CHAPTER I

PURPOSE, OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH, AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PHENOMENON OF TEACHER RESIGNATION

Background to the Study

The last three years have ... been marked by a heightened sense of unease within the teaching profession: dissatisfaction, low morale and consequently increased resignation rates, and less willingness by tertiary students to consider teaching as a career of first choice. On a broader level, however, the economic and social imperatives facing the country have resulted in a greater recognition of education as a critical factor in skills formation which will increase the level of competence of the workforce and, thence, Australia's competitive edge in the world economy.

(National Board of Employment, Education and Training, 1990b: 1)

Introduction

The subject of teacher resignation seems to elicit essentially negative reactions from all concerned. Resignation is seen as something akin to bad weather, being regrettable, but inevitable. Some might even see teacher resignation as desirable if it results in disaffected and "non-productive" teachers leaving the system. However despite the general air of inevitability surrounding the phenomenon of teacher resignation, undoubtedly it is of intense interest and concern to those directly involved.

Such negative connotations aside, it was the intention of the study to adopt a positive, proactive stance to the issue by increasing understanding of both teacher resignation and teacher persistence through the case study of one group of teachers who had resigned from one education system, the New South Wales Department of School Education, during a given time period.

By way of introduction to the issue of teacher resignation, general trends, pressures, questions and beliefs pertaining to teacher resignation and teacher persistence are outlined below. These are explored in greater detail in the literature review that follows in Chapter II. Prior to this, a number of key terms are defined.
Definition of Key Terms

There are a number of key terms which require definition at this juncture.

Teacher resignation is defined as the act of a teacher voluntarily and officially severing a permanent employment contract or obligation with an educational employer prior to the expected retirement or contract completion date. Often, teacher resignation is calculated for a set period, usually a year, and expressed as a percentage of the total number of teachers in one or more categories employed by that authority or employer.

Teacher persistence is defined as the indefinite continuance of a teacher’s career with a given employing authority. Teacher persistence is referred to by some as teacher retention. The former term was preferred in this study because it implies an element of personal choice or action, as does resignation.

Hidden teacher resignation is defined as the phenomenon whereby a teacher takes some kind of official leave such as "leave-without-pay", "long-service leave" or "maternity/paternity leave" from his or her employer with the likely though unstated intention of not returning to employment with that employer following the completion of the agreed leave period. The unstated and uncertain nature of this form of "resignation" makes it very difficult to estimate or calculate although it is an important factor in determining teacher supply and demand.

Human factors are defined as those influences pertaining to relationships, personal experiences, expectations, mental and physical health, lifestyle, personal capabilities, norms, values and culture, recognition, acceptance by others, and self-esteem, factors largely falling within the affective domain.

Structural factors are those influences pertaining to rules, regulations, procedures, processes, methods of control, material resources and equipment largely falling within the organisational or "bureaucratic" domain.

Attitude to Teaching is defined as a construct or product of the factors found by the study to impinge upon it, viz.: Personal Background; Pre-Service Training; Employment History; Society; Departmental/School Policies and Procedures; Relationships With Others; The Teaching Role; Teacher Satisfaction; Teacher Dissatisfaction; Teacher Stress; The Resignation Decision, and Post Resignation Condition. As a result of the interplay of the factors outlined above, the individual teacher makes the decision to persist with or resign from an educational employer.

Grounded Theory is theory "inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 23).

Broad Pressures on Teaching as a Career

Teacher resignation is not a phenomenon confined to only Australia. Public education systems world-wide and private education authorities are experiencing the twin problems of attracting and retaining suitably qualified teaching staff.

Tertiary educational institutions are faced with the problem of attracting students interested in pursuing a teaching career, a situation which may have led, at times, to a decline in entry standards to teacher pre-service training at those institutions in order to meet the perceived
demands for future teachers. Indeed, where local supply of teachers has been deficient, it has been necessary to meet the shortfall from other educational systems and even from overseas.

At times, serious concerns have been raised over the attractiveness of teachers' salaries and some have perhaps simplistically attempted to link resignation rates to the higher salaries available outside the teaching profession, particularly for those teachers possessing marketable or transferable skills in areas such as mathematics and computing. In fact, opportunist organisations, often staffed by former teachers, have sprung up to assist teachers to leave teaching and to find alternative employment. In New South Wales, the union representing government teachers, the New South Wales Teachers Federation, has established the "Teachers Career Service" to assist its members and other teachers to find alternative employment.

The attractiveness of a teaching career and teacher persistence once that career has been commenced also appear to be related to such factors as the state of the economy and hence, opportunities for alternative employment. "Conventional wisdom" has it, for example, that teaching as a career becomes more attractive in times of economic recession or downturn when less opportunity for employment exists in the wider community, teaching being perceived as a "safe" occupation. This appears to have been the case in 1992 and to a lesser extent, 1991, when entry standards for teacher training courses rose sharply in New South Wales universities as a result of greater student demand for places.

In addition, educational systems in many countries are in the midst of substantial educational reform and restructuring, an unsettling influence which can place increased pressures and demands upon school teachers and administrators. Education is seen as being of critical importance, not just to the individual, but to the economic performance of nations attempting to come to grips with a post-industrial interlocking international order and thus there has been increasing pressure to restructure and reform education along industrial or corporate lines (Beare, 1988: 248).

Serious concerns have also been expressed about teachers' morale, stress and teacher "burnout" as the teaching service ages in the aftermath of the post-World War II "baby boom" era and as demands upon teachers seemingly increase. In addition, it may well be that the esteem with which the community regards teachers is not as high as it once was.

However, if the status of teachers has declined in the community, the expectations that the community holds for teachers and schools have certainly increased, with the school being expected to solve many of the problems that the community itself seems unwilling or unable to deal with.
At the same time as these diverse pressures are exerting influence upon teachers and schools, many are questioning whether the educational innovations of the 1960s and 1970s such as "school based curriculum development", "open" classrooms and the abolition of some external examinations achieved their purpose, with the result that there appears to be a world-wide trend to centralise curriculum and to control more closely certain aspects of education which were formerly within the domain of "professional autonomy" (Beare, 1989).

However while schools have lost certain responsibilities, paradoxically they are also being asked to take on greater responsibility in areas such as financial planning and accountability and the hiring, professional development, and evaluation of staff.

There is thus pressure for schools and teachers to demonstrate effectiveness through such measures as "performance appraisal" and financial viability. The days of financial largesse such as occurred in Australia during the 1970s seem, at the present time, to be behind schools. Thus, as well as providers of an educational service to the community, increasingly schools, their administrators and teachers are also expected to be effective managers and entrepreneurs.

The New South Wales public education system, one of the largest in the world, exhibits many if not all of the above turbulent and at times contradictory aspects, with concern over the quality and quantity of students being attracted to teacher training, demonstrated dissatisfaction with public education yet increased expectations for teachers and schools, concern over teacher salaries and career paths, teacher shortages in certain disciplines and geographic areas, concern over teacher morale, and seemingly high rates of teacher resignation, all occurring within the context of rapid and substantial educational and economic restructuring and change.
Purpose of the Study: Statement of the Problem

Studies of teacher resignation to date have, in the main, concentrated upon quantifying both the extent of the phenomenon and the characteristics of those resigning i.e., comparisons of resignation rates, forecasts of teacher supply and demand, attention to length and type of pre-service training, length of service at resignation, aggregation of reasons for resignation and the financial costs of training and replacement of resigned teachers. However, to generalise about teachers and to rely too heavily upon aggregated data poses the danger of losing sight of the individual and personal side to resignation. As the Schools Council (1990: 46) has noted:

Understanding teaching as an occupation means coming to terms with one critical factor -- size. One in thirty members of the labour force is a teacher. A group of that size will inevitably produce an enormous range of personality types and work capabilities. As a result, generalising about teachers as a group ... is somewhat perilous. The variety among them will be significant. Inevitably, there will be good teachers and there will be bad teachers. There will be optimists and there will be cynics. There will be those who work very hard and who are consistently responsible, and those who do not and are not. The amount and type of occupational experience they have had will affect how they perform their work. They will be affected too by their own life situation, their age, their gender, their cultural background and, particularly perhaps, by whether or not they have children of their own.

While the issues of age, gender, training, length of service, and so on are of importance and were addressed in the study, its emphasis was different to that of previous research in that attention was given more to the personal characteristics, experiences and feelings of those former teachers interviewed and how these factors related to the more commonly explored variables mentioned above.

Thus, the study tended to fall within Morgan's (1980) "radical structuralist" paradigm, in that its emphasis was upon the feelings, forces, structures and procedures, tensions and actions which contribute to teacher resignation and the set of factors -- which the literature review had suggested are different from those contributing to resignation -- influencing teacher persistence.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to ascertain the reasons why, at a personal level, the teachers interviewed had resigned from the New South Wales public education system and to utilise this knowledge to develop a model of teacher persistence.

The focus of the study was upon the individual teacher within various structures (the institution i.e., the school; the local community; the organisation i.e., the New South Wales Department of School Education, and society as a whole), and of the tensions and forces, both intrinsic and
extrinsic, both human and structural, leading an individual to resign from his or her chosen occupation after gaining entry to pre-service training and employment as a teacher.

The rationale for the study thus hinged upon gaining access to human and personal insights to teacher resignation. In this respect, it was a study more of depth than breadth. Because of this rationale, it was found that this favoured a qualitative methodology utilising largely open-ended interview questions provided by the researcher. The nature of both this methodology and these questions was determined by the review of the literature which revealed a great range of variables or factors as possibly having some bearing upon teacher resignation and teacher persistence and the need to probe individual experiences and feelings more fully to better understand the relationship and influence of these variables on both resignation and persistence.

Responses to the interview questions were subjected to analysis using grounded theory techniques and then these findings related both to the draft model of teacher persistence developed as a result of the literature review and to the potential variables or factors mentioned previously.

A pilot study was carried out to trial the methodology and to provide tentative findings which could direct and inform the study proper and which could in turn be modified and refined as a result of the analysis of the remaining interviews.

**The Quest for Universality: Previous Research**

One of the intended purposes of the large scale use of questionnaires and quantitative methods in previous research into teacher resignation and allied areas such as stress had been the quest for universality. A number of such studies examined in the review of literature utilised data from literally thousands of respondents, with some studies extending over long periods of time. However McCarthy (1986: 3-5) has noted that reality is culturally and contextually dependent and discerned a movement away from the quest for universality towards what Van Fraassen termed "constructive empiricism", grounded in the naturalistic paradigm and "based upon the assumption that reality can only be portrayed as subjective and value bound".

This stance sat more comfortably with the study's purpose of understanding why, at a personal level, teachers had resigned from the New South Wales Department of School Education, than might the quest for universality through the use of large scale survey techniques. However, the study did attempt to develop a model of teacher persistence which might have application wider than the context of the study and those involved with it. In this sense, the universality sought by larger scale studies was hopefully achieved through deepening understanding of resignation and teacher persistence, rather than attempting to aggregate and analyse data from very large
samples, although the points raised by Van Fraassen concerning subjectivity and values were recognised.

To take the matter of universality and applicability further, Foster (1986: 10) noted that:

the school as a social institution has tremendous impact on an individual's life. School is ... a living statement of culture and values that forms a part of the consciousness of every social member.

As a result, Foster advocated a "critically informed theory of administration" that links "administrative practice to social and cultural issues". Foster (1986: 11) believed that the difficult questions that relate administrative practice to relationships and social context are too rarely asked and that, if they are not, "our administration and our patterns of education will remain in the same rut that has led to a crisis of confidence in education and schooling". Foster believed that despite the volume of research and reports in education and despite the fact that such reports were often quite critical, "they are strangely unreflective, with an underlying reluctance to explore the causes of school failure or to put the school experience into the context of larger social relations".

Thus, there was an element of such "critical theory" underpinning the study, critical being used in the sense of a recognition that there is no "best" way, and that events, structures and methods must be viewed in perspective and in context if human relationships, values, attitudes and behaviours are to be understood. Rather than formulating "hard" general theory, the study sought to illuminate and reveal the background to resignation for one group of teachers in one particular system of education during a limited period of time and to identify the key variables or factors that might impinge upon teacher persistence. The dangers about generalising about teachers have already been raised above, but it is a contention of the study that its completion has permitted the development of a model of teacher persistence that recognises the diversity of the teaching population and the complexity of the teaching task.

Within the study, teachers were encouraged, as Wolcott (1985) advocated, to "tell their own story", but within the structure of the interview provided by the researcher, a possible threat to objectivity, and thus the task of the researcher was to discern reality (or indeed multiple realities) from the interviews conducted with the subjects in order to develop a grounded theory of resignation and from this, to construct a model of teacher persistence with relevance to the administration of public education in New South Wales and quite possibly for other educational systems.

As noted above, there was an important element in the methodological approach employed in the study of what Glaser and Strauss (1967) termed "grounded theory", in that the interviews with the resigned teachers were approached in an open minded, reflective fashion, with
categories and coding largely emerging from the raw data in an inductive manner, although there was also an element of an *a priori* approach, in that a tentative model of teacher persistence was developed as a result of the review of the literature, the intention being to use this as a starting point in the construction of the interview schedule and to use the tentative model of teacher persistence as a benchmark or sounding board against the theory developed through the analysis of the interview transcripts and the resultant model of teacher persistence.
Aims and Significance of the Study

The aims of the study and its significance have partly been alluded to above. Obviously, education is a vital element of every society, and a modern post-industrial society such as Australia relies to a large degree upon the education system to educate, train, and socialise its young people.

A corollary of the importance of education is the importance of teachers. If it is harder to attract and retain teachers, then there are obvious problems for a society which relies so heavily and increasingly upon education and appears to place so much store in it.

It would thus be very valuable to discover who is resigning from teaching, and more importantly, why these people are resigning, and what would be needed to revitalise and retain them, given the level of human, economic, and social investment in education at all levels.

A model of teacher persistence could have a number of benefits. While such knowledge and understanding of teacher resignation would no doubt prove to be economically valuable to educational planners and policy makers with its implications for teacher selection, pre-service training, induction and professional development, it could also contribute to the mental and physical well-being of all teachers, for teachers are more than just an economic resource to be exploited for the benefit of society. Ultimately of course, such understanding might be able to make some contribution towards improving the quality of education for students, something which should be the central aim of all educators.
Given the study problem and its context, the study addressed a number of key questions:

1. What feelings and experiences pertaining to education before teaching, during the teaching career, and after resignation, were noted by those interviewed in the study?

2. What forces, factors and tensions contributed to the decision of those interviewed to resign?

3. How important are the first few years of teaching in influencing teacher resignation and teacher persistence?

4. What factors or variables contribute to teacher persistence? Are these factors different from the factors contributing to teacher resignation?

5. Can a grounded theory of teacher persistence be developed as a result of the analysis of the interview data?

6. Can a model of teacher persistence be developed from this grounded theory which recognises key variables or groups of variables contributing to teacher persistence?

7. What implications might this model of teacher persistence have for teacher selection, teacher training, and teachers' personal and professional development?
The Remainder of the Study

Overview

The review of the literature which provided the background to the phenomenon of teacher resignation and led to the adoption of the methodological approach employed in the study is contained in Chapter II.

The theoretical context of the study, and in particular grounded theory techniques, are outlined in the section of Chapter II dealing with "Research Methodology". Elaboration on grounded theory is found in Chapter III which deals with how the data was gathered and analysed.

Chapter IV contains discussion on the conduct and analysis of the pilot study involving seven resigned teachers, while Chapter V contains the full analysis and findings of the study based upon interviews with 50 additional teachers.

Chapter VI presents the model of teacher persistence developed as a result of the study and general areas for the attention of the New South Wales Department of School Education emanating from this if teacher persistence is to be increased. It ends the record of the study by providing the overall conclusions of the study, along with wider implications of the study for others concerned and involved with education.

Transcripts of both the pilot study and study proper interviews are contained in the Appendices, along with the interview schedule and requests for assistance in locating resigned teachers.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PERTAINING TO THE CENTRAL PHENOMENON

Overview

Purpose of the Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review was to explore the general areas of research and publication which impinge upon the phenomenon of teacher resignation and from this, to identify the influences, factors or variables which might affect teacher resignation and teacher persistence. The knowledge gained from the review of the literature was then utilised, in the light of the study problem, to formulate a draft model of teacher persistence, the general methodological approach employed, the formulation of the interview schedule used to gather data from the former teachers interviewed in the study, and the methodological approach used to analyse this data. Figure 1 on page 14 provides an overview of the task and structure of the literature review.

It must be recognised that a literature review could go on almost indefinitely, as more peripheral areas of the literature are explored and as new research is conducted and published. A line, therefore, has to be draw somewhere, both in terms of time and in terms of the scope of material to be included in the review. As a result, the review of literature which follows is restricted to the general areas shown in Figure 1. Further, the review does not include material made public since mid-1992 when the analysis of the interview data was largely completed.

However, as is customary, areas where additional research is considered necessary to more fully understand and deal with the problem under investigation are provided in the closing Chapters.

Factors Which Might Influence Teacher Resignation and Teacher Persistence

The review of the literature revealed a general paucity of research and publication in the area of teacher resignation, although this has tended to be examined in superficial and largely negative terms from time to time in the media. By comparison, the related areas of teacher morale,
teacher stress, and teacher "burnout" have received comprehensive attention from researchers and writers, both in Australia and overseas.

While teacher resignation is comparatively neglected to date, the areas of morale, stress and "burnout", despite the large volume of material available, remain characterised by diversity of findings and opinion, with debate continuing over whether teacher "burnout", for example, is myth or reality (see Farber, 1984; Hatchard & Thomas, 1987).

The review of the literature begins by examining the general and changing context of education and the characteristics of the Australian teaching force. The issues of the status of teachers in the community and community expectations for teachers and schools are then addressed. The review then turns to research on teacher morale, and the related areas of teacher stress, teacher "burnout" and teacher satisfaction, before focussing upon teacher resignation. Research on retaining teachers follows. The discussion then turns to the research methodology employed in the study which was derived both from the study problem and from the review of the literature.

**Towards a Draft Model of Teacher Persistence**

The Chapter concludes with an attempt to place the study into the context of previously completed work and foreshadows human and structural variables that the review of the literature indicated might influence teacher resignation and teacher persistence. These variables were utilised to form a draft model of teacher persistence which helped to shape the interview schedule and which was extensively modified as a result of the grounded theory analysis of the interviews carried out during the study to produce a final model of teacher persistence.
Figure 1: Overview of the Review of the Literature

The Teaching Context
- The changing context of teaching
- Characteristics of the Australian Teaching Force
- The status of teachers and community expectations
- The Teaching Environment

Results of The Teaching Task
- Teacher Morale
- Teacher Stress
- Teacher Burnout
- Teacher Job Satisfaction

To resign or persist?
- Teacher Resignation
- Retaining Teachers

Research Methodology
The Study and Previous Work
Factors Influencing Persistence and Resignation
The Changing Context of Teaching

Innovation and Change in the 1960s and 1970s

The late 1960s and early 1970s were characterised by innovation and change in Australian education. There was questioning of established educational practices, experimentation in education, much of it the influence of change occurring overseas, and a general trend towards an emphasis upon "process" rather than "content" in curriculum planning and teaching practice.

It should be noted that this period in world and Australian history was a turbulent one, with the Vietnam war polarising public opinion over Australia's support for the stand of the United States of America and the involvement of Australian troops in Vietnam. This was an era which saw public demonstration over issues such as conscription, abortion and contraception, the environment, Aboriginal rights, equal pay for women and increased funding for education and other services such as health and welfare.

Teachers of the time tended to be better educated and more militant than had been the case previously and there was pressure from teachers and the community for a greater role in determining both curricula and educational practices used in schools. The Schools Council (1990: 8) has noted that during this period there was a shift from "subject-centred" to "teacher-centred" and finally to "student-centred" education. Teachers demanded and received more professional autonomy and hence responsibility for determining the school curriculum and how it was to be taught, while the supervisory role of the "Inspector of Schools" to ensure compliance with centrally determined standards diminished.

Curricula became broader and less prescriptive, particularly in the primary school, with adherence to only general common syllabus requirements, a practice which became known as "school-based curriculum development". There were changes to the management structures of the various Australian departments of education, with regionalisation resulting in the devolution of some responsibilities to educational regions or sub-units. As mentioned previously, teachers undertook longer training with a shift from two-year training to three and four-year training with more teachers undertaking university degrees and post-graduate diplomas in education. Within the various teaching services, in-service education became more widely available to help meet the changing professional needs and expectations of teachers and schools.

Because of these changes there was greater pressure for funding which could not be provided by the traditional sources, the various state governments. There was a belief and emphasis
upon the provision of educational "inputs" such as textbooks, libraries, science laboratories, school assembly halls and audio-visual equipment. There was pressure also to reduce class sizes and to raise teachers' salaries to help ease the shortage of teachers which resulted in teachers being hired from overseas during the early 1970s. "Commonwealth Scholarships" were introduced to enable students with academic ability to remain at secondary school in the post-compulsory years.

Much of the additional funding needed for these initiatives was provided from federal sources, with education being placed high on the political agenda, particularly during the period of the federal Labor government from 1972 to 1975.

As well as the perceived benefits to the economy of a better educated workforce, it was also thought that education could be a medium for social change, with schooling becoming more socially relevant and more "community specific" through the process of school-based curriculum development and with parents and the local community having a greater, at least in theory, involvement in education.

The Schools Council (1990: 10) has noted that the emphasis upon "inputs" which held sway during the early 1970s gave way to an increasing emphasis upon "value for money" and accountability as the world economy felt the twin pressures of inflation and unemployment during the latter half of the 1970s. Desired outcomes in both curricula and administration in Australian education became more prescriptive and resources were used more carefully to achieve clearly specified aims than perhaps had been the case in the decade prior to this. The Schools Council (1990:13) observed that "one of the lessons learned from the experience of the 1970s is that a massive increase in resource allocation will not of itself necessarily improve the quality of education".

Youth Unemployment and Increased School Retention

From the mid-1970s there had been a growing concern that the increasing level of youth unemployment being experienced in Australia was in some ways attributable to schools. There was increased attention paid to the school-work transition during the later 1970s and the 1980s, with alternative more vocationally and recreationally oriented junior and senior secondary subjects being formulated to better meet the needs of the perhaps less academically able students who were no longer able to find employment in the traditional areas of primary industry and manufacturing and who were returning to post-compulsory education in increasing numbers.

Developing these alternative courses and catering for students of increasing multi-cultural diversity and varying background, including the integration of students with disabilities, has
been an additional demand upon teachers' time and energy, a situation perhaps not widely appreciated outside schools.

Debate continues as to how best to meet the needs of those students increasingly being attracted to post-compulsory education, or being deterred from leaving school because of lack of employment opportunities, as the case might be (Dinham, 1988; 1989). Post-compulsory education and training is, in fact, increasingly seen as part of a national social and economic agenda (Dawkins, 1992), with the traditional areas of "academic" and "general" or "vocational" education converging, and with "key competencies" for young people being identified and advocated, these coming to the fore in the recent "Finn Report", formally entitled "Young People's Participation in Education and Training", which the former Commonwealth Minister for Employment, Education and the Arts, John Dawkins (1992: 7), termed "a vitally important document, a watershed in education and training policy direction in Australia".

Review of Australian Education Today: The International Context

The late 1980s saw fresh impetus for change with "arms length" committees drawn largely from outside the various departments of education being set up to evaluate both the management of education and educational curricula in most states of Australia, part of what some have termed a "world-wide educational reform movement". Beare (1989), noted in some detail how structural change had become a common feature in educational systems internationally during the last decade and attributed this to a number of factors, including the increasing "interlocking international order" and the entering of the "post-industrial" phase in the major economies, which has led to the demand for "post-bureaucratic" structures in both private and public industries and services.

Increasingly, the dysfunctional effects of bureaucratic and centralised educational structures have been brought to light in a succession of reports, both international and Australian. Beare and his colleagues examined some forty five Australian reports into educational management structures and summarised their essential features (1989: 5-7). Many have overseas parallels and precedents and it is worthwhile taking some time to examine these features as they vitally impinge upon the work of the teacher and school and also illustrate the changing context of teaching:

1. Virtually all the new structures put emphasis upon efficient management.
2. The structures re-establish clear and simple lines of control.
3. The structures redefine and simplify portfolio co-ordination.
4. The structures have broken up or disbanded the large central bureaucracies, and have replaced them with lean, head-office management.
5. Every State and Territory system has experimented with some form of regionalisation.
6. 'Devolution of responsibility' is a frequently used term in the reconstruction ... [with] school-based governance ... [usually implying] the creation of a school-site council.

7. A strong commonality in the documents is the talk about 'Better Schools' or 'Excellent Schools' or just 'Excellence'.

8. Yet the abiding impression in all the reconstruction is that the reform agenda has been set by the economic and political forces. Regardless of what the country's constitution might say, it is now obvious that the national government has become one of the key players in deciding educational policies and practices.

9. ... there is no doubt that education has become more politicised ... there has been a growing tendency since the mid-1970s for the Minister [for Education] to assume a much more prominent role not only in setting policy but also in managing the system.

10. The impermanent head: The rapid succession of people through the office of the chief executive [Directors General of Education] has been one of the notable features of the 1980s.

11. The notion of a Senior Executive Service (S.E.S.) is now being formalised.

12. The overwhelming impression left by the most recent round of reconstructions, however, is the new pervasive metaphor for the organisation of Australian education ... best epitomised as a shift from 'educational administration' to 'efficient management'.

Additional features of Australian education not mentioned above include an emphasis upon the infusion of technology into schools, closer ties with industry, greater parent and community participation and involvement, and greater diversity and freedom of choice in education. Accountability has assumed a much higher profile with schools increasingly being made responsible for the management of their resources, performance contracts being introduced at school executive level and above and performance appraisal of staff at all levels being increasingly advocated and in some cases used both to monitor performance and to assess for promotion on "merit", part of the overall emphasis on "excellence" noted by Beare above.

Recent Change in New South Wales Education

Eltis (1992), formerly with the Department of School Education and later a Professor of Education at the University of Sydney, examined educational change in N.S.W. flowing from the election of the Greiner Liberal-National Party Coalition Government in March 1988 which instituted many of the features of educational change identified by Beare above.

However prior to this, to some extent, educational change in N.S.W. had tended to lag behind other international and national systems. Eltis noted (1992: 2) that:

The arrival of the Greiner Government saw the introduction of principles of 'corporate management' and the intention to restructure the public service sector so that it ran along the lines of an efficiently managed private enterprise. In the Education portfolio two immediate tasks had to be accomplished: restructure the organisation as quickly as possible, and appoint new managers to run the organisation. Both goals were achieved in near record time and already these 'new' managers have had their problems as they have sought to build a 'new culture' in an organisation with a very long and proud history of service to the public.
Eltis also recalled (1992: 3) how the restructuring of the educational bureaucracy in N.S.W. and the changes to educational policies and procedures ushered in by the new Government resulted in unprecedented concern across a variety of interest groups, who saw the Government "undermining public education in this state", culminating in the now famous public rally outside the Parliament in August, 1988.

Eltis did however make the point that the tide of change did not solely begin with the election of the Greiner Government in 1988, but was already under way under the previous Labor Government, and thus the criticism that such change was a tactic of the "new right" was not wholly accurate. Eltis stated (1992: 3) that:

I am not wanting to argue that all that was going on in the Department was always totally productive, but I do wish to argue that constructive thinking was occurring before 1988 and that part of today's problems in New South Wales results from disillusionment felt by many hard working public servants, operating at all levels, including in schools, as they saw their earlier well-intentioned, constructive efforts peremptorily swept aside in the name of reform ... With a bit more subtlety in its approach the incoming Coalition could have gained more respect and confidence from educators at all levels if it had acknowledged some of their efforts in these areas. This, in turn, may have led to a better foundation being laid for other essential and more dramatic reforms it and others in education saw as needing to be taken.

Eltis was critical of the pace of educational reform from 1988 and of the fact that the various groups affected by this did not have the time or the opportunity to fully understand and implement the changes flowing from this. Eltis made the point (1992: 4) that:

despite what Governments may think, there is no time when the need to continue developing sound solutions to educational problems disappears. Policies are constantly evolving as schools endeavour to do the best by their students and their teachers. This gradual, evolutionary process of policy development - which may sometimes seem cumbersome to outsiders not used to dealing directly with large numbers of children bringing with them a myriad of demands and problems - is what gives schools stability and confidence. They need time to think out their position on issues and policies and decide what is best in the circumstances. The evolutionary nature of policy formation and implementation was virtually abolished in 1988 when the new Government came into office.

Despite problems with implementation of educational reform and the impact of this on various groups, Eltis did not, however, wish to "turn back the clock" and expressed the view (1992: 10) that:

Much is being achieved, particularly in the way that attention is being directed to giving more power and autonomy to schools. That so much has been accomplished is a tribute to the wise judgement, efforts and continuing good sense of teachers and managers at all levels, and of parents and students in their schools.

Eltis ended (1992: 11), after tracing the effects of educational reform in N.S.W. since 1988 on restructuring and on schools, with a call for a systematic and open program of research "to obtain hard data on various issues. It is a matter of considerable regret that there is no coordinated and open research program which would allow critical research targets to be met".
Educational Change and Industrial Relations in New South Wales

In his recent review of industrial relations in N.S.W. Education for the Department of School Education, Heagney took up some of the issues raised by Eltis (1992) above and found that (N.S.W. D.S.E., 1992a: 15):

The major factor contributing to the breakdown of goodwill, trust, and the necessary commitment from both parties [the D.S.E. and the N.S.W. Teachers Federation] to resolve industrial issues is the rapidity of change emanating from:

* the N.S.W. Government's decisions to:
  - devolve many of the system's functions to regional and school level
  - restructure major components of the system including significant downsizing of central functions
  - redistribute resources within the system
* major changes arising from Award Restructuring
* major changes arising from Structural Efficiency Procedures

Without commenting on the effect of these changes, they have created a widespread sense of resentment and cynicism held by many teachers and reflected strongly in the officers of the N.S.W. T.F.

While the Review found a greater level of support for government policies among some teachers, Principals and senior Departmental officers, a similar concern at the rapidity of change was often expressed. Often these concerns were linked to frustrations associated with an alleged lack of opportunity to consult with the necessary Departmental and Federation officers in the formulation of new policies and procedures best suited for their implementation.

While his review found some positive features of industrial relations in N.S.W. which could be built upon, Heagney (N.S.W. D.S.E., 1992a: 16-18) believed that:

Early attempts to build this new framework for industrial relations will need to be defended by all parties as it will be vulnerable if there is a failure to consult adequately on major issues.

The major strengthening features of these early attempts at cooperation will be the extension of tolerance and goodwill and a commitment to the processes of genuine consultation and negotiation within agreed timelines for completion.

Nevertheless, despite these positive sentiments, the "Review of Industrial Relations" in New South Wales Education painted an essentially negative picture of relations between the Department of School Education and the N.S.W. Teachers Federation.

Clearly, educational change, particularly that since 1988, had exacerbated an already problematic relationship between public teachers, their union, and their employer.

However, despite the concerns raised above, another recent document produced by the N.S.W. Department of School Education entitled "Education 2000" (1992b: 7) confirms that the tide of change of Education in that state shows no sign of turning, with the Department stating that:
Although much has already been achieved, the challenges of the next decade demand that we continue to respond to changing educational and community needs and seek further development of the public school system. Education 2000 recognises the considerable achievements of the past and seeks to build upon them. It also recognises the importance of keeping pace with the accelerating rate of technological and social change and adapting to the demands of the future.

Clearly, there is something of a contradiction between the two Departmental documents, with one (1992a) stating that the major cause of poor industrial relations in N.S.W. public education is the rate and manner of educational change, while the other document (1992b) is basically a commitment on the part of the Government and the Department of School Education to continuing and further change.

Change Continues

Change continues unabated in Australian education at the present time, with the Schools Council (1990: 12) noting that "there is no apparent sign of this rate of change decreasing. If anything, the opposite is the case". Teachers are of course at the forefront of this change, if not at the formulation stage then at least at its implementation. A major finding of the Schools Council in its report "Australia’s Teachers An Agenda for the Next Decade" (1989: i-ii) was that:

Teacher’s work has become more complex and demanding in recent years [and] ... without concomitant changes in their rewards, teachers’ commitment is likely to decrease and able and talented people are unlikely to be retained or attracted to teaching ... schools and teachers cannot be expected to deal with the full implications of rising educational expectations in the community, reflected in rising rates of participation in post-compulsory schooling, through gains in efficiency alone. There is a need for the Australian community to acknowledge the extra costs associated with such expectations and demands; and ... to support action to mobilise the necessary resources to deal with them.

More recently, there have been calls for even further change in Australian education, with "competencies" advocated for teachers, the establishment of "Advanced Skills Teachers" positions, and calls for a "National Teaching Council" to improve the quality of teaching. The federal Minister for Employment Education and Training, the Hon. Kim Beazley (1992), in the keynote address to a conference called to discuss the formation of such a council, highlighted the federal Government’s thinking on the importance and future directions of education:

The reason I wanted an opportunity to talk today at this A.C.E. conference, is that it provides an early opportunity for me in this portfolio to place on record my and my Government’s belief that the teaching profession and its performance is central to the economic and cultural development of this nation. And to attest that the hopes of our community as we confront survival in an economically hostile world, rest heavily on the capacity of our teaching profession to impart skills and learning to our people ... The Government is committed to expanding the national skills base by encouraging all Australians to take advantage of the education and training opportunities available to them.

(Unnumbered transcript)
However, Beazley also acknowledged the impact of increased expectations and change upon Australia's teachers, while noting no easing in such demands and pressures in the immediate future:

While it is relatively easy to develop a reform agenda at the abstract level, too often we overlook the impact of our reforms on the nation's teachers. In recent years the teaching profession has borne the brunt of continual change in education policy, which has affected almost every aspect of teachers' work ... if governments want to implement major reforms in education over the next few years, they will have to pay a lot more attention to the professional needs of Australian teachers ... Australian education will face continual change, challenge and development over the next few years - a process which is essential to our long-term social and economic development.

(Unnumbered transcript)

However as well as changes to educational policy and the administrative structures of schools, in the area of curriculum it is common to find conflicting demands, with calls for increased emphasis upon the "basics" but with commensurate calls to address social issues in the areas of environmental education, non-sexism, multi-cultural education, computer education, "AIDS" education, personal development, road safety, Aboriginal studies, and the like, to produce school graduates who are both academically able to take their place in a post-industrial workplace yet who are also socially aware and responsible. As well as these pressing academic demands, however, as the Schools Council (1990: 47) observed:

Teaching is a holistic activity ... All teachers do more than just teach ... Teachers handle contacts with parents, they run departments, faculties or sub-groups, they organise excursions, they run sports days, they keep records, they stop fights, they liaise with other schools, they give out locker keys, they supervise play in the yard and picking up rubbish, they make sure the chairs are put on tables so the cleaners' work will be easier, they organise fund-raising activities and social events and working bees, and so on.

Clearly, there have been significant changes in all aspects of education both in Australia and in New South Wales in recent years, with the pace and scope of change showing no sign of easing but with governments and other sectors of the community calling for even greater change in the near future. The work of teachers and schools is thus likely to become even more complex and burdensome.
In 1989 the Australian College of Education (A.C.E), a professional association of educators, sponsored a census to develop a profile of the Australian teaching service. The study was designed to collect data from a representative sample of teachers in government and non-government schools across Australia on six aspects of their professional life (Logan, et al., 1990a; 1990b). The census followed earlier studies carried out by the College in 1963 and 1979. Key features from these studies which impinge upon the issues of teacher resignation and teacher persistence are examined below.

**Age and Gender of the Teaching Force**

The 1989 study found that there had been a steady increase in the proportion of teachers who are female. While females have traditionally outnumbered males in primary education, a majority of females in secondary teaching marked a reversal of the situation revealed by the 1979 study, an indication that teaching was becoming less attractive to males and a trend borne out by experiences at Australian universities where males are very much in the minority, particularly in primary pre-service teacher training.

The study also revealed the extent to which the teaching service was aging, a situation common to many post-industrial societies. In 1963, 47 per cent of the teaching service was under 31 years of age, while in 1989 the figure had fallen to just 26 per cent. The mean age of the teaching service as a whole in 1989 was found to be 37 years, while Beazley (1992) more recently quoted statistics which put the average age of Australian teachers in excess of 42 years. The variations in age patterns between primary and secondary teachers was found to be slight (Logan, et al., 1990b: 2). The authors also found that male teachers tended to be older than female teachers on average, reflecting a number of possible factors, including a preponderance of males in more senior positions and the propensity of females to leave teaching, at least for a time, in their child-bearing years. Logan, et al., (1990b: 7) noted that:

> For the first time in 50 years, Australian educational policy makers and administrators are faced with resolving problems associated with an aging teaching service. Ways to consistently vitalise the teaching service through concurrently recruiting high quality young people and capitalising on the maturity of experienced teachers is now a major concern. It involves developing conditions of service designed to enhance career-long professional engagement and currency so that experienced teachers (the profession's 'middle-aged stalwarts') are reassured about their value in tangible ways by both the society, the employing authorities and their professional colleagues ... Why teaching is now more feminised than at any time in our post-World War II history and the effects of teaching on the contribution of schools to society are important questions. They raise issues of the public's perception of teaching, teachers' work
conditions and career structures, and the perceptions of teaching that students develop during their own schooling.

Lack of Non-Native English Speaking Teachers

A further problem noted by Logan, et.al., (1990b: 8) was the domination of the teaching service by native English speakers. Nearly 90 per cent of teachers in the 1989 study had both parents with English as their first language. Why teaching is not an attractive career for non-native English speakers is cause for concern, given the increasing multi-cultural nature of Australian society. The persistence of non-native English speakers in the teaching service would also be of interest. Adjusting to teaching seems to be very difficult for some people and it may be that being a non-native English speaker of a different cultural background exacerbates this process.

Changes in Type of Position Held

In regards to current position held, Logan, et.al., (1990b: 9-11) found that between 1963 and 1979, the percentage of teachers in temporary positions had halved and that in both 1979 and 1989 a majority of teachers were permanently employed. The authors also noted a "small" percentage of teachers occupying contract positions since 1979, a reflection of industry restructuring emphases in the wider community.

One in ten teachers in 1989 was in a non-teaching administrative position. The percentage of respondents occupying the position of principal fell from 10 per cent to six per cent between 1963 and 1989, while the major change occurred in "middle management" with those designated as department heads rising from 18 per cent in both 1963 and 1979 to nearly 25 per cent in the 1989 survey. Since 1963 there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of the teaching force at early childhood and primary level, while there has been an increase in the percentage of teachers at secondary level, a situation partly attributable to higher levels of post-compulsory secondary retention.

A notable change has been the increased utilisation of specialist teachers, particularly in the areas of special education and English as a second language, which contributed to a rise in the percentage of specialist teachers from 17 per cent of the teaching force in 1979 to 26.2 per cent in 1989.
Initial Pre-Service Training

In examining teachers' initial training qualifications, Logan, et al., (1990b: 12-15) found a marked trend towards longer periods of initial training, with around one-third of teachers now entering the service with a four-year qualification. The authors also commented upon the surprisingly low percentage of teachers who had completed their initial training outside Australia and the apparent difficulty that migrant teachers have both in having their qualifications accepted by Australian authorities and in reaching competence in instructional English. The authors believed that affirmative government action might be called for in respect of such teachers.

Teacher Mobility

It should be noted that even when a teacher has trained within Australia, obtaining certification to teach in another state can be quite a difficult process, although in New South Wales the Department of School Education has moved to expedite this process, partly in response to teacher shortages in that state.

Recently there have been discussions taking place between the national and state governments in an attempt to bring teaching under the umbrella of uniform national standards and procedures, a national "benchmark" salary and uniform training and certification arrangements being mooted to solve some of the problems regarding teacher mobility.

Post-Initial Training

In regards to post-initial teaching qualifications, Logan, et al., (1990b: 16-21) found an increase in the percentage of teachers holding a post-graduate diploma between 1963 (nine per cent) to 1989 (21 per cent) The authors found the percentage of teachers holding a degree at masters or doctoral level to be largely static during the same period and viewed the lack of progress in raising the pool of teachers possessing higher degrees with concern, attributing this situation to a history of a lack of incentives provided by employing authorities for teachers to undertake post-graduate study.

It should be noted that this situation has only recently been addressed in New South Wales, with the Department of School Education introducing a "joint-masters" program to encourage teachers -- largely those in executive positions -- to undertake masters degree study at that state's universities. Since 1989, several hundred teachers have taken advantage of partial
sponsorship provided by the Department of School Education. The Department is also
providing a limited number of "scholarships" to enable teachers to complete the research
components of post-graduate degrees. However, the major incentive to teachers is not so much
in the level of sponsorship provided, but in the possibility of enhanced prospects for "merit"
promotion following the completion of a degree which has the Department's imprimatur.

While some teachers have been able to take advantage of formal courses of study to upgrade
their qualifications, Logan, et al., (1990b: 24) found a marked shift in the provision of in-
service education for teachers, with employing authorities increasingly leaving individual
schools to provide this aspect of professional development. Further matters of concern
expressed by the authors were the decline in the activity of subject associations, particularly by
secondary teachers, and the decline in the use of teachers' centres by "a factor of three" since
1979. There has been a marked trend away from such activities towards longer, more formal
courses of study which can be accredited towards additional tertiary qualifications.

The authors were also concerned that there had been a downturn since 1979 in the number of
teachers teaching at Year 12 level who possessed appropriate tertiary qualifications and that this
downturn was likely to continue as a greater percentage of students were retained in post-
compulsory education. According to Logan, et al., (1990b: 21), "This matter demands
immediate attention in order for schools to provide high quality education at senior levels and
for them to respond effectively to the Commonwealth Government's objectives for schooling".

Logan, et al., (1990b: 25) noted also the degree of change and conflict in the field of continuing
teacher education, particularly in the non-award area:

[While] Teachers continue to demonstrate a commitment to their own continuing education
through university courses ... mainly part-time ... Two features of the data on non-award in-
service education activities are the increased use of the school both as an in-service site and
focus for study, and the continuing low involvement of higher education institutions and
unions in non-award continuing teacher education. The first issue raises the problem of
school-based activities leading to institutional myopia ... The second resurrects the hardy
perennial of how to lift the university and union contribution to non-award in-service
education.

While efforts are being made to address the second problem, there remains pressure upon
teachers to take greater responsibility for the upgrading of their professional qualifications in the
light of the restructuring and changes in emphases within Australian sectors of education. This
pressure and the commensurate shift towards "merit" promotion from more "seniority" based
criteria might be a factor causing some teachers to consider resignation, as might other factors
such as the aging of the teaching service and the difficulties caused from trying to cope with
higher levels of retention in post-compulsory secondary education while ensuring the provision
of "quality" education.
The Status of Teachers and Community Expectations

Teachers and the Mass-Media

If notice is taken of the popular mass-media, it would appear that there is widespread dissatisfaction with education in Australia, particularly public education, yet the evidence to support any decline in educational standards is either lacking or inconclusive.

It may be, based on overseas experience (see Goodlad, 1984: 35-36), that much of the negativity expressed in the media and elsewhere concerning education is largely second-hand and anecdotal. On the face of it, it seems to be much more difficult to induce the media to report "good news" concerning education than it is the sensational. It is almost a truism that people express concern about education generally but are usually quite satisfied with "their" school and its teachers. Certainly, everyone in the community is something of an expert on education, the vast majority having been exposed to it for a significant portion of their lifetime.

The Status of Teachers

The status of teachers in the community is a matter for some concern, particularly if it dissuades talented people from becoming or remaining teachers. Hewett (1990: 9), an "industrial officer" with the N.S.W. Teachers Federation, made the following comments in an article which attempted to link teacher status to salary and in turn to resignation:

The image of teaching as a well paid and rewarding profession is no longer the case. A recent survey by the Tasmanian Teachers Federation dramatically illustrates the low self rating of teachers and the poor perception that teachers have of their own prestige and status in their local community. 70% of respondents in the sample claimed to be moderately to highly dissatisfied with their status in the community compared to other professions ... The major problem for the N.S.W. Government is to stem the tide of resignation of those experienced teachers who previously remained in the service but who for salary reasons have opted for other jobs.

It may well be that this is not so much an illustration of the poor regard with which the community regards teachers, but more an example of the poor self-image that some teachers have of themselves.
Expectations and Confidence in Education

Rightly, it seems that the community has high expectations for its children, and the responsibility for the fulfilment of these expectations is transferred to schools and teachers. Education is seen to be the pathway to upward social mobility and job security but it should be obvious that all students cannot reach the same high academic standards. This situation may thus lead to a degree of disappointment when this fails to eventuate.

It is probable too that the industrial pressure applied by teachers' unions increasingly since the early 1970s has also resulted in a measure of community disapproval and dissatisfaction, particularly when the aims of teachers in these disputes have seemed to relate more to personal gain rather than general educational improvement or when the connection between better working conditions and improved educational outcomes was either not made apparent or widely appreciated. In such disputes, the media is frequently the forum for complaints about teachers' short hours, long holidays and lack of dedication, particularly when parents are inconvenienced by strike action.

Confidence in teachers and education has not been helped by concern over perceived falling standards in the "basics" and in pupil discipline. Education, being the key concern that it is, has not escaped the attention of the various political parties who have made their own contributions to the debate over standards. Each political party seems to view the "crisis" in education differently and each has its own agenda of educational reform to right the perceived wrongs in education.

The Schools Council (1990: 129-131) considered the issues of confidence in education, pupil discipline, satisfaction with teachers, and educational standards and came to a number of significant conclusions:

1. There is no firm evidence that standards of achievement have either increased or declined over time ... If 'standards' have remained the same, they are being achieved by an increasingly large sector of the community.
2. The number of Australian schools which do not devote a major proportion of their teaching time to the basics of language and mathematics is negligible.
3. The curriculum range to which most Australian students have access, in both primary and secondary schools, has increased significantly in scope and variety over the past two decades.
4. Our schools are comparatively orderly. Assaults on teachers by students are most infrequent ... There are very few schools in Australia of the 'difficulty' of some of those in the larger cities of Europe and America.
5. Schools are diverse in their programs and practices, in keeping with variations in their location and ethos. Schooling in Australia has been characterised by a great liveliness and willingness to experiment.
6. While resources do vary considerably across schools according to system, sector and location, the degree of variation may not be as great as in most other developed countries and certainly not as much as those in less developed countries.
7. If the amount of individual attention provided to students is based on the proportion of teachers to students, Australian students receive on average as much or more individual attention as most students internationally.
8. Student counselling and career services are provided in most secondary schools.
9. ... there is a high level of concern and activity among schools to improve the quality and range of educational opportunities.
10. The successful integration of students with disabilities into mainstream classes is at a higher level than in many comparable countries and is increasing.
11. ... Culturally diverse communities in some parts of the country have been provided for educationally through a considerable process of mutual adaptation by teachers and school communities.
12. In Australia, schooling is provided effectively to some of the most isolated students in the world.
13. Genuine parent participation in school activities is widespread and growing.

While believing all of the above to be true, the Schools Council (1990: 130-131) admitted that it is difficult to raise public confidence in education, partly because of the lack of "comprehensive and reliable" information to support the above contentions. A further problem lies in the perhaps outmoded perceptions held by members of the community of how educational standards are best judged, such as performance in external examinations and raw scores rather than methods of school-based assessment which may be more informal. There is also a degree of ignorance of just how much the standards required of today's students have increased, some secondary subjects being taught at a level formerly only encountered by tertiary students.

If, as the Schools Council has suggested, the issues of confidence and standards owe more to misapprehension than to reality, then perhaps schools, teachers and departments of education have been guilty of faulty communication over the past two decades and if this confidence is to be won back, then perhaps the whole nature of communication and the matching of expectations to what actually happens in schools needs greater attention, although it is highly unlikely that complete agreement over values and goals in education can ever be reached, given the diversity of Australian society. Reaching consensus in the area of educational expectations is, of course, much more difficult during a period of rapid change.

The Schools Council (1990: 12) has noted the related problems of rapid change and uncertain role expectations:

One of the general effects on the teaching force has been the production of uncertainty about its role and responsibilities. But it should be noted that this has been generated at least as much by the profession itself as from outside it. Whatever its sources, the variety of influential and conflicting opinion provided in a relatively short space of time was difficult for practising teachers to digest and assimilate.
The Teaching Environment

Physical Teaching Conditions

One factor which might impinge upon teacher resignation is that of the actual physical teaching environment. While there is no doubt that teaching of a high standard can occur under virtually any conditions, the provision of adequate facilities and a pleasant learning environment can make a positive influence upon educational outcomes and teacher well-being.

The Schools Council (1990: 70) made the observation that the physical condition of educational facilities are a tangible reflection of the value that society puts upon education. As mentioned previously, there was a recognition of the importance of capital input in Australian education during the late 1950s and 1960s, with the injection of resources into education reaching a peak in real terms in the mid-1970s. However, since that time, the demands for recurrent expenditure, principally salaries, and more difficult economic conditions generally have made it harder for governments to provide and maintain the necessary capital infrastructure. It would be unfortunate if, in the struggle by teachers to obtain higher salaries, they indirectly caused the deterioration of their own working environment.

One aspect of the physical teaching environment has been the widespread use of "demountable" or re-locatable classrooms, the use of these tending to be highest in areas of greatest need such as new housing areas with burgeoning young populations. Typically, these buildings tend to arrive at the school site in three or four sections and are then fastened together. They tend to be hot in summer, cold in winter, noisy, and the surrounds often lack covered walkways and paving, so that in times of inclement weather they are often surrounded by mud and water. The interiors are frequently shells only, and may be dilapidated from present use or from previous use at earlier locations. It is not unusual to see a whole school comprised of these buildings, particularly when a school is being established in a new residential area.

On the other hand, buildings in older schools are expensive to maintain, and leaks must be repaired, walls painted, and timber and brickwork maintained. Some of these older buildings were constructed of what are now considered to be dangerous materials such as asbestos, which must be removed, a costly and dangerous process.

Unless there is an emergency due to storm damage or fire, improvements to school facilities are usually slow in coming, with departments of education placing essential projects upon waiting lists which may mean that a school has to wait years for an assembly hall or a new permanent
building. It may also take some time for repairs or modifications to be made to heating, cooling, ventilation, lighting, water-proofing and noise-proofing in existing buildings. As many of the nation's schools were constructed during the peak years of the post-World War II "baby-boom" in the 1950s and 1960s, the demand for such essential maintenance is likely to increase as these buildings approach fifty years of intensive usage.

In addition, the broadening of the curriculum that has occurred since the 1970s has increased the need for specialist classrooms to house computer equipment and for up-dated science laboratories, home science facilities, sporting facilities, language laboratories and manual arts workshops. These too may now be in need of modification and essential maintenance. On the other hand, in some schools, these specialist rooms may be lacking altogether.

Increasingly, schools have also been accommodating students who formerly would have been catered for in specialist educational units. While this integration is undoubtedly desirable for many reasons, essential facilities such as ramps for wheelchairs and special toilets may be lacking in older schools, despite recent laws making such provision mandatory in new buildings, a source of frustration for both these students and their teachers.

The use of demountable classrooms has already been mentioned. While these have been used to house classes in newly established schools, they are also used to provide additional accommodation in older schools, some of which may have been designed for far smaller student populations. It is not unusual to see a secondary school originally designed to house 700 students attempting to accommodate nearly twice that number. While demountable classrooms can be utilised for classrooms, other facilities such as assembly halls, libraries, toilets, canteens, staff rooms, play areas and sports facilities may be grossly overcrowded, with commensurate difficulties and pressures on both students and staff.

A further problem concerning school facilities is posed by falling enrolments. Because of economic and demographic changes in some areas, particularly the older established residential suburbs, schools are now experiencing surplus capacity in certain cases. Economically, it would be prudent to close such schools and to re-divert the students, teachers and resources to areas of need, but politically, this can prove to be difficult with strong local opposition to the closing of schools and the sale of such "public" assets.

As the Schools Council (1990: 72) has noted, "Quality schooling demands quality facilities and buildings", but these are not always forthcoming.
School Climate or Culture

In addition to the tangible aspects of the teaching environment outlined above, there also exists a set of intangible factors which together make up what some have termed "school climate" or "school culture". Such factors include the "ethos" or philosophy of the school, the ways in which this ethos is manifested in the school's policies and procedures, the degree of staff "collegiality", the relationship between the principal and staff, the style of leadership, the relationship between the school and its community, the standards of discipline and behaviour in the school, the quality of the relationships between students and staff, the general level of commitment, the sense of involvement in the running of the school and its direction and orientation, either to the past, present or future (see Beare, et al., 1989: 172-200).

These factors, which together with the physical factors described above, go to make up the school environment, receive greater attention later in this Chapter as the issues of teacher morale, teacher stress, "burnout" and teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction are considered.
Research on Teacher Morale

What is Morale?

Research on teacher morale must be placed in the wider context of morale generally. It is apparent from an examination of the literature that morale is not a well understood phenomenon. In the field of education there currently appears to be widespread agreement that the morale of teachers is "low", both in Australia (see Schools Council, 1990: 19) and overseas (see Andrew, et al., 1985: vii), but there is less agreement as to what morale actually is, what its manifestations are, the factors that contribute to morale, how morale might be measured, how morale might be improved, and what effect morale has upon teacher resignation.

This lack of agreement and understanding of morale is illustrated by the confusion and difficulty experienced by many writers who have attempted to examine the phenomenon (see Bates, 1983; Brodinsky 1983; Miller 1981; Williams and Lane, 1975). In addition, this confusion has been heightened by the propensity on the part of some writers to equate morale with other equally misunderstood concepts such as job satisfaction, motivation and school spirit (see Findlay, 1968, for example).

From the attempts of many writers to come to grips with what morale is (see Coverdale, 1975: 3-4; Meaney and Smith, 1988: 14; Smith, 1966, 1971a, 1971b, 1976, 1986, 1987, 1989) a number of common threads have emerged. Firstly, morale is variable and is seen to fluctuate from "low" to "high", even with different individuals working in the same situation. Secondly, morale is seen to be dependent on both personal or intrinsic characteristics and also environmental or extrinsic factors. Thirdly, morale is seen to be both a product of past phenomena, and the determinant itself of future morale, in that a downwards or upwards spiral can be set in motion by the factors contributing to morale. Fourthly, leadership is seen to be of some significance, both in determining morale, and in efforts to improve morale. Finally, morale is seen to be both a personal and a group mental attitude towards a role, an individual's morale not always being congruent with the morale of the work group.

Factors Influencing Teacher Morale

Despite some common findings concerning the manifestations of morale, there is significant disagreement over the factors that can influence morale and their relative importance. For example, there is contradictory evidence as to the role that salary plays in determining morale.
A major finding of the literature (see Carbines, et.al., 1990; Smith, 1987, for example) is that morale is not a unitary concept, but a multi-dimensional construct due to the many factors involved. Because of this, there are real difficulties in determining an effective measurement index of morale, although Smith (1987) has been largely responsible for perhaps one of the best known efforts in this regard, with the "Staff Morale Questionnaire" which was developed and tested over many years both in Australia and overseas but which was considered by its founder to have possibly outlived its usefulness by the 1980s (Smith, 1990).

With a research background which includes nursing, the armed forces, teaching, and other "helping professions", Smith (1990) saw morale as having three essential elements or factors: "cohesive pride", defined as a sense of cooperation and unity of purpose when working towards worthwhile objectives; "leadership synergy" or the group energy generated by leaders; and "personal challenge", the enthusiasm, striving and persistence displayed when working towards organisational objectives with the possibility of personal reward for success in accomplishing these. Building upon the work of Stogdill, Smith (1976: 91) made the pertinent observation that morale is not just a product or output of organisational operation, but is also an input in that the morale possessed by individuals working in that organisation influences the morale of others and thereby organisational effectiveness, and thus "manifest factors in one measure of morale become generative morale factors for the next measure".

As mentioned previously, there is some disagreement in the literature over the causes and nature of teacher morale and other concepts such as teacher satisfaction. Smith (1986, 1990) believes the two are distinctive, morale being concerned with social and psychological factors while satisfaction is mainly concerned with material rewards, although this conflicts with the views of others such as Herzberg, et.al., (1959), Sergiovanni (1967), Holdaway (1978) and Kaufman (1984), who have argued that satisfaction is also concerned with social and psychological factors such as recognition, self-fulfilment, pupil achievement and responsibility.

Features of Schools With "Good" Morale: The Results of One Project

Despite the admitted difficulty in gaining general agreement as to the causes and manifestations of morale, Andrew, et.al., (1985: 24) provided an overview of the conclusions of four teams of American researchers who studied 10 school systems (two urban, four suburban, and four rural) and who found consistent findings concerning morale in each study.

The combined research found that external conditions, while having some bearing upon morale within individual schools, were not a major factor contributing to good or poor morale. There were 10 factors which contributed either by their presence or absence to good morale. The first
of these was the personal characteristics of the administrator (Andrew, et al., 1985: 25; see also the work of Styants, 1976 later):

In the schools with better morale, principals were usually described as being outgoing, friendly, and good organisers. Such words as 'open', 'helpful', 'student-centred', 'systematic', 'responsive', and 'fair' were used. In schools with poor morale, principals were perceived as disciplinarians, inconsistent, non supportive, formal, and impatient.

The form and style of communications used within a school was also found to be a major factor contributing to good or poor morale (Andrew, et al., 1985: 26-27). In schools with good morale, formal and informal communication was predominantly positive and aimed at assisting the professional needs of the teacher and school. Meetings were scheduled regularly to keep teachers and administrators informed while administrators also spent time in and around the school communicating with teachers and students in an informal fashion. In schools with poor morale, however, there was more emphasis given to formal channels of communication with matters pertaining to academic concerns, rules and pupil discipline dominating communication and meetings. In addition, in schools with poor morale there was a degree of inconsistency in communication from the principal. Another feature of schools with poor morale was found to be the presence of cliques or sub-groups, which tended to induce defensiveness on the part of administrators and hinder whole school communication.

Further features found in schools with good morale were, according to Andrew, et al., (1985: 27-29): a sense of mission in regard to curriculum development; participation in decision making by staff; recognition of teachers' contributions to the school; clearly defined and fair discipline codes; instructional and other support to help teachers cope with their professional and personal problems; effective staff development and recruitment practices which involved teachers; and good relationships with school boards and higher level system staff, which in turn empowered the principal and staff with greater responsibility due to demonstrated efficiency and resultant trust.

Improving Morale: One Approach

As a result of the research described above, Andrew, et al., (1985: 30-31) provided a comprehensive series of strategies designed to improve morale in schools, bearing in mind the fact that the nature and context of every school is unique and needs to be considered carefully when formulating any plan. The suggestions for action contained the following elements: leadership and morale; interpersonal relationships and morale; rewards and morale; student achievement and morale; workload and morale; facilities, equipment, supplies and morale; control mechanisms and morale; professional development and morale; extra-school factors and morale; and conflict management and morale. By providing in excess of 25 measures in total,
the authors demonstrated, perhaps unwittingly, the confusion and complexity surrounding the phenomenon of teacher morale.

**The Principal and Morale**

The important relationship between leadership and morale has already been mentioned above. Styants (1976: 173-174) undertook a study of morale among secondary teachers in the Australian Commonwealth Teaching Service and found that the leadership style of the principal was a key factor contributing to teacher morale:

High morale was measured in those schools where the principal demonstrated qualities of leadership which enabled him [sic] to more successfully direct the activities of the school in a way which did not suppress the professional standing of those playing subordinate roles. Such qualities included:

(a) allowing teachers greater participation in the decisional judgements of the school.
(b) consulting with staff on a regular basis over matters affecting their professional well being, and inviting constructive criticism.
(c) being prepared to delegate specific tasks to individual teachers which have importance towards the successful functioning of the whole school, and also having faith in the professional judgements of such persons.
(d) being prepared to encourage originality and initiative among staff members.
(e) being prepared to foster a co-operative team approach to overcome difficulties directed towards goal achievement.

**Resignation and Morale**

One aspect which has only been touched upon briefly in the literature (see Hounshell and Griffin, 1989) is the accuracy of resignation rates as an indicator of morale. Do teachers with low morale resign, or do they persist because of lack of motivation and/or opportunity to do anything else? Are those who resign more motivated in that those with "get up and go" do precisely that?

The Schools Council (1990: 19-20) has noted the attempts by some to link low morale with resignation rates through the concept of a critical level of morale, below which resignation occurs, but it believes that there is little evidence to support this. While the Schools Council believes that morale within the teaching profession in Australia is low, it can find no evidence of rising resignation rates:

figures from a variety of sources suggests that the loss rates in government schools have reduced significantly over time and that the stark differences between States and between primary and secondary sectors no longer exist ... [however] these figures of course relate to those teachers who actually did resign rather than those who might choose to do so given more favourable economic conditions. What may lie hidden are a larger proportion of teachers who, in other economic circumstances, would have left, thus increasing the group of dissatisfied unemployed.
Research on Teacher Stress

Although only receiving sustained research attention from the latter part of the 1970s, a great deal has since been written on stress, both generally, and as it applies to teachers and educational administrators (University of Melbourne, Applied Psychology Research Group, 1990: 51). The examination of this aspect of the literature pertaining to teacher resignation will concentrate upon what stress is, what causes stress, how stress can be alleviated, and what possible implications stress has for teacher resignation. It is acknowledged that the literature pertaining to teacher stress reviewed in this section is representative, rather than exhaustive, the accumulated material on teacher stress and the allied area of teacher burnout now being vast.

Stress: A Fact of Life for the Teacher?

The first general finding of the literature is that stress is part of the everyday lives of teachers and school administrators, and indeed the general population, and that stress can be tolerated up to certain levels which in part are a function of personal characteristics such as physical health, mental outlook and age (see Brimm, 1983; Schools Council, 1990: 46). There is also general agreement that in addition to these personal or individual factors, there are also influences impinging on the individual's level of stress that arise from organisational and societal factors.

There is also general agreement that while a certain level of stress can be amenable to effective performance in that motivation occurs as a result of the stress or challenge an individual experiences, excessive stress can lead to strains on an individual's physical and mental well-being which may ultimately lead to the condition known as "burnout", discussed in the following section.

Johnstone (1989: 13), in an overview of research of stress in teaching, noted the difficulties associated with quantifying both levels of stress and the overall number of teachers that might be considered to be suffering from stress at any time:

The amount of stress in teaching, or the number of teachers suffering from stress, has not been and may never be quantified. It is therefore impossible to say whether stress among teachers is increasing, although it may be that more teachers are willing to admit to feelings of stress ... 'Quantifiable' indicators used by researchers or general writers have included absenteeism, illness, premature retirement and teacher turnover. These may indicate conditions other than stress, for example the position of the job market.

Johnstone (1989: 13-15) went on to note the lack of consensus reached by researchers and writers on the prevalence of teacher stress, with some writers claiming an increase in the level
of teacher stress in recent times while others held stress to be a condition common to the general workforce. Part of the problem in coming to any sort of meaningful conclusion regarding teacher stress is that different researchers have used different samples and different methods, making both current comparisons and trends over time difficult to discern. To further complicate matters, stress, like morale, is generally considered to be multi-dimensional and largely person and situation-specific and not a unitary quantifiable phenomenon. After reviewing a number of research projects intended to reveal the level and prevalence of teacher stress, Johnstone (1989: 19) concluded that:

Given the personal and situational aspects of stress, the degree of its prevalence within the profession is a question to which there are no clear or absolute answers. The research as it stands simply confirms that the problem exists, and that (some) teachers are willing to admit to stress.

Otto (1986: 2) also considered the question of whether teaching was less stressful in the past than at the present time and noted that:

This question is easier to ask than to answer, because of the absence of systematic studies and adequate documentation. The literature on the subject of teacher stress is largely anecdotal and presents a mixture of personal observations, general commentary for the purpose of raising awareness of the problem, and only a limited amount of proper research.

Otto (1986: 1-33) went on to examine teachers' work and stress over recorded history. She made the point that the bulk of one's "education" still takes place outside educational institutions and that universal primary and secondary education are only comparatively recent innovations and still largely confined to "Western" nations. Through an overview of teachers in Greek and Roman schools, teachers in schools of the Church in the Middle Ages, teachers at the time of the Reformation, teachers and schools at the time of the Industrial Revolution and teachers in Australia, Otto (1986: 32-33) built a case to support the contention that teacher stress is "nothing new", despite an admitted lack of suitable means of measurement and comparison:

there have always been conditions 'built in' to the structure of teachers' work which have made schoolmastering difficult and for many full of tension. No one spoke about 'stress' because this concept did not come into use until the 1930s and did not begin to attract wider attention and interest until thirty to forty years later. It is true, however, that within recent decades many changes have taken place which have made the teacher's role more complex, as old assumptions have been challenged, both within the teaching profession and by students and parents in the community. Standards and expectations have become higher ... but rising expectations require greater human resources and a different organisational framework for teaching. One main reason for teacher stress today is that these requirements have yet to be met. The other reason is the illusion that teachers and schools can solve problems of society which have only political answers.

Stress and Performance

Some writers (see Brimm, 1983: 64) have attempted to take the notion of helpful and deleterious stress mentioned earlier further by making a distinction between "eustress", or
positive stress which is a factor in effective performance, and "distress", or negative stress, a phenomenon experienced by the worker who fails to achieve and who experiences feelings of insecurity, helplessness or desperation. Gmelch (1983) examined the link between performance and stress and believed that there was an "optimum stimulation zone", below which there is too little stress and thus low performance and above which there is an "overstimulation zone" where performance also drops off (see also Dunham: 1984: 86-92).

What then is Stress?

However while various writers have discussed the manifestations of stress, there is less agreement in the literature as what stress actually is (see Thoresen & Eagleston, 1983; Cairns, 1984 for example). Johnstone (1989: 6) has noted that this has important implications, because if the phenomenon cannot be clearly defined then the varying definitions of stress that abound will shape differently the approaches used by researchers in the field and the conclusions that they ultimately reach:

In assessing research into stress in teaching, caution should be used in accepting what the researchers mean by 'stress'. Is it a manipulated laboratory condition? Is it defined as a medical symptom? If stress is self-reported, what are the respondents' terms of reference? Is their stress always negative? Does the admission of stress necessarily imply that the person can't cope?

Brimm (1983: 64), while acknowledging this difficulty, believes that in its simplest form, "stress may be viewed as any action or situation that places physical or psychological demands on people". However, this is less a definition than a simplistic description of the causes of stress, highlighting the problem of accurate definition of the phenomenon.

Cranwell-Ward (1990: 10) stated that "Stress is the physiological and psychological reaction which occurs when people perceive an imbalance between the level of demand placed upon them, and their capability to meet those demands."

Dunham (1984: 1-4) too attempted to define stress and suggested that stress can be defined in three broad ways. The first is in the "engineering" sense of pressures exerted upon teachers that result in deformation or strain once some "elastic" limit beyond which the teacher cannot return to "normal" readily is reached. This definition is seen to be more applicable to probationary teachers or teachers in a new position. As with the definition provided by Brimm (1983), it describes stress in a general way without specifying what the causes or "pressures" might be. Dunham criticised this view because it fails to take into account individual and situational differences. For example, some probationary teachers are stimulated rather than stressed in their early years of teaching.
The second broad approach recognised by Dunham emphasises teachers' reactions to external pressures, both psychological and physiological. This approach thus has a strong medical orientation and is concerned with both the symptoms of stress i.e., teachers' reactions to stress, and the treatment of these symptoms. While acknowledging the value of this approach to the identification of stress, Dunham believed that there was a missing element in that this "medical" approach does not consider the effects of stress on teachers' performance.

The deficiencies of the first two approaches led Dunham to advocate a third approach which considered pressures and reactions, but also the degree and the methods used by the teacher to cope with the difficulties caused by stress. This "interactionist" model thus considers the interaction of personal and situational factors and the strategies and resources used to cope with stress. If the strategies and resources are lacking or deficient, then the impact of stress will tend to be negative upon both the individual and his or her performance. On the basis of his advocacy of the third "interactionist" approach, Dunham (1984: 3) offered this definition of stress:

a process of behavioural, emotional, mental and physical reactions caused by prolonged, increasing or new pressures which are significantly greater than coping resources.

The Causes of Stress

Turning to the causes of stress, it has been generally accepted although rarely proven that job-related stress, particularly in the field of education, has increased in recent times (see Swent, 1983, for example). Numerous empirical studies have revealed that the major causes of job-related stress for teachers are role conflict or ambiguity, work overload, inadequate compensation, interpersonal conflict, and increased administrative responsibilities (cited by Brimm, 1983; see also Dunham: 1984: 19-75).

Johnstone (1989: 7) also attempted to aggregate the findings of research into the causes of teacher stress and nominated pupils' failure to work or behave, poor working conditions, relations with colleagues, workload (overload, underload or routine work), and poor school ethos as the major causes of teacher stress. However, Johnstone (1989: 7-9) questioned the reliability and validity of many of the research studies into teacher stress and offered the comment that it may be that the causes of stress in teachers are not markedly different from the causes of stress in the wider community.

Louden (1987) chaired an inquiry into teacher stress in Western Australia which utilised a stratified random sample of approximately 20 per cent of that state's 14,000 government primary, secondary and Technical and Further Education teachers. Almost 80 per cent of teachers in the sample responded to a questionnaire which was modified from the "General
Health Questionnaire", a standardised instrument designed to measure tension, anxiety and depression.

As far as primary teachers were concerned, the study found that factors which correlated significantly with the measures of distress were feelings of ineffectiveness and powerlessness, inadequate classroom facilities, involuntary transfers, lack of opportunities for part-time work, pressure of involvement in educational research and development, professional isolation in the classroom, time pressures, and unacceptable student behaviour.

Secondary teachers had two additional factors associated with psychological distress, being involvement in further study, and lack of Departmental support. Involuntary transfers and professional isolation in the classroom were of less significance than they were for primary teachers.

Administrators seemed to be particularly liable to suffer from job-related stress, and much of the research in this area has focused upon those in administrative positions, especially principals. An interesting notion revealed by the work of some researchers (see Miller, 1979; Wilson, 1962) is that stress is either self-imposed in that it results from unreasonable personal expectations of performance, or it can result from a combination of situational factors. There also seems to be agreement that if a principal adopts a pro-active stance to leadership and decision making, then the influence of situational factors can be lessened (see Vetter, 1976, for example).

Dunham (1984: 19) noted how role conflict and ambiguity can be stressful for the "middle manager" in schools, particularly the deputy principal but also for other "executive" teachers who are subject to varying expectations and pressures from both above and below their position in the school hierarchy. School principals can also suffer from this pressure, being the "fulcrum" between the school and its wider environment, including the employing authority.

A further general finding of the literature was that a major source of stress for the school administrator lies in the area of staff relationships, with forced resignations, teachers' strikes, determination of unsatisfactory teacher performance, refusal of teachers to follow policies, and threats to status and job security being significant contributory factors. This general finding has serious implications, given the greater responsibilities that principals have had to assume in many educational systems in recent times.

For the principal, another significant cause of stress lies in the nature of the task itself, with constant interruptions and the continual threat of the unexpected coupled with a heavy workload generated both by the school itself and by outside agencies being noted by numerous researchers as major causes of stress.
As far as the teacher is concerned, Dworkin, et al., (1990) found, using a sample of almost three hundred teachers, that illness and absenteeism rose as stress increased, although the extent of the illness could be reduced if the teacher had a supportive principal, indicating yet again the important role that the principal can play in the welfare of all members of the school.

**Relationships With Students**

For both teacher and executive teacher, a potent source of stress lies in the area of children's behaviour and attitudes (see Dunham, 1984: 33). Children who are disruptive, or have negative attitudes to school, who do not cooperate, are disrespectful, who make threats against persons and property, who prevent the teacher from performing his or her role and who prevent through their actions and attitudes their fellow students from learning, can add greatly to the pressures on the individual teacher. It is a truism that such students take up a disproportionate amount of teachers' and students' time, put pressure on staff and prevent the education of themselves and others.

Anecdotal evidence would suggest that students are less well behaved and more questioning of authority than they once were and if this is the case, then their potential contribution to teacher stress has increased. However it seems that as long as there have been young people, their elders have been complaining about the attitudes and behaviour of the young. It remains to be proven whether pupil attitudes and behaviour have in fact declined in recent decades. The link between the demise of corporal punishment in many school systems and pupil behaviour and teacher stress also needs further consideration.

One fact that does seem to be true is that students with learning, attitude and behavioural problems are probably more likely to stay at school longer. It has been made more difficult to expel these students, if in fact this is desirable, and job opportunities for unskilled young people have diminished. Some have spoken of the school becoming a "refuge" or "holding pen" for such disaffected or disadvantaged young people.

A further potential source of teacher stress noted by a number of writers lies in the student who is failing to achieve and/or be accepted by his or her peer group because of personal appearance, lack of self-esteem, racial or cultural background, problems associated with home life or psychological disturbance (see Dunham, 1984: 39). Teachers who quite naturally become involved with such students and their plight can be emotionally pressured, particularly if it seems there is little the individual teacher can do to alleviate the problem and a feeling of helplessness results. Teachers, along with other workers in the "helping professions", seem to
have difficulty in remaining emotionally detached and leaving their work behind them at the end of the day.

**Organisational Factors**

The physical working conditions endured by teachers and students has also been mentioned as a potential source of teacher stress. Old schools with inadequate facilities, overcrowding and lack of space, the use of temporary school buildings, high noise levels, heat and cold, lack of staffroom facilities, poor library and teaching resources, damage, deterioration and lack of maintenance to the learning environment have all been noted as potential sources of teacher stress.

Related to these physical problems are poor organisational factors relating to communication, difficult staff relationships, heavy workloads, inappropriate leadership styles and financial pressures (see Dunham, 1984: 47-59).

Hoy, et.al., (1983) and others have attributed the bureaucratic structure of schools, which according to the authors is "dramatically" greater than that of welfare agencies employing similar professional groups, to teacher alienation and found that teachers were "significantly" more alienated than welfare workers. Hoy, et.al., (1983: 118-119) thus recognised and advocated a bifurcation of administrative and "professional" domains within schools, with the former being characterised by the typical pyramidal hierarchy and the latter being much more informal in structure, thus enabling teachers to "cope with what otherwise might be an intolerably oppressive structure".

**"Special" Life Changes**

As well as examining the potential sources of stress associated with work, Otto (1986: 34-46) also considered the sources of stress associated with "special" situations. These situations which have been found by some to contribute to stress levels in individuals include a death in the family, divorce or separation, financial loss or a court case, but include also desirable events such as marriage, the birth of a child or moving into a new home.

Despite attempts by some to quantify the impact of such "life changes", Otto (1986: 37) made the salient point that not everyone will react to these changes in the same way and that the effect of such changes may not be noticeable immediately but might be cumulative over the individual's lifetime. The mere fact that such a change has occurred is not a predictor of ill-health or stress.
Otto (1986: 37-38) also criticised this "special events" view of the causes of stress because it "ignores the fact that stress is produced largely by on-going working or living conditions and normal everyday experiences" and while not discounting entirely the impact of special events, saw stress resulting more from on-going social situations. This was supported by a number of interesting case studies Otto (1986: 66-103) presented which indicated how teachers who had formerly demonstrated their ability to cope with teaching found themselves on the verge of a breakdown due to cumulative work and social pressures.

The Importance of "Control"

A key aspect noted by Otto (1986: 39) was the degree of "control" that an individual has over the stress-producing aspects of his or her job. Teachers, despite their "professional" status, have less of this discretionary control than other professionals. Pupils, other teachers, coordinators, school administrators, employing authorities, parents and the wider community are all "role senders" with the potential to exert pressure, often of a conflicting or contradictory nature, upon the "role" of the teacher, something which is in turn continually being redefined due to these pressures.

A further undermining of this element of "control" occurs because many of the problems that relate to students such as aggressiveness, alienation, emotional instability and learning difficulties are unable to be solved effectively by teachers and schools. In fact, Otto (1986: 39) makes the point that schools and teachers may unwillingly make these problems worse.

Stress and Gender

Otto (1986: 139-141) raised the point that it is frequently thought that women are more prone to stress than men. After a review of research in the field she concluded that while women tend to find student-related problems more stressful and men tend to be more stressed by matters associated with career advancement, there was little significant difference in stress levels between male and female teachers. There was some evidence however that women were more prone to sexual innuendo and lack of respect from male students, particularly those from certain cultural groups who traditionally afforded women lower status than men.

Otto also made the point that women on the whole were more likely to admit to experiencing the symptoms of stress, highlighting the common perception that such an admission from a male is a sign of weakness and also the differing social norms regarding males and females expressing emotions and distress. There was also some evidence that males, either because of social or
economic reasons, were more likely to "soldier on" than women, who were in turn more likely to take leave in order to overcome stress. Otto (1986: 141) concluded that:

there is currently no conclusive answer to the question of whether, where 'stressloads' are equal, male or female teachers would be more likely to 'break down' ... What [is known] ... is that stress is an occupational hazard for males and female teachers alike, and that it is a problem of sufficient proportions to demand urgent and serious attention.

Coping With Stress

An important aspect of stress noted by a number of writers (see Johnstone, 1989: 29) was that the symptoms of stress and the methods used by individuals to cope with stress were interrelated and thus individuals whose manifestations of stress might be crying, or anger, or withdrawal were actually acting to relieve or release the stress, at least in part.

In a review of research into coping with teacher stress, Johnstone (1989: 29) offered the opinion that very little had really been accomplished:

Coping with stress has been written about in general terms, and in terms of practical, personal strategies. Little research has been done into coping skills, possibly because of the difficulties of attempting interventionist strategies in the classroom ... Little research has been done into the putative effects of teacher stress on teacher effectiveness. Also, little differentiation is made between short-term and long-term effects of stress.

A significant point regarding methods of coping with stress is that before any external coping mechanism or procedure can be prescribed, the symptoms of stress for the individual concerned need to be identified. Dunham (1984: 85) categorised reactions to stress into four main categories, these being behavioural, emotional, mental and physical.

Dunham (1984: 85) then went into some detail to describe a framework of successive stages which people pass through as work and external pressures become increasingly severe. In the first stage, the "alarm reaction", the individual becomes aware of a stress situation. In this stage increased hormone secretions, including adrenalin, enter the bloodstream to prepare the individual to cope with the recognised source of stress, an experience common to mammals (see also Otto, 1986: 46-52).

In the second stage, the "stage of resistance", continued and possibly increasing demands then induce physiological responses to enable the individual to resist these pressures. These responses might include increases in heart rate and hormone secretions which are maintained at higher than normal levels for longer periods of time and which tend to drain the body's resources and could lead in turn to a fall in body weight.
In the third and final stage, the "state of exhaustion", the struggle to cope with the unabated stress causes greater demands upon the body's resources which ultimately could result in the death of the individual.

Turning more closely to the manifestations of stress, particularly as they relate to teacher performance, Dunham (1984: 86-92) outlined the reactions of teachers along a continuum from few demands to many demands. Initially, too little demands upon a teacher might lead to boredom. An increase in demands from this point may result in increasing motivation, and from here, further demands might be seen as a challenge which at this stage, the individual has the resources to respond to. Additional demands from this point may result in the individual reaching a peak in his or her performance curve. Past this point however, stress begins to have deleterious effects upon the individual and his or her performance.

In the early stages of stress, quite possibly marked by frustration, irritation or even aggression, depending upon the personal situation and qualities of the individual, the staff member may attempt to cope by talking the matter over with colleagues and it is here that supervisors and peers can assist the individual to adopt new methods and strategies to cope with his or her demands.

However, if demands continue to increase, anxiety, poor concentration, loss of confidence, difficulty in making decisions, fatigue, exhaustion, and ultimately burnout may occur.

To prevent the individual from entering this final phase marked by personal and professional decline, quite a number of coping strategies advocated by a number of researchers were reviewed by Dunham (1984: 100-116). To summarise these strategies, it is suggested that the individual teacher:

1. Be fully informed.
2. Freely express his or her positive and negative feelings.
3. Avoid confrontations.
4. Talk problems over with other people.
5. Take time to exercise and relax.
6. Compartmentalise his or her role.
7. Avoid procrastination.
8. Try and stand back from the situation and be objective.
11. Keep a sense of humour.
12. Try and think positive thoughts about his or herself and others.
13. Try not to take work home.
14. Enjoy responsibility.
15. Delegate or share his or her load if possible.
17. Greet others cheerfully and praise their efforts.
18. Seek involvement outside work, within sensible limits.
19. Examine his or her personal life and seek help where necessary.
20. Plan "treats" for his or herself and family members.
It should be noted that the above suggestions are very much teacher-centred, and do not involve formal stress reduction programs or interventionist strategies within schools, as Johnstone (1989: 29) has already observed. It should also be noted that any such "ten" or "twenty" point plan is indicative of the difficulties inherent in understanding the causes of stress and the virtual impossibility of prescribing a single effective means of overcoming stress. Such measures also do little in removing the actual causes of stress, and thus form only palliative responses to the problem (see also Otto: 1986: 58-60).

Otto: 1986: 62) recognised that personal factors do influence the ability of an individual to cope with stress, but was fairly critical of efforts to generalise personality types to form simplistic "Type A-Type B" typologies:

Coping responses always depend on people's experiences of their world and their assessment of the outer and inner resources at their disposal. What once may have looked like a person's typical coping style may change over time and with different situations.

Turning to the organisational responses to coping with member stress, Dunham (1984: 137-170) canvassed quite a number of options. The first measure examined was that of effective selection procedures, the aim being to select appropriate individuals for teaching. This approach emphasises such measures as the preparation of accurate job descriptions based upon a systematic analysis of the role, interviewers knowing how to assess key factors in the candidates through the use of a systematic interview and regularly and thoroughly evaluating the usefulness and limitations of selection interviews. However, this approach does assume durable personality traits. The student who might be considered unsuitable for teaching at the age of 18 could well develop into a fine teacher later and vice versa.

The second broad approach outlined by Dunham was concerned with staff induction programs. Such a program should be the responsibility of a senior member of staff and should involve participation in the appointment of probationary teachers, the provision of essential information concerning both the running of the school and of the pupils, counselling and guidance to the new staff member, the organisation of school-based staff development programs, arranging for the inexperienced teacher to observe experienced teachers at work and support in assessment of students. Such a program, if successful, would result in a teacher being much more fully informed, confident and performing their intended role in a supportive environment. The important area of staff induction is more fully examined in the review of the literature pertaining to teacher retention later in this Chapter.

The workloads of beginning teachers also need to be carefully monitored to ensure that they are not overworked nor over-committed too early in their career. A reduced teaching load and relief from some administrative responsibilities will act to reduce some of the potential sources of
stress. Effective, formal supervision by an experienced and supportive member of staff was vital to this end.

The third broad approach to reducing or preventing stress at an organisational level lies in the area of staff development. According to Dunham's (1984: 152-153) perception of staff development, this process serves both an evaluative or review function of a teacher's progress and a developmental function arising from this:

It is important that the appraisal system is linked to the in-service training provision so that appropriate opportunities are offered for continuing staff development. This linking is particularly significant for those members of staff who, because of contraction of promotion opportunities, are now feeling 'trapped' in their present posts and are frightened that their job prospects may not improve.

Of particular importance is the preparation of staff for "non-promotion" and the counselling of staff who may feel quite deeply upset by their failure to be promoted. Dunham (1984: 158) thought that new challenges in a "horizontal" direction needed to be found for such teachers, through such measures as job rotation, school exchanges, secondment to other types of educational institutions and "job enrichment" to revitalise staff and bring enjoyment and fulfilment back into teaching following disappointment and even stagnation.

Staff development needs to strengthen and utilise team-work and help staff to develop their skills of communication and cooperation, and meetings have a vital role in the development of such skills, although Dunham (1984: 160) made a number of suggestions to make meetings more effective. He also made the point that the team leader must have a good understanding of group behaviour and the ability to be able to distinguish between "task behaviour" relevant to the group's achievement of its tasks, "maintenance behaviour" relevant to the maintenance of good working relationships and "self-oriented behaviour" where personal motives come to the surface.

The fourth approach to reducing stress through strengthening organisational resources recognised by Dunham (1984: 164) was that of social support. Dunham commented that the social support that teachers need if the impact of stress is to be reduced should not necessarily come from above but should ideally emanate from the teachers themselves.

Finally, Dunham (1984: 166) presented both a model and two 20 item check-lists of measures to reduce stress in primary and secondary schools respectively. Both these offerings and Dunham's text as a whole tend to confirm yet again that stress does not have uniform causes, uniform symptoms and thus, lacks uniform methods of treatment. As Johnstone (1989: 37) noted in a review of research into coping with teacher stress:
What is clear is that those who have investigated stress maintain that there is no single, correct answer or cure. It may also be the case that the success of any potential strategies may depend on the personal stake invested when conflict between people provoked stress. Outside intervention to alleviate stress has been small-scale, and of mixed benefit to the teacher involved -- and of unknown effect upon the pupils.

Otto (1986: 143) also considered teachers' responses to stress-producing situations and, while recognising that individuals have different coping styles and that coping can be either preventative or a response to stress, noted four "stages" of coping with stress. Stage one was "preventing stress-producing situations" through direct action where the teacher and possibly his or her colleagues act, either consciously or sub-consciously, to prevent stressful situations by minimising student dissatisfaction and avoiding student confrontations.

Stage two was "controlling stress internally, in the face of potential stressors", a palliative response where the teacher makes a conscious effort to feel less stressed, perhaps by adopting an air of detachment or lowering one's expectations of students. Such an approach would seem to be of limited benefit in the face of continuing and increasing pressures.

The third stage was "problem-oriented responses to situations which *are* stress-producing" where it has not been possible to prevent a stress-producing situation and direct action is taken to reduce classroom disturbances or to resolve differences with colleagues, superiors and others.

Otto termed stage four "seeking relief from stress and tension", an additional palliative stage where people try to regain their energy and enthusiasm through recuperation. The success of this stage will depend in part upon the nature, severity and duration of the stress. Otto (1986: 146) noted that while these four stages can overlap it provides a useful means of understanding coping behaviour.

**Other Writers on Stress**

Attention now turns to other writers who have investigated how teachers might cope with stress and how administrators and planners might reduce or alleviate such stress.

Conners (1983) found that the physical environment of the school needed greater attention in that a poor school design can contribute markedly to increased teacher stress through limiting social interaction, providing poor "wayfinding" within the school, through poor classroom design, through high noise levels and lack of privacy and through density and crowding. As far as the alleviation of stress is concerned, Conners thought that better school design would make a significant contribution to the lowering of teacher stress levels and quite possibly therefore, to improved pupil achievement.
Docking and Docking (1984: 262) also focused on reducing teacher stress and recounted how a 10 week in-service course dealing with child management techniques with the staff of a small primary school resulted in a "significant reduction in anxiety in general teaching and in discipline situations". The authors thought that traditional "custodial" teacher-pupil relationships contributed to higher levels of stress and anxiety and that "relationship-centred" or "humanistic" relationships should be adopted in schools. The in-service course described in the article was based on individual psychology and attempted to move teachers from a "custodial" to a "humanistic" paradigm of pupil relationship.

Sparks (1983) also believed that alleviating stress and burnout was complex, difficult and involved changing human attitudes and behaviour. The author advocated an "holistic" approach to the problem of teacher stress, with both mind and body being viewed as interconnected. Like Docking and Docking (1984) Sparks believed that there was a need for greater psychological education of teachers and went on to outline how this might take place, while fully acknowledging the difficulty of the task, even when a person's physical and mental well-being were at stake.

Sparks (1983) also advocated the use of professional support groups, organisational change and job redesign, staff development, and alternative careers for teachers, not all of whom, according to the author, were suited to teaching or will be for their entire working lives. The author made the important point that there was no one method of alleviating stress that was suited to all teachers and thus the solution rests on understanding and diagnosing the individual and formulating an appropriate remedial program (see also Stone, 1984: 252).

The study chaired by Louden (1987: 11) in Western Australia mentioned above made a number of recommendations to the Western Australian Government as a result of its general finding that the level of severe psychological distress experienced by teachers was "about twice that in the general community". Some of these recommendations included: assisting teachers to become more adept at encouraging acceptable student behaviour through various formal programs such as "the managing student behaviour program", "the classroom relationships project" and various "pastoral care programs"; assisting teachers to become better time managers and reducing the administrative demands upon teachers; giving greater recognition to the professional expertise of teachers; involving teachers more in planning and policy making; improving the professional standing of teachers in the community, and finally, taking steps to ensure that the environments in which teachers work have adequate facilities and that teachers have access to suitable places to meet, plan and mark.

It should be noted that the study carried out by Louden (1987: 17) and his committee focussed upon the working environment of the teacher and found that:
it is possible to explain only a part of the stress teachers experience in terms of factors related to teaching, such as working conditions. Out-of-school factors no doubt play a part in the high levels of stress found in this survey. Indeed, the interaction of stress from teaching and from other sources is likely to have a compounding effect, with stress from one situation contributing to stress in another. Teacher stress is clearly a complex and pervasive problem, and one with no straightforward solutions.

A study carried out by the Applied Psychology Research Group at the University of Melbourne (1990: 47) into teacher stress in Victoria also recognised how stress for the individual teacher was a result of many factors, including factors related to the individual, the classroom, the organisation of the school, and the Ministry for Education. The report concluded that:

Our society has set its educators a very difficult task. It has mixed the tasks of economic growth, employment, education, and welfare together. It is not sure how to create enough jobs, it is not sure how to best reduce the number receiving welfare benefits, and it believes that national development depends, somehow, on skills and knowledge, so it asks education to solve the problem.

We have suggested several palliatives for the problem of teacher stress. To make significant inroads on the problem, however, it is important to do at least the following:

1. Make clear to both the schools and the communities of which they are part what their responsibilities are and what they are not ...
2. Give schools resources sufficient to the job that they really have to do ...
3. Let schools and teachers be responsible for, and informed about, their management and teaching, and let them be publicly accountable for their stewardship.
4. Return prestige to schools and teaching by providing the rewards and recognition for teachers that will continue to attract and retain high-quality staff.

Stress and the Principal

A number of researchers have made a special study of stress and the principal (see O'Dempsey, 1976; Willis, 1980; Whan, 1988) and it has been found that the work of the principal with its role ambiguity, constant interruptions, multitude of brief contacts, work overload and conflicting and increasing demands can lead to debilitating levels of "executive" stress.

Whan (1988) made a study of stress in primary school principals in one New South Wales "Inspectorate" and monitored physiological and other effects resulting from the day to day tasks of the principal. Common stressors for the principals under study were: changes of staff; conflicting values, attitudes and behaviours in teachers and executive staff; staff meetings; poor performance of ancillary staff; recalcitrant pupils and dissatisfied parents; dealings with other officials; curriculum and policy changes; problems with school buildings and equipment (including break-ins); work overload, and time pressures. Whan found that the principal's day was punctuated by large numbers of stressful incidents and situations, interspersed with periods of relative calm or "uplifts".
Reactions to stress were felt both by the principal and those around him or her, and included anxiety, tension, nervousness, fatigue, frustration, guilt, loneliness, antagonism, aggression, and cognitive effects such as poor concentration and decision making.

Some factors appeared to lower stress levels, including positive support for the principal, a "challenge" mentality or outlook, and individual techniques of relaxation. "Uplifts" as mentioned above included goal achievement and task accomplishment, a change of activities, sharing in pupil and staff achievements, showing concern and compassion for others, enjoying humour, fun and social interaction and a pleasant environment.

However, Whan (1988: 540) concluded that:

principals are often working under heavy or severe stress for substantial periods of time. The study showed that 90 per cent of principals experienced days when they were affected by heavy or severe stress for more than 30 per cent of their time at work and that this level of stress was experienced on 66 per cent of days.

Implications of Stress for Resignation

It can be argued that the failure to fully understand stress, as has been the case with morale and which will be demonstrated with burnout below, has hindered understanding, prevention and alleviation of these influences on worker performance. What is known, is that (Schools Council: 1990: 46):

teaching is an intensely human activity ... [it] requires a great deal of physical and emotional energy ... At times the need for this sort of energy may seem to outweigh the intellectual capacities and interests which may have encouraged someone to believe that they might be suitable for teaching.

Something which the review of the literature has not revealed is the link between stress and teacher resignation. There is some agreement that stress might be a factor in teacher resignation, but this matter has not received close attention nor revealed conclusive findings. The matter is further explored in the discussion on teacher resignation later in this Chapter.

It can be said that stress remains an intensely personal and individual response to a varying set of factors. In its severest forms, teacher stress may have debilitating effects upon the individual teacher and thus, by implication, upon the educational institution and system, and ultimately upon the educational outcomes of students. As a great number of writers have noted, teacher stress is a problem of magnitude and severity, but a great deal of work still needs to be accomplished before it can be well understood and thereby dealt with.
Research on Teacher Burnout

A Faddish Concept?

Quite a number of writers have noted with concern the plethora of both research and rhetoric in the field of teacher burnout since the 1970s (see Farber, 1984; Fisher, 1984; Hatchard & Thomas, 1987; and Schwab, 1983). Fisher (1984) in fact believes that informed debate concerning teacher burnout has been hampered by the use of somewhat confused terminology, with burnout, morale, and stress being used fairly loosely and even interchangeably by some writers. Farber (1984: 323) noted that "literature in the field has consistently failed to distinguish between teacher stress and teacher burnout, and the resulting confusion has seriously impaired an effective understanding of either concept".

Informed debate has been hindered also by the fact that various vested interests such as employers and teachers' unions have tended to take up opposing stances on the issue, as has occurred with other "industrial" issues such as "R.S.I.", or repetitive strain injury syndrome.

When Stress Becomes Burnout

There seems to be some agreement in the literature that a certain level of stress is beneficial to an individual and to an organisation, but that when unabated stress reaches a certain level termed "burnout", the individual and hence the organisation experiences debilitating effects. However, there is less agreement over the exact causes of burnout, although a well-known device for its measurement, the Maslach Burnout Inventory (M.B.I.), has been utilised in various "helping professions" or service industries such as teaching, nursing and the police force where on-going intensive personal contact is thought to contribute to the condition (see Otto, 1986: 53).

There are seen to be three critical dimensions to the M.B.I., these being "emotional exhaustion" burnout, "depersonalisation" burnout and "personal accomplishment" burnout. Where this device or its derivatives such as the Teacher Attitude Survey (T.A.S.) (see Farber, 1984) have been utilised, the results that have been obtained are far from conclusive (see Fisher, 1984, for example).

The gathering of evidence on teacher burnout may have also been hampered by the positivist methods of some researchers who have attempted to measure burnout in individuals and from this to quantify burnout in education generally. Others have engaged in statistical manipulation.
of data gathered by quite large surveys without in-depth follow-up at a more personal, individual level (see Fisher, 1984; Farber, 1984).

**Features of Burnout**

A number of writers have offered the proposition that burnout is the result of severe unabated stress. Otto (1986: 53) believes burnout "implies exhaustion to the point of no longer being able to care, of loss of idealism, and of psychological withdrawal as the last imaginable chance for 'survival'". Some have even equated teacher burnout with "battle fatigue" and "combat neurosis" (see Walsh, 1979: 253).

Common features of burnout, in addition to those mentioned above, have been found to be feelings of unease in the early stages, tiredness, difficulty in sleeping, depression, loss of confidence and self-assurance, headaches, loss of sex-drive, being "touchy" or even aggressive to others, seemingly irrational outbursts and even tears, colds, pains in the chest and limbs, dizziness, diarrhoea, loss of appetite and resultant weight loss and general physical debilitation. Abuse of alcohol, prescription and "recreational" drugs may also accompany and even contribute to burnout in certain individuals.

Actual case studies provided by Otto (1986: 64-103) paint pictures of teachers who formerly coped quite adequately being increasingly affected by self-doubt, disillusionment, dissatisfaction, isolation, and a growing sense of being ignored and unappreciated. Often, these feelings were exacerbated by an inability to talk over these feelings with insensitive or unaware colleagues, family and superiors. While being aware of the symptoms of severe stress and approaching breakdown or burnout, the teacher adopts a mechanical approach to his or her responsibilities and "goes through the motions", all the while becoming more and more mentally and physically debilitated. Frequently, the individual concerned has to reach a critical level before treatment is sought, and common palliative measures used at this stage include periods of leave and the use of prescription drugs to relax the subject and to overcome depression.

Bardo (1979: 252-254) related a personal case history of burnout which led her to resign after 17 years of teaching, rather than simply "go through the motions" as mentioned above. She maintained strongly that in her case it was the devaluing of education in the eyes of her students that led her to resign. Bardo's students, even the more able, simply refused to work. She made the interesting point that initially she attributed this to some fault of her own and reacted by working even harder to plan her lessons and motivate her students, hastening approaching burnout and all to no avail. She also thought that the pay, hours and holidays of teachers were
sufficient and attractive and were not the primary cause of teacher resignation, particularly for tenured teachers. Bardo (1979: 252-253) recounted that:

> no matter how brilliant the lessons I prepared, no matter how much I personally cared for learning, no matter how expensive the tools I brought to my classroom, little learning could occur when the students didn't care to learn. Unable to learn for them, unable to sit at my desk and ignore them, I found the only solution was to quit teaching.

Nummela (1982: 79) thought that a major contributing factor to teacher burnout was the pace and scope of educational change:

> We are being asked to respond to and master new situations, new procedures, changed styles, increased dimensions and instructions at such an accelerated rate that our minds and bodies are literally 'burning out' from a constant rate of adaptation ... our adaptations are coming so rapidly one upon the other that the periods of rest and continuity in-between are increasingly diminished.

Nummela suggested that the number of adaptations to change made by teachers should be closely monitored to prevent teacher overload which can lead to burnout.

Sarros and Sarros (1987) attempted in a study carried out in a Western Canadian school district to discover the underlying variables, both individually and organisationally-specific, which contribute to teacher burnout. Their sample consisted of 347 elementary and 258 secondary teachers as well as 30 others from composite school settings. The Maslach Burnout Inventory (M.B.I.) formed part of the study instrumentation.

As a result of statistical analysis of their findings, Sarros and Sarros (1987: 224) found that teachers were not experiencing unduly high levels of "emotional exhaustion" and "depersonalisation" burnout when compared with other "helping" professionals. On the other hand, they found that teachers were experiencing more "personal accomplishment" burnout compared to other professionals such as police, psychologists, and counsellors, possibly due to the routine nature and lack of opportunities for challenge in teaching.

Sarros and Sarros (1987: 225) also found that teachers had higher levels of "emotional exhaustion" and "personal accomplishment" burnout than did educational administrators surveyed in the study. This finding was attributed to teachers' continued daily interactions with peers and students without the benefit of a more varied workload or challenging working environment enjoyed by administrators.

Turning to the implications of their study, Sarros and Sarros (1987: 227) believed job-specific remedies such as more equitable distribution of workloads and efforts to provide variety and reduce the intensity of work were needed to reduce "emotional exhaustion" burnout in teachers. On the other hand both "personal accomplishment" burnout and "depersonalisation" burnout
were related more to the motivational needs of teachers who need to be more challenged, rewarded and satisfied with their work. The authors concluded (1987: 227) that:

> Whichever strategies are used, be they organisational or individual, a critical first step in combating teacher burnout is to acknowledge that it exists. Assuming that burned out teachers and their problems will disappear is doing them, their students, and their schools a disservice.

**Career Stage, Age and Burnout**

Sarros and Sarros (1991) also examined the relationship between career stages, age and teacher burnout. The authors noted that a number of important studies have confirmed the existence of such stages, and noted in particular the work of the psychologist Levinson who identified a number of "eras" or life stages (cited in Sarros & Sarros, 1991) during which the individual faces specific tasks, challenges and decisions. Sarros and Sarros related these stages identified by Levinson to research carried out into teacher burnout by themselves and by others.

Age 23 to 28 is seen as the stage of early adulthood where the individual enters the adult world, which involves completion of an education, entering an occupation and possibly marriage and relocation. Sarros and Sarros (1991: 166) noted that:

> Regardless of gender, early adulthood places its own special pressures on younger and novice teachers as they enter the teaching profession. Often these teachers are brimming with ideas and ideals, and seem to have an unlimited reserve of enthusiasm. What frequently occurs in the space of six to 12 months is that teachers' ideals ... come to earth with a thud when the reality and demands of teaching and career choice hit home.

The years 29 to 33 mark the "30 transition", a period of instability and change during which time a deterioration in commitment, involvement, and job satisfaction may occur and cynical attitudes towards students and fellow workers can develop, particularly in the case of male teachers, according to research cited by Sarros and Sarros (1991: 166).

The years 34 to 39 are a period of "settling down" when personal and professional goals are re-established and the value of individuals to their organisation becomes greater. It is at this stage that a divergence can occur between the careers and men and women. While men may marry and father children, their career aims remain focussed but women must decide whether to put their career on "hold" while children are born and raised. This career disruption and increasing family commitments have been given by some as the reasons why women are under-represented in administrative positions in education, but Sarros and Sarros maintain that this situation is due more to a lack of encouragement, incentive and opportunity for women to enter more senior positions in schools (1991: 167).
The years 40 to 45 mark the "mid-life transition" which some have termed a crisis, during which the individual begins to question his or her past career and personal decisions. Sarros and Sarros (1991: 167) point to a lack of consensus over the changes of this period, with some writers believing that commitment and job satisfaction can decline and lead to resignation, but with other research findings being less conclusive. Perhaps this lack of agreement reflects the fact that individuals cope with this transition in varying ways and with varying degrees of success, depending upon personal characteristics and circumstances.

"Middle adulthood" is reached in the years 40 to 50 with individuals being more stable and contented and less inclined to "rock the boat", although females re-entering teaching may more enthusiastically pursue their career goals than males at this stage. However frustration can result for such women because of the seniority lost during child rearing. It should also be noted that the seeming tranquillity of this period might also be the result of less satisfied teachers having already resigned by this stage of their life and career.

The final career stage is the "fifties transition" from 51 to 55 during which most individuals have a clearer idea of their career limitations, with the careers of many having plateaued by this time. The reaction of individuals to the events of this period are variable, with some achieving lifetime goals and satisfaction, while others perform in a fairly predictable manner in their position until retirement. Others, however, may experience a significant decline in performance as their career comes to a close.

Sarros and Sarros also reported on a study carried out with 491 Victorian Government secondary teachers which utilised the Maslach Burnout Inventory. The authors found that the highest levels of "emotional exhaustion" burnout were recorded by teachers in the "age 30 transition", with "depersonalisation" burnout being most prevalent in teachers in the "settling down" and "mid-life transition" stages of their careers. The occurrence of the third type, "personal accomplishment" burnout, was less clear. Sarros and Sarros (1991: 170) then drew out three major implications of both their findings and the findings of the literature in the area of career stages and burnout:

First, most novice teachers, regardless of age, need assistance in acclimatising to the rigours and realities of teaching ... Second, the development of Depersonalisation and Personal Accomplishment burnout needs to be monitored by caring co-workers and school administrators ... Third, teachers and administrators need to learn from each other in order to help protect themselves and their schools from experiencing severe and debilitating levels of burnout.
Alleviating Burnout

Coping mechanisms for burnout have tended to be based upon those intended to treat teacher stress. As mentioned earlier in the examination of teacher stress, Otto (1986: 56-63) made a distinction between problem-oriented and palliative or emotion-oriented responses.

Problem-oriented coping mechanisms include action directly aimed at changing external conditions, efforts to master a situation through increasing personal problem-solving skills, and the provision of resources, while palliative coping mechanisms include psychological defences such as detachment. These help to control the "meaning" of the situation, so that its effects upon the individual are minimised.

Efforts to alleviate or treat burnout through such palliative measures as meditation, jogging, "bio-feedback", relaxation training and teachers' support centres have been dismissed fairly contemptuously by some writers, with Farber (1984: 323) believing them to be ineffective and "doomed to failure" as they treat the symptoms and not the causes of the problem.

Quite a number of other writers have outlined methods designed to counter stress and prevent burnout, although it must be said that many of these articles are discursive rather than penetrative examinations of the phenomena, something which Farber (1984) has viewed with concern.

To prevent or overcome the effects of burnout, some writers have advocated the need for teachers to "face up" to their problems, while others emphasise the learning of palliative coping strategies, while still others believe that structural, organisational and procedural changes are required to reduce stress and burnout and to motivate and challenge teachers to provide greater personal achievement and satisfaction (for a sample of the many approaches to the alleviation of burnout, see Austin, 1981; Ayalon, 1989; Briscoe, 1984; Campbell, 1983; Cardinell, 1980; Cunningham, 1982; Fibkins, 1980; Grossnickle, 1980; Hylton, 1989; Iwanicki, 1983; Kirk and Walter, 1981; Kossack and Woods, 1980; Ligon, 1988; Lynch, 1981; Martinez, 1989; McGuire, 1979; Mercado, 1987; Moe, 1979; Paine, 1981; Raquepaw and de Haas, 1984; Ricken, 1980; Smith and Williams, 1980; Sparks, 1979; Sparks and Hammond, 1981; Swick and Hanley, 1980; Truch, 1980; and Tursman, 1989).

Implications of Burnout

The examination of the literature suggested that burnout is more than just a faddish concept and that burnout may be a modern term for a far older problem, in that teachers and those in other "helping professions" are in fact not "burnt out" but worn out, possibly "before their time" or
before when otherwise might be expected. What is not known is whether the phenomenon of burnout is likely to become far worse before it is recognised as a symptom of major organisational dysfunction and not a sign of personal weakness.

As mentioned above, a large number of writers have advocated varying approaches to the alleviation of teacher burnout. As with stress, teacher burnout appears to be an intensely personal response or set of responses to a unique set of individual and situational factors, and this has tended to make the definition, identification and treatment of burnout difficult to generalise.

However, it can be said that the issue of burnout is a critical one if it prevents teachers and administrators from operating effectively and hence prevents students from reaching their potential, if it causes teachers to leave teaching, and if the negative publicity concerning the issue dissuades potential teachers from entering the profession. Cairns (1984: 122) has called upon the authorities in N.S.W. to "attack the problem of teacher burnout at the source by researching the problem extensively and providing management and teaching skills to reduce the stressors which exist". 
Teacher Job Satisfaction

A number of writers have made the point that morale and job satisfaction are not the same thing, despite the fact that other writers have used the terms interchangeably. The focus will now shift to identifying the factors which satisfy and dissatisfy teachers.

A Continuum of Teacher Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction?

In something of a landmark study, Sergiovanni (1967) undertook a research project which involved interviews with 71 teachers. He sought to test the finding of Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959) that job factors which satisfy workers and job factors which dissatisfy workers are not arranged at opposite ends of the same continuum. Thus, Sergiovanni (1967: 69) set out to test the view that there was one set of factors which tend to satisfy teachers and another set of factors which tend to dissatisfy teachers. In addition, Sergiovanni also set out to discover whether the distribution of these factors was the same for the various sub-groups of teachers i.e., male teachers, female teachers, tenured teachers, untenured teachers, elementary school teachers and secondary school teachers.

Satisfaction Factors

Broadly, Sergiovanni's study supported the findings of Herzberg, et.al., with satisfaction factors for teachers tending to focus upon the work itself, while dissatisfaction factors tended to focus upon the conditions of work. The three dominant satisfaction factors were found to be "achievement", "recognition", and "responsibility".

An interesting finding concerning the factor of achievement was that for the individual teacher there was a lack of concrete evidence of teacher success and thus achievement was more "psychic gratification" for the fact that the teacher had "reached" the students in some way, rather than more tangible forms of achievement such as salary, prestige and power.

The sources of recognition for teachers varied, with feedback from principals, supervisors, parents, fellow teachers and students being mentioned. Recognition took a variety of forms, including letters, verbal commendation, gifts, incentives, and committee appointments. Sergiovanni (1967: 77) noted that "The need for recognition, the overt bolstering of self-
esteem, appears to be important to teachers. The absence of recognition tends not to affect low job attitudes of teachers”.

Responsibility did appear as a teacher satisfier, although Sergiovanni made the point that despite the teacher seeming to have a great responsibility for the education of his or her students, in actual fact this responsibility falls within the framework of the legislature, the rules and procedures of the school and the prescribed curriculum, and thus the teacher does not have great discretionary power over his or her students' education. It should be noted, however, that this study preceded the strong global trend towards school based curriculum development which began soon after and which gave teachers greater responsibility over the development and implementation of curricula, although as mentioned earlier, this trend has now been reversed somewhat.

A finding of Sergiovanni (1967: 77-78) which did contradict Herzberg's theory was the absence of advancement from the major satisfiers:

Teaching offers little opportunity for concrete advancement (change in status or position) and in fact any particular teaching assignment could be considered as a terminal position. Whatever potential the factor advancement has as a satisfier appears to be lost for teachers under our present system.

The implication of this has not be lost on educational leaders, with increased efforts being made since the time of Sergiovanni's study to provide greater opportunities for advancement through merit pay, career ladders and promotion on "merit", structural incentives examined later in this review.

Work itself was found to be a bi-polar factor, with the more routine or "maintenance" forms of activities contributing to teacher dissatisfaction, despite the fact that the work of the teacher had the potential to be creative and high in satisfaction potential.

Dissatisfaction Factors

Of the dissatisfaction or "hygiene" factors, "interpersonal relations (students)", "interpersonal relations (peers)", "supervision technical", "school policy and administration", "unfairness", "status", and "personal life" dominated. Of particular interest in these findings on dissatisfiers was that of the teacher-student relationship, the crux of the teaching role. While offering the potential for satisfaction, Sergiovanni (1967: 78) believed that "a happy relationship with students is not in itself potent enough to be a source of job satisfaction. A poor relationship with students, however, can be a source of considerable teacher dissatisfaction".
The study also found that the sub-groups represented in the interviews did not differ in their responses to sources of teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction, something which this present study did explore further.

**Implications of Sergiovanni's Study**

The study by Sergiovanni raised some significant points which contributed to both the draft model of teacher persistence and to the framing of the interview questions used in this study. The most significant was the broad confirmation of Herzberg's proposition that there are largely mutually exclusive job dissatisfiers and satisfiers and thus, while a certain set of factors might contribute to teacher resignation, it is possible that a separate set of factors contribute to teacher persistence. On the other hand, it is possible that teachers who resign and/or persist might fall into two broad camps, the "hygiene seekers", and those with a more pronounced "task orientation". In Sergiovanni's study, teacher satisfiers tended to relate to the work itself, while teacher dissatisfiers tended to relate to the conditions or the work environment. Sergiovanni (1967: 79-80) concluded that:

> The dissatisfaction factors identified for teachers tend to focus on conditions and circumstances which teachers expect to be maintained at acceptable levels. It seems reasonable that teachers should expect fair and adequate supervision, supportive school policies and administrative directives, friendly interpersonal relationships and pleasant working conditions. However, the satisfaction factors focus directly on conditions and circumstances that are not givens, which do not come with the job. These factors constitute rewards that must be earned through performance of the job. The reinforcement potential of the satisfiers is dependent upon a teacher's individual performance.

Sergiovanni (1967: 80-81) drew a number of implications from the above conclusion. The first was that an emphasis upon "teacher-centred" behaviour through supportive supervision, interpersonal relations, effective communications and group effectiveness was limited as a means of increasing teacher satisfaction as such an approach tended to concentrate upon the elimination of dissatisfaction factors. The second implication was that "task-oriented" behaviour such as organising and planning work and implementing goal achievement did have the potential to contribute to teacher satisfaction through enabling the teacher to achieve personal and professional success. It seems important that if achievement is to occur, the teacher needs to be able to focus clearly upon task identification.

Such achievement must of course be recognised by others if the maximum impact upon satisfaction is to occur. Sergiovanni suggested that such recognition should be tied as closely as possible to successful teacher task-oriented behaviour. In other words, there needed to be an emphasis upon enhancing the performance of teachers, although this is not to say that the conditions under which teachers work can afford to be neglected.
Other Studies Into Teacher Satisfaction

Two studies which followed upon the work of Herzberg and Sergiovanni were carried out by Holdaway (1978) and Kaufman (1984). Both tended to support the "two-factor" theory of job satisfaction. Holdaway undertook a study of teacher job satisfaction in Canada which made a distinction between overall job satisfaction and "facet satisfaction", which was defined in terms of a teacher's affective reactions to particular aspects of teaching.

Kaufman extended the theory with the view that it could be used to distinguish between motivated teachers i.e., those in search of achievement and recognition, and those who could be described as "hygiene" seekers i.e., those in search of a comfortable working environment. The implication is that both types of teachers are found within educational organisations and that the needs of both groups are different and must be met in different ways.

Chapman and Lowther proposed a conceptual schema of the influences affecting teachers' job satisfaction and suggested (1982: 241) that career satisfaction of teachers is influenced by:

1) a teacher's personal characteristics;
2) a teacher's skills and abilities, particularly in organising time and activities, and communicating effectively;
3) the criteria a teacher uses to judge his or her professional success, particularly with respect to job challenge and rewards; and
4) professional accomplishments to date, with particular respect to job challenge and recognition by others.

These factors were derived from previous work carried out by Chapman, Chapman and Hutcheson, Holland, and Super and Hall (cited by Chapman and Lowther, 1982: 241-243) and combined into a model which Chapman and Lowther sought to test. It can be seen that in line with other work into teacher satisfaction, there is a heavy emphasis upon the task-oriented factors of achievement and recognition, although personal characteristics are also recognised.

Chapman and Lowther (1982: 243) used a Likert-type scale where respondents were asked to rate their satisfaction with their current employment and overall, with the progress that they had made in their professional career. The method for the survey is described more fully in the section of this review dealing with teacher retention (see Chapman, 1984) but in brief, Chapman and Lowther (1982: 244) found that:

women reported greater satisfaction with their careers than men. The abilities to speak effectively and persuade others to accept one's ideas were related to satisfaction in a positive direction while writing effectively and communicating with others were negatively related. The importance assigned to leadership activities as a basis for judging professional success was negatively related to career satisfaction, yet actual accomplishments in that area had a strong positive relationship. Likewise, the importance assigned to the opportunity to learn new things was negatively related while actual accomplishments in learning new things was
positively related. The recognition actually received from administrators and supervisors had a strong positive relationship to career satisfaction.

Fordham and Boyle (1984) carried out a study into teacher satisfaction in the Australian Capital Territory (A.C.T.) and compared their findings with those of an earlier investigation into teacher satisfaction carried out in Victoria by the Australian Council for Educational Research. Both studies utilised the approach developed by Holdaway (1978) in that an attempt was made to distinguish between overall and facet satisfaction.

Fordham and Boyle (1984: 276-277) found that primary teachers were generally more satisfied with more facets of their job than secondary teachers. Over 80 per cent of primary and secondary school teachers from both the A.C.T. and Victoria reported that they were satisfied with: their relationships with other teachers; their relationships with students; their freedom to select teaching methods; their freedom to determine assessment methods; their relationships with senior staff, and their freedom to develop their own curriculum.

Additionally, three additional facets of teaching were satisfying to more than 80 per cent of A.C.T. and Victorian primary school teachers: the salary they received; the particular grade levels they taught, and the average level of student achievement in their classes. The general behaviour of students in their classes and the ability level of these students were also rated highly by both Victorian and A.C.T. primary teachers.

While it can be seen that satisfaction facets were mostly found within the domain of teachers' work, the studies described by Fordham and Boyle (1984: 277-278) revealed that the most dissatisfying aspects of teaching centred on the wider teaching environment, with primary and secondary teachers in both the A.C.T. and Victoria most dissatisfied with the attitudes of society and parents towards education and the status of teachers in society. Other aspects of teaching dissatisfying to large numbers of the teachers surveyed were the physical conditions of the classroom, the number of students in the class, methods used to evaluate teachers for promotion, provisions and opportunities for further study; and, except for A.C.T. primary teachers, opportunities for useful in-service education (see McLaughlin, et al., 1986, for a similar study in an American context). These findings lend further credibility to the work of Herzberg and Sergiovanni mentioned earlier and support the view that facets of the teacher's role that are work-centred contribute to job satisfaction while facets which are more peripheral to the teaching role or prevent it from taking place effectively contribute to job dissatisfaction.

Benson (1983) explored the link between bureaucratic school structure and teacher satisfaction and concluded that school administrators should involve teachers in school decision making and examine carefully aspects of school organisation if teacher turnover is to be reduced and teacher satisfaction increased, although he did not make the distinction between satisfiers and dissatisfiers that others made, the implication being that a less bureaucratic school structure
might reduce teacher dissatisfaction but that unless facets of the school organisation directly impinge upon the work of teachers, the impact of a less bureaucratic means of organising the school may have little positive impact upon teacher satisfaction.

In a related study, Neumann, et al., (1988) attempted to examine the effect of organisational climate upon the job satisfaction of Arab teachers of Beduin students in Israeli elementary schools. In a highly statistical study, the authors found (1988: 94-95) the two major aspects of job satisfaction were task-related factors and people-related factors such as getting to know others, participating with others, forming friendships and helping others. Despite the cultural heritage of the Arab teachers, the influence of Westernisation has resulted in task-related factors becoming a dominant job satisfaction factor, according to the authors.

In line with other studies examined in this section, Neumann, et al., (1988: 94) also confirmed that "hygienic" factors did not contribute greatly to teacher satisfaction. However, the role of the school principal, while not an important factor so far as job satisfaction was concerned, had a major role to play in determining school climate. Overall, the authors could not make a strong case for a link between organisational climate and job satisfaction for their case study of a group of Arab teachers in Israel.

Avi-Itzhak (1988) set out to study the needs and job satisfaction of kindergarten teachers in Israel. Broadly, the study, in which 93 teachers took part, utilised Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of needs and found that the kindergarten teachers were most satisfied on Maslow's two lower level needs -- "security" and "social" -- and less satisfied on Maslow's higher level needs of "esteem", "autonomy" and "self-actualisation".

Avi-Itzhak (1988: 359-360) concluded that the more higher level needs are met, the more satisfied teachers will be. One interesting finding from the study was that there was less likelihood of a teacher's professional expectations being met in the first few years of teaching: "It is only later on in their careers (if they stay on) that they derive satisfaction (or may convince themselves that they do). This is not a desirable situation."

Avi-Itzhak (1988: 360-1) also noted that her findings were broadly supportive of the work of others such as Sergiovanni but bemoaned the fact that in the time since his and other theorists' work has appeared, little had been done to better meet teachers' needs for self-actualisation, autonomy and esteem, key task-oriented elements contributing to teacher satisfaction, and that:

fifteen years later, we are still dealing with the same scenarios with no apparent solutions on how to execute these urgent recommendations ... While this study has by no means attempted to resolve the issue of job satisfaction, the obtained results suggest that organisational complexity, age, teaching experience and higher-order intrinsic needs go hand-in-hand in predicting job satisfaction. These findings bear important implications for educational administrators on the school level as well as on the national level. In practice, these
implications call for creating and designing teaching jobs which will be conducive to job satisfaction.

Gould (1988) made the point that traditionally, school administrators have attempted to provide for teacher job satisfaction through attention to salaries, democratic supervision, better working conditions and equitable school policies and practices, factors which the two-factor theory suggests are more likely to reduce teacher dissatisfaction than they are to improve teacher satisfaction, particularly for the motivated teacher.

Gould believed that administrators should give greater attention to the factors which have been found to contribute to job satisfaction, rather than continuing to give high priority to hygiene factors. As Sergiovanni (1967) had suggested, Gould (1988: 13) maintained that the focus should be shifted to teacher achievement:

Achievement refers to the completion of a job, solution to specific problems, and seeing the results of one's work. School administrators should make provision for the fulfilment of teacher needs associated with achievement. Teachers should be encouraged to solve problems within the context of their work setting, to try new instructional ideas, and to evaluate the results of their efforts. A climate which encourages teachers to experience achievement should prevail in a school setting.

Gould (1988: 13-14) also stressed the need for the other two major satisfiers under the two-factor model, recognition and responsibility, to be given higher priority within schools:

School administrators should pay particular attention to recognition of teachers' efforts and accomplishments. Provisions for teacher recognition could range from informal praise to district-wide or public recognition. A plan for formal recognition of the accomplishments of teachers allows for teachers to experience need fulfilment in the area of recognition ... School administrators should make provision for ... authority and job enrichment ... [they] should foster administrative practices which encourage the recruitment of candidates for administrative and supervisory positions from the ranks of qualified teachers who desire such positions.

**Conclusion to the Examination of Teacher Satisfaction**

The general agreement in the literature that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are a result of largely separate sets of factors had important implications for this study in that it meant separate, though quite possibly overlapping, variables or influences pertaining to both job satisfaction and dissatisfaction needed to be identified and utilised in attempting to determine whether those teachers who resigned did so because of dissatisfaction, because they failed to be satisfied by their occupation, or some combination of each.

It appears that, despite the widespread agreement as to the sources of teacher satisfaction, little has been achieved in discovering how best to increase satisfaction while removing or reducing dissatisfaction.