CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION
The phrase "Professional burnout" has become part of everyday language in the last few years. Some use it as an excuse, some as a badge of honor and others as a negative symptom of the times in a fast changing society. The phrase encapsulates a Kernel of truth wrapped in attractive language. In the past the word "burnout" had often been used with reference to the people in the human service fields, but in an increasingly professionalised society it has come to encompass a vast segment of society including doctors, lawyers, executives, school teachers, social workers etc. Though in past two decades, the role of professionals in society has grown, the proportion having full control on their work has declined. Moreover, a large number of them work on a salary, with in the constraints of an organizational set up, which heightened the potential for strain between the professional and the organization, strongly influencing the attitudes and performance of the professional. The profession of teaching was no exception. It was also likely though, that the teacher burnout had always been around masquerading in the past under names, such as job satisfaction and alienation. Even sixty years ago, Waller (1932) described how community pressures, the need for constant vigilance to control large number of students in class, and loneliness and isolation could combine to reduce a teacher's morale.

1.1 TEACHER BURNOUT : A WIDESPREAD CONCERN

Teacher stress and burnout have found a place in popular magazines, newspapers, T.V. shows and professional journals. The National Education Association of United States made teacher burnout the central theme of discussion for its 1979 convention. As an outcome of the convention a resolution was passed, which
included a package of programmes for facilitating the recognition, prevention and the treatment of stress related problems of teachers. It was stated that the mental and physical stress were driving thousands of sensitive and dedicated teachers out of the classroom resulting in their burning, and that the problem could well reach unimaginable proportions, if not checked (McGuire, 1979).

Though, the opinion polls of the professional bodies, like National Education Association (NEA) revealed an increase in the burnout problem over the years, an accurate assessment of the burnout rate was difficult. Cedoline (1982) estimated a burnout rate of 10 to 80 percent in teachers of United States, however the range was too vast to draw inferences about the actual magnitude of the problem. Also, many of the burnout researches were based upon small ethnographic and case studies, thereby limiting the generalizability.

The burnout was found to be a universal phenomenon. A five nation study Conducted by the consortium for Cross Cultural Research in Education noted that a slightly less than half of the teachers in West Germany and United States, around one-fifth of the teachers in England, and fewer than one-fifth of the teachers in Japan and Singapore would choose to become teachers out of volition (Poppleton, 1990). Poppleton (1990) reported that yet a two-third of the teachers in United States and three-fourth of the teachers in Singapore and Japan expected themselves still to be teaching at least beyond five years.

The problem of teacher burnout extended beyond the teachers' lives. It had debilitating effects on the process of education, the teacher's personal health, and the delivery of service to the students. Burned out, wanting to quit, but unable to find work elsewhere, many teachers remained in disliked jobs for much of their working
lives, adding to the gravity of the problem. However, not all the teachers were burned out. In fact a large percent were not. It thus seemed logical to take timely steps to save the large proportion of teachers who had not burned out, by making them aware of the etiology of burnout and thereby ensuring more effective teaching in the classroom.

1.2 BURNOUT: THE CONCEPT

Burnout as a term evoked images of a flickering flame of a charged and empty shell, of dying embers and cold gray ashes. It involved changes in attitude and behaviour in response to a demanding, frustrating, unrewarding work experience. Freudenberger (1974), who coined the term, identified it as cynicism, negativism, inflexibility, rigidity of thinking, unhappiness, boredom, psychosomatic symptoms, and a condition in which helping professionals were worn out in their pursuit of impossible goals. Since then, the concept was loosely used to account for any deviation from satisfaction, enthusiasm, idealism and ebullience. The dictionary defined it as "to fail, to wear out or to become exhausted by making excessive demands on energy, strength or resources". The broadest definition was given by Freudenberger and Richelson (1980), which equated burnout with stress, and suggested that it was caused by the relentless pursuit of success.

Other definitions were relatively narrower, such as conceptualizing burnout "as a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism among individuals, who do people work of some kind" (Maslach and Jackson, 1981); and as related to feelings experienced by the people whose job required repeated exposure to emotionally charged interpersonal situations' (Maslach, 1978), due to the inability to cope with the stress of work and personal life (Spaniol and Caputo, 1979). It was also identified as
comprising of a set of stages, namely stage of physical burnout, stage of intellectual burnout, and finally the stage of spiritual burnout' (Calamidos, as reported in Cedoline, 1982).

The term "burnout" acquired an additional meaning of negative changes in work-related attitudes and behaviour in response to job stress occurring over time (Cherniss, 1980b). The negative changes included a loss of concern for the client and a tendency to treat clients in a detached, and mechanical fashion (Maslach, 1976); increasing discouragement, pessimism and fatalism about one's work; apathy; negativism; frequent irritability and anger with clients and colleagues; preoccupation with one's own comfort and welfare on the job; a tendency to rationalize failure by blaming the clients or "the system"; and resistance to change, growing rigidity, and loss of creativity (Cherniss, 1980b). In addition to the negative changes in thought and behaviour, burnout had physical and behavioral symptoms. These included chronic fatigue, frequent colds, the flu, headaches, gastrointestinal disturbances and sleeplessness, excessive use of drugs, decline in self-esteem, and marital and family conflict. Whenever, there were several of these symptoms present and there were changes in the professional's attitude, the work situation was all too likely to be a source of this burnout.

Burnout differed in important ways from other related concepts. Some researchers including Heath (1981) and Cedoline (1982) suggested that stress and burnout were used interchangeably. Job stress was earlier viewed as an excess of demands on a worker, but now is seen as "a dynamic mismatch between the individual and his/her physical or social environment. This interactive view of stress recognized
that the situations were not inherently stressful; rather it was the combination of the particular situations and an individual, with one's specific personality, behavioural pattern, and life circumstances, that resulted in stress producing imbalance (McMichael, 1978). The chronic and intense stress had the potential for burnout, when the worker was helpless to change the situation and had to utilize an intrapsychic style of coping (Chemiss, 1980b). Maslach found the burnout and low job satisfaction as quite separate entities, and only weakly inter-correlated (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

A lower job satisfaction was a source of stress that could contribute to burnout (Chemiss, 1980b). It was also different from the temporary fatigue or strain, although such feelings might be an early signal of burnout. Burnout was different from socialization or acculturation, the process in which a person's attitudes and behaviour changed in response to social influence exerted by colleagues or clients. Both burnout and socialization involved change in attitudes and behaviour over time as a function of one's role in the system, but the burnout additionally referred to an individual's adaptation to stress. It was also different from turnover. Burnout could cause professionals to quit, but they may burnout and still remain on the job. People tended to leave jobs both for either positive or irrelevant reasons. While a high turnover in one organization might be a sign of high burnout, it need not be so in another.

Despite the differences, the definitions indicated certain similarities. First, there was a general agreement that the burnout occurred at the individual level. Second, burnout was an internal psychological experience involving feelings, attitudes, motives and expectations. Third, burnout was a negative experience of the individual, as it focussed on problems, distress, discomfort, dysfunction and negative consequences.
1.3 FRAMEWORKS/MODELS OF BURNOUT

Over the years several development models of burnout had been proposed, generating a lot of research activity contributing to knowledge. Some of these are briefly discussed below:

1.3.1 Cherniss's model

Several authors conceptualized burnout as a process. Some regarded it as a final step in the progression of unsuccessful attempts to cope with negative stress conditions (Farber, 1984). Others viewed it as a process developing from job impoverishment - lack of motivator (Ezrahi, 1987). Cherniss (1980a) undertook intensive interviews of 28 beginning professionals from four different fields (mental health, property law, public health nursing and high school teaching), several times over the two year period. On the basis of the information gathered, Cherniss (1980a) proposed a process model as shown in Fig. 1.
Fig-1: CHERNISS MODEL (1980a)

**Worksetting**
- Orientation
- Workload
- Stimulation
- Scope of student contact
- Autonomy
- Institutional goals
- Leadership/ Supervision
- Social isolation

**Sources of stress**
- Doubts about competence
- Problems with clients
- Bureaucratic interference
- Lack of stimulation and fulfillment
- Lack of collegiality

**Attitude changes/burnout**
- Reduced work goals
- Lessened Idealism
- Greater Self-inter
- Lessened Personal Responsibility
- Work Alienation
- Emotional detachment

**Person**
- Career orientations
- Supports/ Demands
- Outside work
The variables in the model were distilled from the interviews and observations of these professionals. The first panel of variables named the work setting, included eight factors. 1) An orientation process, which helped in the professional's ability to cope with the stress at work. 2) The size of workload that influenced the degree of stress and the efforts to cope with it. 3) Stimulation at the job affected the extent to which the professionals became disappointed with the work. 4) The scope of client contact, the possible time one could spend with individual clients to give them a sense of accomplishment. 5) Autonomy, which influenced the degree of frustration and stress experienced by the professionals. 6) The congruence between the institutional and professional's service goals. A greater congruence between the personal and the institutional goals and policies enhanced the professional's responsiveness at the job. 7) Leadership practices, that reflected the nature of supervision. 8) The social isolation at the work place, the extent to which the professional could call on others for help.

The second panel, personal factors included, first, personal differences in initial outlook identified through four career orientations, namely, social activists, artisans, careerists and self-investors. Second, supports and demands outside work. A strong relationship was found between one's work and personal life. The stress and difficulty at home, lack of close, stable network of family and friends were found to be associated with greater stress and more negative change.

In the middle of the diagram were five major sources of stress. First, doubts about competence, when the professionals lacked the necessary expertise to perform the assigned roles adequately. They frequently had the feeling of "falling short". Second, problems with clients, as many lacked motivation and ability making the professional's task more difficult. A third source of stress was bureaucratic
infringement. Fourth, lack of meaning and fulfillment in work caused by oppressive routines. The work lacked the intrinsic meaning and intellectual satisfaction, the professionals' had expected. Finally, the lack of collegiality, which took away the hope and the chance of emotional support, technical guidance and stimulation from colleagues.

The stress resulted in change in the professionals' attitude as a defense against stress, frustration and guilt experienced. They emotionally detached themselves, reduced their idealism, reduced their initial goals and aspirations, and had a lessened sense of personal responsibility for the outcomes of their work. Whenever their efforts to help their clients fell short, they increasingly blamed the clients or the system.

Chemiss' model proposed that the work setting and persons' characteristics interacted together and led to the particular sources of stress being activated, affecting the job incumbents differentially. Individuals coped with stress in different ways. Some employed active problem solving strategies, while others coped by exhibiting the negative attitude changes. Burnout, for Chemiss, occurred over time - it was a process - and represented one way of adapting to or coping with particular sources of stress.

The model tried to capture the dynamic processes of equilibrium, adjustment and change occurring in the helping professionals. Two studies in the literature constituted direct test of the model. Burke, Shearer and Deszca (1984b) designed a study to validate the Chemiss model among men and women in police work. The correlations indicated that the work setting and stress antecedents were significantly correlated with negative attitude change (or burnout). Burke and Greenglass (1989a) examined psychological burnout among 833 men and women in teaching by using the framework of Chemiss (1980a). The data provided strong preliminary support for the
model and produced findings consistent with the previous research (Burke, Shearer and Deszca, 1984b).

1.3.2 Golembiewski Model (1983)

A second model on burnout that examined it as a process, involved the notion of phases. Golembiewski and his colleagues (Golembiewski, Munzenrider and Phelan-Carter, 1983) proposed this model and tested in their researches. They assigned different priorities and pre-potencies to the three sub-scales of Maslach Burnout Inventory. Depersonalization was rated as the least important, lack of personal accomplishment, in the middle, and emotional exhaustion as the most important contributor to burnout. The dichotomizing of the distribution of scores at the median as high and low generated eight phases of burnout.

Their phase approach also used a total score, but ordered the phases having similar total scores in a theory based sequence. The studies that investigated worksite features by using the phase model had been remarkably consistent. The advanced phases of burnout were associated with a range of negative worksite features, that seemed to vary regularly phase by phase. As the phases progressed from I to VIII, individuals found that the less attractive and more depriving worksites had less satisfaction (Deckard, Rountree and Golembiewski, 1986; Burke and Deszca, 1986; Burke and Greenglass, 1989c; Golembiewski and Munzenrider, 1984, 1988), and higher turnover intentions (Burke and Deszca, 1986; Burke and Greenglass, 1989c; Golembiewski and Munzenrider, 1988), had lesser job involvement and participation in decision making (Golembiewski and Munzenrider, 1984, 1988), had lower work related psychological sense of community (Deckard, Rountree and Golembiewski,
and reported greater incidence of physical symptoms and negative feeling states (Burke and Deszca, 1986; Burke and Greenglass, 1989c). Burke and Greenglass (1991) studied the stability of burnout among teachers, by administering questionnaires twice one year apart. They reported that 43% of the teachers remained in the same burnout phase (N=132), 32% moved to a lower phase (N=98) and 25% moved to a higher phase (N=77). The latter percentages (32 VS 25) were not significantly different. The findings revealed that the number of teachers, who showed small changes was greater than the number who showed larger changes during burnout phases.

1.4 NEED FOR RESEARCH IN INDIAN CONTEXT

There was little research available in India, on the psycho-social variables operative in the teaching situation, as indicated by the First and the Second surveys of Research in Education, compiled by Buch (1974, 1979). There were a handful of researches on aspects of teachers' motivation, morale, and conflicts experienced by them, but none on teacher burnout. A later bibliography compiled by Dave and Venkatesha Murty (1988-1992) on Education Research and Innovation published by N.C.E.R.T. (1993) included three studies on teacher burnout, each emphasizing a different aspect, and thus showing no coherence.

Teachers in India should be experiencing stress and burnout like their counterparts in other countries. The job turnover and teacher dropout might not always be good indicators of job stress and burnout, because of the specific personal, social and cultural reasons. The dropout rate of teachers could be negligible, and yet they may not be free of stress and feelings of burnout. Some of the evident explanatory social causes were high unemployment rates, the population explosion, non-availability
of alternative jobs, and the fear of risking one's livelihood. Some other factors which tended, to be stressful to teachers were the noncongenial working condition, poor economic returns, professional stagnation, low status and prestige, large class size, no autonomy and disinterested students which were very fertile for the burnout to set in. The profession of teaching has always remained under the watchful eye of the public and the critics, since the potential consequences of any laxity on the part of the teachers were known to be serious, yet nothing concrete was done to arrest the shrinking image of the teachers.

The position of the teacher in the process of education was central, thus there was a need for research into the psycho-social aspects of teaching profession and the teacher. Attempts should be made to investigate why the teachers, who joined the profession with lot of hope, optimism, high ideals and enthusiasm, turned over the years into uncaring, unenthusiastic beings, with only a small percent being able to sustain their initial interest, enthusiasm and the desire to grow professionally.

**1.5 THE PRESENT STUDY**

Traditionally, the teachers enjoyed a position of great respect in India. Many teachers had performed their duties with utmost dedication, but a decline occurred over the years. The National Policy on Education (1986) recognized the decline in the status of teachers, and attributed it to the deteriorating service conditions, lower standards of teachers' training, and the isolation in which they work. The document also recognized that the status of the teachers had a direct bearing on the quality of education imparted, and many other ills of the system, which could be ascribed to the indifferent manner in which the society looked upon the teachers, and the way in
which many teachers' had performed their duties. The prevailing work conditions of teachers in India, and the subsequent consequences on a vast segment of the society, warranted a systematic probe. This could help in an understanding of the aetiology of burnout, the underlying factors, generate an awareness about the possible steps to prevent it, and thus achieve substantial improvements in the quality of their education and the work conditions, as envisaged in the National Policy on Education (1986).

Although there were a number of significant and interpretable findings related to teacher burnout in the Western literature, only a few followed a interactionistic perspective. Pines, Aronson and Kafry (1981) divided the work environment into internal and external variables. Maslach (1982) categorized the variables into those representing involvement with people, the job setting and the personal characteristics, but the clustering didn't specify the central features of any. Some researches indicated that the personal and the work setting factors were both important correlates of burnout (Maslach, 1982; Golembiewski, Munzenrider and Stevenson, 1986). An exploratory research undertaken by the investigator (1991) indicated the need of examining the dynamic interactions between the individual and the work setting attributes of teachers, which imposed certain demands on them, while attempting to influence their environment to make it conforming to their needs and goals. For instance, the demands imposed by spastic, mentally retarded, deaf and dumb and blind students on the teacher would be much greater than by the physically and psychologically normal children, and they would feel varied stress.

In recent years teachers have been known to land in a precarious situation, where everyone raises a finger against them whenever even small deviations in the
behaviour of students were noticed (Banerjee, 1990). Besides, there were increasing social and institutional pressures on them to perform their duties efficiently. This required an understanding of the factors which induced stress and led to the teachers' burnout, making it difficult for them to discharge their duties properly. It was hoped that such information would prove valuable for the teachers and the administrators of the schools, who could plan coping strategies for preventing and controlling stress and burnout.

The phase model of Golembiewski, Munzenrider, Phelan-Carter (1983) required necessarily a longitudinal investigation which was not possible within the time framework provided for a Ph.D. programme. The model proposed by Cherniss (1980a) for the human service professionals was, thus selected for designing the present research. Teachers were considered as human service professionals on the basis of which Cherniss (1980a) derived the process model, and they also formed the present sample. This also seemed more appropriate in terms of relatively more clear conceptualisation of factors in various panels. In addition, researchers provided data on the utility of the model (Burke and Greenglass, 1989a) itself, and in relation to the occupational stress among teachers (Dunham, 1984; Farber, 1984; Kyriacou, 1980). This study thus undertook the task of examining the validity of Cherniss model (1980a). Additionally, the model was extended to include the outcome measures, i.e., psychosomatic symptoms and intentions to quit, as part research evidence indicated a high association between burnout and the outcome measures (Burke, Shearer, and Deszca, 1984b; Burke, 1987; Burke and Greenglass, 1989a). The predicted relationship of the two panels of variables can be shown as in Fig. 2 (a continuation of Fig. 1).
Fig 2: EXTENSION OF CHERNISS MODEL

- Attitude change/Burnout
- Reduced work goals
- Lessened Idealism
- Greater Self-interest
- Lessened Personal Responsibility
- Work Alienation
- Emotional detachment

Outcomes
- Psychosomatic Symptoms
- Intentions to quit