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I STILL LOVE TO TEACH; I JUST HATE BEING A TEACHER An Investigation of the Relationship Between Life Cycle Theory and Dissatisfaction in Teaching

A Dissertation Presented

Ву

ROBERT ANDREAS FUREY, JR.

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May

1984

Education

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I STILL LOVE TO TEACH; I JUST HATE BEING A TEACHER An Investigation of the Relationship Between Life Cycle Theory and Dissatisfaction in Teaching

A Dissertation Presented

Ву

ROBERT ANDREAS FUREY, JR.

Approved as to style and content by: William Lauroe Chairperson

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ABSTRACT

May 1984

Robert Andreas Furey, Jr.

B.A., Williams College, M.A., Colgate University Ed.M., Boston University, C.A.S., Harvard University Ed.D., University of Massachusetts Directed by: Professor William Lauroesch

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between life cycle theory and dissatisfaction with teaching at mid life. The author first investigated the problem using a qualitative analysis of two teachers who left teaching. The author then surveyed male teachers from the same school district who remained in teaching (n=38) and performed a quantitative analysis of the results.

The author hypothesized that teaching is not a profession that allows for continued growth through the the life cycle; that the positive and negative aspects of a teaching career run counter to the life cycle needs of men in their mid and late thirties; and, that dissonance between career structure and psychological needs creates significant dissatisfaction for male teachers approaching mid life.

The analyses of variance showed a significantly higher level of projected dissatisfaction among teachers in their thirties when compared to teachers in their forties. The areas of concern that differentiated the two groups were advancement and status, two issues that tend to be the focus of concern for males approaching mid life. Both the qualitative and the quantitate analyses as well as the literature review seem to support the author's contention that sources of dissatisfaction among male teachers approaching mid life are rooted in age-related psychological issues that are exacerbated by the innately career-less nature of a teaching career.

The author recommends replication of the study to broaden and diversify the statistical base, both to enhance the understanding of the issues facing teachers as they approach mid life, and to allow for a more conclusive look at trends of dissatisfaction emerging from the data collected from teachers in their fifties. The author further recommends that a parallel study be made for women to determine whether or not they show similar patterns of dissatisfaction. Finally, the author recommends a study of individual teachers to determine why some are so deeply affected by and others apparently immune to, forces of the life cycle.

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Preface

I'm not sure when these ideas began to filter into consciousness, but I remember the remark that brought them into focus. This past summer I was staying with friends in California. They had moved from Cambridge at the end of Ed's studies so that he could become the headmaster of a small independent school in Los Olivos. One of the teachers at the school turned out to be an acquaintance of mine from college. We didn't have much time to talk and, at the time, I didn't realize how much we had to talk about. We reminisced for a while about the good old days, shared stories of common friends and remembered others. It was then that Bob said, "You know, every time I read the Alumni Review I read about one of our classmates who has made partner, or another who was elected president of his firm, or someone else who just made bundles of money. I keep thinking that I should write and say that I am still teaching -- just doing my job and doing it well." I responded with something inane and we said our goodbyes. I didn't have a chance to talk to Bob after that, but the

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conversation we never had continually replays in my mind.

That brief encounter shed light on a problem that had been bothering me for quite a while -- why two good friends, both superior teachers, felt that they had to leave teaching. Although each had a stated reason for leaving, I never felt as though I knew what their real reasons were. Now, perhaps, I had a direction to explore. Perhaps the dissatisfaction expressed by those two teachers (and shared by many others) was not a reaction to our institution, Concord-Carlisle High School, but was a reaction to the institution of teaching. Perhaps, there comes a time during a person's life when the rewards and satisfactions of a teaching career are no longer congruent with the psychological needs of the teacher.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The headline in The Boston Globe reads, "US teacher older, wearier, poorer than in '76" (March 21, 1982; A69) while the headline in the Phi Delta Kappan reads, "Teachers Are Better Educated, More Experienced, But Less Satisfied Than in the Past" (May 1982:579). While the tone of each headline is different, both articles are discussing the same subject: the morale of America's teachers as revealed in a nationwide survey that was conducted by the National Education Association. No matter what words one chooses to describe the situation, the statistics show cause for concern. The increasing dissatisfaction of teachers can portend nothing but problems for public education. In fact, the recent profusion of national reports on the sorry state of American public education seems to make it even more imperative to focus creative attention on teachers, the heart of the educational process, to try to discover the sources of their dissatisfaction.

Certainly, all the signs of teacher dissatisfaction have been evident for a while. Innumerable articles on teacher burnout recognize the growing seriousness of this problem, and suggested sources of the problem are found in great

profusion. Increasing job stress, declining enrollments, growing public criticism, and hard economic times are three of the many identified. Solutions, too, have appeared in equal abundance. Stress seminars, career-change workshops, and resume writing sessions are also symptomatic. But most of the current activity seems to focus on limited aspects of the problem and, in fact, looks to forces outside the teacher to explain its origins.

At the same time that educators started exploring these problems, psychologists began focusing on the life cycles of adults. Books such as <u>Passages</u> by Gail Sheehy, <u>Seasons of a</u> <u>Man's Life</u> by Daniel Levinson, and <u>Transformations</u> by Roger Gould investigated the stages of development natural to adulthood. Their works suggest that people face a series of predictable and describable crises throughout adulthood.

Could it be that the real source of teacher dissatisfaction is not the external forces acting upon teachers, but rather their changing inner needs, which come into increasing disharmony with the external realities of the teaching profession? It seems more than coincidental that, as the average age of public school teachers increased from 36 in 1976 to 39 in 1981 (<u>The Boston Globe</u>, March 21, 1982: A69), the complaints voiced by teachers were ones described by Sheehy, Levinson, and Gould as being typical of men in the same age bracket. Is, in fact, the dissatisfaction reported by teachers age-related?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the relationship between life cycle theory and dissatisfaction in teaching in an attempt to better understand the increasing expression of teacher dissatisfaction. Specifically, the issues of "settling down" that men face in their mid and late thirties, as described by Daniel Levinson in <u>Seasons of a</u> <u>Man's Life</u>, were employed as the basis of an interview framework that was used to inquire into the experiences of two former high school teachers who left teaching while in their late thirties.

The perceptions and recollections of these two teachers, the rewards and limitations they found in teaching, and their responses to the institution of teaching were incorporated in the narrative. A major focus was on the personal needs of these individuals at the time they left teaching. This was the point of departure for better understanding the interplay between developmental needs and the perception of teaching as a career.

The information gathered from these interviews was, in turn, used to develop a questionnaire that was administered to the faculty of the same school in which the two had taught. The results of the questionnaire were analyzed and compared to the results of the interviews to determine if the patterns that appear in the interviews seem to hold true for

other male teachers of this age. Finally, the data were analyzed to determine whether or not the issues raised are specific to men of this age or are typical of all male teachers.

It is the author's hypothesis that teaching is not a profession that allows for continued growth through the life cycle; that the positive and negative aspects of a teaching career run counter to the life cycle needs of men in their mid and late thirties; and, that the dissonance between career structure and psychological needs will create significant dissatisfaction for male teachers approaching mid life.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances: And one man in his time plays many parts...

As You Like It, act 2 scene 6

Poets and playwrights, artists and authors all chronicle human behavior. Their observations clearly mirror life; they reveal the patterns and illuminate the basic truths that characterize our existence. Long before the invention of psychology, they explained human nature. Psychologists, too, with an intuitive eye toward the rhythms of life, uncover the patterns that underlie human existence; but they go beyond the poet to document and codify, study, and explain these patterns until, in the end, the psychologist gives a clearer picture of the course of life.

In recent years, psychologists have become increasingly interested in investigating the patterns that have come to be known as the human "life cycle." "The words 'life cycle' refer to a way of looking at a lifetime" (Powell, 1983:124). Specifically, life cycle theories divide the course of a human lifetime into stages -- periods of time that have particular incidents of physical, social, or psychological significance. Individuals passing through these stages show

parallel patterns of behavior that psychologists have identified and described.

One of the first psychologists to attempt to chronicle the human life cycle was Erik Erikson. His work in this area, which began with the publication of his book, <u>Childhood</u> <u>and Society</u> (1950), has significantly influenced a generation of social scientists and remains central to any discussion of life cycle theory.

> Among psychologists in the final half of the twentieth century, the man whose thinking about the life cycle has been the most influential has been Erik Erikson (Powell, 1983: 127).

Erikson proposed that humans pass through eight stages of psychosocial development as they move from birth to death. Each of these stages has a central conflict that must be resolved. A positive resolution of the conflict means the acquisition of a "prime adaptive ego quality" (Erikson, 1976: 21) and continued growth along a normal, healthy pattern. A negative resolution of the conflict results in psychosocial maladaption and an altered path of development. Figure 1 illustrates these eight stages, their corresponding conflicts, and associated positive resolutions.

The central conflict of infancy is Trust vs. Mistrust; and, a successful resolution of this conflict results in a sense of hope which will remain with an individual both consciously and subconsciously. Similarly, a positive resolution of the central conflict of early childhood,

Figure l

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The Interplay of Successive Life Stages

	•								
	Integrity vs. Despair, Disgust: WISDOM								æ
		Generativity vs. Self- Absorption: CARE							2
			Intimacy vs. Isolation: LOVE						9
				Identity vs. Identity Confusion: FIDELITY					2
A CONTRACTOR OF					Industry vs. Infe- riority: COMPETENCE				4
						Initiative vs. Guilt: PURPOSE			3
							Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt: WILL		2
								Trust vs. Mistrust: HOPE	
	H. OLD AGE	G. MATURITY	F. YOUNG ADULTHOOD	ADOLESCENCE	D. SCHOOL AGE	C. PLAY AGE	EARLY CHILDHOOD	A. INFANCY	
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(Erikson, 1976:22)

Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt, results in a sense of Will. The play age child struggles with Initiative vs. Guilt and finds Purpose as the positive outcome. A feeling of Competence results from a school-age child's resolution of the conflict between Industry and Inferiority.

The adolescent of Erikson's fifth stage struggles to gain a sense of Identity and, if successful, shows the trait of Fidelity. For the young adult, the task is to risk this new-found identity and gain a feeling of Love. The ability to love comes from resolving this stage's crisis of Intimacy vs. Isolation. During maturity, a person strives to be Generative and not Self-Absorbed. If successful, this individual will have the capacity to Care.

Finally, old age brings retrospection and evaluation. If this process results in a basically positive response, the individual will evidence a feeling of Integrity instead of Despair. This sense of integrity will lead to the capacity for Wisdom; a wisdom that not only brings a sense of inner peace, but demands a continuing involvement with life.

> Any fulfillment of the individual life cycle, far from being a simple matter of finding terminal clarity, can only fulfill what is given in the order of things by remaining responsible and by contributing continuous solutions to the ongoing cycle of generations (Erikson, 1976: 26).

Current popular interest in the study of life cycles can be traced to Gail Sheehy's book, <u>Passages</u> (1976). This book,

which captured the lay public's imagination and climbed to the top of the New York Times' best seller list, chronicles the course of "normal" adulthood. Essentially, Sheehy built on Erikson's work; expanded on his sketchy presentation of the stages of adulthood; and, doing for adults what Spock and Gessell had done for children, offered a handbook for gauging development.

The years between 18 and 50 are the center of life, the unfolding of maximum opportunity and capacity. But without any guide to the inner changes on the way to full adulthood, we are swimming blind (Sheehy, 1976:11).

Sheehy described six stages, periods of development and their passages, between the end of adolescence and the beginning of old age. Life in the middle of any given stage is relatively stable, but the passages between stages are times of crisis and growth.

> With each passage some magic must be given up, some cherished illusion of safety and comfortably familiar sense of self must be cast off, to allow for the greater expansion of our own distinctiveness (Sheehy, 1976:21).

Sheehy's first stage is Pulling Up Roots in which individuals gain a sense of identity and separate from their parents. The second stage, The Trying Twenties, involves finding a niche in the adult world. Catch 30 comes next. This is a time of questioning and insecurity, a time of redirection or reaffirmation. After the turmoil of Catch 30, Rooting and Extending becomes a welcome respite. During this

stage some firm choices are made and stability returns. The Deadline Decade is next. This period of time, between 35 and 45, is the time of the mid life crisis -- the time when individuals reevaluate their choices, and work, with a final burst of energy, toward achieving the dreams of their youth. A satisfactory resolution of the issues of this passage leaves one with a renewed energy and sense of purpose, while failure during this stage leads to a sense of defeat. These are the feelings that stay with an individual in a renewed stability that comes in the mid forties. This is a time of the final stage that Sheehy describes, Renewal or Resignation, a time of resolution, but not necessarily satisfaction.

For Sheehy, the patterns of human development are real, the passages clear. They form a bond among all people that links them together but never denies their individuality nor overcomes their separateness.

> We all have an aversion to generalities, thinking that they violate what is unique about ourselves. Yet the older we grow, the more we become aware of the commonality of our lives, as well as our essential aloneness as navigators through the human journey (Sheehy, 1976:19).

Sheehy is not a psychologist; she is a journalist. A major portion of <u>Passages</u> was based on the work of psychologist Daniel Levinson whose book, <u>The Seasons of a</u> Man's Life (1978), also made the best seller lists. Levinson

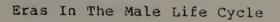
said that the human life cycle follows an "underlying, universal pattern on which there are endless cultural and individual variations" (Levinson, 1978:6). These variations are shaped by many forces that alter the course of the life cycle, making it an individual event. But still, underlying all, is a discernible pattern that finds a universal resonance, a pattern that is similar for all men.

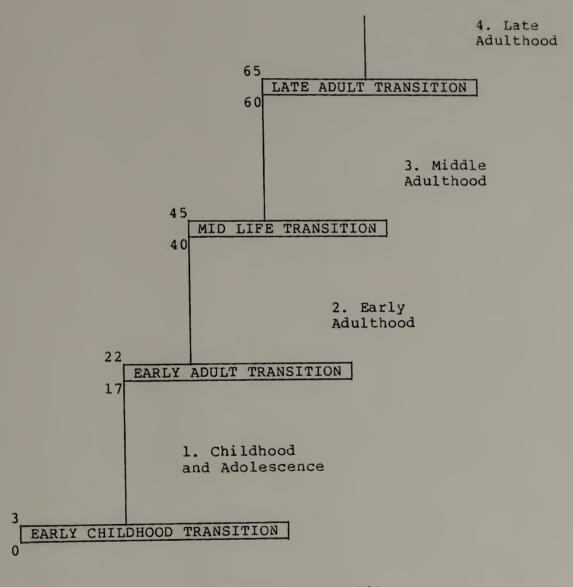
> To speak of a general, human life cycle is to propose that the journey from birth to old age follows an underlying, univeral pattern on which there are endless cultural and individual variations. Many influences along the way shape the nature of the journey...But as long as the journey continues, it follows the basic sequence (Levinson, 1978:6).

The sequence Levinson describes is characterized by distinct stages, or seasons, that flow naturally, but not necessarily smoothly, one into the other.

> There are qualitatively different seasons, each having its own distinctive character. Every season is different from those that precede it and follow it, though it has much in common with them (Levinson, 1978:6).

Levinson found four, partially overlapping, eras in man's life. Figure 2 gives a visual representation of these eras and transitions. Childhood and Adolescence encompass the years from birth to the early twenties. During this first era a child becomes a socialized being, gaining personal and interpersonal skills, learning to become increasingly self-sufficient and decreasingly dependent and vulnerable.





(Levinson, 1978:20)

Early adulthood, which begins sometime in the late teens and runs through the mid forties, is the second era in Levinson's conception of the life cycle. Levinson sees this era as the most dramatic of all. It is the era marked by physiological and intellectual energy, capability, and potential. Early adulthood is the era in which a man moves from being a novitiate in work and love to a leader for youthful coworkers and a parent for two generations.

Between 40 and 65 lies Middle Adulthood, a time of crucial developmental change. At its best, this is an era of balance, a time of modest, but real, biological and psychological decline that is offset by a liberation from the tyranny of youthful passions and the ripening of wisdom through experience. At its worst, this is an era of the mid-life crisis and a painful realization of failure. Late adulthood goes from 60 to 85. The primary task during this era is to acknowledge the reality of aging while retaining a sense of youthfulness -- to retire from work, but not resign from life. Beyond Late Adulthood, Levinson posits a Late, Late Adulthood, a period of precipitous physical decline and a shrinking locus of involvement. In this era a person must come to terms with imminent death, yet give new meaning to life.

Levinson feels that each era has "distinctive and unifying qualities" that reflect particular biological,

physical, and social issues that become operative at that time (1978:18). Between eras lie periods of change, times of transition that last four or five years. During these transitions a man has one foot in each era and must conclude the business of the old era while beginning the issues of the new. As with all change, these developmental transitions are not easy, they are times of instability and crisis; but these transitions are central to the growth of the individual.

> The move from one era to the next is neither simple nor brief. It requires a basic change in the fabric of one's life.... This transition is the work of a developmental period that links the eras and provides some continuity between them. A developmental transition creates a boundary zone in which man terminates the outgoing era and initiates the incoming one (Levinson, 1978:19).

The book, <u>Transformations</u>, by psychiatrist Roger Gould deals with these issues as well. Gould's original desire to write the book grew from his own experience. Gould and his wife found themselves caught up in an inexplicable depression. Investigation led them to the conclusion that they were responding in a normal way to a natural life transition; but the unanticipated nature of their experience led them to the feeling that someone should write a book to warn adults of the painful and inevitable times ahead.

> If only we had known. Wouldn't it be nice, we thought, if someone had written a Dr. Spock for adults so that we could have expected this?

Someone should have predicted and labeled the mourning and discomfort that accompany every growth step. Perhaps then adults could be spared some of the pain and misunderstanding of significant life events (Gould, 1978:12).

Several years after his experience Gould's clinical work led him to a similar conclusion. Clear, age-related issues emerged from his data and indicated a "predictable sequence of changing patterns and preoccupations during the adult years" (Gould, 1978:13). Further, formal, investigation corroborated these findings. As a result of his research Gould concluded that change in adulthood moves people away from childhood and toward adulthood, but the movement creates stress.

> With each step, the unfinished business of childhood intrudes, disturbing our emotions and requiring psychological work. With this in mind, adults may now view their disturbed feelings at particular periods as a possible sign of progress, as part of their attempted movement toward a fuller adult life (Gould, 1978:14).

Gould describes five stages of development that occur during adult life. These stages involve movement from dependence to independence and involve the shedding of false assumptions and the acquisition of more accurate ones. The book is, as Gould suggests, "about the evolution of adult consciousness as we release ourselves from the constraints and ties of childhood consciousness" (1978:15).

The first stage Gould describes, Leaving our Parents' World, occurs between 16 and 22 and involves identity

formation and preparation for adult independence. The second stage, I'm Nobody's Baby Now, runs from 22 to 28. During this transformation a person must learn to master his or her life and deal with the issues of work, marriage, and family. Opening Up to What's Inside is the third stage. It involves the reexamination of our inner selves and brings an awareness of new areas of consciousness that had been shut out earlier. From 35 to 45, we are in the Mid-Life Decade, that period of time during which we wrestle with the demonic side of life and acknowledge life's ultimate limitations. The final period described by Gould, The End of an Era: Beyond Mid-Life, involves gaining an inner-directedness that comes from coming to terms with one's achievements -- or lack of them.

Growth for Gould is a long-term process of coming to grips with the false assumptions that guide our lives. It is a process of joy and pain, of rest and struggle, of repression and enlightenment.

> At any age, we can challenge and conquer the last false assumption and touch the incandescent stream within us that causes a light of meaning to shine on our life from inside out (Gould, 1978:319).

While adult life cycle theories, by their nature, cover the entire span of adult life, this work is, of necessity, far more narrow. Although it would be both interesting and important to compare teachers of all ages and both sexes to

their described stage of development, this study will focus on men in their mid and late thirties.

As Figure 3 indicates, the age-group that is the focus of this study corresponds to Erikson's stage, Generativity vs. Despair; Sheehy's stage, The Deadline Decade; Levinson's stage, Early Adulthood: Settling Down; and, Gould's stage, Mid-Life Decade. It would be helpful, therefore, to examine each of these stages in greater detail.

For Erikson, Generativity is the central concern of adulthood because it is the power that connects the generations. As Erikson says, this is the time when

> ...a person is ready to commit the strengths, which have matured earlier, to the 'maintenance of the world' in historical space and time (Erikson, 1976:24).

Certainly, one of the central concerns of the present study involves the crisis of Generativity vs. Stagnation. As Brookes points out in his study of community college faculty, <u>Generativity, Stuckness, and Insulation: Community College</u> Faculty in Massachusetts (1980),

> Erikson's concept of a life stage during which a person strives to achieve generativity and avoid stuckness is fundamental to all studies of adult development (Brookes, 1980:12).

Unfortunately, Erikson's work has focused primarily on children and his exploration of adulthood indicates only a direction for investigation rather than a structure for Figure 3

Stages of Adult Development

75 80			Late Adul thood	
70	Stage VIII Integrity vs. Despair	The End of an Era: Beyond Mid-Life	Late Adult Transition	
60 65		f an Bra: Bi	Culmina- tion of Middle Adulthood	or ion
55		The End o	Age 50 Transition	Renewal or Resignation
45 50	Stage VII Generativity vs. Stagnation		Entering Middle Adult- hood	
40		Mid-Life Decade	Settling Mid- Down Life Transi-	The Dead- Line Decade
30 35	T cy tion	Opening Up To Whats Inside		Rooting and Extending
25 3	Stage VI Intimacy vs. Igolation	I'm OP Nobody's OF Baby Tc Now I	The Adult Transi- World tion	The Trying Twenties Catch 30
15 20	Stage V Identity va. Role Confusion	Leaving Our Parents World	Early Adult Transition	
10 12	1 S	7		Pulling Up Roots
Years of Age 10 12 15	Erik Erikson Eight Stages of Man	Roger L. Gould Adult Life Stayes	Daniel J. Levinson The Male Life Cycle	Gale Sheehy Passages

comparison. This investigation was a task that Sheehy took upon herself. "I was encouraged to discover that Erikson had called upon others to flesh out his seminal theories" (Sheehy, 1976:13).

Sheehy sees the mid thirties as the time when a "full-out authenticity crisis" begins. Because people now see dark instead of light at the end of the tunnel, the Deadline Decade becomes a time of reexamination and reevaluation. People are entering the second half of life; it is a time for decisions.

In the middle of the thirties we come upon a crossroads. We have reached the halfway mark. Yet even as we are reaching our prime, we begin to see. there is a place where it finishes. Time starts to squeeze (Sheehy, 1976:31).

While this mid-life crisis affects adjustment in the spheres of work, love, and play, it is the sphere of work that is the focus of this study. The effect of the Deadline Decade on men is an increasing emphasis on getting ahead.

> Men feel the time push around 35.... Most men respond with a burst of speed in the race for career position. It's 'my last chance' to pull away from the pack. It is no longer enough to be competent and promising; a man wants now to be recognized and respected (Sheehy, 1976:272).

It is, Sheehy feels, a "period of intense concentration on external advancement" (1976:31). A man of this age measures his success or failure by the trappings of acquisition. Levinson's research is even more helpful, for instead of treating the time from 35 to 45 as one stage, he divides it into two parts: Settling Down and Mid-Life Transition. (See Figure 4). Levinson places the mid-life crisis described by Sheehy in the second of these stages, but the need for achievement so vividly described by Sheehy fits in the first. According to Levinson, men between the ages of 35 and 40 have two tasks: to establish their niche in society and to work at advancement. They seek affirmation from society in

> In early Settling Down, then, a man starts a new personal enterprise on the bottom rung of his own psychosocial ladder. Entering a world in which he is a junior member, he seeks to advance in the enterprise, to climb the ladder and become a <u>senior</u> <u>member</u> of that world. Over the next several years, his sense of well-being as a person will depend upon his evaluation of how far and how fast he is moving toward these goals (Levinson, 1978:142).

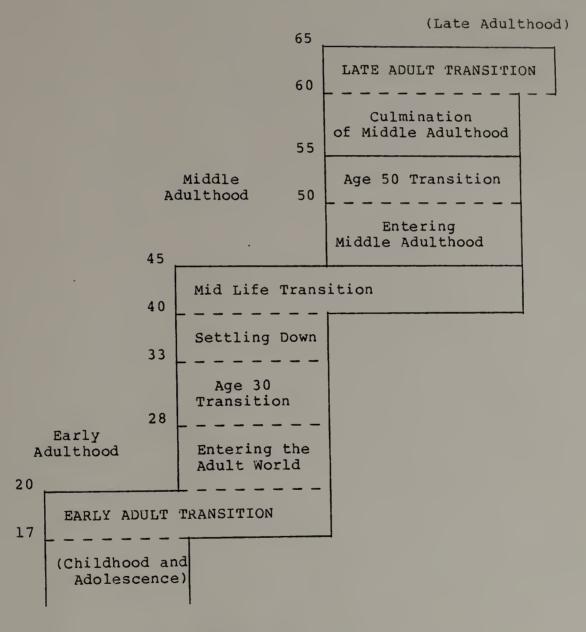
Gould, too, sees the concern with affirmation and advancement as integral to men of this age.

We pursue careers with enthusiasm because we accept the mythology of the work world that man can become invincible with power, money and status. The system preys on our narcisistic weakness.... The rewards of rank proclaim that the higher the rank, the bigger we are and presumably the less vulnerable we are. The implication is that we can become so big that when we 'get there,' we'll be totally invulnerable (Gould, 1978:237).

This perception of the power of achievement through work is, of course, illusory. It is the task of a man at the end of this stage of his life to transform the meaning of work from

Figure 4

Developmental Periods In Early And Middle Adulthood



(Levinson, 1975:57)

an immature one to a more mature one.

When we are young men, we work primarily out of necessity, to get bigger, and to be part of something that is, in itself meaningful. After working for twenty years, we can't work for those reasons predominantly and stay mentally alive. We must do work that confirms our talents and expresses a psychodynamic theme close to the core of us. Time is too valuable to be spent at a distance from our authentic selves (Gould, 1978: 243).

For the mid and late thirties, then, the pattern seems to be clear. This is a time when men measure themselves with the yardsticks supplied by society; when power, money, and prestige are the hallmarks of success; when making it, an outer-directed activity, is more important than the inner-directed search for authenticity. There is not much time left. Am I making it here? If not, then where can I make it? By 40, these questions must be answered.

> Often a man who has worked hard during his thirties comes to recognize...that his culminated achievements and skills do not provide a basis for further advancement. He cannot become a writer, educator, political leader, or violin maker of the caliber he imagined. He will fall far short of his early Dream. This is a crucial turning point. He may decide to continue in his present job, doing work that is increasingly routine and humiliating. He may change to another job, or another occupation that offers more challenge and satisfaction. Or he may reduce his interest in work, performing well enough to keep employed but investing himself more in other aspects of life (Levinson, 1978:220).

The research of Dan Lortie, an education professor at the University of Chicago, does seem to indicate that many teachers do fall short of their Dream. Lortie sees few older teachers investing themselves in teaching with energy that typified their earlier work. Instead, he identifies two patterns of resolution: resignation from the profession or resignation to the profession. As the life-cycle research might predict, the struggle with these issues is culminated 35 between and 40. Lortie observes,

> We can understand the preoccupation young men (particularly in their thirties) show with promotion and additional income.... It seems likely that many men who leave teaching do so at this point (Lortie, 1975:98).

For those who remain in teaching past their thirties, Lortie sees a sense of accommodation, a dis-investment in teaching or an increased investment in other spheres. He found that almost every man over forty whom he surveyed looked outside teaching for life satisfaction.

> ...almost every such man had either a strong avocational interest outside teaching or an additional source of employment income... men may temper their involvement in teaching by developing strong outside interests (Lortie, 1975:95).

The parallels between Lortie and Levinson are uncanny, but why is there resignation (from or to) rather than reinvestment? Lortie offers some clues. He feels that teaching is essentially a career-less career.

> Compared with most other kinds of middle-class work, teaching is relatively 'career-less.' There is less opportunity for the movement upward which is the essence of a career (Lortie, 1975:84).

Lortie finds that this career-less nature of teaching

deprives teachers of a growth dynamic that is intrinsic to other professions.

...staged careers produce cycles of effort, attainment, and renewed ambition.... Staging gives reality and force to the idea of the future; it generates effort, ambition, and identification with the occupation (Lortie, 1975:85).

Extrinsic motivation, too, does not encourage teacher growth. The reward system associated with teaching discourages teaching as a career.

It subtly depreciates the status of classroom teaching; it is not enough to be 'merely' a teacher, for one must also be on the way to a higher rank (Lortie, 1975:99).

It is no wonder Lortie finds that most men do not view teaching as a lifetime occupation, but rather as "an interim engagement" (Lortie, 1975: 86). It seems as though many teachers feel that they have climbed mountains unworthy of their competence.

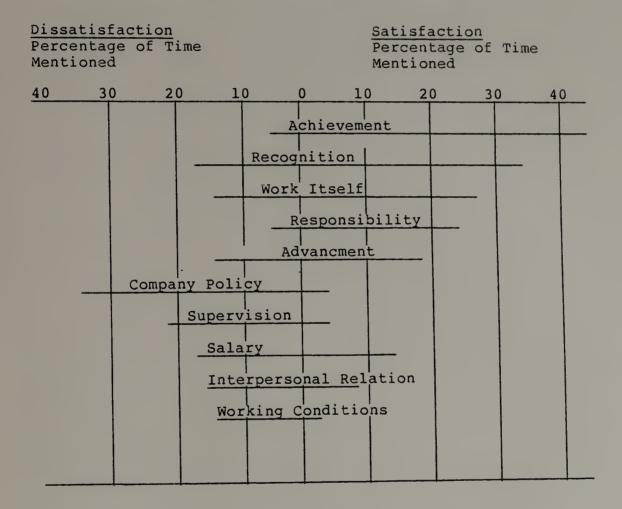
In order to better understand the factors that become the focus of discontent for teachers during the settling down period, it would be helpful to have a framework for investigation. Such a framework is offered by Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman in <u>The Motivation to Work</u> (1959). Their study suggests that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are functions of two distinct sets of factors: satisfiers, which include achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, and advancement; and dissatisfiers, which include company policy, supervision, salary, interpersonal relations, and working conditions (see Figure 5). The authors feel that the presence of satisfiers can bring job satisfaction, but their absence does not <u>necessarily</u> mean dissatisfaction. However, their absence could produce apathy and lack of commitment as well as dissatisfaction. Conversely, the presence of dissatisfiers creates job dissatisfaction, but their absence does not guarantee satisfaction. The absence of dissatisfiers only means that the possibility for satisfaction exists.

Two researchers who have used Herzberg's model to analyze teaching are Gregorc (1971) and Kaiser (1981, 1982). Gregorc turned to Herzberg in an attempt to identify sources of teacher discontent. His conclusion was that school systems and teachers' organizations have focused on factors that Herzberg considered primarily dissatisfiers. For teachers, these factors include salaries, working conditions, restrictions on personal life, supervision, and school policy. Perhaps it is natural for administration and faculty to confront these issues (especially in collective bargaining), since they are tangible and addressable; but solutions in these areas do not guarantee teacher satisfaction. As Gregorc says,

The administration and boards from whom these items were wrested should not be deluded into thinking that eliminating some dissatisfying factors is making people happy with their jobs (Gregorc, 1971:310).



Factors Influencing Job Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction



(adapted from Herzberg, 1959:81)

In addition, Gregorc says that investigators have failed to consider the satisfiers. "The problem lies with the profession and the public's inability to identify the factors that lead to happiness with a job" (Gregorc, 1971:310).

Specifically, Gregorc claims that the present education system inhibits job satisfaction:

reconition	present practices reduce teaching to its lowest common denominator (310).
advancement	any particular teaching assignment could be considered as a terminal position (309).
work itself	the job of teaching requires considerable time and effort for routine maintenance activity (309).
achievement	achievement is relegated to psychic gratification (310).
responsibility	the amount of responsibility appears to be in an inverse proportion to length of service (313).

Kaiser concurs and cautions that a preoccupation with these factors, that he terms hygiene factors, will result in the same patterns of resignation to teaching or resignation from teaching identified earlier.

> Although hygiene improvements may attract newcomers and retain some of those with longevity, motivated teachers, teachers seeking a chance for advancement, responsibility, a sense of achievement, and recognition for excellence in performance will continue to look to other job markets... (Kaiser, 1982:19).

In fact, the most that can be expected from hygiene factors is that teachers might decide not to quit their jobs and, instead, stay on and do the bare minimum to keep from being fired (Kaiser, 1981: 38).

While other researchers are not as pessimistic as Kaiser, most seem to agree that it is the lack of satisfiers rather than the presence of dissatisfiers that is the primary cause of present teacher unhappiness. In all the literature surveyed the only dissatisfier that appeared with frequency was salary. The consistent mention of salary in the literature should not be taken as antithetical to the application of Herzberg's structure to the problem. In fact, as Figure 5 indicates, salary has a dual nature. It can be a satisfier as well as a dissatisfier; and, especially for teachers, salary can be symbolic of their value to society. As Robert Snow said in an extraordinarily foresighted article written twenty years ago,

> The prevailing cultural judgement of the teacher's worth, reflected in his financial rewards and in the patronizing manner so often displayed toward teachers, suggests that the public endorsement of his work is less than enthusiastic (Snow, 1963: 319).

Judging from the literature, the satisfiers mentioned by Herzberg seem to be absent or disappearing rapidly from a teaching career.

I believe that today's teachers are caught in a psychological bind. They see some of the intrinsic rewards that brought them to teaching beginning to erode. And the extrinsic rewards to which they

would ordinarily turn for psychological compensation are becoming less and less available (Heath, 1981:28).

The lack of a sense of achievement, that feeling of success at doing a job, seems to come from the manner in which teachers are forced to measure success. Gregorc claims that a teacher's sense of achievement is severely circumscribed. "Achievement is relegated to psychic gratification gained from individual students and classes whenever a teacher senses significant changes have taken place" (Gregorc,1971:310). Kaiser claims this means that a sense of achievement is "left to the imagination of the teacher" (1982:17), while Lortie points out that teachers perceive these psychic rewards as "scarce, erratic, and unpredictable" (1975:211).

Snow suggests that teachers have a hard time developing a strong self-concept, a feeling that is central to a sense of achievement, because a teacher has no objective measures of success. This, in turn, results in a sense of dissatisfaction.

> Competency in work performed is a major criterion by which we judge ourselves and others, and the normal craving for a favorable self-image will rarely be fully satisfied unless vocational achievement confirms and justifies the image. The difficulty in finding evidence of vocational proficiency becomes a source of frustration for many teachers (Snow, 1963:319).

Recognition and status are also perceived as problem areas for teachers. Barry Farber, in a study outlined in the

Columbia Teachers College <u>Bulletin</u> (1981), reported that 81% of the teachers he surveyed felt that they were rarely or never satisfied with the teacher's standing in society. A recent study by Reinhart (Mehegan, 1982:28) indicated that this feeling of the teachers is justified.

Farber speculates that the teacher's lack of satisfaction with status came from a strongly negative swing in the public's attitude toward education. This, indeed, must have had an impact. However, Jon Saphier, an educational consultant, sees the source of the problem as being inherent to the system. He claims that there is no recognition because no one is there to recognize excellence when it is produced.

> Who even <u>knows</u> when you grab a teachable moment and capitalize on it with a student. Who even <u>knows</u> when you completely redo an old lesson plan for a particular group and it works beautifully. Nobody sees our teaching but ourselves and our students. We lack any kind of systematic feedback or recognition for the effort and success we produce (Saphier, 1980:10).

Paternalistic recognition in the form of "teacher recognition days" won't fill the need; neither will symbolic "teacher of the year awards." Kaiser points out that these will only have a negative effect on teacher morale (1982: 18). A much more concrete view of the problem is offered by Whitney (1982:18) who sees that part of the recognition/ status problem faced by teachers is a function of the physical plant of the school. Whitney, a teacher himself,

believes that teachers meet parents and students in an environment that is devoid of the trappings of success. Whitney feels that when teachers are forced to discuss sensitive, personal issues with parents in public places (hallways, classrooms, departmental offices) the parent receives a subtle, subliminal message that the teacher doesn't deserve status. To paraphrase an old advertisement: There's no title on the door, no Bigelow on the floor. If we don't look like professionals, Whitney asks, how can we expect to be treated like professionals?

> I enjoy imagining a time when I will meet the most successful of my constituents on equal terms, as measured by the visible support that society provides me in the performance of my work. Most of all, I enjoy knowing that my students will then be served better because I will have achieved the status of a professional (Whitney, 1982:80).

For Groff (1962) and Lortie (1975), the status of teachers is, at best, ambiguous. The public gives teachers conflicting messages. They are honored for "dedicated service" yet disdained for doing "easy work."

> ...social ambiguity has stalked those who undertook the mission, for the real regard shown those who taught has never matched the professed regard (Lortie, 1975:10).

The damage this lack of recognition and status does to teachers is, Health claims, significant because it contributes to the psychic distress of teachers as well as to problems in the school.

Our vocation should not only integrate our needs, interests, and talents, but have its worth positively confirmed and recognized by others. That teachers are noticeably more dissatisfied than other professionals with their perceived status and prestige means that many are questioning their own identities as well as the worth of what they are doing, their own commitment (Heath, 1981:13).

Pleasures intrinsic to teaching still seem to exist. Many teachers still report finding joy in their work (Furey, 1982:2). But recent studies show that these satisfactions are decreasing, in part because of the external situation. Sparks reports that over 60% of the teachers in his sample felt that teaching "provided them with good feelings." While this percentage is not high, at least it is a majority. Unfortunately, an even greater percentage of teachers (70%) reported that they frequently or always ended the day "emotionally exhausted" (1979:448). Similar themes are found in Krupp and Dempsey (1982) and Dedrick and Dishner (1982).

Heath's study shows that such rewards as "helping a responsive child discover talents and skills," "freedom and independence to innovate," and "being part of an ethically concerned profession" still motivate teachers. But, his study also showed that these rewards are becoming more "elusive and uncertain" (1981:13). For Willard McGuire, president of the NEA, "the joy of teaching is being replaced with fear, insecurity, anxiety, and, ultimately, teacher dropouts" (1979:111).

With the exception of Gregorc who, as previously mentioned, saw a teacher's responsibilities decrease with age, none of the authors surveyed dealt with the issue of opportunities for teachers to have increased responsibility. In fact, this is not surprising because teaching is teaching; there is no more responsibility to be had on the last day of teaching than there was on the first. This does not mean that a teacher has little responsibility. On the contrary, the responsibilities of teaching are great. It simply means that the responsibilities are constant throughout a career and, therefore, can't be taken as a measure of success or contribute to any real sense of satisfaction.

Advancement is another satisfier that seems to be unobtainable for teachers. Kaiser seems to summarize the prevailing sentiment when he says

> ...a chance for advancement is a motivation factor absent from the realm of possibility for most teachers -- who must face a lifetime without a chance for promotion (Kaiser, 1982:17).

> There is no way to go up because there is no place to go (Kaiser, 1981:37).

Many non-teachers would claim that the natural hierarchy of career advancement would mean a teacher should aspire to become an administrator. This perception makes life still harder for teachers who remain teachers.

> Promotion, if it comes, ordinarily takes him out of the teaching ranks and into administrative echelons. The very fact that he remains a teacher

seems to imply that he is unworthy of promotion (Snow, 1963:319).

As Saphier says, "In education, if you get promoted, you <u>leave</u> teaching" (1980:11).

What, then, are the sources of satisfaction for teachers? Apparently, they are few and are disappearing rapidly. Even if few of Herzberg's dissatisfiers are active, the lack of active satisfiers has created a psychological dissatisfaction that characterizes teachers today. Farber hypothesizes that a major source of teacher discontent comes from teachers who entered teaching in the "golden years" of education -- the late 1960's. He feels that these people were idealists who "expected more from their work than did their predecessors" (Farber, 1982:2). The realities of the profession did not match their expections.

Another hypothesis might be true about this generation of teachers: in the winter of their discontent they were in their mid and late thirties. The satisfactions these teachers didn't have, the satisfactions that teaching didn't offer, were the very ones these teachers needed in order to deal positively with the psychological issues that confronted them. This is the hypothesis that will be tested in this investigation.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

As the focus of this study was the relationship between developmental needs and dissatisfaction in teaching; and, as the goal of this study was to reflect both the experiences of individual teachers and the collective feelings of a faculty, the most appropriate design for the study seemed to be a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

The need for qualitative analysis was clearly indicated by the experiential aspects of this investigation because, as Patton suggests, "it is the purpose of qualitative evaluation methodology to understand the perspective and experience of people"(1980:246). Qualitative methodology offered a structure for the presentation of anecdotal material -recollections and feelings that were central to the understanding of an individual's needs and dissatisfactions.

On the other hand, quantitative analysis was called for to help avoid the problems of subjectivity and scientific unsoundness cited by Light and Pillemer in their article, "Numbers and Narrative: Combining Their Strengths in Research Reviews" (1982:3). The quantitative analysis allowed the researcher to include information from a far larger population than would have been feasible to interview. And,

although the depth of knowledge obtained in a survey is limited, quantitative analysis offered a means of verifying the generalizations made from the experience of individuals.

While unusual, this mixture of qualitative and quantitative methodologies is not unique, and, in fact, has its proponents. As Campbell says,

> ...man is, in his ordinary way, a very competent knower, and qualitative commonsense knowing is not replaced by quantitative knowing. Rather, quantitative knowing has to trust and build on the qualitative, including ordinary perception. We methodologists must achieve an applied epistemology which integrates both (Campbell, 1975:191).

The most complete view of a human situation, then, is obtained when qualitative and quantitative knowing reinforce each other and build on each other's strengths, when they find a sense of resonance.

Procedures

For the qualitative section of this study, data were collected through interviews with two former teachers. The two subjects were initially chosen because of their close personal relationship with the researcher. Both had taught with the researcher for over a decade and shared the same sense of purpose. Each one's leaving forced the researcher to question his own future as a teacher and motivated the researcher to discover the subjects' unstated (and, perhaps, unrecognized) reasons for leaving teaching. Also, both subjects shared traits that made their experiences suitable to this type of investigation: their recognized excellence as teachers, the importance that they attached to teaching, a dedication to their students that extended beyond the classroom, and the intensity they brought to their work. Equally important for this study, however, was the subjects' similarity in age and family structure, for these similarities in age and family structure, for these similarities allowed for the use of life cycle theory as a framework for investigation.

These teachers' recollections and feelings were collected in tape-recorded interviews that used the life cycle research of Daniel Levinson as a clear but flexible framework for investigation. The interviews were completed over the course of two weeks. Although each interview was planned to take approximately ninety minutes, each lasted almost three hours. As both the interviewees have young children the interviews were held after eight p.m. and in a private place to minimize interruptions. Both subjects were promised anonymity. Even though the interviews were tape recorded, notes were taken to help formulate questions during the process of the interview and to faciltate later analysis.

The organization and analysis of each interview was begun the morning following the interview with a review of the notes. In this review, themes were identified and interesting and revealing quotations were chosen for possible

transcription. This process was used for both interviews. After the interviews were analyzed, the results were compared and contrasted. This process helped to identify common themes that, along with Levinson's work, were the organizational structure of this study. Each interview was then reexamined with an eye to these common themes and sections from each interview were chosen for transcription.

This process also describes the structure for the presentation of the data from, and the analysis of, the interviews. These sections were written in such a manner as to give first a clear picture of each individual and then to show the similar themes that emerge. Finally, data were analyzed with respect to their convergence with, and divergence from, themes suggested by Levinson.

Data for the quantitative section of this investigation were collected by means of a questionnaire designed to parallel the interview guide and to reflect the concerns the subjects voiced. Levinson's work on the developmental issues of adulthood (Levinson, 1978) again suggested a framework for investigation while Herzberg's study of work motivation (Herzberg, 1959) and Heath's study of independent schools (1981) helped in forming specific questions within the framework.

The final questionnaire had sixty questions. The first eight questions covered demographic information (age, sex, number of years at Concord-Carlisle High School, level of

academic preparation, marital status, working status of spouse, and number of children). The remaining questions centered on sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the areas detailed by Herzberg (achievement, administrative policy, advancement, interpersonal relations, recognition, responsibility, salary, supervision, and working conditions). These questions also reflected the life cycle concerns described by Levinson and the experiences of those people interviewed.

For all non-demographic questions, numbers 9-60, there were six possible responses that represented levels of satisfaction: a. very satisfied, b. moderately satisfied, c. slightly satisfied, d. slightly dissatisfied, e. moderately dissatisfied, f. very dissatisfied. Each question was a forced choice in that no neutral answer was possible. This was important as studies have shown that if a neutral answer is possible, respondents will tend to choose it.

The questionnaire was administered to the 48 members of the professional staff of Concord-Carlisle High School who attended a regularly scheduled faculty meeting. In addition, those who did not attend the meeting were asked to answer the questionnaire on their own. Of those remaining, 18 responded in time to have their answers included in the analysis. The total number of responses received, 66, represented 63.5% of the total population of 104.

In all cases, the staff recorded their answers on

standardized answer sheets that could be machine scored. The answer sheets, along with parameters for data analysis and presentation were taken to Boston University's Computing Center for machine scoring, data analysis, and printing. The responses to each question were separated by gender and then charted on frequency distribution matrices that cross tabulated ages and responses.

The first eight questions were essentially descriptive and helped to define the sample population. The information in these matrices was not subjected to further analysis. Responses to the remaining questions were transformed into satisfaction/dissatisfaction scores by assigning numerical values from 1 (corresponding to very satisfied) to 6 (corresponding to very dissatisfied) for each response. Mean satisfaction/dissatisfaction scores were then computed for the entire sample population as well as for each sex and for each individual age group of each sex.

Scores were also grouped in categories suggested by Herzberg's work on job satisfaction And dissatisfaction. To achieve these groupings, each item was compared to the definitions of factors involved in job satisfaction and achieve these groupings, each item was compared to the definitions of factors involved in job satisfaction and dissatisfaction given by Herzberg (1959:88) and then placed in the appropriate category. Items were not forced into this framework, and if there was not a clear fit, the item was

eliminated from this portion of the analysis. The results of this categorization process are summarized below (Table 1) and further explored in the "Presentation and Analysis of Data." Means for each category were then computed and subjected to an analysis of variance. Finally, using a Levinsonian model, the results of the quantitative analyses were compared to the information gathered in the qualitative section to determine if age-related parallels existed.

Table 1: Categorization of Questionnaire Items

Herzberg's Categories	Questionnaire Items Included
Achievement	21,22,53
Advancement	18,19,20,30,51,60
Company Policy	35,36,37
Interpersonal Relations	42,43,44,45,46,47,49
Recogniton	9,24,25,26,27,48
Responsibility	10,11,12,38
Salary	29
Status	28
Supervision	33,39,40,41
Working Condition	13,14,15,32,34
Work Itself	23,50,52,55,58

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

Alan

Alan M. was born in 1942 in his family's home in Pennelville, New York, a small community north of Syracuse, whose inhabitants could be best characterized as rural poor. Although Al never realized that he was poor at the time, this poverty would become one of the strong motivating factors in his life.

> For most of my youth I wasn't aware that I was poor because everybody around me was poor. I didn't have anything to compare it against at the time so I didn't feel poor until, I guess, late in high school.

Al was raised by his grandparents for a good part of his childhood because of a serious illness suffered by his father. His grandparents' religious commitment combined with the influence of a local minister, who had become a significant person in Al's life, to make Al decide to enter the ministry. This early career goal remained with Al throughout high school and was the reason he wanted to go to college. Al was a superior student and his dream of going to college materialized with the offer of a full scholarship from Colgate University.

For three years at Colgate Al lived up to the expectation people had for him, but significant changes were beginning to occur. His study of religion and philosophy made him question his religious beliefs, reject the ministry as a career and become directionless.

> By the time I became a Senior, I realized that I did not want to become a minister. And, having thought of nothing else prior to then, I was totally floundering in my personal life. Studying and learning the course materials became meaningless to me. I was just trying to get myself together, to find a new direction.

For the first time Al had been taught to analyze, question and explore. His mind was opened and he was taught to think. But enlightenment doesn't guarantee happiness, and Al's exploration led to anger -- an anger born of poverty and injustice -- that radicalized Al's thoughts and behavior.

> I had pent up anger about early life, real disenchantment with the college and a growing disenchantment with the larger political system. I was pretty angry when I got out of college.

In order to help correct the injustices that Al saw plaguing society (and, indeed, that plagued Al), he decided to become a social worker in New York City. But, as was true of so many of his generation, Al's next years were governed more by outside forces than by inner desires. Al was, in fact, hired as a social worker when he received his draft notice along with his diploma. Acting quickly, because there were no deferments for atheistic pacificists, Al applied to, and was accepted by, Boston University Law School. He had his deferment, but he didn't want to become a lawyer, so he dropped out after six months. It was then an incident took place that would change Al's life.

> I really had an incident that was very significant to me. It helped me decide what I did want to do. I was out in back of my apartment shooting baskets and a couple of kids, seventh or eight graders, came by and started playing some ball. I began teaching them some things and they seemed to really enjoy it. And I enjoyed it. And for the first time it really entered my mind that maybe I'd enjoy being a teacher.

Once Al realized that teaching was an enjoyable activity, he began to feel that teachers can cause change. Through teaching Al thought that he could help to make a difference in his society. Teaching became a mission -- its goal, enlightenment. For Al, the decision to become a teacher was an emotional response, not a career decision.

> My original notion for going into teaching wasn't even so much whether I would enjoy it. It was rather I felt there's something that I ought to try to do. Maybe I'll enjoy it. Maybe I won't. Maybe I'll be good at it. Maybe I won't. But it is something I at least needed to try to do given the things I believed at the time. I wanted to open some minds.

Al was highly successful as a teacher, and teaching was certainly rewarding. (What more does a beginning teacher need than an apple on the desk with a note that says, "To Sir, with Love"?) But in a conservative school system, enlightment has its enemies -- especially when the enlightener is a young, anti-war Marxist-atheist-pacifist -and Al found himself at odds with the administration. This continuing conflict with the administration resulted in Al's decision to leave Arlington and take a job in Concord.

Concord was the right choice. Al's idealism found a much more receptive audience and Al enjoyed the support and respect of the administration and the community as well as the students. As Al says, his first seven or eight years at Concord were great.

> I felt good about the response both from the kids and the community at large. I thought that many of the kinds of things that I was doing in Arlington and was getting a good response just from the kids, where together the kids and I had to keep it under the rug, were getting a positive response from a larger circle than just the kids. I would say the first seven or eight years in Concord I was thoroughly enjoying.

In the mid-Seventies, things began to change for Al. These changes would alter his teaching significantly and affect his sense of satisfaction. He began to encounter students who had been taught to think, but who had no skills nor information with which to think. To compensate for this problem Al changed his focus from classroom goals to system goals and his teaching goals from enlightenment to remediation. The former produced disenchantment as Al spun his wheels trying to correct the system. The latter brought frustration as the moments that Al treasured in the classroom became fewer and fewer. The original mission, in a sense, didn't matter at all. What I now thought needed to be done wasn't as much fun as what I previously thought needed to be done. And, the immediate response from the kids wasn't as rewarding. I still felt that I had really good relationships with many of the kids in my classes, but most of it was no longer centering on the work I was doing. Now the good relationships were just because we liked each other, but it wasn't around the work that we were doing in the classroom.

There was a second issue that Al began to face during this period of time -- could he be a teacher for the rest of his life? Along with the disenchantment that had set in came reevaluation. For the first time, Al began to view teaching as a career rather than a mission. He was now in his mid thirties and realized that his age was working against him. He would soon find it impossible to switch careers.

As commitment gave way to questioning and attachment changed to alienation, Al began to be bothered by things that he had taken in stride before. Things such as lack of heat and a leaky roof were not only annoyances in themselves, but also they became symbols of an attitude toward teachers that Al found unacceptable.

> It seemed to me that somebody should be taking care of these things and should be making the classroom a decent place to teach in. And, it just physically wasn't. And that made me think that if people wouldn't care enough about simple physical surroundings then they really didn't care very much about me as a person or me as a teacher. So I began to have the feeling then that they really didn't care about teachers as human beings.

As Al became increasingly dissatisfied with teaching he began to look around him at older teachers who might serve as role models of satisfactory adjustment. But he could find none. Instead, Al perceived people who felt trapped, people who were just putting in time who lacked commitment. This became frightening to Al as he looked ahead a dozen years, because as he projected his own future as a teacher he was afraid that he would end up the same way.

> I don't think that teaching should ever just be a job. There are too many teachers who treat it just as a job. I really think that teaching ought to be a commitment. It ought to be a mission. And, for me, I didn't think it could be a few years down the line. All I could really see then was just hanging on, playing out the string, putting in my time.

Al's aging brought up another issue as well. Growing old wasn't something that Al felt a teacher could do gracefully. In fact, Al felt that the increasing difference between his age and his students' ages would be a significant obstacle to communication and, therefore, to successful teaching. Teaching could only become harder and less satisfying.

As Al thought about the future, he was forced to reexamine what he had hoped to accomplish in his life. What did it mean to be a teacher "for the rest of your life?" Certainly, Al felt, the general public viewed a career teacher as a failure. They would think that he really wasn't capable of doing anything else. The public perception of

teachers had certainly changed from that of the late Sixties and early Seventies -- the period during which Al had found so much satisfaction as a teacher.

While this public perception of teacher-as-failure was distressing to Al, other people's opinions were not nearly as important as his self-assessment. Al had been an extraordinary student with unlimited promise, but the last few years had left him feeling that somehow he had not lived up to this promise.

> It's kind of a drive now to really prove -- more to myself than to others -- that had I chosen fifteen years ago to do something different I could have really -- I don't want to use the words "been something" because I was something. But when you think career path, that I would have really made a contribution that would have been more recognizable as significant.

What is there about teaching that would cause a person to feel that he hadn't lived up to his potential? For Al one thing was the nature of the rewards of teaching. Apples only work for so long. While Al certainly realized that he had touched many lives, so much of what he had done was intangible. There was little he could point to and say, "I did that!"

An even more profound problem was caused by the lack of opportunity for change and growth in teaching. Al felt that teaching offered very little room for professional growth after the first decade. After that, things become more of the same. There were different faces but the same problems,

different subjects but the same process. In other careers Al felt that people have a continuing opportunity to increase the scope of their contribution, to use the years of experience in a positive way. There were no opportunities to grow within teaching.

Teaching had been a "terrific career" when Al was a young adult, but the joy had disappeared. The sense of mission that had driven Al during his first decade was no longer there. The fire hadn't gone out, but it was flickering dimly. After twelve years, a short career by the standards of any other profession, the time had come for Al to leave teaching.

> There are a few rare people who can stay in classroom teaching and remain good at it and continue to like it through an entire career. But I think they're rare. And I think that for most people what should happen is that they should hit a point where they say, "Well, I've done it. And it's been good. And now it's time to do something else."

The interview with Al was an exhausting one. By the time it was finished, the tea was cold, the tape had run out and three hours had passed. During the interview there were very few lulls. Al, as is his way, had been thinking seriously about his teaching career for several days before we met. The interview seemed to have been a good opportunity for him to organize his feelings and reflect on his decision to leave teaching -- a decision that had been made during the previous year. At times Al spoke with great emotion, but the

anger and frustration that had marked his last few years as a teacher was gone.

In the interview Al discussed many sources of his dissatisfaction, including a negative public perception of teachers, poor working conditions and a lack of human concern. But two factors seem to be more significant than others: one is the lack of opportunity for growth and change and the other is growing old. In this regard it is interesting to reflect on Al's decision to become a teacher. Al never thought of teaching in career terms. Rather, teaching was an activity that brought him enjoyment and also met his need to contribute to bettering society. Al's commitment to teaching was very intense, but the intensity focused on Al's present -- not his future. The effort he put into teaching was not aimed at career advancement (indeed, Al saw no advancement possible as a teacher). Rather, teaching was a mission whose value was contained in the act.

When the present is no longer rewarding, one is faced with two choices -- live in the past or look to the future. For Al, living in the past meant a betrayal of his integrity and a waste of his talents. The future in teaching appeared to be a dead end. Al heard the biological clock ticking. It was time to make a career decision -- a future-oriented decision. Al saw no avenues for further growth as a teacher. In fact, growing old as a teacher frightened him. It was

time for a new career, new opportunities and a new, more promising, future.

Jeff

Jeff. W. was born in 1941 at Memorial Hospital in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Pawtucket, at that time, was a blue-collar factory town that depended on the mills for its existence. Although both of Jeff's parents worked, their circumstances were, in Jeff's words, deprived. But his childhood was happy and, as was the case with Alan M., Jeff did not recognize the deprivation until later.

> The world was what I had and I was pretty happy within that environment. I don't think I could be any more, but I was then.

Jeff's life, until his graduation from high school, was mainly spent on the streets in a Bowery Boys type of existence -- fooling around but in no serious trouble. True to the tradition of this Hollywood cliche was the fact that the two people who had the most impact on his adolescent life were the parish priest, Father Carr, and soft, lovable Pop McLaughlin, owner of the corner paper store. These two men saw something special in Jeff and conspired to reform him by using his love of basketball to get him off the streets and into the CYO.

Also true to this cinematic conceit was Jeff's high school career which seems to have been spent primarily in the bathroom skipping classes, on suspension, or failing tests but receiving social passes. The one crucial exception to this pattern was Miss Kolb, Jeff's math teacher, who flunked him and had him put in her class the following year. Jeff became "really angry" at her and "showed her" by getting an A.

> There was something deeper that she touched inside of me, that taught me what she was really trying to teach me, and that is that I could learn and had a brain.

Graduation from high school brought work in the mills -a deadening experience for anyone, but especially for a person as bright and creative as Jeff (even though this creativity had yet to be realized). Factory work was as dull and stifling as the street had been exciting and liberating. Life was terrible. The fun was gone.

After a year and a half Jeff escaped -- but not to the service as he had planned. When a friend with whom Jeff had been planning to join the Air Force decided he wanted to go to college instead, Jeff was left with three alternatives: join the service alone, which didn't sound like any fun; stay in the mills, which definitely wasn't any fun; or, go to college, which was as foreign a thought to Jeff as living in

a Newport mansion.

Even though he had never thought about college before, Jeff announced to his parents that he was going. Making the decision was the easy part. Jeff now had to figure out how one got into a college and what college would want a Pawtucket street kid with one A, one F and 18 D's. Father Carr and Pop McLaughlin to the rescue. If it hadn't been written already it would have made a great story. Emerson College, a four-year institution that specializes in theater-arts, took a chance and found a diamond-in-the-rough. Jeff became a superior student, the president of his class and the president of the student body. What Jeff found at Emerson was academic and personal success, four years of profound change and tremendous growth.

> I grew incredibly. I learned what learning was all about. I had my mind opened for the first time in my life. I learned how to think and how to express myself. I learned how to eat properly. I learned about caring -- about sensitivity. I learned about that whole other world that was out there.

Jeff's decision to become a teacher was, in part, a natural extension of the training he had received at Emerson. If you are trained as an actor, but don't want to act, what is your most logical option? Teaching is, of course. But, more important to Jeff's decision was the influence of a professor who opened Jeff's eyes to the wonders of literature and the joy of learning. The professor became more than a teacher, he became a role model.

He stimulated me and opened my mind and made me think. He made me aware of what a profound thing learning is. To convey that, to explore it, to spend your life within it, to share it with other people, to challenge other people -- that's what it was all about. The direction was so obvious to me at the time I'm not sure I ever really thought about it. It was a natural.

For Jeff, as for Al, the decision to become a teacher was more of an emotional response than a logical career choice. While Jeff saw a teacher's life in his professor's and liked what he saw, he never considered such things as money or status (an omission that he regrets now). Instead, teaching was a life-long commitment to help others change and grow in the way that he had been helped to change and grow.

Jeff's first year of teaching was, to say the least, rather unusual. He left the East Coast and went to Los Angeles two and one-half weeks after school had already started without a firm job offer, only the indication (given at an interview six months earlier) that his application would be looked upon favorably. There were, as it turned out, many postions still unfilled in the Los Angeles school system and Jeff was placed as a social studies/English teacher at Granada Hills High School. The English teaching was easy, but a liberal, idealistic social studies teacher can find trouble in a conservative community. Jeff left after a year of fighting the John Birch Society, and returned East to attend graduate school.

After completing a Master's degree in English, Jeff returned to teaching -- this time in Concord. For Jeff, as for Al, Concord was the right place. Jeff's idealism and energy were well appreciated and Jeff had the right forum for his talents. While he found success in the classroom, however, he was often surrounded by a tempest outside. He was happy when he closed his door, but Jeff had a hard time keeping the door closed. As a consequence, his successes in the classroom were always tempered with problems of departmental or school politics. As he says,

> At the high school there were years and years of turmoil and trouble. And I think things just eventually built up to the point where it was a happy occupation in a rather unhappy environment.

The turmoil was taking its toll and Jeff requested a leave of absence to complete his doctorate. He returned to Concord two years later without the doctorate but with a renewed strength -- ready to fight the battles again. The battles were still there, this time worse than ever. Unanswered public attacks on teachers by members of the community, administrative turnover, and the lack of a decent working en- vironment all had a deep effect on Jeff. Jeff felt that the administration, the school committee, the community and the teachers should all be conspiring together to achieve educational excellence instead of constantly fighting each other. The vital connection between the school committee, the administration and what was actually happening in that classroom seldom, if ever, came together to make the conspiracy of educating happen.

As Jeff grew older, other concerns contributed to his dissatisfaction. A low salary, the frustration of a dream, and aging, itself, all took on significance. Although Jeff was near the top of the salary scale, he found that he had little money to save. The student council advisorship, ticket taking at sports events and proctoring college boards all added a bit extra, and a camp directorship helped carry him through the summer. But the larger home that Jeff and his wife had always planned on was still no closer to reality.

Jeff had a more personal dream as well. He wanted to write for publication. Each morning he would wake up at four o'clock and spend two hours writing before he got ready for school. Writing by itself is hard work. Writing while teaching with the dedication that characterized Jeff was exhausting. Although Jeff met with some modest success, he felt that there was an energy missing from his writing that would have been there had he not been teaching.

Finally, Jeff began to realize that he was growing older but his students weren't. He wondered if he could continue to grow. It seemed as though his students would have less to learn from him and he from them. He wondered what was left

for him to learn as a teacher. Time might bring only stagnation and isolation. Jeff was afraid he had topped out and, as he looked around, he could find no role models to give him comfort.

Where were the rewards in all this? Jeff began to wonder. Certainly for Jeff, unlike Al, the classroom was still good. But Jeff found himself wishing for more -- a validation from others. Too often, Jeff felt, he was viewed as and treated as "the lowest common denominator." There was no way to differentiate oneself from all the others. There was no recognition of excellence. There was even no recognition of success.

> If they knew you were doing a good job they would take that for granted. But they never really knew how good a job you might be doing. There were some days when I really worked so hard and did something that I thought was so smashing that I really wished that there was somebody, aside from the students, who really understood what teaching was all about and who could appreciate the value of what I and many of my colleagues were able to do. Teaching is an art and all artists have a crying need to be appreciated.

The energy and emotion that Jeff invested in teaching was enormous and, as with most good teachers, he was never free from teaching. As he said, "It never left my head." The energy had to come from somewhere and too often, Jeff felt, it came from his family -- from his personal life. With many forces draining him, and with few recharging him, Jeff felt that he had reached the point of needing to take

some time away from the classroom in order to assess his life. His analogy for what happened to him is instructive: he views a teacher as a quarry. The miners are the community, the parents, the students, the administration -anyone who has expectations. And yes, that would also include family, friends and self. The quarry was constantly being mined but nothing was being put back in. Jeff felt depleted and defeated. He needed a change, a rest, a recharge and perhaps a new life structure. The time had come for Jeff to leave teaching, at least for a while.

I got tired and I got weary. I didn't want to. I didn't mean to. But I did. I think my resources were just totally drained.

The interview with Jeff took place at a particulary crucial time. Jeff was on a leave of absence from Concord while working for a computer company. He had just been asked by the school to decide whether he would return to teaching or resign from Concord and remain in his new job. Jeff had hoped for a second year's leave in order to insure that he could make the right decision. His ambivalence was clearly reflected in the interview. Even though the interviewer had been close friends with Jeff for almost fifteen years and Jeff hardly ever hides his feelings, he desperately tried to avoid answering some of the central questions. Quite possibly there are no answers yet. It is probably significant that the sources of Jeff's dissatisfaction were found more in the issues tangential to teaching and less in the actual act. Certainly, Jeff had concerns about his future effectiveness and satisfaction as a teacher. But these concerns seemed to reflect problems he was having with aging more than anything else. It was quite clear that up to the time of his leaving, Jeff continued to enjoy, and was successful at, teaching itself. His commitment to helping others the way he had been helped had not wavered either.

The key issue seemed to be the exhaustion that was, in large part, a function of Jeff's intensity and the constant struggle he had with people who should have been his allies in the "conspiracy of teaching." The daily battles he fought sapped his strength. His exhaustion, as explained in the quarry analogy, is particularly interesting because it parallels findings by Hans Selye, a pioneer in stress research. Selye's research led him to the conclusion that people have finite resources which they can use to cope with stress. As these resources are depleted, a person becomes increasingly succeptible to the stress. Finally, physical and psychological exhaustion set in (Selye,1974). This description seems to fit Jeff's situation. As time went on his dissatisfaction increased, while his tolerance for the situation diminished. Issues that could have been dealt with

at an earlier time were now unacceptable. Concerns that were minor became significant. Finally, all the spheres of his life were being compromised. Jeff needed a change and a chance to discover whether or not he could continue being a teacher.

Analysis

In order to better understand the issues that faced Al and Jeff it is helpful to look at the work of Daniel Levinson. In his investigation of the issues that face men throughout their lives, Levinson discovered that men in their thirties enter a period that he labelled the Settling Down period. Levinson says that this period "marks the culmination of early adulthood and produces the final fruits and thorns of this era" (Levinson, 1978:139). For Al and Jeff the period was mostly thorns as they grappled with the two major tasks that Levinson describes -- establishing one's niche in society, and working at advancement.

Al's passage through this period in his life has very close and obvious parallels with Levinson's observed patterns. Al's increasing sensitivity to the negative public perception of his role and to the administration's failure to correct problems in the work environment runs directly

counter to the need for "being a valued member of a valued collective entity" (Levinson, 1978:140) that Levinson describes. Even more striking is the similarity between Al's situation and Levinson's second task.

> Planning, striving to succeed, moving onward and upward, progressing along a timetable. ...I use the term "advancement" in the broadest sense: building a better life, improving and using one's skills, becoming more creative, contributing to society and being affirmed by it, according to one's values (Levinson, 1978:140).

Al felt that he was no longer moving onward and upward. After the first decade there is no more onward and upward in teaching. Progress stops. In addition, Al felt that he was no longer using the skills and talents that he had. Also, as was mentioned before, Al felt no affirmation from society. That feeling of advancement and continued achievement that Levinson sees as primary to satisfaction during this stage (Levinson, 1978:144) was just not there.

In Jeff's case the parallels with Levinson are not so pervasive, but are equally striking. The basic motivation that Levinson ascribes to men in this period is still there.

> The underlying task is to "settle for" a few key choices, to create a broader structure around them, to invest oneself as fully as possible in the various components of this structure (such as work, family, community, solitary interests, friendships) and to pursue long-range plans and goals within it. A man has a stronger sense of urgency to "get serious", to be responsible, to decide what is truly important and shape his life accordingly (Levinson, 1978:139).

Just at the time when Jeff needed to "get serious" and to invest himself as fully as possible, he was wearing down to the point where he had little energy to invest in anything -especially his work, his family and his solitary interests. So, in Jeff's case, his exhaustion was not only dissatisfying in and of itself, but it frustrated his attempts to work through the developmental issues that he was facing.

One issue that did not seem to have an influence on Jeff's dissatisfaction with teaching was the lack of opportunity for advancement that Al found as a teacher. Advancement was not an important consideration for Jeff at the time; but now Jeff speaks of the many paths for career advancement in his firm with great enthusiasm. This opportunity for growth may prove to be one of the key elements in Jeff's decision to remain in high tech or return to teaching. It is important to note in this regard that Jeff did not seem to be influenced by the need to achieve at his potential the way Al was. Rather, for Jeff teaching was living up to his potential and exceeding the expectations others had for him. The present opportunity for growth and career advancement is as important for the change it offers as for anything else.

It is interesting to speculate on the role of the perception of aging in the whole process. For both Jeff and Al this awareness was thrust upon them five years ago with

the death from cancer of a colleague who was in his early forties. Facing mortality certainly forces one to acknowledge the ticking of the biological clock. Once this clock is noticed, a teacher becomes sensitive to its other manifestations such as the increasing age gap between the teacher and his students that bedevilled both Al and Jeff. Levinson would claim that the clock is ticking anyway and sooner or later a man will come face to face with life's issues. But, for a teacher, the obviously increasing age difference between student and teacher apparently intensifies the problem. The absence of any good role models to serve in a quasi-mentor capacity seems to have exacerbated the problem. It is not clear, however, whether there truly were no good role models or whether Al and Jeff were simply projecting their own feelings on the older teachers in the school.

If aging is a problem for a teacher, the solution, paradoxically, seems to be growing up. An underlying feeling that was present when both Jeff and Al discussed their new jobs was one of finally becoming an adult. Clean bathrooms devoid of graffiti, carpets on the floor, more than twenty minutes for lunch, and constant interaction with adults were all new satisfactions that symbolized a movement from the adolescent world to the real, grown-up world. Levinson wouldn't be surprised at the strength of this feeling because he sees that one of the major tasks of this period is to move

from being an "apprentice adult" to becoming a "full-fledged adult" (Levinson, 1978:141). For Al and Jeff, to be a teacher "for the rest of your life" meant being trapped in a position of "apprentice adult" (from the perspective of others as well as self) and never taking on the role of "full-fledged adult."

In evaluating Al's solution to his dissatisfaction and speculating on the possible solutions that Jeff might choose, it is helpful to examine Levinson's five possible sequences in Settling Down.

- A. Advancement within a stable life structure.
- B. Serious failure or decline within a stable life structure.
- C. Breaking out: trying for a new life structure.
- D. Advancement, which itself produces a change in life structure.
- E. Unstable life structure. (Levinson,1978:150)

Al's situation is described in sequence C. Al was feeling that teaching did not allow for advancement and that he was, in fact, faced with the possibility of failure or decline. He chose, then, to break out by leaving teaching and going to work as a computer programmer. For Al, making this move symbolized his growing up. It marked his transition from early adulthood to maturity. As Al said,

I think teaching is a terrific career for a young adult. For an older adult, it doesn't seem to me that it would be so terrific.

Jeff is still in the process of testing the possibilities. Specifically, he is experimenting with option C while trying to figure out if option A is a viable one for him as a teacher.

> If only society would get behind teachers, and support them, and recognize them, and help them, and value them, then teaching would be a most sustaining thing. But if all those things were really there I don't think I would have left teaching in the first place.

Although there are significant differences between Al and Jeff, similar patterns emerge from their stories that show striking parallels to descriptions offered by Levinson. The problems faced by these men seem to be rooted in the normal issues of aging. However, the fact that both of them ended up leaving teaching indicates that their needs as they grew older did not remain congruent with the rewards of a teaching career. Certainly, both of them felt that remaining a teacher for a lifetime would have prevented their continued growth as individuals.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

For Al and Jeff, a teaching career seemed to run counter to their life cycle needs during their mid and late thirties. But were their lives atypical? Were their feelings shared by other members of their faculty? These were the questions that were addressed with the administration of the questionnaire.

In order to parallel the qualitative portion of this study, only information obtained from males is presented, although a review of the female response patterns indicated that there is much interesting data for further study and analysis. Also eliminated from formal analysis were males under 30 and over 60. These two groups were eliminated because there were only a total of three people in both groups -- a number that was too small for meaningful consideration.

The final population analyzed consisted of 38 males who ranged in age from 30 to 59; 18 were between 30 and 39, 12 were between 40 and 49, and 8 were between 50 and 59. The teaching experience of the subjects ranged from fewer than 5 years to more than 30 years with a median of 15 to 19 years while the median number of years of service to Concord-Carlisle High School was between 10 and 14 years. The

academic preparation of the sample ranged from 3 people with Bachelor's degrees to 2 people with doctorates. The median level of academic preparation was 15 credit hours beyond the Master's degree. All but 8 of the men were married and, of those, 23 had working spouses. The average number of children in the family was 2 and ranged from 0 to 5.

The results of the computation of means for questions 9-60 are presented below in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 presents a rank-ordering of questions on which a majority of the total sample population expressed satisfaction, while Table 3 continues the rank ordering, but presents those questions on which a majority of teachers expressed dissatisfaction.

The strongest satisfactions for Concord-Carlisle High School teachers in the sample were found in interpersonal relationships with students, colleagues, and the high school administration. The other major satisfiers for the teachers in the sample seem to be related to the nature of the work itself. Such satisfactions as freedom and independence and the opportunity for innovation and creativity indicate that the intrinsic, non-tangible rewards of teaching also remain strong.

Noticeably low in satisfaction for the teachers at Concord-Carlisle were recognition, status and prestige, advancement, and the opportunity for change. The level of satisfaction with these issues in their various forms was so

Table 2: Questions on Which a Majority of Teachers Expressed Satisfaction

Quest			Teachers	Group
Numb	er Issue Expre	ssing	Satisfaction	Mean
12	opportunity for creativity		94.6	2.22
46	relationships with students		94.5	1.81
49	faculty-parent relationships		89.2	2.46
40	faculty-student relationships	5	89.1	2.08
39	supervision and evaluation		89.1	2.32
44	personal relations in department	aent	86.4	1.95
48	personal relations w parents		86.4	2.30
11	amount of responsibility		83.8	2.43
10	freedom and independence		83.8	2.22
45	personal relations outside de	ept.	83.8	2.35
9	social value of teaching		83.8	2.22
23	non-tangible rewards of teach	ning	83.7	2.59
21	quality of work accomplished		81.1	2.41
42	professional relations in dep	pt.	81.0	2.05
53	self-fulfillment		81.0	2.68
41	relationship w central admin.	istrat	. 81.0	2.78
47	faculty-student relations		77.3	2.68
27	recognition from peers		75.6	2.73
31	teaching as a way of life		72.9	2.70
43	professional relations outside	de dep	ot. 72.9	2.86
54	relationship of job to life		70.0	3.03
52	meets personal needs		69.5	3.22
22	immediate results of work		67.5	3.05
24	recognition from students		66.7	3.11
26	recognition from administrat	ion	62.2	3.16
55	meets first expectations		62.1	3.32
37	extent informed		59.4	3.41
51	meets professional needs		59.4	3.41
16	opportunity for increased re	sponsi	ib. 57.1	3.34
35	professional growth programs		51.3	3.78
19	opportunity to achieve poten	tial	50.0	3.53

Table	3:	Questions or	Which	а	Majority	o£	Teachers
					ssatisfact		

Quest	ion	e of m	aabaua	
			eachers	Group
Numb	ber Issue	Expres	sing	Mean
		Dissat	isfaction	
17	opportunity for prof. growth		51.4	3.86
50	opportunity for personal grow	th	51.4	3.97
25	recognition from community		52.8	3.86
38	ability to influence change		54.1	3.95
36	administrative/institution pr	ocedure	56.8	3.84
15	energy teaching demands		58.3	3.97
33	administrative concerns		59.5	3.73
20	comparative rate of growth		59.5	3.86
32	working environment		59.5	3.97
13	time teaching requires		62.2	3.65
29	present salary		62.2	4.26
18	opportunity for change		64.9	3.81
34	community concern		70.3	4.18
28	status and prestige		75.7	4.61
14	non-instructional time		78.4	4.38
30	eventual earning capacity		80.6	4.94

low that they showed up as dissatisfiers rather than satisfiers. These issues seem to relate to the nature of teaching as a career, and their appearance as dissatisfiers might be predicted from Lortie's discussion of teaching as a careerless career that lacks the opportunity for recognition "based on upward progression" (Lortie, 1975: 130).

Of Herzberg's dissatisfiers, salary and working conditions seem to be the most strongly operative. Present salary and, to an even greater extent, eventual earning capacity, are clearly significant problems. The issue of working conditions also shows up (in several forms) and centers on time and energy more than physical environment.

The two specific issues of non-instructional time and eventual earning capacity, while sharing a similarly high level of dissatisfaction, may be quite dissimilar in their meaning. The extreme level of dissatisfaction with the amount of non-instructional time required may be an immediate response to a temporary situation. At the time this survey was taken, all teachers were preparing for the ten-year evaluation and accreditation of the high school. The many meetings required to complete the preparations were timeconsuming and exhausting. Whether non-instructional time would have been such a significant dissatisfier prior to this accreditation process is not clear.

What is clear, however, is the message about the eventual earning capacity of teachers. Many observers of

American education have noted the historical reasons for the low career salaries of teachers. Lortie, for example, points out their "front-loaded" nature.

> Those who persist in teaching experience the drop-off in percentage gains associated with fixed dollar increments: each pay increase is a smaller percentage of the salary base than the previous one. Earnings are "front-loaded" in the sense that one begins at a high level relative to ones's ultimate earning potential (Lortie, 1975:84).

But historical explanation should not be taken as justification, and school systems would do well to address this problem in light of its strong, negative effect on teacher morale.

Of the remaining Herzberg dissatisfiers, interpersonal relations should be noted because it shows up, as previously mentioned, as a major satisfier for the teachers studied. On the one hand it is comforting to note the teachers' overwhelming satisfaction with the quality of their personal relations with students, because it shows that one of the major reasons teachers give for being a teacher (i.e., working with kids) remains a strongly operant satisfier despite other problems. Yet if, as Herzberg suggests, interpersonal relationships serve primarily as a dissatisfier, then their real contribution to job satisfaction might be limited.

Comparing Herzberg's list of satisfiers and dissatisfiers raises an unsettling question. While there is some correspondence between Herzberg's findings and the feelings of Concord-Carlisle High School teachers, the appearance of a Herzberg dissatisfier (interpersonal relations) as a major source of satisfaction and of several satisfiers (advancement and recognition) as inherent sources of dissatisfaction leads one to wonder if teaching can remain a satisfying career throughout a lifetime. In fact, this may be one of the contributing factors leading to the decline of satisfaction with teaching reported and projected by the subjects (Table 4).

Table 4: Satisfaction with Teaching Throughout a Lifetime

Question Stage of Career	Percent of	Mean Level of
Number	Satisfaction	Satisfaction
 56 Beginning 57 Ten Years Ago 58 Present 59 Ten Years From Now 60 As a Life-Long Occupat 	81.8 77.1 66.7 47.2 ion 51.3	2.35 2.60 2.92 3.32 3.79

Are the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction reported by Concord-Carlisle teachers age related? Are the teachers who answered the questionnaire concerned with the same Levinsonian issues that concerned Al and Jeff? And, are these concerns more evident for teachers in their thirties than for teachers of other age groups?

To discover the answers to these questions, teachers were placed in age groups (thirties, forties, and fifties); questions were categorized according to Herzberg's definitions; and, mean satisfaction/dissatisfaction scores were computed in each category. A total satisfaction/ dissatisfaction score (I score) was also computed. The results of these computations are presented in Table 5. Finally, an analysis of variance was performed to determine the age-relatedness of the patterns of satisfaction/ dissatisfaction. In this analysis each age group was compared separately to the other two and then an analysis comparing all three groups was performed. The results of these analyses of variance are presented separately for each of Herzberg's categories in Tables 6 through 20.

Area of		Mean	Scores		
Concern		nean	DCOLES		
	Age Group	30-39	40-49	50-59	Total Population
I Score		3.33	2.83	3.13	3.13
Achievem	ent	2.72	2.42	3.25	2.74
Advancem	lent	4.39	3.17	4.00	3.92
Company Administ	Policy & ration	4.06	3.42	3.50	3.74
Interper Relation		2.17	2.17	2.13	2.16
Recognit	ion	3.06	2.75	2.50	2.84
Responsi	.bility	2.61	2.42	3.13	2.66
Salary		4.67	3.92	3.88	4.26
Status		5.17	4.17	4.00	4.61
Supervis	sor	2.94	2.67	2.88	2.84
Working	Conditions	3.83	3.33	3.25	3.55
Work It:	self	3.11	2.58	3.75	3.08
Present	Satisfaction	2.50	2.58	4.38	2.92
Project	ed Satisf.	3.83	1.83	4.38	3.32
Lifetim	e Satisfaction	4.06	3.00	4.38	3.79

Table 5: Mean Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction Scores by Age

Table 6:

Achievement

Areas of Concern: "...successful completion of a job, solutions to problems, vindication, and seeing the results of one's work" (Herzberg, 1959:45).

Questions Included: 21, 22, 53.

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	0.672 36.528 23.750	28	0.672 1.305 1.283	0.515	5 0.104

Achievement by Age:	Forties versus	Fifties	
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DF	square	F probability
main effects, age residual total	20.417 18	3.333 1.134 1.250	2.939 0.104

Achievement by Age:	Thirties versus	Fifties
Source of Variation	sum of	mean
main effects, age residual total	35.111 24	1.543 1.055 0.315 1.463 1.466

Table 7: Advancement

Areas of Concern: opportunity for "change in status of position" (Herzberg, 1959:46)

Questions Included: 18, 19, 20, 30, 51, 60.

***** ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Cell l(Thirties) 2(Forties) 3(Fifties) Total Means 4.39 (n=18) 3.17 (n=12) 4.00 (n=8) 3.92 (n=38) ******

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F.	probability
main effects,age residual total	10.756 41.944 52.700	28	10.756 1.498 1.817	7.180	0.012

Achievement by Age:	Forties versus	Fifties		
Source of Variation	sum of squares DF	mean	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	3.333 1 37.667 18 41.000 19		1.593	0.223

Achievement by Age:	Thirties versus	Fiftles
Source of Variation	sum of	mean square F probability
main effects, age residual total	56.278 24	0.838 0.357 0.556 2.345 2.285

Areas of Concern: "the adequacy or inadequacy of company organization and management (and) the harmfulness or beneficial effects of the company's ... policies" (Herzberg, 1959:48)

Questions Included: 35, 36, 37.

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age	2.939			2.430	0.130
residual	33.861	28	1.209		
total	36,800	29	1.269		

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	0.033 20.917 20.950	18	0.033 1.162 1.103	0.029	0.867

Achievement by Age:	Thirties vers	us Fiftie	<u>s</u>	
Source of Variation	sum of	mean		probability
main effects, age residual total	36.944 2	1 1.709 4 1.539 5 1.546	1.110	0.302

Areas of Concern: social & sociotechnical social: "interactions that might take place within the working hours and on the premises of work but independent of the activities of the job." sociotechnical: "interpersonal relationships that arise when people interact in the performance of their jobs" (Herzberg, 1959:46).

Questions Included: 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49.

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	0.0 22.167 22.167	28	0.0 0.792 0.764	0.0	1.000

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	0.008 14.542 14.550	18	0.008 0.808 0.766	0.010	0.920

Achievement by Age:	Thirties ve	ersus	Fifties	3	
Source of Variation	sum of		mean square		probability
main effects, age residual total	0.010 21.375 21.385	24	0.010 0.891 0.855	0.011	0.918

Table 10:

Recognition

Areas of Concern: "Some act of notice, praise, or blame was involved. The source could be almost anyone: supervisor, some other individual in management, management as an impersonal force, a client, a peer, a professional colleague, or the general public" (Herzberg, 1959:44).

Questions Included: 9, 24, 25, 26, 27, 48.

Cell l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total Means 3.06 (n=18) 2.75 (n=12) 2.50 (n=8) 2.84 (n=38)

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	0.672 25.194 25.867	28	0.672 0.900 0.892	0.747	7 0.395

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	0.300 32.250 32.550	18	0.300 1.792 1.713	0.167	7 0.687

Achievement by Age:	Thirties ve	rsus	Fifties	5	
Source of Variation	sum of		mean square		probability
main effects, age residual total	1.709 28.944 30.654	24	1.709 1.206 1.226	1.417	0.245

residual

total

Responsibility

Areas of Concern: "satisfaction from being given the responsibility for his or her own work or for the work of others or being given new responsibility" (Herzberg, 1959: 47).

Questions Included: 10, 41, 12, 38.

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Achievement by Age.	IUTICIES VELSUS	LOL CICS	
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DF	square	F probability
main effects,age	0.272 1	0.272	0.397 0.534
residual	19.194 28	0.686	
total	19.467 29	0.671	
Achievement by Age:		Fifties	
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DF	square	F probability
main effects, age	2.408 1		2.190 0.156
residual	19.792 18		
total	22.200 19	1.168	
Achievement by Age:	Thirties versus	Fifties	5
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DF	square	F probability
		1 1 6 2	1 204 0 292
main effects, age	1.463 1	1.463	1.204 0.283

29.153

30.615

24 1.215

25 1.225

Salary

Areas of Concern: "Wage or salary increases, or unfulfilled expectations of salary increases" (Herzberg, 1959:46).

Questions Included: 29.

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	4.050 80.916 84.966	28	4.050 2.890 2.930	1.40]	L 0.246

Achievement by Age: Forties versus Fifties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	0.008 45.792 45.800	18	0.008 2.544 2.411	0.003	3 0.955

Achievement by Age:	Thirties vers	us Fifties
Source of Variation	sum of squares D	mean F square F probability
main effects, age residual total	68.875 2	1 3.471 1.210 0.282 4 2.870 5 2.894

Table 13:

Status

Areas of Concern: "some sign or appurtenance of status" (Herzberg, 1959:49).

Questions Included: 28.

Cell l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total Means 5.17 (n=18) 4.17 (n=12) 4.00 (n=8) 4.61 (n=38)

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F.	probability
main effects,age residual total	7.200 46.167 53.367	28	7.200 1.649 1.840	4.367	7 0.046

Achievement by Age: Forties versus Fifties sum of mean

Source of Variation	squares	DF	square	F p	robability
main effects, age residual total	0.133 49.667 49.800	18	0.133 2.759 2.621	0.048	0.828

Achievement by Age:	Thirties ve	ersus	Fifties	5	
	sum of		mean		
Source of Variation	squares	DF	square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	7.538 52.500 60.038	24	7.538 2.187 2.402	3.446	5 0.076

Table 14: Supervision

Areas of Concern: "events... in which the competence or incompetence, fairness or unfairness of the supervision were the critical characteristics" (Herzberg, 1959:47).

Questions Included: 33, 39, 40, 41.

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total 2.94 (n=18) 2.67 (n=12) 2.88 (n=8) 2.84 (n=38) Cell Means

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	0.556 15.611 16.167	28	0.556 0.558 0.557	0.996	5 0.327

Achievement by Age:	Forties versus	<u>Fifties</u>	
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DH	square	F probability

main effects, age residual	0.208 29.542		0.208 1.641	0.127	0.726	
total	29.750	19	1.566			

Achievement by Age:	Thirties vers	us Fifties	5	
	sum of	mean		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
Source of Variation	squares D	F square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	31.819 2	1 0.027 4 1.326 5 1.274	0.020	0.888

Table 15:

Working Conditions

Areas of Concern: "the physical conditions of work, or the facilities available for doing the work" (Herzberg, 1959: 48).

Questions Included: 13, 14, 15, 32, 34.

Cell l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total Means 3.83 (n=18) 3.33 (n=12) 3.25 (n=8) 3.55 (n=38)

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	1.800 31.167 32.967	28	1.800 1.113 1.137	1.617	7 0.214

Achievement by Age:	Forties versus	Fifties		
	sum of	mean		
Source of Variation	squares DF	square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	18.167 18	0.033 1.009 0.958	0.033	8 0.858

Achievement by Age:	Thirties ve	rsus	Fifties	5	
Source of Variation	sum of		mean square		probability
main effects, age residual total	1.885 32.000 33.885	24	1.885 1.333 1.355	1.413	0.246

Work Itself

Areas of Concern: "...the actual doing of the job or the tasks of a job as a source of good or bad feelings about it" (Herzberg, 1959:48).

Questions Included: 23, 50, 52, 55.

Cell l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total

Means 3.11 (n=18) 2.58 (n=12) 3.75 (n=8) 3.08 (n=38)

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	2.006 44.694 46.700	28	2.006 1.596 1.610	1.256	6 0.272

Achievement by Age:	Forties versus	Fifties	
	sum of	mean	
Source of Variation	squares DF	square F	probability

main effects, age	6.533	1	6.533	3.417	0.081	
residual	34.417	18	1.912			
total	40.950	19	2.155			

Achievement by Age:	Thirties versus	Fifties	
Source of Variation	sum of squares DF	mean	probability
main effects, age residual total	53.278 24	2.261 1.01 2.220 2.222	8 0.323

Table 17: I Score

total

Definition: The mean score for all questions.

Questions Included: 9-60.

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Cell l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total 3.33 (n=18) 2.83 (n=12) 3.13 (n=8) 3.13 (n=38) Means

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	1.800 13.667 15.467	28	1.800 0.488 0.533	3.688	3 0.065

Achievement by Age:	Forties vers	sus	Fifties		
	sum of		mean		
Source of Variation	squares	DF	square	F	probability
main effects, age	0.408		0.408 0.919	0.444	0.513

16.950 19 0.892

Achievement by Age:	Thirties ve	ersus	Fifties	5	
	sum of		mean square		probability
Source of Variation	Squares		-		-
main effects, age	0.240 22.875		0.240 0.953	0.252	0.620
residual total	23.115		0.925		

Questions Included: 58.

Source of Variation	sum of squares DF	mean square	F probability
main effects,age residual total	$\begin{array}{rrrr} 0.050 & 1 \\ 195.417 & 28 \\ 195.467 & 29 \end{array}$		0.007 0.933
Achievement by Age:	Forties versus sum of		
Source of Variation	squares DF		F probability

main effects, age	15.408	1 15.40	3 7.538	0.013
residual	36.792	18 2.04	4	
total	52.200	19 2.74	7	

Achievement by Age:	Thirties	versus	Fifties	3	
Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	19.471 218.375 237.846	24	19.471 9.099 9.514	2.140	0.156

Table 19: Projected Satisfaction with Teaching

Questions Included: 59.

total

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

l(Thirties) 2 (Forties) 3(Fifties) Total Cell Means 3.83 (n=18) 1.83 (n=12) 4.38 (n=8) 3.32 (n=38)

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	28.800 190.167 218.967	28	28.800 6.792 7.551	4.240	0.049

Achievement by Age: Forties versus Fifties

Source of Variation	squares	DF	square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	31.008 165.542 196.550	18	31.008 9.197 10.345	3.372	2 0.083

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Fifties sum of mean squares DF square F probability Source of Variation 1 1.625 0.511 0.482 1.625 76.375 78.000 main effects, age 24 3.182 residual 25 3.120

Questions Included: 60.

Achievement by Age: Thirties versus Forties

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects,age residual total	8.022 74.944 82.966	28	8.022 2.677 2.861	2.997	0.094

Source of Variation	sum of squares	DF	mean square	F	probability
main effects, age residual total	9.075 49.875 58.950	18	9.075 2.771 3.103	3.275	0.087

Achievement by Age:	Thirties versus	Fifties
Source of Variation	sum of	mean square F probability
main effects, age residual total	84.819 24	0.565 0.160 0.693 3.534 3.415

The analyses of variance showed a statistically significant difference between the thirties and the forties in three areas -- advancement, status, and projected satisfaction with teaching. In all cases, the thirties showed the higher level of dissatisfaction. In addition, the analyses showed the possibility of greater general dissatisfaction (I Score) for thirty-year-olds and a higher level of pessimism about the possibility of teaching as a life-long occupation.

The forties and the fifties, on the other hand, showed a significant difference only in their present level of satisfaction with teaching. Issues centering on achievement and the nature of the work itself might prove to be at the heart of this dissatisfaction, but the results are less conclusive in this regard. The future also seems to be less promising for the fifty-year-olds as compared to the forty-year-olds and these fifty-year-olds (as the thirtyyear-olds) seem to view a teaching career in a far more negative light than the forty-year-olds. The thirtyyear-olds and the fifty-year-olds seem to have much in common. In fact, the issue of status seems to be the only one that might distinguish the two groups, with the thirtyyear-olds showing the greater level of dissatisfaction.

The collected data seem to show that while the overall level of dissatisfaction (I Score) is greater for men in their thirties than for men in their forties, the present level of satisfaction with teaching is essentially the same

for both groups. What could explain this seeming contradiction? Perhaps, the answer can be found in the issue of projected satisfaction. Men in their thirties are far more pessimistic about future satisfaction in teaching than are their colleagues in their forties. This finding is not surprising in light of the fact that the life-cycle issues faced by men in their thirties are more future oriented than those of men in their forties.

In American society one's level of success is often measured by status and position. Teachers have neither. If. as Levinson suggests, men in their thirties are concerned with establishing their niche in society, their yardsticks of success must be those used by that society. The concerns of men in their thirties, which include being valued and moving onward and upward, are essentially outer-oriented (Levinson, 1978: 140-144); yet these men are in a profession whose very structure makes the achievement of those outer oriented needs impossible. It is not surprising, then, that advancement and status are the issues that are especially dissatisfying to men in this age group. It is also not surprising that men in their thirties view their futures as teachers in a less than optimistic light. What they feel they need for future satisfaction is not to be found in a teaching career.

Men in their forties, however, no longer feel the primacy of these needs and are more concerned with the essentially inner issues of placing themselves in the

polarities of life -- especially young/old and destruction/ creation. Levinson views the young/old polarity as "<u>the</u> polarity of human development," but sees that it has special significance for men in their forties who must "confront the Young and the Old within [themselves] and seek new ways of being Young/Old" (Levinson, 1978:210). The destruction/ creation polarity is activated in men of this age as they become acutely aware of their own mortality and seek to achieve a sense of immortality by "advancing human welfare" and "contributing more fully to the coming generations in society" (Levinson, 1978:197). Teaching could help a man deal with both these issues by allowing him to be old and young at the same time while obviously contributing to future generations. As Levinson says,

Being a mentor with young adults is one of the most significant relationships available to a man in middle age (Levinson, 1978:253).

Perhaps this is why teachers in the forties age bracket show a significantly higher level of satisfaction with teaching as a professional and personal activity and have a far greater optimism about their futures as teachers.

What of male teachers in their fifties? The analysis of their responses shows a greater level of dissatisfaction with the future when compared to the rest of the sample. What is even more arresting is the fact that these teachers, who have been career teachers, are the ones who are least positive

about teaching as a lifetime occupation. Although this is a trend that needs further investigation in light of the relatively weak level of significance of the results, implications about the nature of a teaching career are frightening.

Apparently, the satisfaction of the forties turns into disillusionment in the fifties. The areas of dissatisfaction are revealing. The issues that concern teachers in their fifties don't seem to be the issues of status and advancement that are central to the dissatisfaction of the thirties; rather, they seem to be issues of achievement, respolnsibility, and -- to an even greater extent -- the nature of teaching itself. Is this the end result of the dis-investment process that Lortie noted (Lortie, 1975:95)? Could it be that teaching really isn't a career that can bring a lifetime of satisfaction?

Although Levinson's study did not deal with men in their fifties, Levinson clustered them with men in their late forties. It seems a logical assumption, then, that men in their fifties would show the same response pattern as men in their forties. Why didn't they? Perhaps, as one teacher suggested, teachers over fifty have simply run out of energy. Or, perhaps, Levinson offers a clue when he says,

> If he remains too tied to young adults, he will be isolated from his own generation and split off from the Old in himself (Levinson, 1978:253).

Could it be that the very thing that is at the heart of satisfaction for teachers, the student-teacher relationship, also raises, once again, the age issue that so bedevilled Al and Jeff? And, could this issue, in its new guise, contribute to a more total dissatisfaction as a man discovers that the choices he made were the wrong ones and now it really is too late to change?

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Robert Frost wrote a poem entitled "What Fifty Said." In it he spoke of growing old.

> When I was young my teachers were the old. I gave up fire for form till I was cold. I suffered like a metal being cast. I went to school to age to learn the past.

Now I am old my teachers are the young. What can't be molded must be cracked and sprung. I strain at lessons fit to start a suture. I go to school to youth to learn the future.

This poem should offer teachers a positive view of a lifetime in teaching. Teaching should be a good occupation because it allows one to bridge the gap, to teach youth and to learn from them at the same time, to remain forever young.

But maybe what teachers in their fifties learn is that there is no forever young. Instead, perhaps, teaching puts one in an age limbo -- neither forever young nor comfortably old. As one teacher in his mid-fifties said when talking about the problems of being a teacher at his age, "I feel like an old kid."

The words of Alan return like a refrain,

I think teaching is a terrific career for a young adult. For an older adult, it doesn't seem to me that it would be so terrific. There are a few rare people who can stay in classroom teaching and remain good at it and continue to like it through an entire career. But I think they're very rare.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was an investigation of the relationship between life cycle theory and dissatisfaction in teaching that utilized both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The analyses seemed to lend credence to the author's contention that sources of dissatisfaction among male teachers approaching mid life are rooted in age-related psychological issues that are exacerbated by the inately career-less nature of a teaching career. Certainly, for the population studied, the areas of dissatisfaction that distinguished teachers in their thirties from teachers in their forties seem to reflect the developmental concerns postulated by Daniel Levinson and other psychologists interested in the adult life cycle.

Limitations of the Study

While the findings of this study seem to be persuasive for the population analyzed, a caveat is in order--Concord is not the world. Generalizing these findings to all teachers is tempting, but not necessarily wise; and, there are a number of factors that must be considered when interpreting the data.

1) There may well be forces peculiar to Concord-Carlisle High School that are influencing the results. Every school has its own particular history and its own unique dynamic which form attitudes and affect perceptions. Two such forces specifically mentioned by Concord-Carlisle teachers were the long-standing existence of significant problems with the physical plant and being in the middle of an exhausting, year-long preparation for a ten-year school evaluation/ accreditation. There could be any number of other similar factors operant in that school at that time.

2) Concord-Carlisle teachers might only be

representative of faculties in similar communities. A recent evaluation/accreditation team the author was on in another affluent, suburban community discovered significant dissatisfaction among teachers in a particular department of the high school. Most of these teachers were in their thirties. The expressions of this dissatisfaction, while apparently having a different focus, showed much the same dynamic as was evident in the sample at Concord-Carlisle. But, whether the faculty of Concord-Carlisle or any suburban school is representative of faculties in urban, rural, or less affluent schools, is open to investigation. Perhaps schools in affluent, suburban communities attract teachers of a particular type. It is possible that the population studied might be separated from many other faculties by virtue of any number of psycho-social characteristics (e.g.,

social class, level of academic preparation, level of expectation their parents had for them).

3) Men who were in their thirties at the time of the study might have a different world view than men of other generations did in their thirties. Each generation has a shared history that influences its perceptions. Teachers in this study who were in their thirties were children of the "baby boom." They grew up in an era of opportunity and optimism and matured in an era of social commitment. They might, indeed, have expectations of, and attitudes toward, life and teaching that are not shared by teachers from other generations.

Finally, there are many forces acting on individuals that affect the manner in which they respond to life cycle issues. Not every teacher in his thirties will be dissatisfied. Nor will every dissatisfied teacher in his thirties turn into a satisfied teacher in his forties and turn again into a dissatisfied teacher in his fifties. There are many factors influencing satisfaction and dissatisfaction that lie outside of life cycle interpretation, and it would be valuable to explore these factors in depth. Still, accepting the influence of these other factors, the correspondence between Levinson's theory of age-related needs and the findings of this study suggests that further investigation of the relationship between life cycle theory and dissatisfaction with teaching might prove fruitful.

Recommendations for Further Study

It seems important to continue the study of sources of teacher dissatisfaction by broadening the base of investigation -- not simply by surveying more teachers, but by gathering data from teachers in different types of school districts or different social or educational backgrounds. Attempts should be made to identify other factors that might correlate with teacher dissatisfaction (e.g., number of years in teaching, social background, level of academic preparation). And, since not all teachers in their thirties express dissatisfaction, it also could be valuable to try to develop a personality profile of those who do.

The research indicated the possibility of specific issues (i.e., achievement and the nature of the work itself) separating teachers in their forties from teachers in their fifties. Because of the small number of fifty-year-olds in the sample, the results were suggestive but inconclusive. It seems imperative to further explore this age group, given the significantly high level of dissatisfaction they expressed.

The attitudes, feelings, and perceptions of female teachers should be studied, too. Although a formal analysis of sources of female satisfaction and dissatisfaction was outside the scope of this investigation, information was collected and examination indicated both an intrinsic and comparative value to such a project.

Finally, an investigation of organizations with

comparable career structures should be conducted. Might concerns, parallel to the ones expressed by teachers, be found among workers in any organization in which advancement is impossible because of a lack of hierarchical structure and a salary policy that rewards time on the job rather than excellence?

Conclusions

The approach to mid life seems to be a crucial time for males in general and male teachers specifically. It is a time when the temptations of the "real world" are strongest; when men compare themselves to their contemporaries and decide whether or not they have made it. Too often the answer for a teacher is, "No. I haven't made it, and I won't as long as I remain a teacher." Some of the best teachers are lost to teaching at this point. Many of those who remain will lose their vitality. Some of those who remain will manage to continue to be generative.

If the situation is to change, the confluence of psychological and institutional forces that create dissatisfaction must be addressed. If a school system is interested, as it should be, in retaining its best teachers and helping them remain satisfied throughout a teaching career, administrators and school committees should recognize the dual nature of dissatisfaction. On the one hand, this requires addressing universal dissatisfiers, such as eventual

earning capacity, and working to find solutions to them. On the other hand, it requires the understanding that teachers of different ages respond to the same job and the same problems from different perspectives and their dissatisfactions might come from different sets of needs, related to their age, that conflict with factors inherent in the present structure of a teaching career. In this case, administrators should set up buffers and support systems to deal directly with these issues.

Educators will need to examine the structure of a teaching career with an eye to the changing developmental needs of teachers. Recognition of the fact that different groups of teachers have different age-based needs should lead to changes in education that allow an individual to continue to achieve satisfaction and remain generative throughout a lifetime. In the end, teachers must be rewarded for teaching -- for "doing their job, and doing it well;" they must be respected for being "only a teacher" and encouraged to remain in the classroom. They must be taken out of a situation in which they are forced to say, "I still love to teach; I just hate being a teacher."

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Interview Guide

General Questions:

- 1. Why did you become a teacher?
- 2. What were your goals when you first began teaching?
- 3. Did your goals change throughout your teaching career?
- 4. In what ways did teaching meet/not meet your expectations?
- 5. When did you become dissatisfied with teaching?
- 6. Why did this dissatisfaction occur?
- 7. Knowing what you now know, would you still have become a teacher?

Achievement Questions:

- 1. How would you rate your success as a teacher?
- Were you satisfied with the quality of your work as a teacher?
- 3. What criteria did you use to judge your success and satisfaction?

Personal Growth Questions:

- 1. What was your "dream" when you began teaching?
- 2. When you began teaching, did you see yourself being a teacher for the rest of your life?
- 3. Did teaching offer you continued opportunity for personal growth?
- 4. Did you feel that your growth kept pace with that of your contemporaries? In what ways yes or no?
- 5. Did you feel a lack of status or prestige as a teacher?
- 6. Is teaching a reasonable job for an adult?
- 7. How satisfactory is the reward structure of teaching?

Recognition Questions:

- Did you feel that you were valued by the community/administration/students?
- 2. If yes, how was this valuing expressed?
- 3. If no, what was lacking or negative in their attitudes?
- 4. Does teaching offer status and prestige?
- 5. Did you feel that teaching met your needs for status and prestige?

Advancement Questions:

- Did teaching seem to offer you a continued opportunity for professional growth?
- 2. Was there ever a sense of having achieved all that could be achieved professionally as a teacher?
- 3. Did teaching offer you the opportunity eventually to achieve at the level of your potential professional capacity?

Salary Questions:

- Were you satisfied with the salary you received as a teacher?
- How does your teaching salary compare to the potential salary of your present position?
- 3. How do teaching salaries compare to thhose of your new coworkers?
- 4. How did your salary as a teacher compare to that of your friends?
- 5. If you had been paid a better salary as a teacher would you have remained in teaching?
- 6. If yes, how much more would have been necessary?
- 7. How did you use your summers?
- 8. Are there benefits that teachers get that others don't?
- 9. Are there benefits that others get that teachers don't?

Questions on Teaching Itself:

- 1. What did you like about teaching?
- 2. Did you continue to like these things until you left?
- 3. Did you like the way of life associated with being a teacher?
- 4. What were the aspects of teaching that you disliked?
- 5. If these things (#4) could have been eliminated would you have remained in teaching?

Responsibility Questions:

- Did teaching offer you the degree of responsibility you wanted?
- 2. Did you find yourself growing in terms of responsibility at the same rate as your non-teaching friends?
- 3. Did teaching offer you the degree of freedom and independence that you wanted?
- 4. Did you feel that you had an influence on school policy?
- 5. Could you have an effect on anything outside your classroom?

School Policy Questions:

- 1. What problems did you see in the running of the school?
- 2. Was the administration equal to the task of running the school?
- 3. Were the institutional procedures adequate for a smooth functioning of the school?

Supervision Questions:

- Did you have a good working relationship with the administration?
- Did you have a good working relationship with your supervisor?
- 3. Did you feel that you received competent supervision?

4. Did you feel that you received fair evaluations? Interpersonal Relations Questions:

- How satisfying were your relationships with other teachers?
- 2. Did you have relationships with members of other departments?
- 3. Were you affected by other people leaving teaching?
- 4. Were you affected by other people's dissatisfaction?
- 5. Did you have a "mentor" during your teaching career?
- 6. If so, at what point?

Working Conditions:

- 1. How would you characterize the adequacy of your working environment?
- 2. What specific problems in the school environment did you notice?
- 3. What could be done to improve the working environment?
- 4. How much of an effect did the school environment have on you?
- 5. How would you rate your working conditions as a teacher?
- 6. How do your present working conditions compare to those as a teacher?
- 7. How much time did teaching take?
- 8. Does your present job require more time and energy than teaching?
- 9. Do you feel that you devoted more to teaching than the average teacher?
- 10. Do you feel that you gave more to teaching than you received from it?

Personal Growth Questions:

1. What was your "dream" when you began teaching?

- 2. When you began teaching, did you see yourself being a teacher for the rest of your life?
- 3. Did teaching offer you continued opportunity for personal growth?
- 4. Did you feel that your growth kept pace with that of your contemporaries? In what ways yes or no?

APPENDIX B: Faculty Questionnaire

Instructions: For question 1-8 mark the letter on the answer sheet that corresponds to the appropriate answer.

For questions <u>9-60</u> rate your degree of satisfaction of dissatisfaction with each issue as it relates to your teaching career. The ratings for these questions are:

a.very satisfied
b.moderately satisfied
c.slightly satisfied
d.slightly dissatisfied
e.moderately dissatisfied
f.very dissatisfied

Please use the back of this sheet for any further comments you want to make or any additional issues you wish to raise.

Thank you.

1. Age: a.under 25 b.25-29 c.30-34 d. 35-39 e.40-44 £.45-49 g.50-54 h.55-59 i.60-64 j.65-over Sex: a.female b.male 2. 3. Number of years in teaching: a.less than 5 b.5-9 c.10-14 d.15-19 e.20-24 f.25-29 q.30-34 h.35-39 i.40-44 j.45-more Number of years at CCHS: a.less than 5 b.5-9 4. c.10-14 d.15-19 e.20-24 f.25-29 g.30-34 h.35-19 i.40-44 j.45 or more a.BA/BS b.BA+15 c.BA+30 Academic preparation: 5. d.MA e.MA+15 f.MA+30 g.MA+45 h.MA+60 i.Doctoral j.post-doctoral Marital status: a. single b. married 6. Working spouse: a.no b.yes,full-time c.yes,part-time 7. Number of children: a.0 b.1 c.2 d.3 e.4 f.5 g.6 h.7 8. i.8 j.9+ The social value of my work. 9. The amount of freedom and independence I have. 10. The degree of responsibility I have. 11. The opportunity for innovation and creativity. 12.

- 13. The amount of time teaching requires.
- 14. The amount of time taken up with non-instructional concerns.
- 15. The amount of energy teaching demands.
- 16. The opportunities for increased responsibility in education.
- 17. The opportunity for continued professional growth in, and satisfaction from, teaching for the rest of my working life.
- 18. The opportunity for change.
- 19. The opportunity to achieve eventually at the peak of my professional potential.
- 20. The rate at which my growth has kept up with that of my contemporaries in other fields.
- 21. The quality of work I am accomplishing.
- 22. The immediate results of my work.
- 23. The non-tangible rewards of teaching.
- 24. The recognition I receive for my work from students.
- 25. The recognition I receive for my work from the community.
- 26. The recognition I receive for my work from the administration.
- 27. The recognition I receive for my work from my peers.
- 28. The status and prestige of teaching.
- 29. My present salary.
- 30. My eventual earning capacity.
- 31. The way of life associated with teaching.
- 32. The adequacy of my working environment.
- 33. The concern for my satisfaction and well-being demonstrated by the administration.

- 34. The concern for my satisfaction and well-being demonstrated by the community.
- 35. The adequacy of professional growth opportunities offered by the system.
- 36. The adequacy of administrative and institutional procedures.
- 37. The extent to which I am informed about matters affecting me.
- 38. My ability to influence change outside my classroom.
- 39. The competence and fairness of supervision and evaluation.
- 40. My relationship with the high school administration.
- 41. My relationship with the central administration.
- 42. My professional relationships within my department.
- 43. My professional relationships with other departments.
- 44. My personal relationships within my department.
- 45. My personal relationships with teachers from other departments.
- 46. The quality of my relationships with students.
- 47. The quality of faculty-student relationships in the school.
- 48. The quality of my relationships with parents.
- 49. The quality of faculty-parent relationships in the school.
- 50. The opportunity for continued personal growth and satisfaction for the rest of my working life.
- 51. The extent to which teaching meets my strongest professional needs.
- 52. The extent to which teaching meets my strongest personal needs.
- 53. The degree of self-fulfillment I secure from teaching.

- 54. The relationship of my job to the other parts of my life.
- 55. The extent to which teaching meets the expectations I had for it when I first began.
- 56. The level of satisfaction I felt with teaching at the beginning of my career.
- 57. My level of satisfaction with teaching ten years ago.
- 58. My present level of satisfaction with teaching.
- 59. My projected level of satisfaction with teaching ten years from now.
- 60. Teaching as a life-long occupation.

