The New Zealand Secondary Principal Occupational Health, Safety and Wellbeing Survey

2020 Data

Philip Riley, Mark Rahimi & Ben Arnold



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Overview

This report is brief snapshot of a comprehensive analysis of the 2020 New Zealand Secondary Principal Occupational Health, Safety and Wellbeing Survey. The report contains a brief explanation of aims and survey instrument, an overview of survey sample and demographics, a brief analysis of various COPSOQ measures, and insights into offensive behaviour towards school leaders. Due to the relatively small sample size in this first round of data collection, this report is both brief and general in nature. The survey does not include any data on structural or organisational factors impacting school functioning or community issues that predict violence in schools, both of which are extremely important to consider. Further, we cannot analyse policy settings which set the conditions for work in schools, as we do not collect data on this important aspect of leadership.

1. Research Aims and Survey Instrument

1.1. AIM – TO FIND FACTORS THAT IMPROVE SCHOOL LEADERS' HEALTH AND WELLBEING

The aim of this research project is to conduct a longitudinal study that monitors secondary school leaders' health and wellbeing annually. School leaders' health and wellbeing in differing school types, levels, and size are monitored, along with their lifestyle choices, and the professional and personal social support networks available to them. The turnover of school leaders within schools will allow investigations of moderator effects, such as years of experience prior to taking up the role. The longitudinal nature of the study will allow the mapping of health outcomes on each of these dimensions over time.

1.2. PARTICIPANT CARE

Each participant received an interactive, user specific report of their survey responses benchmarked against responses of their peers and members of the general population upon completion of the survey. Returning participants were also provided with a comparison of their 2020 results against their results from previous years.

The survey included the assessment of three "red flag" risk indicators: Self-harm; Quality of Life; and Occupational Health. The red flag indicators are calculated as follows:

- Self-harm a participant response of "sometimes", "often" or "all the time" to the question "Do you ever feel like hurting yourself?"
- Quality of Life when aggregate scores on quality of life items fell two standard deviations below the mean for the school leader population

• Occupational Health – when the composite psychosocial risk score fell into the high or very high-risk groups

The report of any individual or combination of the three triggers resulted in the participant receiving a red flag notification, informing them of the indicator(s). The notification also included links to Employee Assistance Programs and local support services.

1.3. THE SURVEY

The survey captured three types of information drawn from existing robust and widely used instruments.

- 1. Comprehensive school demographic items drawn from:
 - a. The *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS; Williams, et al., 2007).
 - b. Program for International Student Assessment (PISA; Thomson, et al., 2011).
 - c. International Confederation of Principals surveys were used to capture differences in occupational health and safety (OH&S) associated with the diversity of school settings and types.
- 2. Personal demographic and historical information.
- 3. School leaders' quality of life and psychosocial coping were investigated by employing two widely used measures:
 - a. The Assessment of Quality of Life 8D (AQoL-8D; Richardson, et al., 2009; Richardson, lezzi & Maxwell, 2014).
 - b. *The Copenhagen Psychosocial Questionnaire-II (COPSOQ-II;* Pejtersen, et al., 2010).
 - c. *The Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test* (*AUDIT*: Babor et al., 2001), developed for the World Health Organization.
 - d. Passion (Trepanier, Fernet, Austin, Forest & Vallerand, 2014; Vallerand, 2015).
 - e. The Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS: Watson, Clark, and Tellegen, 1988).
 - f. Basic Psychological Needs at Work Scale (BPNWS: Deci & Ryan, 2004).
 - g. 'Life Events'.
 - h. COVID-19 related questions were added.

The combination of these instruments allows for a comprehensive analysis of variation in occupational health, safety, and wellbeing, as a function of geolocation, school type, sector differences and the personal attributes of the school leaders themselves. Our survey instrument relies heavily on the Copenhagen Psychosocial Questionnaire (COPSOQ-II). This questionnaire is regarded as the "gold standard" in occupational health and safety self-report measures. It has been translated into more than 25 languages and is filled out by hundreds of thousands of workers each year. The structure of the COPSOQ-II consists of higher order

domains and contributing subdomains/scales. These have been found to be very robust and stable measures, by both ourselves (Dicke et al., 2018) and others (Burr, Albertsen, Rugulies, & Hannerz, 2010; Kiss, De Meester, Kruse, Chavee, & Braeckman, 2013; Thorsen & Bjorner, 2010). All COPSOQ domain scores are transformed to 0-100 aiding comparisons across domains.

To maintain the participant anonymity, aggregate data is reported at demographic grouping levels. Some subgroups were unable to be reported due to insufficient sample size. Reporting results of subgroups of insufficient size may not provide a true reflection of the subgroup and risk identifying school leaders if reported by the small subgroup. As some participants only partially completed the survey, some of the participant numbers for domains and subscales may vary. Subgroup distributions will be reported as a percentage of the data sample size.

1.4. REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE DATA

There are currently 112 school leaders in the 2020 database (72 principals, 27 deputies, 6 assistant principals, 3 in acting principals, 2 in associate principals and 2 in other roles), which represents a substantial proportion of the nation's secondary leaders. The data reported is a good representative sample of secondary principals and deputy/assistant principals from across the country.

1.5. RELIABILITY

The reliability of each of the scales and subscales used were checked for internal consistency of responses. All scales were robust. Detailed reports are available at *www.principalhealth.org/au/reports.php*.

Snapshot of Secondary School Leaders in New Zealand: Survey Sample and Demographics

2.1. PARTICIPATION AND SAMPLE SIZE

In 2020, 112 secondary leaders completed the survey. To maintain participant anonymity, aggregate data is reported by demographic group. It was not possible to report some due to insufficient sample size. Reporting results of subgroups of insufficient size may not provide a true reflection of the subgroup and may risk identifying school leaders. As some participants only partially completed the survey, some of the participant numbers for certain domains and subscales may vary. Subgroup distributions will be reported as a percentage of the total sample size.

2.2. PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC SNAPSHOT

Role

Of the 112 participants that completed the survey 72 (64%) were Principals and 40 (36%) were Deputy/Assistant/ Associate/ Acting Principals.



Figure 2.2.1 School leader distribution by role

Gender

The gender breakdown for the sample was 68 (61%) male, 43 (38%) female and 1 (1%) gender diverse.



Figure 2.2.2 School leader distribution by gender

School Type

Of the participating school leaders, 59 worked in secondary (Year 9-15) schools (53%), 34 (30%) worked in secondary (Year 7-15) schools and 15 worked in composite/area schools (13%). Just 3 participants (3%) worked in intermediate/middle schools. One participant (1%) reported they worked in a contributing primary school.



Figure 2.2.3 School leader distribution by school type

School Sector

99 school leaders (88%) surveyed worked in state schools. 11 school leaders (10%) worked in state integrated schools. Only 2 (2%) leaders worked Māori immersion (Kura/Wharekura) schools.



Figure 2.2.4 School leader distribution by school sector

School leader experience

Many school leaders that completed the survey were very experienced. 49% had more than 13 years of experience in a leadership position and 40% had gained over 12 years of teaching experience prior to commencing their leadership role. Approximately half of all school leaders (48%) had been in their current role for more than five of 13, 12 and 5 were calculated role based on the measures of central tendency.



years. Note: the dividing figures *Figure 2.2.5 School leader by years of working in a leadership* of 13, 12 and 5 were calculated *role*



Figure 2.2.6 School leader distribution by years in current role



Figure 2.2.7 Distribution by years of working in a teaching role prior to undertaking a leadership role

3. Sources of Stress

As indicated in Figure 3.1, sheer quantity of work was reported as the biggest source of stress for secondary school leaders. Lack of time to focus on teaching and learning was reported as the second biggest stressor. These two stressors far exceeded other the sources of stress listed in the survey and were perceived as a considerable source of stress at work.



Figure 3.1. Main sources of stress (Average out of 10)

4. Workload

Earlier rounds of this survey have shown that workload is a significant issue with many New Zealand school leaders facing heavy administrative workloads, long working hours, and an imbalance between their working and private life (Riley et al., 2019).

4.1. HOURS WORKED DURING THE SCHOOL TERM

During the school term, the majority of school leaders (82.2%) reported working more than 50 hours per week. A large proportion reported working more than 55 hours a week (59.9%) and around 30.4% reported working more than 60 hours per week. Only 4.5% of school leaders reported working less than 45 hours per week (see Figure 3.1).



Figure 4.1. Average number of hours per week working during school terms

4.2. HOURS WORKED DURING SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

During the school holidays, 29.5% of school leaders reported working between 10-25 hours and 60% reported working more than 25 hours per week. Only 10.7% reported they worked less than 10 hours per week while the schools were closed for instruction (term breaks) (see Figure 3.2).



Figure 4.2 Average number of hours per week working while the school is closed for instruction (term breaks)

With 82% of New Zealand school leaders working more than 50 hours per week and more than 30% working over 60 hours, far too many leaders are working hours that place them at increased risk of experiencing adverse psychological and physical health outcomes.

The US Department of Health and Human Services (Caruso, Hitchcock, Dick, Russo, & Schmit, 2004) found the costs of working too much include:

- Working more than 10 hours a day led to a 60% increased risk of cardiovascular disease.
- 10% of those working 50–60 hours a week report relationship problems, and 30% for those working more than 60 hours.
- Working >40 hours per week is associated with
 - increased alcohol and tobacco consumption
 - o unhealthy weight gain in men
 - o depression in women
- Little productive work occurs after 50 hours per week.
- In white collar jobs, productivity declines by as much as 25% when workers put in 60 hours or more.
- Working >60 hours per week led to 23% higher injury hazard rate.

The survey data demonstrates that school leaders are working long hours and experience sheer quantity of work and a lack of time to focus on teaching and learning as the two major

sources of stress. This indicates that school leaders are overburdened in their work and are unable to find time to focus on core activities.

Copenhagen Psychosocial Questionnaire –

5.1. DEMANDS AT WORK

Job demands are the physical, psychological, social or organizational aspects of a job that require continuous physical and/or psychological (cognitive and emotional) effort. In this survey, demands at work measures five components of job demands:

- **Quantitative Demands** reflect the amount of work an individual experiences relative to their ability to complete that work. They can be assessed as an incongruity between the number of tasks and the time available to perform the tasks in a satisfactory manner.
- Work Pace assesses the speed at which tasks must be performed. It is a measure of the intensity of work.
- **Cognitive Demands** assesses demands involving the cognitive abilities of the worker. This is the only subscale where higher scores are better.
- Emotional Demands assesses when the employee must deal with or is confronted with other people's feelings at work or placed in emotionally demanding situations. Other people comprise both people not employed at the workplace (e.g., parents and students) and people employed at the workplace (e.g., colleagues, superiors, or subordinates).
- Demands for hiding emotions assesses when an employee must conceal their own feelings at work from other people. Other people comprise both people not employed at the workplace (e.g., parents and students) and people employed at the workplace (e.g., colleagues, superiors, or subordinates). The scale shows the amount of time individuals spend in surface acting (pretending an emotion that is not felt) or down-regulating (hiding) felt emotions.



Figure 5.1 Demands at work (%)

In 2020, New Zealand school leaders report experiencing all five demands at work more often than the general population. School leaders report sometimes experiencing more work than they can complete and report frequently having to work at a fast pace. School leaders very often experience cognitively challenging work, they regularly encounter emotionally demanding situations (emotional demands) and frequently having to conceal their emotions at work (hiding emotions). Compared to the general population, School leaders experience significantly greater quantitative demands at work; emotional demands and demands to hide their emotions.

The results show that to deal with the demands of their work, school leaders frequently work at a fast pace and use cognitive, problem solving skills (cognitive demands is the only dimension where a higher score is better). School leaders' work also involves significant emotional demands and very high levels of emotional labour.

5.2. WORK ORGANISATION AND JOB CONTENTS

- Influence at work deals with the degree to which the employee can influence aspects of work itself, ranging from planning of work to the order of tasks.
- **Possibilities for Development** assesses if the tasks are challenging for the employee and if the tasks provide opportunities for learning and thus opportunities for development not only in the job but also at the personal level. Lack of development can create apathy, helplessness and passivity.
- Variation of work deals with the degree to which work (tasks, work process) is varied, that is if tasks are or are not repetitive.
- **Meaning of Work** concerns both the meaning of the aim of work tasks and the meaning of the context of work tasks. The aim is "vertical": that the work is related to

a more general purpose, such as providing students with a good education. Context is "horizontal": that one can see how ones' own work contributes to the overall product of the organisation.

• **Commitment to the Workplace** deals with the degree to which one experiences being committed to ones' workplace. It is not the work by itself or the work group that is the focus here, but the organization in which one is employed.



Figure 5.2 Work Organization and Job Content (%)

Compared with the general population, school leaders report more influence at work and more variation in their role than the general population. They also experience significantly greater possibilities for development, a very strong sense of meaning in their work and strong sense of commitment to the workplace. This indicates that school leaders find their work very meaningful and have a strong sense of commitment to their role.

In terms of gender differences, male secondary principals had higher scores for the majority of the measures, except for job Variation for which females scored higher. When disaggregated by role, principals had higher scores than deputies/assistants/associate principals for all measures.

5.3. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS & LEADERSHIP

- **Predictability** deals with the means to avoid uncertainty and insecurity. This is achieved if employees receive the relevant information at the right time.
- **Recognition (Reward)** deals with the recognition by the management of your effort at work.

- **Role Clarity** deals with the employee's understanding of her or his role at work, e.g., content of tasks, expectations to be met and her or his responsibilities.
- **Role Conflicts** stem from two sources. The first source is about possible inherent conflicting demands within a specific task. The second source is about possible conflicts when prioritising different tasks.
- **Quality of Leadership** refers to the quality of the leadership provided to principals and school leaders. For school principals this is the school board of trustees, and for Deputy/Assistant principals this is the school principal.
- Social support from colleagues inside and outside the school deals with principals' impressions of the possibility to obtain support from colleagues if one should need it.
- Social community at work concerns whether there is a feeling of being part of the group of employees at the workplace, e.g. if employees relations are good and if they work well together.



Figure 5.3 Interpersonal Relations and Leadership (%)

School leaders reported high levels of job predictability and very high levels of recognition and clarity in their work. Compared to the general population, school leaders experience significantly higher levels on all three measures. This suggests that New Zealand School Leaders generally experience predictable work roles, feel that they are given recognition by their managers for the work that they do and have a clear understanding of their role at work. School leaders do not experience particularly high levels of role conflict and the quality of leadership they report is not noticeably different to the general population. In terms of social support, school leaders report sometimes receiving support from colleagues (inside and outside of school) and sometimes receiving social support from supervisors. Compared to the general population, school leaders report receiving social support from colleagues and supervisions less frequently. School leaders reported very frequently feeling part of the employee group (social community) at work.

In terms of gender, female participants had a higher score for predictability. For the rest of the measures related to Interpersonal Relations and Leadership, male New Zealand secondary leaders reported higher levels than their female colleagues. When divided by role, for all of the Interpersonal Relations and Leadership measures, the average scores given by principals were higher than assistant/deputies/associate principals.

5.4. WORK-INDIVIDUAL INTERFACE

- Job satisfaction deals with principals' experience of satisfaction with various aspects of work.
- Work-family conflict deals with the possible consequences of work on family/personal life. The focus is on two areas, namely conflict regarding energy (mental and physical energy) and conflict regarding time.
- **Family-work conflict** deals with the possible consequences of family/personal life on work. The focus is on two areas, namely conflict regarding energy (mental and physical energy) and conflict regarding time.



Figure 5.4 Work-Individual Interface (%)

New Zealand school leaders reported low levels of job insecurity and high levels of job satisfaction. Compared to the general population, school leaders experienced significantly lower levels of job insecurity and noticeably higher levels of job satisfaction. This year's results for Work-family conflict, which is over one standard deviation above the rate of the general population rate, indicate that school leaders experience high levels of conflict between work and home lives. This result has serious implications for the long-term future of school personnel as their work is creating significant family stress. This finding should be cause considerable concern for policy makers, as it relates directly to the Quantitative Demands of the role.

Male participants provided higher scores related to job insecurity, job satisfaction and familywork conflict. Female leaders had higher scores in relation to work-family conflict. In relation to role, principals had higher scores for all of the Work-Individual Interface measures than assistant/deputy/associate principals.

5.5. VALUES AT THE WORKPLACE

- **Trust regarding management (Vertical Trust)** deals with whether the employees can trust the management and vice versa. Vertical trust can be observed in the communication between the management and the employees.
- **Mutual Trust between Employees (Horizontal trust)** deals with whether the employees can trust each other in daily work or not. Trust can be observed in the communication in the workplace; e.g. if one freely can express attitudes and feelings without fear of negative reactions.
- **Justice** deals with whether workers are treated fairly. Four aspects are considered: First the distribution of tasks and recognition, second the process of sharing, third the handling of conflicts and fourth the handling of suggestions from the employees.
- **Social Inclusiveness** deals with another aspect of organizational justice: how fairly people are treated in the workplace in relation to their gender, race, age and ability.



Figure 5.5 Values at the workplace (%)

School leaders reported high levels of mutual trust between employees and high levels of trust in management. Compared to the general population, school leaders had higher levels of trust in management. School leaders reported high levels organizational justice and very high levels of social inclusiveness at work. Compared to the general population, school leaders reported that they experienced significantly higher levels of both organizational justice and social inclusiveness.

For all of the measures related to Values at the Workplace, male leaders had a higher score than their females colleagues. Their scores were above the average of general population. In terms of role, for all of the measures principals had higher scores than assistants/deputies.

5.6. HEALTH AND WELLBEING

- General health is the person's assessment of her or his own general health. It is one global item, which has been used in numerous questionnaires, and has been shown to predict many different endpoints including mortality, cardiovascular diseases, hospitalizations, use of medicine, absence, and early retirement (Idler & Benyamini, 1997).
- **Burnout** concerns the degree of physical and mental fatigue/exhaustion of the employee.
- **Stress** is defined as a reaction of the individual, a combination of tension and unwillingness. As elevated stress levels over a longer period are detrimental to health, it is necessary to determine long-term, or chronic stress.
- Sleeping troubles deal with sleep length, determined by e.g. sleeping in, waking up, interruptions and of quality of sleep.

- **Somatic stress** is defined as a physical health indicator of a sustained stress reaction of the individual.
- **Cognitive stress** deals with cognitive indicators of a sustained stress reaction of the individual.
- Depressive symptoms cover various aspects, which together indicate depression.
- **Self-efficacy** is the extent of one's belief in one's own ability to complete tasks and reach goals. Here self-efficacy is understood as global self-efficacy not distinguishing between specific domains of life.



Figure 5.6 Health and Wellbeing (%)

School leaders reported similar levels of overall health to the general population. However, school leaders reported regularly experiencing burnout, sleeping troubles and stress. School leaders experienced these three poor health outcomes significantly more frequently than the general population. This is a significant concern as it places school leaders at higher risk of negative long-term health outcomes. To address this issue there needs to be a coordinated response from all key industry stakeholders.

School leaders also reported experiencing depressive symptoms, somatic stress and cognitive stress more frequently than the general population. One positive outcome in relation to health was that school leaders reported high levels of self-efficacy. The results for NZ school leaders were significantly higher than the general population. When disaggregated by gender, except for self-efficacy and depressive syndromes, female leaders recorded higher average scores for all other measures of Health and Wellbeing. In particular, for stress and somatic stress female leaders scores were significantly higher than their male colleagues.

In relation to role, compared to principals, assistant/deputy/associate principals recorded higher scores for burnout, sleeping troubles, depressive symptoms, somatic stress and cognitive stress.

6. Access to support

In the survey, school leaders were asked about their sources of support. Participants responded "yes" or "no" to indicate whether each individual listed was a source of support for them (see figure 4.3 for all sources of support listed in the survey). There was no limit to the number of sources that participants could select.

As indicated in Figure 4.3, 85% of school leaders reported their partner as a source of support and 62% reported their friend and colleague in workplace as main sources of support.



Figure 6.3 Access to support for secondary leaders in NZ (%)

7. Offensive Behaviour

In this section, we report on three key aspects of offensive behaviour: threats of violence, physical violence and bullying. School leaders are asked to report their experiences of these behaviours during the last 12 months of their work. The three key aspects of offensive behaviour are defined as follows:

- Threats of Violence is the exposure to a threat of violence in the workplace.
- **Physical Violence** is the exposure to physical violence in the workplace.
- **Bullying** is the repeated exposure to unpleasant or degrading treatment in the workplace, and the person finds it difficult to defend themselves against it.

7.1. OFFENSIVE BEHAVIOUR

In the last 12 months at work, 32% of New Zealand secondary school leaders report experiencing bullying, 24% report receiving threats of violence and 18% have experienced physical violence. In comparison to the general population, a far greater proportion of school leaders experience each type of offensive behaviour at work. New Zealand secondary school leaders are almost four times more likely to experience bullying, three times more likely to experience threats of violence and almost four and a half times more likely to experience physical violence at work.





7.2. OFFENSIVE BEHAVIOUR: PREVALENCE BY GENDER

In comparison to their male counterparts, significantly more female school leaders report experiencing bullying at work. However, the data shows that more than twice the number of male school leaders in New Zealand experience threats of violence and one and a half times more male leaders experience physical violence (see Figure 5.2).



Figure 7.2 Offensive behaviour prevalence by gender

7.3. OFFENSIVE BEHAVIOUR: SCHOOL LEADERS' WORK EXPERIENCE

7.3.1. YEARS IN LEADERSHIP ROLE

Compared to colleagues with more years of leadership experience, a greater proportion of those with less experience reported bullying and threats of violence in the last 12 months of their work. However, a greater proportion of leaders with more than 13 years of experience in a leadership role reported experiences of physical violence.



Figure 7.3.1 Percentage of school leaders at NZ secondary schools who experienced offensive behaviours, broken down by years of working in a leadership role

7.3.2. YEARS TEACHING

When compared to school leaders with more years teaching experience (prior to undertaking a leadership role), a greater proportion of those with less than 12 years of teaching experience, reported experiencing bullying. However, 29% of New Zealand school leaders with more than 12 years of teaching experience prior to undertaking a leadership role, reported experiencing threats of violence in the last 12 months of their work. This figure is 8% higher than school leaders of secondary schools with less than 12 years of teaching experience. Regarding exposure to physical violence, 22% of school leaders with more than 12 years of teaching reported experiences in the last 12 months, which is 7% more than those with less years of teaching experience (see Figure 5.3.2).



Figure 7.3.2 Percentage of school leaders at NZ secondary schools who experienced offensive behaviours, broken down by years of working in a teaching role

7.3.3. YEARS IN CURRENT ROLE

The length of time that school leaders have spent in their current role also appears to impact on their experiences of offensive behaviour. When compared to those that have been in their current role for a shorter period of time (less than five years), a greater proportion of those with more than five years of experience report bullying in the last 12 months of their work. Those with more than five years of experience in their current role are also more likely to report experiencing physical violence at work than their less experienced colleagues.



Figure 7.3.3 Percentage of school leaders at NZ secondary schools who experienced offensive behaviours, broken down by years of working in current role

8. Summary

Work demands and resources need to be in balance for good psychological health at work. High job demands and low job resources may cause job strain and eventually result in burnout (Bakker and Demerouti, 2007). However, high job resources buffer job demands, reducing their negative impact on individuals. School leaders report very high demands and view a lack of available resources as a considerable source of stress. School leaders reported experiencing burnout, stress and sleep troubles far more frequently than the general population. High workloads and long working hours are likely to contribute significantly to the poor work-related health outcomes experienced by school leaders.

In addition, support from colleagues was significantly lower than the general population mean. Professional support at work is important because it is a strong predictor of coping with the stresses of the role (job demands). Despite these challenges, school leaders report frequently experiencing a number of social and organisational resources, including a strong sense of community at work, high levels of trust between employees, quality leadership and justice.

In terms of work resources, secondary school leaders reported experiencing quality leadership, job satisfaction, trust regarding management, mutual trust between employees and justice more often than the general population. However, they reported experiencing social community at work slightly less, and social support from colleagues less often than the general population. The 2021 survey will enable us to consider whether these scores remain consistent over time and the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic may have had on the results.

The high levels of offensive behaviours against school leaders are a serious cause for concern. The high proportion of school leaders experiencing physical violence underscores that this is an issue in need of urgent policy attention. The consequences of offensive behaviour in schools are likely to become costly for employers, through time lost to ill health, OH&S claims against employers' responsibility for not providing a safe working environment and reduced functioning while at work because of the high levels of offensive behaviour in the workplace.

These issues could be systematically addressed through a comprehensive investigation that examines; differences in the occupational risk of the different types of school leaders, to identify who is most at risk; why, and what can be done to protect them; and governance structures, information flow between adults, and external influences on school functioning.

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