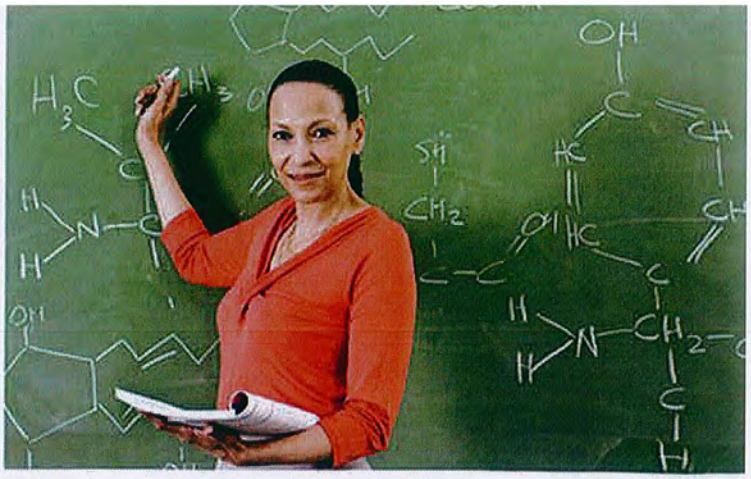
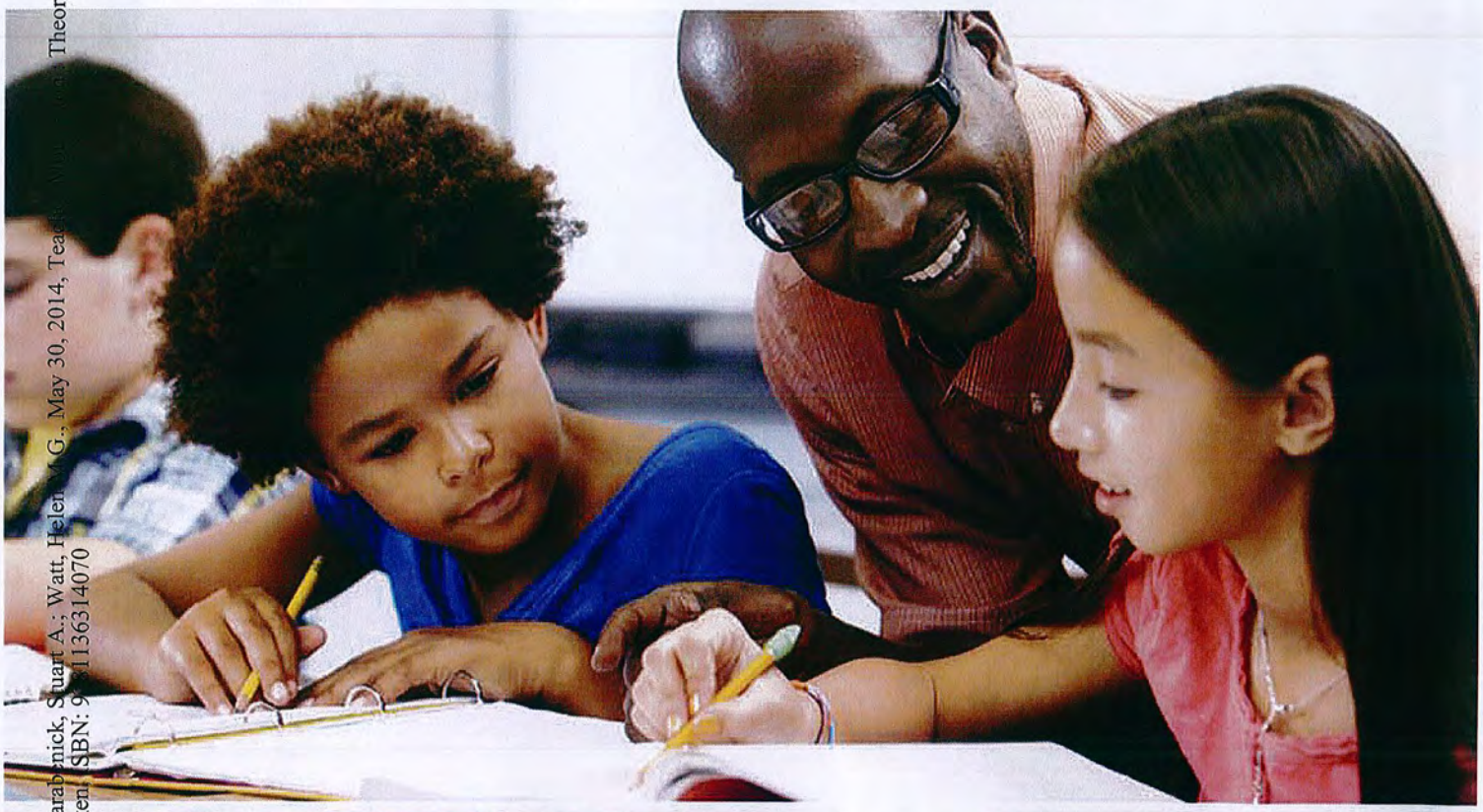


TEACHER MOTIVATION

Theory and Practice



Paul W. Richardson, Stuart A. Karabenick,
Helen M.G. Watt

ROUTLEDGE

TEACHER MOTIVATION

Teacher Motivation: Theory and Practice provides a much-needed introduction to the current status and future directions of theory and research on teacher motivation. Although there is a robust literature covering the theory and research on student motivation, until recently there has been comparatively little attention paid to teachers. This volume draws together a decade of work from psychological theorists and researchers interested in what motivates people to choose teaching as a career, what motivates them as they work with students in classrooms, the impact of intrinsic and extrinsic forces on career experiences, and how their motivational profiles vary at different stages of their career. With chapters from leading experts on the topic, this volume provides a critical resource not only for educational psychologists, but also for those working in related fields such as educational leadership, teacher development, policymakers, and school psychology.

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TEACHER MOTIVATION

Theory and Practice

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WHY PEOPLE CHOOSE TEACHING AS A CAREER

An Expectancy-Value Approach to Understanding Teacher Motivation

Paul W. Richardson and Helen M. G. Watt[1]

Introduction

While there has been persistent interest in why people choose teaching as a career, until recently, there was little agreement among researchers about how best to investigate the issue. By the 1990s a body of research had identified various motivations broadly categorized as *intrinsic, extrinsic,* and *altruistic.* In their seminal review, Brookhart and Freeman (1992) concluded that "altruistic, service-oriented goals and other intrinsic motivations are the source of the primary reasons entering teacher candidates report for why they chose teaching as a career" (p. 46). More recently the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2005) reported on studies independently conducted in France, Australia, Belgium (French Community), Canada (Québec), the Netherlands, the Slovak Republic, and the United Kingdom, which indicated that the most frequently nominated motivations for choosing teaching as a career were the desire to work with youth, the potential for intellectual fulfillment, and the wish to make a social contribution. Reassuringly, the aspiration to work with children and adolescents has been identified as central in many studies conducted over time in the United States, United Kingdom, and Europe (e.g., Fox, 1961; Joseph & Green, 1986; Kyriacou & Coulthard, 2000; Lortie, 1975; Tudhope, 1944; Valentine, 1934). In different sociocultural contexts, such as Brunei (Yong, 1995), Zimbabwe (Chivore, 1988), Cameroon (Abangma, 1981), the Caribbean (Brown, 1992), and Jamaica (Bastick, 1999), "extrinsic motives" such as salary, job security, and career status have been found to be more prominent.

However, the absence of an agreed upon theoretical and analytical framework meant that what constituted intrinsic, altruistic, extrinsic, or other categories of motivation had been variously operationalized, resulting in a lack of definitional precision and inconsistencies across studies, making problematic the comparison of findings from one study to another. For example, the desire to work with children has sometimes been regarded as an intrinsic motivation (e.g., Young, 1995), and sometimes as altruistic (Yong, 1995). These definitional difficulties were compounded by researchers using different survey instruments, with little or no reporting of construct validity or reliability and an over-reliance on raw frequency counts. Faced with these definitional and measurement issues, and in an effort to identify the underlying

psychological processes associated with motivations for career choice, we turned to developed frameworks from the motivation literature to provide a unified and comprehensive approach with improved explanatory power. What motivates people to want to become teachers, how those motivations are measured, whether and how they can be realized in particular school settings, and their impact on how teachers teach and interact with students are questions central to our continuing longitudinal program of research delineated in this chapter.

It is not surprising that researchers continue to investigate what motivates people to choose to enter the teaching profession, given the combined impetus of difficulties in finding suitably qualified people to fill teacher vacancies in particular fields and regions and to retain teachers beyond their beginning years, as well as the drive for school reform and improved teacher quality. In most countries around the world, teachers represent a large heterogeneous workforce that is positioned by governments from diverse political persuasions as central to the development of an educated, skilled, highly adaptable workforce, deemed necessary for economic and social development (OECD, 2005, 2009). Research and policy attention has increasingly concentrated on the quality of those recruited into teacher education and the processes for professionally developing, rewarding, and retaining the best quality teachers (OECD, 2009). There has been a notable shift in the policy debate from a need to recruit more people into teaching, to a focus on how best to recruit and sustain the most effective teachers—even if it means dropping 5 percent of teachers identified as low performing (see Hanushek & Rivkin, 2012).

Background to the FIT-Choice Project

Our interest in teacher motivation emerged from our professional work over several decades with people enrolled in teacher education programs. While it was commonplace for many teacher educators to ask incoming students why they had chosen teaching as a career, their motivations and choice were not systematically researched. Explanations for the attractiveness of teaching as a career choice were at times founded upon anecdote or assumptions sustained by studies reporting reasons such as enjoyment of working with children, a desire to teach, the influence of positive role models, perceived employment conditions, and a desire to make a difference (see Skilbeck & Connell, 2003). Richardson was course director for an Australian graduate-entry teacher education program and intrigued by the many applications from those who were making a significant change out of what are often perceived as demanding, high status, and financially rewarding careers. What would motivate people to change into a career such as teaching, which is typically perceived to be both lower in social status and offering no more than a modest salary? And, would their motivations differ from what motivates people to choose teaching at all? Answers to these questions did not seem to us to be obvious or unimportant.

Among the diversity of people undertaking teacher education, we wanted to understand their values, beliefs, expectancies, hopes, and aspirations for career development. We wondered whether teachers might share core motivations despite their personal and career histories, or, whether different motivations were more or less important for different types of beginning teachers. For example, did those entering teacher education programs to become early childhood, primary, and secondary teachers have similar or very different motivations? We were also interested in whether different country's salary structures, the relative status of teaching as a career, or working conditions would produce different sets of motivations among future teachers. Were some politicians and the mass media right in suggesting that teaching

represented a "fallback career" for those unable to pursue more prestigious and financially rewarding careers? And finally, did teachers' motivations matter for their subsequent professional engagement and teaching behaviors?

Theoretical Underpinnings of the FIT-Choice Framework

In our development of the FIT-Choice framework (Factors Influencing Teaching Choice; www.fitchoice.org), it was puzzling to realize that there had been little dialogue between the teacher education literature on the one hand, and the literatures concerning motivations and occupational choice on the other. These literatures had developed independently of one another, and much of what we know about career choice across a range of careers had not influenced the research concerning teaching. Concordantly, the wealth of research within the motivation literature concerned students; teachers had not been studied in the same way as individuals, having their own motivations, expectations, goals, and aspirations.

Within the field of motivation and career choice, the Eccles et al. expectancy-value theory (EVT; for recent reviews see Eccles, 2005, 2009) proposed that educational, vocational, and other achievement-related choices are directly impacted by one's abilities, beliefs, and expectancies for success on the one hand, and the value one attaches to the task on the other. This is a theoretically comprehensive and empirically robust framework originally developed to examine gendered patterns of senior high mathematics enrollment (Eccles (Parsons) et al., 1983). Factors that comprise the values component include how much a person enjoys the task (Intrinsic value), whether it is seen as useful (Utility value), and if it is important for achieving a person's own goals (Attainment value). The less studied negative "Cost" value component captures what an individual must give up (opportunity cost), negative outcomes such as financial loss, psychological experiences (e.g., anxiety), and time and effort required.

The expectancy-value framework has been more broadly applied to other academic school disciplines (e.g., English and Language Arts: Jacobs, Lanza, Osgood, Eccles, & Wigfield, 2002; Watt, 2004; and sport: Fredricks & Eccles, 2002) and, importantly for our purposes, also to specific types of careers (e.g., Watt, 2002, 2006; Watt, Shapka, et al., 2012). Taking its point of departure from this work, our FIT-Choice framework was advanced to provide a coherent and integrated model to guide systematic inquiry into the primary motivations of why people choose to become teachers (Figure 1.1; see Richardson & Watt, 2006, 2010; Watt & Richardson, 2007, 2008).

Intrinsic value and perceived ability factors, emphasized within expectancy-value theory, are the main focus of several models in the motivation literature; also in the career choice literature more generally, ability-related beliefs have been a key focus (see Social Cognitive Career Theory; Lent, 2001). Intriguingly, these factors had received little attention in studies of why people choose teaching as a career. However, other reasons that had been documented in the teacher education literature could all be mapped onto constructs within the expectancy-value model, which additionally suggested other important motivations. In our integrative FIT-Choice model (for a review see Watt & Richardson, 2008), we developed a psychometric scale with factors that tapped the *altruistic*-type motivations long emphasized in the teacher education literature (e.g., Book & Freeman, 1986; Brown, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Moran, Kilpatrick, Abbott, Dallatt, & McClune, 2001; Serow & Forrest, 1994), together with more personally utilitarian and intrinsic motivations, and ability-related motivations, which have received considerable attention in the career choice literature (see Lent, Lopez, & Bieschke, 1993).

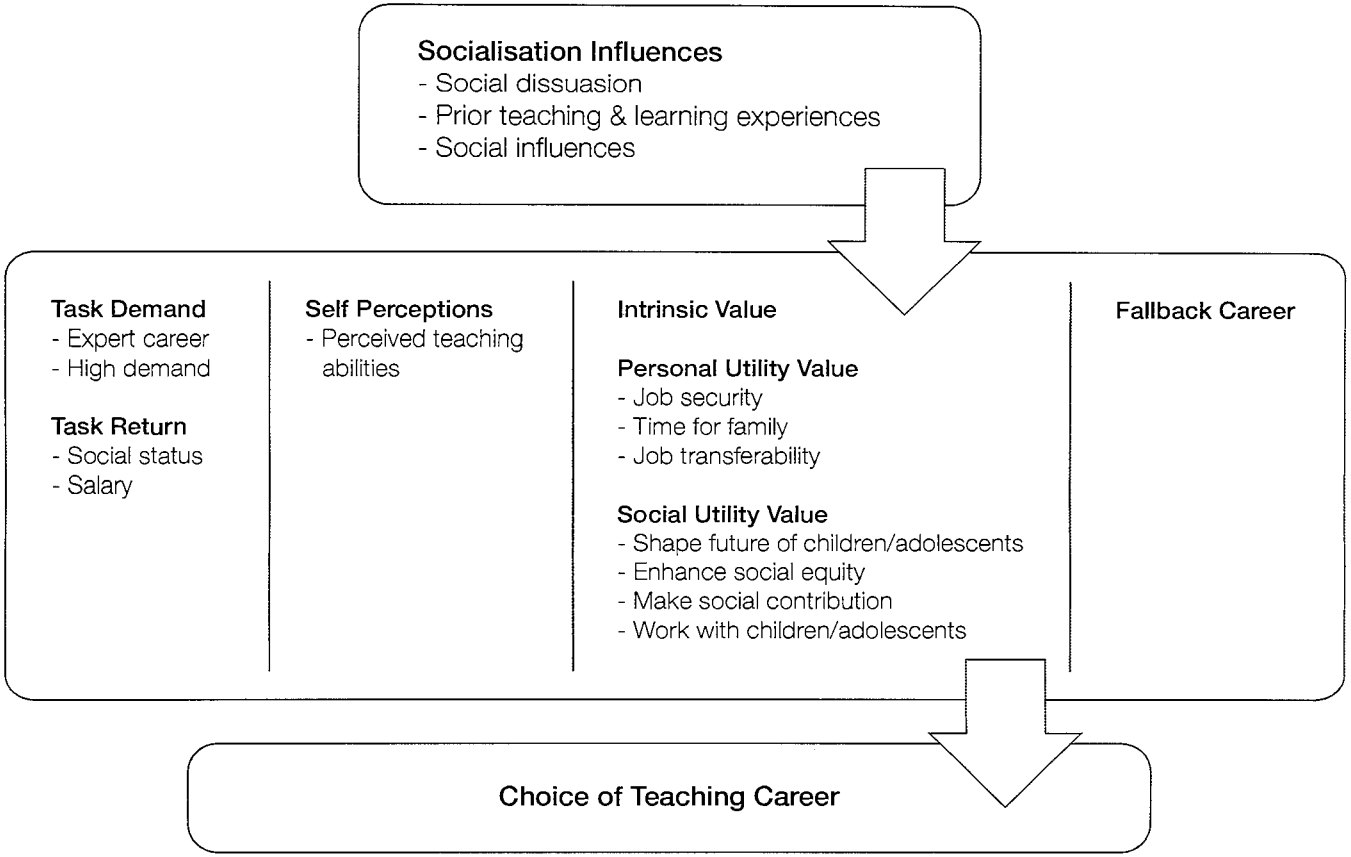

FIGURE 1.1 FIT-Choice theoretical model.

The FIT-Choice model takes into account antecedent *Social influences* and *Prior teaching and learning experiences* followed by the more proximal influences of *Self-perceptions, Values,* and *Fallback career.* Higher-order values constructs in our model are *Personal utility value* and *Social utility value. Personal utility* consists of the first-order constructs of *Job security, Time for family,* and *Job transferability; Social utility value* contains *Shape future of children/adolescents, Enhance social equity, Make social contribution,* and *Work with children/adolescents.* Multiple items measure each factor with response options ranging from 1 ("not at all important") through 7 ("extremely important"). As a preface to all motivation items in the scale, "I chose to become a teacher because . . ." was typed in large boldfaced font at the top of each page and was also the prompt for an open response at the beginning of the survey (see Richardson & Watt, 2006). In addition to the 12 motivation factors, the FIT-Choice scale measures perceptions about the demands and rewards of the teaching profession, rated from 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("extremely"). The higher-order *Task demand* is composed of first-order constructs *Expertise* and *Difficulty;* similarly, *Task return* contains *Social status* and *Salary.* Experiences of *Social dissuasion* and *Career choice satisfaction* were also assessed. All parts of the model are proposed to work together to predict choice of a teaching career and professional engagement outcomes (see Figure 1.1). We also developed outcome indicators in the form of the Professional Engagement and Career Development Aspirations scale (PECDA; Watt & Richardson, 2008) to measure planned persistence, planned effort, professional development aspirations, and leadership aspirations.

Psychometric Validation of the FIT-Choice Scale

To test the psychometric properties of the FIT-Choice scale, we recruited entire cohorts of first-year preservice teachers from different Australian universities in two States ($N = 1651$; see Richardson & Watt, 2006). We conducted validation analyses involving exploratory factor analyses (EFA), followed by confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) using different subsamples to avoid overcapitalizing on sample characteristics. To establish convergent and divergent construct validity across the set of first-order and higher-order factors, a nested CFA was subsequently conducted on the combined cohorts. This resulted in our final empirically validated FIT-Choice scale containing 12 subscales for motivations, 4 subscales concerning beliefs about teaching, and a further subscale measuring how satisfied participants were with their choice of a teaching career (Watt & Richardson, 2007).

Subsequently, the FIT-Choice scale has been used by researchers from other settings. Having developed and validated the FIT-Choice scale among preservice teachers in Australia, our next step was to check whether it would function similarly among samples from different contexts. We could not assume that the scale would measure the same constructs in the same way in different sociocultural contexts. For the scale to be useful for other researchers, we needed to determine whether it would perform similarly in different samples and settings. In cross-cultural comparisons, especially when using self-report measures, it is necessary to establish scale invariance (Vijver & Tanzer, 1998). Strong factorial invariance (Little, 1997; Meredith, 1993) means that constructs are fundamentally functioning in the same way such that cross-sample differences do not affect the underlying measurement characteristics. Once this has been achieved, qualitative comparisons can be meaningfully undertaken across samples. In a collaborative international study, we were able to directly assess and evaluate similar psychometric properties across Australian, U.S., German, and Norwegian samples (Watt, Richardson, et al., 2012); the resulting model fitted the data satisfactorily, and strong factorial

invariance was established. In other studies researchers have reported good construct validity and reliability across a range of settings (see Watt & Richardson, 2012). The FIT-Choice scale consequently provides a promising measurement platform with which to directly compare and contrast different teacher motivations across samples and contexts and to enable testing of associations with factors that may be antecedents or consequences of those motivations.

What Are the Main Motivations of Future Teachers?

In the original Australian FIT-Choice sample, ability beliefs and intrinsic value (emphasized as major influences within the expectancy-value framework) were the highest-rated motivations for choosing teaching as a career. The next most highly endorsed motivations were Social utility values (*Make social contribution, Shape future of children/adolescents, Work with children/adolescents,* and *Enhance social equity*) and *Prior teaching and learning* experiences. It was reassuring that *Fallback career* motivations were rated lowest, indicating that people had not chosen teaching because they were unable to pursue more preferred options; the next lowest endorsed was *Social influences* of others' reinforcement to pursue a teaching career. A prevailing stereotype has been that teaching is chosen mainly by women because it is a family-friendly career, yet, when incorporated in a comprehensive multidimensional framework alongside competing motivations, *Time for family* ratings were moderate, as were other Personal utility values (*Job security* and *Job transferability*). Our Australian sample of future teachers perceived teaching to be a highly demanding, emotionally testing, expert career requiring specialized and technical knowledge. At the same time, they perceived it as rather low in the rewards of *Social status* and *Salary* and reported rather strong *Social dissuasion* from pursuing a teaching career. Thus, even as these future teachers began their teacher education, they were aware that the professional "returns" were low and the "demands" high, thus constituting a "cost," in terms of the underpinning expectancy-value framework. Despite this, mean satisfaction ratings with their choice of teaching as a career were very high.

What about other contexts? Would we expect motivations for teaching to be similar or different? Different processes for selecting teacher education candidates and the nature of teachers' work may shape teacher motivations in different ways. In a four-sample comparison study (Watt, Richardson, et al., 2012), these same five motivations were rated highest: intrinsic value, perceived ability, the desire to make a social contribution, the desire to work with children/adolescents, and positive prior teaching and learning experiences. Personal utility values (job security and time for family) were rated lower, and the least influential factors were the social influences of family, friends, and co-workers, and the choice of teaching as a fallback career. These suggest that, at least in our Australian, U.S., German, and Norwegian samples, the choice of teaching as a career is more the result of an individual decision rather than one heavily influenced by social persuasion. There were also some differences across samples and settings; for example, Norwegian participants rated social utility motivations lowest, consonant with greater social equity in Norway, which may lead to less strong motivations for future teachers to strive for social equity.

There was a consensus across the samples that teaching was a highly demanding career requiring expertise, but the picture with regard to perceived task returns in the form of social status and salary was mixed. Salary was rated highest in the German sample, reflecting actual salary difference across settings; yet, social status was rated lowest in the German sample. In other words, recognition of higher teaching salaries in Germany did not directly translate into perceiving teaching as affording high social status. Perceptions of salary and social status

were also negligibly correlated among the German sample. These findings suggest that adjustments to salary alone may be insufficient leverage with which to alter teachers' job satisfaction or retention (Watt, Richardson, et al., 2012). This is not to suggest that teachers would not welcome a raise in salary, but it may not be the sole or most important driver of teacher motivation, career engagement, and commitment. Comparing samples from different country contexts who have responded to the same survey questions provides "natural experiments," in which differences and similarities in relation to social and cultural particularities can be identified and considered, especially in the formation of policies concerned with teacher recruitment, teacher retention, and professional development.

By bringing together researchers who had translated or used the scale in different contexts in a special issue dedicated to such comparisons, we were able to deliberately explore these issues among culturally diverse settings, including Turkey, Germany, Croatia, China, Switzerland, the United States, and the Netherlands (Watt & Richardson, 2012). Only by employing parallel measures can such inferences begin to be made. The FIT-Choice scale performed satisfactorily within each study, permitting fruitful quantitative comparisons. As in the original Australian study, fallback career was rated very low in the German (König & Rothland, 2012), U.S. (Lin, Shi, Wang, Zhang, & Hui, 2012), and Croatian (Jugović, Marušić, Ivanec, & Vidović, 2012) samples; less low in the Chinese (Lin et al., 2012) and Turkish (Kılınç, Watt, & Richardson, 2012). Intriguingly, ability motivations and intrinsic value were less endorsed in the Chinese and Turkish samples; perhaps in such collectivist cultures choice of a career may be less based on individual interests and abilities, and more on the need for job security and benefits.

Among the Croatian, Turkish, and U.S. samples "altruistic" social utility values were equally high, but noticeably lowest in the Chinese sample, and in between for the German sample. It seems likely that when preservice teachers perceive their future workplace to be in a highly tracked schooling system such as in Germany, or a collectivist culture such as China, there may be either, respectively, a lowered sense of personal agency to achieve social equity or shape the future for youth through the education system, or less perceived need to do so. Personal utility values were comparable across samples, although job security motivations were noticeably higher among respondents in the Turkish sample, reflecting the importance of secure employment with benefits in a context where teachers who are employed by the State receive a secure position, enhanced employment benefits, and a retirement pension. Use of a common measurement platform enabled the first comparisons of teacher motivations across these different settings. From the studies that have been conducted so far, it does seem that there are both "core" teacher motivations and that context does make a difference to the prominence of individualistic, collectivistic, or personally utilitarian motivations.

Are There Different Types of Beginning Teachers?

Might similar group level teacher motivations across samples mask important within-sample differences? Given the heterogeneity of the teaching workforce, we had expected that there would be different kinds of future teachers with varying motivational profiles. In thinking about different types of teachers, we were influenced by large-scale typological studies of health professionals and teachers in Germany (see Kieschke & Schaarschmidt, 2008), the Netherlands (de Heus & Diekstra, 1999), and the United States (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). We used our sample of Australian future teachers' professional engagement and career development aspirations (PECDA) as an organizing framework to apply a typological

approach and to examine different initial teaching motivations, perceptions about the profession, and career choice satisfaction through the teaching degree.

Using 2 timepoint longitudinal data, from the beginning until the end of teacher education, we discerned three distinct profiles of future teachers who differed in terms of their professional engagement and career development aspirations (Time 2, measured by the PECDA scale; Watt & Richardson, 2008). We named these clusters the *highly engaged persisters* (45% of sample), *highly engaged switchers* (27%), and *lower engaged desisters* (28%). Counter to our expectations, they did not differ by whether they were to become secondary or elementary school teachers (Watt & Richardson, 2008). The clusters exhibited differences in demographic characteristics and initial teaching motivations and perceptions about the profession.

Highly engaged persisters were the most motivated by *Intrinsic value, Perceived teaching abilities,* and *Social utility values (Shape future of children/adolescents, Enhance social equity, Make social contribution,* and *Work with children/adolescents*) and scored lowest on *Fallback career.* For members of this cluster, teaching represented an intrinsically rewarding "dream ambition" consistent with their goals and ambitions. Although they were aware that the financial rewards were not high, they looked upon teaching as offering a satisfying career that provided opportunities to fulfill their real and anticipated family responsibilities. From the perspective of teacher educators, this cluster exhibited what might appear as a highly desirable profile for beginning teachers.

The *highly engaged switchers* scored as high as the *highly engaged persisters* on the altruistic motivations of *Enhance social equity* and *Make social contribution,* and in-between other profiles on *Intrinsic value, Shape future of children/adolescents,* and *Work with children/adolescents.* They planned to be effortful, undertake professional development, aspire to leadership positions in schools, and remained satisfied with their choice of teaching through the course of their degree, but, because they had other career plans, they were not planning to stay long in the profession. The cluster contained people who could be described as "restless spirits" intent on new challenges thrown up by a range of occupations that would see them leave teaching within a defined timeframe of typically 3–5 years. This group came from the highest socioeconomic backgrounds, were the youngest in age, and were the least likely to have children, to have come from non-English home language backgrounds, or to have had previous work experiences. Identification of this type provided a new and positive perspective on early career attrition, a feature identified in various countries around the globe (Ingersoll, 2001, 2003; Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Kersaint, Lewis, Potter, & Meisels, 2007; OECD, 2005). An implication is that policymakers need to be aware of this group in succession planning, taking account of their leadership ambitions and the desire for new challenges in their career, because it might be possible to retain them if these needs could be accommodated within the teaching profession.

The high proportion of *lower engaged desisters* was challenging because they presented a rather negative motivational profile; they were least motivated by intrinsic and social utility values and more likely to have chosen teaching as a fallback career. Additionally, their satisfaction with the choice of a career in teaching declined over the course of their degree, due to negative practicum experiences, confrontation with the demanding nature of teachers' work, lack of school structural supports, difficulties experienced in working with children/adolescents, perceived lack of career prospects, and insecure employment.

We replicated these analyses in samples of preservice teachers from the United States, United Kingdom, and Turkey to reveal similarities and some differences that reflect

conditions in the different contexts. Among a sample from the United States we distinguished three clusters (Watt, Richardson, & Wilkins, 2014), two of which resembled the Australian "highly engaged persisters (48% of the sample) and "lower engaged desisters" (32%); a new third cluster was the "classroom engaged careerists" (20%), who were high on planned effort, professional development plans, and persistence, but equally low with the "lower engaged desisters" on leadership aspirations. As with the highly engaged persisters, they were most motivated to teach based on their perceived teaching abilities and intrinsic values, as well as their desire to work with youth, shape the future of youth, and to enhance social equity; they had also decided upon teaching the longest time ago, reported the least amount of social dissuasion, showed little interest in becoming a school leader or administrator, and were intent on a career as a classroom teacher. It is likely that the differences in career structure toward educational leadership positions across the two settings could explain why classroom engaged careerists intended to remain in classroom teaching their whole careers, and the absence of the "highly engaged switchers" cluster identified in the Australian context. Historically, typical pathways to school leadership positions in Australian schools follow demonstrated effective experience in classroom teaching over an extended period, whereas in the United States, different training is mostly required for these consequently divergent career paths. Further research is required in additional cultural contexts that offer different school leadership pathways in order to test this explanation and establish the robustness or otherwise of these types.

Additional confirmation of this explanation could be found in collaborative analyses among a UK sample (with colleagues Peter Gronn and V. Darleen Opfer), where the pathways to school leadership include both rising through the ranks as a teacher and undertaking further study in the area of school leadership. Here, we distinguished the three Australian cluster profiles (highly engaged persisters, 31% of sample; highly engaged switchers, 34%; lower engaged desisters, 11%) as well as the "classroom engaged careerists" (24%). Further, in a new collaboration in Turkey (Kılınç, Watt, & Richardson, 2012) where both pathways to school leadership exist, and where teacher education is also less highly competitive than other university degrees, we could identify all four profiles (highly engaged persisters; classroom engaged careerists; highly engaged switchers; lower engaged desisters), and an additional "disengaged desisters" profile. As their name suggests, members of this last cluster scored lowest on planned effort, persistence, professional development, and leadership aspirations. Not surprisingly, this group also contained the largest proportion of people who did not want to teach. In Turkey, teacher education represents a pathway to a university degree with increased opportunities for better employment prospects, in a context where approximately 50% of the population is below 29.2 years of old, and 25.6% is under the age of 14 years (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2009). Even though members of this group do not wish to teach, it may be a good investment for them to enroll in teacher education to enhance future career prospects, although, in other contexts, these individuals may have self-selected out of teaching.

The robust emergence of the *highly engaged switchers* and *lower engaged desisters* across different samples and settings suggests that previous explanations for why people leave teaching within their first five years need to be carefully re-examined. It is clear that a significant percentage of people enter teacher education with developed plans for how long they will stay in the profession. This finding has implications for teacher employers and policymakers concerned with workforce planning, recruitment, and renewal.

Do Initial Motivations Matter for Different Types of Teachers and Teaching Outcomes?

Continuing our typological approach, we posed the following question: Would the *highly engaged persisters,* who exhibited a seemingly highly positive profile at completion of their teacher education, perform and cope best following professional entry? Or, might they instead be the most psychologically vulnerable to stressors and experience "reality shock" during their early career? It could be that the most altruistic, highly motivated individuals may not best accommodate the demands and stressors of teaching if they are prone to assuming high levels of responsibility (Lauermann & Karabenick, this volume), commitment, and overwork, and end up on a path to career burnout (Kieschke & Schaarschmidt, 2008). We have found initial evidence to confirm the latter speculation among those Australian beginning teachers we have so far followed up in their early teaching careers, through comparing differential changes in motivations, career choice satisfaction, and self-efficacies over the first five years of teaching (Watt & Richardson, 2010). The *highly engaged persisters,* who held the most idealistic motivations, maintained these to the same degree from commencing teacher education through into early career teaching. However, their stable idealistic motivations were associated with reduced career choice satisfaction, lowered planned persistence, and self-efficacies. Conversely, for the other subtypes, motivational adjustments related to stable satisfaction, planned persistence, and self-efficacies. It seems therefore that motivational adjustments could be an adaptive coping response when there is a lack of congruence between individual motivations and professional demands and affordances. Without a recalibration of their motivations, the *highly engaged persisters* were seemingly challenged by the demands of what it means to be a teacher, perhaps especially if they found themselves in contexts that did not support the achievement of their teaching motivations and career aspirations. The costs of maintaining high idealistic motivations appeared to be diminished career satisfaction, fraying of plans to stay on in the profession, and reduced belief in their own capabilities to achieve valued outcomes.

According to expectancy-value theory, the kinds of outcomes that motivations should impact include performance, effort, and persistence. Having worked to conceptualize, operationalize, measure, and compare future teachers' motivations, we wanted to determine whether they matter for subsequent early career engagement and teaching style. How would expectancy-value theory play out in the context of teaching careers? Would initial teaching motivations affect dimensions of professional engagement and career development aspirations, and components of teaching style? We were able to examine these questions among our continuing Australian longitudinal sample across three timepoints: Phase 1: entry to teacher education; Phase 2: immediately prior to exit from teacher education; and Phase 3: up to eight years teaching experience. We examined how initial motivations for teaching (FIT-Choice scale) influenced dimensions of professional engagement and career development aspirations at conclusion of teacher education (PECDA), and early career participant-reported teaching style (Phase 3: Teacher Style Scale [TSS]; Watt & Richardson, 2007). The TSS measured four latent factors of *positive expectations* (e.g., To what extent do students in your classes feel that you expect them to work hard to achieve their full potential?), *relatedness* (e.g., To what extent do students in your classes feel they enjoy interacting with you?), *structure* (e.g., To what extent do students in your class feel there are clear expectations about student behavior?), and *negativity* (e.g., To what extent do students in your classes feel you might react negatively towards their mistakes?), all rated from 1 (not at all) to 7 (a lot). All factors exhibited good construct

validity and acceptable Cronbach alpha measures of internal consistency (see also Spearman & Watt, 2013).

Our results highlight that initial motivations for choosing teaching do matter and impact dimensions of beginning teachers' anticipated professional engagement as they embark on their career, as well as self-reported teaching style up to eight years in teaching (Figure 1.2). Ability motivations at degree entry predicted later positive teaching behaviors, as did social utility value through its influence on participants' planned persistence in the profession at the point of exit from teacher education. Conversely, fallback career motivations negatively impacted planned career persistence, level of effort exertion, and leadership aspirations, and led to negative reported teaching behaviors via reduced planned persistence. Interestingly, social influences to become a teacher led to later negative teaching practices; the negative effect of strong social persuasion consequently needs to be kept in mind when encouraging students to choose the teaching profession.

The most adaptive motivations appeared to be ability beliefs and social utility values—resonating with teachers' adaptive mastery and relational goals orientations identified by Butler (2012; see also Butler, this volume). Problematic motivations were clearly fallback career and social influences, which both predicted teaching negativity. Personal utility values did not predict PECDA or TSS dimensions; intrinsic value was highly interrelated with social utility values and perceived ability motivations, and highly negatively correlated with fallback career, therefore needing to be excluded from these analyses. Notably, highest rated motivations were not necessarily the strongest predictors. Recall that on entry to

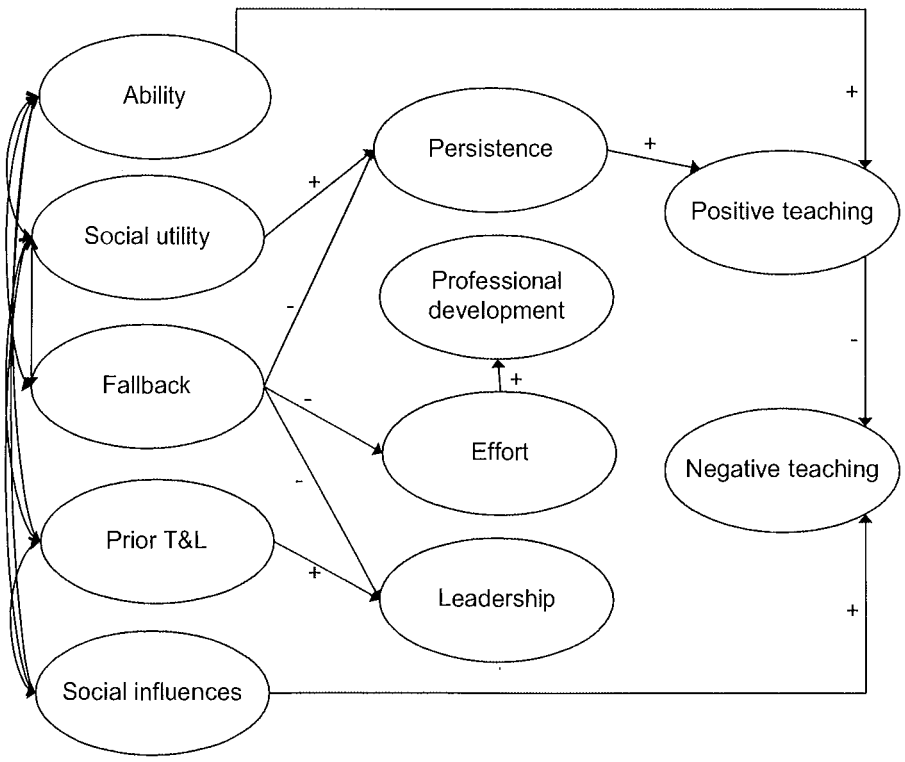

FIGURE 1.2 Influences of initial teaching motivations on professional engagement and later reported teaching behaviors (standardized significant structural paths only represented, $p < 0.05$).

teacher education, motivations that were most highly endorsed were intrinsic value, perceived teaching abilities, prior teaching and learning experiences, and social utility values; whereas fallback career was lowest rated (Richardson & Watt, 2006). Intriguingly, although the high-rated motivations did predict to PECDA and TSS outcomes, so did fallback career motivations, which showed the most significant unique paths that were also strong in magnitude. Personal utility values and social influence motivations had been rated quite low: the first showed no relationships with outcomes, whereas the latter led to teaching negativity (see Figure 1.2). If strong social persuasion into teaching from family, friends, and others predicts negative behaviors toward students later on, this has implications for the ways in which teacher recruitment efforts are developed and exercised. Having established the enduring effect of initial teaching motivations for early career teachers, we are turning our attention to other motivational outcomes, as well as mid-career measures of what sustains teacher motivation and commitment. Positive relationships have already been discovered between teachers' intrinsic motivation, enthusiasm and enjoyment of teaching, work engagement, further learning, instructional quality, and their students' achievement (Kunter & Holzberger, this volume).

Implications and Future Directions

The development and implementation of the FIT-Choice model provides a promising, theoretically robust, psychometrically reliable approach to the study of teacher motivations and their consequences. The FIT-Choice scale has been translated into various languages, which, to our knowledge, include French, German, Mandarin, Dutch, Turkish, Croatian, Indonesian, Estonian, and Spanish; with translations into Japanese and Finnish in preparation. It would seem that the availability of a common measurement platform can assist researchers who seek to understand and contrast initial teacher motivations as well as their antecedents and consequences.

Some time ago the European Commission Study Group on Education and Training (1997) identified profound socioeconomic and technological changes that were reconfiguring the roles and responsibilities of teachers, which they observed "increasingly incorporates social, behavioral, civic, economic and technological dimensions" (p. 131). These changes have continued to escalate. New teachers are entering into workplaces characterized by centralized accountability measures, marketization of schools and education services, auditing of teaching quality and test results, narrowed curricula, differentiated pay scales for teachers, and the emergence of the teacher as entrepreneur (Lipman, 2009, p. 68). Such policy reforms, endemic to many education systems around the globe, have been derived from organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD. Today's teaching environments are not straightforwardly compatible with what we know of why people have chosen a teaching career; the multidimensional role of teachers in "new" times may well clash with their motivations to become teachers. Although initial teaching motivations impact early career professional engagement, career development aspirations, and self-reported teaching style, it remains still an open question whether and how initial career motivations will continue to impact the different phases of teachers' careers, or the extent to which teaching motivations will change over time, within different school and cultural environments. We might expect that a lack of person-environment fit (see Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993) or congruence between individuals' goals and features of the environment (Holland, 1997), would impact

career choice satisfaction (see Elton & Smart, 1998; Fricko & Beehr, 1992; Smart, Elton, & McLaughlin, 1986) and professional development intentions. Although Huberman (1989) proposed a widely cited and adopted stage model of teacher career development that implies fluctuations in motivation at different intervals across the life span, it is yet to be tested among a longitudinal sample of teachers.

We have yet to discover whether initial motivations are prone to continual appraisal, evaluation, and recalibration. Different kinds of school contexts may hinder rather than support the realization of teachers' motivations, and if initial motivations cannot be met, this may fuel disappointment, emotional exhaustion, and eventual burnout (de Jesus & Lens, 2005). The person who chooses teaching because s/he highly values the work that teachers do, has a belief in her/his own ability, and has a desire to work with children and enhance social equity, may fit comfortably into lower socioeconomic status school community contexts, where there are fewer material supports and resources but a great need for highly committed teachers. If this same person were instead located in a wealthy private school and teaching children from upper socioeconomic status backgrounds, the desire to work with children and adolescents may be as strong, but the need to make a social contribution and to enhance social equity may have less opportunity to be fulfilled, leading on the one hand to potential frustration and disappointment, or, on the other, to a recalibration of initial motivations to those that could be more effectively achieved.

The continuing FIT-Choice program of research that we have outlined in this chapter has thus far focused on motivations for choosing teaching as a career and subsequent implications for the experiences of beginning teachers. In this endeavor, the Eccles et al. expectancy-value model (1983; Eccles, 2009) has proven highly valuable in theorizing and developing a measure of initial teacher motivations. Other researchers have fruitfully drawn on different motivational lenses, in particular achievement goal theory (see Butler, 2012; Butler & Shibaz, 2008; see also Butler, this volume) and self-determination theory (Roth, this volume), to explore different dimensions of practising teachers' motivation. These motivational theories have demonstrated considerable explanatory power in relation to the life/career stage of these professionals who are practising teachers rather than those choosing and entering into the career. Now that educational psychologists and motivation researchers have begun to concentrate their gaze on teachers using theoretical lenses from the field of motivation, there is the opportunity to develop fresh insights concerning teachers' motivations, professional engagement and career development aspirations, behaviors, and relationships with students' motivations, learning, and achievement.

The beginning accumulation of a body of work concerning early career teachers' motivations and aspirations enriches previous understanding of why some leave the profession early. We need to know much more about the expectancies, values, and beliefs of those who remain in the profession, what sustains them over time, and how they cope with the exigencies of a job subject to intense levels of expectation, inspection, critique, and even, in some cases, abuse. How do highly resilient teachers cope, and what do their motivational profiles look like? An observation made by Connell some time ago (1985, p. 69) remains apposite:

> Teachers are workers, teaching is work, and the school is a workplace. These simple facts are often forgotten. Parents often judge teachers as if they were surrogate parents, kids treat them as a cross between a motor cycle cop and an encyclopaedia, politicians and media treat them as punching-bags.

Even the most highly motivated teachers, when confronted by demanding parents, difficult children, less than supportive politicians, and an abusive media, must wonder about the possibilities of pursuing another occupation. It remains to be seen what will happen with the "highly engaged switchers" and the "lower engaged desisters"; will the rewards of teaching be enough to persuade the "switchers" to stay, or to turn the "desisters" around to be effective teachers who experience fulfilling careers? Will the "highly engaged persisters" be able to sustain their motivations and adequately cope with the demands of teaching without finding themselves on the path to burnout? These questions can only be adequately addressed by following a large sample of teachers across their career life span to track how their expectancies, values, and beliefs develop within different workplace contexts, which is the goal of our FIT-Choice program of research.

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