual reports, articles from the union's journal, and minutes and decisions from meetings of key decision-making bodies, it will present preliminary insights into the response of the union to neoliberal agendas affecting the industrial and professional conditions of teachers as carried out in several campaigns across the last 30 years. This research calls for understandings on how teacher unions can play a role in protecting and advancing the interests of teachers against neoliberal and marketised agendas and for understandings into how teacher unions may better influence educational reform and policymaking processes to benefit teachers' work and conditions.

This paper will firstly canvass existing knowledge about the response of teacher unions to neoliberal and marketised forces in education. It will argue that while in comparison to unions in other industries and sectors, which have faced significant challenges as a result of threats to the union movement, teacher unions, in contrast, have retained a considerable degree of strength and influence. Second, it will explore the nature of strategy and present reasons for why unions should engage in strategic behaviour, practice and decision-making. Third, it will analyse the response of the NSWTF to neoliberal forces that have affected the industrial and professional conditions of teachers since the mid-1980s in NSW. This section will illuminate preliminary insights garnered from an analysis of union documents that consider the tactics and strategies of the union in response to neoliberal forces that have affected teachers in NSW across several areas. Finally, it will explore the nature of the relationship between the NSWTF and other key actors in the education sector including the NSW Government and NSW Department of Education in recent decades, and will investigate changing dynamics in this relationship in response to developments in education reform.

Teacher union responses so far: what do we know?

Teacher unions have retained a measure of strength and influence amidst a climate of union decline and pressures brought about by neoliberalism. However, there have been limited understandings so far on how teacher unions have responded to the challenge of neoliberal education reform that has significantly affected the membership of teacher unions and the teaching profession generally. Throughout the latter half of the 20th century across Australia and worldwide, trade unions experienced considerable decline as measured by union membership and density levels (Verma and Kochan 2004). In Australia, for instance, whilst in the mid-1970s over 50% of the workforce belonged to trade unions in their main paid jobs (Sadler and Fagan 2004), by August 2013, this level had dropped considerably to only 17% of employees being a member of a trade union in their main job (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013). By contrast, teachers have remained a highly unionised sector of workers with teacher unions retaining high levels of membership despite neoliberal threats to collective organisation (Carter, Stevenson and Passy 2010; Durbridge 2008). Across major western democracies, teachers represent one of the most highly unionised sectors of any occupation. In the United States, for example, the education industry had the second highest rate of union membership in 2015 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2016), while in the United Kingdom and Australia, the education industry had the highest rates of union membership in 2014 (Department for Business Innovation and Skills 2015) and 2013 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013), respectively.

Whilst teacher unions have succeeded in retaining influence and strength within an industrial relations landscape characterised by challenges to unionism, there exists surprisingly little understanding of what processes and behaviours teacher unions have adopted in order to remain relevant for teachers despite neoliberal challenges to their work and conditions. Scholars have consistently argued that teacher unions are often under-represented in the literature on education reform and policy and that little is known about how teacher unions attempt to influence these decision-making processes (Bangs and MacBeath 2012; Compton and Weiner 2008). It has also been observed that quite often the role of teacher unions in education reform has been limited to research on how teacher unions affect student

outcomes, which has primarily been researched in US-based quantitative studies (see Loveless 2000). One of the few analyses which does exist on the topic of teacher union responses to neoliberalism is Carter, Stevenson and Passy's (2010) triad of strategic approaches that can be utilised by teacher unions. These approaches describe responses as either going 'with the grain' of neoliberal reform, going 'against the grain' of neoliberal reform or incorporating aspects of neoliberalism, such as decentralisation, and using these for the benefit of the union (Carter, Stevenson and Passy 2010). Interrogating these strategic approaches and observing their application within an Australian context will provide leverage to achieving a more informed understanding of how unions can attempt to shape and influence teachers' work and conditions.

What is strategy and why should unions behave strategically?

Similar to any other organisation, it is integral that trade unions adopt strategic practices that steer the organisation through challenges faced in the external environment. This is also imperative for teacher unions operating within a neoliberal context. Trade unions face considerable constraints from forces brought on at global level including competition, deregulation and privatisation (Stratton Devine and Reshef 1996). The fact that unions have often failed to adapt to and respond to these challenges using a strategic approach has meant that unions, typically in the US, UK and Australia, have faced difficulties in setting clear strategic plans that sufficiently align resources to specified goals that achieve certain outcomes (Line 2015). The term 'strategy' typically refers to developing a long-term, conscious and sequenced plan or method involving the accumulation of tactics that will guide an organisation's decision-making into the future (Chandler 1962; Gardner 1989; Mintzberg 1979). Mintzberg and Waters (1985) have elaborated on these understandings of strategy and argue that rather than strategy being something that is developed discretely and in isolation from the day-to-day running of an organisation, strategy is better understood as something that forms gradually and perhaps unintentionally. Nevertheless, strategy provides a means by which an organisation can critically analyse issues external to their organisation which affect their operation and harness these challenges and opportunities in a meaningful way in order to guide future decision-making and planning.

Several models of strategic choice and planning have been developed to provide a framework that organisations, including unions, can use in order to advance their interests and achieve their goals. Writing in the 20th century, Kochan, Katz and McKersie (1986) and Child (1997) argued that processes and outcomes within the industrial relations landscape were shaped by a network of interactions between the environment and agents within an organisation, and, in particular, it was important to analyse how agents responded to challenges in their environment. More contemporary frameworks, such as Weil's (2005) model of strategic choice and planning, similarly outlines a systematic process of strategy formulation, implementation and evaluation that can be used by unions to plan their current and future strategic direction. Such frameworks can act as a useful tool for unions, including teacher unions, to learn how to strategically navigate and respond to challenges imposed on their operating environments.

In defense of industrial and professional conditions of teachers

In order to challenge neoliberal education reform affecting teachers' work and conditions, it is imperative that teacher unions not only endeavour to protect and advance the industrial interests of teachers but also work towards shifting to a mode of professional unionism that is concerned with a deeper struggle on broader issues. In terms of analysing the tactics and strategies used by the NSWTF in defense of teachers' work and conditions, this section will interrogate a selection of key campaigns undertaken by the NSWTF in response to threats to teachers' work and conditions since the mid-1980s in NSW and will also illuminate whether the union has shifted from an industrial to professional mode of unionism.

Key documents of the NSWTF from the year 1985 to present were analysed to produce the findings below. Documents analysed included Annual Reports, decisions from the union's Annual Conference, minutes and decisions from two main decision-making bodies (Executive and Council), and articles from the union's journal, *Education*, which is published twice each school term and distributed to all members. To understand the development of tactics and strategies used by the Federation, key observations from 1985 to present were analysed in the suite of documents including the nature and frequency of industrial and political action, the degree of membership involvement, awareness of external threats and circumstances, behaviours and interactions with employer bodies, and changing prioritisation over teachers' industrial and professional interests.

Industrial unionism sees unions strongly focus on the 'traditional' goals of unionism and on simply achieving the 'bread-and-butter' conditions of employment such as wages, job security and reasonable working hours when engaged in bargaining with management (Donaldson et al 2013). However, it has been argued that instead of focussing only on economic or industrial issues, unions should instead concern themselves with issues affecting the 'other half of teaching', which includes pedagogical and professional issues and those issues connected with a deeper social and educational struggle (Kerchner and Mitchell 1998; Lawn 1996). Critics have argued that the scope of bargaining undertaken by unions needs to be expanded beyond simply the material benefits of teaching to areas related to policy which have a broader public interest and that also enhance issues surrounding teacher professionalism (Johnson and Kardos 2000; Urban 1991). While industrial bargaining is effective at setting rules and dividing resources, it becomes less effective in addressing broader educational challenges that affect teachers' work and lives including teachers' professional roles, school organisation and institutional practice (Johnson and Kardos 2000). The industrial unionism approach to bargaining also typically sees teachers and employers adopt adversarial and confrontational attitudes with an almost permanent conflict existing between labour and management (Johnson and Kardos 2000). This approach is considered dysfunctional and hinders progress as parties are continually hostile towards one another (Johnson and Kardos 2000).

In comparison to industrial unionism, professional unionism encourages teachers and employers to acknowledge their shared stake in improving education and focus on what is best for students and quality education (Moe 2006). This mode of unionism sees parties adopt a more collaborative approach in negotiations, sit 'side-by-side' over issues and work together to develop solutions to challenging problems, instead of making sweeping demands or counteroffers during bargaining (Johnson and Kardos 2000). There is also greater potential for parties to form a policy partnership under professional unionism whereby teacher unions have a more expanded role and can position themselves as key policymakers and partners in the reform of education and play a greater role in school governance and policymaking (Donaldson et al 2013; Moe 2006).

Although the literature on this topic encourages teacher unions to advocate for, but also move further beyond, the industrial interests of teachers to more professional and educational issues, the experience of the NSWTF over the last 30 years has shown a different approach adopted by the union. Protecting and advancing the industrial interests of public schools teachers in NSW has been a key focus of the NSWTF over this period. Gaining pay increases without bargaining away working conditions, ensuring that class sizes are appropriately managed to avoid increases in teacher workload, and campaigning to maintain and improve job security have been central to some of the major campaigns for the NSWTF in recent decades. Campaigns centred on teachers' salaries have, in particular, encouraged solidarity, unity and strength amongst members and an equally militant attitude by the NSWTF.

During the teacher salaries dispute of 1995-96 in NSW, a range of new tactics were developed and imposed by the union including state-wide bans on government policies and on school activities occurring during lunchtime or out-of-school hours (NSWTF 1997 Annual Report). In an effort to garner public support on the issue, a Newspoll survey was conducted which found large community

support for teachers to receive a pay increase of up to 25% and joint industrial action was also taken by the NSWTF and the Independent Education Union (NSWTF 1996 'Survey shows huge support for teachers' salary increase'). In this dispute, the NSWTF also lobbied for a consent award as opposed to an enterprise agreement in the Industrial Relations Commission in the knowledge that the Commission would have more limited involvement in enforcing teacher conditions in an enterprise agreement (NSWTF 1995 'Salaries campaign begins'). The level of support for protecting and defending teachers' salaries in this dispute was summed up through the statement by a union leader that "Salaries campaigns should never be regarded as completed as the quest to enhance the salaries and status of the profession must now become a permanent crusade of the union" (NSWTF 1997 Annual Report, p. 4).

In another major teacher salaries dispute that occurred over 1999-2000, the NSWTF campaigned for improved teacher salaries off the back of a Senate Inquiry into the Status of the Teaching Profession, which stated that in order to attract high quality students and retain the best teachers, an overall increase in funding for teachers' salaries was required (NSWTF 1998 Annual Conference Decisions). Highlighting the attitude of the NSWTF towards support teachers' industrial interests, it was also claimed by a union leader in this particular dispute that "Salaries is the issue that mobilises most members to take industrial and political action" (Zadkovich 1999, p. 15). A Salaries Co-ordinating Committee was set up within the union to oversee the campaign and adopt a leading role in co-ordinating material to be sent out to members (NSWTF 1998 'Members to be consulted on salaries claim'). In addition, following no response from the NSW Minister of Education to the salaries claim put forward by the union, a Public Education Community Forum was established between public education teacher unions and parent organisations in order to lobby ministers of education for increases to funding (NSWTF 1999 'The President Writes'). This initiative also prompted escalated industrial action involving which rolling strikes, bans on government and departmental policies, and limits to teacher output (NSWTF 1999 'Strikes Roll Across State'). Political and industrial campaigning also intensified after the NSW Government attempted to bypass negotiations with the union by placing a copy of the proposed award containing new teacher salaries directly on the Internet (NSWTF 2000 Annual Report).

A different approach to lobbying and campaigning by the NSWTF can be observed when it comes to disputes over teacher salaries and staffing issues. Whereas in salaries disputes, the union often aims to only activate the membership (with some efforts made to engage parents, other unions and the broader community), disputes around staffing see the union actively seek to garner strong parent and community support for the issue in order to serve the interests of teachers. This action was witnessed in a 1988 staffing dispute following the announcement by the NSW Greiner Government of cuts to over 2,500 teaching positions across public schools in NSW. In the development of the NSWTF's strategy, the union had observed that a problem in the past was that wider support for the union had failed because of an inability to link the working conditions of teachers with the learning conditions of students or the quality of education (Norington 1998). During this dispute it was considered essential to bring parents on the side of the union if the campaign was to be sustained. A Public Education Rally was held in August 1988 which brought together thousands of teachers, parent organisations, principals, students and community organisations which produced the largest gathering of people in Sydney in protest since the Vietnam War (1998 Annual Report). In this dispute, the union also pursued a Class Sizes Award to limit the maximum number of students in each class in light of the proposed cuts to teaching positions. While staffing formulae could not be directly pursued in the Industrial Commission, the NSWTF developed the rationale that reduced staffing numbers and increased class sizes would also increase the workloads of teachers. This increase in workload could be framed as an industrial matter and hence the class sizes and staffing issue could be fought in the Commission on this basis (NSWTF 1988 'Class size campaign'). At times during the dispute, it was also considered more effective by the union that instead of striking, schools would make arrangements to meet with parents to discuss the effects of the staffing losses on the quality of education at their local school (NSWTF 1989 'Staffing Cuts Hit Schools').

A similar, although less effective, attempt to garner parent and community support was earlier used in

another staffing dispute in 1985 that occurred at Bega High School. This dispute centred around the refusal by a Mathematics teacher to accept a forced transfer to another school which would have led to the reduction in the provision of mathematics at the school. The forced transfer occurred following the introduction of a new staffing formula for secondary schools in NSW. The teacher's refusal led the then NSW Minister of Education to dismiss the teacher from the teaching service which prompted widespread industrial action by the NSWTF including rolling 24-hour stoppages on a regional basis that continued for several months (NSWTF 1985 'Illawarra: All Out!'). At the early stages of the dispute, the union had successfully enlisted the support of parents over the issue (NSWTF 1985 Annual Report). However, following an unsuccessful outcome in the Industrial Commission to prevent the dismissal, the majority of members felt that the union's campaign could not be sustained. Statewide meetings of members did not endorse a call for a further 48-hour strike and hence industrial action was soon suspended (NSWTF 1985 'Mass Meetings Call For Increased Focus on Secondary Formula'). The union considered the outcome of this staffing dispute less successful as it appeared in the minds of the public that the dispute was essentially about one individual instead of being about the staffing formula and educational offerings more broadly across the state of NSW (Fitzgerald 2011).

Whilst notions of professionalism and the status of teachers has been of similar concern to teachers throughout this period, these issues have not attracted the same level of solidarity and impassioned response amongst NSWTF members and the teaching profession. A notable example of a governmental attempt to challenge the professional status of teachers arose with the introduction of the Teacher Efficiency Review during the mid-1980s which the union claimed would establish a teacher assessment system linked to professional development, performance appraisal, salary maintenance and promotional progression, as well as increase the degree of control over teachers (NSWTF 1990 Annual Conference Decisions). Whilst a variety of actions were taken at individual, school, Association and Federation level and the response to the introduction of this policy was not characterised as industrial in nature, a successful outcome was still achieved. Further, issues around advancing pedagogy have often only been pursued when the union is able to confidently demonstrate that the changes being imposed on teachers will have a direct impact within the classroom, thereby spurring parents and the general community to similarly be concerned about protecting teachers' interests.

Teacher union relationship with the education department and state government

Regarding commentary on the character of relationships typically forged with key actors and stakeholders (in this case, between the NSWTF, the NSW Department of Education and NSW Government), the literature on industrial and professional unionism generally argues that in order to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes, parties should attempt to work in partnership with one another and build a cooperative relationship (Johnson and Kardos 2000). Within a neoliberal environment, the relationship between these parties has often appeared strained and at times hostile. Throughout the mid-to-late 1980s and early 1990s, a significant degree of conflict marked the relationship between these parties, witnessed in a range of industrial and political campaigns during this time which aimed to protect teachers' conditions including opposition to the two-tier wages system, changes to rating teacher performance, mass cuts to teaching positions across the state, and changes to school budgets and the hiring of staff under new flexible staffing and budgeting initiatives. This degree of hostility intensified in particular under the operation of a Liberal Government in NSW from the late 1980s.

Despite the NSWTF and the NSW Department of Education formally undertaking in the early 1990s to engage in more cooperative industrial relations practices in recognition of the deterioration of their relationship, industrial and political hostilities between the parties have continued beyond this time. The Heagney Review published in mid-1994 aimed to improve industrial relations between the NSWTF and the then Department of School Education. The Review recommended the formalisation of a set of structures that would allow for improved communication between the two parties and which

proposed formal procedures to foster good industrial relations at school, regional and head office levels (NSWTF 1994 Annual Report). The Review proposed that for good industrial relations to be possible at the workplace, teachers working as Federation Representatives at their local school and school principals should undergo training to provide an improved understanding of the context and procedures within which both the NSWTF and Department would need to operate (NSWTF 1994 Annual Report). An updated version of the Teachers Handbook was also published which codified a range of current conditions of employment for teachers (NSWTF 1994 Annual Report). The Review also established four joint working parties involving NSWTF and Departmental officers to implement aspects of the Review such as a review of staff welfare, dispute and grievance procedures, and the roll-out of industrial relations training (NSWTF 1993 Annual Report). The establishment of these groups was fundamental to ensure that there was a regular exchange of views between the parties in order to avoid unnecessary industrial confrontation (NSWTF 1993 Annual Report).

Whilst the Heagney Review recommended a series of initiatives in order to improve relations between the NSWTF and the Department, it was also acknowledged that the structures and procedures emerging out of the Review were not aimed at stifling or preventing the NSWTF from using its traditional campaign activities when fundamental differences of opinion arose between the NSWTF, the Department and the NSW Government (1993 Annual Report). However, this formal undertaking to improve industrial relations between the parties is not to suggest that relations fundamentally improved for the better. Since this time, the NSWTF has continued to remark that consultations with the Department of Education over teachers' wages and conditions have been negligible and that the Department has often attempted to bypass the union in order to directly communicate with teachers. Whilst it appears that both parties eventually agree to a consensus during a campaign, this is not typically without claimed efforts by the union to force the Department to the negotiating table. In terms of relations with the government of the day, it appears that this conflict cuts across both sides of politics. For instance, even optimism that was generated with the election of the Carr Labor Government in 1995 dissipated with relations deteriorating during negotiations over a new salaries award for teachers in 1995-96 (NSWTF 1996 Annual Report). More recently, lack of consultation and negotiation between the parties as claimed by the union prompted a drawn out campaign of industrial and political action following the announcement of the *Local Schools, Local Decisions* policy.

Conclusion

Teacher unions play a critical role in protecting the interests of their members and the teaching profession more generally. Within the state of NSW, teachers working within the public education system have experienced a range of challenges to their industrial and professional conditions in recent decades across the areas of salaries, staffing and status brought about by neoliberal policies and agendas. Given that teacher unions, in contrast to unions in other sectors, have retained high levels of union membership despite challenges to the union movement, it is important that teacher unions play an active role in not only strategically responding to the challenges facing teachers' work and conditions but also in developing means to better influence governmental policymaking and decision-making processes. Preliminary insights from a reading of documents of the NSWTF has shown that the union has actively campaigned to protect the industrial interests of public school teachers in NSW and that such interests have been of most concern to teachers. However, despite securing outcomes for members in these areas, these outcomes have often been achieved in a relationship with government and the Department of Education that has been marked by conflict and adversarial attitudes. While further insights will be illuminated in the continuing research, preliminary evidence has shown that there is scope for teacher unions to adjust their practice and behaviour in order to act strategically in protecting and advancing the work and conditions of teachers.

References

- Angus, L. (2013). Teacher Identity and the Neoliberal Condition: Asserting a Participative-Professional, Socially Democratic Teacher Imaginary in Technical-Managerial Times. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 3(7), 170-177.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013). *Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership*, Australia, 6310.0, August 2013.
- Bangs, J., & MacBeath, J. (2012). Collective leadership: the role of teacher unions in encouraging teachers to take the lead in their own learning and in teacher policy. *Professional Development in Education*, 38(2), 331-343.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016). *Union Members Summary*, United State Department of Labor, USDL-16-0158, 28 January, 2016.
- Carter, B., Stevenson, H., & Passy, R. (2010). *Industrial Relations in Education: Transforming the School Workforce*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Chandler, A. D. (1962). *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise*, Massachusetts, Boston: MIT Press.
- Child, J. (1997). Strategic Choice in the Analysis of Action, Structure, Organizations and Environment: Retrospect and Prospect. *Organization Studies*, 18(1), 43-76.
- Compton, M., & Weiner, L. (2008). The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Teacher Unions. In M. Compton & L. Weiner (Eds.), *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions: Stories for Resistance* (pp. 3-10). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Connell, R. (2009). The Work of Teaching. *History of Education Review*, 38(2), 9-16.
- Department for Business Innovation and Skills (2015). *Trade Union Membership 2014: Statistical Bulletin*, BIS/15/300, June 2015.
- Donaldson, M. L., Mayer, A. P., Cobb, C. D., LeChasseru, K., & Welton, A. (2013). New roles for teachers unions? Reform unionism in school decentralization. *Journal of Educational Change*, 14(4), 501-525.

- Durbridge, R. (2008). Challenging Neoliberalism: Education Unions in Australia. In M. Compton & L. Weiner (Eds.), *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions: Stories for Resistance* (pp. 109-122). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fitzgerald, D. (2011). *Teachers and Their Times: History and the Teachers Federation*. Sydney, NSW: University of NSW Press.
- Gardner, M. (1989). Union Strategy: A Gap in Union Theory. In B. Ford & D. Plowman (Eds.), *Australian Unions* (2nd ed.) (pp. 49-72). South Melbourne, VIC: Macmillan.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Helsby, G. (1999). *Changing Teachers' Work*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Johnson, S. M., & Kardos, S. M. (2000). Reforming Bargaining and Its Promise for School Improvement. In T. Loveless (Ed.), *Conflicting Missions? Teachers Unions and Educational Reform* (pp. 7-46). Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kerchner, C. T., & Mitchell, D. E. (1988). *The Changing Idea of a Teachers' Union*. Philadelphia, PA: The Falmer Press.
- Kochan, T. A., Katz, H. C., & McKersie, R. B. (1986). *The Transformation of American Industrial Relations*. New York, NY: Basic Books Inc.
- Lawn, M. (1996). *Modern Times? Work, Professionalism and Citizenship in Teaching*. London, UK: The Falmer Press.
- Line, A. (2015). *Strategy Development in Latvian Trade Unions: Leaders' Assessment*. 3rd Human and Social Sciences at the Common Conference. October 5-9, 2015.
- Loveless, T. (Ed.) (2000). *Conflicting Missions? Teachers Unions and Educational Reform*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Mintzberg, H. (1979). Patterns in Strategy Formation. *International Studies of Management and Organizations*, 9(3), 67-86.
- Mintzberg, H., & Waters, J. A. (1985). Of Strategies, Deliberate and Emergent. *Strategic Management Journal*, 6(3), 257-272.
- Moe, T. M. (2006). Union Power and the Education of Children. In J. Hannaway & A. J. Rotherman (Eds.), *Collective Bargaining in Education: Negotiating Change in Today's Schools* (pp. 229-256). Massachusetts, Boston: Harvard Education Press.
- New South Wales Teachers' Federation (NSWTF) (2000). *2000 Annual Report*. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.
- NSWTF (1999). 'Strikes Roll Across State'. *Education*, 13 September. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.
- NSWTF (1998). *1998 Annual Report*. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.
- NSWTF (1998). *1998 Annual Conference Decisions*. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.
- NSWTF (1998). 'Members to be consulted on salaries claim'. *Education*, 3 May, page 10.

Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1997). *1997 Annual Report*. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1996). *1996 Annual Report*. Marrickville, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1996). 'Survey shows huge support for teachers' salary increase'. *Education*, 1 April, page 2. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1995). 'Salaries campaign begins'. *Education*, 19 June, page 1. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1994). *1994 Annual Report*. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1993). *1993 Annual Report*. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1990). *1990 Annual Conference Decisions*. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1989). 'Staffing Cuts Hit Schools'. *Education*, 27 February, page 2. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1988). 'Class size campaign'. *Education*, 7 November, page 7. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1985). *1985 Annual Report*. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1985). 'Mass Meetings Call For Increased Focus on Secondary Formula'. *Education*, 1 July, page 3. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

NSWTF (1985). 'Illawarra: All Out!'. *Education*, 11 March, page 5. Sydney, NSW: NSWTF.

Norington, B. (1998). *Jennie George*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Peetz, D., & Bailey, J. (2011). Neoliberal Evolution and Union Responses in Australia. In G. Gall., A Wilkinson., & R. Hurd (Eds.), *International Handbook on Labour Unions: Responses to Neo-Liberalism* (pp. 61-81). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Robertson, S. L. (2005). Re-imaging and rescripting the future of education: global knowledge economy discourses and the challenge to education systems. *Comparative Education*, 41(2), 151-170.

Sadler, D., & Fagan, B. (2004). Australian Trade Unions and the Politics of Scale: Reconstructing the Spatiality of Industrial Relations. *Economic Geography*, 80(1), 23-43.

Stratton Devine, K., & Reshef, Y. (1996). Union planning: a framework and research agenda. *Industrial Relations*, 51(3).

Urban, W. J. (1991). Is there a New Teacher Unionism? *Educational Theory*, 41(3), 331-338.

Verma, A., & Kochan, T. A. (2004). Unions in the 21st Century: Prospects for Renewal. In A. Verma & T. A. Kochan (Eds.), *Unions in the 21st Century: An International Perspective* (pp. 1-16). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weil, D. (2005). A Strategic Choice Framework for Union Decision Making. *WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 8(3), 327-347.

Whitty, G., Power, S., & Halpin, D. (1998). *Devolution and Choice in Education: The Schools, The*

Author Name: Mihajla Gavin

Contact Email: mgav6217@uni.sydney.edu.au

State, and The Market. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Zadkovich, G. (1999). *To Deliver Us Our Future: Developing Strategy for Difficult Times*. Eric Pearson Report, New South Wales Teachers' Federation.