

THE DREAM DENIED: PROFESSIONAL BURNOUT AND THE CONSTRAINTS OF HUMAN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract

This article presents a conceptual model of burnout as a function of the organizational environments of human service environments. The conflict of professional role expectations with administrative policies accelerates the development of the syndrome. This perspective places secondary importance on client demands as a determinant of burnout. It also challenges individual-oriented approaches to the management of organizational stress. This conceptual review includes a consideration of measurement issues pertinent to the definition of the burnout syndrome. In the first place, the generalizability of burnout to people working outside of human services is limited by the relevance of the depersonalization component to their work. Secondly, a process model of burnout requires use of data analyses which address the interrelationships among the burnout components.

The prevalence of burnout provides an indication of the extent to which the context of work is compatible with the aspirations of individuals. Changes in the nature and meaning of work have made careers more central to our sense of identity while making satisfaction with performance more difficult to obtain. I shall trace this theme through writings on burnout, and present a model of burnout in which organizational and cultural context are central concepts.

Background on Burnout Research

Burnout began as a colloquial term describing an emotionally depleted state among people in helping professions. The term first found its way into the psychological literature in an article by Freudenberger (1974) in an issue of the *Journal of Social Issues* he edited on people working in free clinics. The free clinic movement in the U.S. displayed in an extreme way many of the themes which continue to be central in burnout research. The dubious position of free clinics in medical and mental health systems at that time required

a fairly creative approach to defining professional roles. Because free clinics lacked the forms and conventions of mainstream health or social service work, the way in which people provided services to others was an accessible focus of inquiry.

The work environment of free clinics was characterized by long hours, low pay, emotionally demanding encounters with clients and coworkers, and meagre resources. The shortfall in resources was bridged by dedication and camaraderie among the staff. The point of Freudenberger's initial paper was that working entirely on the basis of youthful enthusiasm eventually depletes the emotional energies of individuals. Of equal importance with the impact of demanding work was the position of the free clinic movement on the fringe of the health care systems. This position diminished opportunities for recognition or hope for future resolution of resource problems. Free clinic workers were aware of a value conflict implicit in providing a much-needed, but unacknowledged, service to the community.

Cherniss (1980) continued the focus on both workload issues and value conflict. From his perspective, burnout resulted from inconsistencies implicit in the role of a service professional. This perspective took burnout from the fringe of

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