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INVOLUNTARY TEACHER TRANSFERS

By

Edward Franklin Waggoner III

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

INVOLUNTARY TEACHER TRANSFERS

By

Edward Franklin Waggoner III

The purpose of this research is to describe and explain the effects of involuntary job reassignment on public school elementary teachers in one rural school district. Closing schools is no easy task. Neither is it something that should frighten educators. Closing schools implies consolidation of school physical plants, and programs, and a reduction of the teaching staff. The reduction-in-force process of laying off teachers and recalling them to different grade levels and/or school than their previous job creates emotional stress for those teachers involuntarily reassigned. School district policies and personnel actions can play a critical role in alleviating some of the stress for those teachers who are involuntarily reassigned.

This research was conducted using ethnographic framework methods which included: (1) direct participant observation in classrooms; (2) interviews with elementary teachers, principals, district office administrators, and school board members; and (3) collection of formal and informal official and personal documents. The research was conducted primarily between the end of August and mid-December, 1982. During this time the researcher spent time almost daily in the field conducting research.



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The major findings of this study are: (1) involuntarily reassigned teachers help each other in a fictive kin-like professional relationship and experience stress, when split apart, similar to that experienced in a biological family when a death or divorce occurs; (2) the lack of release time to help teachers cope with physical and emotional aspects of being involuntarily reassigned exacerbates the stress incurred in the process; and (3) most involuntarily reassigned teachers do not allow personal stress, related to their reassignment to affect their behavior in the classroom.

[illegible]

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Appreciation is extended to the North Umpqua School District school board, district office personnel, principals, and teachers whose help, cooperation, professionalism, and willingness to be open and share sometime painful memories and experiences made this study possible.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

During the 1980's, a common phenomenon in American education is the closing of underenrolled schools as the student population declines. Closing schools is no easy task. Neither is it something that should frighten educators. Closing schools implies consolidation of school physical plants, and programs, and a reduction of the teaching staff. The reduction-in-force process of laying off teachers and recalling them to grade levels and/or schools different than their previous job creates emotional stress for those teachers involuntarily reassigned. School district policies and personnel actions can play a critical role in alleviating some of the stress for those teachers who are involuntarily reassigned.

#### Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to describe and explain the effects of involuntary job reassignment on public school elementary teachers in one rural school district.

#### Problem Statement

The United States is in an era of declining public school enrollment, K-12. The 1978 release of the NIE report Declining Enrollments: The Challenge of the Coming Decades made the public aware that three

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decades of growth for the nation's schools had ended" (Neill, 1979, p. 6).

### National Enrollment Decline

In the same 1978 NIE report cited above, the most basic finding was "that annual births have been falling since 1960, with only an occasional up-swing" (Neill, 1979, p. 6). Neill, in her analysis of the NIE report, goes on to say that "regardless of the location or geographic distribution, however, some demographic changes will affect all schools" (1979, p. 7).

### Michigan Enrollment Decline

This continuing national trend of declining enrollments is having severe effects on the Michigan public education system. The long-term enrollment trend for Michigan is shown in summary form for grades K-12, in Table 1.

One of the options for dealing with the declining enrollment is school closings. In Michigan, the number of school closings directly caused by declining enrollments is increasing. For example, Michigan public schools K-12 totaled 3,952 in school year 1975-76; 3,886 in school year 1976-77; 3,843 in school year 1977-78; and 3,780 in school year 1978-79 (Chung, 1979, p. 17). The Michigan Department of Education seems to keep incomplete records on school closings. From such reports as are available, however, the percent of school closings from school year 1974-75, and 1978-79 through 1982-83, can be seen as generally increasing. The Michigan Department of Education Research, Evaluation and Assessment Services recognizes the following codes as reasons why school districts will not be utilizing a school for instruction: "Obsolete, Reduced



Table 1. Michigan Enrollment Trends

Year	K-12 Total Enrollment	Change From Previous Year		Percent of 1967-68 Enrollment
		Number of Students Plus/Minus Previous Year	Percent Change From Previous Year	
1967-68	2,019,787	--	--	100.00
1968-69	2,062,301	+42,514	2.1	102.30
1969-70	2,094,714	+32,413	1.6	103.71
1970-71	2,111,354	+16,640	.8	104.53
1971-72	2,141,761	+30,407	1.4	106.04
1972-73	2,123,497	-18,264	-.8	105.13
1973-74	2,088,701	-34,796	-1.6	103.41
1974-75	2,056,449	-32,252	-1.5	101.82
1975-76	2,026,208	-30,241	-1.5	100.31
1976-77	1,989,199	-37,009	-1.8	98.49
1977-78	1,929,505	-59,694	-3.0	95.53
1978-79	1,869,811	-59,694	-3.1	92.57
1979-80	1,804,658	-65,153	-3.5	89.35
1980-81	1,743,677	-60,981	-3.4	86.33
1981-82	1,671,330	-72,347	-4.1	82.75
1982-83	1,668,332	- 2,998	-.2	82.60

Source: Chung, 1979, p. 7 and telephone conversation with Ms. Waldron, Michigan Department of Education, April 11, 1983.

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Enrollment, Replaced, and Other" (Update of District and Schools for the School Year (1978-79). Table 2 summarizes the total school closures for school years 1974-1982 for all of the reasons cited above, and the percent of those closures that are reported by school districts as being due to enrollment decline.

Table 2. Michigan Public School Closures

School Year	Number of Schools Closing	Number Closing Due to Enrollment Decline	Percent Closing Due to Enrollment Decline
1982-83	300 (projected)	166 (projected)	55% (projected)
1981-82	140	105	75%
1980-81	102	62	61%
1979-80	102	74	73%
1978-79	46	20	43%
1974-75	55	15	27%

Source: "Update of District and Schools for the School Year 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82;" Personal interview with Mr. Ralph G. Turnbull, 6 April 1982; and "School Closure--Update," 1975.

#### Effects of the Enrollment Decline

Most districts facing declining enrollments have decided that they have to make decisions in two directions: with regard to tangible items such as books, buildings, and busing; and intangible items such as cutting budgets, ending programs, meeting community demands, and handling personnel problems (Fowler, 1980, p. 2).

Thomas believes that "the problems associated with school closures are not educational; they are human. Educational leaders must be skilled in responding to 'people problems' when faced with fewer and fewer students" (1980, p. 21).

[illegible]



In discussing the effects on personnel of school closings, the NASSP newsletter The Practitioner states that "Reassignment of personnel in declining enrollment districts presents special problems for every category of employee" (1981, p. 2). Of school closings, Wholeben says that they are a "technically complex and emotionally volatile issue" (1980, p. 7). Divoky notes that "more than 500 schools have been closed in the last five years, and often the business has been botched badly because of insensitivity" (1979, p. 90). Fowler, in speaking about personnel problems in closing schools, notes that "the most difficult problem that any school suffering declining enrollment must face is with personnel" (1980, p. 3). Eisenberger, in looking at ways to ease the trauma of closing schools, discusses faculty reaction and concludes that "Most teachers build close personal friendships, and these can be dissolved when a school is closed and the faculty dispersed to other buildings. An additional area of teacher concern is daily routine living within the school" (1974, p. 34). Research by Erlandson and Pastor on teacher motivation and job satisfaction shows that "one of the strongly expressed needs of teachers in the study--even those with the highest order need strengths--was, in fact, a lower order need: the desire for close collegial relationships" (1981, p. 7). Cuban's conclusion, when looking at the emphasis educators place on the personnel needs of consolidation and involuntary reassignments says:

Cookbooks for practitioners on how to avoid disastrous community conflict, search out silver linings to gray clouds of consolidation, and find community uses for empty buildings dominate the literature. The technical side of the genre spotlights cohort survival ratios, live births, and a dozen other means of refining enrollment projections. Yet the literature on the political impact of fewer students remains thin [emphasis added] (1979, p. 367).

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An NEA opinion poll on teacher job satisfaction seems to confirm the trend seen in the literature that emphasizes the material aspects of involuntary teacher transfers:

An estimated 150,000 teachers (7 percent) who were still teaching in 1980-81 had been informed by their school system in 1979-80 that they might not be employed the next year. Even though most them--137,000--were subsequently rehired in the same school system . . . we have no measure of the trauma the notices caused [emphasis added] (1981, p. 65).

Cuban, in discussing the psychological effect on teachers when school consolidation occurs, says that

when a school is merged, all teachers with sufficient seniority to remain in the system must be placed in other schools. The trauma of such moves for individuals who have spent five to twenty-five years in the same building may be shattering (1979, p. 391).

Lytle echoes Cuban's interest in the teacher's psychological well-being as he discusses teacher job satisfaction based on a case study, 1978-79, of Philadelphia Public schools staff reduction:

We seem to have forgotten the importance of the teacher and his or her job satisfaction as prerequisites of effective schooling. It would seem obvious that youngsters aren't going to be taught well unless their teachers find this work satisfying (1980, p. 702).

### Need for the Study

There have been a number of studies conducted on the effects of declining enrollments on school systems. Issues explored by these studies include: (1) job satisfaction of transferred vs. non-transferred teachers (Weber, 1975); (2) social and political factors in school closings (Faust, 1976); (3) court decisions concerning non-renewal of teacher contracts (Kritsonis, 1976); (4) building utilization and staff redeployments (Poynter, 1976); (5) verbal communication patterns with reduction in force (Wagstaff, 1976); (6) methods of determining procedures to

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minimize or eliminate difficulties in districts (Burgner, 1977); (7) Board actions to lessen resistance to change (Burns, 1978); (8) impact on staff development (Heitzeg, 1978); (9) role of the elementary principal (Hellweg, 1978); (10) district planning and strategies for coping (Lambert, 1978); (11) impact of an alternative to teacher layoffs (McCabe, 1978); (12) strategies to deal with problems (Spathelf, 1978); (13) designing a model for staff reduction (Berryman, 1979); (14) management styles in districts (Buster, 1979); (15) courses of action for legislators and educators (Graham, 1979); (16) planning model for faculty reassignments (Enslin, 1980); (17) how transfers affect teacher morale (Kimbell, 1980); (18) stress and alienation among teachers (Amodio, 1981); and (19) teachers' attitudes towards reassignment (Potter, 1981). Yet, Potter concludes that

although some has been written about the many effects of declining enrollment on school faculties, little has been mentioned concerning the factors that affect reassigned teachers and/or the preparation of staff members for new assignments (1981, p. 1).

Teachers are affected by normal job stress. Coates and Thoresen note that "while the incidence of anxiety may be no greater for teachers than for other professional groups, the possible negative effects on students could be serious" (1976, p. 161). The process of reassignment compounds this stress.

### Stress in Teaching

Selye has defined stress as "the nonspecific response of the body to any demand made upon it" (1974, p. 27). Research conducted by Sparks concludes that "teaching has become a more demanding and stressful task" (1979, p. 447). Dillon notes that "schools are stressful places" (1978, p. 30). In looking at the problem of

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stress in teaching and ways of dealing with it, Styles and Cavanagh conclude that "it follows that the person who lives and works in an environment characterized by excessive stress must pay a high price" (1977, p. 76). Research conducted by Coates and Thoresen indicates that, although teachers normally incur considerable stress in the classroom situation, "stress and tension, or anxiety, among teachers represents one area of teacher personality that has remained all but ignored from a cause-and-effect perspective" (1976, p. 160). This normally stressful situation is exacerbated by the additional stress involved in the changes which come about in being involuntarily reassigned "to subject areas and/or grade levels for which they have not had recent training and/or experience." (Potter, 1981, p. 1).

### Stress in Reassignment

In research conducted by Sparks, he finds that "the stage is set for job-related stress when involvement in work is high, but feelings of control or power in the work setting are limited" (1979, p. 448). Gmelch also notes that "the more control we have over a situation the less stress there is" (1982, p. 8). In the North Umpqua School District, which is the site for this study, reduction-in-force (RIF) notices, in the form of registered letters, were sent in March 1982 to those teachers affected. In discussing the effects of declining enrollments on teachers, Divoky says that "RIF notices have become a springtime rite in many districts, causing enormous stress" (1979, p. 88). This is a process over which teachers, even through their unions, have little control. For example, the teachers' contract for the North Umpqua schools addresses the issue of

RIFs and recall in a major section containing fourteen major sub-sections. The union

recognizes the exclusive right of the Board to determine if a reduction in personnel is necessary due to a decrease in students, educational revisions, or budgetary or financial considerations (Professional Agreement North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1984, p. 19, section 2.6-A).

In a later subsection, the contract specifies that "When a decrease in personnel is necessary, the following procedure shall be followed: . . . 4. Written notification will be given to the teachers at least thirty (30) calendar days prior to the effective date of layoff" (pp. 20-21, section 2.6-J-4). Hollingsworth says of this phenomenon that "no longer do teachers occupy a secure niche in one building, grade level, or subject area. Times are changing; teachers must change too" (1981, p. 138). Scharffe, in reporting the results of one school district's involuntary teacher reassignments found that "some teachers found it difficult to adjust" to the new teaching situation (1979, p. 363). Harlin maintains that when teachers move to a new environment or change grade levels that "these events . . . trigger the STRESS phenomenon" (1978, p. 507). Fleming, in considering the effects of reassignment on students says that "reassignment of staff creates tension in the schools which must be abated" (1980, p. 7). So great is involuntary reassignment as a stressor that USA Today, in the article "Stress in School" says that "stress and anxiety can result just from anticipation" of the reassignment (1978, p. 9). Potter concludes that

teacher reassignment is a complex adjustment about which little is known. It is therefore important to look at factors that may facilitate or impede a reassigned teacher's adjustments to a new assignment (1981, p. 12).



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Selye notes that although "stress is not something to be avoided," excessive stress can have negative effects in the classroom (1974, p. 31).

### The Effects of Stress

Fiedler, in his review of research on the effects of stress, concludes that stress affects "the use of experience and intelligence" and reduces "conceptual and creative thinking" (1979, pp. 644, 646). Harlin, in discussing the effects of stress on teaching, concludes that "the mental and physical health of teachers can strongly influence children and their educational experiences" (1978, p. 507). Fleming, in his research on reassignment stress, finds that "the stress level affects the classroom performance of teachers" (1980, p. 7). Youngs, in looking at how stress and anxiety affect teachers, says that "high anxiety on the part of teachers may have an undesirable effect on their students and can also have a negative effect on students' performance" (1978, p. 79).

Forman's research has found that

teacher anxiety has been shown to be related to low pupil/teacher rapport, pupil anxiety, and low pupil achievement. Thus negative affective functioning in teachers may be detrimental to classroom climate and pupil outcome" (1982, p. 180).

Needle et al., in other research on the effects of teacher stress on learning, concludes much the same as Forman. They find that

it is not only clear that job stress negatively effects teachers, . . . but job stress also affects the classroom environment, the teaching/learning process and the attainment of educational goals and objectives (1981, p. 180).

Even though the effects of stress on teachers are well documented, Potter, in surveying research on declining enrollments, concludes that

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little is mentioned about the problems encountered by teachers who are reassigned to teaching areas for which they have not had recent training and/or experience. This is unfortunate since, these are the teachers who are and will be providing direct services to students (1981, p. 7).

From the literature, then, there appears to be a lack of research on what happens to teachers who are involuntarily reassigned.

### Importance of the Study

Between 1974 and the date of this study, there appears to be little change in the literature which points to a lack of research on the traumatic effects of involuntary teacher transfers. Burke, in his research on the effects of job transfers on employees, says "very little is known about the ways in which transfer opportunities are received by the employee" (1974, p. 35). Coates and Thoresen, in their review of fifteen research projects on teacher stress, notes that "stress and tension, or anxiety among teachers represents one area of teacher personality that has remained all but ignored . . ." (1976, p. 160). Thomas, from his personal experiences with school closings, finds that "reducing school staffs is not an economic problem; it is a 'people problem'" (1977, p. 18). Kearney and Sinclair, as a result of their research, maintain that "the research to date on teacher anxiety suggests that this area is still at a very early stage of development" (1978, p. 273). Recent research by Potter on teacher transfers acknowledges that "although teacher reassignment is now being recognized as a problem within education, limited research has been done in this area" (1981, p. 35).

### Background of the Study

This section briefly traces three aspects of the background for this study. First, the researcher's background and the process of negotiating

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entry is described. Second, the North Umpqua School District's demographics are briefly described. And, third, the background for the district's reduction-in-force is presented. Names of participants, the district, and the location are fictitious.

### The Researcher's Background

The researcher has been an educator for twenty years. From 1966 through June, 1981, he worked in Asia in American schools. From 1969 through the present time, he was a secondary school administrator for grades 5-12 in four different schools in two countries. In June, 1981, the researcher came to Michigan State University. That summer, the major concern of educators he talked to was the "pink slips." The widespread reduction in force going on in Michigan, as elsewhere, could be traced to the decline in enrollment being experienced in the public schools. Some of the teachers whom the researcher knew left the profession. Others relocated to new teaching jobs both in and out of the state. The researcher became fascinated with this phenomenon as he talked to teachers over the next nine months.

During that time, the researcher also came into contact with literature from the field of business which indicated great emphasis on helping employees with the physical aspects of reassignment (Foster, and Leibrenz, 1977; Wilby, 1981; Industry Week, 1981; Tavernier, 1980; Walker, 1981; Olive et al., 1976; Management Review 1981; Milbrandt, 1981; Collie and DiDomenico, 1980; Zippo, 1980; Miller, 1982). In education, the emphasis in the literature on the effects of declining enrollments seems to show that district energies focus on what Thomas calls the "bread and butter items: cost, transportation, buildings, textbooks, demographics, and staffing patterns" (1980, p. 21). Thomas goes on to indicate that

"when closing schools, the welfare of the children is the most important concern of parents" (1980, p. 21). Maslach finds that, in terms of stress in education "most of the available research . . . has focused on the children rather than the staff" (1977, p. 253). Thomas indicates that "school administrators have an obligation to present information, give comfort, and provide opportunities to lessen parental anxiety and concern" (1980, p. 23).

From the literature on teacher reassignment and discussions with teachers, the researcher came to the conclusion that during and after the RIF process, little if any consideration was being given to the trauma those teachers went through. By January, 1982, his concern had grown to the point where the researcher was looking for a site to conduct research on the effects on teachers of being involuntarily reassigned during the RIF process. It was at this point that the researcher was encouraged by a friend to conduct the research in the North Umpqua School District where she lived.

### Entry Negotiations

In early March, 1982, the researcher made an appointment with the North Umpqua Superintendent, Dr. Meyers. The first meeting took place on March 17, 1982 at his office (FN, Meyers, 3-17-82). The research proposal and methodology were explained. Dr. Meyers agreed to the research proposal and enthusiastically supported the researcher's interest in conducting the research in the North Umpqua District. He told the researcher he wanted him to meet the school board and administrators, and gave him the dates and times in April to attend meetings (FN, Meyers, 3-17-82). At the end of the meeting, he said, "You have my permission to conduct the research and I will help you in any way I can" (FN, Meyers,

3-17-82). On April 4, the researcher called Dr. Meyers just to see if everything was in order. Dr. Meyers told him that he should not attend the board meeting April 13 and the administrators' meeting April 15 as planned. He said he was concerned about negative teacher reaction to the researcher being in the district conducting research on school closings. "With firing fifty teachers, feelings are running a little high" (FN, Meyers, 4-12-82). He further indicated that he had a meeting with teachers that afternoon and would let the researcher know what they said. Prior to this, he had asked the researcher to meet with Dr. Irwin, the school psychologist, to discuss the teachers' feelings concerning the layoffs, recall, and involuntary reassignments. Meyers called and said the "teachers were favorable" to the study. Dr. Meyers also talked to the school psychologist, and the psychologist said, "OK." Dr. Meyers further said that the researcher was to make an appointment with Mr. Austin, Principal of Riverview Elementary School where the researcher wanted to conduct the research (FN, Meyers, 4-15-82). The researcher called Mr. Austin and arranged for a meeting on April 23, which was the first date he was available. The next day the researcher called Dr. Irwin who suggested that he join the meeting with Mr. Austin (FN, Austin, 4-15-82; FN, Irwin, 4-16-82). At the meeting on April 23 both voiced strong concerns for "teacher feelings both on this staff and the new teachers coming in" (FN Austin, 4-23-82). At the meeting Mr. Austin gave his approval for the research and said that he would call after he had a chance to talk to this staff and the new teachers being reassigned into the school. He said that the new teachers should be assigned by June, but may not be until fall. He said, "If it looks good, then I'll have you come out and meet the staff" (FN, Austin, 4-23-82). In early June,



the researcher called Mr. Austin at his request to see if any of the reassigned teachers were interested in cooperating with the research. He said that

the teachers are less than lukewarm about the idea, but they would like to help you. I'll give you their names and you can call them and give them a sell job. Their names are: Ms. Scott, Ms. Campbell, Ms. Underwood, Ms. Gilbert, and Ms. Brand. If it looks like you can do the study after you talk to the teachers, give me a call and we'll go from there. The teachers are concerned about the amount of time this will take since they are coming into a new school with grade levels they have not taught before, and new curriculum materials (FN, Austin, 6-8-82).

During June and July 1982, entry negotiation efforts were concentrated on contacting the five reassigned teachers and gaining their agreement to participate in the research. On the whole, the effort and results were disheartening. All of the teachers were on vacation. Ms. Underwood was on vacation through the end of June. The sixth phone call reached her and she agreed to a meeting to discuss her potential involvement. The following day, however, she called and said that "I have thought over my involvement with the research project and have decided that I do not want to participate" (FN, Underwood, 7-8-82). Ms. Brand was reached on the third phone call. She was somewhat interested, but really worried about how much time the research would take. She said that "the change is especially stressful because I have two pre-schoolers at home. I am going from teaching half-time to teaching full-time, and in a grade I've never taught. Besides, it is a one/two combination" (FN, Brand, 6-20-82). Three weeks later, when she was asked for an appointment to discuss the research further, she said, "I've done a lot of thinking about it and I'd rather not" (FN Brand, 7-14-82). Ms. Gilbert was on vacation most of June. In July, on the fourth phone call, she was reached but said, "I am too busy with the change in schools and teaching

assignment, so I am not interested" (FN, Gilbert, 7-6-82). Ms. Campbell was gone much of the summer also. The second phone call reached her and she said, "I am concerned about the time my involvement in the research will take, but I will participate if the other four teachers do" (FN, Campbell, 6-20-82). The fourth phone call reached Ms. Scott. She said, "I am interested in participating in the research but I am concerned about the time it will take. I am willing to meet with you" (FN, Scott, 6-27-82). The meeting went very well. She reconfirmed her desire to participate in the research by saying several times, "I'm going to help you" (FN, Scott, 6-30-82).

During the latter part of June and all of July there was no contact with North Umpqua school district administrators who were on vacation. Moreover, since the board had not approved the research, nothing could be done in the district. In August, Dr. Meyers made arrangements for the researcher to be introduced to the board. The Superintendent's Report from a board meeting shows that

Dr. Meyers introduced Mr. Ed Waggoner, who will be working with the North Umpqua School system during the first semester of the 1982-83 school year. Mr. Waggoner is currently working on a doctorate dissertation on the subject of "Involuntary Transfers --Effects on Teaching and Teachers." He will be working at the Riverview School with Mr. Austin, Ms. Scott, and Ms. Campbell (North Umpqua Public Schools Regular Board Meeting Minutes, 8-17-82).

Thus ended a six months process of district and school entry negotiations. The board's approval of the research cleared the way for the research to begin on the first official teacher work day for the 1982-83 school year which was August 30.

The slow progress made in the entry process and the initial unwillingness of some people to participate in the study was, in large part, a

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reflection on the stressful nature of the school closing process within the North Umpqua School District.

### The North Umpqua Public School Demographics

The North Umpqua Public School District comprises a modern area of about 125 square miles . . . Included in the area are the City of North Umpqua and the villages of Green Park, Forest Glen, and Riverview. North Umpqua is an interesting small city of about 6,000 people . . . The present population of the total school district is estimated at about 26,000 people (North Umpqua Public Schools information brochure, 1982).

The district is part of "ten different townships and three different counties," explained one district administrator (FN, Ward, 12-8-82, card 1). In its ethnic makeup the K-12 student population is predominantly Caucasian, with only 2.4 percent reported as either Black, Indian, Asian, or Hispanic (North Umpqua Fourth Friday Report, 1982). According to the State Department of Education, all K-12 teachers are reported as Caucasian (Wing, 1983).

### Background for the Reduction-in-force

Until June, 1982, the district had eight K-5 elementary schools, two 6-8 middle schools, and one 9-12 high school. These schools served 5,220 students. In June, the board closed three elementary schools and laid off forty-seven teachers as part of an effort to cope with a projected one million dollar deficit for school year 1982-83 due to dwindling financial resources caused by enrollment declines, economic conditions, and the corresponding drop in state and local revenue. Table 3, shows actual district enrollment trends from school year 1975-76 through 1982-83. Projected enrollment trends are shown for school year 1983-84 through 1986-87.

Table 3. District Enrollment Trends and Projections, K-12

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75-76 <sup>a</sup>	76-77	77-78	78-79	79-80	80-81	81-82	82-83	83-84 <sup>b</sup>	84-85	85-86	86-87
5,978	5,880	5,837	5,711	5,652	5,483	5,220	4,907	4,630	4,400	4,220	4,051

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Source: <sup>a</sup>Fourth Friday Report, 1975-82; and <sup>b</sup>"Future School Enrollment." In Budget Information For 1982-83 School Year, November 30, 1981, Appendix B.

Comments by board members on the closing issue show strong conviction for the need to close the schools:

It was obvious to me that we were in trouble. My calculations said roughly \$1,000,000 is what we were going to be in the hole the following year (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 5).

The major goal was economics (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 8).

There was a necessity to act fairly aggressively now . . . there was no choice at that point (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 4).

It just really wasn't feasible to keep the schools open (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 8).

At one time the district was over 6,000. Now we're down to 4,800. We lost 1,200 kids and you've got to make adjustments (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 15).

In October, 1981, Dr. Meyers appointed four administrative committees to make recommendations for budget reductions for SY 82-83 in the following areas: "Future school enrollment . . . School building closings . . . Secondary sixth period day [ a committee to study the effects of changing the secondary school day from six periods to five periods] . . . Financial long term planning" (Board of Education Regular Meeting, October 20, 1981, p. 1083). These committees reported their findings to the board on December 1, 1981 (Board of Education Regular Meeting, December 1, 1981, p. 1092). On December 15, 1981 the board took final action on the committees' recommendations. Included in the fifteen areas of budget reduction for SY 1982-83 were the closing of Forest Glen, Lakeview, and Green Park elementary schools with a combined net savings of \$217,000, and the reduction in force of ten elementary teachers and

twenty-six secondary teachers for a net savings of \$360,000 (Board of Education Regular Meeting, December 15, 1981, p. 1096).

Two issues were involved in the decision to close the schools.

First was maintenance costs. On that issue the board members' comments were:

The schools we closed served some useful purposes. When I say useful purpose, I'm talking about the fact that it gets rid of a lot of overhead . . . we got rid of a couple of schools who were going to be a maintenance nightmare (FN, Olson, 1-9-83, card 5).

I knew economically, we could not afford to keep those schools and repair them (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 22).

Those schools badly needed major repairs. So it just would not pay to keep them open (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 8). Basically, we had severe physical problems with two of those schools that were closed. Just almost insurmountable out at Green Park. Also, Forest Glen was pretty much in the same boat (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 4).

The third elementary school which was closed was located in a complex that also housed a middle school. That elementary school was closed because the middle school program needed to expand into the elementary part of the building and because the movement of the elementary children to other schools would provide economical use of existing empty classroom space. Board members said that Lakeview Elementary School was closed because "they needed more room for the middle school operation out there and it also fit right into their plans (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 4). Mr. Olson indicated that Lakeview had to be closed "in order to make the whole plan work" (FN Olson, 1-19-83, card 9).

The second issue in closing the schools was that most of the elementary schools were operating well below capacity. Table 4 summarizes the student capacity for each of the eight elementary schools as they existed at the end of school year 1981-82, and the projected enrollment for 1982-83. Forest Glen, Lakeview, and Green Park were the three elementary schools closed in June, 1982. The board was also definite about the

Table 4. Elementary Building Capacities

School	SY 81-82 Usage (a)	Maximum Usage (a)	Projected 82-83 Usage (b)
Riverview	315	500	398
Meadow	243	350	334
Hillcrest	254	400	374
Woodlawn	244	305	245
Spring Hill	370	525	476
Forest Glen	162	170	170
Lakeview	178	300	173
Green Park	247	319	234

Source: (a) Preliminary Report of the Building Closing Committee, 2nd Work Copy, undated.

(b) Transition Committee Worksheet #1, Option #1, January 20, 1982.

Issue of unused classroom space in the newer, less costly to maintain schools. Members realized that there were three schools with excellent physical facilities and that each had just a few students in them when compared to their capacity.

We had three schools with a few here and a few here and a few here. So it just would not pay to keep them open. There just wasn't enough in those schools. There was no reason why they couldn't go into those schools when there was room for them. We have a beautiful school out at Riverview and a decent school at Spring Hill. And we could put those kids in those schools (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 8).

We had a perfectly beautiful school at Riverview that was not full that had been built to hold a lot more people (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 8).

Enrollment had been going down for some time with . . . the same number of schools and they weren't filled. It was obvious to me that we could close two elementary schools, or three. I

knew there were two for sure and possibly three and still be able to keep class sizes reasonable (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 5).

We had unused capacity at Riverview that was a five to six year old building, a beautiful building. We had classroom seats available for the kids that were going to be displaced . . . (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 4).

As the board looked at reducing teacher personnel costs, there were two major issues. First, some board members felt that teachers had not been gradually laid off as student enrollment declined, so that now a large layoff was necessary. A comparison of tables 3 and 5 appears to confirm this issue. Table 5 is based on head count figures and not full time equivalency (FTE) counts. Therefore, the pupil-teacher ratio (PTR)

Table 5. District Staffing Trends

75-76	76-77	77-78	78-79	79-80	80-81	81-82	82-83
---	296	297	298	301	291	279	232

Source: Fourth Friday Report, 2-17-83.

figure in Table 6 is not completely accurate, but gives the reader an idea of the general enrollment versus teacher hiring trends over the last seven years. Note that from 1976-77 until 1981-82 there was a general increase, however small, in the PTR, which confirms some board members' beliefs. The RIF process, which this study captures, accounts for the increased PTR between 1981-82 and 1982-83 school years.

Two board members expressed their feelings about the urgent need to reduce the teaching staff commensurate with the enrollment decline:

We have been losing enrollment over a five to six year period. Right on the start, the first few hundred you can't really do much about except grin and bear it. But you reach a point where the pupil-teacher ratio is getting out of whack. It's great for the students, but it's more than the system can stand, especially under today's conditions (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 3).



Table 6. Student Enrollment vs. Teacher Employment

School Year	Students		Teachers		PTR
	Enrollment	Change	Employed	Change	
1976-77	5,880		296		19.86
1977-78	5,837	-43	297	+1	19.65
1977-78	5,837		297		19.65
1978-79	5,711	-126	298	+1	19.16
1978-79	5,711		298		19.16
1979-80	5,652	-49	301	+3	18.78
1979-80	5,652		301		18.78
1980-81	5,483	-169	291	-10	18.84
1980-81	5,483		291		18.84
1981-82	5,220	-263	279	-12	18.71
1981-82	5,220		279		18.71
1982-83	4,907	-313	232	-47	21.15

Source: Fourth Friday Report, 1976-1983.

Enrollment had been going down for some time with no cutback on the quantity of teachers for the previous five to seven years. We were playing "catch-up" for five years of neglect, of not having steady cut backs on the number of teachers needed . . . (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 5).

The second issue centered around the method used to reduce teacher personnel costs. In the fall of 1981, the board held a meeting with the various unions for instructional and support personnel to study ways of reducing personnel costs and save jobs.

I can well recall the meeting . . . We were at a meeting where there was an administrator, I was there, the president of each of the unions was there--secretaries, non-instructional personnel, and the teachers. Basically, what we were doing was setting down with the various employee representatives and saying we have some real problems, they're real and we're not joshing you. I was trying to convince people that this was for real. That's what the meeting was. After we got through, I thought, perhaps convincing people of where we were at, then we were trying to figure ways out of the mess. The other unions were quite reasonable. They were willing to talk about it. When we got to the teachers . . . it was quite frankly turned down flat--well, I won't use the same language because it was inappropriate. The union president walked out right after that (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, cards 7-8).

In December, 1981, the board wrote a letter to Ms. Mable LaPorte, the State Education Association Unified Service Director, informing her of its desire to reopen the contract, and requesting her to contact the State Association of School Boards to arrange a meeting (Board of Education. Letter to Ms. LaPorte, December 18, 1981). A second letter was written to Ms. LaPorte on January 12, 1982 answering some of her questions and specifying the contract sections the board wished to reopen. In part, it said:

The paragraphs of the contract that we would like to discuss with you are as follows: 1.4 - School Calendar; 2.10 - Instructional Aides; 3.5 - Teaching Hours; 5.3 - Salary Schedule; 5.4 - Extra Duty for 1981-84 (Board of Education. Letter to Ms. LaPorte, January 12, 1982).

The union contract then in force called for three pay raises annually 1981-84 of 10% - 9% - 9% (Professional Agreement North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1984). The board was interested in opening negotiations on the contract in hopes of saving teacher jobs by reducing the annual salary increases. Comments from the board members confirm this desire:

One of the concerns I was having at the time was that it was obvious to me that a number of people were losing their jobs which is not a very pleasant thing to deal with. So my argument was have a concession here. I wanted them to cut back to preferably 4 or 5%. We will close only the minimum number of schools, lay off the minimum number of people. That way we'll have more jobs... (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 7).

Basically, we were trying to get some concessions money-wise from the union so we could have a little more freedom in assignments. Hopefully, we could have saved some jobs (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 3).

One of the things we tossed around was that we had given them this graduated pay raise. Maybe hold off on it, because by holding off on it, we might not have to lay off as many teachers (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 6).

It wouldn't be that much of a disadvantage, we didn't think, to the teachers if we would have saved a few jobs (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 4).

If we did not have to give the raise that was in there,... If we could renegotiate that part, we could save some teachers (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 6).

A decrease in the increase would have helped save a lot of positions (FN, Jackson, 12-9-82, card 10).

According to board members, this request was resoundingly refused by both the Hood County Education Association and its local chapter, the North Umpqua Education Association. Several board members commented on reasons the union refused to open the contract:

North Umpqua Education Association did not want to open the contract because they thought they'd end up doing all the giving. They wouldn't be gaining much of anything (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 3).

The response that we got from the top union people, from the negotiators was, 'Forget it. We don't want to save jobs. We want the most we can get for the rest of us and if we have to sacrifice some teachers doing it, that's the way life goes.' So that's basically the response we got (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 6).

We got the notice--I remember seeing a letter from their bargaining person. As I recall, they just felt that there wasn't any reason to do it (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 4).

They said that North Umpqua teachers were one of the lower paid ones in the area, and that they felt that this was just something they wouldn't do. They really wouldn't talk to us much about it (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 6).

The official response came from Ms. LaPorte in a letter dated January 25, 1982. Ms. LaPorte said that "this is to inform you that the Hood County Education Association considered the board's request to reopen negotiations and rejected same on January 21, 1982 (LaPorte, Mable. Letter to Ms. Nelson, January 25, 1982). This was confirmed in the official board minutes (Board of Education, Special Board Meeting Minutes. February 2, 1982, p. 1107).

Mr. Martin, a board member, reflected on what the board's response was to the union's refusal to reopen the contract as he talked to the researcher. He said:

You know, we wanted to kind of broaden--widen out the constraint box, but we weren't able to do it, so we went on from there. At that point, we had to get on and do what we thought was best within, of course, the constraints now (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 4).

Mr. Allen, a district administrator, said that "we met periodically with the union. That started back in February (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, card 1). In March, the RIF procedure began.

The first thing we did was send out layoff notices to the staff, I believe the middle of March. When we sent out layoff notices we knew we had to cover about sixty-five positions for sure. But because of the bumping situation, I went beyond that, and we ended up laying off close to ninety some teachers (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, card 2).

A review of the 1981-82 Seniority List showed that 108 K-12 teachers actually received reduction-in-force notices. (North Umpqua Public Schools, Seniority List, 1981-82). Of the 108 RIFed teachers, 27 were K-5 elementary teachers. This research was conducted with ten involuntarily

reassigned elementary teachers. Six of them were RIFed, rehired, and reassigned. One teacher was involuntarily reassigned from the classroom to special education. Three were involuntarily reassigned due to being displaced when their schools closed.

### Mode of the Research

Two aspects of the research mode will be discussed briefly here. First will be the general methodology used. This will be expanded in Chapter 2. Second will be a brief overview of the procedures used. These will be expanded upon in Chapter 3.

### Methodology

There are generally two categories of research: that belonging to the natural sciences, and that belonging to the social sciences. Within the social sciences, both pure and applied are important. Educational research is generally considered to fall under applied research. Applied research can take two approaches: quantitative and qualitative. The latter approach, also known as naturalistic or ethnographic research, was used. This consisted of a broad spectrum of techniques called "participant observation."

This characteristic blend of techniques, as exemplified by the work of the lone anthropologist living amongst an isolated people, involves some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the directions the study takes (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 1).

Traditionally, educational research relies heavily on quantitative research to supply answers to its questions, problems, and concerns. Nevertheless, Erickson says:

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I think that if we really want our work as scholars to be of use in educational practice, more of us must somehow join with teachers and administrators in their daily work and in the transformation of it . . . . If our aim is to study working rather than works then we must join in the work . . . . Only by joining in some continuing work can anthropologists of education discover, together with those they describe, new ways of gaining and using insights from descriptive accounts (Erickson, 1978).

Blumer supports Erickson's contention for the need to conduct ethnographic research when he notes that

the genuine mark of empirical science is to respect the nature of its empirical world--to fit its problems, its guiding conceptions, its procedures of inquiry, its techniques of study, its concepts and its theories to that world. It believes that this determination of problems, concepts, research techniques, and theoretical schemes should be done by the direct examination of the actual empirical social world rather than by working with a simulation of that world, or with a present model of that world . . . (1969, p. 49).

In discussing their own research on teacher stress, Kyriacou and Sutcliffe note that "this conceptualization of teacher stress places emphasis on the teacher's subjective experience of his affective state" (1979, p. 89). Participant observation is uniquely suited to researching the empirical world around us because it includes a variety of data gathering techniques. Commenting on this, Dean et al. say that "a major characteristic of participant observation and interviewing in the field is its non-standardization of method . . . (1967, pp. 274-275).

The researcher, by using a variety of participant observation techniques, has endeavored for a time to join in the teachers' work setting to discover and learn about the stress and trauma of involuntary transfer.

### Procedures

In this section, the six participant observation procedures that were used are briefly discussed. They are: (1) the researcher; (2)

time; (3) interview; (4) direct observation; (5) documentation; and (6) triangulation.

The Researcher. Wolcott says that "the fieldworker himself serves as the key 'instrument in the research'" (1973, p. 18). The researcher's background includes twenty years in education, the last fourteen years as a school administrator. Academically, the researcher trained for one year in ethnographic research procedures. By using his experience and training, the researcher was able to gain access to the research site, and to filter what was seen and heard through that experience and training.

The researcher's goal is to study the process of teacher involuntary reassignment and to provide guidelines and procedures that school districts can use to lessen the trauma for teachers involved in the process of involuntary teacher reassignment. Bogdan and Biklen say that "The researcher's goal is to add to knowledge . . ." (1982, p. 42). Agar feels that the goal should be "giving accounts" of what is (1980a, p. 81). In order to reach that goal, the researcher spent considerable time in the research site.

Time. When discussing the length of an ethnographic research project, Wolcott states that "fieldwork accounts in schools . . . are based on limited but intense and efficient periods of observation rather than the day-in, day-out style of more traditional anthropological work" (1973, p. 8). Wolcott's primary concern is not length of time so much as it is the quality of the time spent. He notes that a researcher needs to spend "adequate time in the field setting to know it thoroughly . . ." (1973, p. 72). The research phase of this study was divided into two phases. Phase One lasted from early March to the end of August 1982. Phase Two began at the end of August and continued through the third week



of December, 1982. A distinction is made between the March-August and the August-December 1982 time periods because during the first time period the major emphasis was more on negotiating entry and less on gathering data, while during the second time period the major emphasis was on data collection and analysis.

Interview. Bogdan and Biklen, when discussing the use of interviews, say that "qualitative research techniques such as . . . indepth interviewing are respected and regularly employed in the social sciences, particularly in sociology and anthropology" (1982, p. xiii). Wilcox agrees when he states that "ethnographers also use interviews . . . as data gathering techniques" (1982, p. 461). During Phase One, the primary procedure used was the interview. This was especially important as the researcher negotiated entry at three different, yet intertwined, levels: district, school, and individual teachers. During Phase Two the interview became the primary procedure for data collection. Although originally envisioned as an auxiliary procedure to verify data gathered through observations, the value of the procedure became apparent within the first few weeks and gradually came to dominate the data collection process.

Direct Observation. Direct observation became the second most important data collection procedure. Phillips defines participant observation as "the simultaneous occupation of a structural position within a social system and a study of that system" (1982, p. 202). Wolcott, when conducting research for his book, The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography, chose the form of participant observation in which

the observer is known to all and is present in the system as a scientific observer, participating by his presence but at the same time usually allowed to do what observers do rather than expected to perform as others perform (1973, p. 8).

This researcher's own form of direct observation was much like Wolcott's. The researcher went in and out of classrooms at will. He was allowed to attend team, school, district, and union meetings as an observer. Participation was as much or little as desired and governed by the setting and the event. He was known to all as a researcher. This entitled him to a neutral status among various factions and allowed both access and movement.

Documents. Not all the researcher's time was spent interviewing and observing. A number of district and other documents were collected. Erickson and Mohatt, in discussing the use of documents as a data source, say that one of the "more useful fieldwork methods of participant observation" is the "study of written public records" (1982, p. 137). Wilcox notes that "in addition to generating their own data, ethnographers have assiduously collected already existing sources of data. These have included school documents" (1982, p. 461). During Phase One, the researcher collected documents from the State Department of Education. During Phase Two, the researcher collected documents from individual teachers, school administrators, district administrators, the local teacher's union, the board, the State Department of Education, the state teacher's union, and an educational consultant. Both public and confidential documents were included in that collection. The documents were used in the effort to provide a cross-check on data gathered from other sources.

Triangulation. Gorden supports the use of multiple methods as a cross-check when he notes that "this use of multiple methods, each to cross-check or supplement the others, is often referred to as triangulation" (1980, p. 12). Fetterman argues that "triangulation is a basic

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tool used in the ethnographic approach--testing one source of information against another from various perspectives to arrive at a balanced interpretation of reality" (1980, p. 39). Throughout the research and data analysis phases, the data received from observations, interviews, and documents are used to not only verify, where possible, that the information received is accurate, but also to suggest new or further directions of research efforts.

In conclusion, then, the ethnographic research procedures of participant observation are used in this research. Procedures used include the researcher as a research instrument, direct observations, interviews, collecting documents, and the triangulation of these various data sources.

#### Research Assumptions

The researcher entered this study with six assumptions. These assumptions were based on conversations with teachers from around the state who had been RIFed, on the researcher's own past experiences as an educator, and on a limited amount of reading about the problems involved in closing schools.

1. Involuntary job reassignment is a highly emotional process for the teachers involved.
2. The emotional effects of involuntary reassignment will be evident on the new job site, and observable as excess absenteeism and both verbal and nonverbal cues during teacher-teacher, teacher-student, and teacher-administrator interaction.

3. The emotional effects of being involuntarily reassigned would impact negatively on peer interpersonal relations and upon the classroom learning environment.
4. Very little formal attention is given to the personal emotional needs of involuntarily reassigned teachers.
5. The board and superintendent's office provide the direction for whatever attention, if any, is given to the personal emotional needs of involuntarily reassigned teachers.
6. The local teachers' union is as concerned about the personal emotional needs of involuntarily reassigned teachers as it is about the administration of its contractual reduction-in-force (RIF) policy.

#### Delimitations of the Study

The following delimitations were placed on the study by the researcher:

1. The length of the research phase of the study was set at ten months which was considered adequate for the research method.
2. The number of research sites was limited to one because of the length of the research project.
3. The number of schools heavily involved in the research was limited to one because of the researcher's original desire to concentrate the study in depth on one site.
4. The number of teachers directly involved in the study was limited because of the amount of time involved in daily direct observations and in interviews.

5. The scope of the study was focused on involuntarily reassigned teachers because of the researcher's concern that their needs, more than those of others involved in the RIF process, would be overlooked.

### Definitions

1. Change: "Any significant change in the status quo" (Havelock, 1979, p. 4). See Innovation.
2. Confidential: "A degree of anonymity in which the respondent is known to the interviewer, but not to the client organization" (Gorden, 1980, p. 219).
3. Comparability: Delineation of group characteristics studied "or constructs generated so clearly that they can serve as a basis for comparison with other like and unlike groups" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 34).
4. Displaced teacher: A teacher whose school is closed and is transferred to another position prior to the recall of laid off teachers.
5. Emic. The viewpoint that results from studying behavior as from inside the system (Pike, p. 37).
6. Ethnography: "The name for doing fieldwork" (Agar, 1980a, p. 2).
7. Etic: The viewpoint that results from studying behavior as from outside the system (Pike, p. 37).
8. External reliability: "Whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same or similar settings" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 32).

9. External validity: The degree to which representations of some reality "may be compared legitimately across groups" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 32).
10. Fictive Kin: A non-kin family system in which people customarily address each other and act toward each other in ways that closely parallel true kin behavior forms (Foster, 1979, p. 78).
11. Fieldnotes: "All the data collected in the course of 'participant observation studies' including the fieldnotes, interview transcripts, official documents, official statistics, pictures and other materials" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1987, p. 74).
12. Field research: "Data is collected in the field as opposed to laboratories or other researcher-controlled sites" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 3).
13. Fieldwork: "The collection of data at the research site through a variety of methods sometimes also called participant observation" (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 1).
14. Informant: A person who "answers specific questions and then supplies additional, unsolicited information (both related and unrelated to the questions)" (Fetterman, 1980, p. 34).
15. Innovation: "Any change which represents something new to the people being changed" (Havelock, 1979, p. 4).
16. Internal reliability: "The degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 32).

17. Internal validity: "The extent to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 32).
18. Materiel: The aggregate of things used or needed in any business, undertaking, or operation (distinguished from personnel) (The American College Dictionary, 1953, p. 751).
19. Mr./Ms.: These title forms of address are used in an effort to protect the anonymity of the informants in this study, especially the females. Informants, themselves, rarely used these terms but rather referred to colleagues by their first names.
20. Naturalistic research: Research in which "the researcher hangs around where the events he or she is interested in naturally occur" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 3).
21. Participant observation: The process of data collection in the field that focuses on the researcher watching, listening to, and making a record of the events and people he is studying.
22. Pink slipped: A person who has been laid off from their job.
23. Qualitative research: "An umbrella term which refers to several research strategies that share certain characteristics" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 2).
24. Release Time: The use of instructional time for staff development and other teacher activities. There is no school for students during release time. (Also called released time by some authors.)
25. Relocation/transfer: The involuntary reassignment of personnel from one job and/or job site to another.



26. Role Ambiguity: "When an individual has inadequate information about his work role, that is, where there is a lack of clarity about the work objectives associated with the role, about the work objectives associated with the role, about colleagues work expectation of the work role, and about the responsibilities of the job" (Cooper, 1981, p. 23).
27. Role Conflict: "When an individual in a particular work role is torn by conflicting job demands or by doing things he/she really does not want to do, or does not think are part of the job specification" (Cooper, 1981, p. 23).
28. Role Responsibility: Conflicts caused when an individual is answerable for the welfare of other people or accountable for material things (Foster, 1981, p. 25).
29. Stress: "The nonspecific response of the body to any demand made upon it" (Selye, 1974, p. 27).
30. Transfers: "Moves of employees from one job to another, one unit to another, or one shift to another" (French, 1964, p. 159).
31. Translatability: "Assumes that research methods, analytic categories, and characteristics of phenomena and groups are identified so explicitly that comparisons can be conducted confidently" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 34).
32. Triangulation: "Testing one source of information against another from various perspectives to arrive at a balanced interpretation of reality" (Fetterman, 1980, p. 39).

### Research Questions

Initial research questions which guide the study are:

1. Is the process of involuntary reassignment a traumatic experience for elementary teachers?
2. By whom, and in what ways, are involuntary reassigned teachers given help in coping with their stress?
3. In what ways do the emotional affects of involuntary reassignment effect the classroom learning environment?

### Conclusion

Declining enrollment will continue to be with educators well into the 1980s. Cuban says that

most organizational consequences from declining enrollments are easy to document. They jump out easily at most observers and should be familiar to informed observers. Less easy to grasp and pin down are such phenomena as low staff morale linked to a nostalgic yearning for some golden past that existed just prior to the onset of enrollment decline; or the impact upon staff of forced moves to different teaching situations; . . . Less easily defined and certainly more difficult to capture in numbers, these spinoffs of enrollment decline and consolidation need sensitive and careful investigation (emphasis added) (1979, p. 382).

Cuban, in his discussion of the traumatic effects on teachers of involuntary reassignments, acknowledges that some efforts are made to "cushion the shock." But, as he says, "a jolt is a jolt." The haunting question Cuban leaves etched into the researcher's mind--and, one hopes, into the readers' minds--is "what happens to those teachers" (1979, p. 391)?

## CHAPTER II

### THE PRECEDENTS IN LITERATURE

This literature review is divided into two major subsections. The first subsection discusses the literature surrounding the process of involuntary job transfers or reassignments. The second subsection focuses on ethnography as a legitimate method of research.

#### Introduction

In the beginning, it is important to note that research on the emotional stress and problems relating to teacher involuntary transfers, is scant. In business and industry, unlike education, job transfers (or relocation as it is often called) have been and continue to be a normal way of corporate life.

#### Literature Surrounding the Job Reassignment Process

The researcher assumes that there exist some similarities between the process of corporate and teacher job transfers. The process surrounding corporate relocation will be presented first. Second, literature focused on the process surrounding teacher job transfers will be presented briefly.

### The Process of Corporate Job Reassignment

The first part of this section focuses on the process of corporate transfers: the fact of job relocation; job relocation stress; and the methods used to alleviate job relocation stress.

Job Relocation. Corporate personnel relocation is an ongoing process which is expected to remain part of the American business scene. A recent Industry Week staff report concluded that "whether or not business people like relocating, it will remain common" (1981, p. 99). Reducing staffs means job layoffs and involuntary job reassignment/ relocation for those who are left. Personnel stress due to involuntary reassignment can be minimized when management plans ahead and makes the reassignment quickly, has a good public relations program with the community and its employees, and designates one person in charge of the reassignment with both the responsibility and authority to act. Wilby, in his article on helping employees make a new start when reassigned, found four important aspects of job reassignment: (1) "the move should be completed as quickly as practicalities allow, and as many of the details as possible should be settled in advance" (1981, p. 121); (2) "relocation will probably attract a good deal of public attention at both the old site and the new. Yet the importance of public relations can make all the difference how the company and its transferred employees will be received. . ." (1981, p. 121); (3) "good communications are the key to successful staff relations--in relocation as in all things" (1981, p. 119); and (4)

relocation. . . amounts to a major project in management. When it comes to managing the move, most companies appoint a senior executive to be the project manager. Full authority should be given to him to plan and execute the transfer, but it is important that other executives concerned with the move do not abdicate all the responsibility: it should be a team effort (1981, p. 119).

Even when the factors Wilby has identified are considered in job relocation/transfer, the situation produces varying amounts of unwanted stress.

Job Relocation Stress. Personal stress due to job reassignment exists. The stress involved has been likened to a divorce or death in the family. Magnus and Dodd, in their article on attitudes towards corporate reassignment policies, find that "when a person relocates, the change creates stress that can instill a deep sense of loss. . . a trauma which many psychologists equate with the stress created by the death of a loved one or a divorce . . ." (1981, p. 543). The stress involved in the reassignment process occurs partially because of the change in supervisor, job requirements, and friendships. Stress also is intensified by management through lack of planning and producing more change than is really necessary. Wilby maintains that "relocation is inevitably a highly disruptive exercise--and the disruption should not be compounded by a lack of forethought, or by changing more than is necessary" (1981, p. 121). In addition to the normal stress produced by job reassignment, when a person is involuntarily reassigned, the stress already present is increased because the change is one over which the employee has little or no control. Foltz, in his article on communications in relocating employees, notes that "the problems of change are apt to be intensified when the relocation is more involuntary than a voluntary move" (1980, p. 14). Because of the presence of normal job stress, because job reassignment increases personal job stress, and because involuntary job reassignment increases even further individual stress, it is vitally important to the employees' welfare that management be conscious of the emotional needs of employees being involuntarily reassigned. Foltz feels that management "should make a careful evaluation of, and be sensitive to, the

problems of moving and the moved" (1980, p. 14). It is the researcher's contention that involuntary relocation/transfer of personnel creates professional stress which can affect performance on the job.

Methods Used to Alleviate Job Relocation Stress. There are two general categories of corporate actions taken to alleviate job stress caused by involuntary reassignment. They are material incentives and emotional relocation incentives. It would seem that by looking at the manner in which each is attended to by corporations, Boards of Education and educators could apply the principles learned to their own process of teacher transfers.

The use of material incentives is, by far, the most common corporate attempt to reduce relocation stress. Olive et al., in discussing the relocation problem, say that "large corporate employers frequently try very hard to make such moves a comfortable experience, paying most of the actual moving costs and other associated expenses" (1976, p. 546). The most frequently mentioned corporate incentives in the literature are clustered around the buying and selling of employees' homes. Olive et al., found that corporate incentives designed to facilitate personnel reassignment from a physical perspective include such practices as "selling the old home for the employee and free trips for the family to the new work location to look for housing" (1976, p. 546). Corporations go much further than Olive et al. indicate in helping employees sell and purchase homes. Collie and DiDomenico reviewed trends in the area of corporate housing assistance and found at least seven real estate related expenses in which corporations are becoming increasingly involved. Collie and DiDomenico list these expenses as: "(1) loans; (2) real estate sales assistance; (3) purchase closing costs; (4) mortgage

Interest differential programs; (5) interest rates; (6) old mortgage balance; and (7) lump sum payment" (1980, pp. 33-35). Corporations use other, non-real estate, incentives also in an effort to ease the personal stress of involuntary transfers. One incentive is the one time lump sum payment. Tavernier says of direct money relocation incentives, that "a few companies have started to pay lump sums, reportedly as much as \$30,000, which are intended to cover all costs associated with relocation in order to persuade an employee or a prospective employee to say, 'yes'" (1980, p. 19). Both the United States government and corporations use cost-of-living differentials and temporary living allowances to induce reluctant employees to accept reassignments. Milbrandt, in his article on relocation strategies, notes that "new policies are surfacing in the areas of . . . cost-of-living differentials, and temporary living allowances, to name a few" (1981, p. 551). Collie and DiDomenico also found that "tax reimbursements and miscellaneous allowances" are being used as corporate incentives to ease reassignment stress (1980, p. 66). Some material incentives used by corporations are less direct than the use of money in the incentives discussed above. In this sense they can be considered as indirect financial incentives. One such incentive is helping the employee's spouse to find a good job or further his or her education. Zippo finds that prospective employers now use "such relocation incentives as finding a good job for the employee's spouse or helping the spouse gain a degree in a graduate program at a local college or university" (1980, p. 70). Corporations commonly have been found to pay for club memberships as an incentive to accept reassignment. Tavernier affirms that "some corporations pay for membership in local sports and social clubs to help employees fit into the community more easily" (1980,

p. 23). Even insurance policies are used to induce employees to accept transfers. An Industry Week staff report lists several incentives which the staff and a Merrill Lynch Relocation Management director see as adding to the already long list of relocation incentives: "a new car and car insurance and, . . . new life insurance" (1981, p. 99, 102).

Emotional incentives for corporate personnel involved in relocation appear to be largely forgotten in the push to provide material incentives. The literature suggests that this second corporate action is really more appropriately considered inaction. Levenson and Hollmann mention that "most corporate efforts to deal with employees' relocation problems have been financial and logistical" (1980, p. 46). In spite of this emphasis on the material aspects of reassignment, the emotional factors involved in involuntary reassignment are at least of equal importance. Kunisch finds that in reassignments, both material and the "psychological factors are of equal importance" (1980, p. 25). According to an Industry Week staff report, little if anything is being done by corporations to help with the psychological factors in reassignment. The report notes that psychological counseling for transferees and their families is atypical (1981, p. 99). Still, several authors find that corporations are, in fact, attempting to deal more and more with the psychological factors involved in involuntary job reassignment. Levenson and Hollmann point out that "some companies provide workshops for employees . . . to assist them in dealing with many of the feelings and problems associated with transferring" (1980, p. 49). Magnus and Dodd find that "increasingly companies are providing counseling services and stress-management seminars to help employees . . . adapt to new areas" (1981, p. 543). Zippo affirms that "more and more companies are



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Conclusion. Foster says that "most corporations now concur that the financial costs of a move are their responsibility; yet few admit they need to shoulder some of the psychic costs" (1977, p. 70). Olive et al. conducted research into the effects of corporate relocation from the perspective of the employees. They found that "from an emotional point of view, little is done; and occupational physicians see more disturbed family groups and individual family members as a direct result of frequent transfers" (1976, p. 546). Milbrandt concluded the second of a two-part series he wrote on relocation strategies on a somewhat positive note by saying that "relocation policies are being modernized today because people continue to be the No. 1 asset in any company." (1981, p. 646). Wilby aptly points out that "it is a cliché, but nevertheless unavoidable, that people are the company's most valuable resource. Thus, . . . everything should be done to help them through the traumatic business of moving" (1981, p. 119).

#### The Process of Teacher Job Reassignment

Selye defines stress as the "nonspecific response of the body to any demand made upon it" (1974, p. 27). He also cautions that stress is not to be avoided (1974, p. 31) and even goes so far as to conclude the "complete freedom from stress is death" (1974, p. 32). Too much stress leads to distress, which can be harmful to the individual, and affects how the individual functions on and off the job. Any number of stress-causing phenomena, commonly called stressors, can cause excess stress. Because it is assumed that the process of involuntary job transfers produces excess stress, which is harmful, and therefore needs to be

alleviated, literature which is focused on: (1) stress in teaching; (2) the effects of school closures and job reassignment; (3) the responsibility to help teachers; and (4) methods to alleviate excess stress will be presented briefly.

Job Stress in Teaching. Teacher job stress is a real phenomenon. As Dillon noted in her article on the death of a teacher, "Schools are stressful places. They are growing more so almost daily . . . (Dillon, 1978, p. 30). Research seems to confirm Dillon's statement. Spark's conclusion from his research involving K-12 teachers in a stress workshop is that "teaching has become a more demanding and stressful task" (1979, p. 447). Needle et al., after conducting research on teachers' occupational stress and health problems, find that job stress adversely affects both the teacher and classroom environment. They say "it is not only clear that job stress negatively affects teachers . . . but job stress also affects the classroom environment, the teaching/learning process and the attainment of educational goals and objectives" (1981, p. 180). Coates and Thoresen, in research on teacher anxiety, affirm that "teachers experience considerable strain, tension, or anxiety in the classroom" (1976, p. 161). This stressful situation is common enough that Sparks, when discussing the results of his research on K-12 teacher stress, states 70% of the teachers "frequently or always left school physically or emotionally exhausted" (1979, p. 448). Coates and Thoresen conclude from their research on teacher anxiety that "the problems of stress and tension experienced by teachers are real, prevalent, and potentially deleterious to teachers and students" (1976, p. 176).

There are a number of causes for teacher stress. One of the most important is change. Magnus and Dodd examined the change involved in

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corporate relocation and found that "when a person relocates, the change creates stress that can instill a deep sense of loss . . . a trauma which many psychologists equate with the stress created by the death of a loved one or a divorce (1981, p. 543). In schools, stress can be induced by program and/or curriculum change for which there is a lack of preparation. Instructor magazine surveyed 9,000 teachers in 1976 to ascertain the medical effects of stress in teaching. In commenting on the results, Lansman notes the teachers indicated that a "lack of general inservice education or specific preparation for new programs . . . has caused undue stress" (1978, p. 49). Styles and Cavanaugh have identified nine general areas that are stressors for teachers. Four are especially relevant as stressors to those teachers involved in change brought about by involuntary job transfers. They are: (1) expectations; (2) student-teacher relations; (3) personal competence; and (4) self-relationship (1977, p. 76-77). In their research on teacher anxiety, Coates and Thoresen found that when teachers encounter new teaching situations, the change produces stress and anxiety. According to their research, these anxieties center around concerns about (1) classroom discipline; (2) student-teacher relationships; (3) knowledge of the subject matter; (4) what to do when they make a mistake; and (5) how to relate well with fellow staff members (1976, p. 164). So great is teachers' worry over change that just the anticipation of the change can produce stress and anxiety ("Stress in School," 1978). Sparks found an additional, important cause of teacher stress: teachers' feelings of powerlessness. His study showed that ninety-one percent of the sampled teachers said that they had "little or no influence in curriculum or policy decisions," and that "seventy-five percent of the teachers said that their jobs were, to a large extent,

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physically or emotionally stressful" (1979, p. 448). Teachers want to be involved, in some meaningful way, in the decisions that affect their working conditions, and are willing to work with their supervisors in a cooperative effort. Rothstein, in his study of teacher-administrator relationships, noted that teachers "want to exert some control over their working situation" (1980, p. 227). Research by Cichon and Koff confirms what others have said. They conducted a study of teacher stress in Chicago schools. Using 4,934 responses to a thirty-six item questionnaire on stress, they concluded that events over which a teacher has little control represent stress that is imposed on the teacher (1980, p. 99).

Excess stress and anxiety manifest themselves in two major ways: physical illness, and emotional or behavioral signs. Freudenberger notes that physical signs--"exhaustion and fatigue, being unable to shake a lingering cold, suffering from frequent headaches and gastrointestinal disturbances, sleeplessness and shortness of breath"--are easy to see (1974, p. 160). Harlin, in commenting on the physical responses to stress and anxiety, identifies additional physical signs among which are skin rashes, hypertension, sleep disturbances, weight loss, and fatigue . . ." may occur (1978, p. 507). Behavioral signs of excess stress and anxiety include

a staff member's quickness to anger and his instantaneous irritation and frustration responses . . . He cries too easily, the slightest pressure makes him feel overburdened and he yells and screams. With ease of anger may come a suspicious attitude, a kind of suspicion and paranoia. The victim begins to feel that just about everyone is out to screw him, including other staff members (Freudenberger, 1974, p. 160).

Youngs notes that "those experiencing high anxiety have strong desires to remove themselves from painful situations or remove themselves from all

risk-taking situations" (1978, p. 80). Gmelch has identified four general areas where excess stress is behaviorally manifested: (1) fight, which manifests itself in adversary situations; (2) fleeing, which includes fantasizing and withdrawing; (3) freezing, which is the inability to perform due to preoccupation with a stressor; and (4) learning, which allows the individual to cope and control to some extent the stressor (1982, pp. 10-11). Fiedler, et al. conducted research on organizational stress. They found that stress and anxiety affects "the use of experience and intelligence" and reduces "conceptual and creative thinking" (1979, pp. 644, 646 respectively).

The effects of excess stress and anxiety on teachers should be of great concern to educators for two reasons. First, teachers' mental and physical condition will have an effect on their performance on the job. Harlin, in his article on stress declares that "the mental and physical health of teachers can strongly influence children and their educational experiences" (1978, p. 507). Fleming, when conducting research on school closings, found that "the stress level affects the classroom performance of teachers" (1980, p. 7). Teachers' performance may be affected in their ability to teach, and in their ability to comply adequately with set curricular goals and objectives. Research by Needle et al. on teachers' stress notes that job stress "affects the classroom environment, the teaching/learning process and the attainment of educational goals and objectives" (1981, p. 180). The result, ultimately, can be poor student performance. Youngs, in her article on teacher stress, maintains that "high anxiety on the part of teachers may have an undesirable effect on their students and can also have a negative effect on students' performance" (1978, p. 79). Forman's research on teacher stress management



affirms Young's feelings. Forman declares that "teacher anxiety has been shown to be related to low pupil/teacher rapport, pupil anxiety, and low pupil achievement" (1982, p. 180). Lytle sums up this need for concern when he says, "It would seem obvious that youngsters aren't going to be taught well unless their teachers find this work satisfying" (1980, p. 702). The second reason why the effects of excess stress and anxiety on teachers should be a major concern of educators is that so little attention has been paid to it in the past. Neville, in discussing school librarians, feels that "the ability of the individual to handle a stressful occupation has received little attention" (1981, p. 243). In addition to a general lack of attention to teacher stress, attention that has been given has ignored cause-and-effect relationships. Coates and Thoresen, from their research, state that "stress and tension, or anxiety, among teachers represents one area of teacher personality that has remained all but ignored from a cause-and-effect perspective (1976, p. 160). There is a definite need for research in this area. The research in this study attempts at least in part to answer some of the cause-and-effect questions. This is an important area where more knowledge is needed because of the potential adverse effect on teachers and learning. Coates and Thoreson conclude from their research that "the problems of stress and tension experienced by teachers are real, prevalent, and potentially deleterious to teachers and students" (1976, p. 176).

When schools close, the layoffs and reassignments of teachers who remain or those who are called back and reassigned constitute significant changes for teachers. As such, the process involved becomes a major stressor for those teachers.

The Effects of School Closures and Job Reassignment. Change is not just an event. It is also a process. Hall and Loucks, in commenting on their research on teacher concerns, say that "In educational institutions change is a process, not an event" (1978, p. 37). The change process in closing a school and reassigning staff can be traumatic. Arth, when talking about change, says that "the familiar is safe. The unfamiliar . . . causes uncertainty, frustration, and fear" (1978, p. 290). Shakeshaft and Gardner note that "change . . . can prove traumatic when teachers do not choose it" (1982, p. 494). As one school board member is reported to have told an audience, "Voting to close one of our schools is tantamount to deciding which member of one's family to send away" (Uslander, 1978, p. 74). The phenomenon of school closings and the resulting teacher reassignments is widespread with pink slips going out each spring. Divoky says that "RIF reduction in force notices have become a springtime rite in many districts, causing enormous stress" (1979, p. 88). The National Education Association Research Division took a nation-wide poll and in discussing the effects of being pink slipped, concludes that ". . . we have no measure of the trauma the notices caused" (1981, p. 65).

The problems involved in school closures are primarily personnel problems. Thomas believes that "reducing school staffs is not an economic problem; it is a 'people problem'" (1977, p. 18). French also places a strong emphasis on people in the reassignment process. He believes that

shifting of manpower resources within the organization is as important a matter as the recruitment and selection of people from the outside. The same careful planning and procedures should be utilized. Lack of attention to the effective administration of transfers . . . can create all kinds of internal morale and productivity problems, and, in turn, can seriously impair the ability of the organization to attain its objectives (1974, p. 344).

Even though the most important aspect of the school closure process involves personnel, this is the area which is most overlooked. In an article about seniority and schools, Johnson mentions that

the process of reduction in force is not finished when layoff decisions have been made, for the teachers who have lost their jobs rarely hold the positions that have been cut. Though often upstaged by the more dramatic issue of layoffs, reassignment decisions are critical (1982, p. 263).

The reason that the personnel issue is so crucial is that when schools close, teachers have to change jobs. This change can produce excess stress and anxiety. Hollingsworth notes some of the changes that teachers go through when schools close and they are involuntarily reassigned. He notes that

no longer do teachers occupy a secure niche in one building, grade level, or subject area. Times are changing; teachers must change too.

These teachers have had to change surroundings, develop new schedules, write new plans, and prepare to answer different questions. Small wonder that reassigned teachers sometimes feel inadequate (1981, p. 138).

Harlin says that "the teacher may have to move to a new environment or a different grade level. These events and others trigger the STRESS phenomenon" (1978, p. 507). Scharffe, in his article on forced integration in his district and its impact on staff reassignments, confirmed that "some teachers found it difficult to adjust" (1979, p. 364). Fleming conducted research on the process of school closure and confirmed that "reassignment of staff creates tension in the schools . . ." (1980, p. 7). In addition stress is increased when teachers are involuntarily reassigned. Foltz notes that "the problems of change are apt to be intensified when the relocation is more an involuntary than a voluntary move" (1980, p. 14). Research conducted to determine what produces stress in teachers confirms Foltz's contention. Cichon and Koff used a thirty-six item

questionnaire when they conducted their research on teacher stress. The results showed that the number one stressor was part of a group of events they called "management tension" because they were imposed upon teachers in the form of action constraints. They note that "the best example of an action constraint is reflected in the number one ranked item, involuntarily transferred" (1980, p. 99). In their review of research on teacher stress, Pettegrew and Wolf found that the "most troublesome among teaching events were involuntary transfer . . ." (1982, p. 374). Because layoffs and reassignments usually affect teachers with low seniority, the tendency of administrators, union, and board members may be to feel that the stress produced is a product of the age and relative inexperience of the teachers involved. Still, for teachers with high seniority and who have been in one job and/or one school over a long period of time the heightened stress of involuntary reassignment can be exacerbated by their longevity. Cuban, in his article about the effects of school consolidation, talks about what happens to teachers with sufficient seniority to be left after the reduction-in-force and who must be involuntarily reassigned. He maintains that "the trauma of such moves for individuals who have spent five to twenty-five years in the same building may be shattering. Forced transfers jolt teachers" (1979, p. 391).

While much in the literature dealing with teacher reassignments is based on research or theory, few of these articles report on how the teachers felt about being involuntarily transferred. The research reported in this dissertation is designed to expand the current body of literature by showing how teachers feel about the involuntary reassignment process. The few articles that exist provide a rare glimpse into the teachers' concerns. Further, as Burke found in his research on job transfers,

"very little is known about the ways in which transfer opportunities are received by the employee" (1974, p. 35). Many teachers seem to view transfers as a negative event. Burke says that "a transfer might be seen as destroying established routines, habits . . . and friendship patterns" (1974, p. 35). Hollingsworth, in commenting about how teachers feel about involuntary reassignment, says:

Emotions run high . . . These teachers often feel betrayed. Their extra duties, personal commitments to programs, and feelings for students and other staff members seem to have been ignored. Anger at the system is natural . . ." (1981, p. 138).

Dunham interviewed staff members from a secondary school that was closing at the end of the school year. He says:

Many of them made their anxieties quite plain: "I don't want to teach subjects for which I am not trained." "I am apprehensive about pupils' behavior, uncaring attitudes and bad language in another school." "I would hate to be in a situation where I could not cope." "I will have to prove myself all over again in the new school." "I am worried about being plunked on to another school" (1982, p. 16).

Uslander was a teacher in a school which was closed. In commenting about her subsequent involuntary reassignment, she says that "most of us, whether we were willing to admit it or not, were apprehensive. . . . We also wondered how reassignments would be made. . . . Those of us who had lost our school shared great sadness" (1978, pp. 73-74). A few teachers seem to view transfer as a positive event. Burke says that a transfer "might be actively sought out and cherished once attained" (1974, p. 35). Scharffe's school district was involved in forced teacher reassignment to comply with a court order. His job was to draw up the actual plan for involuntary transfers. In discussing the feelings of those so transferred, he remarked that "not one teacher resigned; in fact, some confided before the end of the year that their transfers were among the best things that had ever happened to them" (1979, p. 364).

Teachers' attitudes and feelings concerning reassignment and their responses to excess job stress and anxiety closely resemble the attitudes, feelings, and responses of beginning teachers. This phenomenon affects both inexperienced and experienced teachers alike. Dunham conducted research concerning teacher stress in a school that was to close. When discussing the reactions of the teachers to the closure, he comments that "these reactions are even experienced by teachers with several years of service" (1982, p. 16). Cuban, in his article on school consolidation, makes the same argument. He says that "the trauma of such moves for individuals who have spent five to twenty-five years in the same building may be shattering" (1979, p. 391). When discussing the need to help teachers cope with their stress, Dillon also recognizes that the phenomenon strikes both inexperienced and experienced teachers. She maintains that it is "vital that beginning and experienced teachers be given the skills in coping with stress" (1978, p. 30). Uslander, a teacher who personally went through reassignment, said about her first day in the new school, "On the first day of school in September I felt almost as nervous as I had been on my first day as a child" (1978, p. 80). The research done by Fuller provides a framework for categorizing new teachers' concerns. She discusses both overt and covert concerns. She concludes that during the first three weeks of school, teachers new to a building are mainly concerned about "self, i.e. concern with self-protection and self adequacy: with class control, subject matter adequacy, finding a place in the power structure of the school and understanding expectations of supervisors, principal and parents" (1969, p. 211). These general concerns, in part, manifest themselves overtly. Fuller finds that "concern with the parameters of the new school situation (includes school plant,

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facilities, rules, policies) and with discipline were . . . the most frequently mentioned topics during early weeks" (1969, p. 211). She notes that these concerns are really a part of the larger concern of how adequate the teacher feels he/she is and says that

this larger concern involves abilities to understand subject matter, to know the answers, to say "I don't know," to have the freedom to fail on occasion, to anticipate problems, to mobilize resources and to make changes when failures reoccur (1969, p. 220).

Research conducted by Coates and Thoresen identifies four overt anxieties and concerns of new teachers. They are "(a) their ability to maintain discipline in the classroom, (b) students' liking of them, (c) their knowledge of the subject matter, (d) what to do in case they make mistakes or run out of material . . ." (1976, p. 164). Fuller also finds covert manifestations of teachers' concerns, focused on the question of, "Where do I stand?" She says that

They try to estimate how much support will be forthcoming from the school principal and supervisors in a great variety of situations; to build working relationships with school personnel; to determine the limits of their acceptance as professional persons in halls, cafeterias, teachers' lounge and principal's office (1969, p. 220).

Coates and Thoresen also identify one covert teacher concern which centers around "how to relate personally to other faculty members, the school system, and parents" (1976, p. 164).

A major reason why both inexperienced and experienced teachers have these concerns and feel excess stress and anxiety is that schools are not the same. In research conducted on teaching experience and school climate, Kalis finds that "although schools may look similar or function similarly, every school is unique" (1980, p. 89). When discussing schools as social systems, Edelfelt concludes that "schools are not the same in personnel, administration, curriculum, public interest and



support, and in style and elan" (1979, p. 364). Because schools are not the same, newly assigned teachers find the first few weeks particularly stressful. Hogben et al., conducted research on changing teacher attitudes and found that the first few weeks of the school year are "high-pressure" for the new teacher (1979, p. 219). Commenting on this new teaching situation, Hollingsworth says that reassigned teachers "have had to change surroundings, develop new schedules, write new lesson plans, and prepare to answer different questions. Small wonder that reassigned teachers sometimes feel inadequate" (1981, p. 138).

Another reason why both inexperienced and experienced teachers have these concerns and feel excess stress and anxiety when reassigned is that their needs are virtually ignored by school officials as they focus their efforts on the welfare of the children and the community/parents involved in school closure. Richards and Cohen conducted research on the effects on elementary school children, from both closed schools and schools to which the students were reassigned (1981, p. 23-25). Thomas, when speaking of his own experiences in closing schools, says that "the welfare of children is the most important concern of parents" (1980, p. 21). Maslach notes that "most of the available research . . . has focused on the child, rather than the staff" (1979, p. 253). Community and parental concerns are also important for educators to consider when closing schools. Fowler notes that "parents who have developed strong roots in a certain school area are particularly possessive when 'their' school is threatened" (1980, p. 2). Thomas says that "school administrators have an obligation to present information, give comfort, and provide opportunities to lessen parental anxiety and concern" (1980, p. 23).

In conclusion, the researcher agrees with Combs when he says "the person of the teacher must be central in the process . . . (1978, p. 561). Dillon notes that very little is currently being done to help teachers, and that this help has to come from somewhere. She declares that "little is currently done to prepare teachers to cope with that stress. Somewhere it is vital that beginning and experienced teachers be given the skills in coping with stress" (1978, p. 30). This raises the question of who is accountable for helping the reassigned teachers with their problems and concerns.

#### Responsibility for Helping Teachers Overcome Reassignment Stress.

The reason it is important to give some consideration to helping teachers cope with the effects of reassignment changes is that "innovation often inflicts trauma that must be expected, accepted, and dealt with. It rarely comes about smoothly and effortlessly" (Helmrich, 1981, p. 23). Wilby says that "relocation is inevitably a highly disruptive exercise . . ." (1981, p. 121). Foster and Liebreinz feel that much can be done at little or no added expense to help ease the problems of relocation. They say "all that is really necessary is an admission of the trauma of relocation and a willingness to marshal existing resources to alleviate that trauma" (1977, p. 72). Wilby, in noting the disruptive nature of relocation, emphasizes that "the disruption should not be compounded by a lack of forethought, or by changing more than is necessary" (1981, p. 121). Wilby also believes that the effort to help "should be a team effort" (1981, p. 119). The question that must be answered here is "Who is the team?"

One member of the team, and perhaps the most important, is the district superintendent including staff. When business relocates personnel,

Wilby says that "most companies appoint a senior executive to be the project manager" and that "full authority should be given to him" (1981, p. 119). In education, this may be the superintendent as the senior administrator in the district. Hollingsworth maintains that "as reassignment spreads, school districts must face the responsibilities it entails. They need to recognize teachers' concern, reinforce their skills and their confidence, and provide continuing support for individual needs" (1981, p. 138). French says that the "lack of attention to the effective administration of transfers . . . can create all kinds of internal morale and productivity problems, and, in turn can seriously impair the ability of the organization to attain its objectives" (1974, p. 344). Districts, and more specifically the superintendent, hold the key to such vital aspects of helping teachers as the giving of discretionary funds, delegating authority to act, and authorizing released time for staff development (McLaughlin and Berman, 1977, pp. 193-194).

A second group of team members is the building principals. McLaughlin and Berman found "that principals were the 'gatekeepers of change'." Unless they supported it, it seldom worked . . . " (1977, p. 192). White agrees that "the building principal is the primary element to a successful consolidation" (1980, p. 14). Scharffe found that in the reassignment process in his district, principals were instrumental in making the changes as smooth as possible (1979, p. 364). Youngs notes that successful reduction of teacher anxiety requires two conditions: "it must have not only the acceptance of the administrators and supervisors, but it must also have their active support" (1978, p. 82). McLaughlin and Berman found that a key indicator of the principal's support was their active participation in programs to help the teachers (1977, p. 192).

Landsman feels that the role of the principal in helping staff members is to "offer more positive reinforcement" and "foster more open communication among staff members" (1978, p. 50). Meyers contends that helping the teachers new to the staff is one of the "most critical, most challenging responsibilities facing the principal" (1981, p. 70).

A third group of team members is the local teachers' union. Scharffe said that the process of teacher reassignment in his own district was made as "smooth as possible" in part by the "association" (1979, p. 364). Sparks concludes from his research that

education associations should provide leadership in offering human relations training to their members, or in forming groups with skilled facilitators where teachers come together to express their feelings, provide mutual support, and assist one another . . . (1979, p. 449).

A fourth and final group of team members is comprised of all certified and noncertified employees in the district. This group includes the teachers as separate and distinct from their union. The ultimate success of the programs to help reassigned teachers will be determined by this group. McLaughlin and Berman note that successful programs are "typically user-identified; through ongoing planning, teachers can play an important role in identifying what their training should be" (1977, p. 192). The type of help or training, and the concept behind it are also important to a successful program.

A Program for Helping Teachers Overcome Reassignment Stress. There appear to be two concepts in determining how best to help reassigned teachers with their emotional problems. One way is basically to ignore the stressors in the process of reassignments and then provide support to teachers after the fact.

A second approach is to recognize, in advance, the stressors, and provide a means for either eliminating them or reducing their effects before they are encountered. LaRocco and Jones conducted research on moderators of stress relationships on the job and conclude that

attempts to alleviate such negative effects may be more meaningful if they address stress directly by reducing the sources of conflict . . . rather than attempting to address the issue indirectly via support" (1978, p. 633).

One of the ways to reduce directly the effects of stressors is through an on-going staff development program. In the context of this study, staff development is used in its broadest to mean "a process used to provide learning opportunities for all people working in schools or responsible for them" (Dillon-Peterson, 1981, p. 4). McLaughlin and Berman conducted a four-year Rand study and concluded that "staff development is increasingly recognized as a critical concern for school districts" (1977, p. 191). Dillon notes that it is "vital that beginning and experienced teachers be given the skills in coping with stress" (1978, p. 30). Districts sometimes shy away from staff development because, school boards say it is too expensive. Yet McLaughlin and Berman found that, in terms of staff development projects they examined, "neither the amount of money spent on a project, nor the particular project technology was consistently or significantly related to project success" (1977, p. 192). Some districts also shy away from staff development because some vocal community members, parents, and even school board members feel it is a waste of time. They feel the children are losing valuable educational instruction time. They also feel that any staff development time should be on the teachers' time, not the schools'. Maslach and Pines address this issue from their research on staff burnout when they note that

contrary to the beliefs of some skeptics (who felt that such a system would only provide the staff with another chance to "chit-chat" rather than work), these support groups serve a very valuable function for their members (1977, p. 111).

A staff development program is so important in helping alleviate the effects of stressors on reassigned teachers that respondents in Landsmann's study said that the "lack of general inservice education or specific preparation for new programs . . . has caused undue stress (1978, p. 49). In that sense, the district's lack of a program becomes one of the very stressors that district policies should seek to eliminate! Sparks notes that if stress is widespread, then the issues involved should become part of teacher inservice programs (1979, p. 448). When the district, mentioned in Scharffe's article, reassigned teachers he notes, that "we began establishing staff balance transfer seminars designed to assist teachers in making the transition" (1979, p. 363).

The Rand study conducted by McLaughlin and Berman finds two local factors are mainly responsible for the success of staff development programs. First is the quality and quantity of institutional support for the programs:

Did the district really want the project? Were they supporting teachers' efforts? Were the principals behind it? One key indication of principals' commitment turned out to be their participation in staff training activities, not just attending the first "orientation lectures," but also in their regular attendance at workshops (1977, p. 192).

The second factor concerns implementation strategies. Local choices about how to put the staff development program into practice were allowed, making them "highly relevant to ongoing classroom activities. They were typically user-identified . . ." (McLaughlin and Berman, 1977, p. 192). The Rand study also produced six characteristics of a successful staff development model. They are important to this study because

they provide possible guidelines for the study as well as heuristics to be used by school districts.

1. Developmental districts give discretionary funds as well as considerable authority to principals and teachers, and they do so in both good and bad times.

2. The continuing "training" of principals was considered both necessary and appropriate.

3. Several developmental districts have established teacher centers that serve a variety of functions.

4. Districts that have an effective staff development program do not insist on a standardized district program.

5. Developmental districts relied on local resource people to guide innovative efforts whenever possible.

6. Developmental districts use release time instead of monetary incentives for staff training. The provision of release time seems critical for at least two reasons. One, teaching requires an enormous amount of physical and psychic energy. It is unrealistic to expect teachers to undertake significant professional growth activities entirely in the evenings or on weekends. Second, provision of release time seems to provide a "signal" to teachers that the district takes their professional development seriously, and that they should take it seriously as well. Clearly, there has to be some kind of combination of personal time and release time, but if staff development programs are to contribute to the vitality and quality of a district's educational program, release time is an issue that cannot be swept under the rug (1977, pp. 193-194).

Scharffe also notes that in his district release time is used for their successful staff development program to help reassigned teachers (1979, p. 363).

To help reassigned teachers cope with their problems and lessen the effects of the stressors involved, the staff development program should be structured to allow for the teachers' needs to be met. Sparks provides some general guidelines from his research. "Inservice education should provide opportunities for teachers to identify personal sources of job dissatisfaction, and to assist them in creating individualized programs to . . . alleviate emotional distress" (1979, p. 448). Maslach and Pines suggest that "formal or informal programs in which staff members can get together to discuss problems, and to get advice and support, are

another way of helping them to cope successfully with job stress" (1977, p. 111). Meyers lists six experiences that teachers have identified as helping them adjust to being new to a staff: (1) "achieving status with peers and co-workers;" (2) "gaining the attention and concern of the principal;" (3) "having ample opportunity to know and understand the local situation with emphasis on: general school policies; school facilities; and school routines;" (4) having "opportunities to make unique and personal contributions to the school;" (5) having "opportunities to grow and progress personally and professionally;" and, (6) having "opportunities to associate socially with peers" (1981, p. 71-72).

One approach to designing staff development programs for stress reduction, which includes experiences cited above by Meyers and others, is to view school staff interpersonal relationships as similar to those found in a biological family.

### The Role of Professional Colleagues as Family

It is reasonable to assume that professional colleagues who work together over a period of time form close emotional ties with one another. These ties can correspond to those commonly identified as part of what is traditionally thought of as exclusively pertaining only to a biological family. However, the term "family" can encompass more than just the biological nuclear and/or extended family concept.

The Concept of Family. In most societies, the concept of family as the center of social existence is common. Ackerman et al. believe that the concept of family fills a dual role: that of both the primary biological group and also the social group in a culture." They state that "the family is the primary biosocial unit in our culture." (1961, p. 3). Some believe that the social dimension of the family is the



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foundation of our society. As LaBarre states, "we build our culture on our sociability" (1961, p. 10). The social aspect of the family concept is important to this study, because an individual's social family is often different from his/her biological family. Leichter describes this when she notes that

in our own society, separation, divorce, remarriage and adoption all may mean that social and biological definitions of the family do not coincide. Moreover, the unit that is socially defined as the family may or may not correspond to the unit that is defined as the household . . . . Thus, one cannot assume that "the family" has anything like a common definition (1975, p. 23).

Traditionally, the concept of the family has been that of a closed system which operates and lives as an isolate. This concept for today's society may not be as useful as it once was. More and more importance is being placed on the effects of social contacts outside the traditional family. For this reason, it may be advantageous to look at the concept of family as an open system. Leichter comments on this and notes that "for many purposes, therefore, it is more useful to conceive of the family as an open, than as a closed, system" (1961, p. 143). One purpose of viewing the family as an open system is to study the interaction with social groups outside the immediate family. Hobbs' ecological model for studying this interaction (Figure 1) helps the reader understand the importance of non-biological family social contacts as a person matures from childhood to an adult.

Hobbs feels that as a biological family member grows older, his social contacts go increasingly out into the neighborhood and community (1979, pp. 192-194). Because of this constant change in the focus of an individual's social interaction, the concept of the family unit changes

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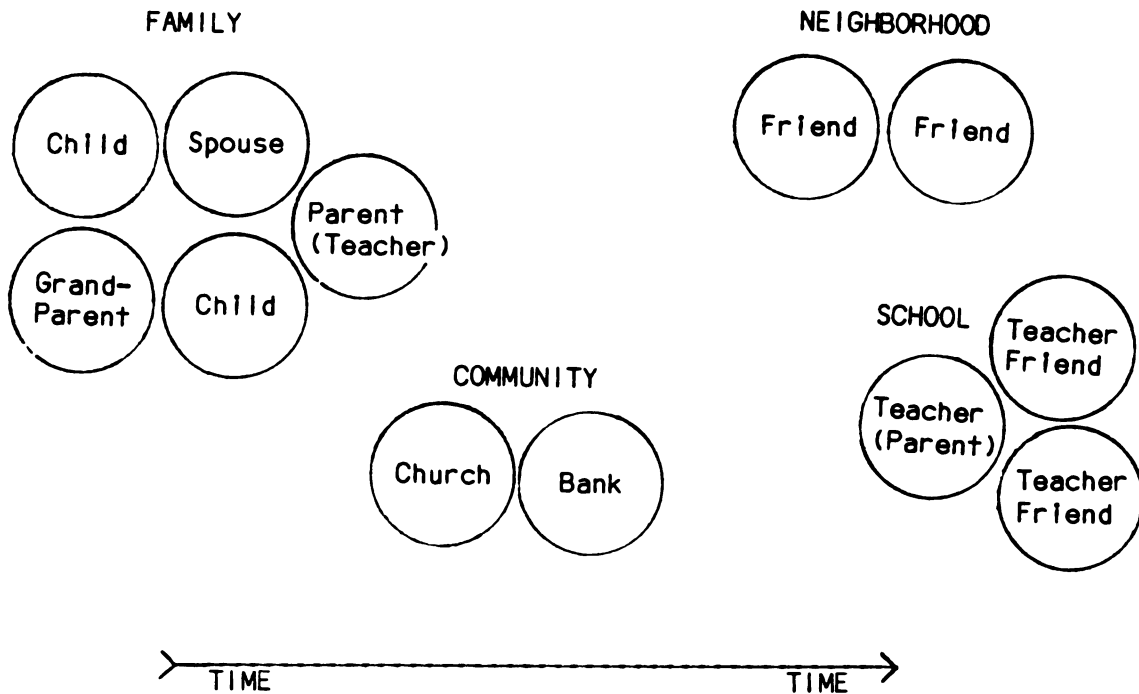
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Source: Hobbs, 1979, p. 193.

Figure 1. Social Ecological System

also. Of this multifaceted dimension to family membership, Getzels explains that

one is no longer an integral part of a single all-encompassing community--of the community, but a member of communities--of communities within communities.... One may be a member simultaneously of local community..., an administrative community..., an instrumental community (e. g., a particular professional group), an ethnic community..., an ideological community.... (1979, pp. 116-117).

Leichter also discusses this shift in social focus from home to institutions outside the home. She specifically notes that as adults, people shift their social focus to their jobs. She comments that "for the very young, the family is seen as the central area.... for adults, the focus shifts to the occupation" (1975, p. 30).

Not only is it important to have an open view of the family unit as it extends beyond the biological family, but it is also important to

understand who is involved in the social system outside the biological family.

Family Membership. When considering family membership within the biological family, family boundaries are easily fixed and usually include all blood relatives and relatives by marriage. Once consideration is given to the family social function outside the biological family, other social systems, such as those of friends, organizations, and quasi-family groups affect the individual. One such social system is known as fictive kinship. This system is seen by LaBarre as a type of family. He notes that

when men form societies larger than the family, they customarily borrow the pattern of the family to form purely ritual "blood-brotherhood" . . . that make members tribal "brothers" of one another, the larger fraternity being a pseudo-family moral group (1961, p. 12).

Mead, in an article on grandparents as educators, notes the place in a child's education for persons in the community to act as "surrogate grandparents" (1975, p. 69). Fictive kin are generally almost as close as biological family. Fictive kin are designated as mother, father, brother, sister, and in some cases, special classifications of friends. Sarker, in her study of family relationships, found that the fictive kinship system is widely used in Bangladesh among both the Hindus and Muslims. Called the dharma atmyo ("god relative"), this relationship helps maintain community stability and bring security to each party involved (Sarker, 1980, p. 60). Concerning the dharma atmyo relationship, she states that

the dharma atmyo consult each other on the purchase and sale of land animals and other necessary and valuable things. They also discuss with each other matters pertaining to marriage and even their funeral ceremonies, and generally make decisions only after mutual consultation. In times of need, a dharma atmyo

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helps the other by giving labour, money, grain, and advice,. . . (1980, p. 58).

In Mexico, Foster finds that the fictive kinship system known as compadrazgo also provides a measure of security and stability. From his study of village life, he concludes that

Tzintzuntzenos feel the need for an institution that has the formality and continuity of kinship, but which permits the freedom of choice of friendship. They find it in the compadrazgo.

The basic principle of the compadrazgo is ritual sponsorship of a person or persons by another person or persons, with consequent formal ties among a number of people, which last during the life-times of the principals. . . .

The sponsoring persons the godparents, . . . are known and addressed as the padrinos (padrino = godfather, madrina = godmother). The sponsored person, the godchild, . . . is called ahijado ("godson") or ahijada ("goddaughter"). In addition to these ties, the godparents and the parents of the godchild also enter into a new formal relationship: they become compadres, or co-parents (1979, p. 76).

Additional fictive kinship systems are found in Hungary and India. Vinceze conducted kinship research among Hungarian peasants and found a fictive kinship system there called komaság. He finds that villagers' use of kinship names for other villagers becomes a source of security and of knowing one's social standing within the larger society. He relates that

the extension of social ties through the use of kinship-derived address terms, and avoidance of standard titles goes beyond village solidarity . . . . It identifies the speaker as a member of the peasant class. . . . Rights and obligations follow traditional patterns (1978, p. 111).

In India, Bhowmick finds fictive kinship ties are more in form than in substance. Responsibilities of the kind include mourning the death of the god relatives as if the person were a blood relative, and attending festivals. However, the god relative also gives presents and can inherit estates (1976, pp. 148-158). This relationship also produces security in the social system. Bhowmick says that "through such cordial bonds of

friendship develop inter-caste relations, which contribute largely towards the growth of social solidarity (1976, p. 158). As has been shown here, the concept of family members, depending on the concept held of the family, can often include nonfamily community members. Both the biological and the social family systems provide some similar functions for its' members.

Family Support Functions. Cooper identifies seven biological family support functions that can apply to the social family as well. They are: (1) a collector and disseminator of information about the world; (2) a feedback guidance system; (3) a source of ideology; (4) a guide and mediator in problem-solving; (5) a source of practical service and concrete aid; (6) a haven for rest and recuperation; and (7) a reference and control group (1981, p. 89). Bernard further identifies four family support functions which can apply also to fictive kin. They are: (1) protection; (2) socialization; (3) affection and emotional security; and (4) regulation of relationships (1942, p. 26). A common thread that runs throughout the fictive kinship system, as described above by Mead, Sarker, Vinceze, Bhowmick, and Foster, and in the family support functions described by Cooper and Bernard, is the family function of helping other family members and the closeness of the relationships over a period of time.

Professional Colleagues as a Fictive Family. Cooper has identified two types of organizational support, material and social, as shown in Figure 2.



Material		Social	
		Cognitive	Emotional Behavioral
Formal organization (rules, regulations and specialists)	Providing:	Advice by experts:	Support provided
	Money Tools People Good physical environment Inducements	Doctors Counselors Consultants Superiors	by experts: Counselors Occupational health nurses Welfare officers Supervisors (rarely)
			Take person off job or change job Find someone else to solve problem Give early retirement Take responsibility from person
Person Is Largely a Recipient			
Informal organization (mutual expectations and self-help)	Loan to each other:	Pooling problem-solving resources by widening information network which may include 'experts' known personally to group members	Support spontaneously marshalled by the group. If given is more likely to be felt as genuine by the recipient
	Money Tools People Space		Help person to do the job or do it for him while he recovers Share responsibility with person
Person Is Both Giver and Receiver			

Source: Cooper, p. 92.

Figure 2. Forms of Organizational Support

Cooper notes that formal organizational techniques fail to provide emotional support to employees (1981, p. 97). When this happens, Cooper says, "one of the most important sources of social support is through the informal work group" (1981, p. 103). One way professional colleagues function as fictive kin in the informal school work group is by helping each other with job stress. Cooper identifies three types of job-related stress comparable to stress experienced by involuntarily reassigned teachers: (1) role ambiguity; (2) role conflict; and (3) role responsibility (1981, pp. 23, 25). Role ambiguity exists for involuntarily reassigned teachers when they are not given adequate time to learn about their new job, about the job expectations of new colleagues and supervisors, and about the curriculum and responsibilities of the new job. Role conflict exists for involuntarily reassigned teachers when they are placed in grade levels and/or subjects for which they are not qualified or for which they lack experience. Role responsibility is produced in involuntarily reassigned teachers when they are responsible for educating students whose abilities and needs are unfamiliar to them.

Professional colleagues can also function as fictive kin when part or all of that family is broken up. Teachers in this study likened involuntary reassignment to a divorce or death in the family. Teachers mourned the loss of close relationships developed with former staff just as individuals in India mourned the death of their fictive kin. Magnus and Dodd support how teachers feel about the staff as family. They note that when a colleague is reassigned to a new job, the change creates stress which some psychologists have likened to the death of a loved one or a divorce (1981, p. 543). When talking about a split in close family ties, Wynne likens it to a separation in marriage when he states that a

split in relationships is like an involuntary "estrangement, with associated negative feelings" (1961, p. 96). Cooper, in talking about loss of close family relationships on the job, also notes that this loss can produce stress (1981, p. 27).

### Conclusion

Even though much has been said about the stress and emotional problems teachers encounter when being reassigned, and about the need to help teachers cope with their problems, little research has been done concerning what really happens to reassigned teachers in the process of changing. Cuban notes that much of the literature is concerned with the physical aspects of school closing (see p. 5).

Shakeshaft and Gardner agree on the proliferation of school closing articles. They say that "hundreds of articles, books, manuals, and dissertations offer political and technical lore on efficient methods of closing schools. Much of the literature on school closure has been seat-of-the-pants advice" (1982, p. 493). Cuban maintains that "the impact upon staff of forced moves to different teaching situations . . . need sensitive and careful investigation" (1979, p. 382). Lytle says that the

description of the mechanics of the reassignment process doesn't begin to capture the frustration, anger, and anxiety teachers suffered in making forced decisions that would affect the next several years of their professional careers (1980, p. 702).

Potter aptly summarizes the current state of the art concerning research on the effects of the reassignment process on teachers when she concludes that "the actual process reassigned teachers go through in adjusting to change in assignment has not been documented" (1981, p. 11)!

### Literature Focused on Methodology

The genuine mark of empirical science is to respect the nature of the empirical world--to fit its problems, its guiding conceptions, its procedures of inquiry, its techniques of study, its concepts and its theories to that world. It believes that this determination of problems, concepts, research techniques, and theoretical schemes should be done by the direct examination of the actual empirical social world rather than by working with a simulation of that world, or with a present model of that world . . . (Blumer, 1969, p. 49).

One of the problems associated with documenting what teachers go through in the reassignment process is that of finding a research method most suited to the subjects and the desired outcomes of the study. Part of this dilemma is caused by the nature of the change process that produces the stress and anxiety. Hall and Loucks found, in their research on teacher concerns, that "change is a highly personal experience" (1978, p. 38). They also go on to conclude not only that the change process is personal, "but that the personal dimension is often of more critical importance to the success or failure of the change effort than the technological dimension" (1978, p. 38). Lortie concluded much the same in School Teacher: A Sociological Study. In talking about a new teacher's first few months of the school year, he commented that they "can be of something of an ordeal. . . . It is important to observe, however, that the ordeal is private--it is not an experience shared by a cadre of teachers" (1977, p. 73). Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, in their research on teacher stress, found that "conceptualization of teacher stress places emphasis on the teacher's subjective experience of his affective state . . ." (1979, p. 89). One type of research that is well suited to probing into what happens in events and processes, as well as into how people are affected by these

events and processes, is called naturalistic or ethnographic research.

### Why Conduct Ethnographic Research?

Ethnographic research is important for at least two reasons: it is practical because it emphasizes the human condition, and it helps decision makers formulate policy.

Humanness. Hitchcock notes that "it seems important to remember that fieldwork is indeed eminently a practical affair . . ." (1979, p. 204). It is practical because it involves the everyday lives of people. Cooley, as cited by Stott in Bogdan and Biklen, says that "we are seeking, I presume, to get at the human meaning of our institutions' processes as they work out in the lives of men, women, and children" (1982, p. 15). Wax characterizes fieldwork as being

the most distinctly human methodology of the social sciences. Specifically, that fieldwork brings the researcher into personal and intimate relationship with the host people, it enables the fieldworker to perceive the unexpected activity of general social processes, and to understand the initially perplexing conduct of the hosts by entering into their cultural and linguistic worlds (1980, p. 8).

Malhauser, in discussing the ability of behavioral research to discern the meaning and significance of human interaction, says that "ethnographers, however, have a far better chance than most others to capture that . . ." (1975, p. 314). Wax looks at fieldwork research as being "unique in its ability to enter into the world of meaning of the group of community under study" (1980, p. 8). Hitchcock links the social interaction of people and the use of ethnography when he concludes that "social structure is a told phenomenon, an interplay of communicational events between people. The ethno-

graphic occasion is itself no less subject to this than other aspects of social life" (1979, p. 210-211). Wax, in an eloquent way, sums up the ethnographic emphasis on humanness when he concludes:

Fieldwork is one of the most wonderful if taxing methods that have emerged within the social sciences. More than any other method, it attempts to understand and portray the intimate daily lives of ordinary people. By its very nature fieldwork is designed to assist the scientist in discovering that which is patterned, that which is general, and that which is an example of the generically human (1980, p. 6).

Decisionmaking. Finnan states that "many researchers . . . question whether policy statements can emerge from research relying on small samples and on methods new to evaluation and policy studies" (1980, p. 201). In discussing policy making using ethnographic case studies, Finnan notes that "policymakers have been frustrated because plans which seem logical in Washington so often fail when they are implemented" (1980, p. 207-208). Mulhauser agrees with Finnan and concludes that "social policymakers chronically lack 'good information' on which to act" (1975, p. 311). Finnan, in discussing the context and process of projects quotes Gideonse who identifies a reason planners do not have the proper information to make responsible decisions. Gideonse writes that "policy analysis is full of logical straightforward convincing suggestions and solutions that are wrong because they bear so little relation, if any, to the climate or milieu in which their implementation is proposed" (1980, p. 207-208). The importance of ethnography in decision making is emphasized by Finnan, who identifies three needs policy makers have: (1) "the social and political context surrounding any change effort;" (2) "the process of program implementation;" and (3) the understanding of "content and process to propose feasible policy"

(1980, p. 207-208). Finnan concludes that "the ethnographer is the best person to assume this difficult task" because "ethnographers are able to look inside what has been seen as a "black box" and describe how objectives and goals are shaped . . ." (1980, p. 207-208). Rist feels that one reason ethnographers have success is that "quantitative research frequently emphasize(s) a form of "hit and run social science" whereby pre- and post-tests become the basis for not only conclusions about treatment effects, but about policy statements as well" (1981, p. 490). Porter-Gehrie sees the ethnographer's success a little differently. "Ethnography is a method of research by which an outsider attempts to learn the perspective and information shared by insiders by becoming, in part, an insider" (1980, p. 123). Rist sums up the present research situation when he says that "qualitative approaches which stress familiarity and reciprocity with the groups in question are increasingly likely to be a major source of information for policy makers" (1981, p. 492). Because ethnographic research concerns itself with human needs in the social process and has the ability to help make decisions which affect human needs, it recently has become a popular means of looking at educational concerns.

### Ethnography of Education

Schools are social organizations. John Dewey recognized this when he said, "the general pattern of school organization . . . constitutes the school a kind of institution sharply marked off from other social institutions" (Dewey, 1963, p. 18). He reemphasized this point when, in talking about social control, he stated that "the principle that development of experience comes about through

interaction means that education is essentially a social process" (Dewey, 1963, p. 58). Waller, as quoted by Bogden and Biklen, believes that "the school is a social world because human beings live in it" (1982, p. 13). Assuming that Dewey and Waller are correct, it would follow that, in studying education and educators, one should use a research process specifically designed to study people. One immediately turns to sociology and anthropology for a possible methodological source. Foerster and Soldier come to a similar conclusion:

The marriage of education and anthropology may not have been made in heaven but it is certainly sound enough to produce many blessed events, anyway. Although this union has not been of long duration, many educators, including the writers, hail the event as one of the most promising occurrences which can impact the teaching/learning arena in America and resolve some of the really critical issues which we face (1981, p. 1).

One of the reasons that ethnographic research fits the study of education is that it can closely examine educational trends and issues, and show the course of changes in the system. Hill-Burnett states that anthropologists have made an "ethnographic contribution to the literature on desegregation, as well as the explosive issues of race and intelligence. Ethnography has been involved in tracking the course of educational interventions and attempts at educational change" (1979, p. 246). Another reason that ethnographic research is appropriate for educational issues is that it strives to learn what is going on as seen through eyes of the people involved. As Porter-Gehrie notes:

Because those who study schools are outsiders, researchers claim that they can be more objective than an insider.... What an outsider cannot learn and, therefore, remains outside his analysis is the information that is exchanged while daily events take place. Such information is available only to insiders, yet it shapes the flow of events and can determine



the success or failure of attempts to improve schools. Ethnography is a method of research by which an outsider attempts to learn the perspective and information shared by insiders. . . " (1980, p. 123). Ethnographic research methods are able to gain the perspective of the insider first of all because its methodology is flexible, varied, and its outcomes are grounded in observed data. Finnan states this in the form of what ethnography does not do when she declares that ethnography does not impose a rigid research schedule on the object of study; it does not seek proof for hypotheses which have little relation to what is happening at the study site; and it does not produce sterile tables of figures which often cannot point to why outcomes look as they do or to the relationships between variables (1980, p. 202).

A second reason that ethnographic research is able to gain the insider's perspective is that it studies people as human beings. Rist captures this idea in the foreword to a book by Bogdan and Biklen when he mentions that

qualitative research brings back into focus a concern of many who toil in the vineyard of educational research. This mode of research brings the study of human beings as human beings to center stage. It represents a fundamental rejection of the ultimately irrational pursuit to quantify all aspects of human belief and experience. We as human beings are more than simply the sum total of psychological measures, survey instrument responses, and bits of data on a laboratory check list. That our experiences, fears, anxieties, emotions, beliefs, reactions, hopes, behaviors, and irrationalities are not well captured or explained by the rush to quantification is one reason that qualitative research is experiencing the renaissance it is (1982, p. x).

The appropriateness of ethnography for studying human endeavors lies in the methods and techniques used to collect the data.

### Ethnographic Research Methods

"The name for doing ethnography" is "fieldwork" (Agar, 1980a, p. 2). Classically, this fieldwork involved a situation for an extended period of time in which the researcher lived with those whom he was studying. Wax feels that "the ideal of fieldwork has been to live with the host people as intimately as possible" (1980, p. 1). Hill-Burnett says of

this, "the fundamental nature of the anthropological approach to field method involves observation of human activities in time and space" (1979, p. 242). Agar, in discussing the role of the ethnographer, says that "after spending some time with a particular group, he will begin to learn how to ask the right people the right questions in the right way" (1980b, p. 35). Hitchcock agrees that the researcher must become closely tied to the research site. He says that

the field worker or ethnographer is charged with making some kind of sense out of the setting he chooses to investigate. This, it is generally recognized, can only really be achieved to a greater or lesser extent by becoming a part of that setting, hence the characteristic stress laid on participant observational techniques (1979, p. 204).

Fetterman gives a rationale for the participant observation techniques when he says that "Ethnographers attempt to immerse themselves in an environment to understand the situation or the system--allowing impressions and patterns to emerge from participation with, and observation of participants" (1980, p. 33).

Role of the Ethnographer. Fetterman says that an ethnographer "working alone rather than in teams creates a less threatening atmosphere more conducive to gathering data" (1980, p. 35). He continues:

In this regard, the anthropologist's role is more like that of a student interested in learning how pieces of a puzzle fit together than a traditional evaluator who enters the picture with explicit a priori assumptions about what the system is and how it works (Fetterman, 1980, p. 32).

Agar agrees with Fetterman's view of the ethnographer's role. He says "the ethnographer's purpose is to learn--to acquire some knowledge that he previously did not have" (1980a, p. 2). To accomplish this, the researcher needs to become like a child and a student. Agar says that

both child and student are learning roles; they are roles whose occupants will make mistakes, which is perfectly acceptable as long as they don't continue to make the same ones. They can be

expected to ask a lot of questions. They need to be taught-- both will look to established members of a group for instruction, guidance, and evaluation of their performance (1980a, p. 69).

As a learner, the ethnographer looks for overall patterns of behavior. From these he tries to make sense out of what he observes. Agar concludes that "if you are going to learn a complex pattern, this implies direct, prolonged contact with group members" (1980a, p. 195). Porter-Gehrie says that "the ethnographer looks for patterns among the events that are observed" (1980, p. 124). She believes that these patterns provide access to inside information and says that "the ethnographer assumes that the behavior of people in groups will follow several modes that give one access to the insider's perspective" (1980, p. 123). Of this insider's perspective, she comments:

First, information is transmitted verbally when it is shared among insiders. Being privy to conversations is essential to ethnographic research. Second, the exchange of information among insiders is triggered by events. One must be present to gather information as it is released (1980, p. 123).

Of this presence, Fetterman says that although the ethnographer tries to remain unobtrusive throughout the research,

this does not mean he or she does not take part in the groups' activities; on the contrary, participation is considered fundamental to understanding the experience, the situation, or the system. The ethnographer tries not to alter the existing situation markedly by his or her presence [emphasis added] (1980, p. 39).

Techniques of Fieldwork. Fieldwork is accomplished through a broad research approach known as participant observation. Rist notes that

qualitative research does have an internal order and logic to it. What is seen from the outside is not these attributes, but rather the density of employing observations, interviews, document analysis, historical research, and constant reframing of the key areas of study. The description of social reality is the description of a mosaic. Any method that would seek to do this must itself reflect and be open to the world as it is, not as we might wish it to be (Bogdan and Biklen, p. x).

Diversity of methods is one of the key techniques in ethnography. Ahola and Lucas identify four of the more common techniques and emphasize their interconnectedness. They note that

an ethnographic approach typically encompasses a number of interrelated techniques. Each plays a fundamental role in the context of the complete research design. Generally, these include participant observation, informal interviewing, formal interviewing, and the collection of personal documents (1981, p. 77).

Another technique used in ethnographic research is a flexible strategy that allows the researcher to shift his or her focus of study to fit changes in the field situation. Battersby mentions this as a strength when he writes that ethnographic research

is not built upon a structured and predetermined methodology, but rather it represents a strategy for continually redesigning research in light of emergent concepts. This kind of flexibility not only aids the creative generation of a conceptual framework, but it also ensures that it is intimately linked to data. For educational researchers, then, this anthropological strategy provides one opportunity whereby they can become more closely attuned to empirical data (1981, p. 97).

The importance of both direct observation of relevant events and the duration of the field study cannot be overemphasized. During 1939 and 1940, Charles Wagley spent fifteen months in the field observing the Tapirapé' Indians of Brazil. The importance of the duration of the observation period comes from evidence he gathered which refuted evidence from earlier and shorter observations made by a German anthropologist. Of this, Wagley records that "Balduz (1970:175ff) emphasized fishing among the Tapirapé' because he was in residence at the time of the year when fish were available. But throughout the year, the great preoccupation of the Tapirapé' was meat, which they got from hunting" (1977, p. 66). Wagley stayed in residence long enough to see a complete cycle of events, and thus gain a more accurate and complete perspective on this aspect of

Tapirape's life. Fetterman says that "the aim in employing these techniques is to gather data from the emic or "insider" perspective on "how the system works, . . ." (1980, p. 32). Pike describes the emic importance of understanding what is observed as a segment of a whole. He discusses the importance of focus on one segment and the whole and concludes that, "behavior structure is built like 'wheels within wheels,' very little can be said about the details of any complex behavior pattern without this fact being implicit in the description" (1967, p. 78). He illustrates his point by showing how etically a church service may be complete in itself. However, emically

even the church service itself is a segment of a larger series. For the individual it is part of a series of activities of that particular day of worship, and a weekly cycle of church activities. The "Bulletin," itself, indicates this clearly: the bulletin for the day first referred to in this chapter has sections entitled "Today," "this Week," and "Coming" is . . . a view beyond the immediate cycle, which would ultimately lead to a yearly one with regularly celebrated special days such as Easter (1967, p. 78).

In applying specific techniques to the research in this study, the researcher assumed there would be three primary sources of data as identified in the literature. First, Fetterman says that "working with informants is the hallmark of ethnographic fieldwork" (1980, p. 34). Hill -Burnett quotes Kimball as saying about fieldwork that "the fundamental nature of the anthropological approach to field method involves the observation of human activities in time and space" (1979, p. 242). Second, Wiedner, as quoted by Hitchcock, notes that the ethnographer becomes a primary source of data. He says:

By directing attention to the ethnographer's work and his encounters with his subjects or informants, the work of the accomplished sense, facticity, familiarity, objectivity, typicality, etc., of everyday activities may be observed first hand. The ethnographer's experience as such, "as an object in

a social world, then becomes a primary source of data" (1979, p. 204).

Hitchcock identifies a third source of data; the field notes themselves.

He promotes the idea

that the field notes themselves capture "the events as they happen," "the experience as it unfolds," the essential fragmentary bits and pieces quality of the activities in the ongoing activities of the group. . . . These field notes then constitute, as they stand, the primary data: they will bear a close resemblance to the character of the activities in question (1979, p. 208).

Hill-Burnett agrees with Hitchcock when she affirms that "the primary data records are kept in the form of field notes in a diary-like or journal-like log that give full account of what has been observed and heard" (1979, p. 244).

One final word concerning the methodology used: participant observation takes note of the intersubjective nature of the structures of everyday life. It recognizes that each person shares, to some extent, his/her intersubjective world with others. "Most importantly, I know that there is an ongoing correspondence between my meanings and their meanings in this world, that we share a common sense about its reality" (Ihde, 1977, p. 145). "The problem for investigation, then, becomes the structure of reality of this natural attitude, of everyday life in its intersubjective constitution" (Ihde, 1977, p. 146). The problem for the researcher is how to uncover the intersubjective world of another person or an event. The researcher followed four heuristics of phenomenology, to probe for what is "genuinely discoverable and potentially there, but not often seen" (Ihde, 1977, p. 26). The researcher (1) attended to phenomena as they occurred (2) described the phenomena, rather than explained them; (3) initially horizontalized all phenomena by making no value judgment until all the evidence (or enough evidence) was in; and

(4) sought out the intersubjective structures of the phenomena (Ihde, 1977, pp. 34-39). In accomplishing this the researcher kept in mind that

the discovery process and the questions raised by the researcher need not be related to any received or prior theory. Such theory is not necessary to inquiry in the field . . . The researcher is free to think of any or all pertinent theories and assumptions about his subject matter, and thereby frees himself from substantive orthodoxy (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 12).

This concept of perspective allowed the researcher to view the research objects from several angles. Schatzman and Strauss conclude that

perspective refers to an angle of observation. Like it or not, man is condemned to viewing from one (or more) perspectives or angles, as reality is infinitely complex and no observer can see it all. . . . For the field researcher, the matter of bias is accepted; his concern is directed at the fruitfulness of observation from any given angle (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 55).

The researcher tried to accomplish this task through following these guidelines as he interviewed, observed, and researched applicable documents. The researcher tried to force himself to stand back far enough from the phenomena, to be objective, yet close enough to it to learn its intersubjectivity. For, in the final analysis, it is ". . . 'reality' from the perspective of the actor as respondent. . . ." that matters in giving accounts (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 68).

### Research Design Concerns

Because of the controversy concerning the ability of naturalistic research to meet the standards for validity and reliability expected in quantitative research, the researcher feels it is appropriate as part of this literature review to address the issue here conceptually.

The value of scientific research is partially dependent on the ability of individual researchers to demonstrate the credibility of their findings. Regardless of the discipline or methods used for data collection and analysis, all scientific ways of knowing strive for authentic results. In all fields that engage in scientific inquiry, reliability and validity of findings are important. A common criticism directed at so called quantitative investigation . . . is that it fails to adhere to cannons of reliability and validity (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 31).

Criticism of qualitative research can be found in several sources, and the criticism is leveled at various components of the methodology involved. One methodology component receiving criticism is that of observer bias. Overholt alleges that

problems of observer bias and selective attention are present in ethnographic work, and they may be more severe than is the case with other methods of research. Ethnography incorporates no very effective controls for such sources of error. As a result, we have to take their word for what they conclude in their reports (1980, p. 16).

Two additional problems appear to be inherent in the method. These are that quantitative research standards for generalizability and reliability rarely exist for ethnographic data, and that data collection and reporting procedures are bound by ethical consideration of informants' confidentiality. Finnan mentions these potential problems when she states that

one kind is inherent in the method. Ethnography rarely generates data that meet standards of generalizability and reliability established for other research methods. The other kind of problem is of a procedural nature. For example . . . ethical problems of confidentiality arise . . . (1980, p. 202-203).

LeCompte and Goetz state that "the results of ethnographic research often are regarded as unreliable and lacking in validity and reliability" (1982, p. 32). They further note that "a discussion of reliability and validity problems in ethnographic research properly begins with specification of major differences between the two research traditions" (1980,



p. 32). They account for the criticisms leveled at ethnographic research design by noting that reliability and validity are approached differently by experimental and ethnographic research design, and they argue that both are credible and are not mutually exclusive. LeCompte and Goetz identify three major areas of difference: (1) the formulation of research problems; (2) the nature of research goals; and (3) the application of research results (1982, p. 33). These can be seen in Figure 3 on pages 86-87.

Validity. "Validity necessitates demonstration that the propositions generated, refined or tested match the causal conditions which obtain in human life" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 43). This can be examined by looking at both internal and external validity as it relates to ethnography.

"The threats that Campbell and Stanley . . . describe as posing difficulties for experimental research are equally applicable to ethnographic research, although they present somewhat different problems and may be resolved differently" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 44). The threats discussed here are: history, maturation, observer effects, selection, regression, mortality, and spurious conclusions.

Isaac and Michael note that "sometimes the subjects experience an event--in or out of the experimental setting--besides the exposure to X, that may affect their dependent variable scores" (1981, p. 60). This is the effect of contemporary history.

Ethnographers assume that history affects the nature of the data collected and that phenomena rarely remain constant. The ethnographic task is to establish which baseline data remain stable over time and which data change . . . Such change may be recurrent, progressive, cyclic, or aberrant; sources of change and their operation also need to be specified . . . This is facilitated by systematic replication and comparison of baseline

Area	Ethnography	Experimentation
Formulation of Problems	<p>"Formulation of an initial research problem involves both the delineation of a content area and the choice of appropriate design and methods for investigation. Experimental and ethnographic research differ in approach to these issues."</p> <p>"Ethnography . . . emphasizes the interplay among variables situated in a natural context. Credibility is established by systematically identifying and examining all causal and consequential factors."</p>	<p>"Credibility of the research design and the power of the treatment effect are established by holding constant or eliminating as many of the extraneous and contextual factors as possible."</p>
Nature of Goals	<p>"This issue relates less to initial formulation of a research question than to the stage of research at which the use of theory becomes salient, the way theoretical considerations are integrated into the study, and the extent to which the goal of the study is to substantiate existing theory or to generate new theories."</p> <p>"Ethnographers attempt to describe systematically the characteristics of variables and phenomena, to generate and refine conceptual categories, to discover and validate associations among phenomena, or to compare constructs and postulates generated from phenomena in one setting with comparable phenomena in another setting. Hypotheses, or causal propositions fitting the data and constructs generated, then may be developed and confirmed. Ethnographers commonly avoid assuming a priori constructs or relationships. Ethnographers hope to find a theory that explains their data."</p>	<p>"Experimental research is oriented to the verification or testing of causal propositions developed externally to the specific research site. Having hypothesized specific causal relationships between variables, experimenters test the strength or power of causes on effects. In a sense, experimental researchers hope to find data to match a theory."</p>

Area	Ethnography	Experimentation
Application of Results	<p>"Most findings from experiments, survey designs, and quasi-experimental studies are intended to be generalized from the subjects sampled to some wider population."</p> <p>"Ethnographers rarely have access even to these nonstatistical conditions for generalization. As a consequence, they aim in application for comparability and translatability of findings rather than for outright transference to groups not investigated. Comparability and translatability are factors that could contribute to effective generalization in experimental studies; they are crucial to the application of ethnographic research. Assuring comparability and translatability provides the foundation upon which comparisons are made. For ethnographers, both function as an analog to the goals of more closely controlled research: generalizability of research findings and production of causal statements."</p>	<p>"Generalization is warranted only where subjects have been sampled randomly from the entire population to which the findings are applied. This statistical condition obtains in few cases. Experimenters and survey analysts more commonly depend on design controls, sample size, and assumptions of equivalence to legitimate their generalizations."</p>
Triangulating Research Design	<p>"Specifications of differences in overall design between experimental and ethnographic research do not preclude legitimate sharing of data collection strategies."</p> <p>"Informal experiment occurs when ethnographers use deliberate manipulations to elicit participant sanctions for the violation of social norms or to provoke other reactions from subjects of a study. In these cases experimental manipulations are supplemental to ethnography, providing special data for a naturalistic study."</p>	<p>"Ethnographic techniques may be supplemental, augmenting reliability or validity of an experimental design. Such strategies enhance the replicability of a treatment by providing a procedural and contextual frame for experimental manipulation."</p>

Source: LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, pp. 33-35.

Figure 3. Qualitative and Quantitative Research Design Differences

data, analogous to the pretest data collected by experimenters (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 45).

"Biological and physiological processes within the subjects may change during the progress of the experiment will affect their responses" (Isaac and Michael, 1981, p. 60). This effect is called maturation.

Ethnographers, however, view maturational stages as varying according to cultural norms. Fieldworkers attempt to control for the effects of maturation by identifying explicitly what behaviors and norms are expected in different sociocultural contexts. They are less concerned with what people actually are capable of doing at some developmental stage than with how groups specify appropriate behavior for various developmental stages (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 45).

Isaac and Michael state that "changes in the testing instruments, human raters, or interviewers can affect the obtained measurements" (1981, p. 60). This they call the effect of measuring instruments.

LeCompte and Goetz say that

the threat to validity posed by observer effects in ethnography is parallel to the threats to experimental and survey studies posed by testing and instrumentation effects. The reactivity of instrumentation . . . is as problematic for ethnographers as it is for other social researchers. Participant observation and informant interviewing pose particular problems of their own (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982, p. 46).

LeCompte and Goetz consider nine observer effects that can threaten internal validity. They are presented here briefly in condensed outline form:

1. Direct observer effects may occur when informants become dependent on the ethnographer for status enhancement or the satisfaction of psychological needs (1982, p. 46).
2. Attempting to avoid problems of entanglement by assuming a position of neutrality can lead the researcher into other distortions. Detachment can destroy rapport and cause informants to infer indifference or even hostility on the part of the researcher. Consequent paranoid reactions may seriously affect the quality of data (1982, p. 46).
3. Participants may behave abnormally . . . This may be a consciously planned show in which subjects seek to reveal themselves in the best possible light, or it may be an unconscious distortion to provide what participants believe the

researcher wants to see. Interactive situations, in which participants respond spontaneously to the researcher's presence and attention, may result in phenomena comparable to the halo effect . . . (1982, p. 46).

4. Parallel to this problem in observation is the credibility of informant reports in interviewing. Informants may lie, omit relevant data, or misrepresent their claims (1982, p. 46).

5. Contrivance effects may distort data gathered: this obtains in situations where the ethnographer plans and executes some exceptional act in order to elicit responses from subjects. Such strategies may violate the research ethics of participant consent (1982, p. 47).

6. Research exhaustion, or the saturation of a setting for research purposes . . . occurs when the investigation ceases to reveal further new constructs (1982, p. 47).

7. Related to this may be the classic problem of going native: ethnographers participate to such a degree in groups that they can no longer maintain sufficient distance from the group role to observe and analyze objectively (1982, p. 47).

8. In cases where presentation of the perspective of participants is important, ethnographers must demonstrate that the categories are meaningful to the participants, reflect the way participants experience reality, and actually are supported by the data. Even where participant-derived constructs are less important, researcher-designated constructs still should be grounded in and congruent with actual data (1982, p. 47).

9. Researchers must guard against their own ethnocentrism and perceptual biases (1982, p. 47).

Isaac and Michael give the example of selection of subjects that indicates differences in the post test of the experimental and control groups may be due to "difference in the two groups rather than the effect of X" (1981, p. 61). They define statistical regression as when "groups are selected on the basis of their extreme scores" (1981, p. 61). The effects of X can be mistaken for the mean score's movement toward the mean of the population on the second test. LeCompte and Goetz address these two issues together since they have in common problems of selecting research subjects. They state:

In experimental research, control of selection and regression effects attempts to ensure that measured differences between treatment and control groups are caused by the treatment rather than by differences inherent in the groups. Although ethnographers rarely grapple with the problem of isolating treatment effects, they do cope with distortions in their data and

conclusions created by the selection of participants to observe and informants to interview (1982, p. 48).

Isaac and Michael say that "differential experimental mortality" is experienced "if a particular type of subject drops out of one group after the experiment is underway, this differential loss may affect the findings of the investigation" (1982, p. 61). LeCompte and Goetz address the issue:

The ways in which groups change over time as a result of losses and gains in membership pose special difficulties for ethnographers. Although experimenters may replace subjects who are lost from their studies, ethnographers assume that the naturalistic approach precludes the interchangeability of human informants and participants . . . Growth and attrition are assumed to be normal processes in most group settings, so the ethnographic task becomes the identification of their effects (1982, p. 49).

LeCompte and Goetz cite Cook and Campbell's "statistical conclusion validity" to be comparable to the "spurious conclusion" threat in ethnographic research. They cite Cook and Campbell as defining statistical conclusion validity as "(a) the extent to which a treatment actually caused a predicted effect and (b) the extent to which presumed phenomena actually covary or are causally related" (1982, p. 49).

LeCompte and Goetz suggest that the ethnographic research design controls for this problem because

the geneses of observed data are traced retrospectively. All plausible causes are delineated by examination of collected data and through discussion with informants. Elimination of rival explanations mandates control of factors threatening internal validity. It also requires effective and efficient retrieval systems for ethnographic data and the scrupulous use of corroboratory and alternative sources of data. These serve to support the fieldworker's search for negative instances of tentatively postulated relationships and disconfirming evidence for emergent constructs (1982, pp. 49-50).

LeCompte and Goetz show that naturalistic research also has to contend with external validity problems.

Threats to the external validity of ethnographic findings are those effects that obstruct or reduce a study's comparability and translatability. Four factors may affect the credibility of a study for cross group comparisons: selection effects, setting effects, history effects, and construct effects (1982, p. 51).

The factors are presented here briefly in outline form and are taken from LeCompte and Goetz:

1. Selection effects occur because "some constructs cannot be compared across groups because the researcher mistakenly has chosen groups for which the construct does not obtain" (1982, p. 56).

2. Setting effects occur because "simply by studying a group, culture, or setting, the investigator affects it in some ways" (1982, p. 52).

3. History effects occur because "cross-group comparison of the constructs may be invalid due to the unique historical experiences of groups and cultures" (1982, p. 52).

4. Construct effects occur when "the comparability of ethnographic studies may be reduced or obstructed by idiosyncratic use of initial analytic constructs or by generation of constructs so peculiar to a particular group that they are useless for cross-group examinations" 1982, p. 53).

Reliability. Isaac and Michael define reliability as "the consistency between measures in a series" (1981, p. 122). LeCompte and Goetz take this concept and apply it to naturalistic research:

Reliability refers to the extent to which studies can be replicated. It requires that a researcher using the same methods can obtain the same results as those of a prior study. This poses a herculean problem for researchers concerned with naturalistic behavior or unique phenomena. Establishing the reliability of ethnographic design is complicated by the nature of the data and the research process, by conventions in the presentation of findings, and by traditional modes of training researchers (1982, p. 35).

When discussing internal reliability, LeCompte and Goetz contend that

because ethnographers rarely use the standardized protocols for which some types of interrelater reliability are crucial, the more pertinent concern is whether multiple observers agree with each other and with the originator of general constructs on their classifications or on a typology with which to begin categorization. Thus, the agreement ethnographers seek is more appropriately designated interobserver reliability. Agreement

is sought on the description or composition of events rather than on the frequency of events (1982, p. 41).

Five strategies are commonly used by ethnographers to reduce threats to internal reliability: "Low-inference descriptors, multiple researchers, participant researchers, peer examination, and mechanically recorded data" (1982, p. 41). They are presented here briefly in outline form and are taken from LeCompte and Goetz:

1. Low inference descriptors, phrased in terms as concrete and precise as possible, are mandated for all ethnographic research. These include verbatim accounts of what people say as well as narratives of behavior and activity. Those ethnographies rich in primary data, which provide the reader with multiple examples from the field notes, generally are considered to be the most credible . . . (1982, p. 41).

2. The optimum guard against threats to internal reliability in ethnographic studies may be the presence of multiple researchers. Ethnographies based on team observation constitute the minority. . . . (1982, p. 41-42).

3. Participant researchers are many times asked by researchers to "confirm that what the observer has seen and recorded is being viewed identically and consistently by both subjects and researcher" (1982, p. 42).

4. Peer examination can take any one or all of three forms. First, ethnographers may integrate descriptions and conclusions from other fieldworkers in their presentations. Second, findings from studies conducted concurrently at multiple sites . . . may be analyzed and integrated. Finally, the publication of results constitutes an offering of material for peer review (1982, p. 42).

5. Ethnographers use a variety of mechanical devices to record and preserve data. Video and audio tape recorders, cameras, are becoming standard equipment in the collection of ethnographic data (1982, p. 43).

LeCompte and Goetz realistically approach the problem of external reliability when they concede that

because of factors such as the uniqueness or complexity of phenomena and the individualistic and personalistic nature of the ethnographic process, ethnographic research may approach rather than attain external reliability. Ethnographers enhance the external reliability of their data by recognizing and handling five major problems: researcher status position, informant choices, social situations and conditions, analytic constructs and premises, and methods of data collection and analysis (1982, p. 37).



They are presented here briefly in outline form and are taken from

LeCompte and Goetz:

1. Researcher status position can be rephrased "to what extent are researchers members of the studied groups and what positions do they hold? Ethnographic conclusions are qualified by the investigator's social role within the research site. Because ethnographic data depends on the social relationship of researcher with subjects, research reports must clearly identify the researcher's role and status within the group investigated" (1982, p. 37-38).

2. "Closely related to the role the researcher plays is the problem of identifying the informants who provide data. Different informants represent different groups of constituents; they provide researchers with access to some people, but preclude access to others. Participants who gravitate toward ethnographers and other field researchers may be atypical of the group under investigation; similarly, those sought by ethnographers as informants and confidants also may be atypical" (1982, p. 38).

3. Social situations and conditions influence the content of ethnographic data. "What informants feel to be appropriate to reveal in some contexts and circumstances may be inappropriate under other conditions. Delineation of the physical, social, and interpersonal contexts within which data are gathered enhances the replicability of ethnographic studies" (1982, p. 38-39).

4. "Even if a researcher reconstructs the relationships and duplicates the informants and social contexts of a prior study, replication may remain impossible if the constructs, definitions, or units of analysis which informed the original research are idiosyncratic or poorly delineated. Replication requires explicit identification of the assumptions and meta-theories that underlie choice of terminology and methods of analysis (1982, p. 39).

5. "Ideally, ethnographers strive to present their methods so clearly that other researchers can use the original report as an operation manual by which to replicate the study. Replicability is impossible without precise identification and thorough description of the strategies used to collect data. Although this admonition may appear elementary to experimental researchers, knowledge of ethnographic technique is apprehended incompletely and shared unevenly across the disciplines now using them" (1982, p. 40).

Generalizability. Tikunoff and Ward, when discussing validity and generalizability of ethnographic studies, comment that "for naturalistic research, this means that other people in similar situations and similar settings can verify the findings as being true for themselves" (1980, p.

277). LeCompte and Goetz affirm that ethnographers rarely have access to design controls, sample size and the assumptions of equivalence that quantitative researchers commonly rely on to legitimize their generalizations. "They note that as a consequence, they aim in application for comparability and translatability of findings rather than for outright transference to groups not investigated" (1982, p. 34). Tikunoff and Ward note that this means if the study "describes what actually what is-- what occurred, what conditions existed, what interactions took place," it is valid research (1980, p. 277). LeCompte and Goetz conclude of description, that "once the typicality of a phenomenon is established, bases for comparison may be assumed" (1982, p. 51). The typicality of a phenomenon can be established--and thereby the findings generalized--because of four general data collection and analysis techniques used as cited by LeCompte and Goetz:

1. The ethnographer's common practice of living among participants and collecting data for long periods provides opportunities for continual analysis and comparison . . . (1982, p. 43).
2. Informant interviewing . . . necessarily is phrased more closely to the empirical categories of participants . . . (1982, p. 43).
3. Participant observation . . . is conducted in natural settings that reflect the reality of life experiences of participants . . . (1982, p. 43).
4. Ethnographic analysis incorporates a process of researcher self-monitoring, termed disciplined subjectivity, . . . that exposes all phases of the research activity to continual questioning and reevaluation (1982, p. 43).

### Conclusion

Although there are questions raised concerning reliability, validity, and generalizability, these are only issues if one assumes quantitative research design is the only scientifically valid research design. The researcher assumes that both qualitative and quantitative research

designs are valid, depending on the desired research outcomes. Neither design measures the same phenomena in the same way nor do they lend themselves to reporting the findings in the same way. Neither is mutually exclusive of the other.

This researcher concludes, however, after a comparison of both research designs, that qualitative ethnographic research is the research form best suited for studying the effects of involuntary teacher transfers because it attempts to understand human behavior in terms of how the participants view their own human condition. Since schools are social organizations and education is a distinctly human process, it would appear logical to apply ethnographic research methods to problems and issues in education. Ethnographic research is superior to purely quantitative research in that the ethnographer, by virtue of his/her time in the field, can view the human condition around him as if he were an insider or, at least, through the insider's eyes.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PROCEDURES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research population, and the various methods used in data collection and analysis.

#### Introduction

Closing schools is no easy task. Neither is it something that should frighten us. Closing schools implies consolidation, and in the process, the trauma of reductions in force and/or involuntary relocation of those teachers who remain. Stress, as an integral part of the teaching profession, has been well documented by others. The process of reduction in force and involuntary reassignment causes additional stress which can have a negative effect on both the teachers' health and their effectiveness in the classroom. Because schools will continue to be closed as the enrollment declines and the costs of education soar, school district policies and personnel actions should play a crucial role in alleviating the trauma especially of those remaining teachers who are involuntarily reassigned.

#### Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to describe and explain the effects of involuntary job reassignment on public school elementary teachers in one rural school district.

### The Problem

School year 1975-1976 saw the North Umpqua School District K-12 enrollment peak at 5,978. From then, until school year 1981-1982, the K-12 enrollment steadily declined to 5,220. Projected enrollment figures through school year 1986-1987 indicate a continual decline until the enrollment plateaus at 4,051 students K-12.

School board membership had remained relatively stable over the years, until about 1980 when several new members began to be elected. During this period of membership change, board sentiment grew that perhaps the board had not decreased the number of teachers over the years commensurate with the declining enrollment (see p. 21). In addition to the economically unfavorable pupil-teacher ratio this caused, the district had not been able to fund adequately all needed building repairs over the same period of time. Consequently two elementary schools were in need of major repair. Architectural studies showed that repair costs would be excessively high in relation to: (1) the district's then current and projected financial status; (2) the physical condition of two buildings; and (3) the availability of ample unused classroom space in more modern schools closer to the largest town in the district, North Umpqua. The majority board opinion is summed up by the same two board members.

I had been on the board one or two months and I was looking at the financial figures. It was obvious to me that we were in trouble. My calculations said roughly \$1,000,000 is what we were going to be in the hole the following year (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 5).

Basically, we had severe physical problems with two of those schools that were closed--just almost insurmountable out at Green Park. It's a six acre site and there are three septic tanks and three separate drain fields on that site. The health department went ahead and let us use that, but it required every two weeks the tanks had to be pumped. And they had well

problems. Then the building was one of the Schoolmaker designs which, as I understand it, was the equivalent of a prefab or a panelized type of construction. It's got a life span of about 25 years and we'd gone by that by five or six years. We'd had an architect look the buildings over from the standpoint of what it would cost to do a good job of remodeling. The dollars came out in excess of what, you could accept, or what we could sell to the whole community (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 4).

The schools we closed served some useful purposes. When I say useful purpose, I'm talking about the fact that it gets rid of a lot of overhead or the costs, not only in that it reduced the number of administrators, it reduced the number of teachers. And at the same time we got rid of a couple of schools who were going to be a maintenance nightmare. They literally would have nicked and dined--well thousands of dollars is a better way of putting it,--would have been squandered in maintenance costs that would have been far better off being used to teach kids (FN, Olsen, 1-19-83, card 5).

We had unused capacity at Riverview that was a five-six year old building, a beautiful building. We had classroom seats available for the kids that were going to be displaced there within five miles at the most of busing (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 4).

In the fall of 1981, the board determined it would have a deficit of \$1,000,000 for school year 1982-1983 unless stringent budget reductions were imposed the beginning of the new fiscal year which began July first. Between October 21 and December 15, 1981, intense district and board level activity occurred as a board directed group of principals, district office administrators, and the board treasurer focused their attention on the fiscal problem and possible solutions. On December 15, 1981, the board voted essentially to approve a list of proposed budget reductions effective school year 1982-1983 of \$1,037,000 (Board of Education, Regular Meeting Minutes, December 15, 1981, p. 1096). Included in the budget reduction package were three line items of significance to this study. One of them realized a net initial savings of \$217,000 by closing three K-5 elementary schools. Two of the three also were the same ones in need of major repairs. The third was closed so that the total elementary enrollment could be evenly distributed between the remaining five

schools. Two of the line items realized a net savings of \$360,000 by eliminating thirty-six teaching positions ("Budget Information for 1982-1983 School Year," November 30, 1981).

### The Population

The involuntary reassignment process began in March, 1982 when the school district sent "pink slips" to 108 (38.7%) of the professional staff. Sixty-six (61.11%) were recalled. The reductions in force, recall, and reassignments, are summarized in Table 7. The population for this study consists of the K-5 elementary classroom teachers and special education teachers who were involuntarily reassigned for school year 1982-1983.

Before the reduction in force, during school year 1981-82, the district employed seventy-six K-5 classroom teachers and twenty-seven special education teachers. After the reduction in force, at the beginning of school year 1982-83, the district employed sixty-nine K-5 teachers and twenty-eight special education teachers. Thirty-seven of the sixty-nine K-5 teachers received different teaching assignments. Seven of the twenty-eight special education teachers received different and/or new special education assignments.

There were four reasons for involuntary reassignment. First was the placement of displaced teachers from the three closed elementary schools. This accounted for seventeen classroom teachers. Second was the placement of RIFed and recalled teachers. This accounted for twenty-one classroom and special education teachers. Third, three teachers who were not affected in this way, involuntarily changed grade levels at their

Table 7. Teacher Reduction in Force and Recall

Teacher Category	1981-82 Total Professional Staff	Professional Staff Resigned/ on Leave	Professional Staff Pink-Slipped	Professional Staff Recalled	1982-83 New Hire	1982-83 Total Professional Staff
K-5	76	1	27	23	0	69
6-8	68	1	18	8	0	55
9-12	89	3	30	10	0	68
Special Education	27	0	20	21	0	28
Special Inst.	13	1	8	3	1	10
Title I	4	0	3	1	0	2
Reserve Tchr.	1	0	1	0	0	0
Nurse	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	279	6	108	66	1	232

Source: North Umpqua School District Faculty List 1981, 1982; and Seniority List, 1981-82.

their principal's request. These changes were necessitated by grade level enrollment realignment within their respective schools. Fourth, Mr. Allen, the personnel director, made three management initiated involuntary transfers involving two elementary teachers and one middle school teacher who were neither RIFed nor displaced. Table 8 summarizes the reasons for the different assignments for elementary and special education teachers during the spring and summer of 1982.



Table 8. Reasons For Personnel Change, 1982-83 Staff

	K-5	Special Ed.
Reassignment Due to Displacement	17 (3) <sup>(a)</sup>	0
Reassignment Due to RIF & Recall	23 (6)	5
Reassignment Due to Realignment within School	3	0
Management Initiated Realignment within District	1	2 (1)
Total	44	7

Source: North Umpqua School District Faculty List 1981, 1982; and Seniority List, 1981-82.

(a) Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of teachers involved in this study.

Table 9 summarizes the degree of job change due to reassignment.

Table 9. Degree of Job Change Due to Reassignment

	K-5	Special Ed.
Same School - Same Grade	7	0
Same School - Different Grade	7	1
Different School - Same Grade	8	5
Different School - Different Grade	22 (9) <sup>(a)</sup>	1 (1)
Total Reassigned	44	7

Source: North Umpqua School District Faculty List 1981, 1982; and Seniority List, 1981-82.

(a) Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of teachers involved in the study.

### Sampling Procedures

Unlike the procedures in many other types of research, sampling in participant observation studies is not designed and executed in advance of data collection but is continually carried on throughout the study. . . . As a consequence, participant observers can seldom prescribe their samples in advance but only describe and justify them after the fact . . . (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 64).

McCall and Simmons identify two general types of sampling procedures which the researcher did use. First is the

quota sample, in which . . . the researcher is aware of certain formal categories of organization members and he determines beforehand that he will interview and observe at least a few persons from each of these categories . . . (1969, p. 64).

This approach was used in that the researcher determined six categories of school system members and collected data from them all. They were: (1) involuntarily reassigned teachers; (2) incumbent teachers; (3) principals; (4) district staff personnel; (5) teachers' union officials; and (6) school board members.

A second type of sampling procedure often employed in participant observation is the snowball sample, in which . . . choosing one informant may generate information about other persons which leads the observer to contact one of these others as a second informant, who in turn directs him to a third informant, etc., in an extensive chain of contacts (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 64).

Use of this type of sample is seen in the expansion of the research project from two teachers in one elementary school to ten teachers in three elementary schools.

### Background

Beginning in August, 1983, the sixty-nine K-5 elementary teachers were housed in five schools; 19 in Spring Hill Elementary; 10 in Woodlawn Elementary; 13 in Hillcrest Elementary; 12 in Meadow Elementary; and 15 in Riverview Elementary. Riverview Elementary School was the primary

site for the focus of this study. There are several reasons for this. First, a board member from North Umpqua suggested that it would be an excellent site because of the quality of the teachers and the principal. Second, this school is an open concept school with no internal classroom walls. In this regard, the school was an atypical physical setting for a North Umpqua elementary school. The researcher was unfamiliar with this type of school and felt it would provide a better setting in which to make the familiar strange. It did not. Third, since the researcher views the research project as a professional growth experience, conducting research in an open concept school provides a unique opportunity to observe first hand, over time, the operation of such a school. Fourth, and most important, the researcher was told that five teachers were going to be involuntarily reassigned to Riverview as part of the overall reassignment process. This would provide the researcher with potentially five new teachers in one building who were reassigned from four other schools in the district. The researcher assumed this fact would help make these teachers' experiences more representative of the others within the population.

### The Selection Process

Since this study is not statistical in nature, but descriptive of a process, no attempt was made to select a random sample of informants from the population, nor were all the informants chosen at the same time. Negotiating entry to a research site is a continuous process. In the case of this study, permission to enter the school system at one school site provided the means for the researcher to build credibility with informants. This credibility led to the ability to negotiate entry to other school sites and personnel. When access to the district was nego-

tiated with Superintendent Dr. Meyers, the researcher requested that he be allowed to conduct the study at only one site, Riverview Elementary, for reasons already stated above. The researcher asked to work in only one of the five elementary schools because he felt there would not be adequate time to observe more teachers in more schools with the thoroughness required in participant observation studies.

Tentative district access was negotiated with the Superintendent Dr. Meyers, in March, 1982 (FN 3-17-82, card 1). Completion of the second step of negotiating entry at the district level--board of education approval--did not come until mid-August (North Umpqua Public Schools Regular Board Meeting, August 17, 1982, p. 1163). This time delay imposed a limitation on the study since the researcher could not begin to conduct the research without board approval.

Specific site access was negotiated with the principal of Riverview Elementary School, Mr. Austin, in April, 1982. (FN 4-23-82, card 3). After he approved the research project, he talked to his staff and the five new teachers to see if his staff would approve the research, and to see if the new teachers were interested in participating in the research project. Only after these discussions took place did he release to the researcher the names and phone numbers of the newly reassigned teachers and give his permission to contact them (FN, Austin, 6-8-82). This process of school site negotiation lasted from April through early June, 1982.

The initial negotiation process with individual teachers began in June and continued through August 30, 1982. During this period all five teachers were contacted by phone. Three declined to participate: Ms. Underwood, Ms. Gilbert, and Ms. Brand. Ms. Underwood did not give a

reason for declining. She just said, "I have thought over my involvement with the research project and I have decided that I do not want to participate" (FN, 7-8-82). Ms. Gilbert said, "I am too busy with the change in schools and teaching assignment, so I am not interested" (FN 7-6-82). Ms. Brand also did not give a reason. She said, "I've done a lot of thinking about it and I'd rather not" (FN 7-14-82). Two teachers, Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell, agreed to participate in the study. Ms. Scott agreed to participate in June, and we met for lunch to become acquainted and discuss the research design. Her major concern centered on the time her participation would involve (FN 6-27-82). Ms. Scott knew the other four teachers, and her influence helped persuade Ms. Campbell to participate also (FN 6-30-82). At first, Ms. Campbell said, "I will participate if the other four teachers do" (FN 6-20-82). Later, she told me, "I will do whatever Ms. Scott does" (FN 7-20-82).

School began on Monday, August 30, 1982 with a teacher work day. That was the first personal contact the researcher had with any of the Riverview staff and all of the newly reassigned teachers except Ms. Scott. Two days later, two teachers asked the researcher if he was interested in working at other schools also. Ms. Abbott saw the researcher in the hall before school, came over, and talked to him.

Ms. Abbott: Are you limited to working in this building?

Researcher: No, but I've limited myself so I can concentrate on one site and one group of teachers. Why?

Ms. Abbott: Well, I work at two schools and there are some teachers that are much more unhappy than here. At Woodlawn there is a young man who has been bounced around for several years job-to-job, school-to-school and is so disgruntled that he has his resume out for jobs outside of education. [Then she told him about two teachers at Meadow who were really unhappy.] When I visited the school the other day, I saw them and their chins were down to here (she gestures with her hand to show

chins at about chest height) (FN 9-1-82, card 1).

A few minutes later, the researcher was talking to Ms. Campbell about keeping our interactive diary. Suddenly, she said:

Ms. Campbell: Would you be interested in working with some teachers at other schools?

Researcher: Yes, I would. I'm concerned about the time I could be involved in each of several schools, but working at several sites would add validity to the study.

Ms. Campbell: Then you'd be agreeable to working at other schools?

Researcher: Yes, that would really please me.

Ms. Campbell: I'll see what I can do (FN 9-10-82, card 1).

The next day, there was a district-wide administrators' meeting at the district office to which the researcher was invited. Dr. Meyers introduced the researcher briefly and asked Mr. Austin if he could add any comments. Mr. Austin spoke very favorably about researcher-teacher rapport and suggested other principals might want to have some of their teachers involved in the research. Several principals expressed an interest, so Mr. Austin volunteered to coordinate their requests (FN 9-2-82, card 2). The next morning Ms. Campbell and the researcher were talking:

Researcher: Have you had a chance to talk to any other teachers about working with me?

Ms. Campbell: I talked to Mr. Austin. He is going to talk to the other principals. If anyone can talk them into it, he can. You know, now that you're here, we can see what you do. When you presented it in the spring, it was nebulous because we didn't know what it would be like (FN 9-3-82, card 1).

During the morning recess on September 9, 1982, the researcher headed for the Riverview faculty lounge for coffee and eavesdropping. Mr. Austin was there and said, "Things should slow down next week. I'd like to take you around to the other schools and have you get acquainted. You could

select another site to work in that would fit what you are looking for" (FN, Austin, 9-9-82). On September 13, the researcher again asked Mr. Austin about going to the other schools. He said, "I think Meadow is probably the best bet, so we'll start there. I will call and set it up" (MN, 9-13-82). The next day Mr. Austin again told the researcher, "I'll call the Meadow principal" (MN, 9-14-82). Mr. Austin did set up a meeting with the principal, Mr. Ball, and the reassigned Meadow teachers for 8 a.m. on September 23, 1982. Mr. Austin said "the Meadow principal is expecting you tomorrow at 8 a.m. He will introduce you to some of the teachers" (MN, 9-22-82). Five reassigned teachers met for about one hour with the researcher. The researcher was introduced to everyone in the faculty lounge, and then met with those reassigned teachers who wished to hear more about the study. The fieldnotes record that "Two were interested enough to take the researcher's name and phone number. One of the two called the researcher the next evening to say she was interested in the study" (MN 9-23-82). From this meeting two Meadow teachers, Ms. Fox and Ms. Eddy, joined the study on October 14, 1982.

After Mr. Austin had made the Meadow school contact, the researcher asked him if the researcher could make contact with other principals on his own. Permission was secured and Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest Elementary School, was contacted. He set up a joint meeting between himself, reassigned teachers, and the researcher on October 6, 1982. Based on that meeting, one teacher, Ms. Baird, agreed to join the study. Several weeks later Ms. Carpenter, a Hillcrest teacher, stopped the researcher in the hall and introduced herself. She said she had missed the original meeting with the reassigned teachers, but was reassigned and

interested in the study. The researcher and she discussed the study and she became the second Hillcrest teacher to become part of the study.

Meanwhile, at Meadow Elementary, the research had been in progress for two weeks when Ms. Fox suggested that the researcher might want to talk to Ms. Gates about her experiences in being pink slipped and involuntarily reassigned (MN, 10-28-82). The following week, Ms. Fox again suggested that he talk with Ms. Gates and said, "Ms. Gates is interested in talking to you about her reassignment" (MN, 11-4-82). She went on to explain:

I talked to Cheryl Gates last night and she said that she would talk to you. She said she didn't know. She was never introduced to you so she felt that she didn't qualify for your study for some reason. And I said, "No, I think you do." and she said, "My building wasn't closed so I thought I didn't qualify." And I said, "No, because my building didn't close either and I'm doing it." So she said she wouldn't mind talking to you. So I think you might at least go down and you'll get some information. She had a real hard time and you might get some really valuable information (MN, 11-4-82).

At lunch that day, the researcher determined who Cheryl Gates was by the description Ms. Fox had given him. Also, someone called her Cheryl, which reconfirmed her identity. She told a teacher she was going to the armory. After a few minutes, the researcher followed her and caught up with her. He found her with her arms full of assorted teaching materials. The researcher introduced himself, told her about the research, and asked for an hour interview. She said, "yes," and she and the researcher talked as they walked back over to the school. (ON, 11-4-82). She became the researcher's third informant at Meadow, and the seventh teacher to participate in the study.

At Riverview, the researcher was still interested in including Ms. Underwood, Ms. Gilbert, and Ms. Brand in the study. Because they each had originally declined to participate in the study, their involvement



had to be renegotiated. Each was asked to participate in the study by allowing themselves to be interviewed about their experience of being involuntarily transferred. Each agreed to participate in that manner, and so became the last three teachers to be part of the study. Figure 4 summarizes who the ten teachers are who participated in the study and shows both their former school assignment and their school after involuntary reassignment. The (C) indicates which schools were closed.

Teacher	School Assignment 1981-1982	Grade Assignment 1981-1982	School Assignment 1982-1983	Grade Assignment 1982-1983
Ms. Baird	Riverview	2	Hillcrest/ Woodlawn	1-5, Spl. Ed.
Ms. Brand	Lakeview (C)	K	Riverview	1/2 Comb.
Ms. Campbell	Green Park (C)	K	Riverview	2
Ms. Carpenter	Forest Glen (C)	2	Hillcrest	1-5, Reading
Ms. Eddy	Lakeview (C)	5	Meadow	K
Ms. Fox	Oak Park	6	Meadow	2
Ms. Gates	Spring Hill	4	Meadow	3
Ms. Gilbert	Woodlawn	K	Riverview	1
Ms. Scott	Evergreen	6	Riverview	4
Ms. Underwood	Evergreen	6	Riverview	4

Source: Fieldnotes

Figure 4. Teacher School Assignments

Others who participated in the study included: (a) five elementary school principals; (b) two middle school principals; (c) five district level administrators; (d) seven out of eight school board members from the 1981-82 school year; (e) one psychologist who worked for the school district part time; and (f) the teachers' union president for school year 1982-83. Two people refused to participate in the study. One was the teachers' union president from school year 1981-82. Fieldnotes for October 1982 indicate that:

Mr. King called and said he had gotten a message to call me but had been too busy. I told him I was conducting research in the

North Umpqua district and would like to interview him about the teachers' union's involvement in the teacher transfer process last year. He said he would like to have me talk to someone else because he was too busy. I told him that, since he had been the president last year, I wanted to begin with him. He again deferred, and suggested I talk to Ms. Lewis, the new president (FN, 10-29-82).

The second person was Mr. Reed, one of the school board members. When contacted in December, 1982, he explained that he was very busy and that he would call the researcher back. That never happened (informal notation in interview notebook). The principals, district personnel, school board members, union president, and psychologist were all contacted by phone and/or in person by the researcher.

### Methodology

This section discusses both the methods used for data collection and the methods for data analysis. Figure 5 gives an overview of appropriate research methods for the type of information desired.

#### Methods of Data Collection

The original research design envisioned the primary method for data collection to be participant observation. This method calls for the researcher to be physically present at the research site on a continuing basis over an extended period of time. During this period of time, the researcher interacts with his/her informants, observes the phenomena occurring in the informants' world, records what is seen and heard and tries to understand that world with the informants' understanding. The researcher adopted the participant observation that Gold describes as the "participant-as-observer" and Schatzman and Strauss call the "observer-as-participant" (Gold, 1958, p. 220 and Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 61). Wolcott notes that this is a role "in which the observer is known

Information Types	Methods of Obtaining Information		
	Enumerations and Samples	Participant Observation	Interviewing Informants
Frequency distributions	Prototype and best form	Usually inadequate and inefficient	Often, but not always, inadequate; if adequate it is efficient
Incidents, histories	Not adequate by itself; inefficient	Prototype and best form	Adequate with precautions, and efficient
Institutionalized norms and statuses	Adequate but inefficient	Adequate, but inefficient, except for unverb- alized norms	Most efficient and hence best form

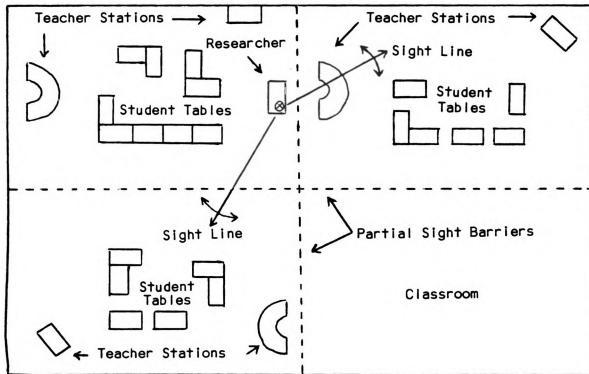
Source: Zelditch, Morris Jr., 1969, p. 17.

Figure 5. Methodology and Information Types

to all and is present in the system as a scientific observer, participating by his presence but at the same time usually allowed to do what observers do rather than expected to perform as others perform" (1973, p. 8). Beginning with the initial entry negotiation meeting in March, 1982 with Dr. Meyers, the researcher made it plain that he was a school administrator, a graduate student, and a researcher. This background information was repeated many times as new contacts were made with the various informants and others within the school system not directly connected with the study.

Classroom Observations. Data collection from the classroom using participant observation techniques was accomplished while the researcher was physically seated in the classroom. Although the physical location in the room changed periodically, the researcher usually sat at a teacher

work table. A typical classroom observation setting is shown in Figure 6. Eighty-two classroom observations were made between August 30 and December 15, 1982. These observations were made in six different classrooms in four different elementary schools. All observations except one involved involuntarily reassigned teachers. During classroom observation time, the researcher was never restricted by the teacher in moving around the room. Part of the observation time was spent in fulfilling entry negotiation reciprocity commitments to help teachers in the classroom.



Source: FN, 10-25-82, card 2.

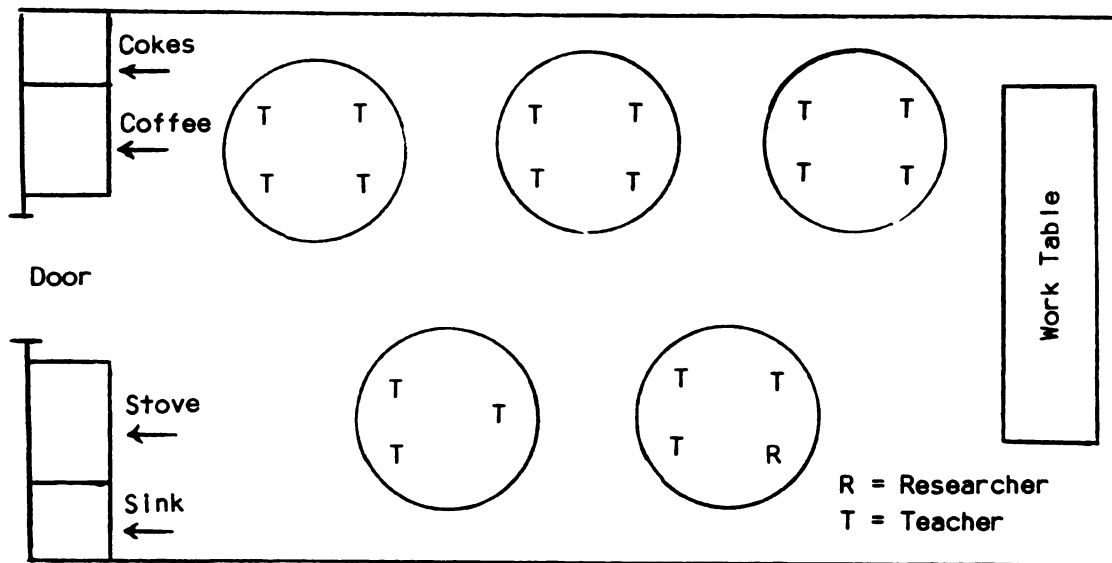
Figure 6. Classroom Observation Position

This actually helped the observations because it either allowed the researcher to move around the room helping students while keeping one ear and an eye on the teacher's activities, or allowed the researcher to sit at a table correcting papers or cutting out bulletin board materials

while keeping one eye and an ear on what the teacher was doing. Occasionally, while students were doing seat work, the teacher would sit at the same table as the researcher. That provided an excellent time to talk about many things. During the classroom observations, the researcher kept both his notebook and tape recorder nearby and spent much of the time either writing or recording. The length of the classroom observations varied from about 40 minutes to 2 1/2 hours each.

Faculty Lounge Observations. Another place the researcher gathered data was in faculty lounges. The researcher spent varying amounts of time in the faculty lounges at three of the four schools where the study was conducted. Very few actual fieldnotes were recorded during this time because the researcher felt it inappropriate conduct. Most of the lounge talk and activity was social in nature, and the researcher spent most of the time socializing--always with one ear and one eye open to pick up information important to the study. Fieldnotes were written with discretion so as not to alter the social setting. A favorite tool used during faculty lounge time was eavesdropping on conversations and activities. The researcher tried always to position himself so that he had the maximum view of the lounge area. Figure 7 shows a typical lounge arrangement at lunch.

Other Observations. A variety of other settings also provided opportunities to observe the teachers' world. These included watching and talking with teachers while they performed playground duty at recesses, and visiting with them at faculty social functions. Very few fieldnotes were gathered during these times because they were awkward to record. An illustration of the awkwardness of collecting data in some social situations can be seen in the conversation the researcher had in



Source: Fieldnotes, 10-11-82, card 3.

Figure 7. Faculty Lounge Observation Position

October 1982 with Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell. The discussion centered around the upcoming faculty Halloween party which was a hayride and potluck with a big bonfire.

- Researcher: I promise that on Friday night I'm not going to bring my tape recorder, or my notebook, or a pencil.
- Ms. Scott: They'll burn it if you do.
- Ms. Campbell: (laughs) They might!
- Ms. Scott: You think I'm kidding, don't you? I'm not. I'm being perfectly serious. And, if they don't, I might! (Ms. Campbell laughs again.) I don't want to have to think about school on that, and neither does anyone else. If you're going to do that you can leave. (Ms. Campbell laughs again.)
- Researcher: I had no intention of bringing anything like that (MN, 10-19-82 Journal Meeting).

Data Yield From Observations. Originally, the research design was to concentrate on participant observation of teachers as they interacted with peers and students as the primary means of discovering and understanding the stress of being involuntarily reassigned. Table 10 summarizes the three methods used during the field portion of the

Table 10. Research Methods Used

	Observations	Interviews	Documents
1982 - April	0	2	0
August	4	0	0
September	30	15	8
October	20	16	16
November	18	29	35
December	10	28	1
1983 - January	0	5	1
February	0	0	0
March	0	1	0
July	0	1	0
Total	82	97	61

Source: Fieldnotes.

research. Note that September was the peak month for classroom observations. Observation was chosen as the primary research method because it was assumed that the stress and trauma of being involuntarily reassigned would be manifested primarily through observable behavior such as the ways teachers talked to their students and peers. The classroom observations yielded little information about stress compared to interviews, however.

Interviewing. Schatzman and Strauss note that in the course of conducting field research the researcher "must listen, then, to symbolic sounds to supplement and correct his observations" (1973, p. 70). They go on to note that

at the site, the researcher regards all conversation between himself and others as forms of interviewing. Indeed, he would prefer to have most of his "interviews" this way, if possible; it is a natural way of getting information and a comfortable form of social engagement for him and for his hosts (1973, p. 71).

Gorden, when comparing ordinary conversation with interviewing, says that

just as interviewing cannot be divorced from other methods of gaining understanding of human behavior, neither can it be separated from the basic skills of ordinary conversation. Any two-way conversation involves many of the same skills and insights needed for successful interviewing. The main difference is in the central purpose of interviewing as opposed to other forms of conversation (1980, p. 19).

Most of the interviews were conducted as formal interviews in that they were prearranged with the informant as to the general topic, time, place, and date. They followed Gorden's design of the nonscheduled standardized interview. Gorden says that

the standardized interview is designed to collect precisely the same categories of information from a number of respondents; and the answers of all respondents must be comparable and classifiable. . . .



There are two sub-types of the standardized interview, the scheduled and the nonscheduled. The scheduled interview not only specifies the questions in advance but also uses the questions in the same order with each respondent. The non-scheduled interview gives the interviewer some choice as to the order of the questions, freedom to attempt alternative working of the same question, and freedom to use neutral probes if the first response to a question is not clear, complete, or relevant (1980, pp. 45-46).

Interviews with all school informants took place at their work site during working hours. District personnel preferred using their offices. Teachers, in most cases, suggested that the interview be held in their classroom, if given opportunity to choose. Several teachers said they did not care where they were interviewed, so the researcher chose a private room where the acoustics for tape recording were excellent. After December 7, 1982, however, the researcher conducted all interviews either in classrooms or in open areas such as the library. The reason for the change was that two of the informants became upset seeing the researcher go into a private room and shutting the door when conducting interviews.

Ms. Scott: Maybe we're paranoid! I don't like other people sitting around talking about me. It bugs me when I see you walk into that room and close the door and yet we can sit here right out in the open. It bugs the heck out of me! It does! I went marching right over to Gwen and said, "Do you know what he's doing?" She says, "I know. Let's find out what he's talking about." Sorry, I don't like it. . . . And you are talking specifically about me. It makes me feel that way, and I don't like it.

Ms. Campbell: I guess we want to know if you are specifically talking about us. What are you asking (MN, 12-7-82, Journal Meeting, card 1)?

Teachers were interviewed before classes began (during working hours), during recess, lunch, and after school.

Principals, with one exception, preferred to meet in their offices.

The exception chose to meet in the library, the faculty lounge, or an

empty classroom. All principals scheduled interviews during working hours.

Three out of seven school board members were interviewed during working hours in their offices. One member chose to be interviewed during his working hours, but at the school board office. Another member chose to be interviewed at a restaurant in the late afternoon. Two members chose to be interviewed at their homes in the early evening.

All planned interviews were tape recorded. Verbatim transcripts were then made from the tapes. Approximately fifty-five hours of interviews were tape recorded.

Most of the questions used were broad and open-ended rather than narrow and closed.

Broad questions have two general values: first, they must be used to obtain certain types of information which would be distorted by the effect of many specific questions; second, they have certain conditions.

Interviews with any or all of the following objectives often require the use of broad questions: . . . (b) discovering the relative importance of various aspects of a topic, situation, or event experienced by the respondent; . . . (d) discovering the chronological order of the respondent's experiences in a given situation; . . .

Broad questions not only help the interviewer to avoid giving rather than receiving information, but also help to increase the respondent's ability and willingness to give relevant information in several ways (Gorden, 1980, pp. 292-293).

Gorden goes on to elaborate on the motivational effects of broad questions on the respondent. He includes effects such as "reducing ego threat . . . stimulating memory, . . . giving the respondent recognition,

- • • giving sympathetic understanding, . . . encouraging catharsis,
- • • and need for meaning" (1980, pp. 293-294). The following are

examples of questions asked teachers, principals, district personnel, a teachers' union official, and school board members.

## Teachers:

1. What kinds of things did you do to prepare you to teach your new grade level?
2. Did you have any fear of the unknown?
3. Who helped you with physical aspects of the move?
4. Who helped you with the emotional aspects of the move?
5. What opportunities did you have last spring to visit your new school and become acquainted with people and programs?

## Principals:

1. In what ways did you help the newly reassigned teachers cope with both the physical and emotional aspects of moving?
2. Can you tell me what has happened to teacher inservice in the district?
3. What did the school district do to help involuntarily reassigned teachers with the physical move and with their emotional concerns?
4. What was the physical condition of this building in August prior to school opening?
5. What types of things did the Transition Committee request be done to help teachers with the physical move and help them cope with emotional concerns?

## District Personnel:

1. What types of things did the Transition Committee recommend to you to help teachers with the physical move and help them cope with emotional concerns?
2. What happened to the district teacher inservice education program?
3. What was the process used to pink slip and recall and reassign teachers?
4. Were teachers given release time last spring to visit their new schools and become acquainted with personnel and programs?
5. What did the district do to help teachers with the physical and emotional aspects of being reassigned?

## Teachers' Union:

1. When the board asked to reopen the contract, why didn't the association do so?
2. What were the union's goals in helping the reassigned teachers?
3. What happened to teacher inservice in the district?
4. Over the years, can you see changes in the board-union relationships?

## School Board Members:

1. What recommendations did the Transition Committee make to you to help reassigned teachers with the physical and emotional aspects of the move?
2. Who, in your mind, was in charge of the entire school closing process including reassignment of teachers?

3. What has happened to teacher inservice in the district?
4. What were the positive and negative aspects of the school closing process?
5. Why did the board wish to reopen the teachers' contract.

(FN, Question notebook).

Document collection. McCall and Simmons believe that

one very important class of "informants" or "surrogate observers" are the various records and documents pertaining to the organization, such as budgetary records, rule books, minutes of meetings, personnel files, diaries, etc., which record certain facts and events that the scientist was unable to observe directly (1969, p. 4).

Bogdan and Biklen break this category of documents into both personal and official documents. Included in personal documents are diaries, personal letters, and autobiographies. Included in official documents are internal documents, external communication, and student records and personnel files (1982, pp. 97-102). Wolcott, when discussing his methods for gathering data to supplement his direct observations, notes that "collecting routine distributions of notices . . . collecting copies of school records, reports, and correspondence . . . provided especially valuable sources of information" (1973, p. 8). Documents collected by the researcher included, but were not limited to, a welcome note from a principal to staff members, a thank you note from a school board member to teachers that accompanied a beautiful basket of red apples, school board minutes, private correspondence, newspaper clippings, Transition Committee rough draft notes, personal documents, and a union contract. Documents were solicited by the researcher from specific individuals within the school system. Although not a major source of new data, the documents contain useful information which substantiates data collected through observation and/or interviews.

Table 11 summarizes the methods used with the various informant groups.

### Analysis of the Data

Qualitative analysts do not often enjoy the operational advantages of their quantitative cousins in being able to predict their own analytic processes; consequently, they cannot refine and order their raw data by operations built initially into the design of the research. Qualitative data are exceedingly complex, and not readily convertible into standard measurable units of objects seen and heard; they vary in level of abstraction, in frequency of occurrence, in relevance to central questions in the research. Also, they vary in the source or ground from which they are experienced. Of course, data also differ according to substance, and, coupled with the ways data are gathered and the forms in which they are apprehended, may lend themselves to different sorts of operations. Little wonder, then, that field researchers cannot predesign their analytic operations with exactness; probably most do not even try (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 108).

Analysis is "the working of thought processes" (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 109). Analysis of the data is an ongoing process and is divided into two major time periods. During the months in the field collecting the data, the information received daily from observations, interviews, and documents was continually weighted against each other in an effort to discover significant classes of events in the reassignment process. In addition, an attempt was made to link the classes together by looking for overall patterns of events and actions by those involved in the reassignment process. Data from one informant or source were triangulated with other informants or sources to insure accuracy of the information. Questions for both formal interviews and casual conversation were revised, added to, and/or deleted as the study progressed. As the data were collected, the researcher conducted a cursory analysis.

Table 11. Research Participants and Methods Used

Participants	Number of People	Observations	Interviews	Documents
Involuntarily Re- Assigned Teachers	10	81	32	3
Incumbent Teachers	8	1	11	2
Elementary & Middle School Principals	7	0	22	45
District Personnel	8	0	15	8
Psychologist	1	0	3	0
School Board Members SY 1981-82	7	0	7	2
Teachers' Union Officials	1	0	2	1
PTA President	1	0	1	1
Janitor	1	0	1	0
Head Cook	1	0	1	0
State Department of Education Officials	2	0	2	0
Total	47	82	97	61

Source: Fieldnotes.

The results of the analysis were used to frame new interview questions, to reword existing interview questions, or to redirect interview questions and to view observed phenomenon in new ways. This use of initial cursory analysis in the field is supported by Bogdan and Biklen, who say that

In our judgment, the beginning researcher should borrow strategies from the analysis-in-the-field mode, but leave the more formal analysis until most of the data is in. Problems of establishing rapport and getting on in the field are complicated and too consuming for beginners to enable them to actively pursue analysis . . . While we recommend holding back attempts at full-fledged, ongoing analysis, some analysis must take place during data collection. Without it, the data collection has no direction; thus the data you collect may not be substantial enough to accomplish analysis later (1982, p. 146).

The researcher withdrew from the field to begin more indepth data analysis in December, 1982. Tape recordings were transcribed and documents carefully examined and sorted during the latter half of December and all of January, 1983. The daily fieldnotes based on observations were also closely examined. After reading through the data the researcher devised a coding system using setting/context codes and event codes. Codes were not preassigned but were developed in conjunction with the ongoing data analysis process. The data were organized using an Index file card system and category codes punched onto each file card.

### Limitations of the Study

The following limitations to the research are beyond the control of the researcher:

1. The length of time, nine months, that the researcher is allowed to conduct the study due to time constraints dictated by his employer.
2. The process of initial entry negotiation to the district is controlled by the superintendent.

3. The time delay from April to August, 1982 in the school board approving the research project kept the researcher from conducting research in April through August, 1982. This was a critical time period in the process of teachers' involuntary reassignment and one that would have been significant for the researcher to observe in progress.
4. The voluntary nature of obtaining informants to participate in the study restricted the numbers and variety of informants to those willing to participate.

#### Research Questions

Initial research questions which guide the study are:

1. Is the process of involuntary reassignment a traumatic experience for elementary teachers?
2. By whom, and in what ways, are involuntarily reassigned teachers given help in coping with their stress?
3. In what ways do the emotional effects of involuntary reassignment affect the classroom learning environment?



## CHAPTER 4

### CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CLOSING PROCESS

This chapter is divided into three major sections: the introduction, a chronological overview of the closing process, and the summary.

#### Introduction

In this chapter, a chronological overview of the school closing process is provided to help the reader better understand the research setting. The school closing process is divided by the researcher into two time periods in which the focus of the closing process shifted. In the first period of time, beginning in September, 1981, the focus was on studying the need to close the schools and how best to accomplish the task. This culminated at the regular board meeting of the North Umpqua Board of Education on December 15, 1981 (Board of Education minutes, 12-15-81, p. 1097). In the second period of time, December 18 through August 30, 1982, the focus of the closing process was on personnel and materiel movement. Figure 8, on the next page, summarizes the major activities in the school closing process and indicates the major people involved.

#### Chronological Overview

This section is intended to give the reader a background setting for the research questions. The narrative, related largely by the



participants provides framing and context necessary for a full understanding of the research questions.

Planning For School Closure: September 1981 Through December 15, 1981

This section discusses the major events from September through December 1981 which led to the board's decision to close three elementary schools and layoff twenty-six classroom teachers as part of a \$1,000,000 budget reduction program for fiscal year 1982-83.

The prospect of closing schools had been discussed formally and informally around the district for about one year before the actual decision was finalized. Ms. Palmer, a board member, discussed the background of the closings with the researcher. She noted that

a lot of talk, a lot of ground work had been laid for a year before this. There had been a lot of talk. We'd talked to individual principals. There had been people talking to key people in the community, leaders like the PTA leaders and that kind of thing. So, that had gone on for probably it seemed like forever, but approximately a year. And board members would talk to people. It was around because I would get phone calls. I talked to many, many people (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 16).

School board minutes from September, 1981, show that some time had lapsed in the discussion process. The following comments from board members Palmer and Olson were found in the "Comments from the Audience" section:

Highlights included frustration expressed by members of the audience with the board and administration for not making decisions quicker when it involves the possible closing of schools which affect their lives--rumors circulating of possible teacher layoffs. . . . Palmer responded to the closing of schools by stating that . . . in her opinion, a decision would be made within the month regarding the school or schools to be closed next year. . . . Olson stated that, in his opinion, he felt that Forest Glen and Green Park would be at the top of the list for closing (Board meeting minutes, 9-15-81, p. 1075).

At the same board meeting, the director of instruction reminded the board that the teachers' union contract stipulated that before the board could lay off teachers, the union had to be notified. He further requested

that he or Superintendent Meyers be authorized to "represent the Board with the Association to discuss if teachers are to be laid off, when, and initiate the layoffs" (Board meeting minutes, 9-15-81, p. 1076). The board appointed the director of instruction to be its representative to the Association.

A review of the board minutes from September through December 1981, shows continual progress toward the final closing decision.

OCTOBER 6, 1981. "Mr. Olson, a board member, presented a report on the budget projection through 1982-83. . . . Areas to investigate as possible cuts would be expenses involved in . . . closing schools (Forest Glen, Green Park, Lakeview); staff reduction of teachers and principals . . ." Board meeting minutes, 10-6-81, p. 1077).

OCTOBER 13, 1981. "Dr. Meyers requested the Board to approve the special meeting on November 3, 1981, to be held in Forest Glen as requested by the people in Forest Glen. . . . Motion carried" (Board meeting minutes, 10-13-81, p. 1082).

OCTOBER 20, 1981. "Superintendent Meyers explained that there had been several meetings held with input coming from the Administrative Council, representatives from the four associations, and many other individuals" on possible ways of reducing the budget (Board meeting minutes, 10-20-81, p. 1083). One of the board members said of the meeting with the associations (unions):

I can well recall the meeting about it. . . . We were at a meeting where there was an administrator, I was there, the president of the union was there, the president of each of the unions was there: secretaries, non-instructional personnel, and the teachers. There was no one from the administration per se representing from a union standpoint. Basically what we were doing was, we were setting down with the various employee representatives and saying we have some real problems. They're real, we're not joshing you. I was trying to convince people

that this was for real. . . . That's what the meeting was. After we got through, I thought, perhaps convincing people of where we were at, then we were trying to figure ways out of the mess. . . . The other union representatives were quite reasonable. They were willing to talk about it. In fact, I was quite pleased. When we got to the teachers . . . that's when King [the teachers' union president] walked out (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, cards 7 and 8).

Dr. Meyers also told the board that four administrative committees had been appointed to study "Future school enrollment . . . School building closing . . . Secondary sixth period day [a committee to study changing grades 6-12 to a five period day] . . . Financial long term planning." He also indicated that the first report from these committees would be "November 5, 1981 at the Administrative Council meeting" (Board meeting minutes 10-20-81, p. 1083).

NOVEMBER 3, 1981. "The Board of Education heard the concerns of Forest Glen residents over the possible closing of Forest Glen Elementary School and suggestions for possible alternatives" (Board meeting minutes, 11-3-81, p. 1087). Ms. Davis, one of the school principals, said "the Board met in Forest Glen a couple of times . . ." (FN, 10-6-82, card 9).

Ms. Palmer, a board member, commented on the November 3 meeting:

People would stand up and really scream. They would cry. Women would stand up and just really cry. You felt sorry for them. . . . We went out there and people yelled at us, screamed at us, and they cried. But, they were able to vent their emotions. We sat there and listened . . . (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 9).

At the same meeting, the Lakeview Elementary School extended an invitation to the board to meet at Lakeview for their December meeting (Board meeting minutes, 11-3-81, p. 1087).

NOVEMBER 17, 1981. The board meeting was held at Green Park Elementary School.

Approximately twelve people gave very brief reports on various areas of the Green Park School facility from the student activities and parent involvement during the day, to adult/student

activities held in the school or on the grounds after hours. Board members commented that the presentation was very orderly and well planned. . . . (Board Meeting Minutes, 11-17-82, p. 1091).

Questions and answers followed in regard to the coming budget cuts. When asked if the board had set a date to make the budget cuts, Mr. Olson, a board member, responded that "the board would receive a report on December 1, 1981, and at the December 15, 1981 [meeting], the decision on the budget cuts would be made" (Board meeting minutes, 11-17-81, p. 1091).

DECEMBER 1, 1981. The meeting was held at the Lakeview Elementary School. Five presentations were given concerning budget reductions: (1) Million Dollar Cuts; (2) Future School Enrollment; (3) School Building Closings; (4) Sixth Period Day Committee; and (5) Financial Planning. Dr. Meyers then suggested a seventeen line item budget reduction plan that included closing three elementary schools and laying off thirty-six teachers, K-12. The Lakeview PTA also presented an alternate building closing plan (Board meeting minutes, 12-15-81, pp. 1092-1094).

DECEMBER 15, 1981. Dr. Meyers, the superintendent, presented the list of suggested budget reductions. The total reduction suggested was \$1,080,000. The Board passed the superintendent's recommendations with only two exceptions. Included in the budget cuts were the closing of three elementary schools (line item #7, and the reduction of 36 classroom teachers, K-12 (line items #2 and #13) (Board meeting minutes, 12-15-81, p. 1096.)

Once the board acted to reduce the budget by closing the three schools and laying off teachers, the other aspects of the steps taken to reduce the projected deficit became Dr. Meyers' responsibility. At least, four of the seven board members felt that way. Mr. Kennedy told

the researcher, "It's Dr. Meyers I'd look to if it didn't happen" (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 9). Mr. Jackson said, "Well, basically from my perspective that was the superintendent's responsibility" (FN, Jackson, 12-9-82, card 7). Mr. Olson felt that "the day-by-day decision making, the nitty-gritty things, well, of course, I was looking to the superintendent to coordinate all of this" (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 11). When asked by the researcher who she thought was in charge of the school closings, Ms. Nelson simply said, "the superintendent, of course. . . . We were kept abreast of the developments that were happening, but not all of the little details that went into it" (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 13). Other Board members felt that the responsibility for the school closings was more of a team effort. When asked by the researcher if any one person was in charge of closing the schools, two board members emphatically said, "No." Ms. Lane commented:

No. Absolutely not. . . . There was no one person. I think that primarily the way to accomplish things in the school system over the last couple of years has been a real fragmented way of doing things. It just seems real logical that we should just keep being fragmented (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, and 10).

Ms. Palmer felt the same way. Her response to the same question asked Ms. Lane, was "I don't think so, no." But at the same time, she felt that the superintendent should have been in charge (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 17). Mr. Martin, also a board member, held the superintendent responsible for the closing, but felt that the work had been done primarily by committees. He said, "As I recall, we had a committee for this, a committee for that. There was a committee on the school closing and a committee on dollar impact" (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 7). Dr. Meyers confirmed that he delegated his responsibility to others when he talked with the researcher. In responding to a question about who was in

charge of the school closing process he said, "Well, the superintendent, but that was delegated. No, I won't say there was one person. It was kind of a group venture . . ." (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 7). There were two explanations given of why the superintendent chose to delegate his authority in overseeing the school closures. Mr. Martin, a board member, told the researcher that Dr. Meyers "organized a number of committees, and I think that's one of his strong points. He was able to orchestrate diverse groups in ways, and I never thought he could pull it off" (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 7). Another board member offered a different explanation. He told the researcher that

Dr. Meyers wanted to close these schools less than the board did when you really get right down to it. He told me more than once that he just did not have any stomach whatsoever for presiding over the dismantling type of operation (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 15).

Dr. Meyers delegated school closing responsibility in three areas:

- (1) Mr. Allen, the personnel director, was responsible for working with the union in all matters relating to the layoff and recall of teachers;
- (2) Mr. Fisher and Ms. Davis were given the responsibility of heading the Administrative Committee for Building Closing also known as the Transition Committee; and (3) Mr. Ward was given the responsibility for the physical movement of supplies and equipment from the three closed schools into the remaining five schools. Each of these three areas of responsibility is explored in some detail in the following sections.

### Implementing the Closure Decision: December 18, 1981 Through August 30, 1982

Once the board made the decision to reduce the budget, energies of both the board and the district were focused on the problems of implementing that decision. This included (1) a last formal attempt by



the board to save teachers' jobs; (2) the teacher personnel movement process conducted by Mr. Allen, the personnel director; (3) the reassignment of students and school supplies and equipment from the closing schools to the gaining schools by the Transition Committee; and (4) the actual materiel movement from the closing schools into the new schools by the maintenance employees, the custodians, and Mr. Baker, their supervisor.

A Last Attempt to Save Jobs. The board's major role in the effort was centered in a second attempt to save teachers' jobs by attempting to reopen the union-board contract. This attempt was led by Dr. Meyers. Board minutes show that

Superintendent Meyers stated that because of the financial uncertainty of the future and with the adoption of the budget reduction items, re-opening the negotiated contract with the Hood County Education Association would be desirable for discussions on salary, school operation time, teacher aides, and other commitments. Moved by Olson, supported by Martin, that the Secretary of the Board forward a letter to the Hood County Education Association (HCEA) with the request to re-open negotiations which would be of mutual benefit to both parties. . . . Motion carried (Board meeting minutes, 12-15-81, p. 1097).

As one principal said, "The board wanted to open the contract and renegotiate the salary increases as a way of saving jobs" (FN, Austin, 10-13-82, card 2). When talking to the researcher about the twenty-eight percent salary increase the teachers were getting over three years, a board member commented that "a decrease in the increase would have helped save a lot of positions . . ." (FN, Jackson, 12-9-82, card 10). Another board member stated to the researcher that Mr. Olson, also a board member, "really felt that if we did not have to give the raise . . . if we could renegotiate that part . . . we could save some teachers" (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 6). Olson, commenting to the researcher on his opinion, said that "frankly the major reason we have problems today is because of this

contract. It's just ungodly amounts of increases at a time when the bucks aren't available. So my argument was: have a concession here" (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 7). On December 18, 1981, the board secretary wrote a letter to Ms. LaPorte, the State Education Association UNISERV director, asking for a meeting with the HCEA (Board letter December 18, 1981). In January, 1982, the board secretary wrote a second letter to Ms. LaPorte specifying the contract sections the board wished to reopen, again requesting that she arrange a time to meet (Board letter January 12, 1982). Ms. LaPorte wrote back to the board, after meeting with the HCEA, with the final union position on contract reopening. She stated that "this is to inform you that the HCEA considered the board's request to reopen negotiations and rejected same on January 25, 1982" (State Education Association letter January 25, 1982). After the letter was read into the board minutes, Ms. Nelson, a board member, is quoted as expressing "disappointment that the Hood County Education Association would not allow the Board of Education the opportunity to discuss with them the current financial crisis of the school district" (Board meeting minutes, 2-2-82, p. 1107). Some North Umpqua elementary teachers were unhappy with HCEA's position also. One board member told the researcher "there were a lot of people who said they were willing to try to renegotiate a few things just to keep things going" (FN Nelson, 12-10-82, card 9). One principal gave the researcher this account of rank-and-file teacher reaction in his school to HCEA's rejection of opening the contract:

Earlier in the year the people who were our representatives from the North Umpqua Education Association [NUEA] were so mad and upset with what the NUEA leadership had been doing that we didn't really have an association representative in the building. They just decided to forget it. They didn't want

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anything to do with those people. They were concerned about not opening the contract. The elementary people at Spring Hill wanted to open the contract and see what they could do to save some jobs (FN, Fisher, 9-23-82, card 3).

One board member, when commenting on HCEA's refusal to reopen the contract, said that "NUEA did not wish to open the contract because, I'm sure, they thought they'd end up doing all the giving" (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 3). Superintendent Meyers felt that "It was obvious if we opened the contract, we would do something about that wage increase. Teachers didn't want to give on that, so therefore they didn't give on opening" (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 9). In fact, as one board member stated it, "They really wouldn't talk to us much about it" (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 6). Two union officials, however, agreed to discuss the union's position with the researcher.

Ms. Campbell: We just didn't want to open the contract. We no more settled that contract in May and by September they wanted to open it. We hadn't even started into the thing or had it ratified two months, and they wanted to open it already and we said we don't want to open it.

Researcher: Did they give you a reason for opening it?

Ms. Campbell: Sure. They said they were in financial problems and they needed the money. They wanted it back. I said that (FN 10-13-82, card 4).

Ms. Lewis, the second union official, gave another reason for not reopening the contract. She said that it was

basically because the board was not specific enough about what they wanted to open . . . In other words, it [the letter from the board] didn't say, we would open the salary area and propose lowering it one percent or whatever. They didn't do that. They just kind of wanted to open the whole thing (FN, Lewis, 2-21-83, card 7).

Nevertheless, the January 12, 1982 letter from the board to Ms. LaPorte shows that the board did specifically request to open certain sections of the contract. The letter reads in part:

The paragraphs of the contract that we would like to discuss with you are as follows:

- 1.4 - School Calendar
- 2.10 - Instructional Aides
- 3.5 - Teaching Hours
- 5.3 - Salary Schedule
- 5.4 - Extra Duty for 1981-84

There may be other paragraphs that would need to be discussed as they relate to the paragraphs mentioned (Board letter January 12, 1982).

The board had a plan or strategy in mind for ways in which both the teachers and the community could share the burden of saving teachers' jobs. Mr. Olson told the researcher:

I wanted them to cut back to preferably four or five percent. And, in return for that, I wanted to tie this to the successful passage of a millage, one or two mills. In other words, I wanted to go to the people and say if you'll pass two mills, then the teachers will take a four or five percent cut and we will close only the minimum number of schools, and lay off the minimum number of people. That way we'll have more jobs, the kids will have a better PTR, and the teachers will still be getting some raise much more in line with today's economic situation (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 7).

Based on the union's refusal to reopen the contract the board and district administration had little choice but to proceed with the teacher layoff process. Mr. Martin, a board member, bluntly explained:

Well, we got the notice. I remember seeing a letter from their bargaining person. As I recall, they just felt there wasn't any reason to do it. . . . And at that point, we had to get on and do what we thought was best within, of course, the constraints now. You know, we wanted to kind of broaden, widen out the constraint box. But, we weren't able to do it, so we went from there (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 4).

Personnel Movement: The Layoff Process, February Through April, 1982. The background for the layoff process began in February, 1982. The focus of this effort was that the teachers' contract would be followed so that teachers with lowest seniority would be laid off first. During the entire process there was a close working relationship between

the district personnel director and the NUEA officials. The role the relationship played was spelled out by the contract:

The association recognizes the exclusive right of the board to determine if a reduction in personnel is necessary due to a decrease in student, educational revisions, or budgetary or financial considerations (Professional Agreement, North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1984, p. 19, section 2.6-A).

The layoff procedure was also spelled out in the contract. In part, it provided that

1. Probationary teachers shall be laid off first . . .
2. If further reduction of staff is necessary, then tenured teachers in the specific positions being reduced or eliminated shall be laid off on the basis of seniority . . . i.e. those with the least seniority are to be laid off first (Professional Agreement, North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1984, p. 20, section 2.6-J-1-2).

Once the seniority list was established by Mr. Allen, the personnel director, the union's primary concern was monitoring the layoff process. As one union official told the researcher:

I think the primary concern that we have to monitor is the seniority process and that people are put within areas where they are certified and qualified. Again, that's contractual and that's all we can do really with things that are contractual (FN, Lewis, 2-21-83, card 9).

The district personnel director, Mr. Allen, described his relationship with union representatives:

You explain that all to the union, why you're doing what you're doing. We met periodically with the union. That started back in February. Generally, I tried to meet with them at least once a month at the beginning of each month to let them know what the progress was. The union, of course, was concerned with the high seniority people having the best chance at whatever is available (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, cards 1, 2).

The actual layoff notices were sent in March, 1982. This fulfilled the teachers' contract which stipulated that "written notification will be given to teachers at least thirty (30) calendar days prior to the

effective date of lay off" (Professional Agreement, North Umpqua School District and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1983, p. 21, section 2.6-J-4). It also allowed time to recall many teachers prior to the end of school (see p. 25).

The layoff notices were mailed to each teacher via registered mail. Two teachers commented on the process. "I knew it was coming. April first, don't you love it, April first. I got pink slipped on the first" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 8). Ms. Fox told the researcher that "I laughed all the way to the post office to get my certified letter . . . . It cost them two dollars to send me the dumb letter when I'm at school everyday" (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 11).

Although the district only needed to open up sixty-six teaching positions through reduction-in-force (RIF) procedures, the personnel director chose to RIF 108 teachers including eight or nine already on leave status. This overkill opened up many extra positions which allowed displaced teachers a wider selection of schools from which to choose.

Mr. Allen told the researcher about his reasons for the excess layoffs:

When we sent out layoff notices, we knew we had to cover about 66 positions for sure. But because of the bumping situation, I went beyond that and we ended up laying off close to ninety some teachers. We already had eight to nine on lay off so that's why the list was one hundred and some. . . . As a result of laying off more than we needed, we had some teachers that weren't able to come back to their buildings. Someone else had taken their place. . . . We laid off more teachers than what we needed to and when you do that, you say to yourself where do you draw the line? How many teachers do you need to lay off in order to cover everything? By closing three buildings and having all those kids dispersed into five buildings instead of eight, they were in the process of changing boundary lines but I couldn't wait for that process to end. So we decided to lay off more than we needed and then call back (FN, Allen, 9-13-83, card 2 and 11-22-82, card 6).

The union watched this process and knew that some of the teachers caught up in the excess layoffs were unhappy about being laid off unnecessarily,

they felt. However, the union sanctioned Mr. Allen's procedure. A union official explained it this way:

We did have some dissatisfaction with some people who were laid off because they did lay off more than they needed to. Those people knew they were going to get a job, but in that process the displaced people had taken the job that they had. So then they ended up having to move to another school.... We don't really get upset about it because the long term aim was that high senioresd people would have jobs (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 2).

Personnel Movement: The Recall Process, May Through June 10, 1982.

The recall process was also dictated, in form, by the teachers' contract. In part, it states that "recall shall be in inverse order of layoff provided the teacher is certified to fill a vacant position. The board shall give written notice of recall by registered or certified mail at the teacher's last known address" (Professional Agreement North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association, 1981-1984, p. 21, section K-1). A union official discussed the union's concerns about the recall process and teachers' involuntary job reassignments:

The long term aim was that the high senioresd people would have jobs. The contract... guarantees you a job, but not a certain job. In other words, you'll be teaching someplace, somewhere, but it may not be in your same room, subject, or your same building (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 2).

The recall process consisted of three phases. First, there were some involuntary staff changes within the district which involved teachers who were not laid off or displaced due to school closings. Second, displaced teachers were given their choice of building assignments. Third, teachers on layoff were recalled to fill the remaining vacancies. This sequence is confirmed in a letter Mr. Allen wrote to the board in the fall of 1982. He stated, in part:

Last spring, our district began the process of laying off approximately one hundred ten teachers. After schedule adjustments and the placement of those teachers who came from



buildings to be closed in 1982-83, we began the process of recall for the 1982-83 school year (Mr. Allen's letter, October 7, 1982 to the Board of Education).

One of the teachers caught in the involuntary transfer of certified teaching staff, but who was not laid off or displaced, was Ms. Baird. She was moved from a regular elementary classroom to an elementary special education position in another school. As one principal said about her move, "She went from a regular classroom to a special ed situation. She was transferred from one building to another, so she kind of got a double whammy" (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 4). As with the excess layoff policy, some people questioned the need for the changes. Several theories were proposed to explain the action. One teacher thought it was a committee decision (FN, Hicks, 11-8-82, card 2). A principal thought the move was necessitated by a tenure commission ruling (FN, Austin, 10-25-82, card 3). Ms. Baird was not really sure why she was being moved. She said:

So many things went through my mind. Mr. Austin told me years ago he didn't want me at Riverview. Is he trying to get me gone? I have tried to do a good job, but maybe the school district wants me to quit. Maybe teaching is not for me. Maybe this is all a plot to have me gone (FN, Journal Notes, Baird, 10-20-82).

The real reason for the move appears to be Mr. Allen's desire to insure that as many laid-off senior teachers as possible would be recalled to jobs. He gave the researcher this account of why he moved Ms. Baird and two other teachers:

We looked at the layoff list people and we tried to find out what jobs were going to be available and if those jobs were available, who on the lay off list would be subject to recall. And, in the area of special education we found that we had about fifteen or sixteen special ed teachers on lay off because they had the low seniority. And yet, there were going to be some jobs available in special education. So, the decision was, or well, the options were not to move anybody, keep the special ed jobs open and recall the lower seniority

special ed teachers (which would keep the high seniority elementary teachers on lay off--the regular classroom teacher). So we decided, me primarily I guess, to involuntarily transfer people into those special ed jobs from the existing staff. So, Ms. Baird, she's a regular classroom teacher. She had special ed certification. We involuntarily transferred her to special ed. That opened up a regular elementary classroom job. So, we then ended up calling back a regular classroom teacher (FN, Allen, 11-22-82, card 2).

Mr. Allen's account of why he involuntarily moved certified staff is confirmed in a letter written to the board. In part, the letter says:

Before the recall occurred, management initiated a few involuntary transfers. This process took place in order to be able to recall high seniority teachers. As far as we are concerned, this avoided the accusation of management creatively scheduling assignments in order to keep high seniority, high salaried teachers on lay off (Mr. Allen's letter, October 7, 1982 to the Board of Education).

Ms. Baird was not the only teacher involved in this type of move. A union official indicated:

We had a lot who were high senioreed people that were moved to situations where they really didn't want to be. . . . But, by moving that regular ed person around, then we could facilitate recalling people with the high seniority (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 1).

After the involuntary movement of certified staff into new schools and positions, the district chose to give the teachers who were displaced out of the closed schools their choice of job placement prior to the actual recall of teachers on layoff. One of the principals, in discussing a teacher laid off from his school, said that while she was laid off, it was the opportunity of those people who were displaced from closed buildings, to choose a new school (FN, Fisher, 9-23-82, card 2). Mr. Allen, the personnel director, also discussed with the researcher the general process he followed:

The union, of course, was concerned with high seniority people having the best chance at whatever is available. So consequently, we took care of the displaced teachers first. . . . Once the people were laid off and those positions were established,

then those teachers who were coming out of buildings that were closing--Green Park, Forest Glen, Lakeview--they were brought in high seniority first. They were brought in and either indicated to me in writing or told me verbally where they would like to be transferred. . . . We were pretty much able to place all of them. . . . The displaced teachers didn't have bumping privileges. They only had to go where there were spots available (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, cards 1-2-3, and 11-22-82, card 3).

Three of the displaced teachers who were part of the study commented on the placement process to the researcher:

We had to list where we wanted to go, three choices of where we wanted to go and grades. . . . After we got into making choices, we got assigned to a building first. . . . They immediately gave me my second choice. . . . We were first assigned to a building. Then it was a longer process figuring out where we were going to be (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, cards 2-3).

I was assigned to Riverview Elementary School at the time when it was at last determined that my present school, Green Park, was to be closed by action of the school board. . . . (Mr. Allen) began with the most senior staff member and let them choose what building they would like to go, but not grade level assignment. That was left to the discretion of the principal. When it was my turn to indicate a preference for schools, only Spring Hill was full. Every other elementary was open (parentheses added) (FN, 9-7-82, Journal, Campbell, cards 1-2).

They decided to close our school last year because they felt that it was not a good facility. . . . So at that point, because I have enough seniority, I was given the choice of which school I'd like to go to. I just randomly selected. You needed to put down all of them because there was no way you could be sure of going to one particular school. My first choice was Spring Hill . . . but teachers with greater seniority got in there. So, then I ended up going to Meadow, having put Meadow as the next choice . . . (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82, card 1).

When commenting on the union's feelings about the reassignment placement process for displaced teachers, one union official told the researcher:

Management, I think, made a very good effort and they didn't have to do that. We've given them credit all along for that. They didn't have to say to those displaced people, you've got a choice. They could have put their names in a hat, done just about anything they wanted to as far as the contract was concerned, as long as they had a job (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 2).

Subsequent to the assigning of displaced teachers, Mr. Allen began recalling laid-off teachers to fill the remaining vacancies. The same

general process was used to recall laid-off teachers as was used to reassign displaced teachers. The recall list, by seniority, was published before May 1, 1982 and most of the teachers were recalled by the middle of May. When discussing the recall process with the researcher, Mr. Allen commented that

the recall list had to be out before May first, because the union, of course, wanted to know the recall list updated all seniority up through the year, even though the year wasn't complete. . . . We completed the recall by May 15 . . . (FN, Allen, 10-18-83, card 8).

The layoff and recall process, then, took about two months--from March until mid-May--because of the individual care given to the teachers reassigned and the personnel director's concern that teachers be properly reassigned. One principal commented to the researcher about the process as it affected his school. He said that

we didn't know who was going to be coming here. That was put off through a complicated process for quite awhile. We knew who was going out of the building quickly because the lay off lists went out and the seniority lists were pretty firm and you could almost definitely tell who was going to be totally and permanently laid off. That was no problem. The problem was that the process they went through to determine where the displaced teachers were going gave them a whole lot of say in where it is they were going to be placed. They did that on the basis of seniority. Consequently, it took time to know what positions were left for the next people to be choosing. So, it was a rather lengthy process to get everybody placed. That is what really slowed it down. Once we knew who was coming, it was very, very late in the year . . . (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, card 1).

Mr. Allen also explained how he worked with individual teachers to actually reassign them. He said:

The way we handled that, Ed, was if you were a teacher subject to recall to a job, you're next. We would ask you to come in and we would say to you here's the list of openings that we have. We had the teachers pretty much--it was kind of voluntarily. Our contract speaks of voluntary assignments. We would say to you, which one would you voluntarily like to have?

Now toward the end, when you get right down to three teachers are left and only three jobs, they didn't have much choice (FN, Allen, 11-22-82, card 3).

Three teachers were willing to share their experiences of being recalled with the researcher. Ms. Scott was discussing with the researcher the choices of buildings from which she had to choose when she was recalled and explained:

I didn't get my choice until the point when I was recalled. They came back and told me I was recalled. Congratulations! Whoopee! And these buildings are available. Then I told him what I wanted. Like a day or two later, I got my official letter in the mail (FN, Scott, 10-19-82, card 8-9).

Ms. Fox provided more complete detail about her recall which occurred in late May. Her choices were limited by the number of openings (unfilled jobs) still available.

You know, I knew I was going to be recalled. I didn't pick it up for a long time because I knew what it was. I laughed all the way to the post office to get my certified letter. . . . When Mr. Allen came around to my room, he had a list of the schools that had openings. Meadow had one opening which I signed up for, and Woodlawn had openings. So, I was limited in my choices because of the openings which were available. When Mr. Allen came along with his assignment sheet for us to fill in what we wanted to do, he would not tell us what positions were available, just the schools (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, cards 2, 5, 11 and 11-4-82, card 2).

Ms. Underwood's reassignment provides the best insight into how the process worked because it demonstrates that although a formal reassignment process was followed, there was a human element of concern for others and even humor in the reassignment process. Ms. Underwood was reassigned from Evergreen Middle School to an elementary school because the only position openings available at her time of recall were elementary (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, card 7). Mr. Allen personally came over to her school in May and, as Ms. Underwood stated, "informed me, 'yes, you are definitely being moved to an elementary building. You need to select one

of the elementary buildings'" (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 8). A close friend, Ms. Scott, related the experience of Ms. Underwood's visit to the school she finally selected:

Ms. Underwood and I came at the point when she had been called back . . . and she had to make her decision. She had the choice of Hillcrest, Woodlawn, or out here. And she wasn't familiar or even at all sure where Riverview was. So I said, "Hey Beth, I'll take you out one day." So I called Mr. Austin and said, "Mr. Austin, do you care if Beth and I come out one night just to kind of look around?" Of course, he was just delighted because he hoped Beth would choose out here. At the time we came, he almost ignored me. . . . He just basically kind of told us how the day was run out here, and what she'd be doing and trying very hard to encourage her to come. What was funny was, when we asked him to come, she hadn't made her decision. Well, that day she had already told Mr. Allen she was going to go to Riverview, and he's going on and on and trying so hard to pump the school up and then she said, "Well, I told Mr. Allen today that this is where I was coming." And he just went like, ahhh. You could just see it kind of settle over him (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-13-82, cards 2-3).

After teachers were recalled and had chosen a particular building, the principals worked individually with each teacher to assign grade level placement. Although the formal process appeared uniformly rigid, the human dynamics of each situation made them somewhat unique.

Personnel Movement: The Teaching Assignment Process, May Through June 10, 1982. At Riverview Elementary, the principal knew the reassigned teachers. Although he discussed their assignments with them, he had some definite feelings about where he wanted to place them. He related to the researcher that

I had that pretty well set before they came. I knew what positions I had open and this school district is not that big. I knew most of the people anyway. So, it wasn't too difficult to place people. And, we talked about it [placement] when they came out and visited. Everybody was pretty well in agreement (FN Austin, 9-17-82, card 2).

The three cases documented here show the diverse ways teacher grade level assignments were made at Riverview. Ms. Gilbert was allowed to choose her grade level. She told the researcher:

I was called back in June. I found out about grade level right away, the day they called me back. There was a first, a first/second, and a fourth. And I said I'd like the first. The administration said fine, we'll let Mr. Austin know. I called Mr. Austin and he said, "I'd love to put you in first, so fine." I knew it all in the same day (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 2).

At the other extreme was the grade level reassignments of Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell. Ms. Campbell chose Riverview for her reassignment in April. She found out afterwards she was assigned to the fourth grade. Ms. Scott chose Riverview in May, and then found out she was assigned to second grade. Both teachers wanted to trade grade levels (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-10-82, cards 2-4 and Ms. Campbell's Journal, entry 9-7-82, card 2). Mr. Austin did switch grade level assignments for Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell a week before school started in August 1982. Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell discussed what happened with the researcher as they responded to a question about how they received their grade assignments and if they had any choice in them.

Ms. Campbell: I very much wanted a first or second grade classroom . . . but I found out it would be fourth grade. My best friend, Ms. Scott, also got Riverview and she got second grade. We both wanted badly to trade grade levels but were afraid of rocking the boat and we didn't want to ask for special favors. . . . I had never taught fourth and Ms. Scott had never taught second. . . . The summer wore on and Ms. Scott and I decided to ask for a switch. So, I wrote a letter requesting that. Then Ms. Scott decided not to turn the letter in. . . . I was assigned to second and Ms. Scott to fourth. . . . (FN, Journal Meeting, Ms. Campbell, 9-7-82, card 2).

Ms. Scott: Nope. I came out here in June. Mr. Austin asked me to come out and he told me that he had me in second grade. I said to Mr. Austin, you know

that's about the only grade in elementary K-6 that I have no experience in. . . . Ed, we were scheming all summer long and finally I decided that he'd put Ms. Campbell in fourth and I was left with second. Well, it was a chance I might be going to Spring Hill. And there was that math workshop that the second grade teachers had to go to. So then I was talking to Mr. Austin the Saturday before the workshop to find out what he wanted me to do. He said, "I don't know what to tell you." And I said, "well, you could always put me in fourth grade at Riverview and then if I go, there won't be a problem. He said, "I hadn't thought of that." Then we didn't even have to approach him with our letter (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-10-82, cards 3-5).

So, as Ms. Campbell summed up the experience, "All's well that ends well . . ." (FN, Ms. Campbell's Journal, entry 9-7-82, card 2).

At Meadow Elementary, Mr. Ball, the principal, used another approach to assign grade levels. He met with all newly reassigned teachers at one of the other elementary schools. Of this he said:

I, first of all, went to meet with all new staff at another school. . . . There was also a teacher who was coming from Oak Park school and one that was coming from Spring Hill School. . . . I really went over to meet with them to talk about assignments, where they might be, and try to put them at ease (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, card 1).

Ms. Fox was one of the reassigned teachers who attended the meeting with Mr. Ball. She gave the researcher this account of how Mr. Ball worked with the reassigned teachers to place them:

He came and met with us over there after school one night. . . . He told of the class numbers, you know, there would be two first grades whatever, and he asked us what our preferences were. Then he went around individually and said, "If you had your choice, what would you want?" Then he said, "These are my teachers, and what they want. Obviously, we are real heavy on lower el. openings and upper el. people. I've got some problems, but, if I can't work it out, we will work out something between another school that is agreeable to you. . . . Now I'm going to go back and talk to my staff and tell them what you guys want. Then I'm going to have to set down and be the bad guy and make some assignments. Then he came probably a week later over to Lakeview again and met with each teacher and told them what their assignment was going to be--individually with



them. And, at that time, I had a second/third split (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 4).

Ms. Eddy chose Meadow Elementary when her school was closed. While Ms. Fox's account of grade assignment gives an example of how one principal worked with reassigned teachers to place them, Ms. Eddy's account provides an insight into one teacher's decision-making process in asking for her grade level assignment. She told the researcher:

I ended up going to Meadow, having put Meadow down as the next choice. . . . Then Mr. Ball asked us what grade level we'd like to teach. They had a four/five opening and I thought about it until two parents came down the hall one day and said, "Oh, we're so glad you're going to Meadow. You can get them to do the programs you've been doing here. . . . I decided I didn't want to get into that. I had taught second grade when I was first hired in the district. . . . So then I thought about a second/third grade because there was going to be an opening there, which is the one Ms. Fox is in now, and wasn't really thrilled with that. So, I thought about it all one weekend and kindergarten just kept coming up. So I called Mr. Ball Sunday night and said, "How would you like a kindergarten teacher?" He was thrilled and overjoyed! He had to sit down! [She laughs as she says this.] He says, "wait til I get a chair." The next day he was going to have to tell somebody they had to teach kindergarten, because there was no one who had volunteered. It just seemed like the thing to do, like fun. So, I called Mr. Ball and told him I'd do it. He talked about my reasons for it because I think he wanted to be sure I wasn't just doing it for some altruistic kind of thing where everybody else doesn't want it, so I'll take it--the martyr kind of thing. I really wanted to do it. And so that's how I ended up here in kindergarten (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82, cards 1-2).

At the same time that Mr. Allen was handling the personnel movement, other administrators in the district focused on attendance boundary changes, materiel movement, and consideration of activities that would make the change as smooth as possible for teachers, parents, and students. This became the general task and purpose of the Transition Committee.

The Transition Committee. Three days after the board approved the budget reduction (see p. 130), Dr. Meyers established the Administrative

Committee for Building Closing. This committee was more popularly called the Transition Committee by teachers, principals, district personnel, and board members. Dr. Meyers appointed the two principals as chairpersons, provided the purpose of the committee, and specified potential committee members. However, the Committee was not given authority to insure its decisions were carried out. Documentary evidence is provided by a letter to all elementary principals from Dr. Meyers.

After the holiday season, we will need to make many important decisions to enable us to open next fall with five rather than eight elementary schools. To assist in this end, I am appointing Ms. Davis and Mr. Fisher to serve as co-chairpersons for this administrative committee. The purpose of this committee is to direct the activities of all persons necessary to re-assign students, re-assign school employees, and divide instructional materials. Elementary principals, all other school employees, PTA representatives, students, parents, are potential committee members to be appointed by Ms. Davis or Ms. Fisher (FN, Letter from Dr. Meyers to all elementary principals, December 18, 1981).

The Transition Committee was formed from the district-wide Administrative Council. The Administrative Council is comprised of all district administrators and met monthly with the superintendent. It is informal and advisory to the superintendent. He is under no obligation to accept its recommendations. The principals emphasized its advisory nature. "The Ad Council is really run by the superintendent. It is not an independent organization and, as to what, happens at the Ad Council or what as a result of the Ad Council, is a real questionable kind of thing" (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, card 6). Mr. Vincent, principal at Woodlawn, provided the researcher with a more detailed idea of how the Administrative Council really functioned:

It meets on about a monthly basis. There's supposed to be a printed agenda--sometimes is, sometimes isn't--that we should get before the meeting. In some cases we don't get that until we get to the meeting. That makes it sometimes kind of bad because you don't have time to prepare. The purpose of it is

to be kind of a forum to kind of get things together and get things out in the open as a whole administrative staff: the concerns of the district, the concerns of the superintendent, and there are also concerns of principals that they might be having problems to let the powers that be at the central office know that we are having some difficulties with a particular item. I think that's what it's supposed to be. A lot of the things that come out of it are more informational, I think (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 16).

From this informal group, then, the Transition Committee emerged.

Dr. Meyers told the researcher how the Transition Committee came into existence.

In one brainstorming session, we were trying to decide the different types of committees we needed with the budget cut back. I guess it came of that. That there ought to be kind of a committee that worked with all the problems of closing an elementary school and dividing pupils, personnel, teachers, etc. It was kind of a group venture . . . (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 7).

Mr. Vincent gave the researcher additional rationale for the Committee's importance and formation. He said:

Last year, with all the budget cuts and closing buildings, where that started with was really a push by the principals to take a look at where we were going with budget cutting and closing buildings. Let's not just let it happen. As a result, we had some committees and assignments that came through and we were able to work through those things (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 16).

The Transition Committee served three main purposes: (1) it provided a forum for discussion of common school closing problems; (2) it provided a forum to coordinate the activities of gaining and losing schools; and (3) it provided an opportunity for the principals to request to the superintendent and board those actions it deemed important to a smooth transition from eight elementary schools to five elementary schools.

Some of the discussion of common problems centered around the gathering of information. Ms. Davis told the researcher "we reached out and discussed with teachers and with parents and then brought

their opinions and concerns into the group so that they were not totally ignored" (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1). The Committee also invited a group of administrators from a neighboring community to share their experiences of closing an elementary school with the group. A letter thanking them gives a general overview of the topics discussed. It says, in part:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you and your colleagues for meeting with our "Transition Committee" and sharing your experiences of building closing, student and parent orientation and dispersal of equipment and materials. We all can benefit from what you did well and avoid the things which were unsuccessful (FN, Letter dated March 3, 1982 from Mr. Fisher to one of the guests).

Several district administrators, a board member and various documents give the reader a more complete picture of the Transition Committee's discussions. These discussions are categorized into four general areas: logistics, teachers, parents, and students.

Logistics discussions centered on redistricting school attendance boundaries, the placement of programs in various buildings, the schedule for moving furniture and supplies from the closed schools to their new location, inventorying furniture and supplies, and determining a tagging system to identify the materials moved. Comments from committee members confirm these discussions and provide an inside view on specific topics:

#### TAGGING SYSTEM

We had one meeting with all the administrators that would be affected and I raised some questions. At that meeting we came up with the labeling method. I said that I wanted a layout of the classroom and who was going to be assigned to what, where they were coming from and where they were going to (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 8).

#### MOVING SCHEDULE

We arrived at the scheduling of moving the equipment through some meetings that I had with a committee that was formed on closing and moving which was mainly comprised of principals (FN, Baker, 12-1-82, card 7).

We had a couple of different phone conversations with Ms. Davis about different aspects of this moving situation and where the books were to be stored--excess books and things like that (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 8).

#### PROGRAM PLACEMENT

We worked out the size of the buildings, the room assignments, everything. We talked about where the developmental kindergartens would be and how many sections you would have (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 18).

#### INVENTORIES

We took inventories. Told the receiving buildings what we had available, and then they were allowed to say what they wanted (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1).

#### ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES

The following information is one of three attendance boundary proposals discussed by the Transition Committee.

Option 1-A. Green Park to Riverview and Spring Hill.

All students north of \_\_\_\_\_ will attend Riverview.

Those south of \_\_\_\_\_ will attend Spring Hill.

B. Lakeview to Meadow and Spring Hill.

All students living west of \_\_\_\_\_ will attend

Meadow. Those east of \_\_\_\_\_ will attend Spring Hill.

C. Forest Glen to Hillcrest (FN, Transition Committee, Worksheet 1, January 20, 1982, p. 1).

One of the board members confirmed the Transition Committee's involvement when discussing the Committee with the researcher. "Our principals were intimately involved in drawing up all these plans for closing and rerouting kids" (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 5).

Helping displaced, recalled/reassigned, and laid-off teachers was also discussed. These discussions centered on the (1) teachers' concerns in general; (2) use of a reassigned teacher buddy system; (3) desirability of allowing displaced teachers to take their furniture with them to the new school; (4) need for an end-of-the-year district-wide party; and (5) the desirability of release time at the end of the school year to pack and prepare for the move, and to visit the teachers' new

schools. Comments from five Committee members concerning these discussions provide further information on the discussions.

1. GENERAL TEACHER CONCERNS. "We reached out and discussed with teachers . . . and then brought their opinions and concerns into the group so that they were not totally ignored" (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1).

2. BUDDY SYSTEM. "The only thing that we discussed . . . was the idea that the new kid [new teacher] on the street is assigned a teacher, another teacher as a buddy" (FN, Hall, 12-2-82, card 1).

3. KEEPING TEACHERS' FURNITURE. "The Transition Committee had insisted that if these people are going to go, and go into a new environment, they at least ought to be allowed to take with them the things that they feel comfortable with" (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 17).

4. YEAR END PARTY. "Things we discussed were . . . we talked about a staff party at the end of the year" (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 17).

5. RELEASE TIME. "One of the things we really recommended was the release time at the end of the year where people could get together . . ." (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 6). Mr. Fisher also commented on the need for release time:

We were trying to work allowing teachers either half days or full days situation just to visit the buildings where they were going to be going. We thought that that would more or less ease the pain, relieve some anxieties . . ." (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 7).

When assessing the Transition Committee's discussions about teacher welfare, it is interesting to note that one member felt that more had been done for the permanently laid-off teachers than for those who were recalled and involuntarily reassigned. He told the researcher that "we discussed more helping those who were not going to be reassigned,

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alternative education plans and some other things" (FN, Hall, 12-2-82, card 1).

Helping parents received some discussion. These discussions included talking about parental concerns, school activities for parents, and methods of keeping parents informed of the closing process. Two Committee members touched on these when they discussed the Transition Committee with the researcher. Ms. Davis said that "we reached out and discussed . . . with parents and then brought their opinions and concerns into the group . . ." (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1). Mr. Taylor said, "Things that we discussed were night time open houses . . . and sending notes for our newsletters that would go home on Friday" (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 17).

Most of the Committee's discussion centered around what to do to help children adjust to changing schools. As one board member so aptly stated to the researcher about the Transition Committee, "The primary purpose for which that committee was formed was to make the transition for the kids as comfortable as possible. The committee deserves high grades for that" (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 10). Mr. Taylor provided the researcher a summary of Committee discussions about helping the children. He said,

Things that were discussed were . . . pen pals, assembly, field-day with athletic events, room mothers and treats, buddy system with kids so that when they got to the new building they could look up somebody . . ." (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 17).

The Transition Committee also provided an opportunity for principals to coordinate activities involved in the closing process. Interviews and documents indicate that coordination activities centered around logistics and curriculum. The coordination of logistics included taking inventory, dissemination of equipment and supply listings from the closing schools to the gaining schools, and providing central storage in the armory for



excess items. Mr. Baker, who was actually responsible for the moving of materiel, told the researcher that although he was not a member of the Transition Committee, he did participate in one meeting where much of his part of the moving process was coordinated. He related that:

I wasn't a member of the Transition Team. I was just kind of one of the pawns in the movement of things. We had one meeting with all the administrators that would be affected and I raised some questions. At that meeting we came up with the labeling method . . . I said that I wanted a layout of the classrooms and who was going to be assigned to what, where they were coming from and where they were going to. Ms. Davis and Mr. Fisher agreed to take care of that and they did . . . We had a couple of different aspects of this moving situation and where the books were to be stored - excess books and things like that (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 8).

A letter from Ms. Davis and Mr. Fisher to all elementary principals confirms that they did follow up on Mr. Baker's request.

Mr. Baker has requested that we provide him with the following information as soon as it is available.

- 1) Building location for displaced teachers from Green Park, Lakeview, and Forest Glen.
- 2) Room locations for all teachers within the buildings that will open in the fall.

We have already supplied him with the information requested in item 1. Please send him classroom locations or designate an area to place each teacher's supplies as soon as this information is available. Hopefully, this will ensure a smooth move (Letter from Mr. Fisher and Ms. Davis, 5-12-82, subject: Moving Teachers' Supplies and Equipment).

When the Transition Committee realigned the elementary school attendance boundaries, all the Forest Glen students went to Hillcrest; half of the Green Park students went to Riverview and half to Spring Hill; and two-thirds of the Lakeview students went to Meadow and one-third went to Spring Hill (Transition Committee Worksheet 1, January 20, 1982, p. 1). The school equipment and supplies were divided up to go with the students. Anything not wanted by the gaining school was available to

anyone in the district who wanted it. Ms. Davis told the researcher about coordinating this effort:

We told the receiving buildings what we had available, and then they were allowed to say what they wanted. In dealing with Forest Glen, all of the Forest Glen students went directly to Hillcrest E. S. The first choice of anything that was in the Forest Glen building was Hillcrest's, because they got all the kids. My half of this building, the kids went two ways: two-thirds that way [she points towards Meadow] and one-third to Spring Hill. Roughly two-thirds of this building [supplies, equipment] went to Spring Hill. Anything that was left over then was put into a pool which any school in the district could pull from (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1).

Special education programs also had to be relocated. One principal told the researcher a little about this coordination effort. "We worked out the size of the buildings, the room structures, everything. We talked about where the developmental kindergartens would be, how many sections would you have" (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 18). Ms. Davis expanded on the need for curriculum coordination:

When you take a couple of schools like Hillcrest and Forest Glen that are kind of autonomous little beings by themselves and you pool them together and we use this particular set of books and they use this particular set, you've got to have some coordination when you pool them together . . . So that ended up by getting taken care of, but when we first looked at it, it was quite a problem (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 17).

Mr. Taylor discussed the Transition Committee's coordination efforts with the researcher. When describing the group sitting down and mutually helping each other with their concerns, his feelings about the process were positive. In describing the meetings, he said that the Committee members would take turns airing their concerns such as

What problems do you have at Meadow? And Mr. Ball would talk about it. At Hillcrest, what's the trouble? When you've got five, six, or seven principals and central office people sitting around helping you, it was great! It was great (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 18)!

Since the Transition Committee was at once a subcommittee of the Administrative Council, but yet the most important group in terms of overall responsibility for the closure process, the Committee had two routes through which it could channel its recommendations. The two channels were: (1) directly to the board in the form of periodic progress reports; and (2) through the Administrative Council and the superintendent to the board. A review of board minutes reveals that between January and June, 1982, the Transition Committee officially reported to the board twice, on February 16 and February 23. The report given to the board on February 16 is listed as a discussion item. The report was given by Ms. Davis and Mr. Fisher, the co-chairpersons. They provided recommendations for realigning the elementary attendance boundaries. The report also included projected elementary school enrollment for 1982-83 and the relocation of special education programs and the superintendent's office (Transition Committee report to the North Umpqua Board of Education, February 16, 1982, subject: Recommendations on the Establishment of Elementary School Boundaries, and Board Meeting Minutes, 2-16-82, p. 1112). The board minutes also note that "Davis and Fisher also reported that several orientation sessions would be held during the day and evening for parents and students" (Board minutes, 2-16-82, p. 1112). The Transition Committee's work on making the students' transition to their new schools easy, as well as teacher and materiel concerns, is documented in an addendum to the February 16 board minutes when the board noted that "the Transition Committee needs this decision [on attendance boundaries] to be made before it can proceed on student, faculty, and equipment placement as well as curriculum decisions" (Board meeting minutes addendum, 2-16-82, action item VI. 3). On February 23,

Ms. Davis and Mr. Fisher gave essentially the same report they had given the week before. The board approved their recommendations. "Moved by George, supported by Palmer, that the board accept the recommendation of the Transition Committee to establish boundaries for Green Park, Lakeview, and Forest Glen. . . . Motion carried " (Board meeting minutes, 2-23-82, p. 1115). This is the only recommendation made by the Transition Committee during its existence which received board approval. It was also the only recommendation from the Committee to reach the full board in a public session (Review of board minutes January - June, 1982).

The Transition Committee was a part of the Administrative Council (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 7). In that capacity, then, it reported back to the Administrative Council and the superintendent what actions it recommended for approval. Mr. Fisher told the researcher "we met at the Administrative Council as Transition people trying to explain to the total administrative staff what was taking place" (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 7). Many of the recommended actions could be approved by the principals themselves or by the superintendent. The one request that was repeatedly given by the Transition Committee members as the example of what they asked the superintendent and board members to approve was to furnish release time at the end of the year so that teachers could pack and also visit their new schools. One of the Committee co-chairpersons, Ms. Davis, confirmed this when she told the researcher "the elementary principals went to the superintendent and through him to the board and said, 'we believe we need time off for teachers to get these rooms closed.'" (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 4). Mr. Vincent, a principal, confirmed what Ms. Davis told the researcher and explained also what he remembered as being requested:

We made some recommendations to the board, well really to Dr. Meyers, about how some of the transitions could take place. One of the things we really recommended was the release time at the end of the year. . . . Not just for one or two, but for everyone who was being displaced. . . . What we were looking for at the end of the year was not particularly having the whole day per se, but what we were looking at was possibly dismissing the kids a half a day early. Instead of that last day for kids going a full day, dismissing the kids at noon on the last day of school, so you would have that extra half day to meet with the new staffs and still have time for the teachers to get back in their old buildings and take care of the necessary things that they had to take care of (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 6).

Mr. Taylor, principal at Meadow, also confirmed the chain of command used to make the request, and then elaborated some of the reasons for requesting release time:

One of the issues that came up was that we would like some days in the spring to get together with people: like mini inservices; discuss curriculum; discuss rooms; discuss concerns; discuss philosophy; have some sharing experiences. That went from the Transition Committee to the superintendent and to the board (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 14).

Ms. Edwards' comments about release time indicates that getting the request up to the board through channels was a bit of a struggle. She noted that

We approached the board many times last year asking for things that we thought, as administrators, would make the move smoother for the staff. We fought and fought and fought about give us a day for these people to pack, to go through their stuff they've accumulated for fifteen or twenty years in this one classroom, to meet with the new staffs, a whole list of things. . . . It's in our Administrative Council minutes from last year where Dr. Meyers agreed two times that I know of to go to the board and say we need at least a half a day, we need some extra time for these staff members (FN, Edwards, 9-21-82, card 5).

The documentation of these requests as mentioned by Ms. Edwards appears to be nonexistent. The researcher repeatedly asked Transition Committee and Administrative Council members if they existed. People seemed to think so, but could never find theirs. Finally, Ms. Davis confirmed the

researcher's opinion that none existed as they talked together one afternoon. She said:

For several years I was railroaded into keeping minutes for the Ad Council. . . . I just didn't do it last year. I had two buildings and I had enough to do and nobody said \_\_\_\_\_ do it, so I didn't do it. . . . We are informal (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 4).

The request for release time, although made repeatedly by the Transition Committee to the board through the superintendent, was never acted upon by the board. A review of all board minutes from January through June, 1982, revealed that the board, at least publicly, did not discuss the request. Mr. Austin told the researcher that

we were just told point blank, "No," by the superintendent, which he said, in turn, was through the board. I heard it through the grapevine that he never went to the board. So I suspect that it may have been he may have thought that the board would have said, "No" (FN, Austin, 11-23-82, card 6).

Ms. Edwards, principal at Green Park, told the researcher that, according to Dr. Meyers, it was the board president who would not put the request on the agenda. Concerning the request for release time, she said:

We got absolutely no time. . . . It never came out in a board discussion. It went to the board twice. . . . Dr. Meyers said he got to the president of the board and it got stopped right there. He wouldn't put it on the agenda (FN, Edwards, 9-21-82, cards 5-6).

When Dr. Meyers discussed the reason why no release time had been approved, he seemed to confirm the idea that he was the primary person behind the request being denied. As we sat in his office one afternoon, he leaned back in his chair and told the researcher:

Well, I'm sure I was a strong influence in that. I had indicated to all the principals that the first thing we had to do, as far as I was concerned, was to give the children of that school year 180 days of school and that closing schools and moving just could not interfere with that (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 2).

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There were a number of recommendations made by the Transition Committee which occurred as a result of building-level principals working together. These were designed to help students and their parents adjust to the change in schools. In directing these activities, the principals were on their own and performed their responsibilities with little or no direction from Dr. Meyers. As Mr. Fisher, the principal at Spring Hill, told the researcher, the principals merely followed the "pattern that had been set around here, and that's the autonomy situation, and individual sending and receiving principals were doing what they thought was best" (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 1). The principals appeared to function much as the Jews did as recorded in the Old Testament where the writer, in speaking of the political leadership in Israel, commented that "in those days Israel had no king, so everyone did whatever he wanted to--whatever seemed right in his own eyes" (The Living Bible, Judges 17:6. Mr. Taylor, principal at Meadow, confirmed the autonomous atmosphere in which the principals worked:

In terms of what was accepted and what wasn't accepted, just about everything was accepted. We came up with all kinds of plans that we, for the most part, administered ourselves. We were kind of autonomous (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 17).

Parents' concerns about their children changing schools constituted the greatest problem faced by the principals. Ms. Davis, a Committee co-chairperson, commented that "the most pressing problem is dealing with the feelings of the parents and their concerns" (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 17). Dr. Meyers told the researcher, "We went to great length to assure parents that their children got along fine. . . . We actually got buses and took the children to the other schools" (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 4). One of the board members also discussed the focus on parents and students and noted that that was a legitimate concern. She said that



"there was a real focus on the kids and the families being involved--legitimately. I think that took the energy from everybody on down" (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 8). The principals handled these concerns in basically two ways. First, they spent time trying to familiarize parents with the new schools through daytime and nighttime open houses, and also by doing a lot of talking and listening. This was accomplished in a variety of ways and depended upon the principal's time to devote to the task. At Meadow Elementary, which was a receiving school for two-thirds of the Lakeview students, the principal held two events. He told the researcher, "we had a visitation and an open house for parents to come and visit our school so that they could be acclimated" (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, card 1). Because Spring Hill was a receiving school from two of the closing schools, Mr. Fisher, the principal, held three daytime visitations by both students and parents. In addition, he held one evening open house. Mr. Fisher described what was done at the evening open house:

We invited any Green Park or Lakeview parents to come over to again visit the building and take a look at the physical plant and how the place is laid out, and ask any questions they might have. As I recall, attendance was minimal (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 6).

Another receiving school was Riverview Elementary. Mr. Austin, the principal, told the researcher of his success in encouraging parents to visit the school. He told the researcher that

parents were invited to our carnival to see how that kind of thing was run. They also were encouraged to stop by anytime that they had any free time. They didn't need to tell us they were coming--just drop in, visit us, and see. I think when we got done, we had the vast majority of parents who had decided their children were going to come here. In fact, I would guess we had some that ended up with their children not coming here that did visit anyway. But, I think we probably got, as Ivory soap says, "99.44% pure." I think it worked out quite well. (FN, Austin, 10-25-82, card 11).

As principal of a receiving school, Mr. Austin was also involved in hosting a parent/student visit during school hours. He commented:

We had a schedule as to what grade levels would be coming. It was published in their (Green Park) newsletter. Parents were aware of it and parents were invited and encouraged to come--one or both to come with their children to see the school in operation (FN, Austin, 10-25-82, card 11).

The Green Park children were split between Spring Hill and Riverview.

The Green Park principal, Ms. Edwards, told the researcher about parent involvement in visiting the two new schools:

We invited parents to go with us when we took the kids out to visit their new schools. I don't know, we probably had a dozen parents each trip, so I bet we took fifty parents on school buses to visit the new school. They received it real well. For many of them it was the first time they had ever been in the new school (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 1).

Principals also talked and listened a great deal to parents' concerns and complaints. Mr. Ball, principal at Meadow, gave the researcher an example of parental concerns with which he dealt. He said there were

a lot of demands and insistence on my child having this teacher because they knew the teacher coming from the other school kind of thing. It really took a bit of work at times when you couldn't do that--wasn't in the best interests of the child. It took a little bit of working around the parents. And, a number of the parents were very used to getting their way (FN, Ball, 10-28-82).

Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest, spent a lot of time talking to parents from Forest Glen. The move was especially traumatic for them. He described one typical meeting held at the Forest Glen Elementary School with parents and representatives of the school district:

We had a number of panel discussions where I would go out there with other administrators and talk about the need for it [closing the school], why its done, and try and answer their concerns. I would sit on that as their prospective principal. They would air some concerns with me. "Well, because you're closing Forest Glen, you're going to have thirty-five kids in each class, right?" And I would say, "no, that's not right." "What are you going to do for our kids when they've got to be bussed twelve miles in the winter time?" And I would say, "I

hope that they get here. I just pray that they get here. I don't have a good answer for that. That is a concern." "What about my kid who has to ride the bus for one hour and fifteen minutes?" I said, "I don't have an answer for that, either." That really was the major thrust in trying to ease the fears of parents. They were, of course, invited to PTA meetings last year (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 13).

The second method used by the principals to deal with parental fears about their children changing schools was through programs designed to help allay the children's apprehensions about the move. The concern for the children's welfare was uppermost in the thoughts of board members. Ms. Lane, when discussing the board's attitude towards the children's welfare before and after the decision to close the schools, noted that the involvement with kids "took the energy from everybody on down." She went on to note that beginning with planning in the fall of 1981, "the focus at that point that remained the focus throughout the process was on the youngsters that were actually being juggled" (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, cards 8, 12). Another board member also spoke about his conviction about the welfare of the children. He told the researcher, "The board has the responsibility to remember that education of children is our primary interest; . . . what is most important is educating these children" (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 14). In addition, another board member, Mr. Olson, felt along with other board members, that

the primary purpose for which that committee [the Transition Committee] was formed was to make the transition for the kids as comfortable as possible. As far as getting the kids acquainted with the new kids, I thought they did a good job as far as I can tell (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 10).

The Transition Committee members tried to allay students' apprehension in three primary ways. First, they promoted a student-to-student pen pal program between the students of the same grade levels in the gaining and losing schools. This culminated in actual visits, in which

the students from the closing schools were taken to their new school to meet their pen pals and have an assembly. The principals involved followed much the same pattern of events. Mr. Taylor, whose school, Hillcrest, absorbed the entire Forest Glen student body, discussed the importance he placed on helping the new students adjust to the move and the activities he used to help them. He told the researcher that after the board's decision to close the schools,

it took us well into April and May before we ever found out who was coming here. And when we did, our immediate priority was the student body that was coming this way and to try and ease their fears. . . . For the student body, we held mixed assemblies so that we would have those kids [Forest Glen] visit our kids. We had pen pals (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 1).

We had a series of visits between pen pals, between our kids. We had little parties. We had room mothers so that the kids met. I think it happened two times last spring. One day was an assembly, and then the other day was an assembly and a punch and cookies time afterwards where they got to meet their pen pal . . . . (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 2).

The student visits between Green Park and Spring Hill followed the same pattern. Ms. Edwards, principal at Green Park, also commented on both the pen pals and visitation program in which her students were involved. She told the researcher,

We had letters going back and forth, pen pals, and the kids were very excited about that--very excited. That happened before the kids visited. So consequently when they came to visit, they already had a name here. They already knew the name of somebody and that person was their guide when they came to visit the school. . . . We had the Spring Hill kids take the Green Park kids around . . . (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 1).

The pen pal and student visitation programs were the most visible and involved parts of the principal's efforts to help the children. Superintendent Meyers very proudly told the researcher, "We have, you know, visitation days in the school and we have the buddy system all set up . . . and all that sort of thing--actually got busses and took the children to the other schools" (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 4). But, the principals

also took other, less observable and ostentatious actions to help their new students. A second way the Transition Committee tried to allay students' apprehension about their new schools was the manner in which they scheduled students into the classrooms. Principals at all three of the gaining schools paid special attention to the needs and welfare of combining the student bodies of two schools into one student body. This was accomplished without the benefit of release time for the two staffs of the gaining and losing schools to discuss individual student's needs. Mr. Austin told how he accomplished the scheduling process at Riverview:

I have the first and second grade teachers get together and we sit down and go over the first students and try to match what would be the best possible combinations in classrooms and we do that all the way on up through so we did the same thing only we were doing it with what little information we could gather from Green Park, and I'm not knocking Ms. Edwards on that. I mean, there's only so much that she can tell you. That would have been another thing that would have been nice, if we could have met. With half day staff development, we could have sat down with the other teachers, talked to them about the kids, and gotten all taken care of right, first hand. . . . If we had to do it over again knowing the kids now, we would have put Green Park kids in a different combination than what we have now. But we were made aware of some possible combinations, of some students that should not be together, and those that were, let's say on the hyperactive side . . . (FN, Austin, 10-25-82, card 7).

Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest, provided more details into his concerns about student placement and classroom assignment. He told the researcher:

One of my biggest concerns was integrating the kids, making sure we stopped this Woodlawn-Forest Glen. That we all become Woodlawn. That was my biggest concern. And I took great pains to try and alleviate that by the structure I set up in the building. I made sure that when we built the class lists that the division of the students was good: academically, by sex, emotional concerns like putting them in with a friend but also making sure that a friend is not there. That kind of thing. I took a lot of time to do that (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 2 and 18).

When Ms. Edwards scheduled the Green Park and Spring Hill students, she also conscientiously tried to keep the wellbeing of the Green Park students uppermost. She said:

When we put the kids in the rooms, we tried to make sure that there was a friend from their old school in the room with them. Not a personal friend, but somebody. If it was a girl, we put another girl from Lakeview because we had fewer numbers of kids. We had to make sure we had two in each room. The old principal and I and the teachers who handle special kids spent a lot of time . . . (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, cards 12-13).

Mr. Taylor even attempted to help the children by the way he made staff teaching assignments. He assigned a Hillcrest teacher to teach the same grade as a Forest Glen teacher so that they could work together with the children (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 16). There was one last way in which principals tried to help students allay their fears about their new school. The principals capitalized on the common practice of covering each other's school if one principal was out of town. The principals, by contract, can take up to five days vacation during the time students are in school (North Umpqua Board of Education/North Umpqua Administrator's Educational Association Collective Bargaining Agreement, July 1, 1980, Article 8, section 5-H). Both Ms. Edwards, principal at Green Park, and Ms. Davis, principal at both Lakeview and Forest Glen, took advantage of this provision for an extended spring vacation. Ms. Edwards took her absence as an opportunity to have Mr. Austin, the principal at Riverview, substitute for her since about half of her students would be transferring to his school when Green Park closed. The researcher discussed the reason for Mr. Austin's selection to cover the school and also how he used the time to help the children get to know him and two aspects of the Riverview program. Ms. Edwards told about the vacation school coverage:

Researcher: Did you take a week's vacation last spring before

spring vacation?

Edwards: Yes.

Researcher: Was one of the other principals brought in to cover your school?

Edwards: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Which principal?

Edwards: The two that were getting kids out of my school. Mr. Austin came. Mr. Fisher came. He was here at Spring Hill. Between the two of them, they covered the building.

Researcher: Was that by design?

Edwards: Yes.

Researcher: In terms of the fact that they were gaining your students?

Edwards: Yes, yes. Mr. Fisher, who was here, and I, by being so close, always covered for each other when either of us had to be out of town. But I asked Mr. Austin to come, especially, so the kids could get to know him and become familiar with him. He even did things with our kids. He runs this Token Time thing. He came in and introduced that to our kids--not just the kids going to Riverview, but the whole bunch--and ran a Token Time thing on Friday. He also came in and worked with the kids--I'm talking about the kids that were going to his building--on safety patrol rules and things.

Researcher: Did you initiate this idea of having them come cover your building?

Edwards: Yes (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 29).

Mr. Austin confirmed what Ms. Edwards told the researcher as we discussed the spring school closing process.

Researcher: Last spring, were you involved at all over at Green Park as a substitute principal while Ms. Edwards was on vacation?

Austin: Yes, I covered for her, I think, one day or a couple of days when she was gone. . . . We don't spend a lot of time over there, although it gave me an opportunity to see some of those kids who were coming here. I used one day where I showed the kids what we did in Token Time like I do in the gym. I just scheduled times for them in the gym--took them in for a half hour. . . . I talked to the kids--talked to the fifth graders about safety patrol. . . . And, I think that's one of the reasons why Ms. Edwards asked me to cover the building. It gave me an opportunity to get over and meet the kids (FN, Austin, 11-23-82, card 3).

The same arrangement to cover her vacation was made by Ms. Davis. Since Mr. Taylor's school, Hillcrest, was receiving all of her Forest Glen

students, he was asked to cover Forest Glen while she also took an extended spring vacation. In commenting about this to the researcher, Mr. Taylor said:

Ms. Davis, the principal at Forest Glen, went on vacation and was gone for five days. So, I went out there for five days and worked out there. Basically, I didn't do anything other than be very visible and walk around and meet kids (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 17).

The Transition Committee, then, was the primary coordinating and decision-making group in overseeing the closure of the three schools and the transfer of materiel and students. Its focus was on meeting the concerns of parents. This was accomplished through meeting in various ways with parents, and by directly addressing the students' needs in a variety of ways as has been shown here. This work of the Transition Committee really ended with the close of the school year in June, 1982. At the same time as it was concluding its responsibilities with respect to the transfer of students, however, the process of materiel movement, which it coordinated, was gaining momentum.

Materiel Movement and Custodial Cutbacks: June 1, 1982 Through August 30, 1982. Line item nine of the budget reductions approved by the board on December 15, 1981, mandated a \$100,000 (net) cut in custodial services and stipulated that the savings be made specifically by "reduced labor through layoff and/or reduced hours" (Board minutes, 12-15-81, p. 1096). To accomplish the reduction mandated by the board, the district took several personnel reductions beginning July 1, 1982, which is the beginning of the district's fiscal year. First, the six custodians with the lowest seniority were laid off. Second, the next eight custodians with the lowest seniority had their work year reduced to thirty-nine weeks. This allowed them to work for one week prior to the opening of



the school year in August, and the thirty-eight weeks of the actual school year. In these first two personnel actions, both of the Meadow custodians and one of the Hillcrest custodians were laid off. Third, the eighteen remaining custodians were left on a fifty-two week work year. During the summer months, these remaining eighteen were divided up into work crews. The high school received a permanent work crew, while the remaining custodians moved from school to school in two week blocks. A memo from Mr. Ward in May 1982 indicates that

a resident crew will be assigned to the high school and the rest will be assigned to either a secondary or elementary work crew for the summer. . . . and the elementary crew will cover Woodlawn, Hillcrest, Meadow, Riverview, and Spring Hill (any different plan for a particular building should be discussed with Mr. Baker) (North Umpqua Public Schools, "Plan for Custodial Staff Reductions for 1982-83, May 1982," cards 1-2).

Mr. Ward, the district administrator responsible for overseeing the custodial and maintenance department, was aware of the impact this reduction in personnel would have on the district's ability to properly move the materiel from the closed schools into the gaining schools. He told the researcher:

I certainly looked at the impact. I recognized early on that we were going to be forced to cut back transportation and maintenance. You can't cut into the academics without cutting equally or more so into the non-academic support services. After all, what are we here for? We're here only to support the instructional program. We were making deep cuts in the instructional program so we had to obviously make severe cuts in the support program. But I recognized quickly that the timing was terrible. We were going to be doing it at the time of our busiest summer because of the closings and moves. It was a tough summer. Bad summer. The work probably doubled over the summer and the staff was cut by 30 percent. . . . We laid a lot of custodians off for the summer at the time when we were the busiest. We were caught up between the necessity of balancing the budget and getting the job done (FN, Ward, 12-8-82, card 8).

The board assumed the materiel movement would be accomplished by the maintenance staff (FN, Jackson, 12-9-82, card 11). However, most of the

board members seemed unaware of the impact the \$100,000 reduction in personnel would have on the moving process. Board members comments to the researcher, when asked about the impact of the cuts, generally showed a lack of understanding of what really happened or a lack of knowledge about the subject. Mr. Martin said, "I don't think we laid off any quote full time janitors. . . . I think its a case where we just didn't hire the part time people" (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 10). Ms. Palmer said, "I don't remember any discussion about that at all" when discussing the custodial budget reduction impact (FN, Palmer, 1-6-83, card 19). Ms. Lane, when discussing the impact of the personnel cuts on moving, said

what I do recall was that, in a June or July board meeting, there was a request for how the time line was being matched. Were we getting things where we wanted them. Mr. Ward expressed some frustration over that kind of situation (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 12).

This discussion could not be verified from the board minutes for June/July 1982. Some board members were aware of the general problems the personnel cut would create. Mr. Olson told the researcher:

They took quite a serious manpower cut. We knew they were at a minimum staff. We certainly couldn't have gone any further. We went a little too tough on them as far as I am concerned. It seemed like the only thing at the time (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 13).

Mr. Kennedy, when discussing the decision to reduce custodial staff said, "It was just felt that a ten percent cut in personnel or whatever the percent turned out to be, was what we had to achieve to do what we had to do" (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 12).

The actual moving plan involved using the maintenance employees to move the materiel from school to school, and then using the custodial crews in each school to relocate the furniture within each school to its correct new location. Each custodial crew was to remain in each

elementary school for two weeks during which time both the relocation of the furniture and the normal cleaning would be done (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 1). The plan failed to operate as envisioned because of four reasons: (1) the size of the work crew and time spent on the job; (2) low work crew morale; (3) the lack of work crew supervision; and (4) the lack of coordinating work crew building schedules with materiel delivery times. First, although the elementary cleaning crew was supposed to consist of eight members, far fewer were actually used. Two principals explained to the researcher how the plan worked in their schools. Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest, said:

Supposedly, there were going to be eight people in Hillcrest working for two weeks to get this building ready--windows, doing the floor, and putting all that stuff in the classrooms, doing carpets, those kinds of things. I came over here a number of times. There were only two people. I never saw more than two maintenance people in this building (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 5).

Ms. Davis, principal at Lakeview and Forest Glen, had a smaller work crew in her school. She told the researcher:

The cleaning crew was scheduled in for two weeks. On Monday of the first week, they were pulled out of here because there was only one man in the high school. They didn't come back all week. The following Monday, I came on the job. I had a cleaning crew which consisted on Monday and Tuesday of three men, Wednesday and Thursday of two men, Friday of one man for half a day. And that was my cleaning crew for the entire summer to clean this building. We were badly hurt by that (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, cards 1-2).

The reason for the change in crew size was explained to the researcher by Mr. Baker, who was directly responsible for supervising the maintenance and custodial crews. He explained that some employees had "as many as five weeks vacation time coming. People took their vacation. At times, I had, out of eighteen people who might have been working, as few as eight. Half of the people all of the time were on vacation" (FN, Baker,

12-1-82, card 9). A second reason why the plan failed was the low morale of the crews. Mr. Ball shared his experience at Meadow with the researcher:

As they [the custodians] came into this school, they sat there. They couldn't do anything. But nobody went out to the person in charge and said we really don't have anything to do. Put us some place where we can do something. (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 20).

There appear to be two reasons for the lack of morale. First, the buildings in which the custodians were working were not the ones to which they were normally assigned. Therefore they did not know the building and what was to be done (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 21). Second, a combination of factors--layoffs, lack of salary increases, and crew size--contributed to the failure (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 6). A third reason for the plan's failure was the lack of work crew supervision by Mr. Baker. As Mr. Ball stated about the supervision, "There was a person in charge, but there was nobody in charge" (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 21). This lack of supervision was directly related to the size of the maintenance crew used to haul the school furniture between schools. Because it was so small, Mr. Baker felt he had to physically help the crew do the moving. He told the researcher:

I was in charge of the move. . . . Because I had to be actively involved in moving the furniture physically, I wasn't able to keep tabs on how these crews were doing as well as I would have liked. . . . I did get out, but I would like to have gotten out a couple of times a week. It was more like a couple of times a month (FN, Baker, 12-1-82, card 7).

He explained to the researcher that what supervision he was able to do was "pretty much happenstance, if I happened to come in the building when we were hauling something in" (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 7). The fourth reason why the materiel movement plan failed to accomplish its goals was that it was, according to Mr. Baker, impossible to schedule the cleaning

crews and the movement of materiel to coincide at the same school. Mr. Baker explained to the researcher that "it was almost impossible to set up the roving summer cleaning crews so that they could situate the furniture mainly because of timing" (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 4). He gave two specific examples. In one case, Superintendent Meyers stipulated that his office be moved from Meadow to Lakeview in the middle of all the work of moving the materiel out of the closed schools. He said:

Dr. Meyers said that he wanted us to move the central office out to Lakeview the week after the 4th of July. I don't know why. Because of that one move, that created just a mountain of work that I don't think anybody that had the decision making responsibility realized, as much as I tried to point it out (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 9).

A second example of poor timing involved Hillcrest Elementary. When telling the researcher about scheduling the summer cleaning crews there, Mr. Baker said "that school was done first, long before we even thought about moving furniture over there" (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 4).

Two problems occurred because the materiel movement plan did not work as well as anticipated. First, the buildings were not cleaned in their usual manner. Second, the furniture and materiel from the closed schools was hauled to Hillcrest, Meadow, and Spring Hill and stacked floor to ceiling in the respective multipurpose rooms. Four of the elementary schools received most of the students and materiel from the closed schools. Of the four, Riverview was the least disrupted because less furniture was sent there than to the other schools. Mr. Austin, the Riverview principal, told the researcher that

some furniture was moved out here for the new teachers. Not nearly as much as at Meadow or Hillcrest. We ran into problems in moving the furniture and setting it up due to custodial cutbacks and vacations. Some people had four to five weeks vacation time coming (FN, Austin, 10-13-82, card 5).

Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest, told the researcher about the negative effect on the teachers especially, when they came to work in August and could not work because of the pile of materiel in the school multi-purpose room. The new teachers from Forest Glen all came to Hillcrest ready to work on August 16, 1982. According to Mr. Taylor, who had himself been on vacation:

It was my first day back to work. A lot of them came in the building ready to work in their classrooms really energetic. And, our gym was packed with all their stuff. We couldn't even find it, let alone let them work in their rooms. They left pissed off. I don't blame them. We had provided the maintenance department with all of the maps. All of the teachers spent hours tagging their stuff. My piano should go into my room. Where did it end up? In the gym! So, the custodian, myself, and the teachers ended up moving the entire gym into individual classrooms. It took us seven days! Seven days, eight hours a day (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 9).

A similar problem existed at Meadow, where the principal, Mr. Ball, had also been on vacation. He shared with the researcher the story of what happened when he returned to work on August 16, 1982. He said:

This fall was an absolute disaster. The central office used to be located in this building. They vacated this building and went to one of the other elementary schools. We had to absorb approximately one hundred additional children in this school from one of the other elementary schools, and a number of additional teachers. Consequently, as a result of this plus as a replacement for some of the other teachers that we had laid off, our staff was about half new in the school. And, we increased in population from a school of 250 to about 350. All the materials and furniture and equipment, all kinds of stuff from the other school, two-thirds of it was dumped in our gymnasium. . . . I began my work year two weeks before the opening of school. Nothing was done. The building was in total shambles. . . . So, all the teachers that came over here, they had some materials all stacked up in the gym and in no order whatsoever. . . . The stuff was packed into the gym almost to the ceiling, just thrown. This place was a mess, physically a mess. We didn't have our own custodian because he got fired in the process, too. There was just nobody who had ownership of where all the materials were supposed to go and they were just thrown. . . . I called them [teachers] up and I said "for your own sanity you might want to come on over and get to work because this place is a mess. . . . Some of the other schools lent me their custodians to help out to physically move

furniture, equipment, and what not. . . . I can't really describe the chaos that was here at the time. . . . The teachers bless them, they came on in to see what was around and almost out of defensiveness said, "Oh my god, I've got to get going."  
 . . . (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, cards 4 and 4, and 10-28-82, card 18).

Mr. Vincent, principal at Woodlawn, is one of the principals who lent his custodian to Mr. Ball. He told the researcher that "We pulled her because Meadow was in such a problem. She went over to Meadow and helped over there for about three or four days, maybe a little longer" (FN, Vincent, 11-3-82, card 1). Spring Hill Elementary also had problems caused by the dumping of materiel in that school over the summer. However, it was in less of a state of disarray because the head custodian had chosen not to become part of the roving work crew, and had remained at the school. Ms. Edwards' account of what she faced when she began work on August 16, 1982 shows the same problem of materiel being dumped into the school and left by the maintenance staff. In addition, the problem of incorrect tagging as a source of confusion is also shown. She told the researcher:

We walked in the first day and we couldn't walk in the storeroom, couldn't walk in the supply room because it was a crew of maintenance people who moved the stuff. They moved it into the room and they just left it. We couldn't even walk into the rooms even to start attacking it, putting it away, or organizing. This was the middle of August, at which time I called my secretary and said, "You've got to come back a week early" and got authorization for that. The custodians didn't know what to do with it. We're talking about textbooks and supplies, papers and pencils, and ditto fluid and machines--all the stuff that came from all the other buildings. It was just tagged "Spring Hill" and hoped it got here, and we didn't get it all. We're missing a lot of stuff. Anyway, there was a mess with that. But, this building was in the best shape of any of the elementary buildings that were affected by the move (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 4).

These, then, were some of the results of the failure of the materiel movement plan to live up to expectations. This is the working situation that greeted the teachers as they came into their new schools. The

situation that greeted them was also observed by one person not directly connected with any of the elementary schools. The president of the teachers' union told the researcher that she was personally in all the elementary schools a week before classes began. The general account of what she saw agrees with what the principals said. Ms. Lewis recalled that

a week before school, some of the buildings were just a shambles because they moved everything from Lakeview to Meadow, all the stuff from Green Park to Spring Hill. I was in all those buildings the week before school and all of them had stuff piled--hallways, gyms, and rooms were not ready. I think to teachers, that to them was a scary situation. I talked to a couple of them at Hillcrest and one woman had been there for several days. The principal had finally ended up, himself, hauling a lot of the stuff she needed from the gym to her room, because of the cutback on janitorial services. If you'd walked through the buildings that week before school, you'd think they didn't plan to have school that year! It looked bad, I thought (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, cards 5-6).

### Background Summary

The implementation of the board's budget reduction mandate involved the efforts of the board, district administrators, and principals as each group sought ways to implement the mandate within their budgetary and philosophical constraints. Although the board was generally aware of the overall activities involved in the reduction-in-force process, movement of students and materiel, board members generally looked to the superintendent as the person to be in charge of the day-to-day implementation activities. The superintendent, in turn, delegated this responsibility to a Transition Committee whose only authority to act on its recommendations lay in the abilities of the principals to provide student and parent orientation programs that cost the district little or no money, and did not disrupt the 180 days of student instructional time. Little,



if any thought by the board or district administrators was given to the emotional welfare of the teachers who were involuntarily reassigned. What efforts were made by the district and the Transition Committee were directed towards the permanently laid off teachers.

It is against this background, then, that the teachers involved in the study were laid off, recalled, and reassigned to new positions and schools, or were administratively reassigned to new positions and schools. And, it is against this background that the participants in the study responded to the stress of involuntary reassignment, both to the actual process and events as they occurred and to the study conducted by the researcher which included these events as background to the research focus.

## CHAPTER 5

### PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter, the three research questions are each listed and followed by the data that describes what happened and how teachers and administrators viewed the process or events within the process. The reader should be aware that not all teachers in the study reacted to processes or events in the same way or to the same degree. Further, not all teachers were involved in the same events or to the same degree. Therefore, the ways in which teachers responded to stressors were varied.

#### Research Question One

IS THE PROCESS OF INVOLUNTARY REASSIGNMENT A TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE FOR ELEMENTARY TEACHERS?

#### Introduction

The process of involuntary reassignment is an emotional experience for elementary teachers. Part of the reason for this may lie in the teachers' perception of the school as more than just a place to work and of teaching as more than just a job. To most of the teachers, personal relationships formed over time in the school work environment became like a surrogate family. As with the values the reader could reasonably expect to be important in a biological family, so the teachers, as members of the surrogate family, value attitudes of mutual helpfulness, genuine caring for others, and the freedom to bare their personal and

professional disappointments and triumphs to their peers. Several teachers who were involuntarily transferred from four elementary schools, including the three that were closed, were willing to share with the researcher their feelings about their former colleagues as being like a family. Ms. Carpenter emphasized the staff's closeness and spirit of cooperation when she told the researcher:

I think they were pretty close, because there were only six of us. But, the four of us who were down at the elementary end of the building were real close, I would say. We frequently went out to lunch together and did things together. Not in the evening kind of thing, although sometimes in the summer we would get together--go to a play or something. So, we got used to having to work together, get our schedules in, take turns, and help each other out in problems. I think we were very close (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 1).

Ms. Baird had spent ten years at Riverview when she was involuntarily reassigned. Her view of the staff as a family reflects the closeness of knowing about each other intimately. She told the researcher:

We all knew everyone and their families, their obsessions, their quirks, their teaching styles, their strengths and weaknesses. \_\_\_\_\_ was very outdoorsey, loved to hunt, fish, mow lawns, work in the garden, chop wood, etc. He always talked about his wife, she was so nasty to him, ha! We all knew the TRUTH. He was so much fun at school, but when his wife was around, he was so dull--had to keep his voice down, couldn't tell racy stories, no dumb behavior. It was kind of fun. \_\_\_\_\_ loved to cook, wanted the cupboards clean and would do it himself if his wife was busy and she usually was. She spent a lot of time on school work and he was always complaining about it. When \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_ were getting married, we knew the step-by-step wedding plans, the hassles they were going through, the changes in plans, etc. When \_\_\_\_\_'s husband was quite severely injured, we were all so sincerely concerned. He had several accidents. We began teasing her about his being accident prone. We all hung together during the severe illnesses, pregnancies, and miscarriages. We all bugged \_\_\_\_\_ about his eating pickles because of his high blood pressure. We were all so grateful to \_\_\_\_\_ when he took the whole student body alone for 30-45 minutes and played his guitar and sang with them so we could have a break and get something done. When any of our teachers were pink slipped, we all worried together as a whole for about six years. It lends to becoming a family (FN, Baird's Journal, 12-8-82, card 1).

The staff at Lakeview was especially close knit as viewed by the teachers there. Two of the former teachers there talked to the researcher about their feelings of the staff as their family. Ms. Brand emphasized the emotional support given each other when she said:

We got along well. We were very supportive of each other, and helpful to each other. Our school had a reputation for the staff getting along real well, cooperating real well with each other. And it was on more than just a work basis. We felt that we were really close friends, too, on a personal level, not just a professional level. The biggest way we helped each other was emotionally. When someone was really depressed or discouraged, just trying to help each other that way; talking with them (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 8).

Ms. Eddy, who was also part of the Lakeview family with Ms. Brand, picked up on the same theme of being close friends and the resulting emotional support by the staff and gave an example of how this emotional support helped when two members were publicly and verbally attacked by parents:

The staff was very, very close. We knew everything I think there was to know that you would let anyone know about each other. Our families were very important to each other. We talked about things. If things were going badly at home, you could talk to the other people. If you were upset about something that was happening in the classroom, we all tried to help each other. We gave each other an amazing amount of support. I never really realized how special a thing we had until now. We talked about it about a month ago. A number of us that are here and I talked to a couple of teachers who have gone other places and that it is a hard thing for us to adjust to, that we had grown so close that we didn't realize how much we would miss that closeness . . . We went through a big thing with the sex ed program we had. The parents at one PTO meeting attacked the other fifth grade teacher and I verbally right in front of the entire PTO. They brought it out as a big thing. Both of us were really upset. We went into the teachers' lounge and they came right in there. They were hugging and trying to make us feel good about what had happened. And they, in fact, had a little get together afterwards at somebody's house that was an impromptu thing because they wanted to get everybody straightened around and feeling better about what was happening. In a lot of ways, I think that when things happen in education . . . that sometimes the family doesn't understand . . . When they tell their spouses about what happens, they just don't really understand where we're coming from. So, we did that for each other. We gave each other help (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82, card 3, and 11-11-82, card 12).

A teacher's trust in, and reliance upon the staff as her family can best be seen in the way in which Ms. Gates felt about the Spring Hill staff when she was involuntarily reassigned. When asked by the researcher if she viewed her former staff as a family, she remarked:

I'd say that, especially because I don't have a family close by. Whether or not they like that, I use them for that. We celebrate each other's birthdays. The other fourth grade teacher there helped me so much. I would go to her room all the time and she would help me. I would say, "I don't know how to set up my day so that the kids are getting the most out of it." "Well, this is what I do," she would say. Or, I'd be desperate because I couldn't think of an art project. She'd help me there. It was almost like a mothering thing. We share each other's personal triumphs. We'd sit in the lounge and explain how so and so just had a baby and my son just got his first tooth. You sit around and celebrate each others happy things and sad things, too . . . It may not be that way so much for somebody who is happily married or happily having a family they're living in. But for me not having that, I use them for my family whether they know it or not (FN, gates, 11-23-82, card 12).

Not all teachers who were involuntarily reassigned felt close family ties to their former school. One, when speaking about her former elementary school, noted that

they were just not the kind of people that cooperated with other people. One of the girls got married. We've still never seen her husband. Now does that give you any idea? . . . Nobody knew they got married until somebody saw it in the paper and called up and said, "Did you know?" Her best friend at school didn't know. She dated him for a long time but nobody knew until they were getting ready to get married that she'd been dating this man. And her best friend at school wasn't invited and was crushed. Now, how much planning can you do with that kind of person (FN, Journal Meeting 12-7-82, card 12)?

The district has two middle schools. Three teachers who were involuntarily reassigned from those two schools to elementary positions talked to the researcher about their concept of their former school as a family. It is interesting to note that all three of these teachers did not feel as close a fictive kin-like relationship with their middle school colleagues as

the elementary teachers felt towards their colleagues. Ms. Fox commented that

last year's staff wasn't like a family at all. There were only two people on the staff that I was really very close to. I came from a staff of forty and it was really cliquey and people didn't cooperate. They didn't help each other out. They just kind of "to each his own." That's what it basically was. Don't get me in trouble and I won't get you in trouble. That kind of attitude (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 1).

Ms. Underwood viewed the general lack of day-to-day helping each other and the close comradeship that comes from socializing on the job as contributing to her perception that the staff was not like a family:

I was close to that staff. But it wasn't a family type thing. The people there did not help you. They wanted to socialize with you at a different time than school time. They would talk over problems, if you were having problems with a student. But as far as helping you along and aiding you along with materials you could pass out to the students--curriculum type stuff--that was pretty much up to the individual teachers. Within the sixth grade level we did try to help each other out. One teacher would run off reading dittos and one teacher would run off social studies and then we'd trade back and forth (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 15).

Ms. Scott was one of Ms. Underwood's colleagues at the middle school. She, as well as Ms. Underwood, noted that while the entire staff might not be considered like a family, individual grade level teachers were because they helped one another and socialized together on a routine basis. She told the researcher:

The sixth grade staff at Evergreen, more than the whole staff at Evergreen, and more than the Green Park staff, but not like this staff was like a family. That was because we spent an hour every day on break together. All the Evergreen sixth grade had the same hour off. It was just closer in that we spent five hours a week sitting in the lounge grading papers, talking, laughing, kidding around, cooking up something (FN, Scott, Journal Meeting, 12-7-82, card 12).

### Prelayoff Teacher Stress

Teachers began feeling stress connected with the closing and lay-off process long before the reduction-in-force notices were mailed out in

March, 1982, and the process actually began.

Fear of Uncertainty. Just anticipating what might happen produced anxiety and stress. One principal told the researcher what he witnessed in his school:

The process started last fall. We started looking into budget cuts . . . Morale started to drop a little bit in October and we knew we were in a big financial bind. When you cut over one million from the budget, you know it's going to affect personnel. People were really nervous about it. You could just feel that tension in the air, "why me," this type of thing. People were just more solemn, I guess. It was more of a feeling than it was an action. You go to the lounge and people were, I guess, prone to bitch about little things that they normally wouldn't bitch about. Just that, "Gee, I'm feeling down." And, I think this was true as well of the people who weren't losing their jobs as the people who were going to be laid off because they felt a part of it. They didn't know what was going to happen. I was certainly a part of it because I didn't know how all this was going to come out in the wash. Uncertainties: who was going to be called back; who wasn't going to get called back; how far the cuts were going to go (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 2).

By January 1982, teachers realized that buildings were really going to close. While the board was seeking to save jobs (see page 133), and Mr. Allen and the teachers' union were preparing for the upcoming layoffs (see page 136), some teachers were already looking at the closing schools as sources of extra supplies which, like over matured fruit, were ripe for picking.

Premature Forays Into Closing Schools to Claim Teaching Material.

Teachers from schools remaining open created stress for the incumbent teachers whose schools were closing. They did so by calling them at work and telling them what they wanted to have, and by physically entering an incumbent teacher's classroom, inventorying what was desired, and leaving a list of desired items. Ms. Davis was the principal at whose school this incident occurred. She said:

We had a couple of instances where we had what you could describe as raiding parties come in to this building to look over the materials. Teachers came from the other schools to look over the materials to see what they wanted. I think it was a Friday morning and I came in. There had been a phone call . . . beyond the fact that the person had come in and looked. I came into the most upset group of women you ever laid eyes on before in your whole life! . . . We learned to laugh about it, but they also learned to lock their doors, too (FN, Davis, 11-16-82, card 5).

Three teachers, who witnessed the effects of the forays, shared their experience with the researcher. A Lakeview teacher told the researcher what happened to her and to a colleague in her school.

They [the raiders] came, in fact, right after they (the board) announced that the school was being closed. Then the next thing that happened was that people started coming and looking around our rooms to decide what they wanted. I was told that one teacher who was at another school and needed some things for fifth grade was going to come and gut my room. If I had all my boxes packed, she was going to come in during the summer and take all my boxes apart and find what she wanted. One of the kindergarten teachers came over and went through the entire room and left our kindergarten teacher a note saying, "these are the things I would like sent to my school." This was in January . . . We all went slightly bananas and then we talked to the principal . . . And we did give some things away. But we wanted to be able to decide that, not have someone leave us a list on the desk of what I want you to send me. It made me feel angry, angry. We all were really angry. We felt like they were moving us out. That they weren't treating us like human beings. We were just these people moving out. Therefore, everything we owned was up for grabs (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, cards 1-2).

Ms. Brand, the kindergarten teacher described by Ms. Eddy in the preceding account, substantiated what Ms. Eddy said:

I had one teacher call me from Spring Hill who told me their PTO said they could have anything they wanted out of our rooms. She had come over after school and had gone through my room. When I mentioned that to the other teachers, the lid went off. They were just incensed that anyone would come and go through their room and look at their things. The one thing that she said she wanted was mine that I paid for. I bought it myself. It was mine! It was a scale that I brought with me. It was the only thing she said she thought she'd like to have. It just caught us so off guard. We were so upset that we were being closed and all split up anyway. That just really upset everyone that someone would come and go through your drawers



and your closets and say, "I want this and I want that!" The word that came to mind, one of the teachers said, "vultures" (FN, Brand, 11-30-82, card 7).

This same phenomena also occurred at Green Park. Ms. Campbell, formerly a teacher there, told the researcher that, "Yeah, we did have people coming in from Riverview and Spring Hill to look at what there was and see what the different people wanted" (FN, Journal Meeting, 11-23-82, card 11).

Another source of raider stress caused by raiders occurred at Lakeview because the central office was considering relocating to that building. Ms. Eddy told the researcher that "their main office staff started coming over and going through the rooms and discussing right outside our doors, 'I think I like this room because.' We felt like we were being moved out starting in December" (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, cards 1-2).

Not every closed school experienced the stress of raiding parties. Both Lakeview and Green Park, where the raiders struck, were centrally located and easily accessible. Forest Glen, on the other hand, was in a rural area and isolated from the rest of the schools and teachers. This isolation fostered a misconception among some teachers of the school as "a small, rural school where you know the kids out there and the teachers out there because they've got cow shit on their shoes. What a thing! For years that had been the assumption . . . That's not true at all" (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 4). But that image saved the school from being raided. The principal there, in talking about raiding parties, told the researcher, "it didn't happen at Forest Glen because I figure people didn't think we had anything anybody wanted out there. That wasn't true, but they weren't going to drive eight miles to find out, either" (FN, Davis, 11-16-82, card 5).

The teachers and administrators who came to Lakeview and Green Park to look over teaching materials and room layout did not consider themselves "raiders." The district office moved from Meadow Elementary into the space occupied by classrooms in Lakeview Elementary. District administrators were simply looking over the new facility to see where specific offices would be located and the extent of the remodeling that had to be done. Mr. Baker, who was in charge of physically moving the materiel from the schools which were closing, was also in charge of remodeling Lakeview classrooms to accommodate the district offices. He told the researcher that his maintenance crew "had to build partitions in a couple of rooms and a lot of electrical modifications in order to make the rooms suitable for offices rather than classrooms" (FN, Baker, 1-12-83, card 9). Teachers who came to the two schools to claim materials did so because they evidently had been told that it was an appropriate action to take. Ms. Brand, the Lakeview kindergarten teacher, had her room "raided" by a Spring Hill teacher. She was told by the Spring Hill teacher that she had been given permission to do so. Ms. Brand said that "I had one teacher call me from Spring Hill who told me their PTO said they could have anything they wanted out of our rooms" (FN, Brand, 11-30-82, card 7).

In addition to stress already present during the prelayoff period, stressful situations were created by the layoff process itself.

#### Lay Off Process Stress

There were two aspects of the layoff process that created stress for the teachers.

Seniority. Contract language stipulates that layoffs must be based on a seniority list (see p.137). The intent of using this policy is to

insure that there is an orderly, well established procedure for conducting a reduction-in-force. The importance of using this list was emphasized to the researcher by a union official. She said:

I think the overriding issue to us was that the high senioreed people remained employed. How management had to accomplish that was their problem. If it meant moving someone, fine. If it meant transferring someone to a building they didn't like, that really wasn't the issue. It was: are you certified and are you qualified, and are you the high senioreed person (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 3).

Both Ms. Lewis and Mr. Allen confirmed that the list was, in fact, used. Ms. Lewis told the researcher, "They did lay off by seniority" (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 3).

For most teachers, the use of the seniority list during the layoff process was a comfort. Each principal had a posted copy which teachers could view to see where they were in relation to those teachers already laid off. As one senioreed teacher told the researcher:

I think that seniority has to count for something. And, I'm definitely more in favor of seniority. Of course, I'm getting to be on that end. It's fair. If you've worked for twenty-five years, then it becomes a subjective kind of thing--evaluations and supervisors and who is going to go and then it is a real hassle--who is going and who is staying. This way it's pretty cut and dried. You don't get personalities into it at all. The other way you've got personalities into it (FN, Journal Meeting, Campbell, 10-13-82, card 9).

Ms. Campbell told the researcher that because she could see the seniority list, "I knew that I wasn't going to be laid off all along" (FN Journal Meeting, 10-19-82, card 9). In addition, she kept her friend, Ms. Scott, informed of her position on the list so that even though she was pink slipped, Ms. Scott could say "I really wasn't worried because she kept telling me I was going to be hired back" (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-19-82, card 9). Ms. Carpenter also found that using the seniority list helped her reduce potential stress due to losing her job. She told

the researcher, "I was keeping track of how many people were above me. But, I knew I was up there and I knew I would not be laid off, so that was relaxing" (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 2).

Seniority, did not protect all teachers in the study from experiencing stress. In two cases, teachers were involuntarily reassigned because Mr. Allen chose to lay off teachers in excess of the required reduction-in-force (see page 138). In both cases, the teachers were involuntarily reassigned so that teachers with higher seniority could take their jobs. This created unnecessary teacher reassignment and unnecessary stress for the individual teachers involved. One of the two teachers shared with the researcher her reaction to being laid off when Mr. Allen came to talk to her:

I was just so bitterly upset because the quality that you are doing had nothing to do with where you were moved. I started the conversation. I slammed the door, I threw my fist down on Mr. Hall's desk, and I started yelling. Mr. Hall had never even seen this in seven and one-half years, and he sat there stunned. I just threw a nice temper tantrum for them, letting them know how serious I was . . . Then I got to another stage in it that I was crying . . . It ended up that I just more or less left the room. It started out where I was upset, and then I cried, then we talked about it, and then I ended up crying and leaving (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 10).

Mr. Allen remembered his meeting with Ms. Underwood. He related to the researcher that

I went over to Evergreen and Mr. Hall called her down. I think she knew it was coming. I had kind of tried to prep her before. I tried to explain why this might happen--a transfer. She came in and sat down and Mr. Hall said a few words. I, then of course, told her the reason I was here because it looks very much like you might be transferred to an elementary position . . . She unwound. She knew it was coming. She got, as I recall, quite emotional and upset! Well, she got emotional and her voice raised a little bit. I didn't consider it a verbal attack on me as it was the system (FN, Allen, 11-22-82, card 5).

The stress on Ms. Gates resulting from the access layoffs was the greatest of anyone involved in the study. Her principal provided the researcher with some background for her reaction. He recalled that she was

about the last elementary person to be laid off, knowing she was going to be recalled. But, because she was laid off, people with more seniority were able to displace her . . . She became so distraught, it affected attendance and also passed on down to the kids. Not only did she verbally make some comments that were taken home, but also her actions, you know, body language (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 3).

Ms. Gates told the researcher of the emotional impact her involuntary layoff caused. She said:

I knew it was coming . . . I knew it was unfair and I knew that it was coming. And, I knew that I had already told them it was unfair. They had told me that you're going to be pink-slipped but don't worry. It's just so we can move you. We're going to hire you back, but we just want you out long enough to give away your job . . . That's where my resentment came in because they pink slipped me just to open the position for another teacher who wanted it with more seniority . . . They pink-slipped me in April . . . April first, don't you love it! April first. I got pink slipped on the first . . . I almost couldn't finish it from that point on. I was a wreck (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 2, 8).

Interpersonal Relationships Between Colleagues. A second aspect of the lay off process which produced stress for some teachers was the impact of interpersonal relationships between friends. For the most part, the knowledge that someone on the staff was losing his or her job helped the entire staff to provide emotional help and support to that teacher as a part of the school family (see page 180). Ms. Gates observed this in her school:

What happens when this pink-slipping stuff starts, is that the staff draws together and they feel very bad about the ones they're losing. Some of the teachers that they didn't even like that well, become their best friends because they are going to be gone. You know, it's human nature. Yes, I saw that (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 2).

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Even when other members of the school family tried to help and console those teachers laid off, the intent was not always the outcome and the effort was not always successful. Ms. Gates related an incident to the researcher which illustrates her point:

People say all the wrong things because they care and are trying to help, but everything they say hurts more than if they wouldn't have said it. That's the way I looked at it. In fact, after taking a certain amount of it, I called up a girl friend that had been laid off the year before and hired back and said, "I want to apologize to you for everything I said because I know now that everything I said to you was wrong because now that I'm in your shoes, I know how it feels." They tried. You have to sit down and say "this person is trying to make me feel better, but it's making me feel worse." One woman came to me and said, "I'm just glad it didn't happen to me because you're young and you can start over." I just about died when she said that. I mean, I felt like saying, "I wish it would have happened to you instead of me because you have a husband and another income . . ." I had to bite it back and say, "Well, she's trying. She thinks that's a nice thing to say because she hasn't been where I am right now (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 4).

But, in three other specific cases, teachers had stress-producing experiences with their colleagues which did not stem from an attempt to be helpful. Ms. Gates told the researcher about one colleague who she said spent the year overtly needling her about the move and about how much she wanted Ms. Gate's room:

There was a teacher in the building already who had been telling me all year that she wanted my room. She had been threatening me all year. This added to my frustration. She'd been threatening me all year, "I'm going to get this room. You don't have as much seniority as I do, and I'm going to get this room." As soon as I got pink-slipped, she was my best friend. She even asked me if I'd like to go out to breakfast with her one day. It added to my frustration that the room and the school assignment was rightfully mine . . . What they did to me was wrong and she was coming in gloating and she's no friend of mine (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 10):

Mr. Fisher told the researcher that in his school he saw some teachers trying to help other teachers who were leaving, while in other instances

teachers did not help each other at all. He related this story about two kindergarten teachers as an illustration of his comments:

There was some real bitterness between people who were friends that created personal problems to a point where we still have a grievance pending right now . . . I had a half time teacher with a lot of seniority and didn't get laid off, but she was a kindergarten teacher. Her counterpart was also half-time and with very low seniority, she was laid off and accepted it--no problem. This half-time kindergarten teacher with a lot of seniority had, for the past two or three years, submitted letters saying that she would like to be considered for full-time employment. At this point in time, she had again put in a letter saying, "I would like to secure this position." And, myself as outgoing principal and Ms. Edwards coming in as the new principal collaborated . . . Her own friends in the building that she had been working with for years said that they were going to grieve it; and they did grieve it . . . (FN, Fisher, 9-23-82, card 2; 10-19-82, cards 3-4).

While both these cases of stress between colleagues were limited to the school setting, Ms. Baird experienced stress due to her move involving a school related social activity--bowling. The teachers in the district, for some years, had a weekly after-school bowling league that at one time totaled eighteen teams. Ms. Baird had been a member of the league for about four and one-half years. She found that layoffs at school affected her social life on the bowling league as she felt colleagues viewed her teaching position as up for grabs. She told the researcher of the stress involved in colleague relationships between January and April 1982 and said:

For a few years bowling was a biggie and I really enjoyed it . . . Last year, January to April, was rough because some of the people on the league were being laid off. They all wanted to keep their jobs and they looked at me as an empty classroom that needed a teacher. So, all I had to do was leave River-view, go into Special Ed, and they'd have a job. Not very realistic, but factual. I spent many a Wednesday night after bowling so nerved up, I went to bed by 7 o'clock. I was feeling everyone wanted me gone (FN, Baird, Journal, 10-27-82, card 6).



Stress produced during the layoff process was followed by additional stress-producing events as the recall process took place.

### Recall Process Stress

Within the recall process, teachers experienced stress when requesting which school to move to, when requesting their grade level assignment, when receiving their teaching assignment, and when visiting the new school in June, 1982.

Stress in Requesting a New School. When Mr. Allen began placing the displaced teachers from the three closed schools (see p. 139), one of the first stress-producing activities for the teachers was requesting which school to be assigned. The teachers' anxiety manifested itself in different concerns. To some teachers, knowing the principal they would work for was of prime importance. As Ms. Davis told the researcher:

Placement became the first problem, because the teachers in those three buildings, for the most part, had a great deal of seniority. There was, first off, a lot of agonizing about where shall I go. I had a group of teachers who wanted to wait to find out where I was going because they wanted to go with me rather than go to a specific place (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, card 5).

One of the teachers from a closed school confirmed that the principal was, in fact, a key ingredient in the decision of some teachers to request a specific school. She said:

There was some question as to whether one principal that was here would be gone this year. There were some teachers who definitely did not want to work with this particular principal in North Umpqua. And there was some iffy-ness. We had no idea of where we were going or with whom for sure. There were a few anxieties of a couple people who were concerned that they would end up with a certain principal (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 18).

Other teachers felt stress because they were only given a choice of school by Mr. Allen; teaching assignments were given by the principal

after the teacher had been assigned to his building. Ms. Fox was a middle school teacher who was transferred to an elementary school. She shared her frustration about not being given grade level openings at the schools at the same time as the school selection request was made. To her, it would have made a difference in her choice because she was more interested in the teaching assignment than the specific building. She said:

When Mr. Allen came along with his assignments sheet for us to fill in what we wanted to do, he would not tell us what positions were available, just the schools. Had he said to me, "Meadow is open but it has only lower el" I probably would not have taken Meadow. If he would have said to me, "Riverview is open with upper el positions," I probably would have been persuaded to go to Riverview because of having worked with older kids. That was one thing he would not tell me because I asked him. I said, "Can you tell me grade levels?" "No." "Can you tell me if it's upper level or lower level?" "No!" . . . I guess that was one thing that I was really upset about was the fact that he could have told me that there was going to be lower level position chances or given me some indication. That would probably have made me feel a little bit better about my decision instead of coming in and saying, "Well, this is what I have for you (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, cards 5-6).

There also appears to be a difference in the stress caused by involuntary transfers when the school is closed and when a teacher is reassigned from one ongoing school to another. This happened to several teachers. One of those teachers told the researcher about the difference. She commented that "I guess I just know that I really hurt . . . I got shoved out without my school closing. My school is going on. It's more like a divorce than a death because it's going on its own way and I can't be a part of it any more" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 30). Three other teachers formerly from Green Park and Evergreen also discussed with the researcher the difference between leaving a building that was closing and leaving an ongoing school. Ms. Underwood and Ms. Scott were a teaching team at Evergreen.

- Ms. Underwood: I was having a real tough time leaving middle school and sixth grade and shed a lot of tears.
- Ms. Scott: The last day, we'd go, "Oops!" Ms. Underwood is going to lose it. Ms. Scott, you take over."
- Ms. Underwood: By the last day, I didn't even have to say anything. All she had to do was look at me and she knew. That was it! We can't even talk about it today without getting upset about it. I can't. [Ms. Underwood begins to cry during the conversation, her eyes are watery and red. She looks very sad.]
- Ms. Campbell: And I knew we had to go and there's no point in, I mean it was going to be done. The building was going to be closed.
- Ms. Scott: Ms. Underwood still had a position. There's still that sixth grade position over there. It's not like that was closed down. But when Green Park closed, Ms. Campbell didn't have a choice at that time. Ms. Underwood still has her choice, and she prefers to be over there.
- Ms. Campbell: There's no point in crying or being upset. It was a fact of life and you might as well accept it, because there was nothing that could be done about it at that point. The whole school was closing. You might as well accept it the best you can. There's no point in crying about it and carrying on because it's done. [Both Ms. Underwood and Ms. Scott are crying at this point] (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82, cards 4-5).

When teachers became involved with specific job assignments at each school, more stress was evidenced than in choosing the specific school.

Stress in the New Teaching Assignment. Stress in the new teaching assignment manifested itself at different points in the process and for different reasons. For one teacher, the stress came mostly in deciding which was more important--the school or the teaching assignment--and how to communicate it to the impersonal "they" who would make the decision. Of her concerns, she told the researcher:

We had to list where we wanted to go; three choices of where we wanted to go and grades. There was a little uncertainty. When I say we, I guess I'm speaking of several of the early el teachers that when we talked together we came to the same conclusion. I wanted to go to Spring Hill first, because I live close to Spring Hill. But at the same time, I had first

grade for quite a few years and I enjoyed second grade the most and wanted to stay in that area. So my big concern was: do I just put down one grade, or will that keep me from getting in the building? Maybe I want to get into the building so bad that I wouldn't mind taking another grade. So that was kind of hard trying to figure out what someone else that was going to look at my paper was going to say; if they'd interpret that as I really wanted in the building or if I would only take this grade in the building . . . So, that caused a little bit of tension trying to figure out which position (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 2).

Stress for a second teacher occurred while she was in the process of deciding what grade level to request. The stress occurred, not from school or process stimuli, but from parents who wanted her to promote in the new school the same programs she had developed over the years in the former school. She felt she could not live up to that expectation because she would be new in the building. Because she did not want to alienate her new school family and also the parents by not living up to their expectations, she ended up teaching a grade level where these conflicts would be least likely to occur. She told the researcher:

They had 4/5 opening and I thought about it until two parents came down the hall one day and said, "Oh, we're so glad you're going to Meadow. You can get them to do the programs you've been doing here. We had a three-day camping program and our sex ed program was a week long instead of one day, and they were all for it. They figured I'd just come in and change things, at which point I decided I didn't want to get into that. I didn't want to battle them because they wanted that and I didn't want to have to come into a new school and new situation and say, "Well, we're going to do things this way" (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82, card 1).

Stress was also produced in teachers who were assigned to grade levels or positions for which they had no experience. This was especially true where a middle school teacher was assigned to an elementary school position. This type of change was experienced by two teachers in the study. Both had been sixth grade teachers. Ms. Underwood was

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involuntarily reassigned to a fourth grade position. When telling the researcher about the stress this change made, she commented that

the move was all more emotional for me. It was very traumatic. This was probably one of the worst things that had ever happened to me, that I've had to adjust to. I felt very comfortable in sixth grade. I'd taught there for seven and one-half years and I considered myself one of the best sixth grade teachers that had ever been in that building (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 7).

Ms. Fox also had taught sixth grade, and ended up teaching second grade. She had never taught elementary school nor was she familiar with elementary curriculum. This latter aspect was especially stress producing. She told the researcher about how she felt and how her assignment evolved. She said:

I had a second/third split. I felt that he had done me an injustice because I had never been in elementary before. I never had taught either of the grades before. I wasn't even familiar with the specialties that elementary had, let alone learning two grade levels as opposed to one . . . So I went all that summer thinking that I had a second/third split. I came in the fall and I still had the second/third split and we started school. I had eight third graders. Two of them never showed up at school, so that left me with six. I don't know if this instigated it, but one of the parents from my third graders came in and said, "I don't think it's fair that she has that few third graders, I don't object to the split, but if she has a split, it needs to be more even split, so that she will spend equal amounts of time with both." I was finding myself letting the third graders do second grade stuff because I only had six of them. As it turned out, two of my third graders were question marks whether to pass on or not from last year. So, what they did was to leave those two in here as second graders and move my four third graders out. That happened the first week of school which was just a big burden off my shoulders! I felt a lot more comfortable with the situation then (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, cards 4-5).

The change in grade level assignments was also stressful for elementary teachers reassigned to other elementary positions for which they had no formal experience. This occurred when two teachers were transferred into an elementary school. One teacher, Ms. Scott, who had taught most

elementary grade levels except second, was assigned second grade. She told the researcher:

I came out here in June. Mr. Austin asked me to come out and he told me that he had me in second grade. I said, "Mr. Austin, do you know that's about the only grade in elementary K-6 that I have no experience in?" And then I panicked all summer long (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-10-82, card 3).

Her friend, Ms. Campbell, had been teaching kindergarten at her former school. After she was assigned to her new school, she found out she would be teaching fourth grade. This happened to be the elementary grade where she also lacked experience. Both teachers told the researcher how badly they desired to switch assignments with each other. They both felt more comfortable if they had each other's jobs. The story given the researcher by Ms. Campbell is an example of how emotional an issue teaching assignments can be. She told the researcher about the situation and its resolution:

I knew very early that I would be able to go to Riverview, but when I found out it would be fourth grade, absolute panic set in. My best friend, Ms. Scott, also got Riverview and she got second grade. We both wanted badly to trade grade levels but were afraid of rocking the boat and we didn't want to ask for special favors. I had never taught fourth and Ms. Scott had never taught second. The summer wore on and Ms. Scott and I decided to ask for a switch so I wrote a letter requesting that. Then Ms. Scott decided not to turn the letter in and again panic! Things went on and due to a number of circumstances I was assigned to second, Ms. Scott to fourth at Riverview. So, all's well that ends well, but it was certainly traumatic as we lived through it (FN, Journal, Campbell, 9-7-82, card 2).

The trauma of the grade level moves was discussed by the researcher with Ms. Underwood, Ms. Scott, and Ms. Campbell at a September lunchtime meeting in the school library. During that meeting both Ms. Underwood and Ms. Scott cried as they discussed their feelings about the move and grade change. The incidents recorded below took place within a few

minutes of the meeting's finish, and are taken from fieldnotes written immediately after the incidents.

12:59 - After the meeting was over, Ms. Campbell, who had shown no emotion during the session came up to me and said, "It helps to talk about it," and she smiled. I said, "Does it?" She said, "Yes." I said, "Good" and smiled as she went on to class.

1:08 - When I came into Ms. Scott's class to observe the p. m. session, I asked, "Do you have anything I can do to help you this afternoon?" "You can correct some math. But I have to tell you one thing! I'm not going to come to your Friday meetings anymore if we are going to talk about things that I get emotional about. I know it's good for your study, but right now I'm really uptight and that's not good for my job . . . Ms. Underwood is feeling the same way right now" (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82).

These two incidents underscore the residual nature of the stress involved when teachers are involuntarily reassigned to positions for which they lack experience.

Ms. Baird was involuntarily reassigned from an elementary classroom to special education. Although both certified and qualified on paper for the position, she had been a classroom teacher for ten years. In addition her special education training and experience was far enough removed in time from the present concepts of the resource room teacher, that she felt that she lacked the training necessary to do a good job. She explained her professional anxiety about the job change when she told the researcher:

I was afraid to change--fear of the unknown and afraid to stay and be the brunt of grievances. I had a special ed background--mentally impaired. I did not even have a definition for learning disabled. I did not feel qualified to teach something I couldn't identify or define. Also, I would be dealing with emotionally impaired. Help! I didn't even know what to do (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, cards 6-7)!

Ms. Baird also shared with the researcher some of the stress this reassignment caused, even though with her colleagues she tried to keep a facade of not caring about the move. She related that



I just wanted everyone to think that even if this transfer wasn't my idea, it would have been if only I had thought of it . . . In those three months, I smiled a lot . . . No way was anyone going to think I was upset. My boyfriend gave me a license plate that I had been wanting, "DILLIGAS" (Does it Look Like I Give A Shit"). On the surface, I think it all went very well. Apparently, things weren't as good as I thought. I gained fifty pounds from April 1 to September 1. My blood pressure, which has always been LOW, has shot out of sight. My ulcer, which hasn't bothered me in five years, has come back in full force (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-20-82, card 3, and 10-27-82, card 9).

Two of her former colleagues from whom she solicited help about the special education curriculum verified her concerns and stress as they told the researcher:

She was very comfortable in having taught the second grade for a long time and that resource job--teachers are overloaded and overwhelmed and that kind of thing. I don't think she felt competent to do it. She didn't feel like she'd had the training in learning disabilities and she didn't feel she really knew that much (FN, Abbott, 11-8-82, card 1). She had originally started out in special ed. But, at that time when she was in special ed there was only some self-contained classrooms that was for educatable mentally impaired. They didn't have the resource room at all. They weren't dealing too much, if at all, with learning disabled. It was just self contained or nothing. Then, she'd been out for ten years of special ed (FN, Hicks, 11-8-82, card 2).

After school and position assignments were accomplished, the next stress-producing event in the recall process was the opportunity that some teachers were given to visit their new school briefly the last day of the school year.

Stress In Visiting the New School. When planning for the end of the school year, the Transition Committee had requested of Dr. Meyers that the teachers be allowed to have release time for two reasons: (1) to visit their new school and become familiar with the physical plant, operating procedures, and the curriculum; and (2) to pack up the material and supplies in the closing schools (see page 158) (FN, Austin, 9-17-82,

card 3). This request was denied by Dr. Meyers. Dr. Meyers told the researcher that

under \_\_\_\_\_ law, we need to have 180 days of school and also 900 hours of instruction . . . It's my personal philosophy, and I feel pretty strongly about this, that the law guarantees children 180 full days of school . . . I had indicated to all the principals that the first thing we had to do, as far as I was concerned, was to give the children of that school year 180 days of school and that closing schools and moving just could not interfere with that (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, cards 2, 8).

Visits did take place, however, encouraged by the principals and which were creatively designed by both principals and teachers not to interfere with student instructional time. Although these visits fulfilled the ritual of providing the opportunity for teacher release time, in substance the effort was largely fruitless. Mr. Allen told the researcher:

We had to be a little careful that we didn't push teacher visits too much because there were teachers already on board in those buildings that were losing their job. In a way it was kind of low key. We waited towards the end of the school year to do that staff-staff thing (FN, Allen 9-13-82, card 5).

One of the reasons the visits produced less than desirable results was the general feeling mentioned by Mr. Allen that teachers and administrators were sensitive to the feelings of those staff members who were being laid off and to the close family ties their colleagues who were remaining in their jobs felt for those who were not. In commenting on this phenomenon, Mr. Ball told the researcher that

At first, nobody was making anybody feel welcome. They were all feeling hurt, because we had people in the building that were being forced out . . . When we found out these people were definitely leaving, well, obviously there's hurt for the people you care about. There's not that much concern for strangers even though they happen to be part of the same teaching faculty. It's far enough removed from the social setting that there's not a lot of sympathy for those people yet. The main sympathy is with what are your own (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 2).

One of the middle school teachers, Ms. Fox, watched how this sensitivity affected the ability of the Lakeview staff to meet with their new colleagues at Meadow. She said:

Mr. Ball wanted us to come over here and meet his staff but the Lakeview Elementary people didn't want to because they felt like they were "pushy." They didn't want to feel "pushy" for the laid off teachers, because he had quite a few that were laid off. The teachers didn't want the teachers here to feel, "Well God, they're pushing me out." So they didn't want to meet over here. (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 4).

One of the Lakeview teachers confirmed how they felt and why. According to Ms. Eddy, there had been some verbal remarks made by a person at Spring Hill at the time when the Transition Committee was redistricting the school attendance boundaries. One of the options the Committee considered was to move the entire student body to Spring Hill, instead of sending two-thirds of the students to Meadow and one-third of the students to Spring Hill as was the final plan. Since the Forest Glen staff was moved in total with their students, it was assumed that the same policy would apply if the Lakeview students were moved to Spring Hill in total (FN, Transition Committee Worksheet 1, January 20, 1982, Option 2). When discussing the Lakeview staff's feeling that they were not wanted because they were taking jobs from the school family, it is evident that the teachers took what they had been told and generalized it toward other staffs. She said:

We had had that feeling expressed to us. One of the teachers from Spring Hill told one of our staff that they really didn't want us to come there because we were taking jobs from their staff. And, we all kind of felt that way, anyway, even though it was not our fault. We had more seniority than the other people, but it didn't help. We knew that these were other people who were going to be put out of work because we were going in. We had a couple of really rough days over that one. All of us felt really low and feeling badly about what we must appear to be. No one at Meadow ever said anything like that. They never made us feel that way. I guess we just felt that way because we knew we were going into a staff that had been

together for awhile and that there were people on their staff that won't work again in this system because of what was happening (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 1).

One of the Spring Hill teachers confirmed the feelings about reassigned teachers taking other's jobs and that her empathy for these feelings caused her reluctance to visit her new school and the teacher she was replacing. She explained to the researcher that

I couldn't very well come over here and see what things were like because how would the teachers feel that are being kicked out? How does the person feel that I'm taking their room and they're laid off? I didn't want to come in and say to the teachers who felt so bad about that, that their whole attitude was, "Well, you're not going to get anything from me." There was the feeling that somebody was taking over what was rightfully yours. I didn't want to step on his toes because I knew how I felt about the teacher that was taking my place (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 2, 10).

A second reason why there was stress when teachers visited their new schools was the general lack of district-approved release time in which students would be sent home. This would have allowed teachers from the sending and receiving schools to work together in staff development sessions to prepare for the adoption of the new members into the family. Several teachers told the researcher of their frustration centering on the lack of time to visit their new schools. When asked if she was given release time, Ms. Carpenter said "I would say, no. I know I didn't take the time. It was included in when we brought the students over. I don't think we were given that opportunity" (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 13). She went on to explain what that time was like and the help it was when she took her class to Hillcrest:

My only real contact with the Hillcrest teachers was to come the day we came and brought our students for the pen pals. Very little contact. I was in the room with my class. \_\_\_\_\_'s room happened to be the room that my room matched up with and I talked to her for a few minutes. In fact, my class was divided into three rooms because I had a first/second split. So, they had to be matched with different classrooms.

So, I didn't get to talk to the other teachers. And the teacher in whose room I was in, I just spoke very briefly with her. Then again, it was a matter of working through the children so we weren't really visiting. And, that was it (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, cards 4-5).

Ms. Underwood was formerly a middle school teacher and had never taught in an elementary school. She told the researcher that her stress came in part from the fact that

the school system, I feel, did not provide me with the time I needed. They needed to give me some time, if nothing else to observe what an elementary teacher does, having not been in an elementary building (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 20).

Another former middle school teacher also had similar frustration in that she was granted virtually no release time. The twenty minutes that were granted were at her request and taken at a time when it was difficult to talk very long to the teachers in the new building. This was because it was in conjunction with the student visitation program between Lakeview and Meadow. Ms. Fox lamented:

I got one day where I got twenty minutes to come over. That was all my own doing. The kids from the elementary were coming over. They wanted the teachers over here. Mr. Ball didn't invite me and my principal didn't say I could go. The Lakeview teachers said, "We're going. Why don't you see if you can go?" So I asked the assistant principal and she excused me and covered my class for twenty minutes. But as far as other time, I asked. No, you couldn't get it even to go observe a second grade room right at Lakeview (FN, Fox 12-2-82, card 8).

Compounding the frustration and stress Ms. Fox experienced by her lack of release time is that her middle school was in the same building with Lakeview Elementary. For her to visit a second grade class would have been a matter of walking down the middle school corridor, past the principal's office, and into the Lakeview wing of the building. Ms. Brand also did not receive release time to visit Riverview. She was a half-time morning kindergarten teacher, so she did have the opportunity to visit the school on her own time while it was in session. However,

this proved unsatisfactory and stress-producing because although she could go to Riverview, classes were in session and the lower elementary teachers were not given release time to visit with her. She told the researcher that the only time she had to talk to the Riverview teachers was

... just while their kids were out for recess. They didn't have any time off to talk about anything. I talked to Ms. James on the phone a couple of times in the evening about some questions I had (FN, Brand, 11-8-92, card 4).

Ms. Campbell had two opportunities to visit Riverview during school hours. Neither opportunity was helpful in acquainting her with her new colleagues or the programs there. The first opportunity came as part of the pen pal student program. She told the researcher:

Ms. Campbell: I came out with the kindergarten that were going to be first graders.

Researcher: Was that a time for you to talk to teachers?

Ms. Campbell: No.

Researcher: Or, did you have to take care of kids?

Ms. Campbell: Uh huh (FN, Campbell, 9-17-82, card 1)!

Her second opportunity occurred when Ms. Campbell attended a play at Riverview. She and the researcher discussed the event.

Ms. Campbell: I came out one afternoon because I took a half a personal day because my daughter was in the first grade and they were doing a play. But other than that, I didn't.

Researcher: Did you use the time professionally to see the teachers?

Ms. Campbell: No (FN, Journal Meeting, 12-7-82, card 6).

Five teachers reported to the researcher that they had positive meetings with colleagues in their new school. While the actual contacts between new and incumbent staff members were cordial, however, the lack of release time where there would be no students, and where teachers could become acquainted through a staff development program remained a background stress against which the visits took place. As Ms. Gilbert

explained to the researcher, she had the time to visit Riverview, had a positive experience in doing so, but could really only observe classes, with a minimal opportunity to talk with future colleagues. She noted that

I came out in June. With the Title I program, we don't have children the last two weeks because we do a lot of federal write-up paperwork. So I had a lot of time and I got my work done early. So, I came out here and observed twice on school time. I didn't get too much chance to talk to teachers. I just observed what they did. I talked to them on their break and lunch hour, but not that much (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 3).

Ms. Underwood spent less than an hour at Riverview in June, 1982. Since she was unfamiliar with the school's location, her friend, Ms. Scott, took her there. Ms. Scott told the researcher:

Ms. Underwood had the choice of Hillcrest, Woodlawn or out here. She wasn't familiar, or even at all sure where Riverview was. So, I said, "Hey \_\_\_\_\_, I'll take you out one day." So I called Mr. Austin and said, "Mr. Austin, do you mind if Ms. Underwood and I come out one night just to kind of look around. At the time we came, he almost ignored me. He just basically kind of told us how the day was run out here, what she'd be doing, and trying very hard to encourage her to come . . . (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 2).

Ms. Underwood shared with the researcher how she viewed the meeting, and as she noted twice, it was brief. She said:

I took it upon myself to come out. They told me I had the choice of going to either Woodlawn or Riverview. I told them I knew nothing about the elementary buildings other than they were both feeder schools for Evergreen and that I had had some contact with the fifth grade teachers. But as far as the school itself, I knew nothing about either of them. So, I asked permission to leave when the students leave in the afternoon and go visit each of the schools. The students left at 2:20. So, one day Ms. Scott and I came out here. We left at 2:30 and came out here so we could visit the school while it was in session. But that was our own doing. They did not make these arrangements for us. I just asked if I could come out. So I came out to Riverview the very next day after they told me I had a good chance of being called back, that I would be within the next bunch. I talked to Mr. Austin. I talked with a few of the teachers. Mr. Austin and I didn't even go into his office. We just stood out in the hallway. So, it was only

like a five-minute conversation or a little more. He seemed very excited to have me coming out. He said he was very glad I had expressed a desire to come out here and at least look the situation over. He tried to explain that there was a fourth grade position open and the chances were that I would be placed there, but he couldn't guarantee it. He also mentioned that there was a second grade opening at the school. I went straight over to the fourth grade and looked that area over first. We talked to \_\_\_\_\_ for just maybe two or three minutes. She told us to feel free to move around and look things over. I don't remember that we discussed anything in depth at all. It was just more or less a very brief type of thing (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 3).

Three of the teachers seemed to have very positive meetings with future colleagues, and although the lack of time provided a stressful background, the results of the person-to-person contact were viewed by the teachers as quite favorable. On the last day of classes when the Meadow staff hosted their new colleagues, Ms. Fox was one of those new teachers who attended. From her perspective, the time was well spent and she was received very graciously by the teacher being laid off. She remembered that

There was a faculty meeting over here and I did come because \_\_\_\_\_, the teacher that I replaced said when I was done in there talking, that he wanted to talk to me. He came in and gave me a lot of good stuff and showed me materials that he had and how he ran the day and that kind of stuff. He was the one that I was replacing, which is more than I might have done. He was just really helpful (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 13).

Ms. Baird's time schedule was even more of a potentially negative factor in visiting her new colleagues. Her new job split her between Woodlawn and Hillcrest. Although not officially given release time, she did manage on one day, to take advantage of her daily schedule. It permitted her one hour to visit two schools and two teachers. She told the researcher about the positive experience she had at Woodlawn even though the lack of release time produced background tension for the meeting. She noted that



I had one hour, not one hour per day or one hour per week, or one hour per month, just one hour. My Riverview kids had recess and music one afternoon. The music teacher picked them up from recess, took them to music and kept them ten minutes overtime, and then sent them home at the end of the day. I left Riverview at 2:30, arrived at Woodlawn at 2:45, flew in and introduced myself to Ms. Davidson. She said, "Hi, don't worry, I'll help." . . . She'd take care of everything, nothing to worry about (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82 and 11-17-82, card 3).

Ms. Davidson displayed her sensitivity to Ms. Baird's needs and her desire to help as she told the researcher about that spring meeting. She said:

I explained how I've run my program the last couple of years, procedures that most of the resource teachers follow. That has really helped me because when I started I had the same type of situation. I worked up at Riverview with a group of teachers half-day, then I had my own room half-day. So that really helped me to become orientated into what the procedures were in North Umpqua for resource teachers. So, basically I tried to help Ms. Baird with the same thing (FN, Davidson, 11-3-82, card 1).

When Lakeview students who were going to attend Meadow came for their pen pal visit, one of the activities was an assembly with the principal at which time he explained the discipline program and answered students' questions. This provided the Lakeview teachers a short time without children in which to meet the teachers they were replacing. Ms. Baird's experience at this meeting shows the bittersweet aspect of the very sensitive situation. Although she had difficulty in talking with the teacher being laid off, she was able to resolve a potentially stressful situation with her new teacher's aide. She told the researcher:

We all had time to talk to whoever's room we were going to have. We probably had a half an hour. Part of the time the kids were gone, so we talked in here [her classroom] . . . I had to talk to the teacher about what they had because I had been given extra money that was left over in our budget out there. And I wanted to know some of the things I should have to get, what she could foresee that we might need. And, it was really hard

talking to her because she was being laid off. It was like I was taking her job. . . . Then she came down to the lounge and \_\_\_\_\_ [the Meadow teacher's aide] took over until we were done. Then we came back down. I had to talk to \_\_\_\_\_ [the Meadow teacher's aide]. I'd asked Mr. Ball if I could bring an aide with me who was a friend of mine who I had worked with at Lakeview. Mr. Ball told \_\_\_\_\_ [the Meadow teacher's aide] and she was upset. She thought I didn't want her. We had a long talk about that and ironed that out over the time we had. We got along really good and I'm glad for that (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 1 and 11-18-82, card 6).

Not all attempts by teachers to meet and get to know each other and programs were positive. One teacher, who was herself being involuntarily transferred to another school and had a teacher taking her job, was so sensitive to the feelings of laid-off teachers because of her own anger, that she would not have used the release time had it been provided. She told the researcher:

I wouldn't have taken release time because the people at Spring Hill felt like--the comments I heard were, "If she comes over here, I'll kick her face in." I mean, nobody would really do it, but the anger. I felt the same way. If the person who is taking my room comes anywhere near me, I'll probably throw up on her shoes. That's just how I felt about it (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 3).

Ms. Baird had one hour one day to visit both Woodlawn and Hillcrest (see p. 207). After her very cordial meeting at Woodlawn, she rushed over to Hillcrest to meet with the teacher she was replacing there. The meeting was anything but cordial according to Ms. Baird, who reported in her research journal:

I ran quickly over to Hillcrest. I got to Hillcrest at about 3:10 . . . The Hillcrest teacher was leaving--LAYED OFF [sic]. She took one look at me and ran screaming and crying away from me and saying that I was stealing her job away from her! SHIT. This wasn't my idea! . . . After screaming at me that I was stealing her job, she invited me to look around--Ha! Ha! [sarcasm] I was really comfortable, Ha! Ha! [sarcasm] This lovely hour of my life STUNK! Her reaction made me feel all the worse. Good grief, I was getting it from all sides: those who wanted me to take the position and her (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 7 and 11-17-82, card 3).

Even one attempt to meet together that was planned by the incumbent teachers in the new building created negative feelings on the part of two of the new teachers who attended it. These two incumbent teachers planned the meeting to try to help orientate the new teachers. The meeting was planned for Friday, June 11, 1982--the day after the last official teacher work day. Again, although the intent of the planners was from a genuine concern and sensitivity towards their new colleagues, the meeting was mostly stress producing and even ironic. One of the two, Ms. James, told the researcher about the planning and their intent to help:

We talked a little bit when the teachers that were coming to this building first knew they were coming. As soon as they could, they made arrangements to come out and visit during the school day. They got to see our rooms a little bit and get an idea of how we worked. But, they didn't get a chance to really come at a time when were free to really sit down and talk with them. So, what we did, was we made arrangements between the group of teachers that were coming in for the lower el side to get together between first and second grade teachers and talk just after school was out. We got together for a morning and spent the morning talking. They asked questions and we came back with what we've done and then what we would maybe like to change and do differently this year. We met right out here and we looked at materials and they took home some things for the summer to look at and get familiar with. We kind of tried to steer away from taking too many things to work on. They just took things they were going to need right at first (FN, James, 9-28-82, card 1).

Ms. Crane, the other teacher who planned the meeting, explained to the researcher in more detail what was accomplished at the meeting:

We asked the teachers if they'd like to come and meet with us. Ms. Gilbert came and Ms. Brand. (Ms. Scott also attended). They were here in June after school. We met. I told Ms. Gilbert she could have my room in the corner . . . I thought probably a new teacher would like that, not to be right out here and have everybody see you. It does make a difference when you've been in a contained room to come out here and teach this way. They took some books home: our reading series; our math . . . and our social studies and science: But that's no big deal. So they went ahead and I said, "You know, it really would be better to meet in the fall because to tell you what this is now, until you use it. And they found that out. This summer they looked through the books and there were so

many questions that came up that Ms. Gilbert finally said, "Hey, I closed the book and said 'this is not for me now'" (FN, Crane, 12-7-82, cards 1 and 5).

From Ms. James' and Ms. Crane's perspective, the meeting they held was a success. Ms. Scott felt that it was held at a bad time, however. She told the researcher:

We just met at ten o'clock in the morning Friday. We came out and somebody brought doughnuts. We sat and drank coffee and kind of talked about second grade. I wasn't in to talking about second grade because I just--as far as I was concerned it was a wrong day. I was pissed off, to be honest with you! It was the day after school was out and I thought it was absolutely asinine to be here. We accomplished nothing because we really couldn't arrange the room because the furniture was going to all be moved anyway. We were trying to make some decisions which were at a wrong time. I thought when I went it was silly to go, and when I left, I agreed with myself. Nothing was accomplished as far as where the rooms were going to be or what we were going to do as far as who was going to teach what. Ms. James did say would I take social studies and she'd have the science. I said, "fine." And, I did take home some books, but basically that was all that was discussed. It was a waste of time (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 2).

Ms. Brand's stress reaction to the meeting was the most acute. She had been assigned to the school as a first/second split teacher. Ms. James and Ms. Crane, aware that Ms. Brand had never taught first or second grade, tried to ease her stress by taking much of the subject matter teaching load for the first and second grade students so that Ms. Brand would have fewer preparations for the two grade levels. Nevertheless, their actions increased Ms. Brand's stress to the point where she had a nightmare about the events of the meeting. Ms. Brand told the researcher:

I don't know what I expected. I think my expectations were too high of what we could get accomplished. They just more or less showed us what materials were and the different books. I felt really overwhelmed when I went home. I talked with Ms. Scott later and she felt the same way, too. At that time they were talking about the split and they were saying, "We'll take the kids for social studies, we'll take them for science, and we'll take them for this." And I was thinking, "What am I going to

do?" I saw where I could do art. I felt more or less like I was a third party. With the split, I was running back and forth between Ms. Crane and Ms. Gilbert, and Ms. James and Ms. Scott trying to get keyed into both levels. I even had a dream about it. I dreamed that all the kids were gone and I was wandering around asking people if I could help them. No, no, nobody needed any help. Somebody important came to the building and I saw him in my dream, but I don't know who he was. The district had hired somebody to come in and do a study of ways they could save money. He said, "What's her job?" And they said, "Oh, she teaches." And he said, "Well, where are her kids?" "Well, her kids are here and there." "Well, what is she doing?" "Well, she just kind of helps out." And his comment was, "Well, that's a pretty expensive aide." And I woke up and said, "Oh, no! What have I gotten into." I had that feeling after that meeting... I just felt that I was here and was taking up space, and not really having much responsibility (FN, Brand, 11-16-82/11-30-82, card 8).

Both Ms. James and Ms. Crane were formerly both first grade teachers. The irony of the situation is seen when Ms. Crane told the researcher that Ms. James originally intended to take the first/second grade split that became Ms. Brand's assignment. She decided to take the straight second grade so she and Ms. Crane, who remained in first grade could provide maximum assistance to Ms. Brand. This help, however well meaning, created stress for Ms. Brand in the form in which it was offered. Of their intent, Ms. Crane said:

Ms. James was first going to take the split because she had done that before. We decided that to have continuity, that she would take the second and I could stay in first. That way, we could both be of help, where if both the second grade teachers would be new, then they would have a lot of questions and would be running to us or struggling and we just thought to avoid some kind of problem we would do it this way (FN, Crane, 12-7-82, card 1).

Ms. Baird also had a meeting with her new colleague. Although on the surface the meeting went well, the results were stress producing for her. Again, the one short meeting was not adequate to really help Ms. Baird. The lack of release time for her to talk with her new partner partially

caused the tension because she was not sure at that point what questions to ask. In recounting the meeting to the researcher, she said,

On the very last day of school at 2 p. m. we met at Hillcrest with the Hillcrest principal and the director of Special Ed both in attendance. We talked about whether the dividers were to stay in the room or go. No real choice. We really had no say. The meeting lasted twenty minutes. \_\_\_\_\_ said, "Don't worry about a thing, you'll love it. See you in September, bye. . . ." She knew what she was doing and told me to just ask questions anytime. Great, except when you don't even know what to ask . . . All my excited feelings and hope were GONE. Now I really felt scared. I had the whole summer ahead of me and no way to prepare for fall physically or mentally. Just wait! And, I'm not a good waiter (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82 card 7 and 11-7-82, card 4).

Ms. Eddy also had a stressful experience when she attended a faculty meeting at Meadow on the last teacher work day. Again, this meeting had been planned by the Meadow staff for the benefit of the incoming teachers. Mr. Ball explained to the researcher his perception of the reason for the meeting:

Once the inevitability of the whole thing sets in, we began talking about the necessity to make a team out of what we were going to have. We had to make things jell. So, at a staff meeting, we talked about feelings--hurt feelings, you know, what/how we might ease the tensions, help them adjust, how/what things could be done, possibly, kind of in a brainstorming setting what we might do. I asked them if they would feel comfortable about having them come over to visit our school for a staff meeting when we could get together prior to the end of school, and in a nice, tactful way be able to allow those who were being displaced not to have to attend that session because it would have made everybody very uncomfortable. They agreed that it would be a good thing so they could talk about the little incidentals that are very specific for the classrooms that would be impossible for any one person to cover all these things. What are the little differences between schools and purchasing materials and getting something done, whatever it is that teachers have. So we finally did bring them in and met with them. You'd sense the tenseness at first: we in our camp, but then an opportunity to talk. We ended the formal meeting very quickly, so that we could then get them with their counterparts and have a lot of these questions that they had answered very directly. I think that helped break the ice and apprehension (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 2).

This planning worked for Ms. Fox and others. For Ms. Eddy, however, the morning turned into a very stressful situation because well meaning people, making what they thought were kind statements, nevertheless caused hurt feelings! Ms. Eddy recounted the incident and how she felt about what she said:

It was on the last day of school and we came over that morning. We were just here for a few minutes in the lounge. We introduced ourselves and they all introduced themselves. The teachers who were being laid off didn't come. I think that was probably the best thing for them and for us. Then we had a chance to go look at the rooms and talk to other people and figure out what we would need. I talked to her for a few minutes about the kinds of things I might want to get, kind of looked over the room, looked in the cupboards to get an idea of how much space I had, and where I was as far as cleaning. I went back to Lakeview and I was fuming. She and I just have a real different philosophy on the whole thing. I jump in and worm my way out later if it doesn't work. I got a lot of, "\_\_\_\_\_[the kindergarten teacher's aide] can run your room for you. You don't have to worry about knowing how to teach kindergarten," which upset me. I feel like I'm always the one in charge. The staff even did that, and I don't think that they meant it to turn out the way it did--for me to be upset. They introduced me and Mr. Ball said, "She really wants to teach kindergarten" and everybody laughed. And I said, "No, really I do." Then they said, "Oh well, don't worry about it. \_\_\_\_\_[the kindergarten teacher's aide] will do it." Then I got the same thing when I got down here, "Don't worry about it." \_\_\_\_ can plan for you. \_\_\_\_ can actually teach the class" which is probably true. But it was just the idea of not wanting to go into a situation like that, either. I wanted to do my thing. I felt like I had had my parade rained on when I got back . . . So, then I avoided any other times of meeting like that because it just didn't work out. It didn't help either one of us (FN, Eddy, 11-18-82, card 5).

These, then, were the stressful experiences teachers involved in this study had as they visited their new schools and colleagues in the spring of 1982. The timing of these visits and their duration seem to have contributed in some measure to the stress experienced by all concerned. With these stressful experiences, the involuntarily reassigned teachers ended their school year and began summer vacation. For most teachers, this vacation provided a respite from

the stress they encountered in the involuntary reassignment process. In August, however, when the newly reassigned teachers reported for work, the results of the custodial cutbacks and the way delivery of materiel from the closed schools into the new school was accomplished caused stressful experiences. These stress experiences occurred first when teachers entered the Meadow, Spring Hill, and Hillcrest schools and tried to find their belongings, and second when they tried to set up their rooms for the year.

#### Stress in Moving into the New School

Three of the five elementary schools received materiel from the closed schools. Riverview, an open classroom school, received the least because that school needed all portable furniture and already had some excess that was used for the new teachers. As a result, the teachers at Riverview did not experience the stress due to the dumping of their materiel into the school that was experienced by the new teachers at Meadow, Hillcrest, and Spring Hill (see pages 174-177). When Ms. Carpenter came to work, even the halls were so jammed that she could not move her own materials and furniture from the gym to her room. She stated, "When I did come in, the building was in chaos. I didn't feel I could be moving boxes and things with so much in the hallways" (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 14). Both the Hillcrest and Meadow halls and gyms were in similar condition (see pages 175-177). Ms. Fox came in and tried to work the two weeks before school began. When she entered Meadow, both the gym and halls were stacked with materials. She told the researcher that

the gym was piled so high you couldn't even hardly walk through there--literally high. There was just barely a path. I mean



it was unbelievable about the stuff in the gym. The halls were all cluttered. It was like a narrow path down the hallway. . . . I think Mr. Ball did as much as he could have done to get everything done. Mr. Ball did as much as he could have done to get everything done. Mr. Ball came in and worked on weekends, and everybody just worked. The board or somebody laid off all the janitors (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 8).

Ms. Eddy also came to work at Meadow about the tenth of August. She was overwhelmed by the mess in the gym and the work involved to find her things and move them into her new room. She described what she saw and how she felt to the researcher:

The mess they had in this gym, I would have dared them to find my boxes and unpack them . . . I couldn't figure out how we were ever going to get the mess cleaned up and find what we had to find. I really felt overwhelmed with the amount of work I had to do between the time I came and when school was going to start. I really wondered if I was going to be able to do it. During that same week that custodians sat in the lounge the whole time and kind of watched us go by. That didn't make it any easier to bear . . . The gym had things just thrown in there. It looked like they had opened the truck and just went whoosh with it--pushed it all out and let it fall where it might. My table back there was missing two legs; boxes marked fragile were at the bottom of the pile. They were all just in there any way. You pulled one box out and fifteen would fall (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, card 9 and 11-11-82, cards 2 & 7).

Once the teachers waded through the piles of material in the gym, they had to contend with the condition of their new classrooms. When Ms. Baird began working in their new room in Hillcrest, she not only had her materials from Riverview to unpack and organize, but also all of the Hillcrest materials which had been delivered for her students. This provided the stressful situation she encountered when she came back to work. She recounted her feelings and what she did to the researcher:

Mid-August I came to school. Oh, my God! They had moved all of the Hillcrest stuff into the room and dumped it. And, I mean dumped! I brought my things from home and there was also all of \_\_\_\_\_'s things from Forest Glen. It was a disaster! I took pictures. I didn't touch \_\_\_\_\_'s stuff. It was all neatly boxed. My things were as organized as possible. I started on the Hillcrest things. I threw away until the custodian quit speaking to me. I threw away everything that

was pre-1950 first. That took a week. I found checks in the files that had been written and never cashed. I found a teacher's three month bank statement and cancelled checks. I sorted about five hundred ditto books out of the mess for \_\_\_\_\_ to go through. I spent two weeks alone, every day ten to twelve hours a day. My beautiful four months of not smoking went down the drain in that two weeks. One day, I was frustrated, we went out to lunch and had pizza--TABOO on our diets, but who cared! Then, after two weeks, I called \_\_\_\_\_ at home and begged her to come in. She came, very unenthusiastically and threw more things away. In a half day, \_\_\_\_\_ threw away six full barrels of trash. Then she went home and I had to go also because there was nothing more I could do--I didn't know where to begin. I really think that two weeks was THE MOST FRUSTRATING time of my life. I was overwhelmed with the physical mess . . . (FN, Baird, 11-17-82, card 1).

Teachers at Meadow experienced the same general stress as did Ms. Baird.

Ms. Eddy told the researcher about her new room as she commented that

In here, they'd had a run of teachers who had been called the day before school started and told, "You're going to be teaching kindergarten next year" and they hadn't had a chance to clean. The whole set of cupboards that I had back there was just a disorganized mess. You couldn't find anything. I had brought a lot of art supplies with me . . . and I had to find a way to put them away so I had to take everything out, clean it out, throw it out, move it and that kind of thing. That took the better part of a week and a half just to get everything of mine out of the gym and down here, then to go to work and try to clean out the place and put it all away (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, card 9 and 11-11-82, cards 2 & 7).

In addition to the frustration and stress of being new, and having to dig their belongings out of the pile in the gym, some teachers experienced walking into classrooms that were not equipped with the proper furniture, and other furnishings. When Ms. Gates came to work two days before school began, the condition of her room was so overwhelming that she enlisted her parents and boyfriend to help. Together they worked over the weekend before school opened so that children could use it. She recounted the trauma of that first day on the job to the researcher. She recounted how the principal had taken her to the room and

there was a pile in there of furniture that was moved and one of the cabinets was all ripped apart and destroyed in a big

stack. There were no desks, no chairs, and about half the furniture wasn't there. There were ten student desks but no chairs whatsoever . . . I just sat in this room for about three hours. It was my first day back. I drove down by myself from up north and came in this room and I sat in this room for three hours and never moved anything. I just sat in a trance and looked at it and said, "How am I going to make this into a classroom--nothing--no place for the kids to hang up their coats--nothing. It was amazing . . . I went home that night and called my parents and said, "Can you come and help me because I can't do it--I just can't." I was too depressed and too astonished by the fact that they couldn't even bother to put students' desks in the room I was supposed to use (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 5-6).

Ms. Fox's room had been the board meeting room when the main office occupied her side of the building the year before. When the main office was moved to Lakeview, the old board room was not renovated into facilities for a classroom. To compound the problem, she was originally assigned a regular classroom but was moved into the former board room when an additional section of kindergarten had to be unexpectedly added to the school. She recalled for the researcher what the room was like:

I came over on Friday, which would have been two weeks before school started. Originally I was going to be in the room next door and that still had the main office partitions in it and the carpet and everything that hadn't been torn out . . . The only thing they had done was taken the air conditioner out of the wall and taken the phones out . . . I stopped in and one of the teachers said, "Oh, your room has been changed." So I had to move my stuff from that room to this room. They didn't have a toilet or a sink or any of that kind of stuff in here, in this room. So that all had to get built in. The toilet did not work. When I got here at eight o'clock the day school started, the toilet started to work. They flushed it and called it "the magic flush!" I still don't have hot water. We're two months into the year, and I don't have hot water yet (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 8)!

After the initial shock of the piles in the gym and the rooms in disarray, new teachers experienced other stressful situations and feelings as they began working with new and largely unknown colleagues, students, parents, and physical facilities. These stressful situations

and feelings were due to the reassigned teachers' unfamiliarity with the new school, colleagues, children and parents, and physical facilities.

### Stress In Being New

Stress in being new, which was identified by the involuntarily reassigned teachers in this study, can be categorized into five general areas of concern in order of their stress-producing affects: (1) school routines; (2) curriculum; (3) staffs; (4) students; and (5) parents. None of the stress-producing events, in and of themselves are unique or complicated. In fact they are rather routine and mundane. Yet they became the very stressors that produced anxiety in the new teachers and which could have been avoided by the use of release time for ongoing, teacher-centered staff development.

Stress In Not Being Familiar With School Routines. Nine out of the ten teachers who were a part of this study emphasized that their lack of knowledge about the school routines caused them stress. The stress of not knowing the routine is most acute the first week of school. Ms. Fox experienced stress the first day when she waited to begin her first class until the bell rang only to find out later the school did not have bells. As she told the researcher:

The first day of school, I didn't know there weren't any bells in this school. So, nine o'clock came and I waited for the bell and there was no bell. I thought maybe they wait five minutes because it's the first day. So I waited until five after and then I wandered down the hall and everyone else had started (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 2).

Routines for ascertaining the number of children who want to eat hot lunch have to be relearned because every school is somewhat different.

Ms. Brand found that

just understanding how the lunch count is done, where the lunch tickets are kept, all those little things that go into organizing a

classroom that people take for granted that you know how to do. (FN, Brand, 11-30-82, card 3).

Sometimes merely not knowing where the staff bathrooms are can create stress. Ms. Scott told the researcher, "You know, you don't even know where the bathroom is. And, when you're nervous, you have to go to the bathroom more. And, that is awful. I didn't know how to get lunch" (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 9-17-82, card 9). Ms. Campbell also found the lack of knowledge about procedures stress-producing. Of this, she said:

It is incredible how much you don't know--where things are, what procedures are. There are so many questions that are dumb, but you feel you have to ask in case procedure is different (FN, Journal, Campbell, 9-7-82, card 4).

An example of her frustration at not knowing about procedures was seen by the researcher as he sat in the faculty lounge on the first day of school. Classes had just begun for the afternoon, when Ms. Campbell found the researcher, and asked for help in setting up student folders and stuffing them to be sent home that afternoon. The following is taken from the researcher's field notes describing the incident;

1:05 - Ms. Campbell came hurriedly into the lounge and said, "Ed, when you have a minute can you come see me?" her voice and facial expression made me feel I should go then. I did. When I got to her class, she said, "I've just discovered I have to send this information home today. Can you make some folders like this one for each student? Each folder needs to have two of these white cards." I made twenty-one while she read to her class. . .

3:00 - Ms. Campbell found me. In her hand were some white juice order envelopes. [She said,] "I just found out we have to send these home.

Did we get any today?" [I said,] "No, we didn't." Taking them I said, "I'll put them in for you" (FN, 8-31-82, Ms. Campbell).

Ms. Gates also experienced stress over not knowing the routines. She felt that this lack of knowledge did have an effect on the classroom in how she was able to respond to students' questions. She told the researcher that being new

felt exactly like being a first-year teacher. It felt so much like being a first-year teacher I couldn't believe it. Not knowing the rules of the school: not knowing the physical make-up of the building, just physical things; basic things: even things like probably 1 grade similar, but I had gone from upper el to early el here; even how to do a fire drill; how to do a Halloween parade; how to clean the board; trying to deal with having a bathroom in my room for the first time; just to handle all these things. The room will be so much smoother next year because I'll start right at the beginning and say "this is how it will be" instead of saying, "I don't know, I'll have to check" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 18).

Both Ms. Underwood and Ms. Fox found that the lack of knowledge about school routine was the most stress-producing factor for them. Coming from a middle school background, they were totally unfamiliar with even the most basic elementary routines. Neither had teaching experience below the sixth grade. Ms. Underwood noted that teaching experience helped give her confidence, but the newness still produced anxiety. She said:

To me it was almost like being a first-year teacher in that I had the confidence of being a teacher. I brought that with me from Evergreen. Everything else out here was like being a first year teacher. I did not know how an elementary building was run, how it was supervised. I didn't know what to do for recess duty. I'd never had that. Never had to worry about lunchroom type things (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 18).

Ms. Fox experienced the same type of anxiety as Ms. Underwood and noted that she was also concerned about looking dumb to her colleagues. She noted that her frustration came in part

because everybody else came from elementary so they knew how an elementary day ran. I had no idea how an elementary day ran. Now like the breaks and stuff, I had to ask questions about them. They are so simple. I'm sure they thought "What a dummy she is," but I didn't know about them (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 11).

Several teachers transferred from schools with self-contained classrooms to a school without interior classroom walls. One of the school routines they found distressing was the arranging of their classrooms using moveable room

dividers. Ms. Underwood was so frustrated over her initial experience with this routine, that she almost did not go back to work. Although this school was atypical in the district, her experience is included because it points up a problem that, although unique to this school in this district, may still have application in other relocations. She related to the researcher that

we worked quite a bit just on setting up the rooms. That turned out to be kind of a bad situation for me. In fact, I didn't know if I was going to be coming back to this school or not. I set my room up according to how everyone had said. I'd worked maybe two days on it. I walked back in after lunch on the third day and Mr. Austin told me he'd made an administrative decision that my room was going to be moved down in this direction . . . So I said, "Fine!" I packed up my things that I had to take home that day and left them! I said, "I may be back before school starts and I may not! I put in enough time and effort in setting up this room. I feel it's been a complete waste of two and one-half days--goodbye!" So, I left (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 5).

One of the teachers found no problems at all in learning the new school routines. In fact, she greatly appreciated the routine used for announcements over the intercom. She said:

One thing I really appreciate is that the intercom is used very infrequently: at 9:00 in the morning and at 3:25 unless there is an emergency. And, I love it! At Woodlawn we were interrupted any time all day long--in the middle of a story, anything. And I didn't like that (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 17).

Stress in Being Unfamiliar With the New Curriculum. Eight out of ten teachers in the study indicated, in their conversations, that they experienced anxiety from not being familiar with the curriculum they were expected to use. For five of the eight teachers, anxiety was produced by their feelings of not knowing the proper material and the proper curricular expectations for the students at the new grade level to which they were assigned. Ms. Brand told the researcher about her anxiety concerning her lack of knowledge about the curriculum content and student needs, and the

seriousness of this void in her understanding because of her responsibility as a teacher. She said that she was

not familiar with first grade. I taught second grade but that was nine years ago, so everything--all the textbooks--are different. I'm just going along and I'll read a week's worth of stories at a time in all those different reading books so at least I know the stories before the week begins... The same way with teaching first grade which I've never taught before. Like for each story, they'll have three or four pages of lessons to present. I don't know which lessons are crucial. If I presented all of them it would take me two weeks to get through one story and I know that's not possible.... I feel a lot of uncertainty in that aspect of not really being sure what skills are essential and which ones are not so important, which ones I can skip.... I feel like you read through some of that stuff and you just feel like you're kind of lost. You're just kind of floating in space and you're just grasping at straws and it's not a very comfortable feeling when you think these kids are depending on you to get these skills and if you don't get it to them, the responsibility is yours to do that. You're going to have to figure it out.... I'm not comfortable. I don't like it. I get shook if I don't feel like I know what I'm doing. I fall apart (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, cards 18-19).

Ms. Gates was not familiar with third grade curriculum or with the academic level of students' understanding. She shared one experience she had with determining the proper math curriculum for her students:

I was so terrified. I didn't know what these kids could do, what they couldn't do. My mother, a kindergarten teacher, came in and she said, "Here are some dittos you can give them the first day so they have something to do." The first day they came I didn't even know what they could do. I could just as well have given them dittos with adding where they had to carry, because I didn't know whether they could carry or not. She said, "No, don't give them these. They don't know how to carry. Don't give them these because its adding two numbers. I had to have that kind of help (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 28).

Ms. Fox's problem of not being familiar with the curriculum and student abilities at her new grade level was compounded by the lack of textbooks.



This, while unique to her in this situation, illustrates what can and does happen when teachers move. Sometimes, the ordering of materials gets lost in the process. When she told the researcher about this in her new assignment at Meadow, she contrasted it with her experience as a first-year teacher at another school. She explained that

as far as the material that I had to cover, I felt less at ease here than I did there because I had time to go through and learn the material. Here I just didn't know what I was doing. There weren't any books ordered for me or anything. Even now, I have no idea of what I'm supposed to be doing. They don't have language arts books in second grade. One teacher has one. I've just been using my reading stuff as language arts for their boardwork and seat work. Areas that I see they are weak in, I have them do for their seat work. But, I don't know whether they should know that or not. I still feel like I'm lost. There is a curriculum guide of some kind, like there are three different reading series we can use. Of the second grade teachers, two of us are using one book, and the other one is using a different book (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 5).

Ms. Baird also was unfamiliar with her new curriculum and student needs. However, this was caused by the fact that (1) she had not taught special education in ten years, and (2) she lacked the academic training in her formal education. She shared her anxiety with the researcher:

I had special ed background--mentally impaired. I did not even have a definition for learning disabled. I did not feel qualified to teach something I couldn't identify or define. I also would be dealing with the emotionally impaired. I had not one class on emotionally impaired. Help! I didn't even know what to do (FN, Baird, Journal, 0-27-82, card 7).

The district did not have the single-adoption policy in ordering textbooks district-wide. Some of the anxieties displayed by Ms. Fox were due to this. Ms. Carpenter also saw the lack of uniformity in textbook materials as a stress-producing phenomenon. She recounted her frustration to the researcher as she told him about the problems she and others encountered. When Forest Glen students went to Hillcrest, the Forest Glen teachers tried to place their students for the following year in the

reading series used by Hillcrest. Since, however, the schools each used a different reading series with different reading levels, the effort was fraught with anxiety. As she lamented:

There was a question about which books would be used. Mr. Taylor came out and had a brief meeting with us once and explained what the spelling series was. He said what the new math series would be for the early grades, and the reading. They'd started the new Houghton Mifflin reading series. For our fourth and fifth grade teachers, that meant that every subject was completely a new book. So, how are we to divide these children? I'm supposed to give Mr. Taylor a list of reading groups and I'm not even sure what books are available. The newest series is new because nobody has had it before. But we also have available two other editions of Houghton Mifflin. Different editions have a different difficulty level. So, that was kind of hard. We had used the Medlay Series out at Forest Glen, and Hillcrest had pretty much used the Rainbow Series. Someone would say, "The kids should all be in Sunbursts." And, nobody knew Sunbursts. What level is it? Which book is it? It did cause a bit of confusion (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 7).

Ms. Eddy made a transition from fifth grade to kindergarten. As with the other teachers in this study, she felt her new job was much like being a first-year teacher again. Unlike the others, however, she had no problems with the curriculum. In fact, she not only enjoyed the challenge of the new materials and grade level, but actively researched the curriculum and grade level. She gave the researcher an example of what she had done to prepare for her kindergarten students:

I feel like a first-year teacher in a lot of ways being in kindergarten and coming from the fifth grade. . . . I'm enjoying digging in and having to search and find what I want to do and how I want to do it. . . . I went to all the kindergarten teachers I knew and ask what they did. They've loaned me their things that they traced for art. They loaned me their plan books to go through and look for things that I might be interested in doing. I borrowed materials from people, books that I could read on the subject. In fact, I have a red notebook there that's all filled with all the things that I found out. I spent a lot of time getting units and things ready this summer (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, cards 7, 11).

Stress in Not Feeling Accepted by the Staff. Six out of ten teachers felt that not knowing their new colleagues professionally produced anxiety. As Ms. Scott so aptly said, "You don't want to look like an ass" (FN, 9-3-82, card 3). Ms. Carpenter agreed with Ms. Scott's statement and explained the anxiety she felt in trying to promote acceptance by pleasing the staff and principal:

I had concerns over my position because I had never had a reading position before. I've been in the classroom for around fifteen years, so this is the first time I've had this type of position. There has been a fair amount of anxiety over that. . . . I felt like I struggled a little bit. I wanted to be sure I was doing a very good job. I wanted to do what all the teachers and Mr. Taylor and everyone expected of me. And yet, I really wasn't too sure what I was supposed to be doing. So I felt like maybe I did a little bit of flopping around and swimming on that one (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, cards 7,9).

Three of the six teachers stressed their need for being told or shown that they were accepted by their new staff. Ms. Eddy recalled:

I was feeling kind of lost, all alone. There was nobody there. I was just feeling really lonely. . . . I was concerned about how they felt about us. After being told that one school in the district didn't want us because we were taking jobs from their teachers, that made it a little difficult. It wasn't from here, but it still concerned me. . . . We're all human beings and need to be told whether we are accepted or acceptable. Going to the teachers' lounge is stressful in some ways. We're still trying so hard. It's not comfortable yet. You walk in and you think, "Well, I should sit here and I need to engage so and so in a conversation. Keep it light, be a listener--trying to get to know people (FN, Eddy, 12-8-82, cards 1, 5, 8).

Ms. Underwood was concerned about acceptance by her new colleagues. From the beginning she did not try to hide her feelings that she would rather still be at her former school. But she also tried to make the best of the situation forced upon her. She wanted to be accepted. In the midst of her inner struggle between showing her desire to be at her former school and at the same time wanting the acceptance of her new colleagues, she was told by one of her new colleagues that the principal would prefer

having the teacher that she was replacing rather than her. This, to say the least, was a traumatic experience for her. She told the researcher what happened and how she felt:

I heard comments that \_\_\_\_\_ was such a good teacher. He was a male teacher that was needed. Teachers felt that the kids needed some contact with male teachers in the upper grades. He was well liked by parents, students, faculty, everyone. It was just kind of one of the situations that you felt that they would just as soon he were here instead of Ms. Underwood. There was a question as to whether an opening was going to come up at Evergreen and, if that were the case, I had spoken to this teacher and said, "Well, maybe there's a chance that I would be put back in Evergreen, and \_\_\_\_\_ would be put back here in fourth grade. And, the comment was, "Well, there's no question about it, Mr. Austin would prefer having \_\_\_\_\_ here anytime that he could get him." That was, I think, the worst comment that was ever said to me. That was to my face. I actually don't think Mr. Austin would have said that. That just doesn't sound like him. But it was a comment that was stabbing. I felt terrible (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 4)!

Ms. Brand also felt the need to be told she fit in with her new staff, and described to the researcher her anxiety between her desire to be accepted and her frustration at not knowing if she was accepted or not. She told the researcher of her apprehension in

wondering how I was going to be accepted or my ideas were going to be accepted. I was concerned about how well I would fit in. That was the basic thing--just wanting to be accepted and wanting to fit in, but not really knowing (FN, Brand, 11-30-82, card 9).

One teacher, Ms. Eddy, was the only person involved in the study who had a full-time aide. While most people would assume this would be a very positive experience for a teacher coming into a new position, in this case, the thought of the aide as a person who already knew what the kindergarten program should be, produced anxiety resulting in nightmares. The focus of the anxiety lay in Ms. Eddy's desire to be accepted by the aide and in her fear that the aide knew more about kindergarten than she did. As she confided to the researcher:

I never had worked with her before. In fact, I had nightmares about it because I'd been told that she was so efficient and she could run the kindergarten and all this kind of thing. I had terrible nightmares about her for some months before school started that she would come in and find I had changed everything around and be all upset. Instead, she is very much the opposite (FN, Eddy 10-28-82, card 6).

One teacher, Ms. Fox, did not feel she had any anxiety about her relationship with her new colleagues. As she told the researcher:

I just felt comfortable the whole time coming over here between Mr. Ball and the people over here. . . . This is the best staff I've ever worked with by any means. They are just super cooperative. They are nice. . . . (FN, Fox, 12-9-82, cards 1-2).

Stress in Not Knowing the Students. Four of the ten teachers in the study indicated that they experienced anxiety or stress because they did not know how they would relate to students at the new school and/or grade level. Ms. Brand and Ms. Campbell both transferred to the school which their daughters attend. Ms. Brand's anxiety came as a result of people warning her about having to talk to her neighbors as a teacher and the awkward situations that could entail. She explained to the researcher that

because we live out here and my son has started kindergarten out here, a lot of people have said, "Oh, you don't want to teach in the same school where your child goes to school, or even live, because, you might have your neighbor's child. You could end up with some very awkward situations, if you were having a discipline situation with your neighbor's child and have to talk to your neighbor as a teacher." A lot of people said, "Oh, you're crazy. You don't want to do that!" That was my biggest worry (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 17).

Ms. Fox had never taught below sixth grade. After she was transferred to second grade, the district gave her no release time to visit second grade classes and see what second graders were like. She had two major concerns: (1) academically, how much can second graders do; and (2) how do I handle the physical closeness common to second graders. She told the researcher about these concerns:

My biggest concern was that I just didn't know what a second grader can do and I had to do a lot of visiting of classrooms and looking over materials to see exactly how much I could expect of them. The biggest thing everyone kept saying is that you won't have any time to yourself because they just cling to you all the time. I said, "No, that's not true. They won't do that." But, they do. I didn't know how I would be able to handle the physical aspect of the kids. You know, physically like when \_\_\_\_\_ was talking to me today he put his arms around me and kind of sat on my lap. Coming from the sixth grade, you don't do those kinds of things. I didn't know how I'd be able to gear myself down to that. The biggest fear I had was that going into such a low grade having never been there before, and knowing what to expect (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 11).

The teachers' unfamiliarity with students in the new school also caused problems in constructing class lists. When teachers would try to separate discipline problems within their own students, that was no problem. Since the students of the other school were an unknown quantity, though, and since no release time was given for teachers of the gaining and closing schools to meet and work together, some of the results were less than desirable. The teachers' concern about not knowing how many students were going to be mismatched caused stress. Ms. Carpenter shared what the problem was like as she and her Forest Glen colleagues tried to merge their students blindly with the Hillcrest students:

One of the problems we ran into was trying to group kids into rooms. We knew who our personalities were at the end of the year. Teachers always list children in reading groups. We'd say these two children should not be in the same room. But we kind of laughed because we didn't know. We knew what we were splitting apart, but we didn't know how both splits would work out. We said we could be making something much worse from the two buildings than what we had separately. That was kind of hard (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 7).

Ms. Eddy spent considerable time talking to kindergarten teachers about what the children were like, researched kindergarten curriculum, and even tried out some of her ideas on her own children who were then about kindergarten age. All of this did not prepare her adequately to make her feel confident that she knew what kindergarten children were like. Even

her excitement in switching from fifth grade to kindergarten was not enough to override her fears of the children as unknown quantities and her inadequacy in handling them. She told the researcher:

I was excited about teaching kindergarten until it got almost time to do it, and then I got really scared that I didn't have the right idea of what kindergarteners were like, that I would be a terrible failure, and that everything would go wrong. I had nightmares for about a week before school started about all the things that could go wrong, did go wrong, and that kind of thing (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, card 8).

Three of the ten teachers did not have what they considered to be stress related to not being familiar with the age group of their new children. Ms. Scott said that "teaching wasn't concerning me at all as far as the kids and me. I knew we would make it alright" (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 5). Ms. Underwood, although she felt strongly that she related well to sixth graders and understood their needs and concerns, found that her new fourth graders fit her personality better. She exclaimed, "I think the situation out here with the fourth graders, they're really more like what I am. They're 'loveys.' They just love you to death. That's different than sixth grade" (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 12). Ms. Gates looked forward to working with her third graders. She looked upon them as if they were hers and lamented that, because she was new also, she could not be as much help to them as she might otherwise be. She told the researcher very emphatically:

I am a possessive person. These kids belong to me. I told them they were mine for the year. Some of them had trouble learning the ropes. That was one thing that almost was an advantage for me. I said to them, "Look, at least you knew each other last year. I don't know anybody. If you think that this is hard, think about me. I don't know any of your parents or anybody else in this whole building." It took awhile for them to ease into it. That may have been an advantage of mine because I think I had a lot more understanding of their plight. I was in the same boat (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 23, 31).

Stress in Not Knowing the Parents. Three out of ten teachers felt stress when facing the prospect of meeting with the parents from the new school. This stress was caused because the parents were unknown quantities and teachers did not know what to expect. The two major fall events which bring parents and teachers together are the annual open house and parent conferences at the end of the first grading period. Teachers identified each of these as stressful events. Ms. Gates was especially nervous at open house because she didn't know many parents and because they asked her questions which she couldn't answer due to her unfamiliarity with the grade level. She told the researcher that when the parents

came in for open house, I was terrified. There were too many. They didn't bring their kids so I didn't know who they went with. They didn't stay with their husbands and wives. They wandered around and I didn't know whose was whose. . . . Parents came into open house and said, "How do you grade?" I said, "It's the second week of school or the first month!" I didn't even bother to look at the report card yet. That was too far down the road. I just stood there. I don't know how I grade (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 18, 23).

Ms. Eddy was worried about parent conferences because of the differences both in grading fifth graders versus kindergarteners, and in giving parents who were strangers accounts about their children they might not wish to hear. Soon after the fall parent conferences at Meadow, Ms. Eddy recounted her concerns. She frankly admitted:

I was scared to death, having been in a new building where the parents didn't know me. At Lakeview, the parents knew who I was. They would come and they had had other children or they had talked to people who had. So, they kind of understood what I was doing. Also, a lot of time kindergarten parents are real touchy about the fact that this is my first year teaching kindergarten and I was afraid that was going to be a problem. Most of them knew that. Having so many of them was another one and that I had to tell some parents some things they didn't want to hear. I hadn't done that before. Plus, conferences in fifth grade I always had their grades and had averaged them out. You don't do that in kindergarten. There's a little shakey ground



there in places because I knew that I didn't have the materials to show that I'd had in the past. To be able to say, "See, look at all the blank spots" (FN, Eddy, 11-18-82, card 9).

Ms. Brand had all new parents at Riverview. The parents, as unknown entities, made her parent conferences quite stressful. This was contrasted by her to her years at Lakeview where she knew the parents and the parents knew her. To Ms. Brand, this two-way familiarity removed the stress of parent contact. She told the researcher:

One thing that's very fresh in my mind because we just had parent conferences is that I was much more nervous than I have been in years. All the parents were new. Before, being at the same school for so long, parents, if I hadn't had their child, knew somebody. I'd had their neighbor's child or something. So they knew something about me. It wasn't a threatening situation. . . . So, I did feel strange this time not knowing the parents; not having any inkling what they were like, what their expectations were of me. . . . That's something that I felt like a new teacher all over again, building a reputation with the parents (FN, Brand, 11-16-82/11-30-82, card 1).

Ms. Underwood looked forward to parent conferences and felt that they would be easier than those in middle school because her experience had been that parents of middle school children were very concerned if their children were performing below grade level. When she told the researcher how she felt about parental contact in relation to the conferences, she said:

Well, I felt very comfortable. Parent conferences to me have always been easy. . . . I didn't think there would be that big a difference. If anything, I thought they'd be easier because having a parent-teacher conference at the sixth grade level, the parents seem to be so much more concerned that their kid is behind. . . . where here I think the parents more or less understand that the kids are progressing at their own rate. . . . I was not dreading those. It wasn't that big of a deal (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 1).

### Research Question Two

BY WHOM, AND IN WHAT WAYS, ARE INVOLUNTARILY ASSIGNED TEACHERS GIVEN HELP IN COPING WITH THEIR STRESS?

#### Introduction

The teachers involved in this study identified six potential sources of help in coping with their stress. They are: (1) the teachers' union; (2) the district school administrators; (3) the building principals; (4) other teachers within the district; (5) friends and relatives; and (6) teachers' personal methods of coping with their stress. Described below are the ways that each of these potential sources of help actually impacted on the teachers.

#### The Teachers' Union: North Umpqua Education Association

The teachers' union was intimately involved in the layoff and recall process. Its interest focused on guarding the teachers' contractual rights in the areas of seniority, certification, and qualification. One union official told the researcher that

the primary concern that we have to monitor is the seniority process and also that people are put within areas where they are certified and qualified. That's contractual and that's all we can do really with things that are contractual (FN, Lewis, 2-21-83, card 9).

A second union official confirmed what Ms. Lewis told the researcher and, in addition, told the researcher that the union did nothing directly to help any teacher with his/her individual problems. She reported that

the association did sit in at the cuts, at the time they were making the cuts and they did have some say on seniority rights, qualification, certification, and placement of teachers. That was about the extent of it. They did nothing as an association to directly help anybody (FN, Thomas, 9-9-82, card 1).

Several teachers discussed their feelings about the absence of help from the North Umpqua Education Association (NUEA). Ms. Brand showed her bitterness about NUEA's lack of support as she said, "NUEA? Do they know I've moved? I'm not even sure NUEA knows I'm a member of the staff, and if so, where. Honestly, I have very bitter feelings about NUEA" (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 5 and 12-15-82, card 5). Two of the teachers did not wish even to discuss their feelings about NUEA help and were quite cryptic in their comments. Ms. Gilbert would only say, "Nope" (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 19). Ms. Brand did not feel she received help. She said, "No. No, I think we were pretty much on our own" (FN, Brand, 11-16-82, card 11). Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell discussed the lack of help NUEA provided Ms. Scott. Ms. Campbell who also held an official position with NUEA simply reconfirmed what Ms. Lewis and Ms. Thomas told the researcher:

- Researcher: Nobody said anything about the association's involvement, whether they provided any kind of help on an individual basis or not.
- Ms. Scott: They couldn't, could they?
- Ms. Campbell: No, not on an individual basis.
- Researcher: Any effort to do anything about personal feelings or personal concerns in terms of an organization?
- Ms. Scott: I don't know if they were looking at personal feelings. . . . The union didn't do a damn thing for me. . . .
- Ms. Campbell: See, Mr. Allen made the decision that he was going to lay off so many people. The only function that the union had in it was to be sure that he called back in the right order or not. We wanted to be sure that he went and followed and called back the proper people so that they had jobs (FN, Journal Meetings, 9-10-82, cards 3-4, and 9-17-82, cards 5-6).

Ms. Underwood not only felt that NUEA did nothing to help her, but also believed that it was because of NUEA that she was involuntarily

reassigned. When the researcher asked her if NUEA helped her and if so to what extent, she replied:

I am not a real union person. And, I figure NUEA cost me my job. That's just the way I feel. If we weren't in a union situation I don't think they'd be moving and shifting people around like they did. Because, I feel the union and the school board came up with that agreement that the moves would be made strictly by seniority. The people down at the bottom would be moved out. I think if it were not for the union, they would have come up with something on the quality of teachers. So, NUEA as far as I'm concerned, didn't help me at all (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 22).

A second potential source of help for the involuntarily reassigned teachers was the district school officials.

#### District School Administrators

District school administrators were primarily interested in (1) following the teachers' contract when laying off and recalling teachers; and (2) insuring that the physical aspects of closing the schools were carried out smoothly. District administrators did not prepare any type of program to help involuntarily reassigned teachers cope with their emotional stress. The personnel director, Mr. Allen, felt that "most of the effort went, I guess, toward the laid-off teacher" (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, card 6). Superintendent Meyers told the researcher that he was in favor of helping the involuntarily reassigned teachers cope with their stress, but that "interestingly enough, there was very, very little interest" on the teachers' part because of what he felt to be "their close ties with their building principals and them having the opportunity to know where they were going to go or have some pick. They felt kind of secure" (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 1). When discussing why the district administration did not help the involuntarily reassigned teachers cope with their stress, Mr. Ward, one of the district administrators,

explained to the researcher that the district did well in the physical aspects of the move, that Dr. Meyers was interested in helping the teachers, but that Dr. Meyers did not push the board for the release time necessary to provide the help needed. Mr. Ward said:

Nothing happened. I think that was too bad. As I view what we did, mechanically I feel we did quite well. The mechanics of redesignating the buildings, redefining the boundaries, rerouting the bus routes, reassigning the teachers within the constraints of the contract . . . with the Transition Committee, they did a good job of preparing. Within three weeks we had everybody moved physically last June and July. So, mechanically, we probably did a decent job, maybe better than decent. In the area of really assisting the people involved, I'm not so sure we did. We didn't provide any time for inservicing, for the opportunity for teachers to relieve themselves of their stress. The board and the former superintendent were not able--maybe not willing or able, I don't know which, maybe some of both--to provide release time. And, it was requested. . . . I was at the meetings when principals brought forward the requests to have a day or a half a day. And it was refused at the board and central staff level. Dr. Meyers, very seldom if ever, do I recall him opposing the board when there was a cause for teachers. He believed that the teachers needed time, but he was unable or unwilling to battle the board on the issue. . . . I really think we could have done something for those folks had we been willing and able (FN, Ward, 12-8-82, cards 6-7).

Teachers confirmed that the district did not help them deal with their stress. When asked by the researcher about district support, Ms. Gilbert said, "District help? No" (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 19)! Other teachers were more vocal with their feelings. Ms. Baird said, "The district didn't give one HOLY DAMN. My alternative was layoff"(FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 5). Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood showed their frustration about the lack of district help one noon hour as they talked with the researcher:

Researcher:	Did the district make any effort to help deal with peoples' feelings and anxieties?
Ms. Scott:	No!! Right?
Ms Underwood:	(hits the table hard with her fist) Nothing personally, no (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82, card 4)!

Mrs. Brand, who was in Lakeview Elementary when it closed, shared with the researcher her frustration at the lack of help provided to her by the district during the period of packing up school supplies at the year's end. She lamented:

I don't think there was much help. I was frustrated and I think a lot of teachers were frustrated. Those of us that were moving and had to pack everything, asked if we couldn't have some extra time and we were told, "No." The principal asked for us. But from higher up they said, "No." And yet, we had to have everything ready to go--packed and labeled--on the last day of school. It made me feel very negative. It was just one big hassle. I felt resentful and I think other teachers I know at Lakeview felt the same way. They want us to do all this, yet we are supposed to keep teaching our kids. In some of the older classes, the teachers had their kids help them. But us at lower el, you can't really say "do this page" while you go pack. It just doesn't work. So if it was going to get done, the only way was for us to do it after school hours (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6).

As has been shown, neither the teachers' union or the school district administration provided leadership in helping individual teachers cope with their stress in being involuntarily reassigned. One group of people who did provide support to these teachers was the building principals.

### Building Principals

Support given by the principals to the involuntarily reassigned teachers can be classified as physical help and emotional help.

Principals' Physical Help in the Spring. The principals' physical help is most evident in June when the teachers were packing personal and school material and in the fall as the new teachers reported for work in August. In June, principals' help focused on providing an atmosphere at the closing schools which was conducive to giving teachers the time they needed to pack without utilizing release time. Ms. Brand, who taught at Lakeview when it closed, told of how her principal, Ms. Davis, tried to

provide packing time by providing movies for students. This took minimum supervision and allowed a large percentage of the staff to be packing while the rest supervised the students. Ms. Brand told the researcher that

Ms. Davis tried. It wasn't that she didn't try. We did have movies the last day of school in the afternoon. It didn't help me, because I worked just in the morning. But for the rest of the school. In fact, I think it was the last two afternoons they had movies the whole time so that the teachers could be in their rooms (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6).

Ms. Davis was also the principal at Forest Glen when it closed. She provided movies there also. Ms. Carpenter, one of her teachers there, told how much Ms. Davis wanted to help and how the movies did help teachers. She remembered that

Ms. Davis, our principal, was just very supportive. If the kids had a math assignment and we could pack a box of books beforehand, fine. She didn't want us to ignore teaching children, but we could go ahead and do some packing or some organizing at the same time classes were on. If the kids were doing an art project where we had to give them a lesson but they could draw or paint the picture to go with it, that was O.K. . . . I think she really tried to make sure we had time that we could do some of our work, like the last couple of days at the last of the school year where we ordered special movies. Seems to me we had three days and we had six teachers. So, we split two teachers on duty with all the kids in the gym for movies plus we had aides and special teachers like music. We had four people off who had the free time in the afternoon to pack and clean up in their room. That was very nice of Ms. Davis. She OKed the idea and made sure we had the time and we could do it. She didn't have much extra time to come in herself and help take over in the classroom. I think if she'd been full-time at Forest Glen and she thought it would help us to come in and take a room while we went to do something, I feel she would have done it. She didn't have the time (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 17).

Two principals tried to help the new teachers coming into their buildings become acquainted with the curriculum. Ms. Underwood was a middle school teacher who had no elementary experience. Her new principal helped her by getting the textbooks and bringing them to her since she had no

release time to spend at Riverview. She explained that "before school was out, Mr. Austin brought me all the textbooks. He brought them to Evergreen and left them there, and told me I could have all summer to look at those texts" (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 4). All Forest Glen students transferred to Hillcrest as a result of the closures. Since each school had its own curriculum and textbooks, Mr. Taylor felt it was important to acquaint his new teachers from Forest Glen with the textbooks and series used at Hillcrest. Ms. Carpenter remembered that

we didn't know exactly what books were being used at Hillcrest. There was a question about which books would be used. Mr. Taylor came out and had a brief meeting with us once and explained what the spelling series was, he said what the new math series would be (for the early grades it was a new program), and for reading, which series it was. They'd started the new Houghton Mifflin reading series. For our fourth and fifth grade teachers, that meant that every subject was a completely new book (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 7).

One principal reportedly provided no help whatsoever, and, according to Ms. Fox, acted as if he did not care if she needed help. By contrast, she also told the researcher how helpful one of the elementary principals was. She related to the researcher that

my principal did not do anything . . . . The elementary principal was very supportive--just real nice--helped me move my stuff and told me what to do with certain things . . . . She told me how the moving process was going to be. My principal told me it was my responsibility to get my stuff over here, and she [Ms. Davis] came down and said, "No. That's not right. Move it to this room, and we will get it moved over there for you." She told me how to code it to get it over here to the right place. My principal told me I could not bring my desk, I could not bring any of my own filing cabinets, I could not bring any of the materials I had bought with middle school money. [Ms. Davis] said, "I can't tell you that you can now, but he's [Ms. Fox's principal] not going to miss them if you take them" (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 7).

Principals Physical Help in the Fall. Principals also provided physical help to their new teachers in the fall when they arrived at work. Their help was concentrated in physical movement of material and



finding teaching materials and textbooks. One union official shared with the researcher how her principal had helped the new teachers and then went on to tell what she knew about the other schools. She explained that

as far as the other buildings, the principals were available to all the new teachers and have helped with emptying boxes, unpacking or packing whatever the case may be--anything they can do to facilitate this move. They've been extremely helpful, especially at the elementary schools (FN, Thomas, 9-9-82, card 2).

Several teachers confirmed what Ms. Thomas told the researcher. At Hillcrest, Ms. Carpenter felt that "Mr. Taylor seems to be pretty supportive as far as getting materials" (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 14). According to two new Riverview teachers, Mr. Austin helped them move room furniture. Ms. Scott related that "we had to move my desk. It was over there and Mr. Austin moved it for us" (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 4). Ms. Brand even had more help in setting up her room. She noted appreciatively that

Mr. Austin helped us move all the furniture around. In fact, we moved it around several times until we got it the way we wanted it. He was right there pushing and shoving right with us getting it around, which was nice (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6).

At Meadow Elementary Mr. Ball, the principal, helped teachers find teaching materials and move furniture. He helped Ms. Fox find her room and some teaching materials. She remembered that "when I came over to the building, he showed me my room. It wasn't my room, but he thought it was. He gave me some reading material to look over the summer for this level of kids" (FN, Fox, 12-9-82, card 1). Mr. Ball helped Ms. Gates find her room, and then also provided assistance in finding teaching materials and in moving furniture. She told the researchers how "Mr. Ball helped some, but he had the whole school to put together. He helped

me find some things and he helped me haul some things around" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 6). When Ms. Fox came to school the Sunday before classes started and began to work in her room, she found Mr. Ball hard at work helping teachers move furniture so that an additional classroom could be made. She recalled that "there was just so much junk and I came over one Sunday afternoon. It was the Sunday before Labor Day and Mr. Ball was here moving stuff out of the basement because they needed to make it into classrooms" (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 9).

Although teachers valued the physical help given them by principals, their assistance in helping teachers cope with their emotional distress was more valuable.

Both in the spring and in the fall, emotional help was given to involuntarily reassigned teachers by both their former principals and their new principals. This help took the form of personal and group moral support and sympathy.

Principals' Emotional Help in the Spring. In the spring, Evergreen Middle School lost several teachers. Two were recalled to elementary positions. Both of these teachers were complimentary in their remarks about their former principal's help. Ms. Scott remembered how he assured them that he knew they were good teachers. She reported to the researcher that "Mr. Hall met with all of us people who would be leaving Evergreen and he told us that he was sorry to see us go and that he felt he was losing some good people" (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 7). Ms. Underwood had worked for Mr. Hall her entire teaching career. In fact, he was the one who interviewed and hired her. She had an especially hard time accepting the change to elementary school and in losing the close professional rapport that she had developed with him

over the years. When she and the researcher discussed how Mr. Hall had helped her emotionally she recalled that he emphasized his desire to keep her on his staff:

Ms. Underwood: I think Mr. Hall did everything he could.  
 Researcher: What did he do?  
 Ms. Underwood: Just talk to me and try to be open about the situation. I would be moving and he hoped that I would not. It was more personal. I was having a real tough time leaving middle school and sixth grade and shed a lot of tears (FN, Journal meeting, 9-17-82, card 4).

Ms. Carpenter's principal was in charge of closing two of the three schools. As such, she did not have great amounts of extra time to spend with the teachers. Yet she was able to provide an atmosphere of support and confidence which aided teachers emotionally. Forest Glen was one of the two schools Ms. Davis closed. One of her teachers, Ms. Carpenter, remembered vividly the support she personally felt from Ms. Davis:

Ms. Davis, our principal, was just very supportive. I think she tried very hard to make it go smooth for us, to make sure no one was unhappy with what was happening and to be positive in her statements about what was going on. . . . She just tried to stay positive and make positive comments to us and try to keep everybody's morale up. Her personality, at least to me, came across as trying to be helpful. I feel that if anyone would have come across a problem that she would have done anything she could in her position to try and help. . . I think on the other hand the teachers tried to do a good job because of her support that they felt that they had (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 17 and 11-17-82, card 7).

Ms. Fox worked at Oak Park Middle School. Although not her principal, Ms. Davis provided her the emotional encouragement that her own principal failed to provide. Ms. Fox blatantly told the researcher:

My principal did not do anything. Ms. Davis was very helpful . . . she just did a super job. When she found out that I had to move, she went out of her way to be helpful and be nice--just super!. . . Basically just moral support "You can do it." She talked to me about the second grade position after Mr. Ball had talked to me, and she really built my confidence a little bit.

I didn't feel she had to do that, you know. She wasn't my principal and didn't know me from a hole in the ground two weeks ago (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 7).

The principals who were receiving the involuntarily reassigned teachers also provided emotional help to them. Some teachers felt that they had been wronged by the layoff-recall process. Ms. Fox felt that her new principal at Meadow had treated her unfairly in assigning her to a second/third grade. As she related her feelings to the researcher, however, she also explained that his support helped her. She said:

I felt that he had done me an injustice because I'd never been in elementary before. I had never taught either of the grades before. I told him that and his comment to me was that he had heard a lot of good things about me and that he knew that I could do it--which made me feel good (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 4)!

One principal, Mr. Austin, provided emotional help to new teachers in two ways: direct and indirect. Direct emotional support consisted of personal contact with the new teacher. Ms. Underwood told the researcher about Mr. Austin's trips to her school to visit with her and support her emotionally. She recounted that

Mr. Austin wanted to help me very much, but he didn't really know Ms. Underwood. He wanted to help! He was very supportive in that he came over two or three times and made sure that I wanted to come over there. Just to stop in and find out you are ready to come over. He had some excuse to come in the building every time, but I could tell he was there just to see how I was doing. Not knowing me, he was pretty good (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 22).

In addition, Mr. Austin supported his new teachers indirectly in a very important way. He was able to convey to his incumbent staff, through words and his expectations of their professional performance, a general spirit of willingness to help new teachers. Of this, Ms. Crane told the researcher that "Mr. Austin told us he was expecting us to do our job and make the transition as easy as possible for them" (FN, Crane, 12-7-82,

card 7). Ms. James emphasized the nonverbal aspect of how she knew what he wanted the staff to do as she talked with the researcher:

Researcher: Did Mr. Austin give you teachers that were getting new team members any kind of guidelines as how to help the new teachers get used to the building?

Ms. James: No. We've worked together for so long that he kind of said--and it was not really in so many words--but the understanding was that we help in any way we could...to help them out as much as we can if they have any questions or concerns to be sure to help them out with all those and give them an idea of what we've done before if it worked well and we liked it (FN, James, 9-28-82, card 2).

Principals' Emotional Help in the Fall. Principals also provided emotional help in the fall as the new teachers came to work and began the new school year. Mr. Austin showed his support, in part, by periodically going to the teachers to see how they were adjusting rather than waiting for them to come to him frustrated. Ms. Underwood told the researcher that time spent with Mr. Austin was beneficial. She explained:

Mr. Austin met with me last Wednesday. He's meeting with all the new teachers. He's going over different things with us--any questions that we have concerning the school, how we feel about Riverview now, do we feel that we've adjusted, and that type of thing. So I spent thirty minutes with him talking. It was real good (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 5)!

Although Ms. Gilbert felt that she personally did not have any real trauma in adjusting to Riverview and Mr. Austin, just the fact that he would take the time and show a personal interest in her wellbeing made her feel good. She told the researcher about this:

Mr. Austin was happy and welcomed me. He checked. He came around that first week and checked with me, "Is everything all right?" And after the first month, "How are you doing?" And sat down with me for maybe ten to fifteen minutes, "Is there anything that's troubling you or bothering you or are things going all right? Are you getting the help you need or what you need?" And I was. The fact that he came by to check made me feel good, very good (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 19).

Mr. Austin continually, emphasized his availability to teachers and his interest in them by wandering from class to class visiting with the teachers, the students, or just walking in and out. This provided the teachers with access to him many times daily. Ms. Thomas provided the researcher with an example of how this "walk through" policy worked and of Mr. Austin's sincere desire to help teachers. She related an incident that she had witnessed between Ms. Underwood and Mr. Austin to the researcher:

Just yesterday, Ms. Underwood wanted to talk to Mr. Austin about the token program [the Riverview student discipline system based on a token economy of positive rewards] so she said, "I need to see you sometime" and he was right there. Well, she couldn't talk to him right then because she had a room full of kids, so she said, "I'll talk to you later." So he came back and said, "I can't wait, what is this about?" So, there is a great deal of follow up (FN, Thomas, 9-9-82, card 2).

Ms. Fox was new to Meadow Elementary and to Mr. Ball, her principal. She felt he helped her by his physical presence in her room and by his willingness to answer her questions--even when they were over the phone. As she related to the researcher:

Mr. Ball just made his presence known and made me feel like I could ask any questions that I wanted to ask him and he would be helpful if he could to me. . . . If I had a question or something, he was always willing to listen. He would always take my phone calls. I notice now a lot of times he'll put people on hold and just leave them there for a long time. He'll say, "Tell them I'll be there" and I'll say, "You know you have a phone call in the office." "Oh, yes, but they can wait." But he always used to take my phone calls immediately, so I guess I should take that as a compliment that I had something to say instead of putting me on hold for fifteen minutes like he does a lot of people. That made me feel good (FN, Fox, 12-9-82, card 1)!

Ms. Gates felt that she needed a lot of help when she came to Meadow. Mr. Ball provided much of the emotional help she needed because he was available for help and she felt he was someone she could turn to with confidence. She explained to the researcher that

Mr. Ball is very supportive if I need anything. If I'm concerned about explaining something to a parent, I know I can go to him. I have to be able to because I don't know these parents. I need that guidance. . . . He's somebody that I think a lot of, I really do. I'm just amazed by him. He's a real administrator. He's the kind of man that my dad was. I see him as a real professional (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 21, 29)!

Ms. Baird was in the unique position, as a result of being involuntarily reassigned into two part-time special education positions, of working in two different schools plus having a supervisor in the district office. So, in reality she had three supervisors. One of the ways both of the principals supported her emotionally was by making favorable comments to her district office supervisor. She told the researcher that "both have told my big boss, the special ed director, that they were pleased with my work. They were happy to have me. I feel good about them both (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 4). Ms. Baird went on to share two specific ways Mr. Taylor, her principal at Hillcrest, has provided emotional support. The first way was by supporting her needs in relation to her special education curriculum. She told the researcher:

He is super. He has been very kind, understanding, and supportive of me and our program. He has gone "all out" to keep our aide time, so he realizes how much work we are trying to do, and our unique problems in the Resource Room (FN, Journal, Baird, 12-8-82, card 9).

A second way Mr. Taylor supported not only Ms. Baird, but his entire staff as seen by her, was by being available to help in time of need and by communicating his trust of them to his staff. Ms. Baird told the researcher:

I feel we are one big happy family. Yes, there are some concerns--losing our aide time, budget cuts, interruptions in our program, etc.--but we sit down together and BITCH or discuss. I don't feel there is backstabbing going on. When we have concerns or questions we share them, and Mr. Taylor is one big reason things run so smoothly. We feel he is behind us, trusting us, and there when we need him (FN, Journal Baird, 10-27-82, card 11).

Ms. Carpenter, also new to the Hillcrest staff, gave an example of how she saw Mr. Taylor trying to build that trust and the emotional support Ms. Baird felt she experienced. To her, the "payday donut time" helped her see her friends and promoted the family trusting relationship among the staff members. She related to the researcher that

on Fridays, on paydays, I believe Mr. Taylor buys the donuts. Somebody said that he does this. But on paydays, we have a staff meeting and usually he brings in donuts. So, I assume that since he brings them in, he's purchasing them for everybody which is quite an expense, but yet it is nice. It's kind of a little social gathering where everyone does get together and if it's a staff meeting, of course we're there having a meeting. But on the days that it is not and he didn't have anything for us, well he went ahead, brought the donuts, and we'd sit around and talk and just relax and enjoy each other's company. That has helped to bring people together because otherwise where you have so much work to do--like I think of \_\_\_\_\_, the fact that I don't see her very often stands in my mind because she is at the other end of the building and she has a different kind of a work schedule--I wouldn't see her at all. I think that has been very nice of Mr. Taylor to help encourage it (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 6).

### Teachers

Although principals were able to provide some physical support to their teachers in the spring and in the fall, most of the actual physical help teachers had in moving came from other teachers within their buildings. This help consisted of: (1) aiding in packing materials; (2) giving each other extra and unwanted materials; (3) helping each other specifically with curriculum concerns and needs.

Teachers' Physical Help in the Spring. In the spring, teachers who were involuntarily reassigned from schools that were not closing did not face the extensive springtime packing problem faced by those who were displaced from a school which was closing. Ms. Eddy helped close out Lakeview where she taught. She viewed the move as the entire staff helping each other in addition to performing their own individual work.



She recalled that

to make the physical move, the staff helped. We just all worked together with each other to try to help everybody to get packed up and out of there. It seemed like a huge problem when you started out with all those bodies and things. You had to figure out who was taking what and where you were sending them (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 8).

She went on to give a specific example of how she helped one of the other teachers after she finished her own work. "One of my friends had sixty-two boxes to label and I went in and helped her do that because I had already taken care of most of my things" (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, card 1).

Ms. Fox, who was not in a school which closed, also was given help in moving her belongings from the middle school wing where they could be transported to Meadow at district expense. She told the researcher:

I had one really good friend at the middle school who was very helpful, and another teacher. She taught gym class, but she helped me physically move quite a few things that I had to have moved. That was the only help that I got from that end (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 1).

A second way teachers helped each other in the spring was by sharing what they no longer needed or what they had in excess. Excess materials included (1) furniture items such as bookshelves, tables, desks, and chairs; and (2) teaching materials such as textbooks, library books, workbooks, and miscellaneous wall charts, posters, and pictures. When she packed up and cleaned out her room at Forest Glen, Ms. Campbell found she had excess furniture which she gladly shared with the rest of the staff. She remembered that

it was easy for me to go around the school and say, "Come in here and look. Is there anything in here that you want? Here's an extra bookcase." Some of the other teachers came in and got bookcases and things out of my room and put their tag on it to come here to their room (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 12).

Ms. Fox, who taught at Oak Park Middle School, was reassigned to a second/third grade split class at Meadow. Because she had never taught

elementary before, as her friends at Lakeview found excess materials, they boxed them up for her to use the following year. Ms. Eddy, one of the Lakeview teachers, recounted for the researcher some of these efforts by the staff to help Ms. Fox:

We knew Ms. Fox was coming, but she was on a different schedule and she was in the middle school rather than the elementary. We did things for her like packing up certain things. If we found people didn't want certain things and they were still in good shape and looked like something she'd want, we packed it in a box for her. The second and third grade teachers gave her some of the things that they'd used (FN, Eddy, 11-18-82, card 11).

A third way teachers helped teachers physically in the spring was by providing specific help to others in curriculum. When Ms. Fox visited Meadow Elementary in the spring, she received help in locating reading materials. She told the researcher how this happened by accident. She stated that

in the spring, when I came over first to look at the school, I ran into a couple of teachers in the hall. They were just real friendly and showed me where materials were and showed me the basement and where I could come up with reading stuff and were just super friendly (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 10).

Ms. Baird, who was involuntarily reassigned after ten years in the classroom to special education, was helped by the special education teachers. She told the researcher:

The special ed teachers have loaned me books, papers to read, told me about materials and even given me some. They are there when and if I need them and they let me know it. No one has been nosey and butted into anything, however (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, cards 4-5).

Mrs. Baird went on to describe a specific instance of help. "I talked to Ms. Hicks, the Riverview resource teacher, last spring and she offered all kinds of help. She gave me addresses so I could write for catalogues on materials" (FN, Journal, Baird, 12-15-82, card 2). Ms. Hicks confirmed helping Ms. Baird and told the researcher how she specifically

helped her. She explained that Ms. Baird

wanted to know what kind of materials I used. So, I brought her over here and we went through all my catalogues together. I tried to tell her what I thought was really good and why, and what was not worth bothering with. Then I gave her a lot of catalogues that I had . . . I showed her my programs . . . I showed her how to set things up, as far as what types of programs I used. I showed her how to organize a little bit as far as having assignment sheets for all the kids, and writing assignments for them daily. I tried to show her some similarities between the regular classroom and this classroom (FN, Hicks, 11-8-82, card 1).

Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell discussed Ms. Campbell's experience at Green Park when it closed. She told how other teachers helped by giving her their unwanted materials.

Ms. Scott: At the time we thought I was going to second and you were going to fourth, there were people saying, "Here, maybe you could use this next year" as they cleaned all this junk out that was back there.

Ms. Campbell: \_\_\_\_\_ brought me down all of the third grade Scott Foresman reading books because I had been the one that had made up all the questions originally to go with those, and she knew I liked that one unit in there. So, she brought me all that box of stuff (FN, Journal Meeting, 11-23-82, card 11).

Teachers' Physical Help in the Fall. There is widespread evidence that in the fall incumbent teachers provided their new colleagues with much physical help in beginning the new year. Most of that help was concentrated in orienting new teachers with unfamiliar curriculum. That this was a process that took time was alluded to by Ms. Baird when she told the researcher:

We are all learning and we are all helping each other learn. Even those who have been here a long time are getting to know us and our strengths. When I ask for help or materials, several people offer whichever (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 11).

Ms. Brand was involuntarily reassigned into a first/second grade split class not having taught either grade before. One of her Incumbent

colleagues in the building helped her by suggesting what the curriculum should include and what topics were most important at the grade level to be covered. She reported to the researcher that

Ms. Crane gave me some suggestions on vocabulary games and things to do with a couple of my first graders that need vocabulary drilling. That makes me feel good because it makes my job a lot easier. Ms. Crane even went through one of the books she's used before and for each unit picked out the things that were the most important to cover, because there are so many things for each unit you can't possibly do them all. And, I'm not seasoned enough to know myself which things I should be covering and which I shouldn't or aren't as important to cover. So, she did that for me which was helpful (FN, Brand, 11-30-82, card 5).

Ms. Carpenter was new to her job as a reading teacher and to Hillcrest Elementary. Her major frustration with the reassignment centered on curriculum. She shared with the researcher how another reading teacher was able to help her after school began in the fall. She remembered that

one day I was really getting frustrated with a couple of these fourth and fifth grade groups. I didn't feel I was getting through to them. I knew that \_\_\_\_\_ over at Meadow had a conference Friday afternoon. It was Friday afternoon and I could speak to her probably then. She had shown me some materials at the beginning of the year. I remembered I liked them but I couldn't remember over a month's time how she used them. She invited me the following week. She said she was going to start a group in these particular books and had me come over that morning. I think that really helped me to be able to actually see someone using them, too. I was able to see children playing a particular game, too, that we have--that's a fun game for them--but to see kids actually using it. It brought up questions and things that I might have come across on my own, but to see it happen when someone else is there, I could question her and say, "Now in this incidence, what do you do?" So that really helped (FN, Carpenter, 12-8-82, card 7).

At Riverview Elementary, the teachers followed an individualized reading program at all grade levels. The incumbent teachers modified a commercial series to fit their students' needs. Because this was unique to Riverview, both Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood, formerly at Evergreen Middle School, found it difficult to adjust to the new method. One of the

incumbent teachers, Ms. Thomas, showed them how the Riverview approach to reading worked. Ms. Scott told the researcher that "we went over and Ms. Thomas met us and took us over and explained to us just how it worked-- how the kids get their assignment sheets and she went through that with us" (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 4) Ms. Thomas and another teacher were also able to provide help to Ms. Underwood when she wanted to teach a specific language arts unit. Ms. Underwood told the researcher how she got the help. She said that

\_\_\_\_\_ helped, and also Ms. Thomas in setting up a language arts unit. Ms. Thomas teaches language arts in fifth grade and both of these ladies came to me and said that if there was any area I felt like I needed more references for, that they could dig up some dittos or whatever or maybe direct me where I could go to find the different materials. I know that \_\_\_\_\_ was teaching a dictionary unit. I went to \_\_\_\_\_ and tried to figure out where I get the dictionaries and where I get the dittos. It ended up that I had to go to Ms. Thomas to get the dittos and the dictionaries. Ms. Thomas had the dictionaries from the library in her room to be passed around. So it was just kind of a mutual "I'll use them first, you use them next" and that type of thing. This made me feel good, real good. I mean, it's like well, yes, we can get in there and help her out (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 7).

At Meadow Elementary, Ms. Fox also found the incumbent teachers more than willing to help her with curriculum concerns. She felt everyone she asked had been helpful. In addition to those she asked, others came forward and offered materials. Of this she said:

they've given me materials for this grade level. The teachers would come down and say, "You know, I'm not using this anymore, do you want to use this? If you can use this, use it." That type of thing. \_\_\_\_\_ gave me a lot of materials to get started with. The teachers who taught upper el sent me down little stuff that I could put on the wall because what I had was geared to so much higher kids. \_\_\_\_\_ gave me a lot of material for this grade level (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 8 and 10-28-82, card 1).

In addition to the help with curriculum received by the new teachers from their incumbent colleagues, these same colleagues provided a minimal amount of help in physically moving furniture and unpacking boxes. When

Ms. Eddy went to work at Meadow in August, she and a friend worked together moving supplies stacked in the gym to their rooms. Ms. Eddy told the researcher that

when I came in on August 10, it was with \_\_\_\_\_, who I had taught with at Lakeview and who worked on cleaning out the place and trying to get our things moved down. We were here in the building for almost two weeks--the two of us and the custodians (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 8).

At Hillcrest, Ms. Baird also received some help from a colleague in getting her room ready. After working on her own for two weeks, Ms. Baird told the researcher that "I called \_\_\_\_\_ at home and begged her to come in. She came . . . and threw more things away" (FN, Journal, Baird, 11-17-82, card 1). Physical help by colleagues in moving furniture was a major factor in the helping process at Riverview Elementary. This is because the school has no interior classroom walls. All the walls are portable sight barriers. Help in this case was atypical in relation to the rest of the district. For Ms. Campbell, this first experience with the open classroom was devastating. She vividly remembered her first day at work as she recalled her feelings of insecurity as she explained to the researcher:

I didn't know where to put anything. Everything was movable and it was too much. I stood in the middle of the room and looked. By six o'clock I was ready to cry. I was boxed in by movable cupboards and it wasn't attractive and I was out in the middle and didn't even have a wall I could cling to. It was all overwhelmingly strange! I talked to Ms. James and begged for a portion of the wall with a nice normal chalkboard hanging on it. Ms. James was understanding and I got a portion of a wall that didn't move. Finally, one static thing! . . . I worked all day at getting ready for kids, unpacking some boxes and getting some materials ready. Ms. James was a big, big help with what to do. She helped get materials around, helped with starting second grade. She let me have part of her blackboard and wall which I needed badly for my security (FN, Journal, Campbell, 9-7-82, cards 3-4).

Ms. Underwood and Ms. Hawser initially worked on Ms. Underwood's room at Riverview until Mr. Austin rearranged it (see p. 222). When she finally returned to school, she and Ms. Scott, who had the room next to hers, worked together to get their rooms more to their liking. Ms. Underwood said of this effort:

Once we came back, the way things were set up, it turned out that I didn't have very many bulletin boards. So, we had to do some switching around of these compartments so that I'd have a bulletin board. Then Ms. Thomas came in and she wanted an extra blackboard, so we ended up swapping furniture so that I could have another bulletin board (her side of the blackboard) and she'd have a blackboard. I worked it out then with other people (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 5).

Ms. Scott also told about their time together working in their rooms before school. She recalled that

when I came out my room was already arranged. You know, they just did it and somebody had just put in the furniture. Ms. Underwood and I came the same day. We arranged things where we would prefer to have them. They just kind of outlined the room. You know, like her cupboard was someplace and I moved it someplace else. I just made it kind of like I thought I might want it (FN, Journal Meeting, Scott, 10-13-82, card 4).

Teachers' Emotional Help in the Spring. The emotional help teachers provided each other in the spring consisted mainly of encouraging others that they would succeed in their new situation. Just the fact that involuntarily assigned teachers had someone who was going through the same agony and who would be a listener to their concerns was a comfort. The need was for time to talk to each other and to adjust to the new job and working conditions. Ms. Eddy, a Lakeview teacher, explained to the researcher how important this encouragement was when she told the researcher that it was a comfort

just being there for each other saying, "Well, you know we're going to be alright, we're all going together. The four of us will be here, trying to keep each other's spirits up. We had a party the last day of school and went out to the lake with one of the staff members. We just all had time together to talk

about moving and try to ease ourselves into the idea that we were no longer a group. Just knowing they were going through it with me helped, and when I would be feeling low about things, they would help to boost my spirits, and then I would do the same thing for somebody else when they were going through these. Somehow we managed not to all go through it at the same time. We would feel low on certain days when the other wouldn't be, so we kind of helped each other stay up as much as possible (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, card 1).

Ms. Fox, an Oak Park Middle School teacher who was reassigned to an elementary school position, found help from Lakeview teachers and also from the teacher whose job she was taking at Meadow. She explained to the researcher that

once we found out I was coming here, and they were coming here, then it just happened that I had a conference hour that lapped over into twenty minutes of their lunch. So then I would go into their lunch room and they were real open to me, you know, "just come on in." \_\_\_\_\_ taught second grade last year and she said, "come into my room anytime and observe. So, I got to know them really quite well. All of them were really helpful. Even the kindergarten teacher who got laid off was just really super helpful. The guy whose place I took, who had a second/third last year was extremely helpful . . . he showed me how he ran the second/third split . . . I really felt I was helped by a lot of people once I knew where I was going to be and who I was going to be with (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 8).

For Ms. Baird, who changed schools and went from a second grade classroom to special education, the news of her impending reassignment was quite traumatic. A colleague and friend from Hillcrest, where she was to be reassigned, provided some of the needed emotional support to get Ms. Baird through this first crisis. Ms. Baird recalled that

In late March, I got a letter that said the personnel director of the schools wanted to see me about my next year's job assignment. Please make an appointment immediately. I calmly walked to the phone, called, made my appointment for the next day, called my best friend, \_\_\_\_\_, and asked her to drop everything and meet me for coffee. I left school, drove to the restaurant, walked in, sat down, and came apart--and I mean apart! Well, fortunately my friend, \_\_\_\_\_, took over and helped me to realize that all this could work in my favor. \_\_\_\_\_ spent a couple of hours helping me regain my perspective. My whole life was changing. Perhaps this was good timing. After all, I could come to Hillcrest and we hadn't



worked together for ten years. There was a good side. I came around. I began to realize she was right (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-20-82, card 2).

Between March and the end of school in June, other teachers from Riverview, where she taught, helped her emotionally. Ms. Hicks recalled that

part of the help I gave her was verbal support that she would make it OK that everybody felt the way she felt. I know she had been out of it awhile, but her feelings about "I don't know what I'm going to do, I don't know where to begin, I don't know how I'm going to handle this" are real feelings we all share . . . I found I was doing a lot of that but how much she heard, I don't know. You're so concerned about what's going to happen, that you don't hear all this other stuff. To you, you're not going to make it, no matter what anybody says. They don't know because you know you're not going to make it. And that comes from fear--fear and apprehension (FN, Hicks, 11-8-82, cards 1,3).

Another Riverview teacher, Ms. Abbott, also provided Ms. Baird with emotional support. Ms. Abbott emphasized the casual way in which she felt her help was given. She recalled that it was

in an informal way, just to help her feel better about it, to convince her that she really had the skills to do what she is going to do . . . We never did sit down and have a formal meeting. It was just informal, a little bit here and a little bit there kind of thing (FN, Abbott, 11-8-82, card 1).

Although Ms. Baird's new assignment was mostly at Hillcrest, she was also assigned part time to Woodlawn Elementary to help in its resource room. Ms. Davidson, the full-time Woodlawn resource room teacher, also had an opportunity to help Ms. Baird with some of the emotional uncertainties of her new assignment. Ms. Davidson reported to the researcher that

we talked just once or twice last spring . . . In talking, I explained how I've run my program the last couple of years, and procedures that most of the resource teachers follow. That had really helped me because when I started, I had the same type of situation . . . So, basically I tried to help Ms. Baird with the same thing (FN, Davidson, 11-3-82, card 1).

Teachers' Emotional Help in the Fall. Most of the involuntarily reassigned teachers received emotional help from their new colleagues and sincerely appreciated the help offered. As with the emotional help in the spring, this help was mainly in the form of encouragement and in the promise and willingness of colleagues to be available. Help was provided by new colleagues as well as former acquaintances with whom the newly reassigned teachers were now working.

For Ms. Fox, this emotional help from new colleagues began as soon as she went to school in August to prepare her new room. This early help aided her in feeling accepted as a new family member. She recalled that

I kind of walked in and I was here. They would come in that first week before school started, and see my room and say, "Oh, you're making progress. Can I help you do this?" They could have just walked right on by and not even bothered to stop, so I guess I really felt accepted right away from the beginning. A lot of them here had come over and said, "Oh, we've heard a lot of good things about you. We're glad you're here." I never didn't feel accepted. I never didn't feel a part of it [sic] (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 7).

When Ms. Gilbert took the position at Riverview, she had never taught first grade and was mildly apprehensive about it. Ms. Crane, another lower elementary teacher there, provided most of the emotional support she needed. To Ms. Gilbert, this help was comforting. As she talked with the researcher, Ms. Gilbert mentioned that

most help came from Ms. Crane. She gave me an awful lot of direction in the beginning as to what usually was done before in first grade. I pretty much went on my own after she told me what I needed to evaluate, what I needed to look for and how to begin reading groups. She's been a big help . . . I guess I felt comfortable in knowing that Ms. Crane was going to be a big help. She offered her help all the time. "If you ever have a problem, I'm always here." So, that was comforting (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, cards 4, 11).

Ms. Brand was reassigned to Riverview as a first/second grade split teacher. She had never taught either grade before. Emotional help from

her new colleagues came not mainly by explanations of curriculum or school rules, but by their presence and her knowledge that some of them were going through the trauma of adjusting to the change as she was. She explained to the researcher that

everybody has been real supportive--both Ms. Crane and Ms. James. Anytime that I need anything they're more than willing to show me something, give me ideas. They've been very supportive . . . Not once has anybody seemed short tempered or given me a quick type response, which I think is outstanding. They just always seem to find time to very patiently explain things, which is really helpful to me which makes me feel a lot better . . . Other teachers who were going through the same thing helped me most. Not necessarily from my building, but the other new teachers here. They may have come from different buildings, but people that were going through the same thing could understand really what your feelings are. I was glad there were some other people out here, that I wasn't the only one. That felt good (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, cards 10, 18 and 11-30-82, card 8)!

Ms. Fox was new to Meadow Elementary and new to the second grade. Emotional help given her by her new colleagues took on the form of verbal support combined with tangible help in a family emergency. Ms. Fox vividly discussed the event and her positive feelings toward her new colleagues:

My dad was real sick. Two weeks ago Wednesday he started bleeding internally and was unconscious for several days and they were very cooperative. I got a phone call Wednesday night to come down immediately, so we went. I had lesson plans for Thursday but that's all. They didn't expect him to live and so I called Thursday and said, "I don't have any plans. Could you ask \_\_\_\_\_ if she'll do plans for me?" She did my Friday plans and then they took care of my whole next week's plans for the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Thanksgiving . . . They were just real, real helpful in that situation and very concerned. People called me to see how he was doing long distance to [name of town]. I really felt like a lot of people cared. I felt good because that way I felt like they had accepted me as part of their staff because they didn't have to do anything for me, really (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 12).

To the involuntarily transferred teacher, having a friend or former colleague to use for emotional support is important. When Ms. Gates was

assigned to Meadow, she had no teacher she knew personally and with whom she felt comfortable in sharing her burdens and concerns. She stated emphatically to the researcher that

I didn't know anybody on this staff . . . I would just have loved to have somebody--anybody. I just would have taken anybody to help me feel welcome--show me where different things are--be there for support so that anytime at all that I had question, I'd know I could go to that one teacher. As it is, sometimes I just went in the lounge (they were all sitting there) and said, "Help! Anybody!" And, somebody would help me (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 4, 29).

When Forest Glen closed, all the teachers and students transferred to Hillcrest. Ms. Carpenter, one of the former Forest Glen teachers, found that her other former colleagues still provided emotional support for each other and she shared how she tried to help them:

There was a pretty good amount of adjustment in our being just emotionally supportive. You know, asking each other how the day went. We knew of certain students we were looking out for, and making sure that we spent some time with each other. We have had time where we can sit down as little groups, not always the same group, but like in the lounge and share things that happened, ask how things are going, and see if there is some way we can help each other. Like in my case, if something was happening that they were a little unhappy about, I just tried to boost them up a little bit in a normal friendship way (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 4).

Ms. Baird was also new to Hillcrest Elementary, but she had a longtime friend already on the staff. Her constant availability and insights into working conditions unknown to Ms. Baird because she was new, provided emotional support for her. Ms. Baird shared an example of how this help was given and appreciated. She noted that

\_\_\_\_\_ is always there when I need a friend, always encouraging, always supportive, always ready with a joke or a laugh. She'll drop anything to talk, or have coffee, or whatever. She confirms feelings I have or helps me see things more clearly by giving me background knowledge. For instance, I have had some problems with one of the teachers. I have four of her students in the Resource Room and I'm feeling a total lack of cooperation. \_\_\_\_\_ confirmed that the teacher is a "hard nose" who has had these same troubles in the past and

doesn't give an inch. In other words, it's not me! It sure helps (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 4).

The teachers at Lakeview Elementary had been together as a school family for many years. When Lakeview closed, they were split among three other elementary schools. Several of them, including Ms. Eddy, went to Meadow. These teachers felt the need to continue the emotional support they had been accustomed to giving and receiving over the years at Lakeview. Therefore, all of the former Lakeview teachers who were dispersed throughout the district decided to meet periodically to support and enjoy one another. Ms. Eddy attended these social get-togethers and shared with the researcher how much this meant to her:

We all went out to dinner. We invited everybody we had taught with at Lakeview at one time or another. There were eight of us there and it was really nice. We all talked about that everybody was going through the same things. They talked about feeling alone--feeling like there just wasn't anybody there who really cared about them and yet, now they knew that we all still care about one another, about what was happening, and it was good that we all had a chance to talk. We talked about our families and all the things we used to talk about. We spent about--well, we got there at five and left at five to eight. It was really a good time together, and we decided that we were going to do it again around Christmas time (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, cards 2-3).

The most poignant illustration of the importance of having a friend in the new school was found at Riverview. Although all of the new teachers knew of each other, three of the five involuntarily reassigned teachers had worked together in the recent past and were close friends. They shared the importance of this friendship with the researcher. Ms. Underwood was transferred from Evergreen Middle School and had never taught elementary children before. She acknowledged her fear that there would be no one at Riverside she knew well enough to feel comfortable in seeking help and her joy when she found Ms. Scott was going to also be at Riverside. Ms. Underwood explained:

I knew that if I came out here I had to have someone help me or I'd never make it, because those people wouldn't have made it coming into Evergreen if I hadn't really set down and helped them. I just knew that I knew nothing about fourth grade. I knew nothing about how an elementary building was managed. I knew I needed someone to help me. Ms. Campbell was willing. She knew she was going to be in fourth grade. I knew Ms. Campbell, but not very well. I didn't know who I was going to depend on to pull me through and teach me all the ropes of fourth grade. I knew that Ms. Scott would give me all the help she could. But, being on the other side of the building, I just figured she'd have a hard time figuring out second grade and could not help me as much as I needed. Ms. Campbell had called me a number of times saying, "What are we going to do in fourth grade?" I could see that she didn't feel comfortable. So, I didn't know who I was going to relate to. When I found out that Ms. Scott was going to be out here in fourth grade, I knew I could make it! I knew that she would help me out all that she could since I had helped her all I could in sixth grade. It made me feel just fantastic when I found out (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 6).

Ms. Underwood, Ms. Scott, and Ms. Campbell discussed with the researcher one day, their deep feelings of need to have someone emotionally close to them when they were new to the school and how good they felt about the support they had been to each other:

Researcher:	So, how does it make you feel when you can have somebody come out like _____'s mother or you know someone on the staff or parents?
Ms. Underwood:	Well, it makes it easier.
Ms. Scott:	Sure, because Ms. Underwood's very aware that's something she doesn't have.
Ms. Underwood:	Right! <u>But</u> , this situation would be compounded, Ms. Scott, ten times for me if you weren't next door to me. You know that.
Ms. Scott:	If I wasn't.
Ms. Underwood:	If you were not next door to me, then my <u>goodness</u> ! It would be <u>terrible</u> for me. A terrible situation. I would really consider leaving.
Ms. Campbell:	This really makes an interesting support group, the three of us.
Ms. Scott:	Because when I was leaving I was not considering going to Spring Hill. [said to Ms. Campbell] I wasn't worried about you. I mean I knew you'd be pissed, but I knew you'd understand. [said to Ms. Underwood] Because I didn't know what I was going to say because I knew that you needed me because I knew how much I needed you at Evergreen.
Ms. Underwood:	Right.

Ms. Scott: So, therefore I knew what you would be feeling.  
 Ms. Underwood: Well, I'll tell ya, I knew at that time that if Ms. Scott wasn't going to be there, I figured they'd keep Ms. Campbell. At least I knew her. And, I felt comfortable with the fact that she was going to be over there, even though she didn't want to be there. I was just glad that she was going to be there.  
 Ms. Scott: It's a body, isn't it?  
 Ms. Campbell: Right!  
 Ms. Scott: You guys are my support group. Did you know that? It's not that you're going to be able to answer any of my questions. It's just that you're there. It's really been something. You know, I can just go over and say I'm lost and you'll understand. It's not that you know where everything is for me or know the answer to any of the questions. I'm just not alone (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82, cards 8-9).

In addition to the help given involuntarily reassigned teachers by their colleagues, there were individuals other than professional educators who also provided assistance.

### Family and Friends

The help provided by other than professional educators to involuntarily reassigned teachers also falls into the two general categories of physical help and emotional help.

Family and Friends' Physical Help. Physical help provided teachers by family and friends which was reported by them, occurred primarily in the fall. In three cases, involuntarily reassigned teachers told of having outside help in packing their materials in the spring. Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell mentioned this help to the researcher:

Ms. Campbell: I had some parents come in and pack boxes.  
 Ms. Scott: And \_\_\_\_\_, and your aide. \_\_\_\_\_, who had my room, did some packing for me. She did more than her share of packing.  
 Ms. Campbell: Everyone was so befuddled about moving that nobody had time to support anybody else (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-19-82, card 4).

Ms. Brand was displaced from Lakeview Elementary when it was closed. She also had received help from her aide after hours. Ms. Brand recalled the spring packing and told the researcher

we had to sort everything and pack everything. It all had to be done on our own time. We weren't given any extra time to do it. So, I spent weekends and (I taught mornings) spent several afternoons. I just spent the whole day there and packed all afternoon. My aide stayed with me, the two of us (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 2).

When Ms. Eddy came to work at Meadow, she found her materials, which had been moved over there from Lakeview, were part of the floor-to-ceiling stack in the gym. Her grade school-age children came with her and provided much of the actual muscle to move her belongings from the gym to her room. In addition, they were able to help a colleague of hers, also from Lakeview. Ms. Eddy proudly related to the researcher how

the kids came with me. When I was coming out here they decided they wanted to come the first day. We packed a lunch and came. \_\_\_\_\_ was here. They just started helping to move. They loved doing it. They felt so needed. We kept telling them how wonderful they were because they really were. So they came out and helped for a couple of days. When \_\_\_\_\_ came in, \_\_\_\_\_, my son, came back and helped her move (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 9).

The most graphic example of help from family and friends occurred when Ms. Gates returned to North Umpqua from her summer vacation and first went to work at her new school, Meadow. She was assigned a former resource room which was partially full of scrap furniture. Emotionally unable to handle the situation by herself, she enlisted the aid of her parents and boyfriend. Only with their help was she able to have the room ready to open school. She fervidly recalled the event in August as she told the researcher:

I went home that night and called my parents and said, "Can you come and help me because I can't do it--I just can't. I was too depressed and too astonished by the fact that they couldn't even bother to put students' desks in the room I was supposed to use.



I just couldn't believe it . . . My mom and--my father is a retired school superintendent and my mother teaches kindergarten came down out of their summer vacation and hauled furniture with me, and painted. We painted that cabinet. My father scoured and waxed all that furniture. It was filthy! We hauled it over ourselves from the armory on little rolling carts. He replaced chair gliders and he scrubbed, and we put up bulletin boards and tried to pack things away and fix furniture. My boyfriend came in and did some things. He nailed the cabinet back together that was all ripped apart and put the knobs on that. We worked the whole weekend steady--morning till night. We would take a break, go out and get something at the A & W, and come right back. It's together, but I didn't feel any sense of pride at the end of it. I have castoff furniture that's awful. I had to do it all myself, and I don't feel any sense of accomplishment (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 6).

Family and Friends' Emotional Help. Emotional help came from both friends and family. Although contrary to the researcher's expectations, friends provided more support than did actual family members. Ms. Baird had friends and parents who had volunteered in her class at Riverview. She happily recounted how they would "call and ask her how things are going and then listen to the answer to their questions" (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-27-82, card 5). Ms. Baird also had a boyfriend who provided her with much needed support throughout her ordeal of involuntary reassignment and beginning her new job at Hillcrest. However, for her, he was most helpful, emotionally in the summer when she felt in limbo between her old and new job. She explained to the researcher that

my boyfriend has been super! I don't even know how he can stand me sometimes, but he's always there with a shoulder to lean on . . . "I'll be here. You can do it . . ." During the springtime, when I was in limbo, and now this fall as I'm living the change, he is always there with a big hug, a kiss, a smile, a bouquet of flowers, a shoulder to lean on, and lots of time to hear me out. I feel special, but more importantly--NORMAL (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-20-82, card 4; 10-27-82, card 4).

Ms. Gates had a close girlfriend who had previously been fired from her job. Ms. Gates felt her girlfriend was the only person who could really help her emotionally because, when she was laid off from Spring Hill

Elementary, Ms. Gates felt as if she had been fired even though she knew she would be recalled. Ms. Gates told the researcher how important her friend was in giving her the kind of support she needed because she had gone through the same feelings earlier:

I sat with her while she mourned that. That's like dying or something. I don't know how to explain it. When I had this happen to me, we did sit down and share feelings. She brought up her feelings of when she was fired. We talked. She's the only one I really knew. The only people, I think, who can really understand how it feels is somebody else who went through it at the same time, who went through the same thing and reacts the way you do. Some people said, "Oh, so what, and went out and got pregnant. Somebody like that can't help me or can't talk with me. I need somebody who can sit down and say, "Yes, it's awful. I know it's awful. I've been through it and I know how awful it is." I don't need somebody to say, "Well, that's OK. You'll manage. It's not a big deal." I just don't need to hear that (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 15).

Of the eight married teachers in this study, Ms. Underwood was the only teacher in the study who told the researcher her husband played a significant part in helping with the emotional problems she faced. She told the researcher that

I always can sit down and talk with him. . . . I relied on my husband quite a bit. At night I would voice my opinions and give him the coverage of how things went during the day. . . . My husband just kept saying, "Don't worry about it. Don't worry about it." But I did bring it home a lot and talk about it a lot. He probably got tired of hearing about it after a while. . . . That's kind of what pulled me through--being able to voice it someplace other than here (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 8, 11-30-82, card 3 and 11-16-82/11-30-82, card 6).

The reason for the teachers attributing to their family little emotional help may lie in the idea alluded to by Ms. Scott and Ms. Campbell as they talked with the researcher. Because family members are not actively involved in the teacher's professional lives as much as others are, they have less understanding of the emotional anguish generally felt by the teachers involuntarily transferred. They commented:

- Ms. Scott: Listening. There wasn't much he could do about any of it except listen.
- Ms. Campbell: That's about it. They don't have much control over it. Other than being there, there's not much any of them can do (FN, Journal Meeting, 11-23-82, card 10).

### Research Question Three

IN WHAT WAYS DO THE EMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF INVOLUNTARY REASSIGNMENT AFFECT THE CLASSROOM LEARNING ENVIRONMENT?

#### Introduction

When the researcher entered this study two of his assumptions were: (1) the emotional effects of involuntary reassignment will be evident at the new school, and observable, in part, as both verbal and nonverbal cues during teacher student interaction; and (2) the emotional effects of being involuntarily reassigned will impact negatively on the classroom learning environment. The data from this study suggest that two highly stressful periods occurred during the whole process of closing the schools and involuntarily reassigning teachers. The first period was from January 1982 through the end of the school year in June. The second began in mid-August, as teachers reported back to work, and continued through September 1982. Of the two, the January through June period appears to have been the most stressful.

#### Behavioral Signs of Stress in the Classroom: Spring

The researcher, in the process of conducting ninety-six interviews with board members, administrators, and teachers, attempted to uncover examples of the adverse effects in classrooms of involuntary reassignment on teachers. Of the ten teachers interviewed, two reported that their feelings adversely affected the classroom environment. In the first

instance, the effect was relatively mild. It consisted of crying or losing her composure during class. Ms. Underwood alluded to the fact that this happened to her repeatedly. This situation was revealed in a conversation between Ms. Underwood, Ms. Scott, and the researcher. Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood team-taught the sixth grade together at their former school. Ms. Underwood had a difficult time adjusting to the thought of leaving the middle school and going to an elementary position. When Ms. Underwood would lose her composure, Ms. Scott would fill in for her. They told the researcher:

Ms. Underwood: I was having a real tough time leaving middle school and sixth grade and shed a lot of tears.  
 Ms. Scott: The last day, we'd go, "Oops! Ms. Underwood is going to lose it. Ms. Scott, you take over."  
 Ms. Underwood: By the last day, Ms. Scott, I didn't even have to say anything. All she had to do was look at me and she knew (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82, card 4).

At Spring Hill Elementary, Ms. Gates had a problem finishing the school year after being pink-slipped in April. Her extreme bitterness was displayed through behavior in the classroom which not only came to her principal's attention through her absenteeism, but also through parents whose children brought home some of her statements. Ms. Gates told the researcher about her bitterness as she related:

I was having trouble finishing the year. . . . They pink-slipped me in April and they hired me back in May. I almost couldn't finish it from that point on. I was a wreck. There was a lot of bitterness there. You just have no idea (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 2-3).

Mr. Fisher, Ms. Gates' principal at Spring Hill, confirmed the fact that Ms. Gates was upset about her involuntary reassignment and told about her attendance and comments in class when he recalled that

she became so distraught, it affected [her] attendance and also passed on down to the kids. Not only did she verbally make some comments that were taken home, but also her actions, body

language, showed this type of thing and situation (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 3).

#### Behavioral Signs of Stress in the Classroom: Fall

Between August 31 and December 15, 1982, the researcher conducted eighty-two classroom observations involving six teachers in four elementary schools. The primary purpose in conducting these observations was to observe the expected adverse effects in the classroom from teachers' stress over being involuntarily reassigned. Within the limits of the researcher's observation skills he saw no evidence that the involuntary transfers had any adverse effect on the teachers' demeanor in the classroom. In his professional judgment, as an educator for twenty years, what the researcher saw were normal classrooms in which involuntarily transferred teachers were doing a competent job of teaching.

Teachers' Professional Attitude. A key element in the researcher's inability to perceive the assumed adverse effects of involuntary transfers in the classroom may be the professionalism displayed by the teachers involved in the study. In other words, perhaps the researcher did not miss seeing the adverse effects; they were simply not there. The teachers' professional concerns centered on providing the best educational environment possible for their children. In September, when Ms. Underwood, Ms. Scott, Ms. Campbell, and the researcher were discussing the emotional aspects of leaving their former schools, both Ms. Underwood and Ms. Scott broke down and cried. The meeting was held during the noon hour and shortly after class had begun the researcher was talking to Ms. Scott about helping her in class that afternoon. In the middle of the conversation, Ms. Scott told the researcher that, because of her emotional state following the meeting, she would not attend again if the topic

remained the same, for the sake of her students. She emphatically declared:

I have to tell you one thing. I'm not going to come to your Friday meetings anymore if we are going to talk about things that I get emotional about. I know it's good for your study, but right now I'm really uptight and that's not good for my job. I have the kids to think about. Ms. Underwood is feeling the same way right now (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82).

The involuntarily reassigned teachers themselves also did not feel, in their professional judgment, that the move affected their classroom performance. Of this, Ms. Campbell noted that "I don't see the transfer affecting my classroom performance or my adjustment to second grade. At this point I don't see the transfer affecting me in the classroom" (FN, Journal, Campbell, 9-28-82). Ms. Underwood felt, as a professional educator, she could not allow her personal feelings about her reassignment to interfere with her children's education. She forcefully told the researcher:

I do not want those kids to be affected just because Ms. Underwood isn't satisfied with where she has been placed. I don't want them to have to suffer just because I may not be where I want to be. I don't think it's fair to the kids. I think a lot of teachers, if they're good teachers, are going to live that same philosophy. They're not going to let those kids be hurt because of the way they've been placed (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 8).

Teachers' Professional Skills. A second key element in the researchers' inability to perceive the assumed adverse effects of involuntary transfers in the classroom may be the professional skills teachers bring with them from former teaching experience. The researcher assumed that involuntarily reassigned teachers would (1) exhibit unfamiliarity with the curriculum; (2) teach too high or too low for students' abilities; (3) evidence behavior that showed a lack of understanding about school policy; and (4) demonstrate a lack of being prepared to teach

through not having adequate, organized daily lessons. Only one teacher exhibited what could be considered unfamiliarity with the curriculum while teaching. Ms. Underwood commonly used the teacher's guide when teaching a math or spelling lesson (FN, 9-9-82, 9-13-82, 9-27-82). In this connection, she would either hold the guide in her hand as she walked around the room teaching the lesson, or she would lay it open on top of the file cabinet next to the chalk board as she wrote examples on the board. As part of the reciprocity agreement with the teachers for the researcher taking their time in the study, the researcher agreed to help the teachers in the classroom. Five of the teachers took advantage of the offer. Ms. Fox, Ms. Campbell, and Ms. Scott, as part of the agreement, had the researcher correct math, English, and spelling papers. In addition to this, the researcher was asked to help students with their individual questions about reading, math, and spelling. From the information obtained through correcting papers and talking with students, it is the researcher's opinion that the tasks and concepts presented to the children were appropriate to their maturity level. Ms. Eddy and Ms. Baird had the researcher help teach their classes. Again, based on the work the children were asked to do, and the time in which they had to accomplish it, the researcher feels that the work was appropriate for the students. For the most part, the teachers exhibited no behaviors observed by the researcher that could classify them as not knowing the school policies. During September, however, Ms. Campbell almost always forgot to take attendance and find out how many students wanted to eat lunch. When the safety patrol member would come to class to get the information, he/she would normally have to wait. The policy was that right after classes began at nine o'clock and one o'clock each day, the

teacher was to take attendance and record it on a preprinted form. Lunch count was taken in the morning only. During one observation in October, the researcher noted that Ms. Campbell had completed the attendance-lunch count task prior to the safety patrol member's arrival. Fieldnotes show "9:03 The calendar drill is interrupted by the pledge of allegiance. The safety comes in to get the hot lunch count and A.M. attendance. The slip is ready. Ms. Campbell says to the safety 'I beat you for once'" (FN, 10-13-82). Teachers in this study always appeared to the researcher to have well organized lessons. The amount of work seemed appropriate to the time allotted. Teachers normally gave students an overview of what was expected for the particular period of the day. This overview was given orally in the cases of Ms. Eddy in kindergarten and Ms. Campbell in second grade. Ms. Campbell typically began her morning class with a sharing time and then went into a period of student seat work while she conducted reading groups (FN, Campbell, 9-17-82 and 10-19-82). Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood designed their morning classes so their schedules matched. From nine to ten-thirty students worked on reading and spelling. Recess was from ten-thirty to ten-fifty. After recess, from ten-fifty until lunch at twelve o'clock students worked on math, or if finished, could work on spelling, assigned reading, or pleasure reading. During the two morning periods, both teachers worked with students separately in reading groups and as individuals. After lunch, from one o'clock until three-thirty, Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood each taught social studies and English, respectively, to three different groups of students (FN, daily observations and Daily Program Schedules for Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood).



The present study confirms what other research has shown: that involuntarily transferred teachers are under stress. The question then becomes: if the effects of the stress are not evident in the classroom, why not? That this is a valid question is shown by Ms. Scott's answer to the researcher's question about involuntary teachers displaying their emotion in the classroom:

Researcher: The frustration that you have, I would expect to come out somehow--foot stomping or whatever. But I haven't seen that kind of thing occur.  
 Ms. Scott: You wouldn't see it here (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-25-82, card 8).

If their emotions do not show in the classroom, how do teachers cope with their stress? Data from this research suggest that there may be three reasons why reassigned teachers' stress is not evident in the classroom: (1) teachers have developed coping mechanisms which allow the results of the stress to be channeled outside the classroom; (2) most involuntarily reassigned teachers find they enjoy their new assignment once they begin work; and (3) involuntarily reassigned teachers ultimately view the overall change in jobs as a positive experience.

#### Teachers' Coping Mechanisms

Gmelch (see p. 48) identifies four responses to stress: (1) fight; (2) fleeing; (3) freezing; and (4) learning. Assuming that these stress responses can be considered coping responses, then the teachers' coping mechanisms from this study can be categorized as shown in Table 12. Examples of each of these categories provide the reader with an idea of the specific types of behavior teachers had in each of the four categories.

Fight. One teacher in this study chose to fight her layoff and involuntary assignment by filing a grievance through the teachers' union

grievance procedure. While the grievance was being processed, Mr. Allen, the district personnel director, filled her job and continued recalling teachers from layoff into specific jobs. The grievance was won, but she chose to take the involuntary reassignment because of the disruption to other teachers if she was given her former job back. Ms. Gates told the researcher about the events as she said:

I grieved it and they got away with it. I mean, I won the grievance but I lost because they said, "Well if we are going to give you this, then we'll have to reassign all these teachers." And see, they did that real quick. I couldn't very well say "Reassign all those teachers so that I can have my spot back," so I had to say "OK." I won the grievance but. . . . (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 2).

Fleeing. Seven fleeing behaviors were mentioned by the teachers in this study. They ranged from simple avoidance of new colleagues, through medical problems such as weight gain, high blood pressure, and ulcers due to internalizing the stress, to nightmares about new colleagues and working conditions, to running away, and finally the desire to quit teaching. As shown by Table 12, fleeing behaviors occurred mainly in the spring when the stress appears to have been the most intense. When Ms. Underwood went to work in August at Riverview Elementary, she was a stranger to most of the staff. In fact, she had only two close friends. One of the behaviors she used to cope with the situation was to stay in her room area or sit in the lounge with her close friends rather than at the table with more unfamiliar colleagues. She admitted to the researcher:

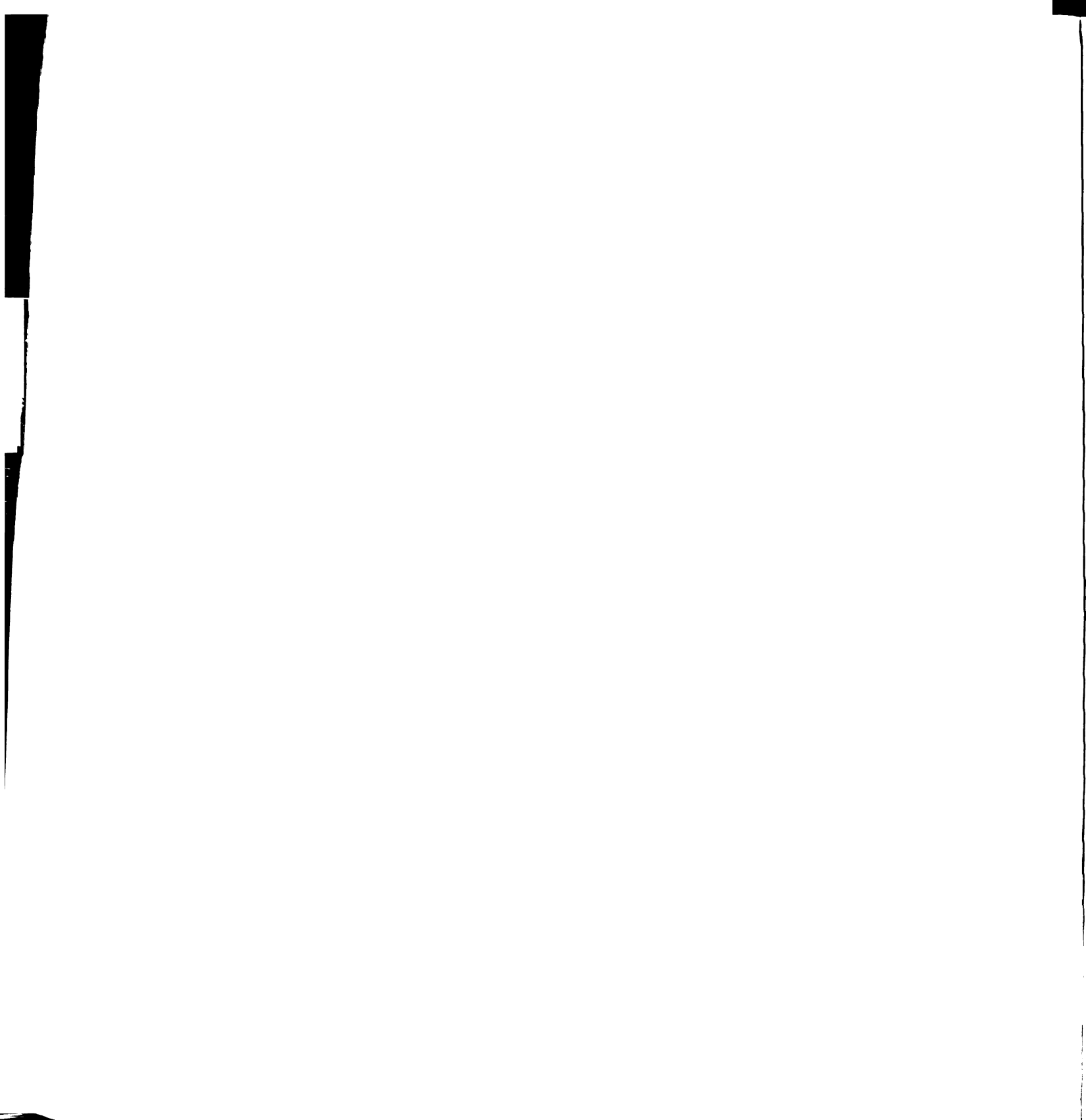
I personally tried to keep to myself pretty much except for people that I felt very comfortable with such as Ms. Scott, and perhaps Ms. Campbell. I guess I talked to those people quite a bit. The rest of the people, I just tried to say, "Hello" and tried to put forth some effort to let them know I was here and that I was going to make it through the year (FN, Underwood, card 11-30-82).

Table 12. Teachers' Coping Mechanisms

Teacher	Response Period <sup>(a)</sup>		Behavioral Response Mode			
	Spring	Fall	Fight	Fleeing	Freezing	Learning
Ms. Scott	-	X				X
Ms. Campbell	0	X				0 X
Ms. Underwood	0	X		X	0	X
Ms. Gilbert	-	X				X
Ms. Brand	0	X		0		X
Ms. Baird	0	X		0		X
Ms. Carpenter	0	X				0 X
Ms. Gates	0	X	0	0	0	X
Ms. Fox	0	X		0		X
Ms. Eddy	0	X		0 X		X
Total	8	10	1	7	2	12

Source: Fieldnotes; Gmelch, 1982, pp. 10-11.

(a) 0's are used to denote responses that occurred in the spring;  
X's are used to denote responses that occurred in the fall.



Two teachers had nightmares. These occurred both in the spring and fall for one teacher, and in the spring for a second teacher, Ms. Brand. Her nightmare occurred in connection with her teaching assignment. Because she was assigned a first/second grade split class for which she had no experience, the incumbent first and second grade teachers at Riverview wanted to help her out by taking her students in with theirs for math, science, English, and social studies on a routine basis. This suggested loss of her expected teaching role in these subjects caused her to have nightmares about her worth as a teacher. She related to the researcher that

I dreamed that all the kids were gone and I was wandering around asking people if I could help them. No, no, nobody needed help. Somebody important came to the building and I saw him in my dream, but I didn't know who he was, but he was very important. The district had hired somebody to come in and do a study of ways they could save money. He said, "what is her job?" And they said, "Oh, she teaches." And he said, "Well, where are her kids?" "Well, her kids are here and there." "Well, what's she doing?" "Well, she just kind of helps out." And his comment was, "Well, that's a pretty expensive aide." And I woke up and said, "Oh, no! What have I gotten into (FN, Brand 11-16-82/11-30-82, card 8).

Ms. Gates, of all the teachers in the study, seems to have had the most traumatic experience in being involuntarily reassigned. As can be seen in Table 12, she is the only teacher to exhibit behaviors in three of the four behavior modes. These three are also the most severe. Her fleeing response was to physically run away from North Umpqua. She received her RIF notice on April 1, and spring vacation was April 5-9. She took a cruise to the Caribbean. She explained to the researcher,

I'm a runner awayer. What the cruise did for me was it got me away from school things. It got me totally out of the environment but also got out of the peer group. That was the best thing. I went there. I made a lot of friends. People are still writing to me.... What it did was it got me out of myself, out of feeling bad about it plus there wasn't anyone around who really wanted to know what happened to me and I

didn't want to talk about it. So I got totally out of the atmosphere, totally changed my mind and renewed myself or reassured myself that I could function in a world without having to be a teacher. I didn't have to be a teacher to make friends and be liked. I could do other things. Boy! Did I need that (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 7-9).

After school was out in June, Ms. Gates again ran away from the North Umpqua area. This time, she fled to her parents' home where she stayed until the Labor Day weekend, which was the last weekend before school began. Again, she told the researcher:

I ran away. I was so afraid of the job, I ran away from it. I blocked it out of my mind. I didn't think about it for a whole summer, I was so terrified. . . . In fact, it got so that when I left for the summer I didn't want to see anybody in this whole town. I didn't even want to see my own house. I just left. I went up to my parents' house and just hid. I tried to come back twice and I didn't even want to stay in my own house. That's how I felt about this whole area. I don't know how people did it that don't have a way to run away. I'm single. Maybe that was the wrong thing to do, but that's what I did. I came to \_\_\_\_\_ and started feeling sick just when I saw landmarks. I didn't want any part of it (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 3, 28).

The ultimate behavior in withdrawing from an uncomfortable work situation is to resign. Ms. Fox did not resign over her stress at being involuntarily reassigned. Still, the experience brought her to the point in her professional teaching career where she began to give that option considerable thought. She explained to the researcher:

I have almost a computer degree. I'm two classes from it. I probably will just finish it and just get out of the field. There's a job market out there, and if they're just going to toss me around year after year, I don't want to stay. I really like it a lot, you know I really enjoy it. But, it's not worth it to me to have to pack up and move and do so much work (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 13).

Freezing. Freezing behavior, a performance paralysis resulting from preoccupation with the stressor, occurred to some degree with two teachers in the study. It is important to note that both occurrences were in the spring, when the stress factor appears to be the highest.

Both Ms. Underwood (see p. 274) and Ms. Gates experienced this behavior. Ms. Gates' reaction to being laid off was so severe that she almost felt she could not continue teaching after receiving her layoff notice April 1. As she related to the researcher:

I was having trouble finishing the year. . . . They pink-slipped me in April and they hired me back in May. I almost couldn't finish it from that point on. I would just sit at my desk and start crying. I'd keep looking around and say, "I'm not going to be here next year. This room is not mine next year" I was a wreck. There was a lot of bitterness there. You have no idea (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 2-3, 31.)

Learning. All of the teachers in this study exhibited learning behavior in their attempts to cope with their stress, but in only two cases was this behavior exhibited under the extreme stress in the spring. During that period, the more negative, irrational responses were the dominant mode of behavior. On the other hand, the learning response mode, which dominated the fall period, allowed the teachers to control the outcomes of their stressful situation and make it a learning experience. Teachers' responses included (1) an almost stoic acceptance of the situation coupled with a desire to make the best of it; (2) an active learning mode in which new teachers sought out help from their new colleagues; (3) modifying the teaching methods stressed at the new school until they were what the teacher felt comfortable with; and (4) learning from past mistakes and concentrating on the future rather than dwelling in the past.

Ms. Carpenter was involuntarily reassigned to Hillcrest when her school, Forest Glen, closed. She is one of two teachers who exhibited learning behavior both in the spring and fall. She accepted the move when it came in the spring, and rather than worry about its consequences,

she determined to make the best of the new situation in the fall. She recalled:

I didn't spend too much time dwelling on it, I guess, because I knew there were many things going to happen that I couldn't control and I didn't want to spend my summer worrying about what was or wasn't going to happen. I figured I'd wait and see what was going to happen when I got there. I knew we could work out whatever the problem was. You can live with it and go on. So, I just tried to take a positive attitude on it and didn't dwell on it too much (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 7).

The most frequently displayed learning behavior was asking questions and learning from others. When Ms. Fox was reassigned from a middle school to second grade Meadow Elementary, she was completely unfamiliar with the curriculum. The weeks before school in August that she worked at Meadow were largely spent in physically setting up her room. She did not have much time or opportunity to sit down and study the new curriculum. She relied on asking others what to do in each subject. As she discussed this with the researcher, Ms. Fox indicated that, even in late October, she still had questions about how to work with one of her students in reading. She remarked:

I had to ask questions in order to know. Still now, like the reading program, I still am asking questions about the reading program. "What should I do with a kid in this situation?" I have a boy who comprehends like a fifth grader and he can't read words on an individual basis at second grade. What can I do with him in order to make him able to read those words better (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 2).

Although Ms. Carpenter was an experienced elementary teacher, when she took her new assignment at Hillcrest she accepted a position for which she had no formal or experiential background--that of reading teacher. She told the researcher how she actively sought out especially incumbent teachers at Hillcrest and tried to learn from them what their expectations were of her. She remembered that



I tried to make it a point to step in the rooms of people I didn't know and speak to them a little bit or if I saw a couple of people together, maybe sit down with them in the lunch room where I would be in a position where they could speak to me or I could speak to them. . . . I tried to listen to the kinds of complaints they had about the other reading teacher and remember myself not to do that. . . . I just ask them "what are you doing?" I have talked to resource teachers as to what they do in their rooms so that I would be doing something different. I spent one afternoon with one of the reading teachers (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, cards 5, 14-15).

Several teachers experienced stress in their new schools relating to school expectations about how curriculum would be taught. Their learning response to this was, generally, to modify the new school's expectations into a blend of those expectations and what the teacher had done in the past. Ms. Brand felt that although the Riverview guidelines were somewhat helpful in getting the year started, she felt better after she modified them to suit her personal teaching style. She frankly stated:

I more or less went along at first with the Riverview way of doing things just to get started. Then as the year has progressed, I've felt more and more free to do things on my own or the way I'm comfortable with. The Riverview way was helpful but it would have made me feel a lot better if somehow the message would have gotten across that you don't have to adhere to this exactly. You're free to do what you want to do. That feeling did not come across, but I think it was there. I know that it's OK to do that, but I didn't get that message. I just started to do my own thing and waited for a reaction. I guess just trial and error. I haven't gotten a negative reaction. I'm not used to not teaching science or social studies, which I'm not just because I've got the split. If I had a straight, then I would be. I find myself on some areas I really like, the Indians, I put my stuff up anyway, and in reading groups we talk about it. It's more to satisfy my need than it is for the kids. I feel like I have to do that, touch base or keep tabs on how they're doing. It's almost the mother instinct, I guess. They're my little darlins and I want to know exactly what they are doing, even though it's not my responsibility (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 13, and 11-30-82, card 6).

Ms. Underwood also experienced stress about the reading program at Riverview. She found by making minor adjustments to the way she taught reading, she could, in her own mind, satisfy the school's individualized

instruction requirement and still feel as if she was teaching and monitoring specific reading skills frequently enough to satisfy herself that the students were grasping the concepts satisfactorily. When discussing these adjustments with the researcher, she shared with him that

by making adjustments, minor little adjustments, then I can accept things such as the reading program. I was totally against their reading program out here. . . . On reading, the staff pretty much told us how to do that. You move the students along at their own individualized rate. I do that. But, now what I am doing is letting the kids move at an independent rate and then using what Ms. Scott has kind of come up with and still meet with a group. So I try to meet the kids in a group at least once or twice a week and just go over some of the concepts in the group. I don't know how they'd look upon that. Ms. Hawser doesn't know that's the way I do it. It's a secret (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, cards 11, 19).

Only one teacher felt that she had learned from past mistakes and that this now enabled her to now view the job change differently. Ms. Gates had bitterly opposed her involuntary reassignment from Spring Hill to Meadow Elementary. In the spring, she had both grieved her transfer and physically run away from North Umpqua area. Looking back on her traumatic ordeal from the vantage point of hindsight, she could see what she felt was her mistake: dwelling in the past rather than concentrating on the future. She confided to the researcher:

I don't look back anymore. It's like it's dead. It's just gone. I can't picture myself in that building anymore. I've been in there once. I've been in the building once to put that sign in the lounge. It's alien to me. The room that was my room has nothing in it of mine. It's not part of me. It doesn't look like any room I've ever had or put my life into. . . . I concentrated more on the leaving. I didn't put any energy into going to. I looked back instead of forward. That was my own mistake. I probably would have been happier if I would have looked forward. But, I couldn't (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 24, 31).

Another reason why the researcher did not see negative evidence in the classroom of the effects of being involuntarily transferred may be

that once the teachers began working in their new schools, they felt positive about their new jobs.

### Teachers' Feelings About Their New Schools

Each of the ten teachers in the three schools involved in this study had positive feelings about being at the new school. Reasons for these feelings were mixed, but involved relations with their colleagues, students, and parents. All the teachers' reasons for their positive feelings focused on some aspect of interpersonal relationships. None mentioned curriculum or the physical facility as contributing to their positive feelings. The examples given below are a representative sample from each of the three schools.

Riverview Elementary School. Ms. Campbell, who was apprehensive about staff interpersonal relations prior to coming to Riverview, found that she really enjoyed both the staff and second grade. She commented to the researcher that

after two weeks at Riverview, I definitely like it. I really like second grade and this is a wonderful class of kids. . . I am quite happy here. I can honestly say that I feel that it is an excellent elementary school. I feel comfortable and look forward to coming to work. . . . I like the staff. I think it is a happy place to come. And, if I'm going to teach, I'd rather be here than anywhere else I know of (FN, Journal, Ms. Campbell, 9-13-82; 9-28-82 and 10-13-82 Journal Meeting Ms. Campbell, card 11).

Ms. Brand, who had nightmares about her job, heard good comments about the staff prior to coming, and found that what she had heard were true. She felt positive about her move to Riverview, noting that

everything has turned out quite well, I don't have any big complaints. I'd heard a lot of good things about Mr. Austin and they've been true. I'd heard a lot of good things about this building and staff in general which have proved to be true (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 17).

Ms. Gilbert, who did not feel she had experienced any great degree of stress in her involuntary reassignment, simply and emphatically told the researcher, "I love it here this year. I love, it. I think it's great--not good--great" (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 12).

Hillcrest Elementary School. Only two teachers at Hillcrest were involved in this study. Both were positive in their feelings about their new assignment. Ms. Baird, whose reassignment was quite traumatic, provides the best contrast between her feelings in the spring before she came to work and in the fall, after she began working. She was split between Hillcrest and Woodlawn, but spent most of her time at Hillcrest. She found she enjoyed both staffs. She told the researcher:

I am happy at Hillcrest. I like what I am doing. . . . If I need help, I feel comfortable asking for it. And, I feel I can ask anyone. Everyone has been very friendly, helpful, encouraging, and supportive. I like it. I am happy--too busy, too much to do--but, I am beginning to feel competent, confident, accepted, and cared about. . . . I enjoy Woodlawn and the people I work with at Woodlawn. I feel like I am accepted there as another of the traveling teachers that are becoming so numerous around the district, but I am at home at Hillcrest (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-20-82, card 3 and 10-27-82, cards 3, 12).

Meadow Elementary School. Ms. Gates exhibited the strongest emotional behavior to her involuntary reassignment of any of the teachers in the study. The stress from this process was still so vivid in her memory, that when she met with the interviewer in November--three months after the school year began--she told the researcher, about the interview, "I was sure that I was going to cry. I was sure" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 31). When she talked about her positive feelings towards the school, she exclaimed:

It's a great group and I'm happier here than I was at Spring Hill! I love the staff here. This is a nice group. I like them all. They are all very different from each other, but all just neat (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 4, 22)!

Ms. Fox, whose transition from middle school to elementary school was not nearly as emotion-laden as that of Ms. Gates, also was very positive about the staff. In addition she noted that she had good parents and students. Perhaps the best evidence of her job satisfaction was the story she relayed to the researcher concerning Mr. Allen, the personnel director, questioning her about possibly going back to middle school the following school year. She told the researcher about her feelings of job satisfaction when she said:

I'm real glad that I'm here now, and I like second grade. Everybody says, "do you like it as well as sixth?" I don't know yet. I haven't been here a whole year. You know, there are a lot of neat things you can do with the kids. . . . I really like it a lot; I really enjoy it. . . . This is the best staff I've ever worked with by any means. They are just super cooperative. They are nice and I really enjoy coming to work. . . . I have a good group of parents, I have a good class, and I'm having a really good year. . . . The personnel director came in my room the other day and asked me how I was doing. I didn't know if it was a social "I'm in the building" or whether it was a personal "get a feeling" type thing. He came in and asked me how I was doing and I said, "I am doing OK." He said he had heard that I was doing OK. He just wanted me to know that when the middle school went back to a six-hour day that there would probably be a sixth grade position for me. So then, I said, "I'm not so sure I'm interested in going back!" I loved the look on his face. He just kind of went, "Ohhh" and walked out (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 9; 10-28-82, card 13; 12-2-82, card 16; 12-9-82, cards 2, 4).

In addition to teachers' viewing their new jobs positively, the reassigned teachers also were able to look back at the job change and view it as a positive professional experience. This provides the third reason why there was a lack of stress evidenced in the classroom in the fall.

Teachers' Feelings About How Involuntary Reassignments Affected Them Professionally

Eight of the ten teachers felt that the job change had been a professional growth experience. The remaining two had no comment on the subject.

Help in Getting Out of the Routine. Six of eight teachers felt that they needed a change to get them out of the routine they felt they were in. Three examples given here all indicate that the teachers were teaching out of habit and felt they needed the challenge of a change. Ms. Gilbert was discouraged enough to quit. The change has made a big difference in her attitude about teaching. She told the researcher:

I was about ready to quit teaching last year. After five years of doing the same thing and the same frustrations--same school, same people, same lesson plans, same problem areas--I was just sick of it. And, I love it this year. . . . I really enjoy my job a lot more. I feel like I'm accomplishing a lot more so I feel better about myself (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, cards 12, 24).

Ms. Eddy felt as if she had accomplished all her goals in fifth grade and was looking for a change. She remarked:

For me, the change in grade levels has been very positive. I've really enjoyed changing. I taught fifth grade for seven years and felt like I had done most everything that I wanted to. I was getting to be like the teacher my dad told me about who used to take her yellowed sheet out which said, "Day 178" and that's what they did. I really enjoyed the idea of moving to another grade level. I looked forward to that (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 3).

Ms. Fox was tired of just going in and doing a good job. She recognized that she missed the creativity and challenge a new job would bring. Of this, she said:

It's kind of forced me to get out of the rut I was in in sixth grade. I'd taught it long enough that I never had to do anything at home or anything because I was so on top of everything and organized. I knew all the lessons by heart forwards and backwards, and the projects that we did with them. I was not being too creative or challenging myself in any way.

It was just go in and do a good job, but yet not go out of my way to come up with anything new. It got me out of that rut. So, I looked at it more as an opportunity to try it out and see the difference (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 17).

Help in Evaluating Teaching as a Profession. One teacher, Ms. Underwood, felt that as a result of the change she could now feel rewarded in occupations other than teaching. Prior to her involuntary transfer, she felt she just wanted to teach. In the sense that the experience expanded her occupational horizons, she considered it a positive experience. She emphatically exclaimed

I'll tell you this, Ed, the whole situation has changed my idea of education. If you had asked me last year, "Would you ever give up teaching," I would have said, "No." I wanted to just stay and teach sixth grade and I was happy there. Now I'm ready to quit. I like it here, but I can give it up now, whereas before I didn't think I could. Now I can see that there are other things in life that I can enjoy just as much and get rewarded for it. And perhaps, teaching isn't what I was made to do. Maybe I can get out there and work with people in a different way than education. I did not see that last year. I look on it as very positive in that I didn't see that last year and it took this change to make me realize that (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 11).

### Conclusion

Teachers viewed being involuntarily reassigned as a stressful process. Stress occurred during the period of planning for the layoffs and reassignment as teachers anticipated the consequences of the impending changes in schools and in grade levels taught. Stress occurred during the layoff process because while the use of seniority to determine the layoff order was comforting to those with many years of tenure, those teachers with little seniority found its use as the sole determiner of layoff position created stress. In addition, interpersonal stress was produced between teachers being laid off and those remaining through

jealousy, selfishness, and even the well-meaning attempts of teachers to help each other. Stress, during the recall process, was generated as teachers carefully considered what school to request a transfer to, as teachers were given their teaching assignment within the new school, and as teachers visited their new school in the spring. There is also stress in physically moving into a new school. Stress is produced by teachers being new to a staff and physical plant. Stressful situations arise as teachers coped with (1) unfamiliar school routines; (2) new curriculum; (3) new teaching methods; (4) not feeling accepted by the incumbent staff; (5) being unfamiliar with students; and (6) not knowing the parents and not being known by the parents.

Teachers received both emotional and physical help from those with whom they were most closely associated. School principals, colleagues, relatives, and friends constituted a support system for involuntarily reassigned teachers. Interestingly, the teachers' union and school board provided no physical or emotional help. The school district, while providing no emotional support to involuntarily reassigned teachers, did move teaching materials and furniture for the displaced teachers. This help, however, turned out to be ironic because the intended help became a source of stress. Principals provided primarily emotional support both as teachers were preparing to leave their former school and as they began work in their new school. An important aspect of principals' support was providing, through their leadership, the school professional climate which is conducive to encouraging a supportive attitude among colleagues. Colleagues provide the primary emotional and physical support for each other both as involuntarily transferred teachers prepared to leave their former school and as they began work in their new school. Friends and



relatives, although they provided both physical and emotional help, were limited in their ability to provide emotional support because they were not closely enough involved in the professional setting to have the empathy needed for such support.

Most teachers did not allow the emotional effects of being involuntarily transferred to affect their classroom behavior. Teachers viewed themselves as "professionals" in the sense that they did not want the children's educational experience to be negatively affected by their distress. Teachers could be expected to exhibit unfamiliarity with (1) new curriculum; (2) new school policies and routines; (3) new students whose abilities are unknown due to the grade change and corresponding difference in maturity; and (4) teaching procedures and classroom management techniques for the new age groups. Teachers responded to the stress involved in involuntary transfers by four primary coping mechanisms: (1) fight; (2) fleeing; (3) freezing; and (4) learning. The first three of these coping mechanisms were used primarily in the spring before the actual reassignment took place. In the fall, once the reassignment has been accomplished, most teachers used the fourth coping mechanism. Once the school year began, teachers generally felt positive about their new school, colleagues, and teaching assignment. Most teachers, after the involuntary reassignment process was over, felt that their experiences, however unpleasant at the time, provided professional and personal growth experiences.



## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into three major sections: (1) conclusions drawn by the researcher from the data on each of the three research questions; (2) implications for further research; and (3) implications for practice.

#### Conclusions From the Data

1. THE LACK OF RELEASE TIME FOR INVOLUNTARILY REASSIGNED TEACHERS TO PREPARE THEIR SCHOOLS AND THEMSELVES FOR CLOSING AND TO BECOME FAMILIAR WITH THEIR NEW SCHOOLS CAUSES STRESS.

Involuntarily reassigned teachers were not given district-approved release time to pack up their rooms and become acquainted with their new schools, colleagues, curriculum, parents, and students. However, as professionals, teachers did do the work required of them to close their schools. Packing was accomplished primarily on their own time. Board member Lane commented to the researcher, "Teachers were also spending extra time on weekends and after school packing stuff up" (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 2). Unpacking their materials at the new school was also done on teachers' own time. Most involuntarily reassigned teachers managed to spend at least some time visiting their new schools. This time either was creatively scheduled during the instructional day, took place after the instructional day, or was a combination of instructional and

noninstructional time. The catch-as-catch-can method of visiting schools reduced the quality of the limited time teachers spent there. The stress produced seems to largely be caused by district level administrators' and board members' insensitivity to teachers' and principals' felt needs. Since teachers did accomplish their task of packing and labeling supplies and equipment in their rooms and were able to visit their new school, the question becomes: why is release time important?

### The Importance of Release Time

The importance of release time for packing teaching materials and visiting schools is that providing such time (1) signals to the teachers the importance the board and district administration attach to an orderly school closing process; (2) signals to the teachers that the board and district administration recognize all the work and effort that will be required to accomplish the task; (3) allows teachers to work together in sorting materials, giving away unwanted materials to each other, and in preparing usable teaching material for transfer to the new schools; and (4) facilitates integration of the old and new staffs.

Teachers' Requests for Release Time. As professionals, teachers had two channels of communication to request release time: through their union, and through their principals. They chose the latter means. As Ms. Brand, a former Lakeview teacher, told the researcher:

Those of us that were moving and had to pack everything, asked if we couldn't have some extra time. We were told, "No." The principal asked for us. But from higher up they said, "No." And, yet, we had to have everything ready to go--packed and labeled--on the last day of school. It made me feel very negative. It was just one big hassle. I felt resentful, and I think other teachers I know at Lakeview felt the same way. They want us to do all this, yet we are supposed to keep teaching our kids. So, if it was going to get done, the only way it was going to get done was for us to do it after school hours. (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6).

Principals' Request for Release Time. Principals also wanted teacher release time. They felt it was important primarily to provide staff development time, and they also agreed with the teachers who wanted time to pack up their rooms. Mr. Allen, the district personnel director, told the researcher that

the request for release time was coming from the principals. They were saying, "why don't you send the kids home early and have the staffs over so people can share materials or ideas." The push came not so much from the teachers themselves. The union knew their position on it at the table. It pretty much came from the building principals (FN, Allen, 10-18-82, cards 4-5).

Reasons for Requesting Release Time. Teachers felt release time was important mainly (1) so that they would not have to teach and try to pack at the same time (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6); and (2) because of their dislike of having to do the school closing activities on their own time. Ms. Carpenter's main complaint about the closing process was the amount of her personal time spent on boxing up materials at Forest Glen. She stated that

I don't think I had very many negative vibes on closing except for the time involved and actually having to do it and spending part of my summer--taking some of the days of my vacation--to pack up (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 16).

Ms. Brand told the researcher about working on her own time. She emphatically stated:

I was frustrated and I think a lot of teachers were frustrated. We had to sort and pack everything, and it all had to be done on our own time. We weren't given any extra time to do it. So, I spent weekends and I spent several afternoons (I taught mornings). I just spent the whole day there and packed all afternoon (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, cards 2, 6).

Principals felt release time for teachers was important also. Mr. Austin, principal at Riverview Elementary, wanted time for the Green Park

and Riverview teachers to talk with each other about their respective students. He felt that

It would have been nice if we could have met, let's say, with half-day staff development time. We could have sat down with the other teachers and talked with them about grouping the kids (FN, Austin, 10-25-82, card 7).

Mr. Taylor wanted the Forest Glen and Hillcrest teachers to be able to spend release time together to allow teachers from both staffs to have time to adjust to each other. He explained to the researcher that

not only did those teachers have to adapt to a new building, they have to adapt to an almost, for them, new teaching situation. It's difficult for teachers to do that, especially in light of the fact that we don't have any new teachers. All of these teachers have been teachers ten to fifteen years, everyone of them. . . . One of the largest drawbacks to the whole transfer system is that we never had time to get those teachers into the building to make them feel more comfortable in the situation, to get a chance to meet people. It's tough to walk into the teachers' lounge and you don't know anybody. And these are colleagues, but they don't know each other. We needed some time to talk to these people to ease their anxiety. (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 3, 7).

He cited the example of the "we-they" feeling among Hillcrest and Forest Glen as another reason for the release time to become acquainted and adjust. He lamented:

There are aides that are Forest Glen aides. There are aides here that are Hillcrest aides. There should be only Hillcrest aides. We are just one school. It's going to be the death of me here because I keep hearing it (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 10).

Of his desire for teachers' staff development, Mr. Taylor emphasized to the researcher:

We would like some days in the spring to get together with people, like mini-inservices, to discuss curriculum, rooms, concerns, educational philosophy, and have some sharing experiences (FN, Taylor, 11-3-82, card 14).

Mr. Ball, principal at Meadow Elementary, told the researcher how his staff wanted time to spend time with their new colleagues. He said:



They agreed that it would be a good thing to invite the new teachers over so they could talk about the little incidentals that are very specific for the classrooms that would be impossible for anybody to cover, such as what are the little differences between schools, in purchasing materials, and in getting something done (FN, Ball, 10-28-82, card 2).

Principals also wanted teachers to have release time to pack. Mr. Ball assured the researcher that

recommendations were made to allow for release time so that teachers would be able to visit the schools, so that teachers would be able to move their materials themselves, and to give them something that said we recognize that you are going to have a very difficult time of it (FN, Ball, 9-27-82, card 5).

The Request for Release Time Denied. Ms. Brand's principal, Ms. Davis, as well as other principals serving as members of the Transition Committee, asked Dr. Meyers for release time. Although there were many reasons why the request was denied, the main reason was the lack of support for the idea by the superintendent. A district administrator, Mr. Fisher, explained that

it all comes back to the almighty dollar and the 180-day thing. And it was felt, I think, by the central administration and the superintendent that if the teacher is only changing buildings, they're still going to be working in an elementary setting K-5. They're certified, they're qualified, they're experienced, and they should be able to get into the situation next year without too much problem (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 8).

When the researcher discussed the request for release time with Superintendent Meyers, he based his denial on state public school attendance regulations. He informed the researcher that

I had indicated to all the principals that the first thing we had to do, as far as I was concerned, was to give the children of that school year 180 days of school and that closing schools and moving just could not interfere with that (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 2).

The data indicate that Superintendent Meyers did not, for whatever reason, put the request for release time on the official board agenda so that it would be discussed and acted upon by the full board. Ms.





Edwards, principal at Spring Hill Elementary, told the researcher that Dr. Meyers told her that "he got to the president of the board and it got stopped right there. He wouldn't put it on the agenda" (FN, Edwards, 9-21-82, card 6). Board member Olson discussed the request for release time with the researcher and indicated a private conversation about the subject had in fact, taken place.

Researcher: Did the board ever give consideration to providing involuntarily transferred teachers release time to pack and visit their new schools?

Mr. Olson: I know at the end of the year there was some discussion, particularly around Spring Hill, about some time to do packing, moving, and things like that. I think the discussion was not in a formal meeting or in a place where an action could be taken. It was more or less in an office--back of the scene type of thing (FN, Olson, 1-19-83, card 3).

Another board member, Ms. Lane, denied any knowledge of official board discussion of release time:

Researcher: Did Transition Team recommendations to the board contain a request for any release time at the end of the school year to pack up the schools and/or visit their new school to become acquainted with their new colleagues, curriculum, school routines, school physical plant, et cetera?

Ms. Lane: Not formally. Absolutely not.

Researcher: Informally?

Ms. Lane: I don't know. I don't think so. I don't recall anything being done on staff (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 7).

In lieu of release time, principals scheduled several half days of semi-release time in which half the staff took care of all the children while the other half were free to work in their rooms. This type of release time was used by Ms. Davis at Forest Glen and Lakeview and by Ms. Edwards at Green Park. Ms. Davis told the researcher that she used films to entertain the children.

We were not able to get board approval for that half day off for packing time, so we ordered movies instead. Half the staff

took all the kids and all of the aides and watched movies and had some outside time while half the staff packed. The following week we did the same thing with the reverse group of people (FN, Davis, 10-6-82, cards 7).

Ms. Edwards had a similar program and emphasized the use of volunteers to watch the children.

Ms. Edwards: I worked out, creatively, some time for teachers to pack.

Researcher: How did you do that?

Ms. Edwards: By getting parents in, by getting anybody else we could pull in, by running some special programs with multiple rooms. But it was hours at a time--an hour or a couple of hours rather than time as we asked for (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 25).

Dr. Meyers was aware that instructional time was being used for semi-release time to allow teachers to pack, and he approved of it. He explained to the researcher that

Ms. Edwards had two or three very clever gimmicks that she used to release teachers to do packing. She had a party day in the gym a couple of afternoons where they showed educational films and half the teachers were given half the day off. I approved that kind of thing. While officially we really didn't have any time off, I think that every teacher that really wanted it had some time (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 2).

It appears from Dr. Meyers' desire to have 180 instructional days and his approval of semi-release time, in which students were kept at school and entertained instead of studying regular lessons, that his major concern was that students not be sent home. It appears that Dr. Meyers was concerned that parents not get the image that teachers, whom they considered overpaid, were not spending time with the children. The semi-release time as scheduled could have been perceived by parents as normal end-of-the-year parties. As Mr. Vincent, principal at Woodlawn, reminded the researcher about the last day of school:

You know as well as I do that the last day for kids is basically a day where kids are winding down and you are closing the stuff up anyway. There's not a heck of a lot of instruction

going on. There's a lot of parties and things like that (FN, Vincent, 10-5-82, card 7).

In spite of the minimal semi-release time provided by the principals, teachers still experienced stress in the reassignment process.

Effects of the Denial for Release Time. The immediate effect of the denial of release time was stress throughout the various stages of the involuntary reassignment process. The cause of the teachers' stress, when release time was denied, could have been rage at their sense of powerlessness to affect the decisionmaking process. This is supported in research conducted by Sparks, Rothstein, and Cichon and Koff (see pp. 46-47). The teachers' emic view of what produced the stress, however, did not include the concept of powerlessness as a stressor. And, although it can be argued that the teachers did not really tell the researcher the real reasons--either conscious or unconscious--for their stress, the researcher feels he must take what was said to him at face value. Therefore, based on what the teachers themselves identified as an underlying cause of their stress, the researcher feels the best explanation for the cause of the teachers' stress appears to be their fear of the unknown. This underlying fear of the unknown is evident during the period before the layoffs actually began. Mr. Vincent, principal at Woodlawn Elementary, noticed a morale drop among his teachers beginning in the fall when the possibility of teacher layoffs was first discussed. He found them concerned about the possibility of being laid off because they were uncertain about what was going to happen. In January, when both Lakeview and Green Park experienced "raiding parties," Ms. Eddy, Ms. Brand, and Ms. Davis were concerned about losing their

materials either before the end of the school year or during the summer. They did not know what would happen to their teaching materials if they left them in the school after it closed in June. They also learned to lock their rooms when they were not in them for the rest of the year. During the layoff process, some of those teachers who were laid off appear to have been in a situation of not knowing who their real friends were. Ms. Baird felt that some colleagues on the school district bowling team wanted her to be reassigned so that someone could be recalled to her position after it would be vacant. Mr. Fisher, principal at Spring Hill, witnessed teachers' hostility towards one of his kindergarten teachers who was changed from a half-time to a full-time position. Ms. Gates found that people she thought were her friends said things that hurt her. During the recall process, when teachers requested schools, both Ms. Davis and Ms. Carpenter witnessed the stress of teachers being uncertain about who their new principal would be and what he/she would be like. The uncertainty about what school to pick also produced stress for Ms. Gates because she was unfamiliar with the other elementary schools. Ms. Fox experienced stress in requesting a school because Mr. Allen, the personnel director, would not tell her the grade-level openings in the schools. Ms. Carpenter both experienced and witnessed uncertainty in others requesting a school because she was unsure of how her request would be decided upon by Mr. Allen. Ms. Underwood and Ms. Fox both found their teaching assignment stressful because neither had ever taught in an elementary school before, and both were unfamiliar with elementary school routines, the curriculum, and the maturity levels of the children. Ms. Baird was afraid of the unknown aspects of her job: the students' needs; the curriculum; and the whole concept of "emotionally impaired." Her

fear of the unknown stemmed from the fact that she had never taught emotionally impaired children and also had no formal training in that field.

Although most involuntarily reassigned teachers were able to spend time at their new school, that time was largely unproductive because: (1) in some cases teachers had their own students to watch; and (2) the time spent in the schools was too short. In this respect, most teachers were able to visit their new school only once, and that visit usually was for no more than half an hour. Both the frequency of the visits and their duration did not allow teachers enough adequate time to explore the unknowns in their new jobs. Mr. Allen, the personnel director, remarked that the district had to make sure the teachers' visits to their new schools were "low key" because of his concern for the feelings of teachers who were being laid off. Ms. Carpenter's only contact with her new school, Hillcrest, came when she brought the pen pals to visit (see p. 203). She noted that the visit was brief, not permitting her to interact with the Hillcrest teachers because she had her class to watch during that time. Ms. Underwood also felt she was not given the time she needed to become acquainted with Riverview Elementary. She was able to visit the school once. During that brief visit she had a short talk with the principal and talked for several minutes to a teacher. Ms. Fox could get no release time to visit second grade teachers. When Ms. Brand visited Riverview, she was able to talk with teachers only at recess. Ms. Baird creatively scheduled an hour once where she visited both of her new schools, Woodlawn and Hillcrest. She barely had enough time to spend twenty minutes at each school--with classes in session. As Ms. Eddy anticipated beginning her new job and working closely with a teacher's

aide whom she did not know and had little opportunity to get to know, her stress about the unknown aspects of the job resulted in nightmares. Ms. Brand also had nightmares about her new job, fearing she would not know how to get into the first and second grade team schedules because of her first/second grade split teaching assignment.

The lack of release time added to the stress already present in being new. The stressors--school routines, curriculum, staff relationships, students, and parents--were intensified because new teachers were denied adequate time in which to prepare themselves for the change. Ms. Underwood, Ms. Scott, Ms. Brand, Ms. Campbell, Ms. Gates, and Ms. Fox found that unfamiliar school routines caused stress. Ms. Brand, Ms. Fox, Ms. Gates, Ms. Carpenter, and Ms. Baird all experienced stress due to unfamiliarity with the curriculum used in their new grade level. Ms. Scott, Ms. Carpenter, Ms. Eddy, Ms. Underwood, and Ms. Brand all felt anxiety over wanting to be accepted by their new colleagues. The fact that most of the newly reassigned teachers did not really know their new colleagues professionally deepened their feelings of stress. Ms. Fox, Ms. Carpenter, and Ms. Eddy all experienced stress in being unfamiliar with the age group of students in their new jobs. Some teachers also found that their unfamiliarity with parents and their perception of parents as being unfamiliar with them caused stress. Ms. Gates, Ms. Brand, and Ms. Eddy were particularly apprehensive about the parents as unknown quantities during the fall open house and parent conferences.

It is also important to understand why the request for release time was denied.

### Reasons for the Denial of Release Time

To understand the reason for the denial of release time, the reader must understand the history of inservice release time in the district.

District History of Inservice and Release Time. Mr. Ward, a district administrator who has been in the district over twenty years, told the researcher:

At one time, back when we were growing and the economics picture was much more optimistic--this is prior to the last two to three years when state aid was on time and not cut--we had in our calendar 180 days of school plus at one time we had six to seven inservice half-days during the school year. Gradually as things got tougher we began to have to reduce programs. That really didn't start severely until two to three years ago. That was one of those things that was expendable, not by principals, but taxpayers saw it as expendable. The board of education tended to reflect the taxpayers. There were some direct costs, but it was the idea that teachers were being paid for more days. So, now our calendar only has 180 days in it. In addition to the cost, the perception [taxpayers'] was that inservice time for teachers, irregardless of how well we documented what we did with that time and how valuable it was, teachers are paid to teach. . . . So any inservice work had to be done kind of on the fly (FN, Ward, 12-8-82, card 4).

Based on the data, there appear to be five major reasons why involuntarily reassigned teachers were not given release time: (1) Superintendent Meyers' philosophy about adhering to state attendance laws; (2) the cost of a staff development program; (3) community beliefs about education; (4) board attitudes towards educators; and (5) board attitudes towards the union.

Superintendent Meyers' Philosophy. Dr. Meyers believed that all children were entitled to 180 full days of school. He evidently felt so strongly about this that when he first came to the district as superintendent, one principal heard him say, "We are not going to have any snow days. We aren't going to close school for snow." The principal, Ms. Edwards, added that "He learned otherwise. But, he went



on record as saying that" (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 15). Dr. Meyers told the researcher about state attendance legal requirements and emphasized that he unalterably supported them. He stated that

under [name of state] law, we need to have 180 days of school and also 900 hours of instruction. . . . It's my personal philosophy, and I feel pretty strongly about this, that the law guarantees children 180 full days of school. So, I've got to admit, I think it was at my insistence that we cut all those [days of inservice release time] out. (FN, Meyers, 12-1-82, card 8).

Dr. Meyers' position appears at first to be in accordance with state laws and with a letter from the state superintendent of public instruction to all district superintendents. In part, it stated:

Even though the economic situation is serious, it is my role to enforce present statutes which require school districts to provide a minimum of 180 days of student instruction by the end of the school year. . . .

The opportunity for a minimum of 180 instructional days must be provided to all students, and the State Board of Education, in keeping with its constitutional mandate, intends to enforce compliance with this requirement through appropriate legal means (Department of Education letter, September 13, 1982).

Dr. Meyers' views notwithstanding, however, the Department of Education does allow release time for staff development within the 180 days as long as the students have 900 hours of instruction a school year. A School Law Division employee, Ms. Scharr, explained to the researcher that

the state allows inservice release time to be counted as part of the 180 days. But, if a district takes instructional time for inservice, the 900 hour minimum must still be met. As long as the 900 hour minimum is followed, the state has no objection to using part of the 180 instructional days for inservice (Schaar, Margie. State Department of Education, School Law Division. Telephone interview, 3-30-83).

It appears that Dr. Meyers could have backed the teachers' and principals' desires for release time to pack and visit their new schools. Still, because of his personal philosophy about adhering to his

interpretation of state attendance laws, he chose to ignore the needs repeatedly expressed to him and not pursue the matter with the board.

The Cost of Staff Development. Principals, district administrators, and board members told the researcher that the major barrier to granting release time was the expense. This was seen both as direct dollar costs and as the indirect cost in lost student instruction time. The principal direct costs were said to involve paying the salaries of bus drivers and food services personnel even if they did not work. The researcher talked with Mr. Anderson, the bus supervisor, and with Mr. Bailey, the food services supervisor. They both indicated that there could be no additional cost involved in half days of release time. Mr. Anderson told the researcher that he would merely have to adjust his employees work schedule. He said, "it would cost no extra money. The afternoon run would just be moved up" (FN, Anderson, 12-8-82). Mr. Bailey assured the researcher that a half day of release time would not automatically cost the district extra money, but it could be a problem.

Researcher: If the school system here decided to have teacher inservice, shut school down, and send the kids home at eleven o'clock (as an example), would that cost the district any more money than a normal day's operation as far as food services goes?

Mr. Bailey: It would not cost any additional expense, but the present expense would have no revenue with which to cover that expense. . . . Our program is fairly self-sufficient. If there was inservice, you'd have to recoup that money somehow. You either have to build it in the existing program or have some special way of covering it. . . .

Researcher: Let's say the district wanted to have some half-days of school, and planned this ahead. Would you have ways of then trying to figure out how to absorb that loss?

Mr. Bailey: If I knew it in advance, if I knew a year in advance, yes. I'd have lots of ways including just working less labor. . . . So, there are ways. If we know in advance, we can make preparations for it. It's where we don't know in advance, and it's sprung on us--then we're sunk.

- Researcher: Let's say there was a half-day for kids. Rather than starting lunch at the elementary level at twelve o'clock, as an example, could lunch be served an hour earlier?
- Mr. Bailey: No problem. We could very easily shift into that.
- Researcher: Do you know whether Mr. Ward or Dr. Meyers were ever aware of this possibility?
- Mr. Bailey: I think they are aware that we are very flexible and we could switch our schedules--in fact, we have on occasion. . . . It's unusual or rare, but not completely unknown, so that wouldn't be a real problem (FN, Bailey, 11-30-82, cards 1-5).

Although board members, some district staff members, and principals told the researcher that one of the reasons there was no district release time was the cost of paying bus drivers and food service personnel for not working, those responsible for bus transportation and food services both agreed that no extra cost would be incurred as a result of inservice with adequate planning. It appears that misinformation was allowed to be used as an excuse for not providing teachers and principals with the release time they requested.

Community Pressure. Some members of the North Umpqua School District were concerned that school instructional time was being used by teachers to pack up their rooms. Although this, at first glance, may seem like support for quality education, in this case the concern may have reflected the community's belief that educators were overpaid; the inference is that teachers should not be given release time to close the schools because they are already paid too much. A discussion was held at a June 1982 board meeting concerning teachers packing up rooms on instructional time. It was led, evidently, by a parent of a Green Park student. This school services a predominately blue-collar housing area. Board member Nelson talked about the demographics of the Green Park attendance area with the researcher and explained:

We have in part of Steamboat Township and part of North Umpqua a lot of blue collar workers. And we have a lot of farmers. Now, your blue collar person--your union person--is used to unions and used to high wages. But strangely enough they don't think teachers ought to make it. They kept saying "They're overpaid" (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 7).

Board member Kennedy explained that

as our dollars got "pinchier and pinchier," the public comments took more notice of teacher time off [inservice release time]. Through various pressures, the desire was expressed from the board and various sources that it would be better to conduct it after school on nonscheduled time (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 6).

Board member Lane told the researcher that the Green Park parent was concerned that teachers were using school time to pack and that his children were helping the teacher during that time. She explained that

the question was raised [about teachers using release time to pack] in a public board meeting either the last part of May or the first board meeting in June from a concerned parent who felt his children were being negatively impacted because the teachers of his youngsters were spending time packing up the classrooms instead of teaching his children. His children were also involved in this packing process. The parent expressed some concerns about that. At that point, the official response was that it was not happening, that there was no official school time being utilized for that. During that same time frame, I was in each of the buildings being closed and it was happening, because I saw it happening. There is no way it would have materialized if it had not been happening during that time (FN, Lane, 12-2-82, card 2).

Ms. Lane's account is confirmed by official board minutes which state: "Green Park parents were concerned that school time was being used by teachers to move their materials out of the building" (FN, School Board Meeting minutes, 6-1-82, p. 1145). Ms. Lane's personal observation of teachers' use of instructional time, contrary to Dr. Meyers' statement that "no official time was being used," is supported by Ms. Brand, a former teacher at Lakeview when it closed. Her students were too young to help actively with the packing, and she lamented this to the researcher as she recalled that "in some of the older classes, the teachers

had their kids help them " [pack up their rooms] (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6).

Board Members' Attitude Towards Educators. Two prevailing opinions about educators held by board members seem to reflect the community's attitudes and seem to have contributed directly to the board's refusal to allow release time: (1) as professionals, teachers should be willing to work after normal work hours just as business professionals do; and (2) as public servants, they should not expect to be paid for everything they do. Mr. Jackson, himself a professional business man and board president, explained to the researcher his views about professional conduct and release time for inservice:

Researcher: Why wasn't there any release time for staff development and packing out?

Mr. Jackson: A combination of things. No money on the board's part, and the refusal on the part of the education association to reopen the contract. The first part of my answer [no money] dealt with inservice training as part of the process of perhaps getting involuntarily transferred teachers more up to snuff in terms of their new field. . . . When I talk about inservice costing a lot of money, I'm talking about basically lost instructional time. You see, I'm of the philosophy that if you're a professional you ought to be willing to devote after hours time to improve yourself. I spent countless hours throughout the years going to meetings and programs after my job is done. It's done voluntarily. I'm on a salary and it's just a normal expected thing that takes place. Somewhere along the line because of collective bargaining in terms of teachers, it's expected to be paid. And we reduce instructional time for students to somehow compensate teachers for that. As far as I'm concerned, that's one of the problems that teachers have as a group (FN, Jackson, 12-9-82, cards 1-2).

Another board member, Mr. Kennedy, who was also a professional business man, felt that allowing release time was unnecessary because teachers are

not little children who need to be led and shown new things. He emphatically stated:

When you get right down to it, there wouldn't be any teacher in the district who wouldn't be familiar with any of our buildings. There is no reason why they shouldn't be. They are perfectly open. I think there is enough interaction between these teachers that they are all familiar with each other's principals at least by hearsay. As far as calling school off for a day, putting them on a bus and driving them over and saying "this is your new school," I doubt that anything like that was ever done. These are adult people. You don't take them by the hand really, and close school. At least, if I were a teacher, I wouldn't expect that (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, card 7).

An incident involving a board member and Dr. Meyers was related to the researcher by board member Nelson as an example of why the board would not consider release time. It again seems to reflect the community attitude that teachers are paid too much.

You have people who just have different conceptions of how school should be run. I think it became us against them-- against the teachers. It was never explicitly said, but I can tell you a comment that was made one time. It was directed against the superintendent. "You're in education. You are a public servant. These things are expected of you. You should not expect remuneration for them." He said, "Why not?" "Because you are a public servant." In other words, because you are a public servant, you do things for less money than other people do, just because you owe it to the people because you've chosen that field. With that attitude, do you see what happens when you get to the negotiating table? Do you see where the attitude comes in from a teacher (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 11)?

Board member Martin also felt that the cost of release time was an unnecessary expense to the already financially troubled district.

Researcher: Why didn't the board authorize release time to allow teachers to pack and to visit their new schools?

Mr. Martin: Well, I can give you my opinion. . . . I guess maybe the feeling was that it just wasn't necessary to spend that kind of money to do it (FN, Martin, 12-16-82, card 14).

Board-Union Relations. Board-union relations apparently had become more and more formal and adversary-like over a period of years. Mr. Kennedy, a board member, recounted how the relationship changed over his years on the board. He noted that

the unionization process had had an effect on the whole damn system [school] when you get right down to it. They've [the union] become harder and harder and seemingly less cooperative or less opportunity to interact because you always have to consider what does the contract say about that. It's been a detriment. To the schools' efficient operation of the district, it's been a handicap. The lines became gradually more definitely drawn between board, administrators, teachers and the need to act through channels. As the union grew in power, we got into tougher and tougher and more bitter negotiations (FN, Kennedy, 12-9-82, cards 2, 8).

A result of this adversary relationship is that the officials involved seem to forget that teachers are human with human needs and feelings. Board member Nelson wistfully lamented to the researcher that

there wasn't any feeling of togetherness. It just wasn't there. When something happens like this with a layoff, because you're so caught up in the economic thing that you don't deal with the peoples' needs as much (FN, Nelson, 12-10-82, card 6).

Mr. Feaster, a district administrator, agreed with board member Nelson's assessment of the relationship with the teachers' union. He stated that

personnel were dealt with purely by contract. In other words, the contract defined the relationship, and to go beyond that contract was not appropriate or a desired sort of thing. The leadership had a limited commitment to staff. As long as the contract was fulfilled, fine. If it didn't cost a lot of money, maybe we'll do something, but let's not overdo it (FN, Feaster, 12-8-82, card 2).

Both the board's and the union's tenacious desire to adhere to the contract are seen in (1) the board's use of the contract as a lever to coerce the union into reopening its contract to renegotiate salary increases; and (2) the union's stand that it would not reopen the contract but would follow it exactly. The board's use of the contract as

a lever, as he saw it, was explained by Mr. Austin, the Riverview Elementary School principal:

Researcher: Did the board do anything to help the involuntarily reassigned teachers?

Mr. Austin: The board wanted to open the contract and renegotiate the salary increases as a way of saving jobs. NUEA said "no" and this hardened the board's position toward the teachers (FN, Austin, 10-13-82, card 2).

Ms. Edwards, the Spring Hill principal, agreed with Mr. Austin's viewpoint. She related to the researcher a conversation she heard which involved the board president and indicated his position about the interrelationship between contract reopening and release time for teachers. She explained:

I know why the president of the board would not consider release time. It was because he was trying to talk the teachers' negotiating team into reopening their contract. He said loud and clear, and I heard him once myself say, "We're not doing anything for the teachers until they will at least discuss opening their contract." It was a stand off (FN, Edwards, 9-21-82, card 6).

Mr. Taylor, principal at Hillcrest Elementary, seems to have captured the differences and tensions between the board and union when he described his perception of the board-union collective bargaining process. He said with regret that "it's pure hardball, Ed, pure hardball. It is as wicked as any UAW [United Auto Workers] negotiations you've ever seen" (FN, Taylor, 10-6-82, card 10). The teachers' union officials recognized that they were behaving like a union. Ms. Lewis, the NUEA president, boldly stated: "We are a union. Those of us that are involved recognize that" (FN, Lewis, 2-21-83, card 3). Consequently, the union refused to negotiate with the board. Ms. Lewis explained that "we did not negotiate formally. The contract was in place, so we didn't open the contract. We didn't go back and renegotiate anything" (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 1).



The contract language in regard to working after normal school hours, seems, at least partially, to explain why teachers were reluctant to (1) participate in the inservice with Dr. George; and (2) to pack classroom materials at the end of the school year on their own time. The contract stipulates:

The Board recognizes the principle of a standard work week, and will set work schedules and make professional assignments which can reasonably be completed within such standard work week.

It is hereby agreed that attendance at regularly scheduled PTA, PTIA meetings, etc., conferences, school staff meetings scheduled not more frequently than bi-weekly for one hour after dismissal of regular class, shall be required unless the teacher is excused in advance by the principal (Professional Agreement North Umpqua Board of Education and Hood County Education Association 1981-1984, p. 29, section 3.5-A-B).

The teachers' desire to adhere to the provisions in the section of the contract cited above is seen in their lack of willingness to attend after-school mandatory inservice sessions. Mr. Vincent, principal at Woodlawn Elementary, explained the results of the adversarial board-union relationship. He said that

if we're going to get inservice, it's got to be done by the school district. After school meetings are fine, but all the other things that have happened, with the bitterness that the teachers have experienced, it's much more difficult to get them to volunteer to stay til five o'clock or come back on a day they don't have to work. All that bitterness has built up. Things have happened--the union/administration thing--the confrontation. Because of the nature of the beast with negotiations and the hard feelings, and the layoffs, and some of the policies that have zapped the teachers. They say, "Screw you. I'm not going to spend extra time" (FN, Vincent, 11-3-82, cards 17-18).

Ms. Davis, principal at Lakeview, agreed with Mr. Vincent's assessment. she lamented that

now, even when opportunities for inservice come up, like the one we had the other day that met after school, the teachers are very resistant to it because they remember when we had release time for it. We had one last week that was district sponsored on economic education. It was deeply resented by

the teachers. They were required to go (FN, Davis, 11-16-82, card 2).

An example of this resentment occurred when the district invited the teachers, through their union officials, to participate in a stress workshop conducted by Dr. George. Mr. Allen, the personnel director, told the researcher about the district request and the union's refusal:

We hired Dr. George and he came over in the afternoon and met with the principals. Dr. George has been in Hood County before, and is very practical about managing with declining resources. He also has a canned speech for teachers. We had planned a four o'clock voluntary meeting for the teachers. It was kind of interesting. We went to the union with this and the union decided they would rather not have this gentlemen come in because they felt the staff wouldn't show (FN, Allen, 9-13-82, cards 5-6).

Ms. Lewis, the teachers' union president, agreed with Mr. Allen's account of the incident as she talked with the researcher:

Researcher: Do you have any knowledge of a workshop by Dr. George?

Ms. Lewis: Yeah. I think he was the man they [the district administration] got in and we [the teachers' union] wouldn't attend. They [the district administration] asked me if we would attend and it was like at 4 o'clock at night. I said, "I just don't think there is any way that we can get people out at that time." Dr. George was going to be here to talk to administrators and Dr. Meyers' point was as long as he is here, he could talk to the teachers at four o'clock. And I said, "Dr. Meyers, there's no way. We'd be embarrassed. Five people might show up. You'd be embarrassed, so we can't do it. It's too late in the day; too late in the year [April 28]. "Hey, people just felt like "forget it" (FN, Lewis, 9-23-82, card 6).

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Because of the multiple factors of (1) the superintendent's philosophy on release time; (2) the purported cost of release time; (3) the community's pressure; (4) the board's attitudes towards educators;

and (5) the adversarial board-union relationship, release time was not provided for involuntarily reassigned teachers to prepare their schools for closing and to become acquainted with their new schools. The hardening of positions and attitudes among board members, district administrators, and union officials seems to have created a situation where the board and district administrators were open to making the move smoother for the children, but not for the teachers. Their failure to provide adequate release time coupled with an ongoing staff development program was a major cause of involuntarily reassigned teachers' stress during the reassignment process. It should be noted here, that, as Selye observes, not all stress is bad (see p. 44). One positive way to deal with stress is not to avoid stress, but to be sensitive to the felt needs expressed, in this case, by teachers and principals. For example, teachers identified the lack of a standardized district-wide reading text as stress-producing. Yet a single text adoption policy might also be stress-producing to other teachers for a variety of reasons. In the same way, the lack of release time produced stress in teachers; yet granting release time would have been stressful for the community because of community values.

## 2. THE INVOLUNTARILY TRANSFERRED TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF THEMSELVES AS LIKE A FAMILY CAN EXPLAIN WHY THEY WERE ABLE TO PROVIDE MUTUAL SUPPORT TO ONE ANOTHER.

Involuntarily reassigned staff members assumed some functions of a fictive kinship system with respect to (1) emotional and physical support each provides to the others in times of stress; and (2) the close personal and social relationships between colleagues established over a

period of time. Involuntarily reassigned teachers helped each other with the physical and emotional aspects of the move to their new school. This is evidenced as the Lakeview Elementary teachers provided Ms. Fox with items she could use in her new classroom; encouragement to visit her new school, Meadow Elementary, with them; and answers to her questions about second grade. Ms. Scott provided help to Ms. Underwood by encouraging her to choose Riverview Elementary, taking her to visit Riverview, providing emotional support for her when the school year began, and showing her how to plan her school day and teach the curriculum. Ms. Eddy, at Lakeview, provided help to other teachers who were leaving by supporting them emotionally and helping them pack their teaching supplies. Ms. Carpenter, at Forest Glen Elementary, helped colleagues who were leaving by offering unneeded furniture to them. Ms. Campbell, at Green Park Elementary, was given textbooks and study guides by a teacher friend on the staff.

The amount of help involuntarily reassigned teachers provided for each other exceeded the help normally expected in the role of a teacher. Although professional cooperation is expected, teachers' concerns for each other exceeded professional expectations. One explanation for this caring and concern for one another can be found in the concept from the anthropological theory known as fictive kinship. Although the concept of fictive kinship has not usually been applied to schools and relationships of professional colleagues with one another, the researcher believes this concept is well suited to the phenomenon he observed. Sarker, Vinceze, Bhowmick, and Foster have observed this system in operation in Bangladesh, Hungary, India, and Mexico, respectively. Basic to the traditional fictive kinship systems they observed is the provision for a

biological family member to choose a person from outside the family to become a ritual (or fictive) family member. The traditional fictive kin relationship usually lasts for the lifetime of the individuals involved. Much of the responsibilities in the fictive kin relationship revolve around the practical aspect of providing mutual help and security to each other and participating in family social functions. Evidence of a fictive kin-like relationship among involuntarily reassigned teachers is seen by the teachers' perceptions of themselves as part of a professional family that (1) helps one another in times of crisis; and (2) enjoys each other's friendship beyond the expected professional role through social activities. In both of these perceptions, the involuntarily reassigned teachers function in a limited manner like a traditional fictive kinship system.

#### Involuntarily Reassigned Teachers' Perception of Being Like a Family

After two teachers mentioned to the researcher that they felt their relationships with colleagues was family-like, the researcher asked that question of the other teachers involved in the study. Five others, or seven out of the ten teachers in this study, considered former school colleagues as a family. Ms. Baird felt her former school was like a family in that teachers were close, knew all about each other, and helped one another. She told the researcher that,

the Riverview staff was like a family. We all knew everyone and their families, their obsessions, their quirks, their teaching styles, their strengths and weaknesses. . . . When any of our teachers were pink-slipped, we all worried together and had pink-slip parties. We worked together as a whole for about six years. That lends to becoming a family (FN, Journal, Baird, 12-8-82, card 1).

Two Riverview teachers, Ms. Abbott and Ms. Hicks, were especially helpful to her when she transferred. Ms. Underwood did not consider the entire

Evergreen Middle School staff as family, but did consider the sixth grade teachers, including her former team partner, Ms. Scott, as a family. She commented that

the sixth grade staff at Evergreen was like a family. All the Evergreen sixth grade [teachers] had the same hour off. We were just closer in that we spent five hours a week sitting in the lounge grading papers, talking, laughing, kidding around, or cooking up something. . . . Within the sixth grade level, we did try to help each other out. One teacher would run off reading dittos and one teacher would run off social studies, and then we'd trade back and forth (FN, Journal meeting, 12-7-82, card 12 and Underwood, 11-16-82, Part 1-2, card 15).

Ms. Carpenter also felt her former Forest Glen colleagues were like a family prior to the school closure. She remarked to the researcher:

The staff [at Forest Glen] I could say was like a family because they all had to work and get along together. They had their ups and downs. I think we were pretty close. . . . We got used to having to work together, get our schedules in, take turns, help each other out in problems. So, I think we were very close (FN, Carpenter, 11-17-82, card 1).

Ms. Fox was a former teacher at Oak Park Middle School. She did not view her relationships at that school as like a family except with one teacher. Nevertheless, in her new school, Meadow Elementary, she did feel a family-type bond and gave the researcher an example of how another involuntarily transferred teacher had been helpful to her. She said:

I guess you could say that the staff is more like a family. I guess in every family, you have a few outcasts. But, generally, everyone works together and comes to the aid of whoever needs help and is supportive in whatever they ask or request from anyone. . . . My dad was real sick. Two weeks ago Wednesday, he started bleeding internally and was unconscious for several days, and they were so cooperative. I got the phone call Wednesday night to come down immediately, so we went. I had lesson plans for Thursday, but that's all. They didn't expect him to live, and so I called Thursday and said, "I don't have any plans, could you ask \_\_\_\_\_ if she'll do plans for me? She did my Friday plans and then they took care of my whole next week's plans. . . . People called me to see how he was doing long distance to [name of city] (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, cards 1, 12).

Ms. Gates considered Spring Hill as family because she has no relatives of her own nearby. When describing her feelings of the staff as being family-like, she gave the example of the quantity of time she devotes to school work. She commented:

I'd say that the Spring Hill staff was like a family especially because I don't have a family close by. Whether or not they like that, I use them for that. . . . Last night I was here until eight o'clock. This is my whole world. This is what I have. I don't have a family and kids, so this gets all my energy. (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 10, 12).

Ms. Eddy and Ms. Brand were teachers at Lakeview Elementary when it closed. They both expressed a strong feeling that they looked upon their colleagues as family. Ms. Brand, when commenting to the researcher about mutual help given each other by the staff, indicated that

the staff as a family is a good analogy. We got along real well. We were very supportive of each other, helpful to each other. . . . The biggest way we helped each other was emotionally. When someone was really depressed or discouraged, just trying to help each other that way by talking with them (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 8).

Ms. Eddy also emphasized the helping function of her former colleagues, and gave the researcher an example of how this help was given with a personal problem. She felt

the staff is like a family in that a lot of times, when you were feeling very emotional about things, a lot of different things, we got so that if anything was bothering you, you could let it out. I really had a hard time when my son went to kindergarten. The first conference, the teacher asked me how to teach kindergarten. I was a little uptight over that. I came into the lounge the next morning, and I was just totally upset over the whole situation. They gave me a lot of support through that. . . . We knew everything I think there was to know that you would let anyone know about each other. If things were going badly at home, you could talk to the other people. If you were upset about something that was happening in the classroom, we all tried to help each other (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82, card 3 and 11-11-82, card 12).

The fictive kin-like family tie is also seen in involuntarily reassigned teachers' desire for, and enjoyment of, social closeness to one another from their former school colleagues.

#### Involuntarily Reassigned Teachers' Desire for Social Activities

The most striking example of the relationship between involuntarily transferred teachers being more than just a professional relationship is seen in the close social ties among former Lakeview Elementary teachers.

Ms. Brand told the researcher:

Our school had a reputation for the staff getting along real well, cooperating real well with each other. And it was on more than just a work basis. We just felt that we were really close friends, too, on a personal level not just a professional level (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 8).

Ms. Eddy explained to the researcher that staff only social activities were a part of school life:

We used to get together as just the staff--not husbands, not wives, not in the evening, but after school--and do something socially. Some nights we've gone out to dinner and bowling. We have had a party at four thirty at someone's house. We did that at Christmas time. We used to just have a party for us together and bring some munch and party for awhile and chit-chat (FN, Eddy, 12-8-82, card 11).

When Lakeview Elementary closed, the teachers banded together in a year-end party as a sort of farewell to themselves. Ms. Eddy told about the importance of the party and the main topic of conversation. She remembered that

a lot of it was just talking about it [the break up of the staff]. We all were pretty good about talking about our feelings. We talked a lot about not being a group anymore; that we were going to miss each other. Just being together helped, and knowing that was going to be the last time we'd all get together like that. We just had a lot of fun together doing different things. We went out for a boat ride and enjoyed the time together (FN, Eddy, 11-18-82, card 10).

The teachers from Lakeview were dispersed to three other elementary



schools when it closed. Yet, even after school began in the fall of 1982, the teachers felt the need to continue the close family-like ties. One of the involuntarily reassigned teachers at Meadow who was formerly at Oak Park Middle School told the researcher:

The teachers who came from Lakeview Elementary, they get together and party. Like the other night, they all went out for a drink and they did not ask anybody else except for the Lakeview teachers who were there last year . . . (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 6).

Ms. Eddy, also now at Meadow Elementary, told the researcher about one such party held in late October for all former Lakeview Elementary teachers. She explained that

two nights ago, we all went out to dinner. We invited everybody we had taught with at Lakeview at one time or another. Most of them were going to come, then something turned up for a few. But, there were eight of us there and it was really nice. We all talked about that everybody was going through the same things. You know, they talked about feeling alone, feeling like there just wasn't anybody there who really cared about them, and yet now they knew that we all still care about one another and about what was happening. It was good that we all had a chance to talk, and we talked about our families and all the things we used to talk about. We got there at five and left at five to eight. It was really a good time together, and we decided that we were going to do it again around Christmas time (FN, Eddy, 10-28-82, cards 2-3).

Ms. Brand, formerly from Lakeview, was invited to the party, but at the last minute had to cancel her plans to attend. She told the researcher about this and her anticipation of another party in early December.

I missed our first dinner. We were to meet at \_\_\_\_\_'s and have dinner. My babysitter called at the last minute and said, "I'm sorry Ms. Brand, but I didn't remember and I can't babysit. I told you I could, but I can't." So, I didn't get to go. We are planning another one the first part of December. . . . We had been together, well, I'd been there since 1973. So, we were a really close staff and it was very hard on us to separate (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 7).

After the December party, the researcher again talked with Ms. Eddy, who said about the time together, "It's always fun to get together with everybody. We talked about everything that is happening and got caught up with what's happening with the kids" (FN, Eddy, 12-8-82, card 2). The closeness of several Spring Hill staff members is illustrated by a group of teachers who regularly would meet with the principal on Fridays after school, have a few drinks and talk. Ms. Campbell, one of the teachers involved, related to the researcher that at these afternoon meetings

we drank! [She laughs.] Nothing special. Sometimes we talked about all kinds of stuff. Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood would meet us. And \_\_\_\_\_ would meet us. I had a student teacher two to three years ago and she would come and meet us. The librarian would come with us sometimes. It was nothing. It was just a group of people that got along well together and go for a drink on Friday afternoon after school (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-13-82, card 10).

The principal involved, Ms. Edwards, confirmed this social activity among teachers who were going to be involuntarily reassigned and told the researcher:

I had a small group of teachers who were not going to be going with the big bunch of teachers. I took them out for a drink on Friday afternoons. . . . to work through the feelings of being an isolate, to work through the feelings they were getting from other staff members (FN, Edwards, 9-21-82, card 1).

Ms. Fox, while not considering her former staff to be like a family, did have one special teacher friend at Oak Park with whom she enjoyed a close bond of friendship and social activity. She told the researcher:

I really miss one friend over at the middle school a lot because we've got a good friendship. I really miss it. She's my mom's age, really. She's kind of my mother and a neighbor. She's the one who comes over and helps me during the week off and on. I miss that, and I also realize that she's not going to be there for that much longer. I just miss not seeing her. I just miss the social aspect of it (FN, Fox, 12-2-82, card 16).

Ms. Gates looked upon her former Spring Hill staff as being like a family. When telling the researcher about this relationship, she emphasized the social aspects. She noted that

we celebrate each other's birthdays. The other fourth grade teacher there helped me so much. . . . I'd be desperate because I couldn't think of an art project. She'd help me there. It was almost like a mothering thing, there. We shared each other's personal triumphs. We'd sit in the lounge and explain how so and so just had a baby and how my son just got his first tooth. You sit around and celebrate each other's happy things and sad things, too (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 12).

Ms. Carpenter, who taught at Forest Glen when it closed, felt that social activities both during the school year and during the summer were an important aspect of the staff's family-like function. She commented:

We frequently went out to lunch together and did things together. Not in the evening so much, although sometimes in the summer we would get together, go to a play or do something (FN, Carpenter, 11-1-782, card 1).

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The examples of the involuntarily reassigned teachers' emic viewpoint that they were family-like in the help they provided each other and in their desire for social interaction, link their concept of themselves to the anthropologists' concept of fictive kin relations. Teachers at Forest Glen Elementary school went out to lunch together during the school year and planned joint activities during their summer vacation. Teachers at Lakeview socialized during school as well as going out to lunch together, and having after school and evening social events. Sixth grade teachers at Evergreen Middle School were thought of as family-like because of the help they provided each other. At Oak Park, Ms. Fox did

not view the staff as a family because she did not perceive them as helping each other or enjoying social events together.

Mutual help provided by involuntarily reassigned teachers to each other was not the only source of support and help provided them. Principals also provided support.

### 3. PRINCIPALS' HELP GIVEN TO INVOLUNTARILY TRANSFERRED TEACHERS CAN BE EXPLAINED AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR ROLE AS PRINCIPAL.

In addition to the mutual emotional and physical help provided each other by teachers who were being involuntarily reassigned, principals also assisted the teachers being reassigned. This help, which was given by both the former and the new principal, consisted mostly of psychological support. This is evidenced as Mr. Ball, the Meadow Elementary School principal, met with the new Meadow teachers in the spring at Lakeview Elementary out of consideration for their feelings about the Meadow teachers whose jobs they were taking. Mr. Austin, principal at Riverview Elementary, also made trips to Evergreen Middle School during which he spent time encouraging Ms. Underwood about her move to Riverview. Ms. Davis provided encouragement to her staffs at Forest Glen and Lakeview by providing schoolwide movies in lieu of release time so that they could pack on instructional time without students in the classrooms. In addition, she provided help to Ms. Fox, who was not even one of her teachers. Mr. Taylor visited Forest Glen Elementary while Ms. Davis was on vacation and partially used the time to become acquainted with the teachers he would be supervising in the Fall. This action removed some of the teachers' concerns there about not knowing much about him. To a lesser extent, principals provided physical

support. Mr. Austin helped Ms. Campbell, Ms. Gilbert, Ms. Underwood, and Ms. Scott in moving and arranging their classroom furniture. At Meadow, Hillcrest, and Spring Hill, the material from the closed schools was stacked in the school multipurpose rooms by Mr. Baker's maintenance crew. In August those respective school principals, Mr. Ball, Mr. Taylor, and Ms. Edwards, physically helped teachers move their belongings into their classrooms.

Principals' willingness to help teachers with their physical and emotional concerns surrounding the reassignment process cannot be explained as a fictive kin-like response because neither the teachers nor the principals said they viewed the help from this perspective. What accounts for principals' help, then, may be the normal role expectation of the building principal as one who is there to serve the teachers and to facilitate in any way possible the teachers' main task of teaching children. Evidence that the principals viewed their actions as routine is seen in the common practice of a principal taking a vacation during the days classes are in session. Both Ms. Edwards and Ms. Davis took vacations in the spring while school was in session. Of this, Ms. Davis explained, "When we went to Florida last spring I did have Mr. Taylor cover Forest Glen for me. He was actually out there part of the time. This is normal. We cover for each other when we are going to be gone" (FN, Davis, 12-8-82). Ms. Edwards told the researcher: "Mr. Austin came. Mr. Fisher came. Between the two of them, they covered the building. Mr. Fisher and I, by being so close, always cover for each other when one of us had to be out of town" (FN, Edwards, 12-1-82, card 29). Mr. Fisher, the Spring Hill principal, told the researcher about his efforts to help involuntarily reassigned teachers at his school

through counseling. Of this, he noted that his help in this area "evolved just because of what I feel might be one of my strengths: interpersonal relationships" (FN, Fisher, 9-23-82, card 1).

Involuntarily reassigned teachers also discussed ways principals helped them which could be considered to be a routine function of their role as principal. Mr. Ball physically helped teachers move furniture in the fall. Ms. Gates noted that "he helped some, but he had the whole school to put together. He helped me find some things and he helped me haul some things around" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 6). Ms. Fox told how Mr. Ball helped move materials to create extra classrooms. She remembered that "I came over one Sunday afternoon--it was the Sunday before Labor Day, and Mr. Ball was here moving stuff out of the basement because they needed to make that into classrooms" (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 9). Mr. Ball also tried to help Ms. Gates gain self-confidence about her new job. She told the researcher that

Mr. Ball must have said so many times, "Look I know it's hard. I know it's hard, but you can do it. I have a lot of faith in you. I know that you're a good teacher and you can do it." His faith in me gave me faith back in myself (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 29).

Ms. Fox felt that Mr. Ball "treats everybody equally. . . . He is usually really receptive to what they say or else he says 'no' and gives them a reason why" (FN, Fox, 11-4-82, card 8 and 12-2-82, card 4). Ms. Brand noted that at Lakeview Elementary the teachers wanted release time to pack at the end of the year and it was her principal, Ms. Davis, who asked the superintendent. Ms. Brand recounted how "the principal asked for us. But from higher up, they said, 'No' (FN, Brand, 11-8-82, card 6). When Mr. Taylor watched Forest Glen while Ms. Davis was on vacation,

Ms. Carpenter did not seem to find that unusual or unsettling. She commented that

we had little contact with Mr. Taylor. We didn't talk to him that much. He would come in the room when we were having class and kind of walk through and maybe stop and say "Hi." He was visible. He was there (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, card 4).

Mr. Hill routinely, almost daily, made it a point to walk through his school and talk to all the teachers. Ms. Scott said that "Mr. Hill must have come over here five or six times--'what do you need, is there anything you need' (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-25-82, card 11). Ms. Underwood told how Mr. Hill met with all the new teachers. She said, "He did meet with me last Wednesday. He's meeting with all the new teachers" (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 5). Ms. Gilbert was also part of Mr. Hill's routine of talking to his staff. She related to the researcher that "he checked. He came around that first week and checked with me--'Is everything going all right?' And, after the first month, 'How are you doing?'" (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, card 19). Mr. Hill also provided his staff with routine physical help in moving their furniture to create rooms. Ms. Brand told the researcher that "Mr. Hill helped a lot moving furniture for us" (FN, Brand, 11-16-82/11-30-82, card 11). Ms. Scott remembered that "we had to move my desk. It was over there and Mr. Hill moved it for us there . . . " (FN, Journal Meeting, 10-13-82, card 4). Mr. Hill also provided some help with textbooks for Ms. Underwood. She recalled that "before school was out, Mr. Hill brought me all the textbooks. He brought them to Evergreen, left them there, and told me I could have all summer to look at those texts" (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, card 4). Ms. Fox remembered how helpful Ms. Davis had been in the spring in contrast to her principal at Oak Park. She related to the researcher that "my principal did not do anything . . . but Ms. Davis was very

helpful with everybody" (FN, Fox, 10-21-82, card 7). In discussing the curriculum help given teachers by Mr. Taylor, both Ms. Carpenter and Ms. Baird felt he supported their programs. Ms. Carpenter said, "I approached Mr. Taylor and asked if it would be all right to move the reading books into the supply room. And, he said, 'yes.' . . . He also seems to be pretty supportive as far as getting materials" (FN, Carpenter, 11-3-82, cards 14-15). Ms. Baird, when talking about Mr. Taylor's help, stated that "he has been very kind, understanding, and supportive of me and of our program. He has gone 'all out' to keep our aide time, so he realizes how much work we are trying to do, and our unique problems in the Resource Room" (FN, Journal, Baird, 12-8-82, card 9).

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Principals' help can be seen as primarily psychologically supportive as they fostered a climate in which help could be given to the teachers. They also provided minimal physical help to teachers. This was limited simply because the principals had whole staffs to care for and did not have large amounts of time to concentrate on individual teacher's needs.

In addition to the help provided each other by involuntarily reassigned teachers and principals, some relatives--including boyfriends--helped teachers with primarily the physical aspects of the change.

#### 4. RELATIVES' HELP GIVEN TO INVOLUNTARILY TRANSFERRED TEACHERS CAN BE EXPLAINED AS A NORMAL FUNCTION OF A BIOLOGICAL FAMILY.

Relatives, which includes boyfriends as prospective relatives, also helped involuntarily reassigned teachers emotionally and physically. Ms.



Gates' parents provided physical help in cleaning furniture, arranging her classroom, and suggestions on appropriate curriculum. Her boyfriend helped repair and arrange classroom furniture. Ms. Baird's boyfriend and daughter also supported her emotionally through the transfer process. Ms. Eddy's children helped her and another former Lakeview teacher move their belongings from the Meadow multi-purpose room into their classrooms. Ms. Fox's husband used most of his annual vacation to help his wife physically arrange her classroom, which was the former school board room.

The explanation for help by relatives lies in the normal cultural expectation in which family responsibilities include helping other family members in time of need. Ms. Gates simply asked her parents for assistance to set up her room in the fall. She related to the researcher how she had visited her classroom, gone home, called her parents long distance and said, "Can you come and help me because I can't do it--I just can't" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 6). She also mentioned to the researcher how her boyfriend "came in and did some things [in her classroom in the fall]. He nailed the cabinet back together that was all ripped apart and put knobs on that" (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, card 6). Ms. Eddy's children "decided they wanted to come the first day" that she went to work at Meadow in August. (FN, Eddy, 11-11-82, card 9). Ms. Baird's boyfriend also provided her emotional support. She proudly told the researcher:

My boyfriend has been super! I don't even know how he can stand me sometimes, but he's always there with a shoulder to lean on . . . "I'll be there. You can do it . . . ." During the springtime, when I was in limbo, and now this fall as I'm living the change, he is always there with a big hug, a kiss, a smile, a bouquet of flowers, a shoulder to lean on, and lots of time to hear me out (FN, Journal, Baird, 10-20-82, card 4 and 10-27-82, card 4).

\* \* \* \* \*

Relatives, including boyfriends, provided physical and emotional help to involuntarily reassigned teachers. The emotional help was given both in the spring and in the fall, while most of the physical help occurred in the fall as teachers moved into their new schools.

5. MOST INVOLUNTARY REASSIGNED TEACHERS DID NOT ALLOW THEIR PERSONAL STRESS RELATED TO THE CHANGE TO AFFECT THE CLASSROOM LEARNING ENVIRONMENT.

Evidence to support this conclusion comes from (1) the two instances of teacher self-reporting of their disruptive behavior in the classroom and a principal's verification of one of the two teacher self-reports; and (2) the lack of disruptive negative behavior observed by the researcher in the fall as he observed six out of the ten teachers in the study.

#### Teacher Self-Reported Disruptive Behavior

The emotional effects of being involuntarily reassigned were evidenced in the spring in Ms. Scott's and Ms. Underwood's sixth grade team. They told the researcher how towards the end of the school year, Ms. Underwood would lose her composure in class and Ms. Scott would have to take over her duties.

Ms. Underwood: I was having a real tough time leaving middle school and sixth grade and shed a lot of tears.

Ms. Scott: The last day, we'd go, "Oops! Ms. Underwood is going to lose it. Ms. Scott, you take over."

Ms. Underwood: By the last day, Ms. Scott, I didn't even have to say anything. All she had to do was look at me and she knew (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82, card 4).

Ms. Gates also had a problem of losing self-control in her classroom. She told the researcher that the problem was so severe she almost could not continue teaching. She vividly remembered:

I was having trouble finishing the year. . . . They pink-slipped me in April and they hired me back in May. I almost couldn't finish it from that point on. I was a wreck. There was a lot of bitterness there. You just have no idea (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 2-3).

Ms. Gates' principal, Mr. Fisher, gave the researcher more specifics about her behavior. He recalled that

she became so distraught, it affected [her] attendance and also passed on down to the kids. Not only did she verbally make some comments that were taken home, but also her actions, body language, showed this type of thing and situation (FN, Fisher, 10-19-82, card 3).

#### Researcher Observed Lack of Disruptive Behavior

In the fall, the researcher expected to observe, in the classroom, the emotional effects of being involuntarily reassigned. He expected teachers to (1) exhibit unfamiliarity with the curriculum; (2) teach too high or too low for students' abilities; (3) show a lack of understanding about school policies; and (4) demonstrate a lack of being prepared to teach as evidenced by not having enough work for students to do. Only one of the six teachers observed exhibited unfamiliarity with the curriculum. Ms. Underwood routinely used the teacher's guide when teaching math and spelling (FN, 9-9-82, 9-13-82, and 9-27-82). Five of the six teachers the researcher observed invited the researcher to work directly with students in reading, math, and spelling as well as to correct math, English, and spelling papers. While the researcher has no documented evidence of the work being appropriate to the children's achievement level, his impression is that the work was appropriate. This is based on conversations with the children when helping them; in seeing

the test scores of the math, English, and spelling papers; and on twenty years as an educator who has observed teachers in classroom situations.

One teacher demonstrated a lack of understanding of school policy. Ms. Campbell consistently forgot to take attendance and count the number of students who wanted to eat hot lunch. Her pleasure at mastering the policy procedure was evident in October when one morning she exclaimed, "I beat you for once" as the safety patrol student came in the room to pick up the two reports (FN, 10-13-82). Teachers were well organized and always had enough work planned for students. Excerpts from class observations provide examples of teachers' typical class organization and teaching styles. This excerpt is typical of Ms. Campbell's second grade morning classes:

The students begin their day by coming in and hanging their coats on the coat rack. Then they walk around, socialize, and are in their seats by nine o'clock. At nine o'clock, a student leads the pledge to the flag over the intercom for the whole school. Then, in the next two or three minutes a safety patrol member comes in to get: (1) hot lunch count; and (2) absentee slip. They're not ready. After the pledge, Ms. Campbell has the class assemble in the story area by the calendar bulletin board where they: (1) have show and tell; (2) go over month, day, year drill; (3) get instructions for the morning's activities.

Ms. Campbell: What number is it going to be today?

Student #1: Seventeenth.

Ms. Campbell: What is today?

Student #2: Today is Friday.

Ms. Campbell: So, today is Friday. What month?

Student #3: September.

Ms. Campbell: Friday, September 17th. I think we've got everything, don't we? \_\_\_\_\_ has another tooth out, doesn't she? [said as she writes the girl's name on a big white tooth.] Anybody else lose any more teeth? She lost another one. I see some people have some things for sharing, so let's see what you brought. \_\_\_\_\_? [student's name] [the girl talks about pictures she has] That's you? That's you as a baby. Lots of pictures, huh? OK, who else has something for sharing? Just \_\_\_\_\_ . . . ? Today, when you go back to your seat, this is what I want you to do. [She shows the class a

ditto.] Here we have our poem right here on the top. . . . It says down here [bottom of the ditto below the calendar boxes] twenty-eight, twenty-nine, thirty, thirty-one. You have to go through here and put in this little box how many days in each month. [Ms. Campbell then shows the class a second ditto on math addition at the top and subtraction at the bottom.] [Student says, "Yuk!"] Yuk nothing! We've got to learn those. [Ms. Campbell shows the class a third ditto with a big squirrel on top and a story about it underneath. Words in the story have blanks for missing vowels.] Complete the story with A, E, I, O, U. I \_ m a l \_ ttle gr \_ y squirrel. I want you to color the squirrel, and I want you to color the days of the month. I think you'll have time for both. OK, you're going to need all three of these today.

\_\_\_\_\_ will pass one out, \_\_\_\_\_ will pass out one, and, \_\_\_\_\_ will pass out one (FN, Carpenter, 9-17-82, cards 1-2).

Following this, students began work at their tables. Students spent from nine-fifteen to lunch at noon working on these except for a twenty minute mid-morning recess. During the period before and after recess, Ms. Campbell called up reading groups to work with her. Reading lesson assignments were given at that time for each group. They worked on those in addition to the dittos. Most students did not run out of work although some had free time to go to a learning center area. Some also stayed in at recess or noon to complete work. A typical fourth grade math class for Ms. Scott had the students doing seatwork while she worked at her reading table either alone grading workbooks talking to individual students, or working with small reading groups. Math class was from ten-fifty until noon. Instruction on new material was usually given in the early afternoon the day before the class worked on the problems.

10:54 - The class comes in. Students ask what they need. Ms. Scott says, "You only need your workbook. Everyone should have their math workbook. Turn to pages 17 and 18 . . . . When you finish your math today, I want everyone to read your library book."

10:57 - Juice and milk come in.

11:00 - Class works in their workbooks while Ms. Scott works the reading table. She calls students up individually and goes over their reading folders with them and corrects their work.

11:10 - Ms. Scott is still working at her reading table. No students there. Kids are working on their math. Assignment on the board: "WB, p. 18."

11:20 - Ms. Scott is working alone at the reading table. It looks as if she is grading papers using a red magic marker and workbooks. Kids are working on math.

11:40 - Ms. Scott is talking to a student at her reading table. Students are working on math and pleasure reading.

11:50 - Ms. Scott is working alone at her reading table. One student is still working on math. The rest are pleasure reading, getting drinks, socializing quietly, and going to the bathroom.

12:00 - Lunch dismissal (FN, Scott, 10-11-82, cards 1-2).

Ms. Underwood followed much the same class routine as Ms. Scott. A typical fourth grade math class looked as follows:

Today's assignment is on the board: "Math W. B.  
p. 352  
#1-45"

10:54 - Ms. Underwood sits at her reading table and helps kids individually with math. Kids are working on math from their texts. Books are out, open.

11:00 - Ms. Underwood works alone at the reading table. Kids work on math at their tables.

11:20 - Ms. Underwood works at the reading table with individual students on math. Rest of the kids work on math at their tables.

11:30 - Ms. Underwood sits at her reading table working on math with a girl. The rest of the class is working on math at their tables.

11:40 - Ms. Underwood is alone at the reading table. Kids are working on their math at their tables.

11:50 - Ms. Underwood at her reading table helping kids on math. The rest of the kids work at their seats on math.

12:00 - Lunch dismissal (FN, Underwood, 10-18-82, card 3).

### Factors Accounting for the Lack of Evidential Stress in Classrooms

Other than the limits of the researcher's observation skills, there appear to be five factors that mitigate the effects of stress related behavior from involuntarily reassigned teachers being evident in the classroom: (1) the teachers' professional attitude; (2) the teachers'

professional skills that they bring with them into their new job; (3) the teachers' ability to learn from new situations; (4) the teachers' positive feelings about their new job; and (5) the teachers' belief that the job change was good for their professional and personal growth.

Teacher's Professional Attitude. Teachers' attitudes towards their students show that to them, teaching is more than a job. They cared about their students, so much so that they did not allow the effects of stress to be evidenced in the classroom. After a noontime interview with Ms. Scott and Ms. Underwood in which both broke down and cried as they recalled various aspects of their involuntary reassignment, Ms. Scott told the researcher bluntly:

I have to tell you one thing. I'm not going to come to your Friday meetings anymore if we are going to talk about things that I get emotional about. I know it's good for your study, but right now I'm uptight and that's not good for my job. I have the kids to think about. Ms. Underwood is feeling the same way right now (FN, Journal Meeting, 9-17-82).

Teachers' Professional Skills. The researcher expected teachers would interact with children in a businesslike yet friendly manner. The six teachers observed in this study behaved in that manner. The excerpt below was taken in Ms. Scott's fourth grade class and shows her typical verbal and nonverbal behavior towards the children. Ms. Scott is walking around the room during this period while students work at their seats.

TIME	VERBAL ACTIVITY	NON-VERBAL ACTIVITY
9:09	"good, good"	smile
9:11	-----	poked lightly on a boy's head with her finger and smiled at him.
9:12	"I'm sorry guys" as they get some books	smile with a wink
9:14	"Would you pass out one paper to each person, please?" (said softly)	smile
9:17	talks softly to a boy	pats boy on the back

9:20	talks with a girl and Answers her question.	smiles
9:43	"OK, I've asked there be no talking."	deadpan
9:52	"Concentrate on this today so you don't make the same mistake."	wink
9:55	"However you want to do it, OK? It's your choice."	smile
9:56	Talks to a boy, but I can't hear	touch on back
9:57	Talks to a girl, but I can't hear	smile
10:03	"Matt, get busy! (tone is disapproving)	frown
10:04	"Good, now spell ---"	smile
10:05	"Understand me?" (talking directly to Matt. Tone firmer. She moved to directly in front of him versus across the room where she was at 10:03)	forcefully stabs her finger onto his desk top to make her point.
10:06	sigh (mimicking a girl)	smile
11:00	"I'm waiting. You're not going to like it if we have to make this time up."	deadpan
11:16	talks to a girl	smiles
11:24	"OK class, it's too noisy in here. Thank you." (voice firm but pleasant)	deadpan
11:28	"Neat! I like his eye- balls the best. That's neat about art work monsters. (FN, Scott, 9-3-82, cards 2-3).	smiles

The researcher also expected to observe involuntarily reassigned teachers to demonstrate a lack of being prepared to teach through not having adequate, organized planned lessons. The research found instead, however, that teachers were well organized and well prepared to teach. The six teachers observed consistently exhibited these skills. An example of this is taken from an observation of Ms. Eddy's kindergarten class:



9:00 - Opening activities. Kids are playing around the room, hanging up coats, et cetera. Ms. Eddy plays several chords on the piano as a signal to the kids to assemble. They assemble facing the front wall of the room and sit in a semicircle on the floor. Ms. Eddy is seated in front of them with her back to the wall. She takes roll by calling their names. Then students go through a calendar drill using the bulletin board behind her. A large October calendar with about 4" squares for each day is on the board. Each day has either a red, green, or yellow leaf thumb tacked to it. The kids as a group snap, clap, and pat a rhythm based on the leaf colors. Ms. Eddy has the kids say the complete date as individuals. Then the kids sing songs and do motions with some of them. This was followed by reciting a poem with motions.

9:20 - Show and tell time. Several students bring things--dolls, cars, trucks, new shoes.

9:25 - Ms. Eddy has the students move to the far end of the room where there are five tables with chairs. This is where most of the instruction occurs. She has the students practice drawing numbers 0 through 6 on construction paper. Their work, when finished, is made into a booklet. Sample numbers are on the wall in purple and green. Students begin the lettering stroke with the purple line and move towards the green line. Ms. Eddy has seven learning stations--one for each number--and the students rotate around them. She and her aide are constantly monitoring each station to help the children. The atmosphere is relaxed, yet the children are working well. During this time, Ms. Eddy also works specifically with several different groups of children at the chalkboard. She has them practice writing numbers on the board.

9:59 - Three chords on the piano again, by Ms. Eddy, signals a major break in activity. It's clean up time.

10:00-11:00 - I am in the lounge for coffee and then interview Ms. Fox. Ms. Eddy's kids are at recess and story time. Ms. Eddy's aide reads the story which gives Ms. Eddy a break.

11:00 - Ms. Eddy takes the class to the gym for physical education. This consists of rotating the students through three movement coordination drills: ball dribble, skip rope, and figure eight. She conducts her own class and asks the researcher to assist. The researcher sits on the floor with the kids and helps them with the ball dribble drill.

11:26 - Physical education is over and Ms. Eddy takes the kids back down to her room.

11:30 - Juice time. Each child gets a half pint of juice or milk and a graham cracker. As this activity comes to an end (about 11:35), Ms. Eddy begins to talk to the class about Mr. T. This is story time drill on alphabet letters--their shapes, their sounds, and pictures whose contents begin with the particular letter under study. Ms. Eddy has a big grocery sack for every alphabet letter. In it she has pictures corresponding to the letter on the bag (for Mr. T, she has a telephone, etc.). She talks about where Mr. T lives (between Mrs. S and Ms. U), and what words he makes (t

sounds). She has the kids think up words and she prints them on the chalkboard as they say them.

12:00 - Dismissal time (FN, Eddy, 10-21-82).

Teachers' Ability to Learn From New Situations. All of the teachers in this study exhibited learning behaviors as they coped with their involuntary reassignment stress. Most of the learning behaviors were exhibited in the fall as teachers reported to their new schools. The most common learning behavior was asking questions. Ms. Fox, two months after school had begun, still realized her need to ask. She said:

Still now, like the reading program, I still am asking questions about the reading program. "What should I do with a kid in this situation?" I have a boy who comprehends like a fifth grader and he can't read words on an individual basis at second grade. What can I do with him in order to make him able to read those words better (FN, Fox, 10-28-82, card 2)?

Ms. Carpenter found that asking questions, especially of incumbent teachers rather than the teachers whom she already knew, not only helped her learn but provided social opportunities to become better acquainted. She recalled:

I tried to make it a point to step in the rooms of people I didn't know and speak to them a little bit or if I saw a couple of people together, maybe sit down with them in the lunch room where I would be in a position where they could speak to me or I could speak to them. . . I just asked them, "what are you doing?" I have talked to resource teachers as to what they do in their rooms so that I would be doing something different. I spent one afternoon with one of the reading teachers (FN, Carpenter, 11-12-82, cards 5, 14-15).

Several teachers learned to adapt their new school's curriculum expectations with their teaching styles, and in this way lessen the stress of being new. Ms. Underwood was new to the material, the fourth grade, and individualized instruction. She modified the instructional method and blended it with the curriculum expectations until she felt comfortable in both what she was teaching and how she was teaching. She told the researcher that

by making adjustments, minor little adjustments, then I can accept things such as the reading program. I was totally against their reading program out here. . . . On reading, the staff pretty much told us how to do that. You move the students along at their own individualized rate. I do that. But, now what I am doing is letting the kids move at an independent rate and then using what Ms. Scott has kind of come up with and still meet with a group. So I try to meet the kids in a group at least once or twice a week and just go over some of the concepts in the group. I don't know how they'd look upon that. Ms. Hawser [a fourth grade teacher] doesn't know that's the way I do it. It's a secret (FN, Underwood, 11-16-82, cards 11, 19).

Teachers' Positive Feelings About Their New Jobs. Each of the ten teachers had positive feelings about being at their new school after the move was made. Their attitude partially accounts for the lack of observed stress behavior in the classroom. Examples of teachers' positive attitudes are shown by Ms. Campbell at Riverview and Ms. Gates at Meadow. Ms. Campbell had opportunity to travel around the state on teachers' union business and, in the process, to visit other schools. Nevertheless, she felt that Riverview was the best place she could be. She told the researcher that

after two weeks at Riverview, I definitely like it. I really like second grade and this is a wonderful class of kids. . . . I am quite happy here. I can honestly say that I feel that it is an excellent elementary school. I feel comfortable and look forward to coming to work. . . . I like the staff. I think it is a happy place to come. And, if I'm going to teach, I'd rather be here than anywhere else I know of (FN, Journal, Campbell, 9-13-82; 9-28-82 and 10-13-82 Journal Meeting, Campbell, card 11).

Ms. Gates had the most severe emotional reaction to her involuntary reassignment of anyone in the study. Yet, when she joined her new school staff, she found she enjoyed them. She exclaimed:

Probably right from the time that my parents came down and we threw ourselves into this, that's when I became a Meadow teacher. . . . It's a great group and I'm happier than I was at Spring Hill! I love the staff here. This is a nice group. I like them all. They are all very different from each other, but all just neat (FN, Gates, 11-23-82, cards 4, 22, 24)!

Teachers' Feelings About Involuntary Reassignment as a Professional Growth Experience. Eight of the ten teachers in this study felt, after the change was completed, that the reassignment helped them grow professionally. Ms. Gilbert told the researcher that

I was about ready to quit teaching last year. After five years of doing the same thing and the same frustrations--same school, same people, same lesson plans, same problem areas--I was just sick of it. And, I love it this year. . . . I really enjoy my job a lot more. I feel like I'm accomplishing a lot more so I feel better about myself (FN, Gilbert, 11-11-82, cards 12, 24).

Teachers' professional growth also occurred in being able to assess their own feelings about teaching as a profession. Some teachers feel that teaching is the only career they want, and they are happy. Others can feel trapped in teaching and yet are unable to see clearly that there are other careers they would enjoy as much or more than education. Real professional growth occurs when people can analyze their own feelings about their present job, objectively rank it against other possible vocational interests, and then choose the profession to follow. Ms. Underwood emphatically told the researcher:

I'll tell you this, Ed, the whole situation has changed my idea of education. If you had asked me last year, "Would you ever give up teaching," I would have said, "No." I wanted to just stay and teach sixth grade and I was happy there. Now I'm ready to quit. I like it here, but I can give it up now, whereas before I didn't think I could. Now I can see that there are other things in life that I can enjoy just as much and get rewarded for it. . . . I did not see that last year. I look on it as very positive in that I didn't see that last year and it took this change to make me realize that (FN, Underwood, 11-30-82, card 11).

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Teachers' professionalism partially accounts for the lack of observable stress related behavior in the classroom. This is evidenced in their attitudes about children, in their application of teaching

skills to their new teaching situation, in their use of learning behaviors as a coping response to stress, in their positive attitudes toward their new jobs, and in their ability to view the involuntary reassignment experience as fostering professional growth. The researcher's limitation also may partially account for the lack of documented observable stress related behavior in the classroom. The researcher was not present in every classroom of the six teachers all the time. Stress behaviors could have been present when the researcher was not observing. Also, the researcher may have missed some stress related behaviors because he was not aware that the behaviors in question were stress produced. Finally, the researcher did not have adequate sound and video equipment (or the expertise to operate them) from which to record and study intensively the classroom interactions he observed.

#### Implications for Further Research

The following areas of interest may provide additional opportunities for further research:

1. The fictive kin concept is useful in explaining the helping relationship between involuntarily reassigned teachers. The concept of the school system as an extended family should be explored to determine the extent to which it may be applied to principals, district administrators, board members, and union officials in explaining their relationships to each other.

2. Involuntarily reassigned teachers' classroom behavior should be further studied through quasi-experimental research and/or microethnographic techniques to learn more about what effects, if any, are evi-

denced in the classrooms. The researcher was unable to observe involuntarily reassigned teachers' classroom interaction prior to their reassignment. This lack of observation did not allow the researcher to establish a data base for what is normal behavior in a variety of situations for each teacher. An important aspect of any further research is the inclusion of such a data base so that post-involuntary reassignment classroom research may provide a better opportunity to show stress related behavior that may be associated with involuntary reassignment.

3. This study has focused on the emotional stress teachers have when they are involuntarily reassigned. Missing from this study are the data needed to determine the stressors in such reassignments on non-transferred teachers, principals, students, and parents. Now that stressors affecting involuntarily reassigned teachers have been identified, the additional research on principals, students, and parents will provide a gestalt which is currently missing in research literature.

4. This study concentrated on the effects of involuntary reassignment on elementary teachers, grades K-5. The research data gives a slight clue that middle and high school teachers may view their colleagues less like fictive kin than elementary teachers. In addition, the three former middle school teachers in the study seem to have experienced considerable adjustment stress to the new curriculum and age group. The effects on middle and secondary teachers of being involuntarily transferred should be given further attention.

#### Implications for Practice

Based on the conclusions to this research, the following suggestions may be implemented to lessen the emotional effects of involuntary

reassignment on teachers:

1. School boards, superintendents, and teachers' union officials should create informal opportunities to become acquainted with school staffs and their individual needs on a continuous basis. This could include, but is not limited to: (1) visiting classrooms during the instructional day; and (2) informally visiting with teachers on noninstructional time individually and in small groups in classrooms and/or faculty lounges.

2. Release time for staff development should be cooperatively provided by the teachers' union, board, and superintendent. The staff development program should be jointly planned by teachers and administrators and focus on teachers' needs--collectively and individually. Staff development time should be devoted to, but not limited to (1) stress management and interpersonal relations development; (2) curriculum planning; (3) student placement; and (4) informal social time necessary for involuntarily transferred teachers to become acquainted with their new adoptive family. Principals, the superintendent and his staff, board members, and union officials from within the county bargaining unit should attend staff development programs to underscore further the importance of these professional activities.

3. The superintendent, in cooperation with union officials, principals, board members, and teachers, should create a climate within the individual schools, and within the school system as a whole, that encourages communication, openness, and trust so that teachers feel comfortable in expressing the need for help with work related stress. One of the ways this can be accomplished is through superintendents and

principals, as instructional leaders, allowing teachers greater autonomy and encouraging them to participate more in matters affecting their work. A second method is for the superintendent and principals to build bridges between the job and the home so that the employees' spouses come to better understand the stressors at work.

4. It is the responsibility of the board, the district superintendent, and the teachers' union to (1) recognize the extent of the emotional impact made on school staffs involved in involuntary reassignment, and (2) act cooperatively to provide the release time and support services which help family members cope with their stress. The critical issue is the provision of adequate time for staff development activities. The provision of release time signals to employees the importance and value placed on the teacher family's welfare and on the quality of education provided to the children.

### Conclusion

Involuntary reassignments created stressful situations for elementary teachers. This stress was evident during the pre-layoff period as teacher morale dropped and teachers feared the unknowns about the moves being contemplated. The most stressful period of involuntary reassignment appears to be in the spring, during the layoff and recall process. During the actual layoff and recall process, stress was produced by (1) the use of seniority as the sole criterion for layoff and recall; (2) intentional and overt attempts by non-reassigned teachers to overtly covet reassigned teachers' rooms and teaching materials; (3) well-meaning non-reassigned teachers attempts to help newly reassigned teachers; (4) recalled teachers' attempts to choose which school to request for



reassignment; (5) the unknown aspects of the new grade level teaching assignment; and (6) the lack of release time for teachers to visit their new schools. Stressful situations also occurred in the fall as teachers move into their new schools. Such situations include those that are caused by (1) inadequate planning in the movement of teachers' supplies and equipment from their former schools to their new schools; (2) a lack of familiarity with the new staff; (3) a lack of understanding of school routines; (4) unfamiliar curricula and/or teaching methods; (5) a lack of understanding children's ability levels; and (6) unfamiliarity with parents' expectations of the teachers' role.

Involuntarily reassigned teachers were provided both physical and emotional help by others. The primary physical and emotional help came from other involuntarily reassigned teachers in the same building. Although most of this help occurred in the spring, when the emotional crisis of reassignment is at its peak, this help continued in the fall as newly reassigned teachers exhibited concerns and fears like a first year teacher. In the fall, the incumbent staffs in the new schools also provided a support system for imparting that school's cultural expectations to the new members. The principal's role in helping involuntarily reassigned teachers emotionally and physically consisted mainly of creating a school climate that fosters an atmosphere of caring and mutual concern. In addition, they provide direct emotional and physical support to individual teachers as time permits. District administrators, school board members, and union officials do not appear to have provided teachers with physical and emotional support except to the extent that the district moves teaching supplies and equipment from teachers' former schools to their new schools. Family and friends provide some emotional

and physical support to involuntarily reassigned teachers. This help is limited because family members are not close enough to the work situation to know what is the best help to give.

Involuntary reassignment stress can be ameliorated through careful planning. The negative behaviors experienced by teachers as they coped with their stress--fight, fleeing, and freezing--can be turned into a positive coping behavior--learning. This careful planning should be accomplished at the direction of the superintendent and include teachers, principals, union officials, and district personnel. The program planned should include ongoing release time staff development activities that are focused on: (1) teacher's perceived individual needs; (2) teachers' perceived collective needs; and (3) administrators' perceptions of teacher needs.

The involuntarily reassigned teachers, after they began work in their new jobs, were positive about their new colleagues, curricula, students, and parents. In addition, once their involuntary reassignment was completed, teachers were able to view the whole process as a positive and professional growth experience. Closing schools and reassigning teachers is no easy task. Neither is it something that should frighten educators. But it is a process that affects human lives. As such, it demands thorough planning and cooperation by all parties involved: the board, teachers' union, district superintendent and staff, principals, and teachers.

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