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ABSTRACT
                What appears to be missing in the extensive research
and literature on the topic of job satisfaction is a coherent
framework indicating how the many personal and environmental
variables relate to one another in influencing the individual's
overall feelings about work. The first part of this discussion offers
an historical perspective on job satisfaction research, describes
approaches used to measure teachers' job satisfaction, and relates
various motivation theories to research on teachers' job
satisfaction. The second part presents a working model to illustrate
how the many variables of job satisfaction interrelate. Building on
the social-ecological conceptualization proposed by Rudolf Moos, this
model stresses the dynamic, interactive nature of person-environment
factors. Such factors include environmental variables, personal
variables, cognitive appraisal, coping responses, and outcomes.
Research findings on aspects of these variables are discussed in
detail, especially as they relate to early childhood teaching. It is
hoped that a model incorporating some theoretical explanation of
these complex relationships will have value in training early
childhood teachers. (CB)

TEACHER JOB SATISFACTION:

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

Job satisfaction is one of the most widely researched topics in psychology. Over four thousand articles or dissertations have been written on the subject. The reason for this poplularity is not difficult to understand. The topic has strong appeal because it has immediate relevance to our own lives. Since we spend so much of our time in work environments, understanding the factors involved in achieving fulfillment can certainly affect our personal well-being. But the bulk of the research on the issue has focused on behavioral psychology as it relates to the world of business and industry. Only moderate attention has been paid to the topic as it relates to teacher education; and the unique concerns of early childhood educators remain largely unexplored. It is possible, however, to draw from the vast literature on job satisfaction in the fields of behavioral psychology and organizational management and develop a framework for analyzing job satisfaction variables specifically as they relate to the teaching profession.

The concept of job satisfaction is particularly intriguing because, by definition, it is an end in itself -- a positive outcome that is highly valued. But the study of job satisfactioi. also takes on special significance when viewed from an organizational standpoint. Even though a direct causal link between teacher's feelings of satisfaction and their productivity on the job has yet to be firmly established, many school administrators intuitively feel that job satisfaction (and particularly job dissatisfaction) can have a strong impact on organizational effectiveness.

The factors that influence job satisfaction take on an even more urgent sense of importance when we read statistics from polls (NEA, 1980) indicating that fully 35% of all teachers are dissatisfied with their current roles and 41% would not become teachers if they could start over again. In early childhood education, the attrition rate far exceeds the 7-10% figure that characterizes other occupations. Indeed, understanding the variables involved in creating environments that are conducive to employee satisfaction may well have a direct impact on organizational survival at this level of the educational continuum.

Knowing that job satisfaction has personal as well as organizational relevance does not make the job of the social scientist any easier in untangling the network of complex relations between work and worker. The depth and complexity of the issues defy easy explanation. One of the difficulties in assessing teacher job satisfaction is the problem of definition. The very term "satisfaction" is so abstract that developing a precise terminology has been exceedingly difficult. Is job satisfaction the absence of job dissatisfaction? Does the absence of "satisfiers" in the environment create dissatisfaction? While there is considerable confusion in the literature as to the scope and nature of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, there is general agreement that they refer to the teacher's "composite" attitude or emotional response toward a job. Since any job has many diverse features, job satisfaction then can be construed as the balance of positive and negative feelings about a particular job.

The most common approach to understanding this affective state called job satisfaction has been to apply the principles of various motivation theories. Theories of motivation attempt to define the complex forces, drives, needs, tension states, and other internal psychological mechanisms that start and maintain activity toward achievement of personal goals.

Studies evolving out of this tradition often view dissatisfaction as a
deficit state where needs in a particular area of the teacher's work life
are not being met. Other studies of job satisfaction have looked at
personality trait characteristics of the teacher or particular aspects of
the teaching role itself and correlated these to different levels of
fulfillment. The first part of this paper will provide a brief overview of
some of the diverse approaches that have evolved in an attempt to define
this elusive concept.

The problem of definition is only part of the difficulty in studying
job satisfaction, however. What appears to be missing in the research and
literature on this topic is a coherent framework for how the many personal
and environmental variables relate to one another in influencing the
individual's overall feelings about work. The second part of this paper
will present a working model, a conceptual framework, that illustrates how
the many variables of job satisfaction interrelate. The paradigm builds on
the social-ecological conceptualization proposed by Rudolf Moos. This
perspective stresses the dynamic, interactive nature of person-environment
variables. The model highlights the "reciprocal causation" of the various
dimensions and also includes the cognitive processes and coping responses
that people use to mediate the influences of their work environment.

This model rests on the assumption that teacher job satisfaction is a
very complex phenomenon that cannot be easily explained by broad generali-
zations about human behavior. Satisfaction in teaching rests on the nature
of the individual's values and needs as well as the nature of the job and
work environment itself. Teacher job satisfaction must be construed as the
degree of harmony existing between a person and the demands of the environ-
ment. It is hoped that a model incorporating some theoretical explanation
of this complex relationship may have heuristic value both for preservice
training of new early childhood teachers and for staff inservice develop-
ment of teachers currently working in the field.

JOB SATISFACTION - TOWARD A WORKING DEFINITION

An Historical Perspective

It is in the field of organizational management that interest in the variables that influence job satisfaction has its historic roots. As far back as the early 1900's in the writings of Frederick Taylor (1911), man is viewed as an adjunct to machine; an adjunct whose motivational system was based wholly on economic rewards. The dominant theme running through much of the literature on organizational management still echoes this tradition and seeks to link job satisfaction to various work motivation factors (Hoy, 1978). The emphasis is on the contribution of the individual to organization effectiveness and ways in which managers can inspire employees to achieve higher levels of performance.

In recent years, however, a slightly different focus in the research on job satisfaction has emerged. This focus is one that explores the relationship of work and well-being from the individual's perspective and is concerned with the effects of the organizational environment on the individual -- both positive and negative, intended and unintended. The emphasis here is on isolating aspects of the work environment that have an adverse impact.on the worker's overall physiological and psychological health. Recent studies (Kahn, 1981, 1982; McLean, 1979; House, 1981; Glass, 1980) in the area of occupational stress reflect this interest.

Evolving out of these two approaches to the study of job satisfaction, are various theories of motivation. These theories have sought to elucidate the critical variables in the work environment that influence the worker's overall level of fulfillment on the job. These theories are essentially grounded in two contrasting philosophical assumptions about the

nature of work and the worker (Beck, 1979; McGregor, 1964). It is important to understand these because they provide framework a for understanding the assumptions (and actions) underlying decisions of administrators in school settings.

One set of assumptions rests on the view that teachers are rational and predominantly motivated by equity considerations. When provided with enough information about the probability of success at various jobs and tasks they will be able to make decisions about alternative courses of action. In this view, manipulation of wages and incentives and various extrinsic rewards may be sufficient to control teachers. Administrators operating from this set of assumptions generally emphasize positions rather than people. Teachers as workers are usually considered relatively interchangeable.

A second set of assumptions rests on the philosophical view that teachers are intrinsically motivated and that pride and satisfaction in accomplishment evolve from the individual's need to achieve higher levels of self-esteem and ultimately self-actualization. It rests on the belief that work is an extension of one's identity and that people engage in work to feel a sense of competence and self-determination. Models of school administration growing from this set of assumptions tend to emphasize the intrinsic motivating elements possible in job design, participatory decision-making, and supportive social networks.

Measuring Job Satisfaction

Several approaches have been used for measuring levels of teacher job satisfaction. In general, research questions try to isolate specific variables of jobs that demonstrate the difference between the teacher's present position and his/her ideal job. With satisfaction as the dependent

variable, studies have focused on different indicators to measure relative strength of an individual's career satisfaction. Some of these include: measuring the discrepancy between people's expectations of reward and their actual accomplishment; identifying the relative frequency of satisfiers and dissatisfiers for different groups of teachers; and evaluating teachers' global feelings of fulfillment on Likert-type scales without reference to any specific facet of the job (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977).

One of the difficulties with many of the job satisfaction studies is they tend to take a rather static view and look at a teacher or group of teachers at one point in time rather than examining how job satisfaction changes and how job values change in the course of the teacher's life-time. Research needs to be designed to incorporate this temporal component. Another problem is that most of the research conducted on teacher job satisfaction has been done using questionnaires. This presents a problem because teachers often feel obliged to give socially acceptable rather than honest responses to questions. For example, teachers' altruistic self-perceptions might prompt them to give less than honest responses to probing questions about salary and other extrinsic incentives (Sergiovanni, 1980). Gruneberg (1979) cautions that questionnaires should be regarded as instruments for approximating the truth, rather than infallible means of measuring attitudes.

Motivation Theories and Teacher Job Satisfaction

A quick perusal of the literature on motivation shows that there is certainly no shortage of explanations to interpret human behavior in work environments. While motivation theories have predominantly focused on work satisfaction in industrial settings, some research has direct relevance to teacher job satisfaction. As early as 1935, for example, Hoppock applied survey methods and attitude scales for looking at level of job satisfaction

in teachers. His work typifies what has been called the "traditional" approach because it evolved out of the assumption that "if the presence of a variable in the work environment leads to satisfaction, then its absence will lead to job dissatisfaction. Hoppock's research was valuable because he also asked teachers questions about non-work factors such as their level of satisfaction in their marriage and nonwork relationships. His findings suggest that job satisfaction and life satisfaction are intricately related and that other personal factors outside the school often determine whether or not someone is satisfied on the job.

Herzberg (1966) attacked this traditional view arguing that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction should not be conceptualized as occurring on a single continuum. He put forth a two-factor theory arguing that the causes for satisfaction and the causes for dissatisfaction are quite separate. "Motivation" factors are associated with psychological growth and lead one to job satisfaction. These include achievement, recognition and the intrinsic nature of the job itself. "Hygiene" factors, on the other hand, are associated with the context of the job. These include such things as pay, security, supervision, and physical working conditions. When deficient, these lead to dissatisfaction. But their presence cannot be a source of job satisfaction and motivation. Motivation-hygiene theory is clearly a departure from the traditional thinking of many school administrators. For example, it has been assumed by many that if teachers are dissatisfied with large classes, that providing them with smaller classes will produce satisfaction. Herzberg's theory would lead one to question the wisdom of this course of action.

Sergiovanni's (1967,1980) conceptualization of the motivation-hygiene thesis extends Herzberg's work. He accepts the basic premise underlying the theory but has revised it somewhat to be more applicable to the school setting. He believes it is wrong to conclude that there are not some

people who are motivated by the dissatisfiers. He states that these teachers require strategies and opportunities quite different from teachers guided by motivators.

Perhaps the most well-known of the motivation theories is Maslow's Needs Hierarchy Theory (1970). Maslow contends that only after the basic needs such as safety and security are fulfilled is it possible to pay attention to higher order needs of self-actualization and establishing individual worth. Maslow did not devise his theory to account for job satisfaction specifically, but it has been used to account for satisfaction in the stratification of occupations. Gruneberg (1979) points out the drawbacks of Maslow's theory indicating that there is no empirical evidence for this hierarchy of needs as intuitively appealing as it seems. He states that there are always physical needs to be satisfied and that there is even some evidence that satisfying a certain level of needs only leads to strengthening those needs rather than the reverse.

There is an additional cluster of theories that also relate to teacher job satisfaction. These are known as equity, expectations, and reference group theories. These theories try to account for the process by which individuals decide whether the characteristics of a particular job are satisfying or not. Job satisfaction is related to the perceived differences between what is expected or desired as a reasonable return for effort and what is actually received. Inputs typically are seen in terms of effort, experience, skill, training, hours of work and so on. Rewards are viewed in terms of satisfaction or pleasure derived from pay, status, esteem, and material comforts (Warr, 1976). An understanding of the groups to whom the individual relates is also critical in understanding job satisfaction. This is particularly important for teachers who have characteristically received lower salaries than other college graduates entering other occupations. But if the teacher perceives his/her relevant

reference group as only other teachers then the kinds of comparisons might have different implications for job satisfaction. They might, for example, be the source of staff tension if inequities are perceived to exist within a school; or they might be the impetus for transferring to a higher paying position in another district.

This brief overview of some of the more popular motivation theories illustrates the complexity of trying to relate such general concepts to different work settings. Theories vary in level of specificity and degree of applicability to the school environment. Some are far too broad and general to be of practical use by administrators, others are too microscopic, analytic, and too narrowly conceived to be useful. No single theoretical approach could adequately embrace all the factors influencing teachers needs and behaviors in the school environment; but as heuristic aids in understanding human interaction on the job, each has some value.

In sum, theories of motivation may be helpful in clarifying the needs, drives, and aspirations of the "collective identity" of workers, but they do little to explain how enthusiastic Teacher X will be to face his/her 30 students on Monday morning. Ultimately, job satisfaction rest on the nature of the individual's values as well as the nature of the job and work environment itself. Any model of job satisfaction must capture the interaction of work and worker as a complex fluid relationship. People create their social milieu and are in turn created by it. Such a model must highlight the transaction and interplay between individual and environment -- a kind of dynamic, transactional, mutual influence. The next section of this paper will present such a framework.

A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

An Overview of the Social-Ecological Perspective

In his recent volume on the ecology of human development, Bronfenbrenner (1979) acknowledges that to assert that human development is the result of the interaction between individuals and their environments is to state what is almost commonplace in behavioral science. He goes on to note, however, that even though the proposition is familiar and one with which none would take issue, there has been a conspicuously one-sided implementation of the principle in the development of scientific theory and empirical work. Bronfenbrenner was not speaking specifically of the research pertaining to job satisfaction, but his remarks are particularly appropriate to this line of inquiry.

The proposition that behavior evolves as a function of the interplay between person and environment is also not new in the literature on job satisfaction. This assertion was expressed symbolically in Kurt Lewin's classic equation: $B = f(P,E)$ as early as 1935. Yet studies growing out of this psychological tradition have not given equal emphasis to both sides of the equation by investigating the person and the environment as well as the dynamic interaction between the two. Rather, studies have tended to focus either on enduring personality traits as determinants of behavior or on the environmental forces that shape human behavior. Furthermore, if we want to understand the "individual" character of the job experience, one's cognitive appraisal element of the situation is also essential. Conyne (1981) points out that environments and people are interactive and the nature of this activity is mediated (or moderated or buffered) by cognitive perceptions. Mischel (1979) also emphasizes the importance of this dimension in the interaction process and believes that greater attention needs to be paid to the role of cognition in personal functioning.

It was the lack of attention to the "total" interplay between person and environment that also led Rudolf Moos (1974, 1979) to formulate his theory of social ecology. Moos and his associates believe that the relative proportion of variance attributed to different factors varies according to the particular sample of persons, settings, and responses chosen for study. He has sought to determine why the behavior of the same people often differs substantially in different settings or milieus. Moos believes that the variance accounted for by consistent differences among settings and by the interaction between environmental and personal characteristics is generally as great or greater than the variance accounted for by consistent differences among persons.

The Model

Moos' conceptualization has been used predominantly to study the social climate of different environments and not specifically as a heuristic for teacher job satisfaction. The basic elements in his model provide a good beginning, though, for analyzing the complex variables involved assessing job satisfaction. Figure 1 represents a reformulation of Moos' social-ecological model modified to illustrate the important dimensions of job satisfaction.

This person-environment model incorporates motivation as a thinking process that mediates between individual and environmental considerations. It recognizes that jobs differ in their demands and opportunities and teachers differ in their needs and abilities. One teacher's stress is another's welcomed challenge. It also recognizes that environments shape and are shaped by human behavior and its meaning is as variable as the number of individuals affected. Thus, the various components should not be viewed as independent but rather synergistic. Change in any one component may well bring about changes in others.
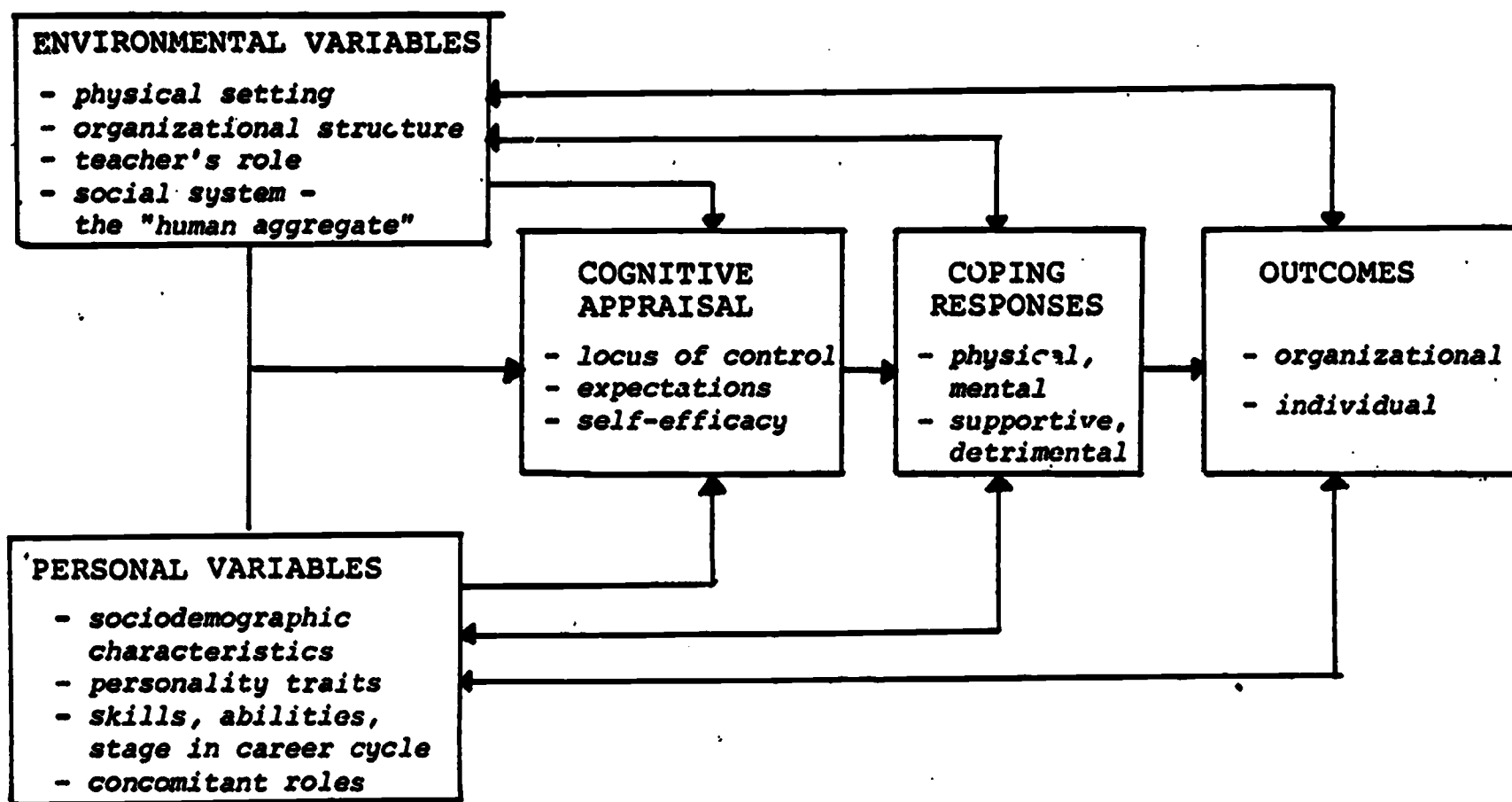
figure 1. A framework for analysis: teacher job satisfaction

Job satisfaction when presented in this.way is viewed as the congruity
between the teacher's personality, needs, perceptions, expectations,
attributions, and the setting in which he/she must work. Congruity leads
to a state of harmony and satisfaction, disparity leads to tension and
dissatisfaction. This "goodness of fit" concept draws on the work of
several theorists. Most notable is Henry Murray (1938) whose research
was of seminal importance in the development of the person-environment
perspective. The work of Stern (1970) has also proved important because he
expanded Murray's need-press theory and looked at the difference between
anabolic press (conducive to self-enhancing growth) and catabolic press
(antithetical to personal growth). The research of French, Rodgers and
Cobb (1974) has also provided support for this theoretical proposition.

Environmental Variables

The environment of the school in this social-ecological conceptualization includes several different dimensions: (1) the physical component which includes natural space and built structures; (2) the organizational component which includes the administrative functions of the school operation; (3) the job component which includes the particulars of the teacher's role and responsibilities; and (4) the social component which includes the work group affiliation and degree of interpersonal support within the school. All components overlap and interrelate to create the ecological climate of the school, and that climate or atmosphere is unique to that particular school. Moos (1974) points out that some environments are supportive just as some people are supportive. Likewise some environments are extremely controlling just as some individuals need to dominate or control others.

(1)   The Physical Setting: A vast literature in environmental psychology has developed in the past few years emphasizing the subtle yet powerful impact of our physical surroundings. Researchers like Hall (1966), Sommer, (1969), Barker (1968), Craik (1973), and Weinstein (1979) have stressed that the architecture and physical design of work environments can influence psychological and physiological states as well as social behavior. Behavior in a specific physical context may impose major constraints on the range of possible alternatives and determine patterns of action. Sommer (1969) for example, suggests that environments can be viewed as either sociofugal or sociopetal depending on whether or not they foster or discourage social interaction.

Environmental psychology in the school context has looked predominantly at selected environmental variables such as heating, lighting, noise level, ventilation, and layout of design in order to measure comfort,

teacher's work efficiency, and pupil performance. Other environmental variables frequently isolated for study include color, form, texture, spatial dimensions, and general environmental quality. A typical research question might be to assess to what extent modern "vandal-proof" architectural designs (windowless buildings) nave an impact on teachers' attitudes and behaviors. Similar questions can be framed for open-space classrooms, shared classrooms, and a host of other spatial considerations (Meyer, 1971; Gump, 1978). In the early childhood setting, concern often focuses on questions about the density (number of children per activity) in a specified classroom space, the affect of the noise on concentration and fatigue, the degree of "hardness" or "softness" in the environment, and the overall size or scale of the facility (Phyfe-Perkins, 1980; Kritchevsky & Prescott, 1969).

In general, school designs can be categorized as being either cohesive or isolating. Cohesive designs facilitate interaction with larger groups, promoting greater staff involvement. Unfortunately, the spatial arrangement of most elementary schools inhibits teachers from observing and working with each other. Dreeben (1973) feels that the implications of this spatial isolation are far reaching, posing certain problems for teachers that may well affect satisfaction. At the early childhood level where "shared space" is more common, other issues such as the lack of privacy and "forced interaction" with co-workers often present a different set of problems.

(2) The Organizational Structure: Organizational aspects of the school environment are varied and cover a whole range of issues relating to how the school as an institution operates. Considerations here include the decision-making hierarchy, written and unwritten policies, routine procedures, salary structure, security, reward system, opportunities for advancement, staff size, staffing ratios, and support services available.

Also important are the system maintenance and change dimensions that characterize the organization (Moos, 1979). Each school administration, for example, differs in the degree to which it emphasizes order, conveys clear expectations, maintains control, and responds to change.

It is apparent from the range of organizational concerns noted that how these aspects affect job satisfaction has much to do with the individual leadership style of the administrator. Chase (1951) found that an important factor relating to the satisfaction of teachers was the dynamic and stimulating leadership of the principal. Bidwell's research (1955) on teacher expectations of administrators as well as Etzioni's (1969) typology of organizations also help elucidate the importance of this aspect of the overall school environment. Surely the increasing influence of teachers' unions cannot be discounted, as well. Their influence has led to reconceptualization of the traditional principal/teacher relationship in the school context (Dreeben, 1973).

While unionization at the early childhood level is rare, other organization-related difficulties often arise because of the lack of prescribed policies and procedures. Administrative roles are often loosely defined, and many of the tasks which traditionally fall in this category are handled by the teaching staff or the Board of Directors. In is not uncommon in smaller early childhood centers to have a situation where the director is also a classroom teacher.

There are two additional aspects of the organization component that deserve brief mention because they go to the heart of teaching as a career and its implications on overall career satisfaction -- salaries and opportunities for advancement. Many commentators (Sykes, 1983; Kerr, 1983; Smith, et al, 1983) have noted that in recent years teacher's salaries have lost ground in the job market. The national average teacher's salary for

the 1981-82 school term was approximately $19,050, below those of other occupations requiring similar education. Teachers' salaries have also not kept pace with inflation as well those in other occupations. At the early childhood level the situation is even more serious with teachers often working for minimum wage. The consequences of this on teacher attrition, recruitment, and job satisfaction are of grave concern to many who seek to upgrade the profession.

Lortie's sociological research (1975) on the teaching occupation provides some insights as to why this phenomenon exists. He notes that teaching is both unstaged and front-loaded. It is front-loaded because teachers' salaries begin at a level that is a relatively high percentage of what they will ultimately hope to earn. It is unstaged because it provides a uniform reward schedule that is based on seniority rather than on achievement or advancement by merit. Lightfoot (1983) echoes this same point, noting that teachers do not generally get promoted on the basis of excellence in classroom teaching. To the contrary, successful teachers are often moved out of the classroom into administrative positions within the school or the district. Some say the system promotes mediocrity and encourages uninvolvement.

(3) Teaching Roles and Responsibilities: Sergiovanni (1980) states that most studies of teacher job satisfaction consistently reveal that the psychic rewards derived from the teaching task itself and the pleasure of working with children are far more important to teachers than extrinsic rewards. This is consistent with Lortie's (1975) analysis. But the "job" of teaching is a complex one and not easily defined by a set of specific duties characteristic of teachers at all levels. There are great gaps between what one teacher does in one setting and another at another school. Likewise, conditions vary from rural to metropolitan and from one community to another. As a result, teachers' on-the-job responsibilities vary in significant ways (Richey, 1974).

Even so, there are many similarities found in the roles and responsibilities of teachers. To be sure, much of the teacher's role includes mundane "housekeeping" responsibilities like keeping attendance records, monitoring study hall, collecting milk money and the like. But teaching is also complicated work, involving intense interpersonal interactions with many students more or less simultaneously. The work entails diagnosis, evaluation, interpretation, and decision making. The work day is an intense, continuous flow in which the teacher is constantly on stage (Sanders, 1980). The average work week for teachers at all levels includes 29.8 hours contact time with pupils, 6.8 hours spent in other duties during the school day, and 10.8 hours in noncompensated activities doing lesson preparation, grading papers, making reports and attending meetings (Richey, 1974).

The impression that most people have of teaching is that teachers have considerable autonomy to run their classrooms as they want. That is often not the case. Teachers are cut off from their colleagues much of the day. Within their own separate classrooms, many teachers operate under a complex set of expectations about what and how much of the curriculum material they should cover, the range of activities allowed, and the time structure governing just when those activities can happen. What may appear as autonomy may indeed be felt as isolation by the teachers (Chapman & Lowther, 1982).

Many writers have focused on the issue of whether teaching constitutes a profession or if it is more in line with a craft, skilled occupation, or falling somewhere in between as a semi-profession (Etzoni, 1969; Lortie, 1975; Mitchell & Kerchner, 1983). Sarason (1978-79) highlights the "giving" nature of the teacher's role putting it more in line with other "helping professions." These distinctions may seem unnecessary, but "prestige" indicators clearly have much to do with the way teachers

perceive their role responsibilities and the way they will view themselves vis-a-vis other occupations. The implications of these self-perceptions for job satisfaction pose interesting questions for future research.

Research conducted by Kahn (1981) is particularly helpful in clarifying the many variables that comprise any given role. Within task content, for example, one might consider the following variables: challenge, meaningfulness, feedback, variety and complexity, autonomy and control, role clarity, interdependence and coordination with others, role overload (qualitative and quantitative), resource adequacy, and skill adequacy. In analyzing task components such as these, Kahn (1982) has isolated three aspects of the individual's role that have particular significance with respect to teacher job satisfaction. These include role conflict, role ambiguity, and role overload. Role conflict is the result of contradictory role expectations. It occurs when the teacher is torn between groups or individuals expecting different kinds of behavior. For example, the principal may hold the teacher responsible for following the curriculum "by the book," while parents may exert pressure for a more flexible, informal, and wide range of educational experiences for their children. Role ambiguity is conceived as the discrepancy between the amount of information a person has and the amount required to perform the role adequately. Work overload results when there is an incessant pressure to do more work and one cannot finish what is required in an ordinary work day. The sheer volume of work also interfers with how well it gets done.

(4) Social System: Several studies have found that the quality of interpersonal relationships between teachers and administrators and the positive value and recognition that teachers receive from their co-teachers is particularly important in teacher's self-reports of job satisfaction. But the results in this area are mixed. Lortie (1975) states that the

cellular form of the school organization, and the rigid time schedules that dictate the teachers day, put interactions between teachers at the margin of their daily work. He states that individualism characterizes their socialization. Indeed the major intrinsic rewards of teachers are earned in isolation from their teaching peers. Teacher-teacher interaction did not seem to play a critical part of the work life of the teachers included in his studies. But that is not to say that teachers prefer this arrangement or that what contact they do have outside the classroom with their teaching colleagues isn't useful in terms of sharing ideas and resources. Fellow teachers can play an important role in helping teachers assess their own progress.

Moos (1974) speaks of the "human aggregate" as an important aspect of the environmental system. This term implies that the character of the environment depends in part on the collective identity of its members. The aggregate characteristics include the prototypical age, ability level, socio-economic background, and level of educational attainment. This kind of group identity is an integral part of the vocational choice theory proposed by Holland (1973). This collective identity is an intriguing notion and one that warrants further study with respect to job satisfaction variables. It would be interesting to see, for example, if the kind of group efficacy that Bandura (1982) refers to might not have a strong impact on teacher's sense of competence and overall job satisfaction. The degree of collegial support present in a school setting is particularly important if one of the goals of the organization is to achieve sustained involvement of its teachers. Emotional support reflects concern for others and provides the foundation for a nurturing cohesion that enhances teacher's sense of self (Sergiovanni, 1980; Hoy & Miskel, 1978).

Personal Variables

Differences in individual characteristics can help explain teacher's responses to the school environment. Background and personal indices include: (1) sociodemographic characteristics such as age, sex, ethnic, and socio-economic status; (2) personality factors including such traits and as characteristics as values and attitudes, interests, time orientation, and overall level of self esteem; (3) skills and abilities including training, general teaching competence, growth potential, intellectual resources, and the teacher's stage in his/her career development; and (4) concomitant roles, responsibilities, and social support networks. This last category essentially comprises "everything else" going on in the teachers' life outside the school environment.

(1) Sociodemographic Variables: Teachers are portrayed in much of the literature in very stereotypic terms. They are usually described as white, female, middle class, Protestant, and basically conservative in political orientation (Charters, 1963; Lortie, 1975). While teaching has remained a predominantly female occupation with over 80% of all elementary school teachers and over 95% at the early childhood teachers being women, some current sociological surveys of the teaching profession (Sweet & Jacobsen, 1983; Lightfoot, 1983) indicate that the distribution of age is changing. The average public school teacher is now older (39 years) and the percent of young teachers is decreasing.

The correlation between age and job satisfaction is an interesting one. Herzberg (1966), for example, found that job satisfaction starts high, declines, and then starts to improve again with increasing age. He suggests, though, this may not be so much a function of age, per se, but the increased opportunity older workers have to find jobs which suit them most. It appears that the findings with respect to age and job

satisfaction are inconclusive at best, because dissatisfied teachers often elect to leave teaching. McLean (1979) offers some interesting insights into the vulnerability that each person has to occupational stress at different stages in his/her life cycle. He believes each phase has its own pattern of expectations and thus its own vulnerability when those expectations are not realized. .

As with age, the findings with respect to gender differences are also inconclusive. Some evidence suggests that males and females differ in what they expect from teaching. Female teachers, for example, are less concerned with the career aspects of their jobs than their male counterparts. Males want far more from their jobs in terms of achievement and recognition. Lortie (1975) found men less satisfied with their work than either single or married women. Charters (1963) states that career satisfaction for women is often related to the flexible time arrangements that teaching allows for home and family.

(2) <u>Personality Factors:</u> Personality factors refer to those aspects of the individual teacher that describe his/her propensity to behave in certain ways. This includes motives and values, sensitivities and fears, habits and so forth. Personality factors act as conditioning variables as well as determinants of differential reactions to job conditions (Kahn, 1964). While the literature on personality variables relating to job satisfaction is often highly subjective and occasionally even controversial, a few of the more interesting theories are worth noting.

Myers (1980) expands Jung's original three dimensions of personality (extroversion/introversion, sensing/intuition, and thinking/feeling) by adding a fourth (perceiving/judging) dimension. The result is a typology which comprises sixteen different personality types each interacting with the environment in a distinctly different way. The psychometric instrument

developed by Myers (the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator) has gained wide popularity as an assessment tool for teacher career counseling and inservice staff development. Keirsey and Bates (1978) have used the instrument extensively to analyze teaching subject preference and overall teaching style. Table 1 provides a summary of their findings for the four dominant typologies found in the teaching profession: SP (sensing/ perceiving), SJ (sensing/judging), NT (intuitive/thinking), NF (intuitive/ feeling).

TEACHING IN STYLE—SUMMARY

PRIME VALUE IN EDUCATION	PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS AND LENGTH OF SERVICE	FAVORED TEACHING AREAS		FAVORED INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES	
SP Growth of Spontaneity and Freedom	4% Short stay in Teaching	Arts Crafts Sports	Drama Music Recreation	Projects Contests Games	Demonstrations Shows
SJ Growth of Responsibility and Utility	56% Long stay in Teaching	Agriculture Clerical Business Sports Social Sciences	Political Science Homemaking History Geography	Recitation Drill Composition	Tests/Quizzes Demonstration
NT Growth of Knowledge and Skills	8% Medium stay in Teaching	Philosophy Science Technology	Communications Mathematics Linguistics	Lectures Tests Compositions	Projects Reports
NF Growth of Identity and Integrity	32% Long stay in Teaching	Humanities Social Sciences Theatre Music	Foreign Languages Speech Theology	Group Projects Interaction Discussion	Shows Simulations Games

Table 1

In presenting his theory of career choice, Holland (1973) posits that vocational satisfaction, stability, and achievement depends on the congruence between one's personality and the environment in which one works. He proposes six different personality types: realistic, investigative, social, artistic, enterprising, and conventional. Holland describes teachers as exhibiting a combination of skills and abilities in descending order of social, artistic, and enterprising. Several studies have been conducted (Chapman & Hutcheson, 1982; Wiggins, 1976; Feldman, 1976) applying the Holland model to various job satisfaction variables.

The Chapman and Hutcheson (1982) study is of particular interest with respect to job satisfaction. These researchers sought to determine why some teachers decide to leave the field of teaching while others stay in the profession. They investigated differences in skills and abilities and the criteria individual teachers use to judge success in their professional endeavors. Results of their study demonstrate that those who did and did

not leave teaching differed significantly. People remaining in teaching were characterized as having greater organizational skills such as managing time, developing new approaches in the classroom, and planning and scheduling activities. Those leaving had better analytic skills such as evaluating and interpreting numerical data.

Another interesting approach linking personality traits to job satisfaction is proposed by Kobasa (1982). She believes that "hardiness" is a constellation of personality characteristics that function as a resistance resource in encountering stressful life events. The personality dispositions of hardiness are commitment, control and challenge. The commitment disposition is expressed as a tendency to involve oneself in work rather than experience alienation. Control is expressed as a tendency to feel and act as if one is influential (rather than helpless) in the face of varied work contingencies. Challenge is expressed as the belief that change rather than stability is normal in life and that changes can be interesting incentives to growth rather than threats to security.

Friedman and Rosenman (1974) have conducted extensive research on the Type A Behavior Pattern. They define the Type A person as possessing personality traits of impatience, ambition, competitiveness, and aggressiveness. Their research indicates that men with Type A personalities are more prone 'o coronary heart disease. They argue that the Type A pattern reflects an interplay of psychological traits and situational pressures. While their research has predominantly focused on males and on occupations other than teaching, the implications of their findings for teacher job satisfaction are considerable. It may be, for example, that Type A individuals self select into teaching jobs involving greater work overload, job pressures, and stress.

Stein (1976) talks about the important connection between time-frame orientation and personality. Each person has his/her own unique way of experiencing time. He believes there are powerful differences between our individual time frames based on the relative impact of our attitudes, perceptions and feelings regarding time. Stein states that some individuals are dominated by their psychological past; others firmly rooted in the present; and still others live primarily in the psychological future. The impact of these time frames on teacher's job satisfaction has yet to be studied, but one could hypothesize that time frame as it relates to delay of gratification for career rewards might have a bearing on an individual's feelings about work.

Finally, Korman (1977) regards self-esteem as the critical personality factor in understanding job satisfaction. He posits that those with low self-esteem will not be satisfied as a result of task achievement, whereas those who have high levels of self-esteem are more likely to value challenging tasks and see the relationship between job performance and job satisfaction.

(3) <u>Skills, Abilities, and Stage in Career Cycle:</u> In recent years educational research has provided convincing evidence that the measurable academic qualifications of individuals entering the field of teaching as well as those staying in teaching are declining dramatically (Vance & Schlechty, 1982; Kerr, 1983; Smith et al., 1983). There is a certain irony in the statistics bearing this negative news, because during the same period of time, the level of educational attainment reflected in the degrees held by teachers increased. The percentage of all teachers with less than a college degree fell from 15 percent in 1961 to virtually zero in 1976. Presently 49 percent of all classroom teachers hold a master's degree (Sweet & Jacobsen, 1983; Kerr, 1983).

Variables such as intelligence and level of cognitive development influence the teacher's ability to see or use information. Perry (1981) has found, for example, that the level of one's cognitive complexity may well affect the way in which classroom teaching activities are organized. More intellectually resourceful teachers tend to be more flexible in their methods of teaching and in the way they handle discipline in the classroom. But recruiting more intellectually capable teachers may have unintended negative consequences. Hiring teachers that are over-qualified in terms of utilization of their skills is likely to lead to dissatisfaction when expectations or values on the job are not fulfilled (Gruneberg, 1979).

Job satisfaction also appears to be tied to where the individual teacher is in his/her career development. Katz (1972), Fuller (1969) and others have looked at the different stages and corresponding concerns that teachers have during their professional development. From "survival" to "mastery" level teaching, teachers' anxieties and concerns center on very different needs. Consequently, the "prescription" for challenging teachers to optimal performance and fulfillment with respect to job satisfaction factors also takes on distinctly different characteristics at different stages in the teacher's career life.

(4) Concomitant Roles: Teachers' professional lives should not be viewed separately from their "other" lives outside the school setting. Charters (1963) reminds us that teachers also participate in other systems of social relations which may have a strong influence on shaping their performance in the classroom as well as their overall professional involve-ment. Satisfaction with life and satisfaction with work tend to go and in hand. Of particular importance as French (1974) and House (1981) emphasize, is the network of supportive relationships that teachers develop with others. These can buffer or modify some of the stressful demands of the work role and its consequences on the individual.

Mediating Variables - Cognitive Appraisal

Perhaps the most critical dimension in the social-ecological job satisfaction paradigm is cognitive appraisal. This dimension truly individualizes the total scheme. Cognitive appraisal explains why some people with similar abilities and training react quite differently to the same levels of work load, stress, and overall job responsibilities. Some teachers find their work an exciting challenge, while others feel it is burdensome and stressful. Cognitive appraisal serves as a kind of filter for interpreting the environment. It is the person's perception of the environment as being either potential beneficial, harmful, or irrelevant (Moos, 1979). In other words, as W. I Thomas reminds us, "It is not objective "truth," but what people believe to be true that affects their outlook" (quoted in Lortie, 1975).

The literature in the area of cognitive appraisal as it relates to job satisfaction is scattered and not as empirically tight as research on some of the other dimensions. There are, however, three aspects of cognitive appraisal that merit special attention: (1) the teacher's feelings of locus of control; (2) the individual's job expectations; and (3) self-percepts of efficacy.

(1) Locus of Control: Individuals react differently to events that they perceive can be personally controlled than to those perceived not in their control (Gatchel, 1980). A rapidly growing literature has shown that perceived control significantly affects self-report, overt motor, and physiological responses to the environment (Seligman, 1975); Lefcourt, 1982; Glass & Singer, 1977). Most research on perceptions of personal control has evolved from social learning theory, the most widely accepted being Rotter's (1966) theory of "locus of control." Rotter defines locus of control as a generalized expectancy for internal or external control of

reinforcement. "Internal control" refers to individuals who believe that an event or outcome is contingent on their own behavior or on relatively permanent characteristics such as ability. The belief that an event is caused by factors beyond the individual's control (e.g. luck, task difficulty, or the influence of others) has been labeled "external control." There is no one-to-one relationship between actual and perceived control, but, in general, "internals" are more optimistic about the future, better able to handle situational demands, and more willing to engage in activities that lead them to desired goals.

In contrast to Rotter's model, recent attribution models of perceived control emphasize situational determinants of perceptions of personal causality. Weiner's (1980) conceptualization argues that an individual's perceptions of the causes of success or failure are determined primarily by specific variables such as consistency of performance and knowledge of other's performance in the situation. Weiner's attributional analysis of the relationship between locus of causality and achievement behavior is related to Atkinson's theory of achievement motivation (Weiner, 1980). This suggests that a capacity to experience pride in accomplishment or shame in failure is directly related to the perceived locus of causality for achievement outcomes.

The usefulness of "locus of control," attribution, and achievement motivation models to the study of teacher job satisfaction could be considerable, but the measurement problems inherent in analyzing such abstract personal cognitions is complex and not yet fully developed.

(2) Teacher Expectations: Individuals are attracted to teaching for a great variety of reasons. But it is the importance or valance attached to those specific reasons that separates the "collective motivation" of teacher's from individual perceptions of job satisfaction. Vroom's (1964)

needs/fulfillment expectancy theory helps explain by some teachers, given similar incentives for performance, view their respective satisfaction levels differently. Teacher's salaries provide a good example of this principle. Money as a motivational factor in job satisfaction as been downplayed in teacher's self reports, id is said to fall into that category of extrinsic "hygiene" factors detailed by Herzberg. But the problem with money is that it means different things to different people. For some, it is a powerful motivator for it can buy status and security. For others, who are top achievers at work, money is a legitimate form of recognition. Money also communicates to others that one is a success so it has symbolic value beyond its monetary face value. Sergiovanni (1980) points out, however, that the main motivational significance of money is undoubtedly its role as an indicator of equity.

A final note on expectations. In discussing the quality of work and life, Bowditch (1982) quoting Daniel Yankelovich, refers to the "new breed of worker." Never before in our nation's history have workers been so well paid, so privileged, and yet so discontent in their jobs as they are today. This new breed of worker is more highly educated, more mobile, more demanding of benefits and leisure time, and more affluent than workers of previous generations. This comment was made before our current economic recession which no doubt has affected worker expectations and attitudes somewhat. But Yankelovich's observations certainly ring true and call attention to the changing nature of expectations all workers (including teachers) in America.

(3) Self-Percepts of Efficacy: In his theory of self-efficacy, Bandura (1977) makes an important contribution to understanding individual differences in human behavior. Efficacy expectations reflect the person's subjective estimation that he/she has the capacity to cope successfully with different situations. They influence thought patterns, actions, and

emotional arousal. For Bandura, percepts of self-efficacy help explain the processes governing the interrelationship between knowledge and action. How people judge their capabilities often determines their motivation and response behavior. Judgments of self-efficacy also determine just how much effort people will expend and how long they persist in the face of obstacles.

How self-efficacy determinants might affect career interests and pursuits has been studied by Hackett (1981). She found that males perceive themselves to be equally efficacious for traditionally male and female vocations. In contrast, females judge themselves highly efficacious for female roles, but inefficacious in mastering the requirements of vocations dominated by men. Both groups, however, measured the same in actual verbal and quantitative ability on standardized tests. The implications of this line of research for teacher job satisfaction are fascinating and worthy of further investigation.

Coping Responses

Even in the smoothest of times, a teacher's behavior does not flow in a purely mechanical or habitual way. Decisions are required every day regarding interpersonal relations or the scheduling and organization of time. The unexpected and unanticipated invariably happen. Such is the challenge of teaching. But teachers respond to these situations in a variety of ways. Their coping responses can be either positive or negative. Feitler (1981) has outlined the major strategies that teachers use to cope with the numerous daily hassles that present themselves. These strategies include: physical and mental coping as well as destructive and supportive coping. Physical coping includes such activities as doing stress-reduction and relaxation exercises, taking a brisk walk, jogging, or doing some other form of physical exercise. Mental coping includes

meditation, reading, watching television, or doing crafts and hobbies. Destructive coping includes eating excessively, smoking, drinking, staying home from work, emotional outbursts, or withdrawing from contact with others. Supportive coping includes talking with friends and colleagues, weighing alternatives, seeking the advice of one's supervisor, testing new behaviors, or changing the environmental stimuli to be less stressful.

Outcomes

Outcomes are all the possible consequences stemming from how individual teachers respond to the environmental demands of the teaching role given their personal repertoire of skills, abilities, and coping strategies. Some outcomes are economic in nature and affect the organization through teacher productivity, absenteeism and employee turnover. Others are individual in nature and affect the teacher's psychological and physical well-being.

(1) Organizational Consequences: Years ago the prevailing assumption was that higher levels of job satisfaction would result in better performance on the job. This assumption was seriously questioned by Brayfield and Crockett (1955). Their research failed to turn up a consistent positive association between job satisfaction and level of performance. In other words, a "happy" teacher isn't necessarily a more competent teacher. Subsequent research has revealed a positive correlation between these two variables. The findings in this area still remain inconclusive and somewhat ambiguous, though, because of the inconsistency in indicators used to measure aspects of productivity and satisfaction.

Several studies have been conducted to investigate the association between teacher absenteeism, teacher attrition and job satisfaction (Bridges, 1979; Charters, 1970; Tosi & Tosi, 1970; Pettegrew & Wolf, 1982;

Chapman, 1982). It is not surprising that there appears to be a consistent negative relationship between job satisfaction and probability of resignation. Chapman (1982) notes, for example, that those who leave teaching often feel their educational experience was not well utilized in their jobs. Conclusions in this line of research are difficult to draw, however, because teachers also leave jobs to start families, return to school, or for a variety of other reasons that may not be related to dissatisfaction. There is even a less consistent negative association between absenteeism and job satisfaction because behavior may be conditiond by the design of the teacher's job. Specifically, satisfaction and absenteeism are more likely to be related under conditions of high work interdependence than under moderate or low interdependence (Bridges, 1979).

(2) <u>Individual Consequences:</u> When a person has too little skill or ability to meet the requirements of a job or when the opportunities and rewards of that role are too meager to satisfy needs, stress is a predictable consequence. In both cases, demand exceeds supply and the objective fit between the person the environment is less than perfect (Kahn, 1981). There is a growing body of literature which demonstrates the negative consequences of work stress on the teachers' physical and psychological well-being (Coates & Thoresen, 1976; Weinstein, 1979; Maslach & Pines, 1977; Freudenberger, 1980; Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977; Cedoline, 1982). This topic has been dealt with in greater detail elsewhere (Jorde, 1982). Suffice it to say, teacher anxiety, stress, and burnout are very global constructs that have been operationally defined in a number of ways. Further research is needed that takes a performance-oriented approach in assessing directly the response modes in which stress and anxiety are typically experienced. A view that looks at the cognitive, motoric and physiological behaviors of teachers might more clearly pinpoint the sources and consequences of teacher anxiety and stress (Coates and Thoresen, 1976).

CONCLUSION

Lightfoot (1983) reminds us that schools need to be thought of as environments that not only inspire the learning and socialization of young children, but also encourage the optimum development of adults. School administrators that respect the teacher's need for work setting that provides clarity and harmony in roles and expectations rather than conflict and ambiguity, go a long way in promoting confidence, competence, and overall commitment to pedagogical tasks.

An analysis of the many issues and intertwining variables influencing job satisfaction is a good beginning. We have seen, however, that the job satisfaction riddle defies simple solutions. It is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon that must be viewed with the individual teacher in mind. Prescriptive remedies that focus on "teachers" as a group are bound to prove disappointing for generating workable solutions to enhancing job satisfaction. Future research that explores the important interplay of variables in the person-environment fit may, however, be as step in the right direction and make a positive contribution in supporting teacher competence, independence, and satisfaction.

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