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Job Satisfaction, Occupational Stress, and Perceptions of Principals Among Social Workers in Chicago Public Schools

Linda Orr Van Doren
Loyola University Chicago

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JOB SATISFACTION, OCCUPATIONAL STRESS,

AND PERCEPTIONS OF PRINCIPALS

AMONG SOCIAL WORKERS IN

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY

LINDA ORR VAN DOREN

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Linda Orr Van Doren grew up in Ohio and attended
The Hillsdale School (Seven Hills Schools), in Cincinnati.
She obtained her B.A. in Sociology from Chatham College,
in Pittsburgh, serving as Director of Volunteers in her
Senior year. Her M.S.W. is from the School of Social
Work of Columbia University, in New York City. There,
she was Vice-President of Curriculum for the student council.

Linda's first position was as Psychiatric Social
Worker for Lake County Mental Health Center in Waukegan,
Illinois. Upon moving to Rhode Island, she joined the
staff of Family Service, Inc., in Providence.

Arriving in Chicago in 1972, Linda became School
Social Worker for the Chicago Public Schools, to pursue
her interest in working with children. During her 20
years with the Department of Social Work, she has served
on Advisory Council and a variety of committees.

Linda served as Regional Representative and worked
on the Annual Conference for the Illinois Association
of School Social Workers. She has also been on the board
of El Rincon Substance Abuse Clinic and the Advisory Council
of the Wicker Park Public Aid Office.

Linda, called "Lindy" by friends, is engaged to marry
Bill Freeman. Her hobby is renovating old houses.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Introduction: The Value of Work in American Society

As children, we are frequently asked, "What do you want to be?" (Perlman, 1968, p. 63) As we develop, our school/career goals and still later, our occupations tell others about us in a myriad of ways. "So prominent is the role we assign to the work that people do in our expectations and judgments of them, that we might well change the familiar American greeting, 'How do you do?' to 'What do you do?'" (Cohen & McGowan, 1982, p. 119) If there is any belief which has strongly linked the people of this heterogeneous country, it is the value we attach to work (Ozawa, 1982, pp. 34-35).

What is this "need" to work? Debate over whether productivity is an innate drive or a socially learned value continues. Theorists do seem to agree that the meaning of work is perceptual and that many (but not all) people seek "meaningful" work. Studs Terkel has remarked that the spoken and unspoken wish of those he interviewed about their work was to be remembered (Chestang, 1982, p. 64). We take our work for granted until it is absent. Then we must cope with a sense of failure, of loss, of isolation. Simultaneously, we face financial stress.

Throughout this dissertation, <u>work</u> will be defined by its most common meaning, one's compensated occupational

role. Work involves mobilizing to accomplish certain
tasks, under certain conditions, in order to produce
something of value to others.

The person whose work enhances his/her self-esteem
is truly fortunate to experience the special elation
generated by feelings of mastery. Self-confidence both
equips and frees one to accept and cope with one's personal
life (Chestang, 1982, p. 80). Work offers a feeling of
connectedness, the chance to belong, affirmation of one's
place in the mainstream. It represents an opportunity
to build social contacts and to network. The sense that
one is making a social contribution, having an impact,
generates feelings of efficacy. Work gives a sense of
purpose to each day. Since it is frequently time-bound,
it serves as an internal organizer, providing one's life
with order, if not always consistency (Chestang, p. 68).

To earn money is, for some, to have one's value
affirmed. For others, earnings purchase necessities.
Ability to meet one's basic needs frees one from dependency
upon others. The most negative view of work is that it
is a necessary evil, a resented interruption in one's
free time.

Certain kinds of work merit a special kind of respect.
The helping professions are usually viewed as being "good"
for the community and as entailing some sacrifices (Perlman,
1968, p. 81). The prestige accorded the various helping
professions varies according to the degree of preparation,

level of skill, and importance attributed to them.

All this and more happens if work is going well.
But what if it does not? What if it is not fulfilling,
not satisfying, maybe not even tolerable? Good "fit"
is important. As Chestang points out, "the people who
usually feel at home in their work are those whose internal
orientations 'click' with their occupational selections"
(1982, p. 82). Yet that is not always achieved, and even
the appropriate selection of work can backfire. One person
begins to have frequent conflict with a new supervisor.
Another discovers a new job to be beyond the attained
level of skill. Still another becomes discouraged by
failure to move ahead. Disaffection with other areas
of one's life can also be transferred to one's work.

Even good workers are not always happy workers (Perlman,
1968, p. 76). Some began new positions feeling challenged
but later, having mastered the tasks, fight boredom.
Others find that the stresses of the job are hindering
performance or even making them ill.

Purpose/Significance of this Study

This study seeks to explore several aspects of the
work life of elementary school social workers employed
in a large metropolitan school system. One beginning
assumption was that some degree of stress is part of the
nature of that job. Unlike a social service agency, an

elementary school typically has only one social worker (Demsch & Kim, 1970, p. 122). The problems workers face are diverse and at times overwhelming, due to the poverty and family disorganization encountered in most schools.

Because Chicago and other large cities always have a need for social workers with Master's degrees, it would be useful to learn more about how workers currently employed view their jobs. Not only would results be of interest to the Social Work Department of the Chicago Public Schools, but the workers themselves have expressed a desire to learn how their colleagues respond; they feel somewhat isolated from one another because they serve different schools. The findings might also be of possible use to the Chicago Teacher's Union, which represents most of the workers.

How satisfied are these workers with their jobs? What stresses most trouble them? Do years of experience make a difference? Are any burned out? These questions were explored with the population, Chicago elementary school social workers, via a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Unlike their counterparts in more affluent districts, most workers in Chicago serve several schools per week. Caseloads, reduced by the present administration's efforts, continue to be higher than the student/social worker ratio recommended by the National Association of School Social Workers. What might be the possible effects of serving

more than one school? Only workers who did so were studied.
In fact, a major research question was whether variance
in one's degree of satisfaction from school to school
might correspond with one's perception of various principals.
Current organization of the Chicago Public Schools grants
line authority to principals; whenever a worker goes into
a given school, he/she is under the direct supervision
of the principal. What impact does the principal/social
worker relationship have on the worker? This was the
most exploratory aspect of the study.

Since the primary variables utilized in the present
study are job satisfaction, occupational stress, and
burnout, the history of and current thinking about these
concepts will now be discussed.

Job Satisfaction in the Classical Management Literature

The literature on job satisfaction is vast, for it
is the most common aspect of work studied (Hopkins, 1983,
p. 18). It is one (but not the only) psychological
consequence of work (Kohn, 1980, pp. 194-195). Job
satisfaction is a positive overall emotional response
to various facets of one's particular job (Bullock, 1984,
p. 1) which varies individually and situationally. Since
it does not depend upon any one aspect of work, job
satisfaction is multidimensional. Definitions usually
go on to discuss good fit between the job and the worker.

Job satisfaction differs from morale, which refers to group well-being (Gruneberg, 1979, p. 3).

As Locke (1976) mentions, "while systematic attempts to study the nature and causes of job satisfaction as such did not begin until the 1930's, the important role played by a worker's 'attitudes' in determining his actions in the job situation was recognized long before" (p. 1298). Due, however, to the prevailing social values, evidence of genuine interest in the welfare and comfort of workers can be found only sporadically in historical writings.

In the early 1800's, 11 and 12 hour workdays were common. Robert Owen, a Scottish textile mills owner, proposed the revolutionary idea that a worker's output (and ultimately, the company's profits) was significantly influenced by how that worker was treated. Due to this conviction, Owen endeavored to create a family atmosphere in his mills. His community was observed and copied. Although his tone was paternalistic and his profit motive overt, Owen was far ahead of his time (Merrill, 1960, p. 13). One writer states, "he was virtually alone in his generation in appreciating the immense importance of the human factor in industry. . . ." (Urwick, 1956, p. 6)

Frederick W. Taylor is considered by many to have been the most influential of the management pioneers. One contribution to the concept of job satisfaction was Taylor's call for radical changes in the attitudes of

both labor and management: "When they stop pulling against one another, and instead both turn and push shoulder to shoulder in the same direction, . . . [the] result is truly astounding" (1912, p. 80). Taylor recognized the importance of a harmonious work climate. He also sought to bring out a given worker's best abilities and to challenge him, as well as offering opportunities for advancement. Unfortunately, Taylor's teachings were widely misunderstood during his lifetime.

Henry Gantt, a close associate of Taylor's, once expressed the belief that for any worker to be assigned tasks he/she did not want was to the detriment of both worker and employer. Gantt believed that workers are most productive if they are well trained and work in an atmosphere of cooperation with foremen, rather than one of fear. Gantt's belief that the training of workers was part of the responsibility of management, now so well accepted, was considered innovative in his time (Urwick, 1956, p. 90). His emphasis upon "teaching" and "leading" rather than "driving" workers helped to humanize the scientific management movement (Merrill, 1960, p.15).

Another contemporary of Taylor's, Frank Gilbreth, is chiefly known for his meticulous studies of efficiency and physical working conditions. Like his predecessors, he viewed worker well-being as a means to productivity. Less acknowledged, however, is Gilbreth's anticipation of a more participatory management style. In a 1916 paper

he coauthored with his psychologist wife, Lillian,
businessmen were urged to consider the welfare of individuals
in an organization as well as the organization as a whole.
One suggestion was that each employee's progress and goals
be discussed in regular meetings with his/her supervisor
(Urwick, 1956, p. 140).

Gilbreth sought to alleviate worker fatigue by the
elimination of repetitive, unnecessary motions. The problem
of fatigue was further investigated in the U.S., Germany,
and Great Britain during and after World War I. British
researchers did some of the earliest studies of boredom
and monotony.

Independently, in France, Henri Fayol was investigating
worker morale. The employer, said Fayol, "should have
regard, if merely in the interests of the business, for
the health, strength, education, morale, and stability
of his personnel" (1916, p. 231). Fayol also sought to
persuade management to create a positive climate; "real
talent," he wrote, "is needed to coordinate effort, encourage
keenness, use each man's abilities, and reward each one's
merit without arousing possible jealousies and disturbing
harmonious relations" (pp. 239-240). Fayol once stated
publicly that his beliefs complemented Taylor's rather
than being in conflict with them (Urwick, 1956, p. 22).

Fayol's commitment to developing the potential of
workers was echoed by Oliver Sheldon, in Great Britain.
In a 1923 book, he proposed a manufacturing creed--ethical

standards for the business world (p. 299). His emphasis

upon social responsibility, as opposed to profits, marks

the transition from the dominant management theory

(scientific management) and bureaucratic theories, such

as Max Weber's, to the human relations movement. A

lesser-known writer and speaker who foresaw this transition

was Mary Parker Follett, a social worker. Although never

employed as a manager herself, she was influential in

convincing businessmen that management problems could

be aided by analysis of interpersonal relations. She

brought a psychosocial approach to management. Follett

believed that leaders need not be born but could be made,

through training in understanding human behavior:

> An employer used to say, "I have the right to treat
> my men so and so." . . . Today there are many who
> are more inclined to say; "if I treat my men so and
> so, how will they behave? Why will they behave in
> that way?" (Follett, 1927, p. 312, italics removed)

Follett found subordination of employee to employer

offensive. Instead, a skilled leader should enable conflict

resolution by helping the concerned parties examine together

new ways of achieving their diverse goals (Urwick, 1956,

p. 133).

The human relations movement, which was to dominate

management theory in the 1930's, reflects an attitudinal

change pertinent to the history of job satisfaction.

The individuality of workers was finally beginning to

be realized (Neff, 1985, p. 49). Elton Mayo's research

is considered by most to have led to the shift in emphasis

to workers' social needs. Mayo, an industrial expert,

visited the Western Electric Company plant at Hawthorne

intending to study the impact of physical factors upon

worker performance. His group inadvertently modified

the atmosphere in the plant. The employees had apparently

felt isolated, even alienated from an efficiency-oriented

management. In interviews, they told of the value of

acceptance by their peers, their feelings about supervisors,

even the informal agreements regarding work output. The

workers, previously studied only as individuals, were

now recognized as members of informal work groups,

influencing one another's values, responding to internal

pressures. In addition, the opportunity to have a say

about working conditions and the new spirit of teamwork

were found to increase productivity even when all the

beneficial changes (rest periods, etc.) were removed.

"In short, the Hawthorne researchers 'discovered' what

Taylor had observed decades before: that workers have

minds, and that the appraisals they make of the work

situation affect their reactions to it" (Locke, 1976,

p. 1299). The humanization of working conditions should

not, however, be equated with job satisfaction. Mayo's

work suggests that once a desirable innovation in working

conditions is accepted, the improvement comes to be seen

as normal, rather than continuing to enhance job satisfaction

(Fraser, 1983, p. 23).

Both Mayo's methodology and his interpretation of

results have been questioned. Human relations theorists

in general have been criticized for simplistically equating

high morale with high productivity; actually, it is possible

to be happy at work, yet unproductive. In addition, critics

say the influence of the work group was emphasized at

the expense of one's personal needs for accomplishment,

responsibility, etc. (Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs,

and Thurston, 1980, p. 55). In reaction to these and

other shortcomings, interest in applying behavioral science

to industry developed. It was a trend which crossed

interdisciplinary lines. The increased efficiency of

the scientific management proponents was blended with

the emphasis on good interpersonal relations of the human

relations people. Some have called this the human resources

school. Its followers believe that in addition to social

needs, employees seek opportunities for achievement and

personal growth. These needs can be integrated successfully

with organizational goals (Sergiovanni et al., p. 56).

In 1938, Chester Barnard wrote that true authority,

no matter how formalized, exists only when recognized

and accepted by employees. Some place Barnard in the

behavioral school, while others consider him the founder

of the social systems school.

Most histories of management organize the major

writers in this fashion. One writer, however, cautions

that "these 'schools' represent somewhat of an

oversimplification of the actual trends in research, since

the schools themselves overlap in time and all . . . are

prevalent today" (Locke, 1976, p. 1300).

The earliest research on job satisfaction simply

tried to determine proportions of satisfied and dissatisfied

workers. The first known study done on this topic

(identified in a review by Hoppock) exemplifies this

approach. It had been done in 1912, in Germany. Several

thousand miners, textile workers, and metal workers

interviewed by Levenstein had indicated taking pleasure

in their work in only 25%, 40%, and 43% of the cases,

respectively (Hoppock, 1935, p. 226). Other researchers

tried to correlate satisfaction with various demographic

characteristics. As they sought increasingly to establish

causality, the focus shifted from extrinsic factors to

intrinsic ones (Carroll, 1973, pp. 2-3), as seen by Hoppock's

intensive study in 1935. He attempted to survey every

working adult in a Pennsylvania town via door to door

interviews. He concluded that job satisfaction was affected

by many factors--by achievement needs, as well as by

previously studied variables such as working conditions

and monotony (Hoppock, 1935). Ultimately, it was Mayo's

interpretation of worker attitudes, rather than Hoppock's,

which was to shape the research of the two decades which

followed (Locke, 1976, p. 1299).

The underlying assumption of Hoppock's and other

traditional studies of job satisfaction was that if a

certain variable led to satisfaction, its absence would

result in dissatisfaction (Carroll, 1973, p. 4). Not
until Herzberg's work would this belief be challenged.

More Recent Theories of Job Satisfaction

Locke offers a useful way of classifying the various
theories of job satisfaction, by dividing them into content
and causal theories. Content theories try to identify
the specific needs to be studied or values attained for
a given individual to feel satisfied by work. Locke notes
that many prominent theorists use the word "need" when
actually, "value" is meant. Basic needs are innate and
are shared by all human beings. Values are learned; people
differ in what they value. Conflict between one's needs
and values affects job satisfaction, as in the case of
the dancer who leaves that field due to inability to meet
financial obligations. Locke faults both Maslow and Herzberg
for failing to make this distinction (1976, p. 1304).
He includes both in the content theorists group; while
numerous writers have attempted to identify characteristics
which contribute to work satisfaction and dissatisfaction,
these two are best known.

Abraham Maslow, a psychologist, had studied motivation
for some time before he began applying his principles
to the world of work in 1962. While he did not originally
devise his theory to account for job satisfaction, numerous
theorists have applied it in this fashion. Maslow's

five-tier <u>hierarchy of needs</u> goes from one's most basic

needs up to the need for self-actualization. One must

have basic needs reasonably satisfied before concentrating

on satisfaction of higher-level needs. Maslow believed

that once satisfied, a need is no longer a motivator for

that person, although that might change; the process is

a fluid one. Not as well known is Maslow's acknowledgment

that some exceptional individuals seek to satisfy higher

level needs even if lower level ones are not adequately

met.

Self-actualization was, for Maslow, realization of

one's potential, an ideal to be sought but never perfectly

reached in an ongoing process. Opportunities to achieve

higher level needs must be available to employees, said

Maslow, if an organization is to operate well (Rush, 1978,

p. 19).

Locke finds this model so difficult to test as to

lack firm support in later research. He also says that

Maslow has failed to prove that "self-esteem" is a need,

and that he does not distinguish between needs and values.

Maslow believes that the two most often correspond, but

Locke differs with him, citing the example of the teen

who takes self-destructive drugs in order to belong.

"It is not necessarily what a man needs but what he values

most strongly that dominates his thoughts and actions"

(Locke, 1976, p. 1309, italics removed).

Another motivational theory of job satisfaction was

developed by Frederick Herzberg. Whereas job satisfaction

and dissatisfaction had commonly been seen as polar, Herzberg

concluded that different factors (rather than opposites

of the same factors) enter into these two states of mind.

That is the reason it is called a two-factor theory.

Herzberg's research suggested that the chief factors

producing satisfaction, which he termed motivators (or

satisfiers), were achievement, recognition, responsibility,

growth in skills, promotion, and the work itself. All

were related to personal growth, Herzberg said (although

some critics differ). Contributing most to dissatisfaction

were different factors: company policy, adequacy of

management, competency of supervision, interpersonal

relations, salary, status, job security, physical working

conditions, and job factors affecting one's personal life.

These, he labeled hygienes (dissatisfiers). Their

significance lies chiefly in their absence; if frustrated,

the hygiene factors produce discomfort. If present, they

prevent dissatisfaction but do not promote positive

satisfaction, according to Herzberg.

Herzberg agreed with Maslow that environmental and

maintenance needs must be adequately met for a worker

to have meaningful work, but he also thought that industry's

past attempts to motivate workers had mistakenly focussed

on environmental factors. What was needed, Herzberg thought,

was for management to focus on the proven most effective

motivators for employees by making jobs challenging (Rush,

1978, p. 24). In fact, Herzberg has been a prime mover
in the movement to redesign jobs to enhance personal growth
(Gruneberg, 1979, pp. 30-31).

Locke is quite critical of Herzberg's findings.
Significantly, he notes inconsistencies in that theorist's
original incident classification system, in which Herzberg
confused "the event or condition that causes the employee
to feel satisfied or dissatisfied, and the agent (person,
organization, or thing) which caused this event or condition
to come about" (1976, p. 1311, italics removed). Numerous
critics express reservations about the critical incident
technique on which Herzberg's original findings are based
(Gruneberg, 1979, pp. 13-14; Cox, 1978, pp. 151-152; Carroll,
1973, p. 6). Locke especially questions classification
of supervisory practices as a dissatisfier, a point relevant
to this research. The present writer concurs.

Two assumptions implicit in Herzberg's theory, the
mind-body dichotomy and the tension-reduction view of
motivation, are now discredited, according to Locke (1976,
p. 1310). Gruneberg (1979, p. 14) reports that King (1970)
has identified five different versions of the theory in
Herzberg's writings, with replications by others based
on various versions. Locke concludes that Herzberg's
and other two-factor theories "are indefensible, both
logically and empirically" (p. 1318) and Rush terms
Herzberg's findings "among the most controversial of all
behavioral research theories" (1978, p. 25). Another

limitation of both Maslow and Herzberg is that their theories
did not encompass all levels of work society (Fraser,
1983, p. 25).

Causal models (termed process theories by some) "attempt
to specify the types or classes of variables (needs, values,
expectancies, perceptions, etc.) considered causally
relevant, as well as how these variables combine to determine
overall job satisfaction" (Locke, 1976, p. 1302). Among
causal theorists, there seems to be agreement that an
individual's emotional (affective) reactions result from
interaction between person and environment, but differences
of opinion concerning the specific mental processes involved.
For example, one group argues that it is the degree to
which the job fulfills an employee's needs that determines
satisfaction. In human beings, psychological as well
as physical needs must be considered because one's mind
represents one's means of survival (Locke, 1976, p. 1303).
Some researchers introduce a perceptual aspect, asking
subjects to weigh the relative importance of needs before
evaluating the extent to which the job meets each (in
other words, to impose values).

Chris Argyris seems to fall into this group, although,
like Maslow and Herzberg, he appears not to distinguish
at times between needs and values. Argyris is best known
for his focus on the implications of conflict between
the needs of the worker and those of the organization
for which he works. He believes that the typical

hierarchical organization ignores, or may even thwart,

the social and psychological needs of the individual,

particularly the higher-level needs. If the employee

perceives that organizational needs are being placed before

his own needs, he will become dissatisfied, lose his

motivation, perhaps even subvert the needs of the

organization. The desire to change on the part of both

workers and organizations is the key to increased

satisfaction, says Argyris, with employees deeply involved

in their jobs (Rush, 1978).

A second group of causal theorists believes "that

it is the (perceived) job situation in relation to the

individual's values that is the most direct determinant

of job satisfaction" (Locke, 1976, p. 1304). Locke is

himself part of this group:

> All values have two attributes (Rand, 1966): content,
> or what is wanted or valued; and intensity, or how
> much it is wanted or valued. An individual's values,
> ranked as to importance, would represent his value
> hierarchy. . . . Every emotional response reflects
> a dual value judgment: the discrepancy (or relation)
> between what the individual wants (including how
> much he wants and what he perceives as getting),
> and the importance of what is wanted . . . to the
> individual. (Locke, 1976, p. 1304, italics removed)

Locke himself has developed a rather complex, values-based

model of job satisfaction.

Douglas McGregor, from the human relations school,

should probably be placed with the values theorists.

McGregor's intent, widely misunderstood, was not to dictate

a "best" style of management (although his personal views

are clear). Rather, he urges the professional manager

to identify his own perception of the world and philosophy
about the nature of man. He argues that the reluctance
to work which characterizes some workers is not innate,
but rather develops in response to controlling, rigid
management which, by conveying a lack of trust in workers,
perpetuates avoidance of responsibility. Flexible managers
take a situational view of management style. For example,
minimal commitment in a worker suggests little self-direction
and consequent need for an authoritarian style. McGregor's
recognition of the direct relationship between commitment
to organizational objectives and motivation in employees
was one of his significant contributions to our understanding
of job satisfaction (Rush, 1978, p. 15).

Another theorist in this group is Rensis Likert.
Although best known for his work on scaling, Likert
developed several concepts related to job satisfaction.
He has written about the dynamics of the superior-subordinate
relationship and its implications for effective supervision.
He is also known for his theory of human-asset accounting.
An employee's value at any given time can be computed
by measuring his/her productive capacity and customer
goodwill. Human assets should be audited periodically,
just as are tangible assets (Rush, 1978, p. 35).

Still other causal theorists argue "that an individual's
affective reactions depend upon the discrepancy between
what his environment offers or what he attains, and what
he has adapted to or expects" (Locke, 1976, p. 1303).

Locke believes that most of these writers fail to separate expectancy effects from the effects of values (goals, aspirations). "Expectancy does not replace or supplant value judgments; it simply affects their operation" (p. 1303), in Locke's view.

The theory upon which the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (used in the present study) is based appears to be an expectancy theory. It was developed as part of the Work Adjustment Project begun in 1957 at the University of Minnesota. Loftquist and Dawis believe that an employee holds a set of expectations concerning the work environment which arises from his/her abilities, interests, previous work history, etc. Fulfillment or nonfulfillment of these work expectations produces a set of work attitudes which constitutes that worker's evaluation of his/her work environment, or job satisfaction. This is just one aspect of a larger theory which has to do with job tenure, a theory which has been criticized for failure to account for certain social and psychological conditions (Neff, 1985, p. 121).

Equity theory, not mentioned by Locke, appears to be a refinement and extension of expectancy theory. Researchers using this approach measure how much a worker puts into his/her job vs. how much he/she gets out of it. This ratio is then compared with that worker's perception of the input-outcome ratio of fellow workers. Only when efforts and rewards are seen as reasonably good

in light of those of others does satisfaction occur. Some have further refined this theory by studying the reference groups to which one relates one's own situation (Gruneberg, 1979, p. 21).

In summary, whereas physical hardship was once a major source of satisfaction/dissatisfaction, emphasis has gradually shifted to the psychological rewards from work itself. Feelings about work have changed as work itself has changed.

An Historical Perspective on Stress

Only as most of the Western industrialized world has become free from deprivation and disease have our expectations for our lives been raised. The more rapidly times have changed in our developing society, the more options have been created as privileges have become rights (Lauderdale, 1982, p. 29). Paradoxically, material affluence is producing, rather than the psychological well-being one might expect, increasing signs of stress which many now accept as inevitable (Karasak & Theorell, 1990, p. 1).

True understanding of stress presupposes a grasp of the interaction between mind and body, yet historically, this critical relationship was once unknown. It was the late nineteenth century work of Pasteur (in France) and Virchow (in Germany) which led to a monumental discovery:

the origins of disease. Significantly, writings of that
era show little awareness of the impact of a patient's
mental state upon his physical health (and vice versa).
Doctors studied the body's physical processes while generally
ignoring the patient's emotional life or social background.
At the turn of the century, a French physiologist, Claude
Bernard, concluded "that for an organism to maintain health
it must maintain an internal balance" (McLean, 1979, p.
18). Fifty years later, Walter Cannon coined the term
homeostasis to describe the process by which balance is
restored. He is also valued for his formulation of the
"fight or flight" theory. In an emergency, Cannon found,
the nervous system and the adrenal glands induce
cardiovascular changes which prepare a human being--or
an animal--to fight or escape. If the response process
is faulty, injury or even loss of life may result.

> Cannon's observations stimulated considerable research
> and speculation and an increasing number of physicians
> began to consider important the individual's social
> environment and living conditions and emotions.
> More and more, medical researchers and practitioners
> began to believe that successful treatment would
> have to take into account the whole person. (McLean,
> 1979, p. 19)

Probably the foremost pioneer in this area, Hans
Selye, is credited by most with having first popularized
the word "stress". In 1936, he used the term biologic
stress syndrome to describe a consistent pattern of
reactions to stress. After finding insufficient information
in the medical literature about such frequent symptoms
as nausea, chronic fatique, and depression, Selye decided

to investigate. He subjected laboratory animals to the

challenge of learning difficult tasks, then observed

their physical reactions. He concluded that stressors

disturb the homeostasis the organism seeks to maintain.

The body responds defensively. Physiological reactions

vary, depending on the intensity and duration of the

stressful stimulus (Selye, 1982, pp. 9-10). Selye labeled

this three-phase process the general adaptation syndrome

(GAS). His theory, though influential, is essentially

a biological one which is now viewed generally as too

narrow because it does not account for psychological and

social factors. Critics say the use of animals as subjects

made Selye's research too far removed from human experience

(Rice, 1987, p. 26).

It was a human tragedy which made possible the earliest

known study of physiological manifestations of stress

in a living person. A young man who had burned his esophagus

beyond repair as a boy fed himself through an artificial

opening to his stomach for the rest of his life. In the

1940's, he agreed to be studied at New York Hospital by

two doctors, Stewart Wolf and Harold Wolff. They repeatedly

examined the subject's stomach lining and its secretions

after various stressful incidents and also, following

reassurance. While the link between emotional disturbances

and digestive difficulty had long been recognized, the

specific nature of the process had, until then, been marked

by speculation. This unique opportunity for direct

observation "inaugurated the scientific study of psychosomatic medicine" (McLean, 1979, p. 22). Later, from studies of the flow of blood, these same doctors discovered that "when we anticipate physical trauma that does not materialize, we still react--often with physical symptoms" (McLean, p. 23). This well-established fact highlights the perceptual nature of stress and is critical to full understanding of the phenomenon.

During the same time period, Marx, Weber, and Durkheim wrote extensively about "alienation". Later sociologists have preferred the word "strain" to signify social disruption, analogous to the biological view of stress as disturbance to one's body (Lazarus & Folkman. 1984, p. 4).

Concern over the victims of World War II occasioned further examination of reactions to human life experiences. Grinker and Spiegel (1945) studied reactions of combat fliers to the trauma of battle. Their clinical methods laid the groundwork for later study of psychosomatic reactions to occupational stressors (McLean, 1979, p. 26). The impact of bombing on civilian morale and functioning, another stress of war, was also investigated. Bettleheim studied stresses in another extreme situation, concentration camps.

After the War, other researchers investigated responses to such natural disasters as fires and floods. Both wartime and postwar work suggested that one's life experiences

prior to the trauma and one's personality characteristics

(one's vulnerability) combine to affect one's reaction

to stress. Also uncovered was the long-lasting impact

of trauma on the person's functioning.

In the early 1960's, research "broadened somewhat

to include catastrophes which arise sooner or later in

almost everyone's life--divorce, death in the family,

loss of a job" (Karasek & Theorell, 1990, p. 85). Other

studies examined impaired morale, as well as conditions

under which skilled performance deteriorates, in a variety

of settings (Holroyd and Lazarus, 1982, p. 21). The

predictability and impact of significant life events was

also investigated. Research about the immune response

gathered momentum and a new field, psychoimmunology, emerged

(Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 89). Writers also explored

the implications of adult transitions. In the last few

decades, interest in the causes, manifestations, and

prevention of stress has snowballed.

What is stress?

The popularity of the word "stress" is partially

reflective of the high value which Americans now attach

to "quality of life". People are coming to recognize

the implications of life-style and the dangers of

self-destructive ways of coping with our harried world.

Much confusion as to the meaning of stress is seen, not

only in conversation, but even in the voluminous literature on the topic. The term is used interchangably with such words as distress, strain, anxiety, and pressure. Consensus has not been achieved and communication across disciplines has been a problem. Some have even suggested abandoning the term.

The term "stress" sometimes refers to an event or stimulus external to the individual which triggers arousal, but more recently, writers choose the word "stressor" to signify this sort of external demand. A stressor may be acute or chronic, internal or external. Chronic stressors are long-lasting and repetitive; one example would be job insecurity. Acute stressors have a specific onset time, occur infrequently, and are unlikely to recur (Barling, 1990, pp. 14-15). Being fired would be one instance.

The second meaning was the one used by Selye (see above, pp. 22-23) to describe the physical arousal of the body in response to the demands of an environmental stimulus. The neural, glandular, and hormonal body systems react in predictable ways; one source called this type systemic stress (Monat & Lazarus, 1991, p. 2).

The psychological meaning of stress is the individual's cognitive appraisal of an external situation, resulting in his/her subjective response of arousal. Cognitive appraisal is the evaluative "process of categorizing an encounter . . . with respect to its significance" (Lazarus

& Folkman, 1984, p. 31). In this view, the focus is one's

emotional rather than physiological response. A stressor

does not automatically produce a stress symptom (Sweetland,

1979, p. 1). One's perception of a given stressor is

affected by previous life experiences and has a different

personal meaning for each individual. This perception

might be distorted or realistic and the associated behaviors,

appropriate or suggestive of heightened emotions. A given

stressor may later be reappraised in the light of new

information. This cognitive meaning of stress is really

not incompatible with the physiological responses discussed

above. Rather, the difference appears to be one of emphasis.

In the opinion of Kaminoff and Proshansky, "stress can

and does occur without awareness of discomfort, as well

as with such awareness" (1982, p. 380). By this is probably

meant, "conscious awareness".

Other theorists have proposed interactive definitions

based on models which treat stress as a dynamic transaction

between a person and his/her environment, such as the

one by Blase: "Stress is an individual, perceptual

phenomenon which results from a comparison between perceived

environmental demands and the individual's ability to

cope with such demands" (1984, p. 174). Cox effectively

combines the interactive conceptualization with the

perceptual one: Stress occurs when an imbalance arises

between a perceived internal or external demand and one's

perception (cognitive appraisal) of one's own capacity

to meet that demand. The stress response, says Cox, is
not the end stage, but rather is one's methods of coping
(affective, cognitive, physiological, and behavioral).
The actual and perceived consequences of those responses,
if inappropriate and/or ineffective, may even prolong
or increase the stress (Cox, 1978, pp. 18-20).

A lesser-used meaning is social stress, disruption
of a social system or organization (Monat and Lazarus,
1991, p. 2). Finally, Lazarus and others have proposed
that stress be used as the umbrella term for this area
of study.

As mentioned above, "stress" is sometimes used when
another word is meant. One is "distress", or negative
stress. Another is "strain", the psychological and
physiological "wear and tear" one experiences when resisting
pressure (Rice, 1987, p. 21). Although Rice and Selye
both say that strain occurs whether a stressor is pleasant
or unpleasant, it is doubtful whether strain is ever
construed as positive.

Stress and "anxiety" are difficult to distinguish
except to say that the former may be positive or negative
(see below) and the latter is always uncomfortable,
associated with worry, uncertainty and helplessness.
Anxiety, like stress, may be associated with physiological
symptoms.

Most think of stress as a negative experience, yet
it need not be so. Selye was the first to propose a way

to differentiate the two states of mind. Distress is
unpleasant, even damaging stress, and is to be avoided
if possible. "Eustress", on the other hand, signifies
"the pleasant stress of fulfillment" (Selye, 1991, p.
33). Eustress is a desirable state characterized by
heightened awareness, increased mental alertness, and
enhanced motivation. It may lead to superior performance
and seems to this writer to be related to Maslow's self-
actualization. "People perform at their best when there
is a least a moderate degree of pressure. Too little
stress is just as bad as too much" (Rice, 1987, p. 19).

Occupational Stress

Accurate quantitative assessment of the size and
scope of the work stress problem is an impossibility,
for several reasons. Not only does the definition vary
from study to study, but the manifestations of job stress
are multicausal. Both the physical and the emotional
symptomatology must be seen in light of risk factors other
than stress (e.g., personal habits, genetic factors, etc.).
This accounts, in part, for the difficulty accurately
measuring occupational stress.

Equally difficult to calculate are the costs. The
lost productivity due to alcohol abuse alone must be
staggering. In addition to the direct costs, there are
the indirect ones, such as the hiring/training of an employee

to replace one lost to job stress. These costs can even be intangible, as in stifled creativity or impaired ability to work well as part of a team.

The substantial expenditure of funds to reduce employee stress suggests that many influential business owners, managers, and so forth, believe that job stress negatively impacts productivity; they are apparently convinced that the benefits of their programs outweigh the costs. This is not to say that some employers are not motivated by humanitarian concerns. The social responsibility of organizations to care for their workers can be traced back to some early writers on management, such as Owen.

The "overwhelming numbers of person-oriented cures" (Karasek & Theorell, 1990, p. 7) such as relaxation therapy represent "victim-blaming" to some writers on stress, who believe organizational as well as personal solutions should be sought. On both fronts, the focus seems to be shifting from cure to prevention.

Like stress itself, occupational stress can be broadly defined as a field of study or more narrowly viewed. Consistent with the emphasis here upon appraisal, job stress is defined as "work demands that exceed the worker's ability to cope" (Rice, 1987, p. 208). It is judged, not by others, but by one's own perception of a given event or situation.

What are the symptoms of work stress? The negative personal outcomes may be classified as psychological,

physical, and behavioral (Rice, 1987, p. 209). Psychological
symptoms include intense feelings such as anxiety, tension,
irritability, frustration, and resentment, or suppression
of feelings. Withdrawal, depression, isolation, alienation,
and lowered self-esteem may be experienced. Failed efforts
to correct the situation may produce helplessness and
hopelessness. Boredom, mental fatigue, confusion and
inability to concentrate sometimes occur. These symptoms
not only vary from person to person but may emerge at
different stages.

The physical symptoms most reliably established by
research include high blood pressure and cardiovascular
disease, gastrointestinal disorders, sleep disturbances
and physical fatigue, even bodily injuries. Less clearly
linked to work stress are such symptoms as headaches and
respiratory problems. Some employees bring physical problems
to the job, where they are aggravated by stress. Others
develop symptoms long afterward, perhaps in response to
unsafe conditions such as poorly maintained machines or
inadequate ventilation.

Some of the consequences of occupational stress are
behavioral. They include lowered performance and
productivity, procrastination and avoidance of
responsibility, tardiness and poor attendance, excessive
risk-taking and sabotage, vandalism, and stealing. Increased
use of food, cigarettes, alcohol, or drugs may be seen,
as well as loss of appetite. Suicide is, in some cases,

the result of occupational stress. Work stress may contribute to already existing problems, especially in the case of drug or alcohol abuse. Additionally, the symptoms listed above, with certain exceptions, may be either transitory or chronic.

Easily overlooked, due to the negative connotation of the phrase, is the fact that occupational stress, like stress in general, has its positive side. "One person's stressor seems to be another person's stimulus" (McLean, 1979, p. 15). Eustress, or positive stress, is associated with greater health and fitness as well as personal growth, all valuable attributes at work. One's goal should not be to eliminate stress, but "to control it so that an optimal level of arousal is present" (Rice, 1987, p. 19, italics removed). The inverted-U hypothesis states "that productivity improves with increasing stress, up to a point, after which it declines as stress becomes more than optimal. Hence, either too little or too much stress can result in decreased productivity" (Sweetland, 1979, p. 2). Optimal stress varies not only from individual to individual, but also according to task difficulty. "Stress enhances performance best when employees cope successfully with stressful circumstances" (Zaccaro & Riley, 1987, p. 7). Therefore, we need to monitor ourselves as we progress through our workdays (Lyall, 1989, p. 29). It is probably very common to have mixed feelings of eustress and distress about one's job.

A given facet of work may be a motivator for one
employee and for another, a stressor. Intrinsic factors
are characteristics of the job itself, such as task variety.
Extrinsic factors are such things as pay, opportunities
for promotion, and fringe benefits. So much research
has focused upon factors in various work settings that
the discussion which follows will be confined to aspects
of professional work, with emphasis on the helping
professions.

Occupational Stress in Helpers

What are some of the sources of stress in helping
professionals which have emerged from previous research?
Chronic work overload, a classic stressor, may be of two
sorts:

> When employees perceive that they have too much work
> to do, too many different things to do, or insufficient
> time in which to complete assigned work, a condition
> of quantitative overload exists. Qualitative overload,
> on the other hand, occurs when employees feel that
> they lack the ability to complete their jobs or that
> performance standards are too high, regardless of
> how much time they have. (Matteson & Ivancevich,
> 1987, p. 45)

Work underload, when a job lacks challenge and fails to
sustain a worker's interest, is not common in the helping
professions.

Job design and job complexity have to do with the
nature of the job itself. Complex work requires thought
and independent judgment. Complexity provides meaning,

so it correlates strongly with job satisfaction (Kohn, 1980, pp. 197-198). The redesign of those tasks most valued by a given employee can lessen stress and thereby increase performance (Rice, 1987, p. 217).

The relationship between styles of leadership of supervisors and job satisfaction in employees is of particular interest because it relates to this study. A supervisor's importance lies in such areas as the quality of day-to-day contact and technical knowledge. The prominent management theorists discussed above have written extensively about how various supervision styles impact on worker morale and performance. Several situational and contingency models and trait theories have been developed; some are considered classics. "What is lacking in the numerous explanations of leadership are guidelines concerning the linkage between leader behavior and stress" (Matteson & Ivancevich, 1987, p. 50).

Another work aspect connected with supervisory and collegial relationships is feedback about one's performance. As children, most of us received much feedback from parents and other significant adults. Research has established that we need to know how we are doing at work--not only how our work is viewed, but also, what the future holds. This information is most effective when presented in a manner which is participative rather than authoritarian (Matteson & Ivanevich, 1987, pp. 49-50).

The perception that one's career is not meeting one's

own expectations is stressful. This may occur if an employee
believes promotion progress is inadequate, the job is
insecure, or skills are becoming obsolescent. The belief
that one's ability is being underutilized has also been
identified as a stressor. Chronic job dissatisfaction
may even result in "dropping out" or changing careers.
This disillusionment has been found most prevalent at
midlife (Matteson & Ivanevich, 1987, p. 47). Even
overpromotion can be a source of stress; one may perceive
tasks and decisions as beyond one's own level of ability.

The structure of an organization affects the climate
and morale of the workers. "Like individuals, organizations
have distinct personalities" (Matteson & Ivanevich, 1987,
p. 48). One organization may be excessively politicized
and marked by power struggles. Another may be so rigid
and authoritarian that employees feel powerless.

Since work is not static, but ever-changing, a final
stressor is a change at work which has a personal impact
on the worker. "The more work changes, the more it is
seen as stressful" (McLean, 1979, p. 15).

Dealing with Stress

All of those potential stressors and more await those
who go to work. Individual reactions to these facets
of work vary, just as do human beings. One theme found
in the stress literature is control, or lack of control,

which is directly connected with an individual's perceptions
of coping efficacy (Blase, 1986, p. 22). There has been
much written about learned coping skills. "It is fair
to state that interest in coping far exceeds our knowledge
about it" (Pearlin, 1980, p. 184). Numerous studies have
examined such variables as locus of control, hardiness,
and flexibility. Most recent research suggests that genetic
factors play a role in one's handling of job stress.
This is because one's affective disposition affects one's
appraisal of situations, including work. Data from a
very interesting study of job satisfaction in identical
twins raised apart supported this notion (Arvey, Abraham,
Bouchard, and Segal, 1989). Coping is also influenced
by other personal factors, such as one's self-image and
one's access to social supports. Some writers refer to
those sorts of variables as mediators, because they mediate
between the stressor and the reaction. Identification
and assessment of mediating variables have increasingly
occupied the interest of researchers who seek solutions
to the problem of stress.

Stress is an inevitable part of the work day of most
helpers. However, there is a special type of stress which
has been identified and studied only in the last few decades.
Most often associated with people in the helping professions,
it is known as burnout, and it is to a discussion of this
special type of debilitating stress that we now turn.

Development of the Concept of Burnout

In 1961, Graham Greene wrote a novel about a despondent, disillusioned man, entitled, <u>A Burnt-Out Case</u>. That phrase came to be used during the 1960's to describe the effects of chronic drug abuse. Not until 1973 did "burnout" begin to take on the meaning we now associate with it. That year, a psychologist named Herbert Freudenberger used the term to describe the exhaustion experienced by overtaxed volunteers (of which he was one) in a free drug abuse clinic. Sixteen years later, writing of his experience, he spoke of having been ridiculed or dismissed (Freudenberger, 1989, p. 6) for his idealized view of helper as tragic hero (Maslach, 1982, p. 7).

The same year that Freudenberger first described this syndrome in a professional journal, Christina Maslach presented a paper which described how stress experienced by professionals, especially work overload, sometimes led to dehumanized treatment of their clients (Maslach, 1982, p. 7). Maslach and her colleague, Ayala Pines, approached burnout from a social-psychological perspective, collecting data on several thousand workers in various human service jobs via questionnaires and interviews:

> They identified three central dimensions of burnout: emotional exhaustion (feeling drained, used up), depersonalization (feeling "hardened" emotionally, treating recipients as if they were impersonal objects), and lack of personal accomplishment (feeling ineffective and inadequate). The most widely used measure in the field, the Maslach Burnout Inventory . . . assesses these three factors in measuring burnout in individuals (Farber, 1991,

p. 11).

This is the instrument which was chosen to assess burnout in the present study.

Freudenberger's original description of burnout was introspective and observational, based only on a few cases in one setting (although he has since done a series of studies). Intensified work in response to feelings of frustration was reported. The findings of Maslach and Pines, by contrast, were grounded in extensive research (which has also continued). They concur with Freudenberger that burnout is most likely to afflict those who begin their careers idealistically. However, their conclusions suggest that the response to burnout which he described (to work even harder) may have been atypical, and that worker withdrawal and detachment are much more likely. In addition, Maslach and Pines found burnout to correlate significantly with alcoholism, hopelessness, and potential for suicide. It is a harsher portrait of the burned out professional than the one painted by Freudenberger (Farber, 1991, pp. 12-14).

Further efforts to identify factors in the work environment which correlate with burnout were made by Cary Cherniss, who studied professionals in public institutions from an organizational perspective. Cherniss concluded that "in large, bureaucratic public institutions, conflicts between administration and staff are almost inevitable and professional staff members must learn to

manipulate the system in order to function effectively"
(Farber, 1991, p. 15).

Historically, the concept of burnout has been marked
by misunderstanding. For years, it was not recognized
by some as a legitimate problem and was thought by others
unacceptable to discuss. Burnout has been viewed as a
character flaw which leads, in its last stages, to a "nervous
breakdown". The focus of blame, then, has been the victim,
much like what has occurred with stress (Venega & Spradley,
1981, p. 24).

Venega and Spradley define job burnout as "a
debilitating psychological condition brought about by
unrelieved work stress . . ." (1981, p. 6, italics removed).
Various other theorists have defined the term according
to its stages, its symptoms, and so forth. Analogous
to stress, some writers refer to perceived disparity between
one's expectations and actual achievement. Theorists
do seem to agree on a few points: that burnout is a process,
that it is internal (psychological), and that it is a
negative experience. It is both attitudinal and behavioral,
marked by a change in motivation. As Cherniss says, "one
no longer lives to work but works only to live" (1980b,
p. 16).

It is important to point out that job stress does
not inevitably lead to burnout. Cherniss believes that
a certain type of defensive coping is what characterizes
burned out workers (1980b, p. 20). Maslach, however,

differs. Her research suggests that because individuals
with such varied backgrounds and personalities experience
burnout, situational sources of stress must be primary
(1982, p. 9). Still others emphasize the absence of positive
motivators such as autonomy and organizational supports
(Golembiewski & Munzenrider, 1988, pp. 14-15).

What symptoms signal that burnout is occurring?
Like stress, burnout is experienced differently by each
employee. The most universally shared symptom is depleted
energy, not just while at work, but also at home. It
is typical for a sufferer to complain of being as tired
upon awakening as the night before. Some can no longer
face going to work.

Lowered resistance to illness, seen in individuals
with occupational stress, is even more pronounced in burned
out workers. Dr. Walter Menninger, the psychiatrist,
even suspects a meaningful (that is, symbolic) relationship
between one's particular symptom and one's emotional
discomfort--for example, a bad back in a person who feels
overloaded (Venega & Spradley, 1981, p. 8). The failure
of many doctors to spot burnout in their patients occurs
because burnout involves, not so much the onset of a disease
as a gradual loss of health (Venega & Spradley, p. 11).

As burnout progresses, increased dissatisfaction
and pessimism about the future develops in people who
once enjoyed their work. This negativism may be expressed,
not only in relationships with co-workers, but in one's

personal life. Paranoid ideation, even thoughts of suicide, is sometimes seen.

Procrastination, in the form of longer breaks or useless "busywork", may develop. Tasks which require immediate attention are put off even when consequences may be significant. Mistakes are more frequent. "Many observers see a direct link between job burnout and our national decline in worker productivity" (Venega & Spradley, 1981, p. 10).

Absenteeism also hampers productivity. Missed work is due for some, to reluctance to return to a stressful environment and for others, to the various stress-related illnesses discussed above. Co-workers suffer also, because they have to take up the slack.

A cultural taboo makes burned out employees reluctant to acknowledge failure in work, since it is such an important part of their lives. Seeing fellow-workers who are exposed to similar work pressures appearing energetic and happy creates a sense of isolation; sufferers have no way to discover whether any colleagues share their symptoms (Venega & Spradley, 1981, pp. 10-11). Many experience guilt.

While often seen as a state of mind, burnout is also a process. Writers differ as to whether it develops erratically or in stages (from three to five in number). Some depict burnout as gradual and so subtle as to be undetectable to others, while others consider it infectious (Sullivan, 1989, p. 84).

Those theorists who believe that commitment to one's work is a precondition for burnout (and not all do) consider that idealistic period at the beginning of one's career to be the potential first stage of burnout. It is a critical stage, characterized by a high energy level and a strong desire to succeed, sometimes accompanied by unrealistic ideas. If expectations are modified, strategies for dealing with stress are sound, if we feel "matched" with our jobs and energy is replenished, we may sustain this high level of job satisfaction for the rest of our lives, avoiding burnout.

If not, mental and physical fatigue begin, enthusiasm for work abates, and job satisfaction decreases. Symptoms (sleep disturbances, for instance) begin but may not be recognized for what they are: a warning. One begins to question the value of the job as well as one's own effectiveness. Psychological and/or physical symptoms become more pronounced. Exhaustion becomes chronic, irritability changes to anger, disappointment turns to depression. At this point, people who are burning out begin to realize that something is happening to them and might consult a doctor. Unfortunately, neither patient nor doctor may recognize the true nature of the problem.

Several risk factors, operating simultaneously, may speed the burnout process. Symptoms reach an acute stage, increasing in number, intensity, and duration. Some become obsessed with their work problems. Sufferers, feeling

trapped, seek an escape route, such as quitting the job, bankruptcy, divorce, hospitalization, skid row--even suicide. The consequences can be devastating.

Intervention can occur at any time in the burnout process and the earlier, the better. Help may be personal in nature, organizational, or both. This can, at best, be a time when resourceful ways of breaking the cycle, such as returning to school, are found. For others, that time never comes.

Stress and Burnout in the Helping Professions

As the functions formerly provided by the family and the community have gradually been assumed by public and private institutions, the social and economic impact of the professionals working for those institutions has increased. The expansion of the roles of human services providers has led to growing public concern, even criticism, along with calls for accountability (Cherniss, 1980a, pp. 2-3). The stress and potential for burnout faced by the helping professions in general, and social work in particular, have grown as a consequence.

It was in the health and social services fields that burnout was first investigated. Since helping others involves, not only extensive contact with, but a responsibility towards other people, these careers are by nature stressful. Maslach's findings suggest that

"what is unique about burnout is that the stress arises from the social interaction between helper and recipient (1982, p. 3, italics removed). Stress and burnout affect blue collar workers, housewives, and many other groups in somewhat different ways, but that is outside the scope of this discussion.

In one longitudinal study, graduates of various professional schools spoke of having been responsible only for themselves as students. Now, starting their first jobs, they realized that their words and actions would impact the well-being of vulnerable people who depended upon them. Consequently, the most significant contributor to stress for these novices was the issue of competence. Every single one expressed personal doubts about adequate performance (Cherniss, 1980a, p. 21). "Professionals" are expected, both by themselves and others, to be competent, yet they typically begin their careers by discovering that they still have much to learn. Several studies have found that what happens in the first few years after training is completed is critical; it is the time of greatest attitudinal and behavioral change, setting the stage for later adjustment to work. Yet the new arrivals may feel not only inadequate, but lonely. Accustomed to the camaraderie of student life, they enter the world of work expecting to find colleagues supportive. They may even be seeking mentors. Some are fortunate, but others encounter competition, even conflict, for which they are not prepared.

Idealism as a precursor to burnout may pertain more
to the helping professions than to some other lines of
work. Ayala Pines has written, "the root cause of burnout
lies in our existential need to believe that our lives
are meaningful, that the things we do are useful, important,
even 'heroic'" (Pines & Eronson, 1988, p. 11). She continues
by saying that while we once dealt with the realization
of our mortality with religion, it no longer serves for
most; many now turn to work to provide meaning in our
lives. Helping professionals tend to be altruistic
individuals, and heightened expectations of work play
a role in setting people up for burnout.

Pines and Eronson believe that individuals who enter
a given profession with a cynical attitude are unlikely
to burn out; although they are often unhappy and may be
dissatisfied with work, that is not the same thing as
being burned out (1988, p. 34).

The gradual loss of idealism and naivete and the
development of some detachment from clients' lives is
actually useful if these changes occur in moderation.
It is when cynicism and detachment become harmful to helper
and client that burnout has occurred (Cherniss, 1980a,
p. 6). Maslach has pointed out that the focus of discussion
in therapy is the problems of the client, not his/her
strengths. When the client experiences good times, the
appointments cease, so "the very structure of the helping
relationship promotes and maintains a negative view of

people" (Maslach, 1982, p. 18). It is no wonder that
some cynical therapists adopt a negative self-image of
a cold, uncaring person, with associated depression.
"One of the great costs of burnout is the diminution of
the effective service of the very best people in a given
profession" (Pines & Eronson, 1988, p. 11), those who
began their careers with great enthusiam and energy.
Everyone loses--the helpers and the helped.

Failure to develop proper perspective towards one's
work can lead one to see one's new profession as a calling
rather than a job and to try to be everything to everyone.
Personal time may be devoted to clients rather than to
leisure which permits one to "recharge". There are several
possible reasons for that. One is overcompensation for
perceived lack of competency. A related problem is an
unconscious need to "fix" an unresolved issue from childhood,
such as perceived inability to "cure" an alcoholic parent.
The guilt which accompanies the loss of idealism leads
helpers to "put on a good show" and contributes to the
sense of isolation felt by colleagues fooled by them.

Finally, "there is still too much admiration for
those who work excessively long days, neglect personal
relationships, and gamble with their health" (Lyall, 1989,
p. 31). That sort of recognition serves to reinforce
the pattern and can create a workaholic.

What work factors contribute most to job satisfaction
in human services workers? Empirical research has so

far identified seven. They are utilization of skills
(task variety), having an impact on others (task
significance), completion of identifiable work (task
identity), autonomy, feedback, opportunity to learn new
skills, and participation in important decisions. Note
that all are intrinsic factors (Eisenstat & Felner, 1983,
pp. 145-146).

Special Problems of Social Workers

This study sought to learn more about urban school
social workers. Ironically, "social workers get paid
to deal with stress--other people's problems" (Eaton,
1980, p. 167). What factors specific to the field of
social work affect job satisfaction, stress, and burnout?

To begin with, unlike professions in which one "wins"
or "loses", such as trial law or surgery, determination
of success following intervention is relatively tenuous
in social work. Most difficulties encountered by social
workers do not result in a dramatic "cure" (Eaton, 1980,
p. 172). Many of the problems are chronic; some are
insoluble. Workers are asked to take responsibility for
solving all sorts of dilemmas, yet rarely have adequate
power or means to do so:

> They are faced with the proposition of separating
> their efforts from all of the other influences on
> the client in order to judge outcome-based services.
> An alternative to an outcome focus in evaluating
> job success requires a shift in emphasis from the
> effects of one's work efforts to the quality of one's

> work efforts. Specifically, defining job success
> based on . . . one's professional skills rather than
> on the outcome . . . is realistic. (Wessells, 1989,
> p. 15)

Skill enhancement is also reasonably within one's personal

control. Related to the difficulty defining success is

another problem--lack of closure. There is always something

more which can be done to help someone.

Many of the clients seen in a variety of settings

lack social and personal skills. They may be troubled,

uncooperative, even seriously disturbed. The children

and adults with whom social work interns work are selected

by field instructors, but once on the job, novices are

not prepared for the lack of motivation and appreciation

they encounter, while simultaneously facing a higher

caseload. Repressing negative feelings towards individuals

who provoke hostility can be stressful, even for experienced

workers. In general, those who are insufficiently in

touch with their own personal issues tend to overreact

to situations which trigger "unfinished business".

Not all individuals benefit from social work

intervention. Some do not respond, yet new workers may

expend considerable energy continuing the process, on

the assumption that their own inadequacy is to blame.

In such situations, guidance from a supervisor can make

a difference (Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980, pp. 19-20).

Other clients become overly dependent upon their

therapists. While it is probably true that helpers have

a need to be needed, they do not want to be totally

responsible (Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980, p. 35). A social worker whose own unmet dependency needs have remained unresolved will experience further disillusionment. For some, seeking the help of a social worker carries a stigma, but then, every profession has to deal with its own myths.

Social Workers do not rely, like dentistry, on tools which can be replaced. Their principal instruments are themselves, the relationships they form with clients, their own diagnostic skills and treatment techniques (Eaton, 1980, p. 172). Rather than providing answers for those seeking help, therapists enable people to find their own answers. Workers under stress or suffering burnout are themselves "tools" in need of repair.

There are many social workers who successfully problem-solve, eventually coming to terms with the limitations of their positions. While emotional stability is extremely important for social workers, we should not lose sight of the contributions to stress and burnout inherent in this field. Does the experience of direct service to clients inevitably produce problems? No, say Pines and Eronson: "Professionals in the human services often report that in spite of the tremendous emotional stress involved in client contact, this is not what causes their burnout, because that contact is also the most significant aspect of their work" (1988, p. 19). Those who choose these professions almost invariably enjoy being with people and place a high value on their relationships.

Too often, occupational psychologists and others
have dealt "exclusively with how people perceive their
work while neglecting the actual conditions under which
that work is performed" (Kohn, 1980, p. 194). "Environment"
is used here in its fullest sense to signify, not only
the physical surroundings, but social and organizational
considerations as well.

It is ironic that as the mission of schools in the
community has expanded beyond education, public confidence
in public education has eroded, as has the status accorded
teachers. The true value our society places upon educating
its future citizens is graphically revealed by the
predictable financial shortfall faced yearly by large
urban school districts such as Chicago's. It is not only
the children who are victims of this sorry state of
affairs--it is also the staff. Deterioration of teachers'
morale in recent years has been well-established and also
affects those in supportive roles, such as pupil services
staff.

Like any other work place, a school can be viewed
as a subculture which makes its own demands upon its
participants. Certain formal rules and informal traditions
exist. Social roles set the appropriate boundries of
behaviors. "Schools are perceived by many people both
inside and outside of the teaching field as bureaucratic
organizations which attach more importance to the enforcement

of rules than to the welfare of teachers and students"
(Seyfarth & Bost, 1986, p. 1). In one classic study of
schools, Hoy (1983) found a positive relationship between
bureaucratic controls in schools and feelings of
powerlessness in staff (Calabrese & Anderson, 1986, p.
32). Such powerlessness is in direct conflict with the
high level of autonomy which teachers, social workers,
and others expect as professionals (Bacharach & Bauer,
1986, p. 10). Although more and more principals are adopting
a participatory rather than authoritarian management style,
they, too, feel powerless when confronted with the many
limitations of a vast bureaucracy.

Whenever one's work space is in a different locale
than one's home, the setting offers limited privacy
(Neff, 1985, p. 127). Public schools are especially
"public", in that the consumers of the service provided
(children, parents, and interested members of the community)
have ready access to the site. The implementation of
school reform in Chicago has rendered the staffs of schools,
from the principal down, more accountable to the community
than ever before.

School social workers practicing in these settings
are doubly constrained. First, school reform in Chicago
has blurred the staff/community boundries. Social workers,
who place a high value upon assurance of confidentiality
to clients, may have community residents bearing witness
to such situations as the arrival of a child abuse

investigator. A staff member may live on the same block, even be close friends with, the parents of the child to be seen. Secondly, overcrowded schools have a shortage of space. Workers share quarters with colleagues and the stories of locations for interviews are legend (bathrooms, stairwells, etc.). Privacy, more readily available in suburban districts, is a perpetual problem for most Chicago social workers. Studies have shown that individuals need privacy to reflect, to plan, to rehearse future actions, to interview--all behaviors necessary at work (Kaminoff & Proshansky, 1982, pp. 381-382). Environmental stimuli perceived as excessive by a worker can also be a stressor, depending upon one's personal ability to tune it out and/or negotiate for less noise (Kaminoff & Proshansky, p. 386).

The Chicago public schools are not particularly safe places to be, based upon objective criteria such as reports of crime in the schools. Recently, the Mayor of Chicago purchased metal detectors and offered them to the high schools so weapons could be confiscated. "Environmental security refers to the extent to which the individual feels safe in his physical setting, free of anxiety and fear of events, people, or changes that might harm him" (Kaminoff & Proshansky, 1982, p. 382).

Due to the financial constraints of the Chicago system, wide variations in level of comfort are seen from school to school. Some schools, built before the turn of the

century, have been rehabilitated; others await such fundamental repairs as replacement windows, so children and staff are cold. Newer schools tend to provide a higher level of comfort. Although the shortage of supply money is not as big a problem for school social workers as for teachers, working under such constraints affects the morale of the school staff. Gupta (1981) terms insufficient materials, information and equipment to do one's job properly "role insufficiency" (Eskridge & Coker, 1985, p. 388).

Schools are quite time-bound, with repeated lateness unacceptable due to the set arrival time of the students. That can be a stressor for some staff. Another sort of boundry dilemma is that like teachers, school social workers sometimes need to take paperwork home to complete. The necessity of doing so blurs home/work boundaries and cuts into leisure time, increasing the potential for burnout.

A school is, for social workers, a "secondary setting". School social workers are not usually educators, and their tasks are not directly connected to the mission of the school; unlike teachers, workers are not indispensable. They arrive from settings other than schools (or from graduate school) to find that their role is less clearly defined than that of a teacher and less well understood by staff and administration. Role overlap with the school psychologist and the guidance counselor is another problem workers encounter.

One dilemma workers face in Chicago is receiving

their yearly ratings from, not senior social workers,
but educators: the principals they serve. Role ambiguity,
even conflict, can be generated by the gap between a
principal's expectations and the worker's personal conception
of a job well done. School social workers have a clear
responsibility to help educators better understand the
philosophy and body of knowledge which guide their judgments.

Even the language of the trade differs from that
of the "hosts". It is likely that social workers gradually
abandon their lingo as they become acculturated to the
school setting, reverting to it at conferences and so
forth. An open line of communication with all members
of the school staff, including the janitor and cook, makes
it possible to obtain feedback about a child or intervene
in concrete ways (Demsch & Kim, 1970, p. 126). Regrettably,
it is not always possible for a worker to become fully
integrated into the school faculty, since he/she is not
there daily and must miss faculty meetings, events, etc.
That dilemma can add to one's sense of isolation. In
most elementary schools, the social worker is a "minority
of one", unable to do case consultation with or seek support
from another worker in the school (Demsch & Kim, 1970).
A telephone call to a fellow-worker or an administrator
will have to do, and the recipient may also be harried.

Competing interests and disagreement over what
constitutes an appropriate education have resulted in
a surge of legislation on both state and federal levels,

supplemented by case law (Sergiovanni et al., pp. 101, 103). Apart from the laws which impact on the entire school staff, such as the one regulating access to records, legislation also governs the specific work of school social workers. Central to their work is The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, IDEA (formerly, P. L. 94-142) which, in the mid-1970's, led school social workers nationwide into mandatory participation in assessment of children with learning problems. This law not only involved workers more than ever before in evaluation, but also mandated their functioning on interdisciplinary teams, lessening their autonomy. Radin, commenting on this change, points out that "working with other disciplines is more time-consuming and sometimes more stressful than working alone" (1989, p. 218). School social workers in Illinois, like teachers and administrators, are also mandated reporters of suspected neglect and abuse, a vital task but clearly a stressor. Role conflict results from having to divulge information obtained in the context of a therapeutic relationship, even when it is in the best interests of the child. Nationally, workers are becoming increasingly more involved in the implementation of inclusion, the integration of children having special needs with their same-aged peers.

School social workers continue to fulfill their original mission by intervening in problems which may hinder the ability of students to learn, but they have found a myriad

of ways to do it. "Ultimately, of course, validation
of the school social work role rests on its degree of
fit with the perceived purposes of the school system"
(Constable & Montgomery, 1985, p. 247).

CHAPTER TWO
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: RELEVANT STUDIES

School Social Workers View Their Own Work

In reviewing the literature, no study was found which
corresponded to the one reported below. There is, however,
ample research which incorporates one or more of the
theoretical concepts or variables discussed in the previous
chapter.

Numerous researchers have sought to learn how school
social workers view their own work. Typically, workers
were asked what tasks comprise their jobs, then gave their
opinion of the relative importance of each. Two examples
will suffice. Costin (1969) identified nine factors via
factor analysis, creating a task inventory which later
studies have utilized. School social workers in her
nationwide study ($\underline{N}$=254) identified and rated 107 tasks.
At that time, casework services to children and parents
were considered highest priority. Almost two decades
later, Fjellberg (1987) studied Illinois school social
workers in suburban Cook County. She found that workers
who served elementary schools assigned different priorities
to activities than did high school workers, attributing
only moderate importance to social developmental studies
for case study evaluations. In these and other task studies,
the workers were asked about the content of their workday

but not about their personal appraisals of the value of that work. Whether they found their jobs satisfying or stressful was not investigated.

Several researchers have compared the perception of social work roles/tasks by various school staff with that of workers themselves. This approach has relevance to the present study because it can be stressful for one's actions and objectives as a social worker not to be well understood or accepted.

> Incongruence between role conception (i.e., the individual actor's perception of the appropriateness and necessity of particular behaviors) and role expectation (i.e., the perception of such behaviors by significant others in the actor's environment) eventuates in the phenomenon of role strain. (Flynn, 1976, p. 423)

Flynn (1976) investigated congruence in perception of social work tasks between pupil services workers and other personnel (principals, instructional specialists, and teachers; N=174) in Michigan. He utilized Costin's (1969) scale. While most respondents agreed that the tasks they thought most important were those actually carried out, the relative importance assigned to them varied substantially by professional group. For example, the principals placed highest priority on being kept informed of case-problem developments, whereas the social workers ranked clinical interventions with students most important. The high value placed by the workers on direct services to children tallies with the Costin study.

A task inventory was also given by Jordan (1983)

to 260 social workers, principals, teachers and others
in a large metropolitan school system. Significant agreement
was seen among those groups as to both appropriate tasks
and their priority. Silva (1987) found similar consensus
(both tasks and their relative importance) in the staff
of one elementary school.

In another study, a sample consisting of Iowa
principals, guidance counselors, and regular and special
education teachers was asked to assess awareness of and
satisfaction with school social work services. Fairly
high satisfaction with services but need for more individual
and family work to help students with behavior problems
was reported. The authors did not offer specific feedback
from principals in the article reporting their study
(Staudt & Graft, 1983). Johnson (1987) also studied Iowa
school social workers and their supervisors (but not
principals). The workers were requested to estimate the
percentage of time they spent during one school year on
their activities, then to rate the importance of each.
Supervisors were asked to do the same for the workers
they supervised. Assessment activities were seen by both
groups to be of greatest importance, with counselling
of individual students agreed to be second. The authors
noted that the shift in emphasis from casework to assessment
in four years in Iowa was probably due to implementation
of The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (which
mandates social work participation in evaluation).

Constable and Montgomery (1985) compared workers'
and superintendents' perceptions of the social worker's
role in DuPage County, Illinois, districts. The workers
completed mailed questionnaires and the superintendents
were interviewed. Substantial agreement between them
as to tasks was found, but for some activities the
superintendents believed workers less involved than did
the workers themselves. Eighty-six percent of the
superintendents described their social work services as
effective.

Perceptions of Supervisors by Social Workers

The above-described studies dealt with perceptions
which administrators and other school staff had of social
workers--of their roles and caliber of service--but not
vice-versa. Few studies could be located which revealed
interest in how school social workers feel about their
supervisors (principals or others) and how those perceptions
might affect their work. Williams (1970) hypothesized
that some schools are more hospitable towards social work
services, while other schools are incompatible. In
interviews, selected social workers ($\underline{N}$=57) expressed whether
83 behavioral items were appropriate to the social work
role. Workers then indicated what behaviors they actually
performed in their most and least compatible schools;
disparities were found. The author does not explain how

"compatibility" was ascertained. The participants were not asked about their principals, but Williams comments that from the literature,

> it seems reasonable to hold that the principal is the primary role-determiner and quite possibly the individual most responsible for the creation and maintenance of an environment that is either supportive of or hostile toward the practice of school social work. (p. 72)

A different approach was chosen by Livingston and Rock (1985), who explored school social workers' perceptions of their relationships with administrators and teachers. The authors mailed questionnaires to workers in the Southern suburbs of Chicago. Almost all who responded served elementary schools (between one and seven schools). They expressed very positive feelings about how they got along with their principals. Of interest was the researchers' exploration of the ways social workers found to relate to their principals. The two techniques they most utilized to enhance those relationships were employing a sense of humor and becoming a confidante. The chief hindrance was lack of understanding of the worker's role by principals. That was also the respondents' concern about teachers. This article was enriched by the use of numerous direct quotes. Small sample size was a problem ($\underline{N}=22$).

In a study by Gorra (1989), 360 pupil services personnel (psychologists, social workers, etc.) from ten subdistricts of the New York City public schools were asked their perceptions of management. Likert's Profile of a School was used. It was the management of the Division of Special

Education, rather than that of schools, which was at issue. The overall feeling about management style was that it was benevolent authoritarian, with some aspects of a consultative model. Differences by profession were found, with the psychologists having the most negative view of management. The negative views of the school social workers did not reach significance. The sample was drawn from one third of the subdistricts, so it would be of interest to know whether those who failed to respond held differing views.

Job Satisfaction Among Social Workers in Agencies

Job satisfaction, one variable in this study, has been a popular topic for investigation. One approach has been to study representatives of a group of occupations. Another compares workers and their supervisors in a single occupation. A third tactic has related job satisfaction to other variables; studies which did so with social workers from various settings were reviewed. Since research about agency social workers was thought to be of limited applicability to the present research, selectivity was employed here. The settings were either primary ones (such as social service agencies) or secondary ones with bureaucratic structures different than schools. Certain facets of school social work related to job satisfaction, such as the role ambiguity and potential for role conflict

discussed in chapter 1, are probably unique to social work practice in schools.

One researcher (Krishef, 1981) sought to examine the relationship between satisfaction and "socioemotional support". Respondents (N=189) were clinical social workers randomly drawn from a professional organization. A 63% return rate was obtained for a mailed questionnaire created by the researcher. Findings suggested that such support, while helpful, is not adequate for job satisfaction. The workers who responded reported that they considered agency administrative policies to be a more important component of satisfaction. Another study examined how perceived autonomy and role ambiguity might relate to job performance and job satisfaction. The social workers who participated were employed in three settings thought to represent differing levels of bureaucratic structure-- agencies, community hospitals, and V. A. hospitals. Agency workers were found to perceive less external control over their autonomy and less role ambiguity (Edwards, 1985).

An interesting piece of research by Sniderman (1985) related job satisfaction to self-esteem, mastery, and affiliation in 449 Canadian social workers, but whether any worked in schools is unclear.

Virginia social workers employed by agencies or in private practice (N=404) responded to a mailed questionnaire. The impact of the job itself, work context, and individual characteristics of job satisfaction were assessed. The

job satisfaction instrument chosen was the Index of
Organizational Reactions. The workers scored above average
in satisfaction, with agency workers and private
practitioners showing differing results (Butler, 1987).

Tsai (1990) also studied agency employees. He sent
a survey to full-time Illinois social workers employed
in various social service agencies in order to relate
job satisfaction to absenteeism. Tsai adapted part of
the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, supplementing
it with additional questions (personal communication,
Boston, November, 1990). Of ten organizational job factors,
agency policies correlated most strongly with workers'
overall satisfaction. Climate was fourth in significance,
and supervision, only seventh. Absenteeism correlated
negatively with agency policies, salary, and working
conditions. The sample size was impressive ($\underline{N}$=402).

Job Satisfaction and Supervision

Two pieces of research about agency social workers
were found which related job satisfaction to supervisory
or managerial behavior. Field (1984) studied human services
social workers ($\underline{n}$=233) and supervisors ($\underline{n}$=62) from seven
metropolitan organizations, both private and public.
Democratic leadership tended to promote higher job
satisfaction in the group studied. As leader control
increased, extrinsic satisfaction was found to decrease.

Another study related satisfaction and absenteeism to managerial style. For the most part, the agencies which were included did not practice participatory management, yet that style of decision making and goal setting emerged as a good predictor of job satisfaction and absenteeism. It was thought-provoking to learn that the best predictor of absenteeism proved to be satisfaction with one's supervisor (Malka, 1989).

Job Satisfaction in School Social Workers

Studies of worker satisfaction in school settings, rather than agencies, were less readily found. School social workers ($\underline{n}$=81), nurses, and counselors in the six-county Chicago area volunteered to participate in a recent study which related job satisfaction to some demographic variables. The Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire was used. Overall satisfaction was found, with nurses significantly more satisfied than social workers or counselors. Age proved to be the most significant variable (Ravitz, 1989).

Several studies were found which incorporated a leadership variable into an assessment of job satisfaction among school social workers. Two are quite similar to one another and appear to have been in progress concurrently, at different universities. Greenspan (1981) examined the interrelationships among job satisfaction, perceived

leader behavior, and individual dogmatism. His sample
consisted of 94 social workers, psychologists, and teachers
in the New York City public schools. Greenspan administered
the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire to pupil
services staff, but his "leaders" were chairpersons of
interdisciplinary teams, not principals. He found perception
of leaders as high in consideration significantly related
to staff satisfaction, but initiation of structure was
not. Neither age nor sex corresponded significantly with
degree of satisfaction in this study. The same instrument
(LBDQ) was used by Harlan (1980). Again, job satisfaction
in teams was compared with leadership dimensions of pupil
services supervisors. Forty-seven team members were social
workers. Whereas Greenspan measured job satisfaction
with the Breyfield-Rothe Index of Job Satisfaction, Harlan
chose the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire. He also
found a significant association between leader consideration
and job satisfaction in team members. Although Greenspan
found no relationship between initiation of structure
and job satisfaction, Harlan did. The effect of the
consideration dimension was stronger, however. Neither
study included stress as a variable and both were strictly
quantitative.

Thornton (1981) studied social workers ($n=73$) and
principals ($n=89$) randomly selected from Georgia school
districts. Perceptions of social work roles by workers
and principals were compared. Thornton went on, however,

to look for possible role conflict and its relation to job satisfaction. He constructed his own satisfaction scale, adapted from items in a federal survey. He found that those workers who perceived role conflict with their principals or who felt a lack of role clarity had lower levels of job satisfaction than those who did not (but not significantly). Whereas Thornton's interest lay in how principals and social workers viewed workers, this writer did not survey any principals. The present research seeks to explore whether a worker's perception of a principal in a given school might be related to the level of satisfaction experienced there.

Stress Among Agency Social Workers

Studies of occupational stress have been done across the helping professions, but again, most have assessed stress in workers employed in settings other than schools. For example, nurses and medical social workers studied by Kuehn (1984) came from three urban hospitals. He investigated associations among self-esteem, perceived job demands, worker abilities, social supports, health-related strain, and occupational stress. Among his findings was a significant negative correlation between perceived worker abilities and health-related strain in the social workers. McNurlen (1988) studied social workers, nurses, and chaplains in seven Iowa hospices by employing on-site

semi-structured interviews. McNurlen found that his subjects experienced less stress if they were placed on interdisciplinary teams.

Studies Concerning Burnout

Research about burnout which focused on child care and protective services workers is not included here. However, two studies relating burnout to supervision were found. In 1980, Leeson administered the Maslach Burnout Inventory to 49 mental health workers, as well as interviewing them. Burnout was found to be higher when the actual work encountered was seen as different than expected work. Workers who found their supervisors inaccessible and/or undependable experienced more burnout than those who had close relationships with supervisors. Supervision was also found to be significant by Lee (1990), who sampled workers and supervisors employed in the public sector (a department of social services). Burnout was found to be prevalent in both those groups, with supervision and management found to be both contributors to and mitigators of burnout.

Relationship of Satisfaction to Stress or Burnout

A number of studies have investigated aspects of the possible correspondence between job satisfaction and

stress or burnout, thereby offering results more closely
linked with the one which is reported below. In 1978,
Ayala Pines, a pioneer in burnout research, published
a much-cited study with Ditsa Kafry. They investigated
personal and organizational stressors in social workers
(N=129). Selected items from the Job Diagnostic Survey
and the Job Descriptive Index were used. Overall job
satisfaction was measured by Kunin's Faces Scale. Tedium,
defined by the authors as physical, emotional, and
attitudinal exhaustion (and sounding much like burnout)
was experienced by 11% of the sample. The external work
characteristics studied (work relations, work sharing,
emotional support, feedback, and opportunity for time
out) were more significantly correlated with tedium than
the internal factors; these correlations were negative.
All five external facets of work were positively associated
with job satisfaction. Pines and Kafry concluded "that
social workers may be particularly sensitive to people
as sources of emotional stress and support" (p. 506).
The matter of supervision was not specifically addressed.
In the frequent citations of this research, no authors
reviewed have commented on the manner in which this sample
was obtained. The respondents were just about to participate
in a workshop on occupational burnout at a convention.
Attendees in such conference workshops are self-selected,
not random, so it appears that this sample was biased.

Jayaratne and Chess (1983) investigated the associations

among job satisfaction, stress, burnout, and turnover
in social workers. They sent a questionnaire (which included
most of the Maslach Burnout Inventory) to a nationwide
random sample of members of the National Association of
Social Workers. The analysis they reported in this
particular article (one of a series) was of full-time
workers in various agencies (N=553); further analysis
reported in a different article indicates that none were
school social workers (Jayarathne & Chess, 1984).
Thirty-five percent were very satisfied and 46%, somewhat
satisfied with their jobs, yet 43% planned to seek another
position within the next year. The significant predictor
variables proved to be the same for both satisfaction
and intent to turnover: challenge, financial rewards,
and promotion. All are organizational job characteristics.
Those who were dissatisfied with work and those whose
results suggested burnout reported significantly more
symptoms. Role ambiguity, role conflict, and workload,
three stressors associated with burnout in other studies,
were not significantly related to satisfaction and turnover
intent in this sample. That finding led the authors to
conclude that job dissatisfaction and burnout are not
the same.

One researcher chose two instruments which were used
in the study reported below, The Minnesota Satisfaction
Questionnaire and the Maslach Burnout Inventory, as well
as a third, the Staff Burnout Scale for Health Professionals.

Martin (1991) surveyed 200 family and psychiatric social workers. The two groups were found to have equivalent levels of job satisfaction (within normal limits). However, burnout was found to be significantly higher in the family workers. The findings from this study included some feedback about supervisors even though it was not a specified research question. One of the greatest satisfiers was found to be supervisory praise, and one correlate of burnout was criticism by supervisors.

Also reviewed were studies of satisfaction and burnout done from a structural perspective. Since the findings have organizational/administrative implications, they are linked with leadership behavior. Pierson (1984) explored relationships among job satisfaction, burnout, and factors related to the organizational structure of the seven social agencies in which respondents (N=122) worked. The social workers studied were more satisfied in agencies where organizational expectations for performance were clearly defined. Burnout, while revealed as an area of concern, was not found to be significantly affected by organizational factors in this study. In other research, a random sample (N=275) of Massachusetts social workers from varied settings answered mailed questionnaires. Perceived lack of autonomy and the influence of the funding source were found to be major contributors to burnout (Arches, 1991).

Review identified two studies relating job satisfaction to stress or burnout which targeted school social workers.

Alamo (1986) assessed job satisfaction, personal exhaustion (one component of burnout), and personal fulfillment among 104 school social workers in various regions of Puerto Rico. She chose the Job Descriptive Index to measure job satisfaction. Overall, the workers sampled were satisfied with their jobs and were not experiencing significant levels of emotional exhaustion, but some differences by geographical region were noted.

Pamperin (1987) investigated the relationships between job satisfaction, creativity, and two stressors (role conflict and role ambiguity). He did a mail survey of social workers employed in Wisconsin public schools (N=177). The measure of job satisfaction chosen was the Job Stress Index. Pamperin found that the older, higher paid, tenured workers were slightly more satisfied with their work and perceived less role conflict. The more creative workers saw considerable role ambiguity. In general, increased role conflict and ambiguity correlated with lower satisfaction, as Pamperin had predicted. He got an excellent response, 81%. He excluded Milwalkee workers from his study but does not explain why he did so. In his discussion, Pamperin appeared to use stress and burnout interchangeably.

Neither Alamo or Pamperin explored workers' perceptions of principals. Three researchers who did so (Harlan, 1980, Greenspan, 1981, and Thornton, 1981) related that variable to job satisfaction, but not to stress. The present study seeks to incorporate all these variables.

CHAPTER THREE
PROCEDURES UTILIZED

Preliminary Research Planning

This research project was made possible by the support
of the Department of Social Work of the Chicago Public
Schools. Following acceptance of the proposal by the
Loyola dissertation committee and Eleida Gomez, administrator
of the department at the time, it was reviewed by Dr.
Sung Ok Kim, then Director of Pupil Support Services.
Permission to proceed with the research was promptly granted.
Both Dr. Kim and Ms. Gomez have a strong commitment to
research and both have conducted it.

The optimal time frame for data collection was thought
to be Spring. The Chicago school year always begins the
day after Labor Day, ending in late June. For valid
assessment of school social workers' perceptions of their
work, the cumulative affect of months of pressures and
satisfactions was desirable.

The identified population for this research was social
workers who served more than one elementary school. One
question of interest was whether job satisfaction might
vary as one goes from school to school, working under
the direction of different principals. Consequently,
workers who remained at one elementary school all week
or who served a special program were not included, nor

were high school workers. Practicing in a high school entails somewhat different responsibilities. There, most students with special needs have already been identified, so fewer case study evaluations are necessary. More ongoing counselling is done with adolescents. Organizationally, elementary schools and high schools are quite different. Getting to know a principal is generally easier in elementary schools, which tend to be smaller and more familial.

Obtaining the Sample and Conducting the Survey

Subjects who met the above guidelines were identified through the most recent computer print-out of school assignments. The population was found to consist of 148 elementary school social workers. All were assigned identification numbers. Confidentiality, a cornerstone of the social work profession, is also imperative for validity. The fact that the workers were colleagues of this writer also made caution important. Throughout the process, confidentiality was rigorously observed.

The first phase of the research was the administration of two measures (to assess job satisfaction and occupational stress) to as many workers serving multiple elementary schools as possible. Concurrent with the population selection process, the low return rate traditionally characteristic of mailed surveys became a concern. Possible options were explored and ultimately, permission was granted

for phase one of the study to be done in a series of mid-May
staff development meetings. The trade-off was provision
of refreshments for the meetings at a time when a budgetary
shortfall was negatively affecting staff morale. The
Social Work Department has always been sensitive to the
effect of morale problems on its staff.

The Chicago system, known in Illinois as "District
299", would be unwieldy were it not divided into
subdistricts. At the time of data collection, three
facilitators carried coordination responsibilities for
social workers in the ten elementary school subdistricts.
Among their tasks were consultation, planning of staff
development meetings, and collection of statistics. These
coordinators proved invaluable for the successful completion
of the task. They offered clarification of recent schedule
changes and leaves of absence. The first notification
of the proposed research was by way of letters they wrote,
announcing the meetings to the workers. The facilitators
arranged the speakers and locales for the five meetings
and offered advice as to how to arrange for coffee. The
cakes carried written messages of thanks, to reciprocate
(Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 69).

Upon arriving at a meeting, each social worker to
be studied was given a packet which was custom-designed.
All envelopes contained a cover letter from Eleida Gomez,
sanctioning the research and requesting cooperation, which
had a positive attitudinal effect. A second letter by

the researcher thanked the respondents and asked for some demographic information. This letter also represented a signed commitment to confidentiality (Fowler, 1984, p. 95) which was periodically reinforced.

All workers received the two selected questionnaires, the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) and the Job Stress Index (JSI), both of which are discussed below. The JSI was somewhat different for each worker. Two of the JSI scales contain items about supervisors. Those items were placed together to permit respondents to answer them for each principal served. The order of items was changed on successive pages and throughout, the word "supervisor" was changed to "principal". Subjects were to respond only if they had worked for a given principal at least three months. Because the workers do not go to the same school daily, sufficient time was needed to get to know their supervisors (principals).

The first staff development meeting was held on May 10, 1991, with the succeeding four meetings spanning the next 15 days. Various facilitators ran the meetings and decided at what point to introduce the researcher. The same brief speech was made at each meeting and questions were answered. The most common question was whom to consider "supervisor" when completing the MSQ. Social workers in the Chicago public schools answer to "line" and "staff" administrators. In addition to taking direction from principals, they have social work supervision as needed.

Due to this confusion, responses to the two MSQ supervision items were dropped prior to analysis. Similar difficulty with the JSI was avoided by providing multiple pages, as described above.

Overall, the workers were felt to be quite receptive and only three refused to participate. There were no unusual occurrences during the meetings, but the number of workers who were unable to attend for various reasons was larger than anticipated. Some may have had emergencies or staffings at their schools. Others notified facilitators of illness. Consequently, a new cover letter was prepared, explaining the study. Stamped, self-addressed envelopes were added to the prepared packets, which were mailed to every worker who failed to attend a meeting. They were readily identifiable due to the assigned numbers. It was decided that mailed returns would be analyzed separately to evaluate the impact of "method of administration". The rate of mailed returns was 46.4% (n=19), which was 10.3% of the respondents.

Of the total population of 148 social workers, 121 completed the questionnaires either by meeting or mail, for an overall return rate of 81.7%. Six subjects had to be eliminated from the study. Two had been with the system only two months, three had incomplete responses, and one proved not to have multiple schools. The usable return rate was then 77.8% (N=115), an acceptable representation of the total population.

Throughout the data-gathering month (May, 1991),
school social workers and other staff heard about a budgetary
crisis faced by the Chicago Public Schools. Since most
workers have nine-month contracts and are offered summer
jobs only if there is money, some of the subjects may
have been preoccupied as the research was being conducted.
It could be argued that the lagging morale in evidence
at the meetings negatively skewed the responses to the
satisfaction and stress measures. While that may well
be true, there have been so many financial crises that
one might even say it is typical.

Assessment of Job Satisfaction: The MSQ

Job satisfaction was assessed with the short-form
Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ), which is designed
to measure employees' personal appraisals of their work
environments. It is one of several instruments developed
by the Work Adjustment Project begun in 1957 at the
University of Minnesota. The MSQ, which reflects a
value-based theory of job satisfaction, is part of a
comprehensive theory of work adjustment formulated by
Lofquist and Dawis (see chap. 1, p. 20, for further
information). The authors believe that work adjustment
is a continuous, dynamic process. Employees seek to achieve
and maintain correspondence between the extent to which
the work environment fulfills their needs (satisfaction)

and the degree to which employees meet the expectations

of the work environment (satisfactoriness). Research

done by Dawis and Lofquist suggests that these two variables

operate independently (1984).

An appealing aspect of this theory is that it

individualizes employees. Two employees may feel about

the same level of job satisfaction, but the aspects of

work which contribute most to satisfaction may be different

for each. The purpose of the MSQ is to present the

subject with various facets of work, or reinforcers

(the authors are psychologists). The reinforcers presented

were originally derived from three sources: general knowledge

of job reinforcers, work by Schaffer in 1953 (cited by

Bolton, 1986), and preliminary work done by Lofquist and

Dawis (Bolton, pp. 258-259). Twenty reinforcers had

previously been culled from a larger pool of items during

development of the Minnesota Importance Questionnaire

(MIQ), which measures the importance one attaches to work

reinforcers (potential satisfaction) rather than one's

actual satisfaction with various aspects of work, which

is assessed by the MSQ. The reinforcers used for the

MIQ were apparently rewritten and simplified for the MSQ.

The long form of the questionnaire contains five questions

each for the twenty selected reinforcers. The short form

used the single item for each reinforcer which "correlated

highest with the twenty reinforcer scales in the original

MSQ developmental sample" (Bolton, p. 260). Factor analysis

of responses from 1,460 employees representing six
occupational groups produced two scales, but note that
all subjects were males (Weiss, Dawis, England, & Lofquist,
1967).

The first scale, Intrinsic Satisfaction, consists
of Ability Utilization, Achievement, Activity, Advancement,
Compensation, Co-workers, Creativity, Independence, Moral
Values, Social Service, Social Status, and Working
Conditions. The Extrinsic Satisfaction scale includes
Authority, Company Policies and Procedures, Recognition,
Responsibility, Security, and Variety. The two supervision
items are not included in either scale. Cook, Hepworth,
Wall and Warr (1981) express reservations about assignment
of items to the two scales. "The factor analytic basis
for this yields some curious allocations. . . ." (p. 24).
For example, "steady employment" is classified as Intrinsic.
Those authors also find the disparity in item number between
the scales "troublesome" (p. 24).

General job satisfaction is normally calculated by
summing the 20 item scores, but since the two supervisory
items were judged to be invalidated by the multiple
supervisors, 18 were used here. Research has been in
progress at the Work Adjustment Center to evaluate 10
other reinforcers (Weiss et al., 1967, p. 28).

The short form MSQ is a very readable, self-report
questionnaire which takes about 5 minutes to complete.
Its scale has a range of responses from <u>very dissatisfied</u>

(1) to <u>very satisfied</u> (5). A high overall score indicates

strong satisfaction with one's work. The developers state

in the <u>Manual</u> that a "ceiling effect" (negative skewing)

is suggested by very few <u>dissatisfied</u> and <u>very dissatisfied</u>

responses in reported findings. "For all practical purposes,

. . . the effective response format entails a three-point

range" (Bolton, 1986, p. 262). Consideration is being

given to modifying the rating scale, but at present there

are no norm groups available for use with the modified

MSQ and printed questionnaires sent on request still contain

the original format.

The <u>Manual</u> provides percentile scores for numerous

occupational groups for the long form, but only seven

occupations for the short form. While the <u>Manual</u> contains

a table of normative data labeled "social workers", further

clarification revealed that none of those subjects practiced

in schools and none had Master's degrees (personal

communication, Clifford Neville, January, 1991). Therefore,

the disparity in competency level and responsibilities

precludes valid comparison of percentile ranks. The <u>Manual</u>

is currently undergoing revision. The results of

administrations of either form are being solicited by

the letter granting permission for use, in order to expand

the occupational categories.

Reliability coefficients were obtained for the present

sample and compared with those provided in the MSQ <u>Manual</u>.

Table 1

Reliability Coefficients, Short-Form Minnesota

Satisfaction Questionnaire

Scale:	Normed sample: (N=1301)	Present sample: (N=115)
Intrinsic Job Satisfaction	.86	.85
Extrinsic Job Satisfaction	.80	.83
Overall Satisfaction	.90	.90

The MSQ Manual provides reliability estimates which

represent the medians of the Hoyt reliability coefficients

computed for five occupations. None of the groups are

social workers or other helping professionals. These

reliability coefficients, shown in Table 1, are high.

Alpha reliability coefficients for the present sample

of school social workers were also excellent, comparing

favorably with the normed group.

Concerning test-retest reliability of the measure,

the Manual states:

> No data are currently available concerning the
> stability of scores for the short-form MSQ. A
> two-year test-retest study is in progress. However,
> stability for the General Satisfaction scale may
> be inferred from data on the General Satisfaction
> scale of the long-form MSQ, since both scales use
> the same twenty items. . . . Test-retest correlation
> of General Satisfaction scale scores yielded
> coefficients of .89 over a one-week period and .70
> over a one-year interval. (Weiss et al., 1967, p.
> 24).

Construct validity of the MSQ is supported by several

studies, according to Bolton. Concurrent validity "can

be inferred from differences among occupational groups
in average job satisfaction. Comparisions among the
twenty-five occupational norm groups . . . produced highly
significant differences in every analysis" (Bolton, 1986,
pp. 259-260). One reviewer praised the Manual validity
presentation as "a model of scholarly restraint" for the
modesty of its claims (Guion, 1978, p. 1679).

Two of the most popular instruments for assessing
job satisfaction are the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire
and the Job Descriptive Index. Several researchers have
done comparative studies of the two measures. During
the research planning stage, both were obtained and the
respective reviews studied. There were several reasons
for selection of the MSQ. First, it appears geared more
toward professionals; the importance of intrinsic reinforcers
for them is clearly established by previous research.
Second, in spite of some faults, the MSQ received excellent
reviews. The most thorough analysis found concluded that
a) the theory upon which the MSQ is based is consistent
with research findings and "mainstream thinking"; b) its
psychometric foundation is excellent; c) construct validation
investigations support validity; d) its occupational norms
are "unparalleled", and e) the reinforcers, while not
comprehensive, are extensive (Bolton, 1986, p. 263).
Guion offered comparable praise (1978, pp. 1679-1680).

The final reason for not choosing the Job Descriptive
Index has to do with the risk of contamination. Dr. Patricia

Smith, who helped create the JDI, has since collaborated on development of the second instrument chosen for this study, which will now be discussed.

Measuring Occupational Stress: The JSI

The Job Stress Index (JSI) was the second self-report questionnaire administered to the identified population in phase one.   Review of available instruments had revealed that some good, global measures of stress were available, but occupational stress instruments were harder to find. Those which were identified were too newly developed to have undergone the review process, so critiques such as those reported above (for the MSQ) were not yet available.

The JSI was developed by Dr. Bonnie Sandman and Dr. Patricia Smith to help individuals and organizations diagnose areas of occupational stress.   Dr. Smith's interest in stress had grown out of her extensive earlier research in the area of job satisfaction.   She had directed the "Cornell Studies of Satisfactions" while at that university. In fact, she collaborated for three years with Edwin Locke (whose work in the same field is discussed above, in chap. 1).   The group at Cornell developed the Job Descriptive Index and the Job in General (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969).   Factor analysis associated with the Job in General instrument had suggested that occupational stress might not simply be one negative aspect of overall job

satisfaction, as had been assumed. Aspects of job dissatisfaction were too often being labeled stressors by theorists in this field. Smith and Sandman began to see the need for an instrument which would treat job stress as a separate construct (personal communication, P. Smith, June, 1991).

The authors sought to create a comprehensive, reliable set of scales, applicable to a variety of organizations. Items were to be generated by actual workers. They began by giving an open-ended questionnaire to employees at a mental health facility ($\underline{N}$=97). For example, the group was asked to give specific examples of situations which had made them feel tense, stressed, or worried. Duplicate items were removed, items were sorted into categories, and a few questions from the stress literature were added. Factor analyses were completed on three varied samples (total $\underline{N}$=1,097).

The eleven resulting scales are as follows: Lack of Feedback, Lack of Participation, Lack of Achievement, Time Pressure, Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Others, Lack of Competence of Others, Red Tape, Job Insecurity, Physical Demands and Danger, Lack of Competence of Supervisor, and Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Supervisor. The items in the last two scales were placed together on one page for this study, as explained above, and comprised the questions concerning principals. For those items only, a single respondent gave multiple responses to each

question (regarding each principal in turn), so the mean was computed when statistical analysis was later done. Use of seven of the scales, rather than all, is due to the discovery, after data collection was complete, that one page of the JSI had not been provided at time of order. That page included Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Others, Lack of Competence of Others, Time Pressure, and Red Tape. The latter two scales were particularly missed in the light of later findings.

Because all the items on the JSI represent undesirable job circumstances, it was necessary to mix the items with an equivalent number of favorable ones to avoid negative response set (Cook & Selltiz, 1975, p. 28). The "positive" items written for that purpose, not intended for scoring, were created by this writer, then integrated with the JSI items prior to printing. They were written based upon this researcher's long experience as a school social worker, in the same style as the JSI items. They were then reviewed by a member of the dissertation committee. Since these questions were not generated in proper research fashion, responses to them were not analyzed.

This questionnaire assesses how frequently the respondent experiences various possible sources of stress. It has a yes-no-sometimes format which some might consider an inadequate range. While said to take 10 minutes to complete, 20 minutes or more were needed for the present sample. That was due to inclusion of the positively-written

items and repeated completion of the supervisory scales

for up to five principals.

Reliability coefficients provided for the JSI and

those obtained for the present sample are provided below.

Table 2

Reliability Coefficients for the Job Stress Index

Scale:	Normed sample: (N=4487)	Present sample: (N=115)
Lack of Feedback	.75	.60
Lack of Participation	.83	.83
Lack of Achievement	.71	.75
Job Insecurity	.70	.66
Physical Demands and Danger	.81	.78
Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Supervisor*	.79	.69
Lack of Competence of Supervision*	.88	.83

* These two scales, contained on one page, comprised
the items which respondents answered from two to five
times (for each principal). For each subject, data on
the first two principals were used to do the computation.

To obtain reliability coefficients for the Job Stress

Index, Sandman and Smith computed coefficients alpha on

five samples. The above figures represent the means for

the items in each scale. Varimax rotation was done on

all factors (personal communication, P. Smith, January,

1992). The reliability range obtained is adequate but

not strong. Calculation of alpha coefficients for the present sample brought mixed results, as can be seen from Table 2. The Lack of Feedback scale was lowest (.60) and three others exceeded .80.

No information about validity of the JSI had been provided, so clarification was requested. Dr. Smith explained that investigation of concurrent validity was not done because of reservations about the existing measures of job stress available. Stability information is also unavailable. The Job Stress Index is still in the process of development (personal communication, January, 1992).

Investigation of Burnout

The second phase of this research was a limited exploration of burnout. Administration of a third questionnaire to the whole group of school social workers was precluded by privacy and time constraints at the staff development meetings. Therefore, hand-scoring of all Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaires received by meeting or mail was done to obtain a rough estimate of overall satisfaction. Those subjects whose scores resulted in a mean score anywhere below .3 (personal communication, David Weiss, May, 1991) were judged to be dissatisfied ($\underline{n}$=20). That selected subsample received the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) by mail with a cover letter.

Since the content of this scale is quite sensitive,

the measure bears the innocuous title "Human Services Survey". As the Manual states, "it is important that respondents be unaware that the MBI is a burnout measure" (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 4) because of the strong beliefs many have about burnout. This writer did not share with any co-workers the nature of the measures; even the topic was told to no one except two administrators and they were asked to keep it confidential. Identification numbers were not written on the MBI questionnaires in order to assure complete anonymity to those social workers who received it and increase rate of return and validity. Since the sole question being asked was whether any were experiencing burnout and correlations with other measures were not intended, identification numbers were unnecessary. The final return rate was 45% (n=9), a very small subsample.

Research suggests that a self-administered questionnaire is one effective way of obtaining responses to sensitive questions "because the respondent does not have to admit directly to an interviewer a socially undesirable or negatively valued characteristic or behavior (Fowler, 1988, p. 65).

A discussion of burnout in general, and the theoretical contributions of Christina Maslach in particular, can be found in chapter 1 (pp. 37-43). A pioneer in the field, she developed the Maslach Burnout Inventory with Susan Jackson at Berkeley over an eight-year period. One review called the MBI "the best known and most widely used

questionnaire for the assessment of individual occupational
burnout among human service workers and others whose work
involves intense interaction with other people" (Offermann,
1985, p. 419).

The original form of the MBI contained 47 items;
subjects answered each twice, in terms of both frequency
and intensity of feelings. Among the 605 people who took
this form of the MBI to establish norms, 91 were social
workers. Occupations included in the various samples
utilized during development were those shown by previous
research to have high potential for burnout. Factor analysis
(using iteration and a varimax rotation) and application
of three selection criteria reduced the number of items
to 25. When factor analysis from a second sample ($\underline{N}$=420)
proved very similar to results from the first, the two
samples were combined ($\underline{N}$=1,025) and further factor analysis
was done.

The MBI was revised in 1987; it was the revised form
which was used in the present study. Its instructions
are easy to grasp, and that was not true for the original.
In the first version, one had to numerically rate <u>intensity</u>
<u>of feelings</u>. Since some statements were negative, it
was possible to become confused and answer the opposite
of what one intended. In fact, had the instrument not
been modified, it would not have been chosen for this
study. The authors decided to do so because they judged
that there was sufficient evidence of "fairly high

correlations" between intensity and frequency of feelings to drop one of those dimensions (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 8). They retained the frequency dimension because it is more similar to other attitudinal self-report measures and because it represents a more standardized response scale. One reviewer, Hargrove (1989), agrees with that decision, stating, "the relatively strong relationship between the two dimensions and the awkwardness of measurement of intensity likely provides the basis for the authors' good judgment to drop it from the inventory" (p. 474).

Another development was a modified form of the MBI, intended for educators. All references to "recipient" are changed to "student". When permission to use the Maslach in this research was granted and the two forms of the revised MBI were obtained, the "recipient" form was chosen because social workers work with parents as well as students.

Burnout is a continuous rather than a dichotomous variable; in other words, burnout is conceptualized as ranging from low to high degrees of experienced feeling rather than being present or absent. The current version of the MBI contains 22 items. Three subscales assess different aspects of burnout potentially experienced by recipients. Emotional Exhaustion assesses the degree to which one feels exhausted by one's work (9 items). The Depersonalization subscale (5 items) measures an unfeeling, impersonal response towards one's clients.

For both of these, a high score suggests greater burnout.
The opposite is true of the third subscale, Personal
Accomplishment, or feelings of competence and achievement
when helping others (8 items). The authors caution against
combining the scores to obtain an overall score, because
no meaningful way of doing so has been empirically
established (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 14). Offermann
(1985) anticipates that differential weighting of the
subscales may eventually prove appropriate (p. 424).

Like the two other scales used for this study, the
MBI is self-administered. It is one page in length.
It is not cluttered and is printed on beige paper which
is restful to the eye. The Maslach requires 10 to 15
minutes to fill out. Minimal examiner qualifications
are necessary; in fact, due to social desirability concerns,
The Maslach is best administered by an individual who
is not an authority figure, because some questions "involve
asking the worker to admit to what may be perceived as
less-than-desirable work behaviors and attitudes . . ."
(Offermann, 1985, p. 421) and subjects may fear
organizational repercussions. The Manual also emphasizes
the need for respondent privacy, and that was assured
through use of the mail and omission of numbers.

Of the three quantitative instruments used in the
present study, the MBI has the largest range, enabling
one to express well the frequency of each feeling or attitude
presented. Seven responses are possible, ranging from

never (0) to every day (6).

Due to the small size of the sample of school social workers who took the Maslach, computation of reliability coefficients was not possible. Table 3 gives the reliability coefficients provided by the authors.

Table 3

Reliability Coefficients for the Maslach Burnout Inventory

Subscale:	Normed sample: (N=1,316)	SD:
Emotional Exhaustion	.90	3.80
Depersonalization	.79	3.16
Personal Accomplishment	.71	3.73

The MBI Manual provides reliability coefficients "based upon samples that were not used in the item selections to avoid any improper inflation of the reliability estimates. Internal consistency was estimated by Cronbach's coefficient alpha" (Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 8). Reliability estimates appear adequate for two of the subscales and strong for Emotional Exhaustion, considered by Maslach to be the heart of burnout. "Other investigators (e.g., Beck and Gargiulo, 1983; Iwanicki and Schwab, 1981) have found similarly high estimates of internal consistency" (Offermann, 1985, p. 422).

Test-retest reliability is reported for two samples. For one (N=53), test intervals were 2 to 4 weeks. Coefficients are as follows: .82 for Emotional Exhaustion,

.60 for Depersonalization, and .80 for Personal

Accomplishment (low to moderately high). For a larger

sample ($\underline{N}$=248) and a one year interval, the range of

reliability coefficients was .54 to .60.

The creators of the Maslach present a thorough

discussion of issues related to validity. Three different

methods of assessing convergent validity were employed.

In different samples, MBI scores were correlated with

behavioral ratings by a person who knew the respondent

well, with job characteristics believed to contribute

to burnout, and with outcomes related to burnout. A detailed

report of these studies is found in the MBI Manual.

Discriminant validity studies have differentiated burnout

from low job satisfaction (assessed with various measures)

in four studies reported in the MBI Manual. Also of interest

is absence of significant correlations between the three

subscales of the Maslach Burnout Inventory and the Social

Desirability Scale in 40 graduate students in social welfare

(Maslach & Jackson, 1986, p. 13).

Offermann comments that the MBI "was developed and

normed on 'people workers' and is therefore most suited

for work with such samples" (1985, p. 420). She also

agrees with Maslach and Jackson that this measure is more

appropriately used as a research tool rather than a

diagnostic instrument (p. 425). The use of the MBI in

the present study honors both recommendations.

Several reviewers (Offermann, 1985; Dowd, 1985;

Hargrove, 1989) called for the authors to provide group

norms for each subscale with reliable cutoff scores, broken

down by occupation (similar to those for the Minnesota

Satisfaction Questionnaire). "Maslach and Jackson . .

. have indicated a willingness to compile such norms if

those using the scale forward scores and demographic

information to them" (Offermann, p. 424). Another

suggestion for refinement was some discriminant validity

studies to investigate the distinction between burnout

in human services and occupational stress level (Dowd,

p. 905), a point pertinent to the present research.

In general, the reviewers really liked the MBI Manual

and the instrument itself. Dowd (1985) and Hargrove (1989)

described the Maslach as well-constructed. Bodden called

it "the best scale presently available" to assess burnout

(1985, p. 904) and Sandoval termed it "the instrument

of choice" for assessing burnout (1989, p. 476).

The Exploratory Interviews

The next phase of the research was in the planning

stages concurrent with the above-described data collection

on burnout. Of interest to the researcher was exploration

of aspects of work which impact significantly on the daily

functioning of the Chicago school social workers in the

sample, contributing to their satisfaction or

dissatisfaction. Some factors might not necessarily be

reflected by items in instruments intended for broad applicability to occupational categories (the MSQ and the JSI).

A second area for further investigation was the impact of principals upon workers. When weighing effective ways of approaching this issue, some consideration was given to the use of a quantitative measure of perceptions of leaders or managers by employees. The sole instrument found which dealt with appraisal of educational administrators had not been well-received and was out of print. The option of asking the workers for their assessments of the leadership style of principals was also rejected.

To meet these two needs, exploration of perception of principals and of the specific concerns of these particular workers, semi-structured interviews were planned. The workers could then speak for themselves. Perceptual sorts of topics are especially appropriate for qualitative research because that approach permits people to "define the situation in which they find themselves" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 46). Job satisfaction, at least for those who work, is associated with quality of life. Quality of life, in turn, "has to do with nuance, with detail, with the subtle and unique things that make a difference beyond the points on a standardized scale" (Patton, 1980, p. 74).

When the content of the interview schedule was being

decided, the goals were to cover the two areas for exploration (perceptions of principals and concerns about aspects of work) and obtain some narrative material during an interview of reasonable length. For one of the sections, behaviors of a principal which might make for job satisfaction/dissatisfaction in a social worker were to be presented to the interviewees. No such list could be found in the literature. It was suggested that one possible way of generating appropriate items would be to convene a panel of experts. It is sometimes necessary to invent "indirect means to measure psychological and educational properties" (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 416).

The panel was drawn from the ranks of the Chicago school social workers. Four workers of differing experience levels, sexes and ethnicities were asked to participate. All had Master's degrees in social work and one of the four is currently in a doctoral program. They convened to address two questions: a) What personality factors and behaviors in principals contribute to job satisfaction? b) Which behaviors lead to dissatisfaction? In an effort to enhance content validation, each participant was given the written definition of job satisfaction formulated for the study (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 418). That definition was also to be included in the interview script introduction.

The panel members proved keenly interested in the topic and much agreement among them was observed. The two lists generated, principal behaviors seen as satisfiers

and dissatisfiers, were placed in the interview script in a format which would allow the respondents to respond for each principal served.

The first draft of the interview script was submitted to a member of the dissertation committee and to Ms. Gomez, administrator, for suggestions and revisions in April, 1991. The script in its final form can be found in the Appendix. Neither reliability nor validity have been established for it, in contrast to the three quantitative instruments used in this study.

To obtain candidates for the interviews, a random subsample ($\underline{n}$=20) of those who had participated in the first phase of the study was selected by means of a table of random numbers (Best, 1981; Minium, 1978). This subsample represents 17.4% of the total who participated (Fowler, 1988, p. 143). The workers were contacted and asked to agree to an interview. They could choose any convenient location and time; it was believed that maximum flexibility would positively affect receptivity. "If the interviewer is willing to arrange an interview at the respondent's convenience, pressures for time should not be extraordinary for most respondents" (Fowler, 1988, p. 53). Individuals were asked to suggest a place which would offer greatest personal comfort and privacy.

Four social workers refused to be interviewed, so additional possibilities were obtained using the random numbers table. Of those interviewed, seventeen were female

and three were male. The appointments were compressed
into a period of 8 consecutive days to permit completion
of interviewing prior to vacation. The interviewees were
seen in their homes, at their assigned schools after work,
in coffee shops, and in one case, at church.

In spite of the fact that the interview script had
been timed during practice, the sessions took longer than
anticipated; one lasted 40 minutes. All interviews were
conducted by the same person, this writer. Responses
were recorded with a personal shorthand in use for many
years. A tape recorder was thought to hamper trust and
would also have proven distracting to one unfamiliar with
its use. All 20 interview responses were usable. The
interview was fully scripted; every worker was asked the
same questions in the same order. The style switched
back and forth between open- and close-ended questions,
as is usually recommended (Fowler, 1988, p. 76). The
interviewer started by thanking the respondents for their
cooperation and again stressing the confidentiality of
their responses. The workers were informed that their
identities would not be shared. Furthermore, should a
story they related about a school or principal be included
in this dissertation, any facts which could possibly identify
the school or the worker would be omitted.

A few easily-answered, straightforward questions
were asked (Fowler, 1988, p. 102). The concept of "job
satisfaction" was then defined (Fowler, pp. 80-81). The

interviewees listed their school assignments. For each,
they evaluated their personal level of job satisfaction
(high, medium, or low), then explained why that rating
was given. Respondents were then asked to name their
two or more greatest continuing sources of personal
satisfaction and dissatisfaction in their jobs. No options
were listed; the question was completely open-ended.

After another mention of confidentiality, the items
formulated by the panel (behaviors thought to produce
satisfaction/dissatisfaction) were presented verbally,
for each principal. The workers were then asked whether
they could think of any additional principal behaviors
or attitudes which might lead to their satisfaction or
dissatisfaction. Finally, they indicated whether they
would rank behaviors of principals as among the five most
significant sources of satisfaction/dissatisfaction.
The interviewer ended each session by again thanking the
school social workers and stressing confidentiality.

This writer's overall impression of the process was
very positive. The social workers seemed to enjoy being
asked about their work and were eager to share their
thoughts. Conducting a research interview is different
from doing counselling, for which "use of self" to establish
a helping relationship is key. Therapeutic interpretations
and interventions appropriate in counselling situations
have no place in research. Similarities between the two
types of interviews include development of rapport at

the outset, importance of mutual trust, and need for periodic
clarification.

Analysis of the Interviews

Due to time pressures, it was not possible to begin
coding during the interview process, as some suggest (Miles
& Huberman, 1984, p. 63). The original plan was to organize
and present the material according to the script questions.
That was not found to be feasible because interviewees
introduced other topics as they spoke spontaneously.
Partial recoding became necessary. Ultimately, the
categories emerged from the responses (Patton, 1980, p.
22), guided by a rough conceptual framework provided by
the literature review (Miles & Huberman, p. 34).

Data reduction can eliminate valuable data and bias
results if not done with caution (Miles & Huberman, 1984,
p. 21). Consequently, every word was classified, with
the exception of totally extraneous discussion (about
Loyola, etc.) and sentences begun over by interviewees.
Write-up and coding were done simultaneously, in a somewhat
unorthodox fashion. The word processor on which this
dissertation was written permits moving blocks of copy
readily. The researcher went through the data, interview
by interview, recording direct quotes directly onto the
screen. This technique proved to be efficient.

Due to the inferential nature of the process, content

analysis is problematic. One's goal is to seek out the covert (symbolic) as well as the overt meanings of words (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 22-23). Since there is no one way to analyze data, one must, to the extent humanly possible, be aware of one's own biases and attributions (Krippendorff, p. 22; Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 16). To give one example, the analyst may perceive an underlying pattern among data--the message, "I value competence and I perceive myself as competent." Could this perception be just projection of one's own feelings onto the interviewee?

The comparison of qualitatively and quantitatively obtained results, seen in some studies, was never planned for this research design; the hope was that they would substantiate and enhance one another. The qualitative portion of data collection was intended to address two questions (see above, pp. 95-96) which could not be addressed in any other fashion judged to be acceptable. Comparison of perceived behaviors of a principal and level of satisfaction felt in that school (obtained in the interviews) was analyzed via a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Assistance was obtained from a member of the dissertation committee and a format was suggested. The raw score computed for each principal may be imagined as a rough continuum. Each worker was presented with behaviors thought by the panel to produce satisfaction in most social workers, followed by

dissatisfiers, for a total of 25 items. The dissatisfiers
were then reverse scored to enable simple totaling of
all yes responses. A score of 25 would describe a principal
for whom the entire list of behaviors-which-satisfy was
seen by the worker as true, and to whom no dissatisfier
behaviors applied. The items were then broken down into
increments of 5.

The school ratings were 1 through 5, with 5 describing
high satisfaction experienced by the social worker while
practicing there. To give one example, were strong
correspondence to be found between one's satisfaction
in a given school and one's perception of that principal,
the latter raw score would fall in the 21-25 range, with
a school rating of 5. Each principal-school comparison
was envisioned as a "case", for a total of 54 cases (after
3 were removed for missing data). In such an analysis
solution, magnitude should be considered a rough estimate,
although directionality can be established.

It was further suggested that exploration of reasons
for cases lying outside of the parameters of expected
correlation would be enlightening. That could be done
by identifying those cases and returning to the words
of the workers. This strategy is recommended by Miles
and Huberman (1984): When conversion of some data into
numbers or ranks seems like a good strategy, "keep the
numbers, and the words used to derive the numbers, together
in your ensuing analysis. . . . Essentially, words and

numbers keep one another analytically honest" (p. 21, p. 55). It must be emphasized that this portion of the research is considered a pilot project. The script did not have the benefit of piloting on a separate group, to enable further refinement.

Summary of Procedures

In all, data collection took about 7 weeks (and the goal of finishing it before the end of the school year was reached). The process consisted, in summary, of five phases: a) a quantitative survey of satisfaction and stress in school social workers via administration of two well-established instruments in meetings, the MSQ and the JSI; b) a follow-up mailing of those two instruments to members of the population who missed the meetings; c) mailing of a measure of burnout to those participants whose previous results (from the MSQ) indicated dissatisfaction; d) concurrently, development of a qualitative interview script with the help of a panel of experts; e) the interviews. All results were then analyzed. The chapter which follows details the quantitative and qualitative findings from the survey and the interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Findings: The Sample

The sample upon which the results described below
are based consisted of 115 respondents, which is 77.8%
of the defined population (elementary school social workers
with multiple schools). The actual return rate was slightly
higher. The opportunity to use meetings to collect data
contributed substantially to the success of the project.
Had a mailed survey been done, the return rate would probably
have been around 50%, based upon the 46.4% rate obtained
from the mailed packets.

Regarding usable data, 96 workers (83.5%) responded
to the questionnaires during one of the five meetings
and 19 (16.5%) returned them by mail. Since the first
meeting was held on May 10, 1991, and the last mailed
return was received on June 10, the range of time for
phase one (the survey) was 32 days.

Sample frequencies reveal that the group was largely
female. Of the subjects, 80.9% (n=93) were female and
19.1% (n=22) were male. This is not an unexpected finding
in view of the fact that social work has been a predominantly
female occupation since its inception. A study of high
school social workers might have included more males,
since high schools generally have a larger proportion

of male staff. As a basis for comparison, in a 1992 nationwide study of school social workers, 73% were female and 27% were male (Allen-Meares, 1992, p. 9).

Two descriptive independent variables, similar to one another, were incorporated into the demographic questions to determine the length of service of the workers studied. They were "years of experience since obtaining a Master's degree in social work" (required for all Chicago Public Schools social workers) and "years of experience in the present position". Every worker sampled had graduated from social work school at least one year prior to data collection and one had done so 44 years ago. The mean number of years since graduation was 13.1 years ($SD=9.6$). The least experienced people had a minimum of three full months employed as Chicago school social workers (counted as .5) and the maximum years on the job was 25; the mean was 7 years ($SD=7.4$).

In the year preceeding the study, approximately 100 social workers had been added to the staff in order to improve the student-worker ratio and thereby reduce the time needed to complete case study evaluations. Data showed that 36.5% of the workers studied had two schools, the same percent were assigned to three schools, 25.2% had four schools, and only 1.7% ($n=2$) were responsible for five. The number of workers who served only one elementary school at the time of the study is not known because they were not included.

For data analysis, a decision had to be made as to whether to combine the meeting and the mail groups. If the two groups were equivalent, there should not be a significant difference by subgroup for the various scales of the MSQ and the JSI. The two groups were dissimilar in size. One-way ANOVAs revealed a significant difference (p .05) on only one, the JSI scale "Lack of Feedback", on which the mail group scored higher than the meeting group. A t-test run on this item had a pooled variance of .038. It should also be noted that the reliability coefficient obtained on that scale for the present sample was only .5963. Since there were ten scales in all, with a statistically significant difference on only one, the decision was made to combine the two subgroups.

Findings Related to the Research Questions

Since results of some studies have suggested that both experience in one's career and longevity in one's specific job position are associated with greater job satisfaction, both independent variables were correlated with job satisfaction (as measured by the short-form MSQ) and occupational stress (as assessed by the JSI). These correlations are shown in Table 4 (next page).

Table 4

Comparison of MSQ Scales with Years on the Job and

Years Since MSW

MSQ scales:	Yrs. on job:	Yrs. since MSW:
Intrinsic Satisfaction	-.0175	-.0301
Extrinsic Satisfaction	.0583	.0624
General Satisfaction	.0278	.0168
JSI scales:		
Lack of Feedback	-.1823	-.2600
Lack of Participation	.1285	.1103
Lack of Achievement	.0800	.0287
Job Insecurity	-.2152	-.2532
Physical Demands and Danger	-.0202	-.0184
Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Supervisor	-.1134*	-.0853*
Lack of Competence of Supervision	-.0831*	-.1387*

* Multiple principals, so responses were averaged
Note. All calculations are Pierson r correlation
coefficients.

As can be seen from Table 4, few significant
associations could be identified among the school social
workers in the present sample. In fact, the overall weakness
of these correlation coefficients was striking. Job
satisfaction and years as a Chicago school social worker
proved to be unrelated to one another for this group.
The same was true of years since obtaining the M. S. W.
In general, novices in the system appear to be about as

satisfied as highly experienced social workers.

Years since advanced degree and years in the Chicago system both correlated negatively with most of the stress scales. However, the magnitude was low, ranging from -.0202 (no relationship) to -.2600. The latter low correlation was between years since MSW and Lack of Feedback. It suggests that to some extent, more experienced workers are less dependent upon feedback from others. "Years since graduation" was also negatively associated with Job Insecurity (-.2532), not surprising in a unionized system which provides tenure safeguards. "Years on the job" was found to correlate positively with Lack of (opportunity for) Participation, but again, weakly (+.1285).

The degree of association between job satisfaction and occupational stress was also a topic for investigation. Stress is not the same phenomenon as job dissatisfaction, and stress does not necessarily produce dissatisfaction. Following the decision to combine the meeting and mail groups, Pierson r correlation coefficients for the whole sample were computed between the seven scales of the Job Stress Index and those of the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire. The results are shown in Table 5 (next page).

Table 5

Correlation Coefficients of the MSQ and JSI Scales

	MSQ scales:		
JSI scales:	Intrinsic Satisfaction	Extrinsic Satisfaction	General Satisfaction
Lack of Feedback	-.3929**	-.4977**	-.4888**
Lack of Participation	-.5469**	-.5569**	-.6113**
Lack of Achievement	-.5520**	-.5512**	-.6124**
Job Insecurity	-.3245**	-.3236**	-.3713**
Physical Demands and Danger	-.4447**	-.4362**	-.5105**
Lack of Competence of Supervision	-.4132**	-.4067**	-.4801**
Lack of Interpersonal Skills of Supervisor	-.4037**	-.4255**	-.4680**

** $=p < .01$

Although it had been believed that there would be numerous social workers who experienced much stress yet felt very satisfied, the results did not bear out this expectation. All of the correlations were negative, signifying that for this sample, higher job satisfaction corresponded with lower levels of stress.

As can be seen by the table above, coefficients ranged from low (-.3236) to modest (-.6124). All were statistically significant at the .01 level. The data presented in Table 5 requires further clarification. Since the MSQ items are positively written and the JSI questions, negatively

phrased, there is an inverse relationship between them.
In other words, all the negative correlations in the table
actually reflect positive relationships. Therefore, the
discussion below reflects the true relationships (and
all minus signs were removed in the narrative, to avoid
confusion). To illustrate, the strongest association
was between General Job Satisfaction and Lack of Achievement,
lack of opportunity to use one's abilities on the job
and lack of a sense of accomplishment. The correlation
was negative, suggesting that these opportunities are
found by the more satisfied social workers. The correlation
remained moderate when Intrinsic and Extrinsic Satisfaction
were considered separately.

A moderate-to-high relationship (.6113) was seen
between General Satisfaction and (opportunity for)
Participation, or the perceived ability to influence
decisions affecting the respondent. General Satisfaction
also correlated moderately (.5105) with the belief that
the work environment was reasonably safe rather than
dangerous. The least significant correspondence (low)
was between Job Satisfaction (generally and by subscale)
and the stress of Job Insecurity, suggesting that the
latter has little impact on satisfaction for this group.

Only modest correlations were seen when Satisfaction
was compared with the two scales having to do with
perceptions of principals. General Satisfaction was
moderately related to both Competence of Supervision (.4801)

and Interpersonal Skills of Supervisor (.4680). Thus, the quantitative data analysis suggested that feelings about principals (at least, those associated with stress) are not as great an influence upon satisfaction at work as one's sense of accomplishment and one's opportunity to influence decisions.

Perceptions of Principals by School Social Workers

The subsample (n=20) of interviewed social workers provided more support for the suspected relationship between job satisfaction and perceptions of principals than had the quantitative data reported above, as well as more detail. Note that the 20 workers discussed their feelings about a total of 54 principals, envisioned as 54 different "cases" or relationships (see chap. 3, pp. 104-105).

Table 6

Tallies of Correspondence Between School and Principal

Ratings

Perception of principal:	Five	Rating of school: Four	Three	Two	One
21 - 25	22	0	6*	0	1*
16 - 20	2	3	3	2	1*
11 - 15	1*	0	5	2	0
6 - 10	1*	0	3	1	1
1 - 5	0	0	0	0	0

* = Cases for discussion in narrative (see below)

Table 6 shows that of the 54 cases or relationships, 22 (40.7%) fell into one "cell". Those are instances of social workers experiencing a high degree of job satisfaction in a school, while also having a very positive view of the principal's contribution to that satisfaction. In addition, there were only three instances of social workers having low job satisfaction in an assigned school; that is only 5.6% of the situations explored.

It should be noted that the small representation of <u>fours</u> and <u>twos</u> is an expected result, because the workers were given only three options (<u>high</u>, <u>medium</u>, or <u>low</u> satisfaction). Those few (8) cases occurred when an interviewee responded, <u>medium-to-high</u> or <u>low-to-medium</u>. Had the workers initially been offered a range of five responses, they would probably have used it. The cases marked with an asterisk in the above table will be explored further, in an effort to determine the reasons they lie outside the perimeter of the scattergram.

Two of the three <u>low satisfaction</u> schools had principals who apparently did not contribute to that dissatisfaction. Interview notes helped to clarify why. One worker responded to the question of why she was dissatisfied by specifically mentioning the principal:

> I like the principal. Other than that, the morale
> of the teachers is lousy. There's always fighting.
> The principal is a nice guy but he'll see somthing
> . . . it takes a lot for him to be pushed--by that
> time you have chaos. Screaming, hollering. . . I
> actually feel sick on (assigned day). I feel like
> Alice in Wonderland (Interviewee, June/1991).

The other worker who had a very positive view of
a principal but felt dissatisfied in the school said
vaguely that there were "a lot of reasons" and seemed
reluctant to explain further. Of the 20 workers interviewed,
she was the only one who rushed through the session.

Six times, workers felt very satisfied by the attitudes
and behaviors of their principals, yet gave the associated
schools medium (rather than high) ratings. One worker
specifically referred to the principal as the reason for
the rating:

> Part of it is the principal; she likes social work
> services but she has her own perception of how to
> do the work. She evaluates you according to her
> version of how it should be done. I would like her
> to leave us alone, let me do my job. I feel a little
> bit tense (Interviewee, June/1991).

Her evaluation of that principal was quite positive overall,
yet this worker had mixed feelings. The principal was
seen as being controlling and as not understanding the
social work role.

Another interviewee gave a high rating to a principal,
but a medium rating to a school, commenting that earlier
in the school year, it would have been lower: "I couldn't
influence my work setting then. For me, job satisfaction
correlates with power, if I can ask for something and
get what I need. I do a mother's group and the principal
was very supportive" (Interviewee, June, 1991).

Two instances of high-principal, medium-school ratings
were for the same reason, problems with case management
of evaluations of children with learning problems. One

worker said the new counselor was "lovely, but not a good
case manager" (Interviewee, 6/1991). The second explained,
"It's not so much that I'm not satisfied . . . I'm frustrated
due to the poor case management and the disorganization."
This respondent went on to speak of failure to evaluate
and place children in a timely fashion, yet she also saw
some positives in her situation: "Despite all the problems,
I see it as a building where I can give social work services.
I like the team and the people I work with and they have
some neat kids, a diverse population" (Interviewee,
June/1991). The last two cases in this category came
from the same social worker. One of the principals had
even expressed an interest in having the worker full time,
but had been unable to provide the needed space and privacy.

There were two cases of high job satisfaction in
a school in spite of lack of comfort with the assigned
principals. One worker felt there was a misunderstanding
of her role, insufficient access to the principal,
inconsistent application of policies, and seeming
unwillingness by the principal to take responsibility
for mistakes. However, this worker felt very invested
in the school and served it three days a week. Examination
of the principal ratings in the second instance revealed
13 "I don't know's" which pulled down the score
substantially. Actually, this worker did not answer "yes"
to any of the dissatisfiers. This case exemplifies the
caution with which these results should be viewed. Of

the high rating for the school, the interviewee said,
"I'm more independent over there. I've got nine children
I'm doing counselling with over there and they're sweeties."

The cases in the high-satisfaction-school, high-
satisfaction-principal group are proportionately greater
than any other cell, as can be seen from Table 6. This
finding corresponds with the high satisfaction level seen
in the MSQ results from the entire sample.

What did the social workers have to say about their
principals? They provided a wealth of information. At
the end of each session, each social worker was asked
whether behavior and attitude of principals was among
his/her five greatest personal sources of satisfaction
or dissatisfaction. Although interviewees had just focussed
on feelings about principals at that point, they had also
been asked to think about other sources of overall
satisfaction/dissatisfaction. Of the 20 workers,
19 (95%) ranked principal behavior as being one of the
five greatest influences on their job satisfaction.

All were asked why they answered as they did. Their
responses revealed that they view principals as pivotal.
Several referred to how principals set the tone for the
school. One remarked, "I think the entire attitude of
the school towards ancillary services generates from that
focal point of the principalship." Another referred to
school climate: "The administration affects the atmosphere
of the school. Their style, their supervision affects

the staff, the parents, and the students."

Several workers made specific references to the high
value they place on the quality of their relationship
with the principal. One said, "It colors everything I
do. If there is freedom, but some leadership, it is ideal.
If I'm stifled or I can't get any help, I'm less effective."
Another commented, "I believe the way I relate to my
principal has a lot to do with the comfort I feel. Feeling
good about the principal gives me the comfort level, the
security in my decision-making, because I feel supported
by my principal." A third stated, "The things that I
stated about the principals are the things I like about
this job. When you get along with them you're satisfied
with your job; when you don't get along with them, you
keep your distance and you want to get out" of that school.
Another explained, "That person is my boss--the pacesetter
as to how I deal with the rest of the staff. If the
principal dislikes me or we have problems it affects my
morale but if we have a good relationship, then I want
to come in and do the job."

Some of the workers expressed great admiration for
their principals:

> The principal there is the best I've seen, a
> tremendous presence in the school, a big father
> figure. He knows all the staff and kids. He got
> all the teachers involved in the Padeia Project.
> His philosophy is to turn the teachers on to
> learning and get them excited about teaching. . .

The social workers had invested time and energy in
building relationships with principals. One had taken

action when she saw the need for it:

> One principal seemed like she had a "split
> personality"--one day, all friendly, the next
> day, she would pass by you and not speak to you.
> That was her own fears, it was a discomfort level
> on her part. She felt isolated, but I didn't know
> that then. (How did you find out?) I sat and talked
> to her. She later expressed liking to have me there.

This worker applied her professional skills to building

a relationship with her administrator.

Sources of Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction in Workers

In addition to attempting to determine to what extent

feelings about principals contribute to job satisfaction,

the interviews also explored other sources of satisfaction

and dissatisfaction. Material was obtained in two ways.

The social workers were asked to elaborate on why they

felt satisfied or dissatisfied for each school in which

they worked. Then they were requested to cite their two

primary overall sources of job satisfaction (continuing,

not transitory). The same was asked for job dissatisfaction.

The first question generated actual satisfiers and

dissatisfiers from the daily lives of the workers. The

second, however, seemed to produce a combination of the

actual and the ideal. In six instances, double-coding

was necessary (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 63). Chart

1, on the next page, represents a Matrix which lists the

types of satisfiers listed by the interviewees and at

least one example of each.

Chart 1

Matrix of Sources of Job Satisfaction in the Social Workers
_____

Job satisfiers and number of workers expressing them; Examples: (All citations, June/1991)	Possible underlying issues:
SATISFIER/DIRECT WORK W/ CLIENTS (n=6): "A lot of opportunity for hands-on, tangible-type work with kids and their parents." "Serving the bilingual, Spanish families, that's why I work for the Board, I like it . . . a sense of mission. I know I could find a higher-paying job." "Two things I enjoy are to have good, on-going relationships with kids, group or individual, and families-- very rewarding."	Need to be helpful; people-oriented (as opposed to social isolate); altruistic value system
SATISFIER/EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERVENTION (n=8): "Dealing with children and understanding them at their level-- to see them change in response to my caring." "The support I give to the teachers; they seem to appreciate it. I also feel good when I see the kids start getting the services after staffings." "Changes in attitude for the better. The teacher begins to see the child differently, sees that you have an interest in the kid." "The work itself and being able to have some impact on the children and parents."	Feelings of efficacy and self-worth; longing to "make a difference", a search for personal (intrinsic) satisfaction
SATISFIER/JOB COMPLEXITY (n=6): "Challenging work--being able to work with the kids in prevention and being able to have a part in helping them when it's at a point where I can do something. I feel like I've used every aspect of my social work training. No day is the same, it's never boring. This is so much what I want to be doing." "I . . . like the intellectual stimulation of working with the team--cases that are kind of hard." "It's difficult here--we kind of	Needs for personal growth, challenge, stimulation (again, intrinsic)

unite; we have this in common,
that the parents are difficult.
I've had teachers go on home visits
with me. I can do just about any
kind of thing with the energy and
time I have."
" . . . the atmosphere of being in
a stimulating environment. I'm
really very satisfied, more with
this job than any job I've ever had."

SATISFIER/CREATIVITY (n=3):
"Giving me the flexibility to be
creative."

Need for creativity
appears related
to job complexity

SATISFIER/RESPECT FOR COMPETENCE (n=5):
"I have good rapport with the staff
and the students. They call on me to
solve problems. I'm looked upon as
an important part of the team."
"That my services are valued, that
they feel I can really do something.
If there's an agency, I'm told about
it. I feel that when I take all
these things home to write, someone
appreciates it."
"My advice is sought-out, valued."

Need for
recognition;
sense of
self-worth

SATISFIER/MUTUAL RESPECT (n=7):
"Social work over there is considered
a very valuable service and the staff
is just fabulous and they work so
well with me and with each other."
"I'm real people-oriented. I like to
feel I'm doing well. It makes for a
good environment if I like the people
I work with."
"Sensitivity--for people to be aware
that most of these kids have lots of
issues. . . . for people to have
feelings towards each other. More
than sensitivity, respect that
people have for one another."

Feelings of having
one's competence
valued; optimistic
view of worth
of others and
sense of trust
(Eriksonian);
feelings of
belonging, of
inclusion

SATISFIER/INCLUSION (n=3):
"I've been here longer, I feel like
its home. There's a level of
communication here, professional as
well as the friend-level, with the
staff. When I'm sitting in a
meeting I'm one of them--'What
committee are you going to be on;
what are you going to be the
chairman of?' I've been here so

Desire to be
"part of things";
sense of isolation
arises from being
the sole social
worker in the
school

long some people have passed away."
"I get along with my colleagues very
well. They value my services. They
treat me as a professional, include
me in activities. I guess I'm more
visible now in providing services.
I feel good even though I'm drained
and I may have to stay a half hour
later."
"I have a good relationship with the
staff, the principal, the counselor--
so I feel relaxed, at ease."

SATISFIER/SCHOOL CLIMATE (n=3)
(X school) "is very small and
community-like, almost suburban.
There's a real sense of togetherness.
Parents and teachers seem very
cohesive. . . . Everything seems to
work right there, you can really
manage things there. The people
are just so kind. . . .The PTA is
strong and everyone knows their
own roles."
"People are flexible, professional
. . . a sense of friendliness and
comraderie. No 'turf issues,' not
territorial."

Need for social
supports and
a level of comfort
conducive to
learning

SATISFIER/AUTONOMY (n=2):
"I like the degree of autonomy
afforded to us. I don't need
daily or weekly supervision."

Need for internal
control

SATISFIER/TEAM RELATIONSHIPS (n=2):
"I work with a great team."

SATISFIER/GUIDANCE COUNSELOR (n=2):
"The counselor is respectful of what
I do. There are clear boundries
there."

Need for one
to have
confidence in
professionals
with whom
diagnostic and
placement
decisions about
children are
mutually made

The thoughts of the social workers about their personal

sources of satisfaction seem to fall primarily into the

intrinsic realm. Close in importance to such facets of

work as efficacy and challenge were interpersonal

relationships, on which workers placed a high value.

Chart 2

Matrix of Sources of Job Dissatisfaction in Social Workers

Job dissatisfiers and number of workers expressing them; Examples: (All citations, June, 1991)	Possible underlying issues:
DISSATISFIER/HIGH CASELOAD (n=6): "There are roadblocks. Any one of my schools could use me full time. I feel like I'm scratching the surface--things keep coming up over and over. I feel this way generally." "There's frustrations. You can't do everything, can't solve every child's problem . . . So many cultures, cultures I've never worked with before." "I have lots of work, intensive work. The poverty level in this area is high. . . . sometimes the impact I have is minimal."	Feelings of being overwhelmed while having insufficient time to deal with the many unmet needs; frustration
DISSATISFIER/TIME PRESSURES (n=10): "Intense roadblocks--the school has tremendous needs and service only one day a week, plus a definite decision . . .to have me only do special ed. evaluations. . . . The situation is grim." "I'm constantly doing social assessments, so I'm not covering all the bases. The school needs a full-time social worker." "Having to establish priorities when they (tasks) seem to be of equal weight. You may have a certain agenda, but some clients have one which may be legitimate also--so you have to satisfy part of yours and part of theirs." "I don't get to do the counselling I would like to do. If I did, I wouldn't be able to do the evaluations for special ed." "Any dissatisfaction I would have has to do with not having enough time." " . . . a feeling of not having enough time to work with the kids."	Feelings of being "torn" by conflicting needs; related to "high caseload", above. If the two were combined, n=16

DISSATISFIER/LACK OF
SPACE/PRIVACY (n=9):
"My nice space got taken away.
I used to love that school."
"The overall working conditions,
not having adequate space to do
your job, that's the thing that
stands out. . . .The work
environment is not conducive to
having groups--too much traffic."
" . . . there's a rumor there's
gonna be a space problem, but
I'm satisfied now."
"I have to service four E. D.
classrooms and two B. D. rooms,
a total of 60 kids, and I do
not have a room to do
counselling, as well as general
services. I had conflict over
using someone else's room; now
I've taken to using the lunch-
room and the teacher's lounge."
"If I came from an outside
agency, I'd get a lot more
respect and not have to see the
kids on the stairs."

Feelings that
social workers
have lowest
priority when
space is allotted;
possible devaluation
of the worth
of the service

DISSATISFIER/LACK OF RESOURCES (n=3):
"I would like to have a 'phone
always available . . . rather
than having to hike--so much
running around."
"Not a chair, not a telephone,
not a desk for my clients."

Related to lack
of space.
Possible feelings
of humiliation

DISSATISFIER/DIFFICULT
CLIENTS/LACK OF IMPACT (n=2):
"I can't engage the parents on a
consistent basis. . . . I realize
the limits of my work, that the
child's problem is the parent's
problem. If the parent could
get it together . . . but they
don't (always) want to."
"Dealing with inner-city
children with tremendous need,
you are set up to fail."

Feelings that
level of skill
may not matter;
some clients
don't want to
change and others
are unable

DISSATISFIER/NEGATIVE CLIMATE (n=3):
"We're losing control. Kids plan
to be sent to sit on the bench--I
hear 'em--I don't think its
appropriate. There's a breakdown
somewhere. The Assistant Principal

A tense and/or
disorganized
school atmosphere
which is not
conducive to
learning

is too nice to suspend. He
believes in the kids so much but
it doesn't work."
"That school has a 'personality
disorder.' There's an on-going
fight between the principal and
the assistant principal, the
assistant and the counselor . . .
tension, bad feelings. The whole
school has taken sides--nasty
comments. But I stay out of it;
I enjoy the kids."

DISSATISFIER/BUREAUCRACY (n=2):   Feelings of
"The political environment of the   powerlessness
schools--the instability, tremendous   and anomie
mismanagement, continual changes,
tremendously frustrating."

DISSATISFIER/LACK OF AUTONOMY (n=4):   Related to above
"If I didn't have autonomy, I'd
hate it. If someone didn't rely
on my judgment or questioned what
I do I'd be very upset."
"I hate people looking over my
shoulder and checking everything
I do."

DISSATISFIER/ROLE AMBIGUITY (n=4):   Need for a clear
"Everybody has their own idea of   understanding
what the social worker does. You   of one's tasks
are constantly redefining your own   and role boundries
boundries--diplomatically."   to be able to
"There aren't any real clear   convey them to
policies at the school as to   staff and
what my role is. I have to   administration
talk to the principal about
that frequently."

DISSATISFIER/ROLE CONFLICT (n=3):   Related to above;
"I have to advocate for the   possible
children and it contradicts the   professional
school's agenda."   jealousy
"Parochialism-- 'You're encroaching
upon my area of expertise.' People
stake out certain territories and
get defensive."

DISSATISFIER/ACCOUNTABILITY (n=2):   A "parent-child
"I have to write down . . . what I   transaction",
do. I feel like a kid."   in transactional
"Paperwork and statistics."   analysis terms

For this group, the greatest sources of job dissatisfaction were the related dilemmas of time pressures and high caseloads. None of the other dissatisfiers mentioned had as great an impact on the workers interviewed.

Assessment of the Interviews

The generally positive response of the social workers to being interviewed was a pleasant surprise. This writer began the sessions feeling some discomfort over the risk of imposing on the leisure time of colleagues, but found Fowler correct: "People like to have an opportunity to talk about themselves to a good listener" (1988, p. 53). One factor which probably contributed to the willingness of the workers to share is the special nature of this job. School social workers, who work in a host setting, may feel isolated. Initiative is necessary to get any support from colleagues, yet the newer workers who most need it may not know anyone to contact.

Use of a single interviewer, while offering consistency, also has disadvantages. One is difficulty avoiding one's preconceptions (Patton, 1980, p. 28). Another is the temptation by subjects to make statements of which the interviewer will approve (Gruneberg, 1979, p. 4), but which do not reflect their true feelings.

One step which would have been beneficial, but which time did not allow, would have been a series of pretests

(Fowler, 1988, p. 104). For example, when the workers
were asked to rate their level of job satisfaction in
each school served as low, medium, or high, a three-point
scale, they "created" their own five-point scale by offering
such assessments as medium-to-high. Therefore, a five-
point scale was created at time of analysis. The drawback
was that all the interviewees should have had the opportunity
to use the greater range of responses from the beginning.
The decision not to use a tape recorder was a good one;
the interviewer felt relaxed and was able to focus.

The responses to the open-ended questions proved
to be invaluable and enriched the results. Queries of
that sort are better offered via personal interview, rather
than in writing; less effort is required of respondents
and interviewers can probe incomplete responses (Patton,
1980, p. 29). The workers really liked the chance to
use their own words. Social workers are talkative people
who seem especially attuned to attitudes and expression
of feelings. In summary, the interviewing process proved
personally satisfying, as well as offering a fine learning
experience with a new type of interview.

Assessment of the Burnout Question

The sole purpose for administering the Maslach Burnout
Inventory (MBI) was to ascertain whether or not any of
the sampled social workers were experiencing burnout.

Anonymity was believed to be critical to reliable results, and recipients of the MBI might have been uncomfortable to have a colleague (this writer) know their true feelings on such a sensitive topic. Since the returned questionnaires were not identified, correlations with any of the demographic or descriptive variables were not possible.

The return rate for the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) was lower (45%) than for the two questionnaires which had already been given. It is very possible that the true numbers of burned out social workers were underestimated. First, 11 dissatisfied workers failed to return their MBI's. Second, workers who had not completed the MSQ and the JSI, and so were not part of the study, may have felt so negatively about work that they were reluctant to participate in research about it. The selected subsample was so small ($\underline{n}$=9) that these data are of limited usefulness. Even had the return rate been 100%, the sample would still have been small, due to the method by which recipients of the Maslach were chosen.

The MBI depicts burnout as a continuous rather than a dichotomous variable. It consists of three subscales, which are not to be summed. On the Emotional Exhaustion subscale, a score of 17-26 suggests a moderate degree of burnout and the present sample fell into the moderate to high range (Mean=23; $\underline{SD}$=14.3). Depersonalization measures development of an unfeeling, impersonal response to clients. A score of 0-8 is considered low. On this

subscale, a mean of 5.6 was obtained (SD=7.2), indicative

of a low degree of burnout in this domain. A low score

on the Personal Accomplishment subscale signifies greater

burnout, because this subscale assesses one's feelings

of competence. A score of 39 or more is considered low.

The subsample had a mean of 40.3 (SD=4.9), which suggests

little sense of accomplishment and high burnout in that

area. One might say that the small sample evaluated,

while experiencing a moderate degree of emotional exhaustion

and little sense of accomplishment, resists depersonalizing

clients, which is to their credit. No statement about

overall burnout can be made, since no formula for computing

it is available at the present time.

What is the meaning of these findings? Further analysis

and some interpretation is offered in the chapter which

follows.

CHAPTER FIVE
IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Further Analysis of the Sample

What was learned about the sample from analysis?
One central question is whether the subjects who participated
were truly representative of the population (elementary
school social workers with multiple schools). What is
known about those who did not participate? It is sometimes
difficult to learn enough about non-respondents to determine
their effect on the data. That effect "depends on the
percentage not responding and the extent to which those
not responding are biased--that is, systematically different
from the whole population" (Fowler, 1988, p. 48). The
percentage of the total population not included in this
study was 18.3% prior to analysis and 22.2% after four
subjects were eliminated for various reasons. The mailing
of packets to workers who failed to attend the meetings
had the intended effect of making the results more truly
representative. The 46.4% return was an acceptable rate
for use of the mail. A good mailed return rate has been
shown to correspond with greater education and with interest
in the topic being studied (Fowler, 1988, p. 49). Both
were characteristic of the present population. However,
one step which should have been taken was to follow up
the mailed returns not received (Fowler, 1988, p. 67),

perhaps with personal telephone calls. The rate for those
returns would then have been higher.

The researcher happened to talk with two of the non-
respondents about the research project before the end
of the school year. Both pleaded that they had been too
busy to complete their surveys; one used the word,
"overwhelmed". This incident raises the possibility that
social workers experiencing more than moderate job stress
might have been well-represented among non-respondents.
Whether their inclusion might have meant findings of greater
stress and/or less satisfaction cannot be known with
certainty.

The proportion of school social workers studied attached
to two or three schools (36.5% in each category) was a
somewhat surprising finding. The researcher, at the
outset of her own career in 1972, had been assigned ten
schools. In 1991, fewer than 2% of of the respondents
reported having five, so the question arose whether they
were typical of the population. Consequently, the number
of assigned schools for those who returned the questionnaires
was compared with that of the population (see Table 7).

Table 7

Number of Assigned Schools; Respondents vs. Population

	Two schools	Three schools	Four schools	Five schools
Sample (N=121)	36.5%	36.5%	25.2%	1.7%
Population (N=148)	33.3%	30.6%	31.3%	4.8%

Although other factors may be operating in the
distribution of the discrepancies revealed by Table 7,
it does appear that social workers having four and five
schools were slightly underrepresented in the study.
The interview quotations from the subsample reveal that
a main source of job dissatisfaction was the overwhelmed
feelings arising from high caseloads of students and parents.
The difficulty assigning priorities to various tasks as
a result of having too many to do was a related interview
finding. Another piece of collaborative data to account
for the discrepancies reported in Table 7 comes from the
comparison of meeting and mail findings. On one subscale
of the stress instrument (JSI), those unable to attend
the meeting were seen to be under greater stress than
those who did, but they somehow found time to complete
the mailed packet (probably at home). In summary, analysis
of non-respondents suggests that had the return rate been
100%, results might have shown more job stress and/or
dissatisfaction.

The worker-school ratios reported above can be placed
in historical context by noting that in 1966, four school
social workers carried total citywide responsibility for
the Chicago Public Schools (personal communication, Dr.
Sung Ok Kim, 3/1992). As of March, 1992, almost a year
after data collection, there are about 320 school social
workers assigned to approximately 600 elementary, high,
and special schools. This increase is due primarily to

the "sense of mission" of successive heads of the Department
of Social Work and their skilled advocacy on behalf of
the field.

The fact that four-fifths of the respondents were
female, while not specifically addressed in any of the
original research questions, does appear to have
implications. Historically, social work, now a profession,
began as a charitable endeavor in which committed women
were able to engage voluntarily due to their stations
in life. Recent theories of women's psychology have examined
how women became caretakers. "From childhood on, women's
moral sense emphasizes caring for others" (Belle, 1982,
p. 497). Self-other distinctions are blurred in women,
so they feel connections to and responsibility for others.
Nurturing and mutual support are strengths, but the risk
exists that a woman will experience a "loss of self" (Belle,
p. 497). One study suggests that it is not so much the
holding of multiple roles that is experienced as stressful
as the perception of those roles, the qualitative
experiences. Barling (1990) reviewed a series of prior
studies of the effects upon women of juggling multiple
roles. The conclusion was that all findings reviewed
showed negative effects; "individuals have a finite amount
of time and resources at their disposal . . ." (p. 118).
It is possible that had the survey sample included more
males, one source of stress (multiple roles) might have
been lessened.

Interpretation of Findings: The Research Questions

One question this study sought to address was whether
number of years since obtaining the M.S.W. and years in
the present position might be related to levels of job
satisfaction and/or stress experienced by the social workers.
As can be seen from Table 4 (p. 110), the two variables
having to do with level of experience bore little or no
relationship to job satisfaction or stress, an unexpected
finding. One would think that the development of competence
and coping skills associated with greater longevity would
enhance job satisfaction and help one better manage stress.
We can only speculate as to the reason for this finding.
It may be that social workers who join the staff of the
Chicago Public Schools only to discover that inner city
school social work is not a "good fit" resign. In the
years preceeding this research, there have been ample
opportunities for Chicago M.S.W.'s to move into other
settings. It may also be that the system "sifts out"
or "counsels out" the most dysfunctional social workers.
Since the main "tool" one has in this field is oneself,
those whose personal problems impede their ability to
successfully intervene with clients have difficulty
performing on the job.

Variables related to job satisfaction (expressed
in the MSQ) and to occupational stress (the JSI) were
correlated. The results are found in Table 5 (p. 112).
The sampled social workers not only may have felt justified

leaving the system, but also felt secure when they stayed, according to the findings. Job security increased with years of experience and was only slightly related to job satisfaction. This appears to be reflective of the seniority provisions in the contracts negotiated by the Chicago Teacher's Union. Should a given social worker prove unsatisfactory to a principal, the worker's assignment is changed so as to provide the principal with a new worker. The social worker may also request a change. Either way, the worker continues in the position. It is only unproductive workers who risk job loss and the process for termination has been somewhat cumbersome. Provisions in the union contract serve as a deterrent to principals.

The finding that more experienced workers are less dependent upon feedback from others seems logical. As people practice their professions, their feelings of mastery increase. They grow more personally secure with their competence and less reliant on others for assurances. Feedback, as Glicken (1984) points out, comes from three sources: The job itself, one's co-workers, and one's supervisor(s). Employees need direct, clear information about the effectiveness of their performance (p. 68). As has been discussed, school social work is somewhat unique, in that each social worker is surrounded while practicing with people from other professions (primarily, by educators). It may well be that the field of school social work attracts independent workers who prefer not

to have the supervision which is found in social service
agencies. Glicken proposes that the trend towards
accountability (seen in the form of monthly statistics
required of Chicago school social workers) be used as
"a way to enhance one's positive feelings towards one's
work" (p. 69) rather than simply a monitoring device.

The strongest association (.6124) in Table 5 was
found between satisfaction and opportunity to use one's
abilities on the job, a sense of accomplishment. This
relationship is supported by the eight interviewees who
spoke of efficacy, six others who mentioned challenge
and stimulation, and five workers who felt their competence
was valued. Clearly, intrinsic reinforcers mean more
to these school social workers than extrinsic ones. For
all the criticisms of Maslow (p 14), his focus on the
"higher order needs" clearly seems applicable to the values
of this group of helpers.

The case might be made that the findings about feedback
and accomplishment are related. Glicken, after reviewing
a series of studies, concludes that both dimensions are
related to internal control, or the overall belief that
events in one's life are the result of one's talents and
efforts (rather than being guided by fate or by the actions
of others). Since internally oriented individuals tend
to see hard work as instrumental, they are driven by the
desire for accomplishment and they seek knowledge of results.
This reinforces their sense that personal efforts have

led to desired outcomes (1980, p. 67).

The social workers practicing in situations which permitted greater participation were more satisfied than others. "Research has shown repeatedly that people are more deeply committed to a course of action if they have had a voice in planning it" (Rush, 1978, p. 7). The participatory style of management has been emphasized in both educational and corporate management literature. Principals and CEO's alike are urged to include their employees in decisions which affect them. Like the findings concerning feedback and achievement, the participation factor suggests that the workers who responded tend overall towards an internal locus of control, believing that they can and should exert effort and influence.

A word should be said about the satisfiers and dissatisfiers which emerged from the interviews. The fact that they were different from one another (rather than being polar opposites) bears out Herzberg's thinking. However, his theory appears not to recognize individual differences in satisfiers and dissatisfiers. For this group, effectiveness of intervention and job complexity were the primary intrinsic sources of job satisfaction. These social workers found direct work with parents and children central to their satisfaction, as had the participants in Costin's (1969) study. The intrinsic nature of the satisfiers cited by this group shows similarities with findings from other helping professionals,

summerized by Eisenstat and Felner in 1983 (see chap.
1, p. 47). Work is valued for its own sake.

As for dissatisfiers, the chronic work overload of
which this group complained appeared both quantitative
and qualitative, analogous to 1987 findings by Matteson
and Ivancevich (see above, p. 33). The strong feelings
about lack of privacy suggest the high regard these social
workers have for their clients.

Implications of Findings: Burnout

Although the results of the administration of the
Maslach are of limited usefulness, due to the very small
sample size, some discussion is still in order. The findings
were that the nine subjects felt little sense of
accomplishment and experienced a moderate amount of emotional
exhaustion. Those two findings are linked. Burnout is
an extreme (and relentless) form of occupational stress,
in which a depleted energy level is experienced. That
makes functioning on the job difficult, which would, in
turn, make fewer accomplishments possible.

Results of the third subscale were particularly
interesting. The burned out social workers had little
inclination to depersonalize the students and parents
with whom they work, in spite of their negative feelings
about their jobs. The regard for clients implicit in
this finding is borne out by the interview material.

Review of the literature on burnout, described in chapter

one, reveals a difference of opinion among the foremost

authorities on burnout on this point. Depersonalization

was first depicted as part of the burnout syndrome by

Maslach. However, Freudenberger, another pioneer, reported

that his subjects tried even harder and became even more

dedicated when feeling depleted. It seems, then, that

the aspect of burnout termed by Maslach "depersonalization"

occurs in conjunction with other factors. Possible examples

might include environmental ones (e.g., a stressful setting,

lack of access to social supports) and personality factors,

such as cynicism, depression, and so forth.

Another possibility to consider is that these

respondents, more familiar than some other professions

with psychological instruments, were influenced by social

desirability factors when responding to the items comprising

the MBI scales. In other words, they may not have expressed

their true feelings. Still another explanation is that

the reluctance to depersonalize clients is linked with

the dominant gender of this sample. This group was

predominantly female and Maslach's findings suggest that

women are less likely to experience depersonalization

because they tend to become more emotionally involved.

(Matteson & Ivancevich, 1987, p. 247).

The quantitative and qualitative findings both support the impact of relationships with principals upon the work functioning of social workers, but the interview results seem to make a stronger case for this association. It should be stressed that the results of the two methodological approaches cannot be compared, since they do not assess the same constructs. Because it became necessary to drop the two supervision items in the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, the only data available about supervision from the survey is from the Job Stress Index. The interview data pertains to the impact of principal perceptions upon job satisfaction.

Due to the strong relationship found in the interviews between schools offering high satisfaction and principals who did so, it might be justifiable to conclude that the variable "perceptions of principals" was more related to job satisfaction than to stress. This writer is reluctant to be definitive on that point. The Job Stress Index was more recently developed than the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, so has had less opportunity for refinement. Also, the interview script would have benefited from a pilot test.

Virtually all the job satisfaction studies reviewed by Kahn (1972) agreed that supervision has an important impact on worker job satisfaction (Hopkins, 1983). An ideal relationship between a principal and a social worker

is probably not much different than the principal-teacher
relationship of which one author wrote. It begins with
rapport, a harmonious relationship characterized by mutually
positive feelings. "Authorities tend to agree that, along
with trust and rapport, cooperation, collaboration, honesty,
open communication, and a general sense of colleagueship
are necessary for developing a working relationship"
(Roberts, 1984, p. 178). One way principals have long
set the tone for positive relationships with staff is
via use of language which reflects respect for and confidence
in employees, while at the same time conveying high
expectations (Glicken, 1980, p. 72). The workers who
participated in the interviews spoke of being able to
go in and talk with principals, of being really listened
to, of feeling understood.

On the other hand, five workers felt dissatisfied
due to what they perceived as authoritarian, controlling
tendencies in their principals. "A principal told me
I had better just agree" (even if I disagree), one said.
Another indicated that one principal selected, not only
her cases, but which students should go in her groups.
That is a therapeutic decision. A third worker described
one school as being "run like a dictatorship, not a school."

Interviewees also made repeated references to the
principal as the "key person" in the school. They spoke
of the principal as "the pacesetter as to how I deal with
the rest of the staff," "so important", "the educational

leader", the person who "holds the power". They also

spoke frankly of wanting the principal's approval, esteem,

and support for their efforts. These results are supportive

of the value the workers place on feedback and are similar

to the findings of Livingston and Rock:

> The working relationship between the school social
> worker and the principal is critical to both the
> success and improvement of the program and the worker's
> own survival. The principal is in the key position
> to translate the theory of school social work service
> into effective action. Through his or her organization,
> the principal provides the facilities and determines
> the policies necessary to implement the program in
> the school (Livingston & Rock, 1985, p. 136).

The dissatisfaction expressed by nine workers over

scarcity of space and lack of privacy for interviews appears

to be multicausal. As the authors quoted above point

out, it is the principal who allocates the space; assignments

reflect his/her educational priorities. Giving employees

control over their work environment enhances their motivation

(Glicken, 1984, p. 64), so withholding it would logically

create dissatisfaction. However, it should not be forgotten

that in this particular instance, principals themselves

have limited control over their facilities, since many

school buildings were built for smaller populations and

are now overcrowded.

Even before they come to know and understand one

another personally, principals and social workers need

to be clear as to one another's roles. Social workers

have to understand that principals must sometimes put

the good of the school or of a group of children before

the needs of a single child. Principals, having once

been teachers, may regret having to do that. If they

hide those feelings for professional reasons, they may

be accused of insensitivity. One of the strengths of

social workers is their ability to assess other people.

We need to apply this skill to supervisors and colleagues

as well as to children and parents.

Principals, in turn, need to understand better the

nature of social work; the interviews provided ample evidence

of that. Four workers spoke of role ambiguity and three

others reported outright role conflict. These social

workers reported instructions from principals which directly

contradict the official written job description and state

law. Two workers were told to do only social assessments

for evaluations, which shortchanged students in the regular

program in need of social work services. A third was

criticized for reporting a neglect case. Still another

described how one principal took over a therapeutic decision,

the selection of her counselling group members. The need

for clarification of the social worker's role was also

"a common theme" of the responses to the Livingston and

Rock study (1985, p. 139):

> If the principal does not understand the function
> of the school social worker and fails to interpret
> the role to the teaching and other staff, the worker
> may feel isolated from the mainstream of education
> in the school with few positive, close, professional
> relationships with teachers or the administrator
> (Livingston & Rock, 1985, p. 136).

The above statement certainly tallies with one worker's

comment in the present research that "the entire attitude of the school towards ancillary services generates from . . . [the] focal point of the principalship" (June, 1991). Another study of job satisfaction in school social workers concluded:

> Building principals should have a better understanding of what social work methods are and how they apply to solving school problems. . . . Without support from administration, ambiguity and conflicting role expectations will continue to deter innovative planning . . . and result in job burnout (Pamperin, 1987, p. 68).

Relationships With School Staff

Principals were not the only school employees who affected the job satisfaction of the social workers studied. Relationships with team members and case managers (who direct progress of evaluations) also concerned the workers. Radin, reviewing the changes school social work has seen, concludes that the current situation, participation on an interdisciplinary team, represents the fourth significant role change since the job began. School social workers have gone from being family-school liaisons ("visiting teachers") to being clinicians to a more systems-oriented approach to team membership. Until this last shift, occasioned by implementation of The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), workers functioned autonomously, usually in isolation. Working with other disciplines is more time-consuming than operating independently (Radin, 1989, pp. 217-218). It is also

a mixed blessing; note that team membership was both a
satisfier and a dissatisfier for the workers interviewed.
If a team shares good rapport and functions well, it can
offer not only emotional support, but new learning to
its members. If not, membership can be a stressor.

                    Research Possibilities

     What are some of the personality variables which
might contribute to job satisfaction and stress management
in social workers? Since the practice of social work
places so much importance on the conscious use of self,
Pamperin (1987) proposes that research be done into qualities
such as creativity and flexibility (p. 61). This writer's
continuing interest in locus of control provides another
possible framework; some research has suggested that
professionals who tend to be more "internal" in orientation
attribute their successes to their own efforts, so are
reinforced by those successes. Measures of satisfaction,
occupational stress, and locus of control could be given
and relationships sought among those variables.
     Should certain personality characteristics be found
to correspond with dissatisfaction, stress, or burnout,
can they be modified? It might be profitable to replicate
Book's (1989) use of the Process of Change Scale (developed
by Prochaska and DiClemente in 1982) with school social
workers. Book asked psychologists and clinical social

workers to rate their success with various self-change
efforts such as self reevaluation, helping relationships,
and stimulus control. Book's comparison of perceived
success of these techniques with a measure of burnout
revealed significant differences in their efficacy (Book,
1989). The benefit of such a study is that its results
offer very concrete guidance to those desirous of avoiding
personal stress and burnout, as well as to administrators
and others interested in prevention.

Burnout might also be studied in relation to job
satisfaction. Although they appear to be polar opposites,
the present study does not address this issue. One potential
biasing factor researchers of burnout face is that
respondents may not always answer truthfully. Defense
mechanisms such as denial and feelings such as shame affect
their responses. It is difficult to imagine circumstances
in which comparison of self-report of burnout with appraisal
by significant others would not be harmful, even unethical,
but such a design would certainly enhance validity. It
might be possible to do a study of this nature on a voluntary
basis in an Employee Assistance Program, before and after
therapeutic intervention. Maslach did so when validating
her items. We need to be able to predict who will burn
out and learn more about the circumstances which promote
it if we are to begin preventing this destructive process.
Life stages may well play a role in burnout (Freudenberger,
1989, p. 7) and this relationship warrants further study.

In the school setting, the interrelationships of
principals and social workers also merit further
investigation. One study (Livingston & Rock, 1985) took
the approach of saying to social workers, "Rate your
relationship with administrators." The respondents were
offered a scale of one to five. Possible answers ranged
from accepted/respectful (5) to tolerated(1). However,
those options do not permit one to respond, "uncomfortable"
or "intolerable". With possible modification of the scale,
this design appears to have good potential for replication.
Comparison of paired responses (principal's appraisal
of worker and vice versa) would also be enlightening.

Another possible area for exploration might be reasons
for attitudes of social workers towards principals. Causal
attribution theory is suggested by Locke (1976, p. 1302)
as a promising method of assessment of employee attitudes
towards supervisors. In schools, for example, such factors
as degree of trust, attitude towards authority figures,
and childhood school experiences of social workers might
be found to contribute to their appraisals of principals.
An alternative approach might be to compare adult
developmental stages of social workers to perceptions
of principals.

Finally, not enough is known about the effects on
school social workers of moving from school to school,
which is necessary in metropolitan school systems with
budgetary problems. A related matter is the effect on

workers of being transferred.

How Social Workers can Help

Assessment of a principal by staff involves learning
more about the needs of that principal. What is the value
system of the leader of a school and how does it translate
into the mission he/she envisions for that school? That
mission has implications, in turn, for the principal's
concept of the worker's role. Social workers are most
successful if they find ways of blending assigned tasks
(such as social assessments for evaluation) with programs
which meet the needs of the principal and staff. Direct
services, consultation, and staff development are among
possible vehicles. One school may desire a student group
which attempts to deal with the unmet needs "solved" by
gang membership. Another might ask that teachers be given
training in how to spot child abuse, requirements of the
law, and so forth.

Isadora Hare urges that social workers develop models
which involve various school staff in both prevention
of problems and creation of a more desirable school climate
(1988, p. 230). One of the toughest lessons a school
social worker must learn is that it is not enough to "do
a good job" as we ourselves conceive of it. We cannot
rely upon self-appraisal alone. In a secondary setting,
we need for our values and methods to be better understood

if we are to be perceived as competent. As role ambiguity
is lessened, social workers should experience less stress
(Pamperin, 1987, p. 68). We need to take care of ourselves
if we are to be of real help to the children.

Alleviation and Prevention of Stress: The Person

A wealth of advice is available for those wishing
to diminish personal and occupational stress. People
are urged to eat a balanced diet, exercise regularly,
get sufficient sleep, practice preventive medicine, develop
social supports and seek mentors. Philosophical belief
systems such as yoga and transcendental meditation offer
relief, as do techniques like relaxation training, imagery,
and cognitive restructuring. We do not actually know
"whether these tactics work by affecting physiological
response patterns, psychological response patterns, or
both" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 335). What can be
said generally is that a positive attitude towards life
in general is essential for stress management (Eskridge
& Coker, 1985, p. 389).

Since stress is so indisputably a perceptual phenomenon,
effective coping strategies become essential. Coping
behaviors constitute a range of learned behaviors upon
which the individual can call to deal with life circumstances
(Swanson, 1986, p. 18). Lazarus and Folkman define "coping"
as "constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts

to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (1984, p. 141, italics removed). One reason we lack solid data which would enable us to understand coping processes is the difficulty of laboratory research. To induce high levels of stress in human beings is unethical, so most of our data come from naturalistic studies (Cameron & Meichenbaum, 1982, p. 696).

Cameron and Meichenbaum, writing from a transactional perspective, offer a useful framework for looking at this process. The first prerequisite for effective coping, say the authors, is accurate appraisal of events. Since "life is fraught with ambiguity" (p. 698), transactions and events can always be interpreted in more than one way, based on unique, implicit assumptions about oneself and the nature of the world. For maximally effective coping, an individual needs to approach each appraisal as would a scientist, by making interpretations of events and experiences which "are valid to the extent that they are supported (and not contradicted) by convincing data" (p. 698). Unnecessary, self-inflicted stress comes of misinterpreting a benign situation as threatening or failing to take self-protective action by underestimating a realistic threat.

Secondly, an adequate repertoire of responses is necessary. The authors cite as examples communication skills, assertive behavior, and self-relaxation techniques.

However, having these skills is not enough; they must

also be deployed. Some instances of inadequate coping

are due to failure to employ strategies of which the

individual is capable. Finally, when the stressful situation

ends, people "unwind" at different rates (Cameron &

Meichenbaum, 1982, pp. 698-702). It was these theorists

who developed stress inoculation training, a program which

has since been utilized individually and for groups, in

a variety of settings. Participants learn to develop

coping skills they can call on in high stress situations

via a three-phase program. Attendees learn about coping

with stress, acquire the skills to do so, then rehearse

their newly acquired skills (Cameron & Meichenbaum, p.

702). Lazarus and Folkman caution that one problem with

stress management programs is that they are geared toward

people in general, rather than being tailored to individual

needs. They are "ineffective for people whose troubles

stem from conflicts or personal agendas that lurk below

the surface, because they leave the underlying difficulty

untouched" (1984, p. 362). These writers also object

to trivial or simplistic gimmicks and assumptions that

there is only one acceptable way to interact with others

at work (p. 363).

Wertkin (1981) studied the effects of stress

innoculation training on coping skills of nine first and

second year students in a graduate school of social work.

A pre-program interview, self-monitoring forms completed

throughout 10 weeks of 2-hour sessions, and post-program interviews comprised the design. Four of the nine subjects were seen to demonstrate a substantial increase in coping efforts and three others, a moderate change. Self-dialogue was ranked by the workers as most effective, with deep breathing second.

During their graduate training, two successive internships are required for all social work students. They begin seeing clients at the outset of the first year. The discomfort over lack of competence (Cherniss, 1980a) described in chapter one appplies to students even more than to novices, yet graduate schools of social work probably do not address this issue adequately.

For those beginning practice, workshops are needed which present information about realistic expectations for social work intervention. Replacement of the quest for an unattainable ideal with commitment to a vision guided by possibilities is desirable. (Selder & Paustian, 1989, p. 75) When professional organizations, such as the National Association of Social Workers, offer workshops on stress and burnout at conferences, they are quickly filled.

Prevention of Stress: Organizational Implications

Large metropolitan school systems can more effectively intervene with staff under stress (teachers as well as

pupil services personnel and career service employees)

by establishing Employee Assistance Programs. Helping

professionals deserve help themselves. Unions which have

established such programs have found employees willing

consumers of the service; some feel more comfortable exposing

their personal problems to union personnel than to employers.

Prevention and alleviation of stress and burnout is also

possible on the local school level. Due to the importance

of confidentiality, an educational (rather than therapeutic)

approach is most appropriate.

The gradual, though painful, move towards participatory

management represented by school reform offers the potential

for alleviation of stress if fairly and properly implemented.

In the system in which the present study was done, Chicago,

the central bureaucracy is gradually being reduced. Local

School Councils (LSCs) have staff representatives as well

as parents and community members. Principals who have

been authoritarian in management style will need to change

or leave the Chicago system if they are unable to tolerate

community intervention.

On the local school level, alleviation of stress

in staff might be begun by adaptation of a sound programatic

idea offered by Blase. Although he was writing of teachers,

social workers can also benefit. They observe differences

in climate and morale as they move from school to school.

Blase (1984) proposes that staff "with some of the requisite

psychological, social, and technical skills develop and

implement effective organizational problem-solving strategies themselves" (p. 186, italics removed). Interested staff should become knowledgeable about organizational behavior, theory, and change strategies (e.g., survey feedback, team building, conflict management, and problem solving). A series of training sessions on those topics could enable the staff, administrators and LSC members "to acquire the competencies to diagnose organizational problems and implement collaborative solutions for site-specific problems" (Blase, p. 187). School improvement programs could then be developed. This approach is already available in Chicago with the assistance of outside consultants such as the S.A.G.E. Foundation.

There is no doubt that organizational changes are more difficult to implement than personal ones, particularly in a large bureaucracy. School reform opens up new possibilities for the creation of a climate in every school which honors individual goals, provides mutual respect, and values learning for its own sake. To accept stress and burnout as inevitable is to diminish the capacity of individuals and organizations to change.

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APPENDIX

Script

I really want to thank you for
answering the questionnaires I gave
you about your work in May. Today
I want to ask you how you feel about
your job as a school social worker.
Your identity will be kept in the
strictest confidence. We will not
be talking at all about your personal
life.

S1 What month and year did you
begin doing social work for the
Chicago Public Schools?

One purpose of this research is to
study job satisfaction in Chicago
school social workers. JOB SATIS-
FACTION is defined here as your
appraisal of the extent to which
your work environment fulfills your
vocational needs. I'm especially
interested in whether your level
or degree of job satisfaction changes
depending upon the school you
serve on a given day. You may
find that you feel pretty much
the same degree of satisfaction
as you move from school to school;
then again, you may feel more
satisfied by one school and less
in another.

S2 What schools do you serve?

S3 Fine. I'd like you to try to
describe your overall feeling
of job satisfaction in _____
school (the first the R listed
above) as high, medium, or low.

S4 Why?

S5 Fine. In _____school, would you describe your job satisfaction as high, medium, or low?

S6 Why?

S7 Good. In _____school, would you describe your job satisfaction as high, medium, or low?

S8 Why?

S9 O. K. In _____ school, would you describe your job satisfaction as high, medium, or low?

S10 Why?

S11 O.K. Now I'd like you to take a minute to think about some sources of job satisfaction for you personally. These should be continuing sources of job satisfaction rather than just temporary or transient ones. Try to think of your two or more primary sources of job satisfaction and name them for me:

S12 Good. What about job dissatis-faction? Again, I'd like you to think in terms of continuing rather than transitory. What would be your two or more most significant sources of dissatisfaction in your work?

Now I'd like you to tell me about the principals for whom you work; I would just like to remind you again that your identity will be kept strictly confidential. Furthermore, I am not interested in the names of the principals we are discussing.

P1 What month and year did you begin working for the person who is now principal of _____school? (Note: less than 3 months, elim.)

P2 O.K. Now try to think only
about this principal. Let me read
to you some personality characteristics
and behaviors which are felt to
contribute to job satisfaction in
social workers. As I read each one,
think about whether it applies to
the principal of _____. Then
tell me YES or NO:

Mutual trust; you can share confidential
information knowing it will not be
misused

A clear understanding of your role
& function . . .and its boundries

Respect for your professional judgment

Grants you autonomy and freedom to
decide how you want to do your job

Willingness to be supportive or even
be a troubleshooter if tensions arise
within the team or with other staff

Enthusiasm about the job of principal

Empathy for the needs of children
& parents

Knowledge of special education

Willingness to delegate tasks appro-
priately

A vision of the school as IN the
community; allows you to leave the
school & network

Interest in your professional growth;
lets you attend conf's/inservices

Allows you access & is willing to
listen to you

Appreciation for your contributions

Inclusion; views you as part of the
staff, professionally & socially

Provision of the space & facilities
you need to do your work

P3 There may be some qualities in
this principal which make you feel
dissatisfied at work. I'll read
to you some behaviors that were thought
to contribute to job dissatisfaction.
Again, please think about whether
they apply to the principal of_____
and say YES or NO:

Difficulty making decisions; easily
immobilized, tends to call central
or district offices for consultation

Rigidity & inflexibility

Lack of appreciation for the services
you can provide

No direct communication of dis-
satisfaction with your performance
until too late in the year to permit
you to change

Unreasonable, inappropriate requests,
due to misunderstanding of your role

Excessively controlling; need to
check everything you do, create
roadblocks, or even sabotage you

A "know-it-all"; for example, a desire
to make the diagnosis

More interested in self-advancement
than staff needs; too ambitious

Unfairness; inconsistant application
of policies

Unwillingness to take responsibility
for mistakes

(This section, Pl through P3, will
be repeated until all principals
for whom R works have been discussed.)

Very good. We are almost finished.

P4 Can you think of any behaviors
in principals generally which would
positively affect your job
satisfaction but which I did not
mention?

P5   Can you think of any behaviors
in your principals which would make
you dissatisfied with your work?

P6   Now let me read you a statement;
please tell me whether you agree
or disagree: "The behavior of the
principal and our relationship when
I am working in that school is one
of the five most significant sources
of job satisfaction/dissatisfaction
for me."

(Regardless of response, ask)

P7   "Why?"

P8   We talked earlier about sources
of job satisfaction and dissatis-
faction in your work. You did/did
not mention the behavior of your
principals then. Now we have done
some thinking about it and you have
had a chance to consider it. (Record
any comments.)

Great. I really want to thank you
for all the cooperation you gave
me. I know that the social workers
are going to be very interested in
the results of this research. Let
me again assure you that your identity
will be kept confidential. Thank
you so much.

(NOTE: This structured interview
takes approximately 25 minutes if
the respondent is assigned to three
schools. Length depends upon how
long R elaborates in response to
open-ended questions.)

The dissertation submitted by Linda Orr Van Doren has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Philip M. Carlin, Director
Associate Professor,
Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Steven I. Miller
Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
Loyola University of Chicago

Dr. Todd Hoover
Associate Professor, Curriculum and Instruction
Loyola University of Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

December 2, 1992
Date

Director's Signature