CHAPTER V : DISCUSSION
5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The hypothesis regarding the relationship was not supported, since only a few significant associations were found between the demographic characteristics of age, marital status, level of education and socio-economic status and burnout of teachers in special and regular schools. These results were not surprising, as even in the earlier studies the demographic characteristics, had been inconsistently associated with burnout, and were specific to the particular population studied (Barad, 1979; Belcastro and Hays, 1984). Federman (1984) in an exploratory study of 109 schools teachers reported only a slight relationship between the geographic location and burnout. The grade level taught, age and educational degree were not significantly related to burnout, suggesting that it was not important where, what and whom one taught.

Although non-significant, a few meaningful correlations were indicated here for the teachers, both in special and regular schools. In special schools, the older teachers and those having higher levels of education experienced greater burnout. The teachers coming from higher socio-economic status felt more personally responsible for their students and the outcomes. Perhaps, they were quite involved initially, but had become less idealistic over time.

The present results could be explained in more than one way. First, many of the special educators came from higher socio-economic group, who took up the job to satisfy their internal urge to do something, to give meaning to their lives, against those in regular schools who worked for livelihood. This argument was found supported by the fact that a very high percentage of the teachers in special schools (N=110) had artisan orientation, who considered the intrinsic quality of work more important than
the extrinsic rewards. But even their goals tended to become realistic, in the absence of quick perceptible changes in children.

Secondly, the older teachers experienced greater burnout than the younger ones, perhaps because of their prolonged exposure to the stressful work situation of special schools, (Meadow, 1981). With more years in teaching, the energy resources tended to exhaust, leaving them with no or little energy to handle/replenish it (Anderson and Iwanicki, 1984), although Russell, Altmaier and Van Velzen (1987) found that the number of felt stressors diminished with age and experience. According to Maslach (1978b) the stress, which the professionals encountered because of their constant involvement with people having problems, led to loss of care and commitment that once characterised their original attitudes, and thus burnout. Third, those entering the teaching especially in the special schools, with higher qualifications, had greater expectations about their future and what they will accomplish in life. When the actual job failed to meet their expectations, they were unhappy and dissatisfied with it. However, the same job could be the source of pride and satisfaction for those not having much formal qualifications, lower aspirations and career expectations and under utilization of academic skills (Caton, Grossnickle, Cope and Thomas, 1988), especially in schools for the mentally retarded. The argument of higher expectations was more true for the teachers of regular schools, who expressed greater intentions to quit teaching.

Fourth, working with children having special needs was not always a progressing pursuit in terms of observable changes. Teachers had to wait for a long time to notice any perceptible changes in children, which robbed away from them a "sense of accomplishment" (Proctor, 1979), which gave meaning to their work and
tended to be the greatest reward for those having artisan orientation. Eventually, even this was shattered and they became more realistically oriented and had lessened idealism than they once had. Researchers indicated that when teachers' needs for self-actualization and self-esteem were not fulfilled there was a higher probability of burnout (Anderson and Iwanicki, 1981). This was also supported by Collins (1977); Daley (1979); Freudenberger (1977); Mattingly (1977); Pines and Kafry (1978) and Proctor (1979) on special educators.

In regular schools, unlike the special schools, the teachers retained their original work goals, but became less idealistic. Teachers having higher levels of education expressed greater intentions to quit, and the married teachers reduced their original work goals. These findings were to some extent as expected, since in regular schools the teachers could not manipulate their workload, they had to complete the syllabus assigned to them within fixed time limits, had to perform extensive paper and correction work, had to deal with large class sizes and meet strict deadlines. Thus, despite their efforts they did not succeed in reducing the work targets, but as a defense against overload they cut down on their interpersonal contacts with students, i.e., instead of dealing with the entire classroom (about 40 to 50 students) individually, they concentrated on a selected few. A similar reduction in goals was seen in married teachers who had to shoulder the dual responsibility. To deal with the excessive and at times mutually exclusive and/or contradictory demands (Haney and Long, 1989) the teachers resorted to manipulation of work targets to do away with their anxiety. However, contradictory findings were reported by some to indicate that the married individuals had lower levels of burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1985).
5.2 WORKSETTING FACTORS

The hypothesis stating that the effects of gender, school type and years of experience on the worksetting factors will be significant was only partially confirmed.

The results indicated that men and women teachers perceived their worksetting differentially. The female teachers perceived greater stimulation and scope for student contact, and lesser conflicts at workplace, as compared to their male counterparts. The results were in the expected direction, the profession of teaching being the female dominated (Greenfeld, Greiner and Wood, 1980). Men attached low self-esteem, low status and prestige to the profession of school teaching. A gallop poll (Elam, 1989) on societal respect and occupational prestige accorded to 12 different occupations revealed similar results. The teachers ranked themselves last in status and prestige, as compared to the other professionals. The teachers were also described to possess a "martyr syndrome", being under appreciated and under rewarded. Additionally, the lack of material benefits and control on the work setting undermined their sense of personal worth (Di Teodoro, 1984). The existing job structure in schools offered them no opportunity or incentives for professional growth. The limited career opportunities made them feel frustrated and demotivated.

Some variety was desired in all jobs to make them interesting, challenging and rewarding. This was also true of school teaching, which ironically was made repetitive, undermining the teachers' talents and knowledge and producing boredom. The teachers taught the same contents year after year leaving no sense of achievement or satisfaction (Benyon and Blackburn, 1972), and thus no room for professional growth.
The gender differences in the perceptions of the worksetting could be attributed to the existing social and cultural realities like, the status assigned to the female child and their early socialisation, which determined their longterm educational and occupational choices and their performance. The values of submissiveness, accommodation, deference to other people's wishes, restraint and tolerance were inculcated in females, while the males were encouraged to be dominant, independent, superordinate, adventurous, ambitious and economically worthwhile. As a result women found themselves relegated to the limited range of occupations such as teaching, which were low paid and low status jobs, and in least conflict with their home and family. Thus, there existed a fit between women as persons and the teaching profession, in which they were comfortable and had a positive attitude (Van Maanen and Schien, 1979; Reyes and Pounder, 1990).

The characteristic behaviour induced in women, in fact constituted their strength in coping with the strains of teaching, as they showed more positive orientation (Kale, 1972), and greater satisfaction than their male counterparts (Chase, 1951; Belasco and Alutto, 1972; Lortie, 1975; Bernard and Kuldievel, 1976; Anand, 1977; Porwal, 1980 and Samad, 1986), and were willing to choose teaching all over again as a career (National Education Association, 1967, 1987). Women's positive attitude played a very important role in their perceptions of the teaching environment, morale and satisfaction. Men, on the other hand, found their higher aspirations and goals thwarted teaching as they perceived it to be a low status female dominated profession. They found themselves out of place and developed a negative attitude towards school teaching.
The other reasons for women's positive attitude towards teaching were - (a) Most women teachers did not see themselves as sole bread winners of their family. Their salary symbolised to them economic emancipation, social prestige and dignity, and a means of auxiliary income for the family, making them feel more satisfied with the limited benefits. The inadequate salary made it difficult for men to manage their family budgets, and made them economically more insecure. (b) Teaching was enjoyed by women, since they perceived it as a social outlet. They relished the company of their colleagues and students more humanely, while men had a callous and impersonal attitude towards their colleagues and students, because the task of nurturing was in conflict with their expected role behaviour.

The differences in the perceptions of teachers in the two types of schools could be attributed to their different teaching approaches. The special schools adopted the child centred approach. The specific needs and disabilities of children required a flexible administration, which could give teachers the necessary freedom to experiment with different need-based strategies. The teachers often witnessed the emotional outbursts of the students, which were extremely demanding on their resources, cognitively and affectively. At the same time, the perusal of a flexible programme structure but less autonomy made the clear definition of the job and the planning of activities difficult, resulting in greater role conflict (Epstein, 1990). The teachers in special schools were required to plan and implement an individualised education programme (IEP), confer with each student, parents, attend meetings, and deal with a variety behavioural, personal and emotional problems of students. This consumed great amount of their energy over time, and they viewed themselves as motivated human beings working for a negligible salary (Freudenberger, 1977). The special
educators spent a lot of their time in interacting with students, who required constant adult supervision, leaving the teacher with little time to be away and be able to interact with the colleagues. These conditions resulted in greater isolation and workoverload (Bensky, Shaw, Gouse, Bates, Dixon and Beane, 1980; Weiscopf, 1980; DeShong, 1981; Shaw, Bensky and Dixon, 1981). Yet it was interesting, that the teachers felt that the special schools offered them with an opportunity to utilize their skills, creativity, innovativeness and knowledge in a variety of situations. This tended to lower down the chances of boredom and increased the challenges. This was found supported in this research, as both male and female teachers in special schools perceived greater stimulation than the male and female teachers of regular schools. In regular schools, the larger class-size prevented a one to one relationship with the students, and compelled them to adopt a teacher centred approach, in which universal rules and regulations and teaching methods were predominant. The feelings of being locked into a job routine appeared immense.

The results indicated that the more experienced teachers had fewer interpersonal interactions, while the less experienced teachers felt more isolated, but suffered lesser role conflict both in special and regular schools. The teachers before entering the profession were expected to undergo a training programme, and have a fairly good picture of their expected roles. These training programmes may however, not always succeed in equipping them with skills for handling various situations. The less experienced teachers also failed to clearly visualise the different roles at the initial stage. The role clarity was thus only illusionary, which was sustained by the absence of adequate interactions between the less and more experienced teachers. The older and the more experienced teachers interacted within their small, stable and relatively
fixed social cliques, open to only one or two teachers of their age and experience. They viewed the less experienced teachers as novices and a threat to them, and to the social order of the school (Ryan, 1970). At times the more experienced teachers thought that the new entrants would be experiencing stress in their work, and yet did not feel appropriate to interfere at that stage (Sarason, Levine, Goldenberg, Cherlin and Bennet, 1966; Mechanic, 1962; Cherniss, 1988). Thus, the less experienced teachers were left to themselves at the very time they needed the support of their seniors to vent out their fears and anxieties and feel relaxed.

The restricted interpersonal interactions of the more experienced teachers with those of the same age group and experience, increased their role conflicts. They remained unprepared for the new roles implicit in the new challenges faced by the education system, like membership of the number of educational committees and monitoring committees etc.

The hypothesis stating that the worksetting factors will significantly relate with and predict burnout in teachers of special schools was only partially confirmed. The global worksetting was found related to the composite burnout score directly, and also through the stress factors, which were significant, but when the different factors of worksetting and burnout were used, only a few significant correlates emerged as predictors. A part of it was perhaps due to the conceptual interdependence among the worksetting factors. The special education teachers perceiving work overload also had lack of orientation, lesser interpersonal interactions, greater role conflict and greater self interest. Those experiencing greater social isolation tended to have reduced workgoals, while those experiencing greater role conflicts became more emotionally
detached. The results indicated that the lack of proper training was a good predictor of overall burnout in special schools.

The teachers in special schools were required to stay for long hours with the children, and had no opportunity for interacting with colleagues to be able to reduce their emotional strains. The situation became further stressful when the teachers did not feel comfortable with the skills acquired by them to handle the children. In the absence of sufficient knowledge of the task, and no help from others, the teachers lost interest in the work, gave more priority to personal life, detached from the work emotionally and reduced their workgoals.

The role conflicts also arose from an incongruence between the demands placed by the parents and school administration to mainstream the children with special needs, and the provisions for services. For instance, the imparting of vocational skills would be potentially more beneficial to them as compared to the conventional ability of text book reading, but the limited opportunities for jobs outside were not reinforcing of this. In principle, economic independence would raise children's self-esteem and self-confidence, but the lack of infrastructure was found inducing in teachers the feelings of greater burnout. Constant encouragement and support were even more necessary for these teachers to be able to perform effectively, and to experiment with the innovative strategies, but the lack of participatory leadership and positive reinforcement from the principal lowered their morale (Allred, 1980). The present results indicated that leadership was a good predictor of teachers' becoming less idealist and more self-concerned. Berkeley Planning Associates (1977) also found leadership as the best predictor of burnout.
The poor quality of the teachers' training failed to enhance their interpersonal skills, conflict resolving, coping with uncertainties, ability to make use of the sign language and braille, and to handle the emotional outbursts of spastic children, and thus significantly contributed to feelings of burnout. These findings were supported by Edelwich and Brodsky (1980) and Pines and Aronson (1981).

The hypothesis stating that the worksetting factors will significantly relate with and predict burnout in teachers of regular schools was rejected. The results failed to show any significant association between the global worksetting and burnout scores. However some indirect associations were indicated through the stress factors. Perhaps, the worksetting was the necessary condition and the stress the sufficient condition of causing burnout. This argument was supported by the regression analysis, when the worksetting factors alone were taken as predictors, and none was found significant.

The results were perhaps highly contingent on the situational factors, some even similar to special schools. The work situation in regular schools also put tremendous time pressure on teachers for finishing the syllabus, making the correction work and meeting of deadlines (Laughlin, 1984; Dewe, 1986). For instance, on a particular day a teacher may have to teach in all the seven periods, because of another teacher being on leave. This left one either with no or just a little time to interact with the colleagues during the lunch break. Such discussions often centered around the teacher's personal lives, and deprived them of any positive feedback about work. The hectic day at the school was followed by the routine household drudgery (looking after children's education, caring of the husband and in laws for the female teachers, going for shopping, tuition in case of males, and children's school progress). This schedule made them function very mechanically and curtailed their social interactions.
The multiple demands and varied expectations of the family, school, principal, students and colleagues were found to increase their role conflict (Jackson, Turner and Brief, 1987). The situation was further worsened in the absence of sufficient encouragement for teachers' efforts. The past researches supported the findings on significant contribution of role conflict (Schwab, Jackson and Schuler, 1986), social isolation (Burke, 1993) and lack of feedback (Jackson and Schuler, 1993) in the experience of burnout.

5.3 PERSONAL FACTORS

5.3.1 Career Orientations

The teachers of special and regular schools varied from each other on career orientations. Although, the number of careerist teachers in special and regular schools (20 percent) was comparable, the artisans represented the largest group (58 percent) of teachers in special schools. These results were in line with the expectations, since the special schools offered job conditions conducive to an artisan. For artisans the intrinsic quality of work was more important than career advancement and financial success. They sought jobs that provided them new opportunities, challenges and experiences to enhance their professional skills. The work in special schools was quite challenging and stimulating and gratified the teachers' creative urges. The special schools offered to a teacher what an artisan looked for in a job, despite the meager economic benefits. The argument of teachers joining the special schools with knowledge of the positive as well as negative aspects was justified by the fact that they did not suffer from reality shock, like the teachers in regular schools. In special
schools, only an 8 percent of the teachers were self-investors, while in regular schools there were still few self-investors (5 percent). This was an important finding as it indicated their concern with the quality of education imparted and their levels of dedication.

A majority of the teachers in regular schools were social activists, but with just as many artisans. The lack of particular career orientations among these teachers perhaps reflected on the measure used. The career orientations described were the ideal types, and in reality the teachers represented a unique mix of them. Also, everyone preferred to do stimulating, varied and meaningful work, and appreciated support and guidance not limiting their autonomy. Some values were perhaps universal. The self-investors in regular schools experienced greater burnout as compared to the social activists, artisans and careerists, while in special schools, the careerists, self-investors, artisans and social activists experienced similar levels of burnout.

The results for the self-investors in regular schools were somewhat unanticipated, and could be explained in three ways. First, although self-investors were known for their psychological detachment, none could be totally indifferent to work. They tried to meet the minimal standards of competence and perhaps worked hard to improve their skills, if they were found failing. They were aware of the poor supervision, large classes and other common sources of dissatisfaction, but were also concerned about the students. Thus their experience of burnout may not be seen as altogether questionable.

Secondly, their disaffection could be because of the teaching being their second choice, something they "ended up in" due to the extraneous. A few perhaps became alienated in the face of discouragement, frustration and disillusionment early during
the training or career, as psychological detachment to them was one way of coping with the problem of unfulfilled expectations and goals. Few other researches supported these results. Burke, Deszca and Shearer (1986) examined these four career orientations and the experience of burnout among police officers. They reported that the social activists experienced greater burnout, greater stress and the least satisfying work setting, but the self-investors were least satisfied on the job. Burke and Greenglass (1988) used a longitudinal study design to examine the relationship of the four career orientations to measures of satisfaction and well being among teachers. Retesting them after one year, it was found that the self-investors, a type of non-work orientation, reported greater burnout, greater stress, least satisfying work setting, greater psychological burnout and work alienation. The concept of person-job or person-culture fit had been proposed to explain the distress experienced by the self-investors (Burke and Deszca, 1988; Burke and Greenglass, 1989b).

Thirdly, results about the self-investors could not be given much credence as the size of the group having this orientation was small. This observation was reinforced by the observations in special schools, where the self-investors were relatively more than the regular schools, and experienced similar levels of burnout, as the artisans, social activists and the careerists. Contrary to these findings, a number of researchers had indicated that social activists were more prone to experience burnout, because of the lack of a fit or mismatch between their values and expectations and the reality of work environments. Being idealists, they had high expectations of themselves as found in a study on teachers by Burke and Greenglass (1988). The social activists and careerists exhibited significantly greater burnout than the artisans. The findings were consistent with those of Burke, Deszca and Shearer (1984).
The implications of these findings were important, as the question of how psychologically involved in work one should be, was value-laden. There was probably wider agreement on that either extremes were undesirable. Neither the "workaholics", who neglected their responsibilities to family, community and their own self-development, were ideal, nor the alienated teachers, for whom the job was simply a way of economic support, a dreary-period of the day when one marked time. The psychological commitment to work depended on the type of work, but it was hoped that those entering teaching would be highly involved psychologically. When the job became only a job, the welfare of students could deteriorate sharply.

Overall, the use of the concept of career orientations, and the data showed interesting results, as these helped to account for differences in the job perceptions of teachers and their consequent experiences.

5.3.2 Personal Supports and Demands

The hypothesis stating that the effects of gender, school type and years of experience will be significant on personal factors was found partially confirmed. The findings indicated that the female teachers had more demands from outside the work than the males. This was more in case of the less experienced female teachers. However, the more experienced male teachers reported receiving lesser support from significant others, who also found lesser demands imposed on them. While both men and women continuously dealt with the conflicting demands in their multiple social roles, women appeared to be more vulnerable to stress as their roles were saliently simultaneous, whereas men's role were more likely to operate sequentially.
The differential perceptions of demands imposed and the supports extended to men and women reflected the differences in their role behaviours and the importance of these for them. Women as part of the gender roles assigned to them and internalized by them took major responsibility of home and family. Past researches also showed that women in non-traditional roles, compared to their male counterparts, had additional demands and stressors (Greenglass, 1985). Women had to meet their obligations corresponding to the type of the family (nuclear family, or joint).

For the working women there were additional roles outside home. The achievement of this new status, enlarged their "status set" along with the duties. The new status involved a fresh array of expectations and continuous demands on time and energy, making the women bear the brunt of role conflict more often and severe than men. Researches supported this. In a study by Sekeran (1986; cited in Burke and Greenglass, 1989) the women, who were part of dual worker couples, suffered more interrole conflicts than men. They not only experienced more work-family conflicts, but also had greater problems with the time management than men (Burke and Greenglass, 1989f). In order to compensate, women sacrificed their time from other activities like eating, sleeping, television viewing and social visits (Greenglass, 1985b). Thus, the employment increased considerably the number of women's work hours, forcing them to perform 'double shift'. On the other hand, for men the work-role was singularly important.

The demands experienced were all the more greater for the female teachers who had spent fewer years in teaching. This was because some of the female teachers were either newly married or had young children at home. They had to spend a lot of their time and energy to adjust to their new status of wife, mother and teacher. This was
extremely taxing for them and the support received from the family was negligible. The love, aid and comfort provided by the family members could help the less experienced teachers to cope with the job stress more effectively, as suggested by researches on social support systems (Caplan and Killilea, 1976; Cobb, 1976; House, 1981). The same could be said for the less experienced male teachers.

More experienced male teachers neither felt the need for support, nor did they find the demands made on them excessive. A possible explanation of this could be that over the years, the male teachers became more mature and wise to deal with the stress at work. At the personal level, their family responsibilities had declined, as their children were grown up, and made lesser demands on them, thus making their attitude towards life and the work more relaxed. The situation was not always pleasant, however. This was indicated in a research investigation on 118 teachers in elementary and secondary schools, by Di Teodoro (1984), which showed that the more experienced male teachers were less satisfied with their work. Often, they did not share their job problems with the family members. The refusal to share grievances was justified by them in terms of protecting their families from the grim realities and unnecessarily getting upset. Many a times, the sharing was not there due to the intellectual gap between the husband and the wife, as the latter were less educated. Another reason could be a compartmentalization between work and private life. Undoubtedly, the interrelationships between work place and home were complex and difficult to untangle, and thus had been little studied in the past.

The view that men were misfits in the profession of school teaching was common to men as well as women. The new male teachers having school teachers as
spouses, received good support and faced fewer demands. This relieved them of extra burden, and also provided an opportunity to look for better future avenues. Results revealed that the moderately experienced teachers in regular schools received lesser support than the more and less experienced teachers, while in special schools, the less experienced teachers had lesser support. The teachers with the moderate number of years in teaching were in the age range between 25 yrs and 40 yrs. This was the age group, where the family responsibilities tended to be higher, like looking after their child's progress in school, taking care of one's career, and also plan the child's career. This was the period of life when one needed the resources most. The need to muster the resources enhanced when the teacher moved from a joint family to nuclear unit, and the stress of sustaining the newly found identity over time heightened. Many of the less experienced teachers were still in the process of forming a family, and the stress of sustaining the newly found identity over time heightened. Many of the moderately experienced teachers were still staying in the shadow of their parents, which relieved them of a number of responsibilities and not in a position or equipped to visualise the vast array of duties in the future. Teachers in special schools were expected to be in an altogether different state. It was believed that the personal life events should have an effect upon an individual's performance, efficiency and adjustment at work (Bhagat, 1983), and thus be taken into account in assessing the sources of occupational stress or burnout. Learning to deal with a variety of demanding situations, when the teachers were still in the process of learning, showed the demands made on them.

It was believed that the personal life events should have an effect upon an individual's performance, efficiency and adjustment at work (Bhagat, 1983), and thus be taken into account in assessing the sources of occupational stress or burnout.
Contrary to such expectations, the role of personal factors in the prediction of burnout in this research was found limited, thus rejecting the hypotheses that personal factors would significantly relate to and predict the burnout and outcome measures. Similar results were reported by some researchers in the past, who found no relationship between family support/demands or supports from friends and relatives and psychological burnout (Constable and Russell, 1986; Golembiewski, Bower and Kim, 1991; Ross, Altmaier and Russell, 1989; Russell, Altmaier and Van Velzen, 1987), and thus failed to support the propositions of the Cherniss model (1980a).

Despite the limited usefulness of personal factors, a few meaningful correlates were found. The lesser support from families received by teachers of special and regular schools was found to relate to the experience of reduced work goals. It was also found to be associated with greater self-interest in teachers of regular schools. On the other hand, the excessive demands imposed on the teachers by the family, were related to the detachment from colleagues and other psychosomatic disorders in regular schools, while related to lessened personal responsibility in special schools.

The psychological interdependence between personal and work life was found logically inescapable. The "worklife" and "personal life" did not represent separate worlds, but the two were intertwined. Thus, any issue concerning the family, whether support or demand (Pahl and Pahl, 1971; Handy, 1978; Hall and Hall, 1980), life crisis (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974; Cooper and Marshall, 1978), personal and work beliefs and the conflict between work and the family demands could put strain on the teachers work, in a way that stress at work spilled over and had negative impact on family and personal life.
Often it was difficult to determine if stress leading to burnout arose from the school situation or the personal life. A less obvious factor in burnout was the quality and tone of an individual's daily relationships with family and friends. Constant marital difficulties made it difficult for the teachers to feel comfortable at work, to fulfill their responsibilities and ultimately to garner satisfaction from the job. Conversely, satisfying relationships with family and friends produced a supportive network, that reduced the impact of work related stress and the subsequent burnout.

The lack of family support was found associated with increased burnout in the helping professionals by others (Burke, Shearer and Deszca, 1984b; Jayaratne, Chess and Kunkel, 1986; Zedeck, Maslach, Mosier and Stitka, 1988; Leiter, 1990). Instead, if the personal relationships outside the work imposed demands and obligations on the teachers, these created the possibility of role conflicts that added to the strains of the job (Cherniss, 1980b). The work-family conflicts could seriously impede one's adaptability to the job, and the professionals' whose jobs were difficult, frustrating and especially demanding desired freedom from such demands (Piotrowski, 1979). In the absence of adequate personal support but excessive demands, the teachers often underwent conflicts within themselves, and proved incompetent to handle it. In order to guard against others knowing about it, the teachers reacted by withdrawing and detaching themselves in the workplace. If they experienced excessive stress, which was not released or vented out, it was manifested in the form of psychosomatic symptoms.

As a rule, those having a rewarding and significant life commitment outside the work would have satisfying, enduring relationships with others, independent of what happens at work. The family served as an additional psychological resource, which could help the teachers to adapt better to the stressful school situations. For instance,
a teacher after a day of problems at school could go back home and talk about it to the spouse or children, who in turn could offer positive support, encouragement and concrete advice. There were instances of the supportive spouses, who helped in relieving the tensions, and even shielded their partners from the family's worries and despair. As Kreitman observed (1968), one partner's problems may contribute to the mental ill health of the other. The argument was also substantiated by the researches indicating association between personal life and burnout (Etzion, 1984; Maslach and Jackson, 1982; Nowack, Gibbons and Hanson, 1985; and Kahill, 1986). This was valid for the teachers of special as well as regular schools, and the need for support could be greater for these in special schools.

Further, the teachers not getting sufficient reinforcement on the job (recognition, appreciation, encouragement, monetary benefits) and no support from the family and friends, might eventually lose interest and reduce their work goals. The stress at home made the career development problematic, while the support helped to ease out the tensions at work. The personal factors may thus serve as moderators of stress.

5.4 STRESS FACTORS

The teachers' reactions to stress depended to a great extent upon their individuality (Lofquist and Dawis, 1969). French and Caplan (1972) referred to this as "goodness of fit" between the job demands and the individual's ability to cope with it. If there was an incongruence, the individuals' psychological reaction could be that of burnout.

The hypothesis stating that the effects of gender, school type and years of experience will be significant was confirmed. The results indicated that the male and
the female teachers differed significantly from each other, with male teachers experiencing greater stress than the female teachers. The results were consistent with the expectations. The male teachers found themselves out of the place in school teaching, and experienced greater stress (Samad, 1986). Female teachers generally were satisfied and comfortable in their role. Men had an inherent fear of not being effective on the job, because of the mismatch between their abilities and the demands on the job, as shown in doubts about their competence. The tasks in the schools required more nurturant and caring behaviours. The teachers were required to discipline the children, which they found stressful. They were required to inculcate appropriate social values, and at times to deal with the emotional problems and perform "dirty tasks", like the toilet training, specially in case of the mentally retarded. These tasks did not fit into the male sex role expectations (Maslach and Jackson, 1985), and thus operated as sources of stress. The excessive stress could also be due to the constraints imposed by the school system, like the large classes, and high caseload, which made them strongly believe that they were failing to do their duties honestly. The teaching being a female dominated profession received least attention, of men, who joined it in the absence of other alternatives being available. On the other hand women did so voluntarily.

The results indicated that the teachers having lesser experience suffered greater stress than those with more years in teaching. This had been explained by Cherniss, Egnatios and Wacker (1976), in terms of the new teachers going through the phenomenon of "professional mystique", i.e., when the teachers had an unrealistic understanding of what they can or cannot do. Cherniss (1980b) indicated that the poor coping skills and resources, inadequate exposure to practical situations, and lack of
insight and awareness to deal with problems on the job could cause tremendous stress to the novice. It was only with increased experience that one adapted and learnt ways to deal effectively with the stress.

The teachers in special schools reported the organisational climate as more stressful than the teachers in regular schools. There was some difference in the reward structure in the two types of schools. In special schools the rewards were invariably delayed, while in the regular schools one experienced rewards rather immediately, as the children progressed fast. Further, there was need for greater freedom in special schools than in regular schools, which was met only in a limited way by the flexible programme structure. Lack of autonomy, inflexible programmes and indiscipline were the sources of stress in regular schools (Dunham, 1984; Galloway, Ball, Blomfield and Seyd, 1982; Laslett and Smith, 1984). Of particular importance were the occasional unpleasant exchanges between the teachers and the pupils.

The hypotheses stating that the stress experienced by the teachers of special and regular schools will significantly relate with and predict burnout, were confirmed. The meaningful predictors of burnout in special schools included, the lack of stimulation and fulfillment, bureaucratic hindrances, incompetence and lessened personal responsibility for the outcomes. These were incompetence, problems with students, bureaucracy and the organisational climate in regular schools. These findings were in line with the previous researches (Shaw, Bensky and Dixon, 1981; Jackson and Schuler, 1983; Schwab, 1983 and Iwanicki, 1983). The results also provided support to the framework of Cherniss (1980a), which reported that various sources of stress led to burnout among human service professionals.
It seemed that most of the schools, although a part of the human service agencies, had grown into bureaucratic structure. More so the regular schools, where the number of teachers was large, and they had the opportunity to exercise personal power. The bureaucratic setup created many barriers, crossing over of which required a long drawn struggle and fight against the system, for which the teachers did not have the courage, conviction or preparedness. They found it easy to adopt an indifferent attitude. They constantly blamed the system and assumed minimal personal responsibility for the outcomes. One's level of competence was adversely affected by the limited autonomy and lack of control over the setting, especially when the teachers felt powerless even to remove or modify those rules and regulations, which could be the major causes of their own burnout (Cherniss, 1980b). The problems with students were found related to emotional detachment, although only the lack of stimulation and fulfillment significantly predicted burnout. The results were partially consistent with the research conducted by Sharma (1989) on a sample of 90 Indian school teachers, who found the stressful organisational climate related to greater burnout.

When one entered the special schools, one expected the work to be varied, meaningful and stimulating (Sarason, 1977), but this was not true. The structure of work even in such human service agencies had limited variety and meaning in the job. The special educators found their job routine, monotonous and uninteresting (Kramer, 1974). Opportunities for intellectual stimulation and personal growth were limited. They quickly lost interest in the job and detached themselves from it, with increased likelihood of burnout. Most of the special educators in the sample had an artisan orientation. They expected and desired meaning, intellectual stimulation, and self-actualization through work. When their efforts to fulfill these needs were thwarted,
they experienced frustration, discomfort and anxiety, and they became more detached.

To summarize, the irrational rules and regulations, procedures and policies in special as well as regular schools were a major source of stress, which reduced the stimulation and feelings of fulfillment. It adversely affected the dignity of the teachers and prevented an efficient delivery of services to the students.

5.5 LEVELS OF BURNOUT

The results indicated a moderate level of burnout experienced by the teachers, both in special and regular schools. This finding was supported by most researchers in India, on samples of teachers and doctors as reported in a research review by Misra (1994). The use of the Maslach Burnout Inventory on teachers in India showed moderate level of burnout in high school teachers (Bagchi, 1993; Ratan, 1993) and doctors (Jain, 1991; Misra and Joshi, 1992). However, the findings violated the observations based on preliminary discussions, that special educators experience greater burnout than the regular educators.

The results were probably rooted in the cultural context, in which one refrained from marking the extreme choices on the scales and questionnaires. Alternatively, Indians imbibed through socialisation broad values of dedication and commitment, thereby buffering themselves from the effects of chronic stress and burnout. As observed by Sahu (1993), the level of hardiness in teachers, and the significant relationships between commitment and emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation; control and depersonalisation, and personal accomplishment and challenge to personal accomplishment showed that during their socialization, Indians internalized values, which made them resist the negative impact of stressors on them.
Moreover, the Indian philosophy emphasized the feeling of detachment (Anashakti) in the performance of one's duty, which helped one not to being cognitively and affectively disturbed by loss or gain. Naidu and Pande (1986; cited in Misra, 1994) found the detachment to have the health endowing capacity, and a powerful predictor of perceived distress and strain. Also, Indians had high "stress tolerance", due to their socialization and continuous exposure to stressful situations. They adjusted to the pressures of their worklife, without letting their work be affected. This observation was also made by McClelland (1975) during his stay in Calcutta that Indian's rarely stopped working as a way of expressing revenge on a superior. The strong family and social network in India further helped to buffer against the stresses. Whenever the teachers experienced excessive stress, the support of the family and friends diluted the negative consequences thereof.

Several studies in west also documented moderate level of burnout among teachers in comparison to other occupational groups (Kyriacou, 1987). Etzion, Kafry and Pines (1982) used the Tedium Measure, and showed that the level of burnout among Israeli managers was lower to their American colleagues. This was an unexpected finding as the life in Israel was in reality much more stressful than the life in United States, because of the political tensions and huge inflation rates. It was felt that the Israeli managers benefited from a strong supportive social network of family and friends, and a sense of social cohesion, characteristic of the Israeli society. A few years later, Etzion and Pines (1986) were able to replicate their counter intuitive results in a heterogeneous sample of teachers, social workers and counsellors. The country specific differences in levels of burnout were reported by Golembiewski, Scherb and Boudreau (in press cited in Schaufeli, Maslach and Marek, 1994), who compared the
work settings of seven countries, by using their well validated phase model. Differences in burnout between countries were found highly significant, whereas differences between work settings within countries were non-significant. Burnout was high common in Canada, while Polish, U.S. and Yugoslavian samples showed intermediate levels of burnout. Similar results were reported by Himle, Jayaratne and Thyness (1986; 1989) on Norwegian and U.S. social workers.

5.6 WORK SETTING, PERSONAL, STRESS FACTORS AND BURNOUT

The results showed that male and female teachers of special and regular schools did not differ significantly on burnout. The moderately experienced teachers felt greater burnout than the more and less experienced teachers. These results represented a departure from the previous researches, which frequently indicated the burnout to be a malady of the inexperienced or less experienced teachers (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Zabel and Zabel, 1982; Schwab and Iwanicki, 1982, 1984; Stevens and O'Neill, 1983; Gold, 1985; Russell, Altmaier and Van Velzen, 1987). The teachers who experienced higher burnout did not stick to the job. Perhaps they did not fit into the job much. Some, contradictory arguments were also found in the researches, supporting the present results. Rottier, Kelley and Tomhave (1983) found that the older teachers, who were teaching in the school for a longer period of time, were more likely to be stressed. Meadow (1981) on teachers in deaf and dumb schools, and Anderson and Iwanicki (1984) also on teachers reported that though younger teachers experienced greater emotional exhaustion, the more experienced greater emotional exhaustion and depersonalization.
All the teachers included here had undergone a training programme, before joining the school. The less experienced were relatively new, and more enthusiastic to take on any task on the job. They were unmarried and had no liabilities. They could afford to spend more time interacting with the students. This encouraged reciprocal relationships, with teacher’s involvement in work and a corresponding motivation of students, to the satisfaction of both the teacher and students. The mid life, also affected the teachers, because of which gradually there appeared a shift in their priorities forcing them to detach themselves emotionally from students, and thus prevent the deleterious effects of excessive stress. At the mid career, the teachers were prone to demotivation (boredom, loss of enthusiasm, diminished job interest) and a leveling off of performance. The growth curve flattened, particularly for those who did not move into new roles. The shifts in attitude in workplace were reflected in shifts from the primary work role to personal roles; a perception of reduced career opportunities and uncertainty about one’s future - one had fewer options, both inside and outside the school organisation; a growing focus on the material rewards to cope up with the increasing financial demands of the family; a loss of the experience of success; a growing isolation and a sense of experiencing unique dilemma (Schein, 1978; Hall, 1988). These changes together increased the teachers’ vulnerability to stress during the mid career (Selye, 1974).

The more experienced teachers showed greater self-interest and lessened idealism in the job over the years. Perhaps, there was the disenchantment, lethargy and feeling of being trapped in a routine job, which further aggravated the stress. New problems engrossed them, as they tried to shed off their liabilities before their retirement, such as the marriage of their son or daughter, arranging or buying a house.
and increasing financial insecurities. These personal problems overshadowed their existence forcing them to become cynical and concerned with their personal lives.

Contrary to the expectations, no differences were found between the teachers of special and regular schools (Bensky, Shaw, Gouse, Bates, Dixon and Beane, 1980; Weiscopf, 1980; Deshong, 1981; Shaw, Bensky and Dixon, 1981). The burnout experienced by the teachers of special schools was comparable to that of the teachers in regular schools. There were some differences in the career orientations of the two groups of teachers. Lofquist and Dawis (1969) speculated that the stress was dependent not only on the environmental stressors, but the reaction of the individual to stress. While a variety of stressful situations existed in the teaching environment, the effects of these could not be assessed in isolation of teachers' capabilities, personality and perceptions, not included in the present research. Besides, one could speculate that as a group the special educators were less susceptible to the effects of stress due to some personality traits, which originally attracted them to a career in special education, as indicated by Holland's occupational classification of regular and special educators. The results reflected the cultural expectations that imposed some super human qualities and behaviour on the teachers of special schools (DeShong, 1981). The teachers experienced guilt, if the expectations were not met. This made the special educators respond in a socially acceptable, albeit less than candid manner.

Differences in burnout of the regular and special school teachers could also relate to the number of pupils for which a teacher was responsible. In special schools the pupil size was restricted between 7 to 25, while the regular school teachers had to serve larger numbers of students (ranging between 45-60). This helped the special educators to establish one to one relationship, and encouraged greater emotional
involvement with the students, giving them some intrinsic satisfaction, and making them more personally responsible for the outcomes. This was rather impossible in crowded classrooms of regular schools, making them feel less responsible for the outcomes. They attributed these to the deteriorating standards of education, i.e. the system, school structure and the administration. The variety of stressors were thus fewer for the special educators in confronting the more frequent stressful situations (Weiskopf, 1980).

In the face of the mixed evidence, it was hypothesised that the female teachers would experience greater burnout than the male teachers. The results indicated no gender differences in the levels of burnout experienced. Similar findings were reported by other researchers in India on high school (Bagchi, 1993; Ratan, 1993) and degree college teachers (Sahu, 1993). In yet another study the gender differences in burnout were found small and non-significant (Maslach and Jackson, 1985). Perhaps in a female dominated profession the females felt more satisfied than their male counterparts (Greenfeld, Greiner and Wood, 1980), which reduced the chances of burnout.

The expectation that women experienced greater role conflict due to their dual role (Pines, Aronson and Kafry, 1981; Etzion and Pines, 1986), was not supported by empirical evidence reviewed by Greenglass (1991), and the present findings. The female teachers perceived the worksetting as more positive, significantly more stimulating and allowing for more student contacts. If the worksetting was perceived negatively, it resulted in greater stress and greater burnout. This finding had support in Cherniss (1980a) who argued that the perceptions of the worksetting as positive would reduce the chances of burnout.
The teaching in special as well as in the regular schools required the nurturant, caring attitude towards students (Maslach and Jackson, 1985), which was in conformity to the societal expectations for a female role but not for males. This characteristic behaviour of women, labelled as a weakness in the past, in fact operated as their strength in coping with the job strains and in reducing burnout.

The hypothesis stating that the worksetting, personal, and the stress factors will significantly predict burnout was confirmed to a good extent. The relations among factors were significant, and the number of relevant predictors were only few. The results showed that the explained variance was higher when the burnout factors were used as separate dependent variables, than the composite burnout score. The F-ratios were not significant however. The burnout factors had significant intercorrelations. When the teachers showed greater self-interest, they also reduced their work goals.

The significant predictors for the teachers in special schools were lack of proper orientation and lack of stimulation and feelings of fulfillment. The relevance of proper orientation had also been indicated by other researchers (Kramer, 1974; Edelwich and Brodsky, 1980; Cherniss, 1980; Pines and Aronson, 1981). The teachers' training programmes had a number of weakness. These created unrealistic expectations; were not practical, thorough or relevant, did not train the teacher trainees in interpersonal skills, the need for which was even greater for the teachers in special schools who had to handle the emotional problems of the children; failed to provide the teachers with adequate knowledge about the nature of organisations, strategies to function effectively within given constraints, and did not prepare them for coping with uncertainty, change, and conflict. Although, the training programmes were expected to help them to map the unfamiliar environment, and to have an understanding of the unwritten rules and
the lines of power, in the actual sense it only groomed then into stereotyped ideals [Honeyford (1984); Gruwez (1983); Vonk (1983); Veenman (1984); Bayer (1984) and Martinez (1984)]. In a recent investigation, Burke (1993) observed that the poor orientation significantly predicted burnout. The training of the special educators required continued improvements, because of only the partial control by the government. More often the training programmes for the special educators were organised by the voluntary organizations. They had the infrastructural problems and the resource crunch, making it difficult for them to cover all the aspects ranging from emotional to academic problems, during training. The field notes and teachers' comments substantiated this. The task of special education teachers called for innovation, and creativity, but the reality failed to provide the teachers with intellectual excitement. Their initial training programme ought to be supplemented with frequent in-service training programmes to make them more effective.

In regular schools, the lack of feedback, more problematic students, greater role conflict, bureaucratic hindrances, satisfaction with the orientation and competence were significant predictors of burnout. Similar findings were reported by Metz (1979), as the lack of positive feedback, discipline problems of the students, bureaucratization of the school system, administrative incompetence and lack of support were the noted source of burnout. The study also reported that when the teachers had administrative support, freedom and responsibility to plan the activities, frequent communication, enthusiastic colleagues, motivated students, positive feedback, participation in the decision making and the sense of achieving, they sensed professional renewal. In another research, Ensor (1983), noted that the lack of meaning in the task, feedback,
opportunity for sharing the social reality and social feedback were important predictors of burnout.

Past researchers consistently found role conflict to be a strong predictor of burnout (Westerhouse, 1979; Mansfield, 1983; Susan, 1985). Feedback was an accepted way of knowing how well one was doing and what the others thought of their work. Its absence contributed to low self-esteem, and eventually led to burnout (Collins, 1977; Freudenger, 1977; Procter, 1979; Jackson and Schuler, 1983). The large size of the class restricted the teachers' task to the prescribed work, which gave them a false sense of competence in handling the problems of the students, and feel satisfied with their training. The relatively large number of teachers per school made the school functioning bureaucratic, and gave certain degree of power to the principal.

The stresses affecting the special and the regular school teachers were thus somewhat different. In regular schools, large class, students' misbehaviour, lack of feedback, role conflicts, tended to be the source of stress (McGuire, 1979; Stevenson and Milt, 1975), while in special schools the task itself caused estrangement and burnout.

5.7 OUTCOME MEASURES

The hypothesis stating that the effects of gender, school type and years of experience will be significant on the outcome measures was partially confirmed. The findings revealed that the moderate and more experienced teachers were more vulnerable to psychosomatic disorders like headaches, loss of appetite, insomnia etc., as compared to the less experienced teachers. The findings were in conformity to the expectations, although not many researchers used years of experience as a variable in
psychosomatic symptoms.

It was found logical to examine the information by the age of the teachers, as years of experience were a function of age. As the age increased the years of experience also increased. The results showed that 85 percent of the teachers in the moderate (5-10 yrs) and more experienced (10+ yrs) category were above the age of 31 yrs and below the age of 60 years. The association between the age and years of experience was further confirmed by the relationship between age and psychosomatic symptoms. The older teachers suffered more psychosomatic symptoms. The age was also known to be an important characteristic in responsiveness to stress. Each stage in a person's life had particular vulnerability and coping mechanisms (McLean, 1979). The more experienced teachers suffered more psychosomatic symptoms, and the health generally deteriorated, with age.

Nearly 55 percent of the teachers in the more experienced group were in the age range of 51-60 yrs approaching retirement. The anxieties, the uncertainties about the future increased during the pre-retirement phase. They had various rational and irrational fears like - loss of the status, and ways of spending their time after the retirement. This was manifested in the form of psychosomatic symptoms, like insomnia, loss of appetite and frequent headaches. As they approached the retirement, they tended to look back at their past achievements and failures. In case, of failures self blame was common, which was manifested in the form of the psychosomatic illness.

Moreover, the prolonged stress caused the depletion of physical energy, besides weakening of the psychological make up. The onset of menopause in women decreased their emotional stability, since many of them began to have the feeling of
lost womanhood. The divided responsibility made them suffer more from the psychosomatic symptoms. Similar results were reported by the more experienced teachers in special schools.

While some of the above explanations were found true for the moderately experienced teachers those in the age range of 31-50 years were susceptible to the midlife or mid career crisis. The pressures and the demands on teachers during this period tended to be greater, like the teacher being responsible for the other activities in the school (attaining the necessary certification for the administrative positions of Principal, Superintendent and the like). At the personal front the adolescence problems of their children, finding of ways to enhance the family income posed demands. The increasing demands and pressures enhanced the chances of teachers succumbing to these. The negative consequences in terms of psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit prevailed, even if the actual quitting behaviour was not so high, as available alternatives also diminished.

The male teachers, with moderate years in teaching special children, were more prone to suffer from psychosomatic symptoms and had greater intentions to quit. As noted by Levine, 1989 (citing Jackson, 1968 and Sarason, 1971) the teaching was a complex, draining and isolating activity, and all of these characteristics were more problematic in special schools and during mid career. Special schools required more nurturing and a caring relationship with the students, which was beyond the frame of reference of the male teachers (Greenglass, 1991). However, not having an alternative but to perform the socially unacceptable task assigned to them, they resorted to greater use of medication, lower quality of lifestyle (Ogus, Greenglass and Burke, 1990) and greater intentions to quit. The collective impact of changes at midcareer increased

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teacher's vulnerability to stress (Selye, 1974). The personal and professional transitions, the uncertainty, and the diminishing recognition were the instances of stress. Like most stresses, these got resolved over time, but not without impairment of performance.

The findings revealed no significant gender differences in the experience of psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit teaching. Burke and Greenglass (1989) reported similar results in their research on sex differences, but contrary findings were reported by Greenglass (1985). There was higher incidence of irritation, anxiety and depression in women than men, as the women were more likely to suffer from inter-role conflicts than men (Sekaran, 1986).

The hypothesis regarding the relation with and the prediction of outcome measures by using the burnout measures as predictors was confirmed. The results indicated a significant association between the burnout and outcome measures. The findings were consistent with the earlier evidence, that burnout was related to poor health, fatigue, depletion of physical and psychic energy or exhaustion, sleep difficulties, and other specific somatic problems such as headaches and gastrointestinal disturbances (Kahill, 1988). In an exploratory study of the association between progressive phases of burnout and mental health symptoms, Golembiewski, Munzenrider, Scherb and Billingsley (1991) indicated the seriousness of burnout in terms of negative consequences. They observed that the advanced phase of burnout may lead to higher general health deterioration or may result from them. Cherniss' measures of burnout were found highly correlated with a number of outcomes, namely, job satisfaction, intentions to quit, measures of individual well being and
health (Burke, Shearer and Deszca, 1984b; Burke, 1987; Burke and Greenglass, 1989a; Calamidos, 1979; Cedoline, 1982 and Dworkin, 1987).

In the present study, the attributes of worksetting, personal and stress correlating with the outcome measures differed for the teachers of special and regular schools, perhaps because of the job conditions, situational demands, and the support received in order to cope with these in the two types of schools. In special schools, the psychological burnout was found related to psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit teaching (Ushashree and Jamuna, 1990). The results had support in findings by Morgan and Krehbiel (1985) who found that burned out teachers of the emotionally disturbed children had significantly higher tension and anxiety than those who were not burned out.

The work setting factors of lack of proper orientation and lesser interpersonal interactions with the colleagues significantly correlated with the outcome measures of psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit. The special educators were expected to perform a number of non-academic duties along with their academic responsibilities. This put excessive demands on their physical and psychic energy, which resulted in psychological strains including job dissatisfaction, anxiety and depression (Caplan and French, 1975; Harrison, 1975).

The special school teachers were frequently required to deal with the intense emotions which could be extremely painful and stressful. Unless the special educators learnt the ways to cope with these stresses without creating any anxiety and conflict within themselves, they would fail to persist for long in their efforts. If the coping was not objective, and the teachers got carried away, this could result in imbalances and subsequent psychosomatic illness. This was also confirmed by the fact that a large
number of teachers in special schools left their job, i.e., the turnover rate in special schools was very high. The special schools offered good opportunities to the teachers to satisfy their creative urges. Despite their wide scope it was not always perceived positive to delegate their responsibilities. The highly reactive teachers exhibited stronger physiological stress reactions to an objectively identical stimuli than the low reactive ones (Strelau, 1983). It had been shown in case of the Polish scientists that highly reactive individuals were more susceptible on all the three dimensions of burnout than the non-reactive ones (Noworol and Marek, 1994).

The teachers in special schools would probably experience some psychological strains, no matter how well they were trained, and the present results indicated a significant association between the lack of training and outcome measures. They repeatedly asserted that the training provided to them was simply inadequate, as it laid more stress on the theoretical than the practical aspects. It did not help in developing the interpersonal sensibility to understand the emotional and motivational reactions of their students. Nor could they handle their own emotional reactions well, such as the use of "detachment techniques" that could help maintain their emotional equilibrium, without being overly dehumanizing the teacher - student relationships. Maslach (1976) was correct in noting that the professionals receiving little preparation for coping in the interpersonal relationships showed burnout.

Teachers in special schools usually needed to work for long hours in close proximity of the students, leaving them with no time to interact with the colleagues. In the absence of peer support and proper training, anxieties, frustrations and tensions of special educators increased, and its additive effects were felt on health. Peer support
could be in the form of emotional comfort and also information about the work related areas (Pines, Aronson and Kafry, 1981).

For teachers in regular schools, the factors responsible for the outcome measures (psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit) were lack of stimulation in the work, more of reality shock, lesser clarity in roles and more conflict, as shown by correlations. The teaching in regular schools was repetitive, since the same syllabus was taught every year. There was nothing to use the capacity or the potentiality of the teachers coming with lot of enthusiasm. Their initial enthusiasm, faded giving them a sense of failure. They perceived their performance ineffective and inadequate (Stevens and O'Neill, 1983).

The teachers in regular schools perceived themselves as competent enough to handle complicated tasks, but often had to perform trivial assignments. An incongruence between the tasks assigned and their potentialities made them feel irrelevant, causing psychological uneasiness within themselves, and thus a deterioration in mental health. The teachers also reported inequitable salary in comparison to the quantum of work, which made them feel frustrated and lowered their work motivation and job involvement (Kasl, 1978).

Despite the teachers experiencing negative outcomes, the actual turnover was relatively low, and many times the actual turnover was not caused by burnout (Cherniss, 1980b; Jackson, Schuler and Schwab, 1986; Dworkin, 1987). In fact, many burnt out teachers would like to quit (Jackson, Schuler and Schwab, 1986), depending on the availability of alternative opportunities. With the exception of a few, whose specialisation could be used in the corporate sector (e.g., Mathematics and Science,
etc.), most teachers must either retrain themselves or accept lower status, and poor pay if they left (Dworkin, 1987; Le Compte and Dworkin, 1991).

The results indicated that the burnout factors were better predictors of outcome measures (psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit) in teachers of special than in regular schools, accounting for variances of 45 percent and 26 percent respectively. The relevant predictors of outcome measures were also different in the two types of schools. The findings were in conformity with some other researches. Burnout was found to be a good predictor of psychosomatic symptoms in teachers and leaving of their jobs for other careers (Mark and Anderson, 1978; Schwab and Iwanicki, 1982). Burke, Deszca and Shearer, (1984b) and Burke, (1987) in a study of men and women in police work found higher burnout contributing to frequent psychosomatic symptoms (such as, poor appetite, headaches and heart pains), negative feeling states (such as impulse to aggression, anger, depression and insomnia), and less job satisfaction.

The emotional exhaustion dimension of Maslach Burnout Inventory predicted the intentions to quit teaching only in a limited way as the variance explained by it was only 6 percent, suggesting that the other variables could be better predictors of the turnover intentions. Teachers who fell victims to burnout, felt less committed and dedicated to their work, which ultimately led to increased absenteeism, impetus to leave the profession and psychosomatic symptoms (Farber and Miller, 1981). Burke and Greenglass (1989a) and Greenglass and Burke (1990) also obtained similar results for a sample of teachers in a longitudinal study. It was not true however, that the outcome measures caused teachers to burnout. Wolpin (1988), in a longitudinal study of the levels of burnout and its presumed predictors and outcomes among school
teachers in Canada, reported that somatic symptoms were more likely to be caused by burnout rather than the reverse.

5.8 USEFULNESS OF CHERNISS MODEL

Stress researchers have persuasively argued in favour of the use of a comprehensive research model in the study of workstress and burnout (Frese and Zapf, 1988; Edwards, 1992). This investigation consistent with the argument, tested the comprehensive framework of Cherniss (1980a) on teachers in special and regular schools, which incorporated several panels of variables, namely; worksetting, personal, stress, burnout and the outcome measures. The validity of the model was tested for the first time in Indian context, as the few available researches on burnout had used Maslach's framework. The results only weakly supported the framework. The relationships of demographic characteristics with psychological burnout and outcome measures were non-significant. The lesser role of the demographic characteristics was also enunciated by Maslach and Jackson (1981); Burke, Shearer and Deszca (1984b); Burke (1987) and Burke and Greenglass (1989).

The inclusion of additional work variables by Cherniss (1980), and the supports and demands (Burke, Shearer and Deszca, 1984b) appeared useful, but did not receive significant empirical support. The personal factors had non-significant relationship with burnout and thus little useful in prediction. The issue of relation between personal factors and psychological burnout remained alive, as the empirical evidence to support it was weak (Maslach, 1982; Russell, Altmaier and Van Velzen, 1987). The modifying effect of social support of the spouse (Pradhan, work in progress cited in Misra, 1994) on the direct relationship of burnout has yet to be established (Jain, 1991).
The associations between the total scores on worksetting, stress and the burnout were found significant for teachers of special as well as regular schools. Also, in the regression equation when worksetting, personal and stress factors were entered together, the prediction was significant for the two types of schools. The relevant predictors were however, only few, not that many as identified by Cherniss. In special schools, the relevant predictors were lack of orientation and lack of stimulation and no feelings of fulfillment and accomplishment, while in regular schools these were lack of feedback, perceptions of students as problematic, bureaucratic hindrances, greater conflict, the feeling of competence and satisfaction with the acquired skills. The present results highlighted the culture specificity of the model, as the model was proposed in a western culture. This ought to be further verified by the future researchers.

The finding of the relationships between the composite scores of worksetting and stress with burnout were in line with the Cherniss model, but did not indicate a unidirectional relationship. The worksetting may be related to burnout, but did not have necessarily a causal relationship. It could be possible that the teachers who experienced burnout also perceived the workplace poorly. This argument was further strengthened, as only a few predictors from the worksetting, personal and stress emerged as relevant in the two types of schools. There was perhaps a cumulative effect of the various independent variables on burnout.

The picture emerging from the present research could at best, be considered tentative, although a research by Burke and Greenglass (1989a), examining psychological burnout among men and women in teaching, provided strong preliminary support for the model (Burke, Shearer and Deszca, 1984b). A weak
support for the psychological model of burnout should also not lead to complacency, as the research showed a moderate level of burnout. Rather steps must be taken to prevent the teachers from burning out, by using various stress reduction techniques, which could decrease the potential misery to the individual teacher, their family and the students. A truly comprehensive and enduring approach to burnout would entail the coordinated efforts of community, parents, administrators, teachers and their unions.