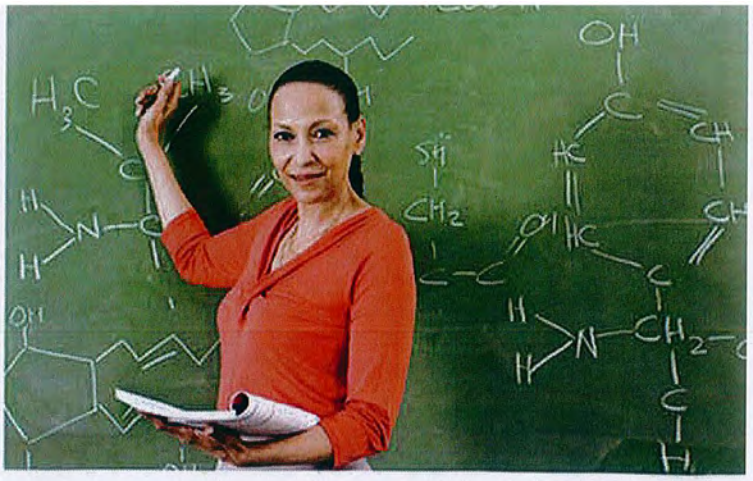
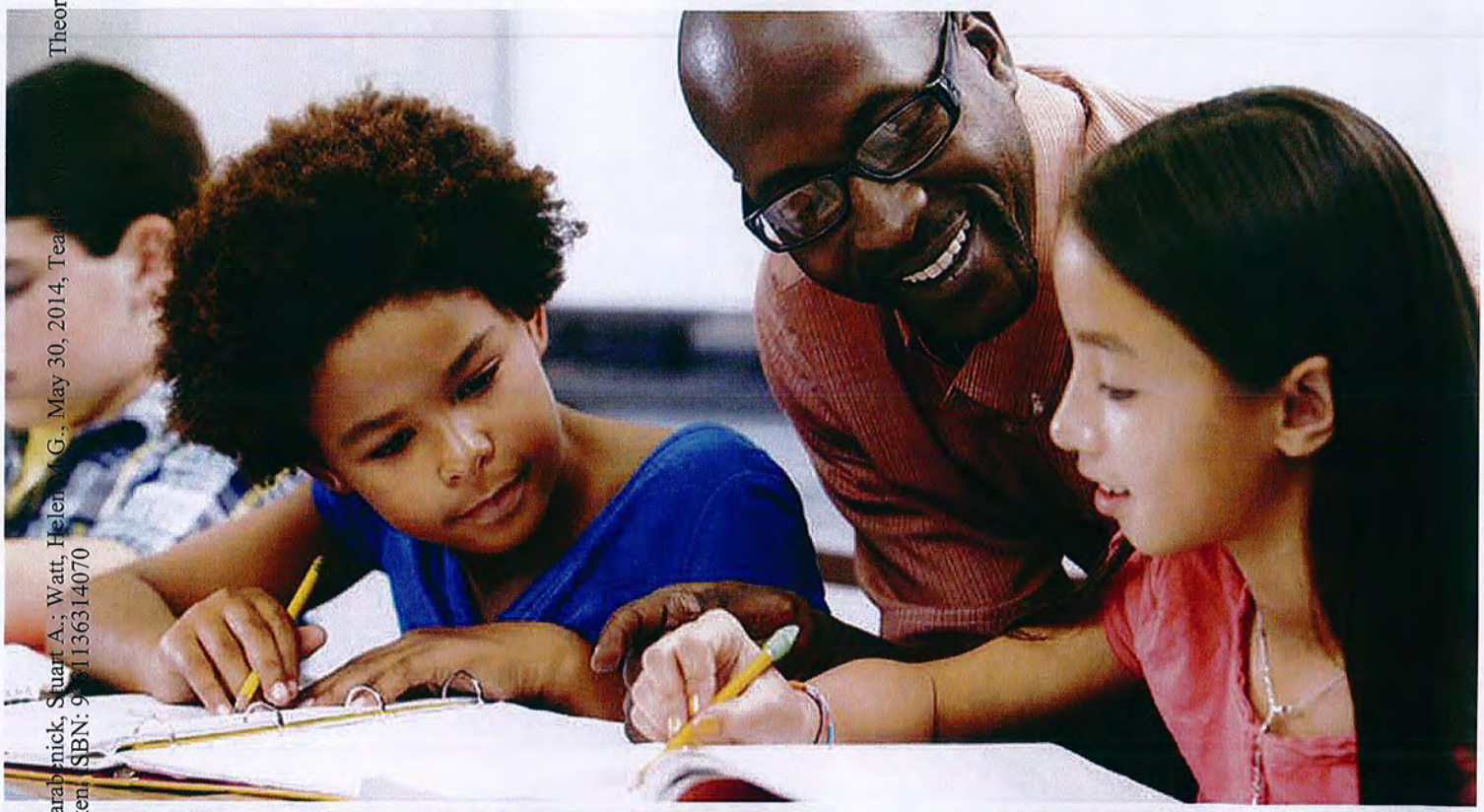


TEACHER MOTIVATION

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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CONTENTS

TEACHER MOTIVATION MATTERS

An Introduction

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

The genesis of this volume was a meeting at the University of Michigan in 2008 with Stuart Karabenick during Paul Richardson and Helen Watt's visit from Australia to Jacquelynne Eccles' research group at the Institute for Social Research. Framing our conversation was an awareness of the consistent and growing interest in why people did, or did not, choose teaching as a career. Over the last decades of the 20th century, educational and developmental psychologists had formulated robust theories, supported by a wealth of empirical studies, concerning student motivation, engagement, and learning. Yet, with the exception of research on teacher self-efficacy and burnout, there had been little attention paid to teachers' motivations. While there are important books about teachers and their lives (e.g., Connell, 1985; Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington, & Gu, 2007; Huberman & Grounauer, 1993; Lortie, 1975, 2002), much of it had been approached from a broadly sociological perspective or published in the teacher education literature. Because the Factors Influencing Teaching Choice (FIT-Choice) model developed by Watt and Richardson (2007) was strongly rooted in the work of Eccles and her colleagues' expectancy-value framework, it seemed both appropriate and opportune that such a conversation about this book was taking place where Eccles had spent most of her career. Yet we wondered then whether the burgeoning work in the field of teacher motivation was sufficient to support a book-length project.

The situation has changed dramatically in the last decade, as psychological theorists and researchers drawing on motivational lenses began to examine questions concerning teachers' motives. We reflected on just how little was known about what motivates teachers at different points in their career, in different teaching and learning contexts. For instance, What person and contextual factors sustain teacher commitment, interest, and enthusiasm? Why do teachers in many countries experience high levels of early career burnout and attrition? and, Would results obtained in Western countries be replicated in different sociocultural contexts? At that time, educational psychologists who had conducted important work in relation to student motivation were showing increasing interest in teacher motivation—the other important, yet neglected, actor in classrooms. Since that initial meeting there has been a dramatic rise in the number of journal publications, special issues, and international conference papers addressing questions such as the following: What motivates people to choose teaching as a career?

What are teachers' goals as they work with students in classrooms? and, How do intrinsic and extrinsic forces impact teachers' career experiences and trajectories? The work has appeared in such major research journals as the *Journal of Educational Psychology, Learning and Instruction,* and *Teaching and Teacher Education* and been presented at international conferences such as the European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI) and the American Educational Research Association (AERA).

Thus the gossamer of an idea for this book envisioned several years ago is both prescient and timely. Its purpose is to provide the field with an introduction to the current status and future directions of theory and research on teacher motivation and refocus attention on what the psychological and developmental sciences can offer to better understand the dimensions of teachers' motivations and career development. Accordingly, this volume seeks to provide a valuable resource for educational psychologists, those working in related fields of teacher education, educational leadership, teacher professional development, teachers, and behavioral economists who focus on educational issues. It will also be of value to employing authorities and policymakers given the current focus on teacher quality and the adoption of accountability systems and high stakes testing among many of the OECD countries, such as under *NCLB* and *Race to the Top* in the United States, and the *National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy* (NAPLAN) in Australia.

The introduction of testing regimes for children and adolescents at different timepoints in their school career has, over the last decade or so, increasingly been used to evaluate the success of teachers regardless of the sociocultural context of the children or the schools in which they teach. The implementation of these measures has proceeded without regard to the impact they have on the way teachers undertake their work, or the consequences for teacher motivation in the short and longer term. Although we have a much more refined understanding of what motivates people to choose teaching as a career, what they expect from the work they do, what sustains them as professionals, and what undermines their sense of autonomy and commitment, more work is required to adequately understand teacher motivation across the life span. The chapters in this volume shine a light on what we already know, elaborate the theoretical and methodological lenses that have so far been adopted in exploring dimensions of teacher motivation, flag the strengths and weaknesses of existing approaches, as well as signal what still needs to be done to advance our understanding of what motivates and sustains healthy, committed, and effective teachers.

The volume includes contributions that collectively

- provide a brief history and state-of-the-art work in the field of teacher motivation;
- explain how theories originally developed by educational and developmental psychologists to explain student motivation have been adapted to apply to teachers;
- describe the range of methodological approaches adopted; and
- signal clearly implications and recommendations for future researchers, policymakers, and educational practitioners.

Each chapter involves authors who have been instrumental in developing the burgeoning field of teacher motivation. The authors have been chosen to provide an international perspective on the field, examine the range of methodologies employed, outline needed theoretical and methodological developments, and report studies in which researchers from different contexts have sought to systematically test hypotheses and models by designing empirical

studies. There are three sections to the book: (i) theoretical approaches, (ii) motivation-related processes, and (iii) the relationship between teacher motivation and career trajectories. Each section concludes with a commentary chapter that explores consequential issues for theory, methodology, practice, and policy; a final overall commentary chapter by Urdan synthesizes the full volume. We begin by providing a brief summary of the section contents for those who wish to focus on specific topics.

Section 1—Major Theoretical Approaches to Teacher Motivation

Expectancy-value theory (EVT), achievement goal theory (AGT), self-determination theory (SDT) are the three prominent motivational theories concerning students that have been reformulated and adapted to shed fresh light on dimensions of teacher motivation. Among the general public, teaching is often characterized as an easy, family-friendly career, with the added benefits of a short working day and frequent holidays, which requires little more than the motivation to work with children or adolescents. It is commonplace to hear that people choose a career in teaching because they like children and have a passion for the subject they teach. Policymakers and politicians often assume they know why people go into teaching, and the profession is sometimes regarded with a degree of disdain. The long-held views that "those who can't do, teach," or that teaching is a "fallback" career for the less talented, are not borne out by systematic research that has examined the complexity of teacher motivation and its relationship to teachers' choices and behaviors. Rather, research illuminates the complexity of teaching motivations and how these play out for teachers who are routinely required to deal with multiple, simultaneous, and conflicting demands.

Richardson and Watt (EVT; Chapter 1) began their work with a large sample of future Australian teachers whom they have tracked through teacher education and into the teaching profession. Drawing on achievement goal theory (AGT; Chapter 2), Butler and her colleagues have focused on practising and preservice teachers from Israel and Germany; Roth has anchored his work in self-determination theory (SDT; Chapter 3) to explore dimensions of Israeli teachers' sense of professional autonomy in relation to specific teaching practices and consequences for student learning. Using different theoretical lenses, the researchers contributing to Section 1 have shown that teachers' motivations matter both in the short and the longer term, not only for their own well-being and career satisfaction, but also for how they relate to and interact with students, and their teaching effectiveness; as well as the contextual factors that can sustain or undermine their goals and motivations.

Chapter 1 elaborates the FIT-Choice framework, grounded in expectancy-value theory, adapted by Watt and Richardson (2007) to provide a comprehensive and coherent model to guide the systematic investigation of why people choose a teaching career. The model draws together recurring themes from the teacher education literature relevant to teaching career choice, together with personal and social values, and ability-related beliefs emphasized in the broader career choice literature. Large-scale data show that teachers' initial motivations to teach are mainly their intrinsic value and perceived abilities (emphasized in EVT) together with altruistic-type factors that have been the main focus in the existing teacher education research. Longitudinal data show that these motivations predict whether teachers plan to stay in the profession, and how they teach and interact with students, during their early career. Harmful motivations included choosing teaching as a "fallback career" and social influences to enter a teaching career.

In Chapter 2, Butler reviews her program of research in which she has demonstrated that school is an "achievement arena" for teachers as well as for students. Her initial studies found that the achievement goals previously identified in student populations are also applicable to teachers; her most recent work established additional goals that are central for teachers. The chapter charts the development of a Goal Orientation for Teaching approach to teacher motivation. Teachers exhibit *mastery goals* that capture their desire to learn professionally relevant understanding, skills, and abilities; *ability-approach goals* that involve the demonstration of superior teaching ability; *ability-avoidance goals* to avoid showing failure through the display of poor teaching; and *work-avoidance goals,* which refer to effort minimization. Further, extrapolating from the observation that teaching is an interpersonal and not just a personal endeavor, Butler extended this framework to incorporate strivings to achieve and maintain close and caring relationships with students. This new class of *relational goals* was found to uniquely associate with adaptive coping and instructional strategies, such as teacher- and student-reported teachers' socioemotional support for students.

Chapter 3 by Roth is anchored in self-determination theory (SDT; Ryan & Deci, 2000), which has distinguished *autonomous* motivation, in which people perceive themselves as the "origin" of their own behavior, from *controlled* motivation, wherein people perceive themselves as "pawns" subjected to the play of heteronomous forces. Roth describes the theoretical foundation underlying teachers' autonomous and controlled motivations and reviews recent studies exploring their antecedents and outcomes. Teachers' autonomous motivations predict positive psychological outcomes for themselves and their students, in contrast to teachers' controlled motivations, which are suppressive. Teachers' autonomous motivation has been shown to reduce burnout and to positively relate to teachers' personal sense of accomplishment, autonomy-supportive teaching behaviors, and students' own autonomous motivation to learn. Investigation of the antecedents of teacher autonomous versus controlled motivation is therefore important. Principals' transformational leadership (involving a more autonomy-supportive approach) predicted teachers' autonomous motivation, whereas transactional leadership (entailing a more controlling attitude involving rewards and sanctions) predicted teachers' controlled motivation. Principals' belief that autonomous motivation is important and who exhibited trust of teachers also predicted teachers' autonomous motivation (Roth, 2011). These results have clear implications for how educational policy and school environments can support teachers' autonomous, rather than controlled, motivations.

In the commentary that concludes this section, Kaplan acknowledges the work that has been done so far in drawing on established motivational theories with their differing theoretical lenses, resulting in systematic approaches to the study of teacher motivation, which have revealed the complexity of teachers' professional roles and identities. Yet there is so much more we need to know, including whether and how the level and quality of teacher motivation changes over time and across different contexts and whether, as teachers develop, their motivational profile becomes more differentiated and complex. Kaplan argues the need to develop new theories, or, at the very least, add to the ones already being adapted, and adopt new methodologies that will allow us to tap into both cognitive-individual and social-cultural perspectives to capture the complex and dynamic set of phenomena that constitute teacher motivation as it is activated in the day-to-day conditions of classrooms and schools in specific sociocultural settings.

Section 2—Motivation-Related Processes

The first chapter in Section 2, by Keller, Frenzel; Goetz, Pekrun, and Hensley (Chapter 5), provides an overview of the current state of research on teachers' emotions as well as insights from an experience sampling study that examined the frequency of teachers' diverse emotions. In school and during teaching, teachers experience a variety of discrete positive and negative emotions such as enjoyment, pride, anxiety, anger, shame, and boredom, that are assumed to be important not only for their teaching quality, but also for students' outcomes. The chapter summarizes research evidence on teachers' experiences of positive and negative emotions; furthermore, some methodological issues regarding the assessment of teacher emotions are addressed. There is evidence that teachers' emotional experiences in school impact their own psychological health and well-being, including emotional exhaustion, burnout, job satisfaction, engagement, and perseverance.

The belief that teachers need to like or even love their job is an argument often mentioned in discussions of the personal qualities of those who are successful. The chapter by Kunter and Holzberger (Chapter 6) explores the premise that an intrinsic orientation marked by positive affect and positive valence is an important factor to influence teachers' professional behavior. The authors include such diverse constructs as teachers' enthusiasm, interest, and autonomous motivation. They distinguish two lines of research: studies that examine the impact of teachers' intrinsic orientations on their professional behavior and their students, and those that investigate the contextual factors that foster or thwart teachers' intrinsic motivations. Despite consistent evidence based on a variety of methodological approaches that teachers who enjoy and value their job have a positive influence on their students, the mediating factors that explain this influence have not previously been sufficiently explained. Moreover, the status of intrinsic orientation as either a stable personality variable or an aspect of professional development that can be fostered in teacher education and other contexts has yet to be determined. In light of heterogeneous approaches, the authors call for conceptual and methodological clarification. The chapter concludes by pointing out practical implications with regard to teacher recruitment, the education of teachers, as well as implications for fostering of teachers' intrinsic motivation in school contexts.

Klassen, Durksen, and Tze (Chapter 7) examine the beliefs teachers hold about their individual and collective capabilities to face work-related challenges, which play a critical role in their motivation to positively influence student learning. The chapter explores developmental trajectories of teachers' self-efficacy, from when preservice teachers enter teacher education, and how self-efficacy can wax and wane over the course of teachers' careers. Empirical data from Western and non-Western settings highlight how the field of teacher self-efficacy research is changing, and the impact of increasing educational accountability on teacher self-efficacy. The authors stress the importance of building on a strong theoretical foundation that offers directions for researchers who wish to apply self-efficacy theory to the challenges of making a difference in educational practice and policy.

The construct of personal responsibility constitutes a key element in multiple conceptual frameworks in psychology. There is overwhelming evidence that one's sense of personal responsibility has important implications for psychological well-being and performance. The chapter by Lauermann and Karabenick (Chapter 8) discusses how existing theoretical frameworks in psychology inform research on teacher responsibility, and includes a critical analysis of how responsibility has been conceptualized and operationalized within different

theoretical frameworks. The authors review five approaches to the conceptualization of teacher responsibility—from personality research, attribution theory, self-determination theory, self-discrepancy theory, and the job characteristics model—to conclude that these frameworks have been applied to the study of teacher responsibility only in fragments or not at all. The authors argue that the main challenge for future responsibility research is to understand the nomological network of teacher responsibility, taking into account its antecedents and consequences for students and teachers, and the impact of teacher accountability policies on teachers' perceived responsibility.

Although the tenet that teachers' expectancies and values affect their behavior appears to be universally true, presumably culture and context make a difference in their nature and operation. It is therefore important to study teacher motivation by adopting culturally sensitive perspectives and methods. The chapter by Ho and Hau (Chapter 9) focuses on Chinese teachers' motivations from the perspective of three socio-cognitive theories formulated in Western contexts: values and beliefs, causal attributions, and self-efficacy. The authors examine traditional beliefs and tenets about teachers' roles and responsibilities in the Chinese-Confucian heritage culture, and how these values and beliefs have influenced teachers' motivations and practices in their cultural context over centuries. Findings from empirical studies on teacher motivation in Chinese contexts, drawing on causal attribution and self-efficacy frameworks, provide important insights into similarities and differences between Chinese and Western teachers' levels and dimensions of, and cultural influences on, attribution and self-efficacy beliefs, highlighting theoretical and methodological issues pertinent to the study of teacher motivation in different cultural contexts. Recent changes in aims, policies, and practices in an attempt to modernize educational practices have posed great challenges to teachers in many Chinese societies. The need for transformed cognitions that acknowledge entrenched values and beliefs about the teaching and learning process are explicated. The authors propose, first, that teacher cognition is important as a change agent in education reforms to enhance teacher quality and retention; second, that it is important to understand teachers' motivations in their respective cultural and situational contexts; and finally, implications for the further development of theory and research on teacher motivation, to contribute to the development of educational practices that incorporate the best elements of Eastern and Western traditions.

Section 2 concludes with a commentary by Alexander, Grossnickle, and List in which they acknowledge, as does Kaplan in his commentary on Section 1, that the study of teacher motivation and emotion is extremely complex. Further, they observe that this terrain is interspersed with relevant constructs and theories of teachers' motivations and emotions. Research has already shown that, although we have not yet established whether teachers' motivations and emotions are malleable or stable, they nonetheless function variously in different contexts encompassing cultural, political, school, and classroom. Teacher motivations and emotions are thus socially embedded within "nested landscapes," and these are central to determining which constructs are identified as important and how motivations and emotions are studied. Rather than an over-reliance on broad or generic models and theories of motivation and emotion, these commentators argue that researchers will need to employ experimental, interventionist, or longitudinal designs and ensure that investigations are contextually sensitive to cultural, political, and social factors specific to the work of teachers and teaching.

Section 3—Motivation and Teacher Career Trajectories

Nolen, Ward, and Horn (Chapter 11) use a situative motivation theory to account for teachers' motivations to learn, take up, adapt, or reject practices promoted in the various social contexts in which they learn to teach. They describe how novice teachers use socially constructed and changing motivational filters to make decisions about which practices to learn and how those filters are implicated in negotiating practices with others (i.e., cooperating teachers, professors, supervisors, colleagues, administrators) within and across boundaries among communities of practice. Based on their longitudinal, person-centered, multi-site ethnographic study of novice teachers, and drawing from other work on teacher learning, they document catalysts for change, the role of "boundaries" in negotiating change, and the importance of understanding change in motivation relative to the systems of meaning in which they occur. They draw out implications for teacher education and for theoretical developments concerning teacher motivation.

In Chapter 12, Husman, Duggan, and Fishman argue that throughout their career teachers continue to be learners, and the same forces that motivated or demotivated them as student teachers continue to play a role as they master their craft. Finding time for professional development can be difficult as day-to-day duties press upon teachers. Because of this, one particular motivational construct, "future time perspective" (FTP), is of interest, referring to a person's ability to envision her/his own future and create paths to making that vision a reality. The authors propose FTP as particularly relevant to help teachers stay focused on the value of learning in achieving their future professional goals. They suggest that FTP forms a "time bubble" that surrounds each individual, extending into the past and present. Events, goals, and experiences that fall within the time bubble are accessible as past memories or anticipated future happenings; those that fall outside the bubble are inaccessible and have little or no influence on motivation or learning. For a teacher to remain focused and motivated towards professional development, it is important that s/he has a broad and extended time bubble. Teachers who are connected to the future are more likely to take action "in-the-now" to learn and grow professionally, whereas teachers experiencing stress may revert to "survival mode," inhibiting their professional development and negatively impacting well-being. The time bubble incorporates dimensions such as distance to the time horizon, connectedness between present and future, and orientation (past, future, or balanced). Each of these aspects affects its nature and function. Husman et al. outline the implications of future time perspective research for teacher recruitment, retention, and quality; administrative practices; and school organization. How teachers cognitively represent the future, and how those representations shape their vision of and paths to the future, are important questions for future research.

Teaching, more than any other human services profession, is plagued by high levels of stress and burnout, whether teachers are novices, mid-career, or seasoned professionals. In the final chapter, Durr, Chang, and Carson (Chapter 13) review the literature on teacher burnout and examine teachers' self-efficacy and emotional regulation as potential buffers against burnout. The authors contend that while the majority of research on the sources of teacher burnout has occurred at the organizational level (e.g., role conflict, role ambiguity, work overload, classroom climate, decision-making, and social support), a transactional model takes into account interactions between personal beliefs and organizational/social factors. They argue that teacher self-efficacy and emotion management (involving cognitive reappraisal) have emerged as the most effective protective factors against burnout. Thus, how teachers manage their

emotions through different coping strategies (problem-focused, emotion-focused, or proactive coping) is important to their well-being. Teachers who adopt proactive coping strategies have been found to be more resilient and less likely to experience burnout. This information is important for teacher educators and policymakers since teachers are typically not equipped with effective strategies for emotional regulation. The authors argue the need for research to examine whether teacher burnout can be mediated, and how educational reforms and accountability measures introduced into many educational systems influence how teachers feel about their work. They conclude with the observation that to understand how burnout develops, we need new methodologies, such as experience sampling methods, with which to capture real-time transactions between teachers, students, and others.

In her section commentary, Opfer observes that the concepts empirically examined in the chapters are considerably interconnected, with a major question regarding whether teacher motivations are malleable or stable. While the studies in this section suggest teacher motivations are partially dispositional, we cannot as yet resolve this question one way or another without evidence from interventionist, experimental, or longitudinal designs. If indeed they are not stable or dispositional, this would have significant implications for how policy interventions might be constructed to positively influence teachers' motivations during teacher education, early career, mid-career, and beyond.

Implications and Future Directions

Contributors to this volume have all, explicitly or implicitly, embraced the proposition that teaching involves a multidimensional set of tasks requiring, as Lightfoot and Carew (1979, p. 1) observed, "a complex mixture of intellectual capacities, pedagogical skills, personality characteristics, and organization talents." In many countries, the complexity of actually doing the work of teaching, especially the multiple relationships teachers must manage throughout the normal day, is often unacknowledged, or overlooked. By and large, the teaching profession is not afforded high social status, and the salary rewards are modest when compared with professions requiring similar levels of qualification. In most Western countries, social status and salary are not necessarily what attract people to teaching, nor what retains them in an increasingly demanding and complex, although otherwise rewarding, profession. The chapters in this book seek to examine these complexities, demands, and rewards by unpacking different aspects and dimensions of teacher motivation and motivation-related processes with the intention of better understanding those factors that influence teachers (and therefore their students) at different points across the career life span, from the point of choosing teacher education through into professional practice. By acknowledging the complexity of teaching as work shaped by particular sociocultural practices, we glimpse the links between why people choose teaching as a career, and what they expect to be able to do in the career with regard to the relationships they want to build with students. Also examined is how these expectations and goals can be destabilized at the micro- and macro-levels in contexts where teacher confidence and goals are undermined, which can result in negative emotions, loss of interest and enthusiasm, altered perceptions of responsibility, and reduced levels of personal well-being.

Teachers represent a large heterogeneous workforce in most countries of the world, and as a result, we would expect there to be considerable variability among their intellectual capacities, pedagogical skills, personal characteristics, and organizational capabilities. As is clear from the chapters in this book, many of the reform agenda promulgated to improve the quality of

teacher education and schooling may have unexpected and detrimental consequences for the working relationships teachers seek to forge with their students. For many teachers, as Noam and Bernstein-Yamashiro (2013) point out, "relationships make their curricula vital and real; the human connection gives visible meaning and tangible purpose to their work" (p. 56). If these relationships are marginalized or weakened by external forces that act as impediments to realizing these important motivations and goals for teachers, we might well expect negative outcomes both for teachers and their students.

The chapters in this volume demonstrate why employing authorities, policymakers, school leaders, teacher educators, and the wider community cannot afford to ignore teachers' motivations. How teachers negotiate their professional collaborations, attitudes to their work, job satisfaction, teaching self-efficacy, and relationships with students are buttressed by their motivations for teaching. Writing about the experiences of Australian secondary school teachers almost thirty years ago, Connell (1985) eloquently described the demands and emotional pressure stemming from fluid relationships with adolescents colored by "the odd confrontation, teenage crush, flood of laughter and burst of tears" (p. 116), negotiations with fellow teachers and staffroom politics, and the demands from parents and guardians. These are the stuff of teachers' daily working lives. For too long teaching has been characterized as an easy job, with too little consideration given to what attracts people in the first place and what sustains them throughout their teaching career. There has also been a tendency to inquire into why people choose the career without taking account of motivational theories that allow researchers to effectively predict to future outcomes, such as persistence, well-being, self-efficacy, and types of teaching practices.

Collectively, contributors to this volume show that teacher motivations are more complex than has been typically assumed, and predict to important short- and long-term outcomes for themselves and their students. We are beginning to amass empirical evidence that suggests that school and policy contexts may conflict with the motivations and goals that drew people into a teaching career in the first place. Highly effective teachers are not routine in their behaviors, and students are not passive, nor are they all the same. The interactions and relationships that sustain effective teaching and teachers cannot be standardized, formulated into a package of content, and passed over to students (see Darling-Hammond, 1997). The reform agenda currently operating in many countries were designed to increase teacher accountability, the quality of school education, and students' scores on standardized achievement tests. However, teachers' work satisfaction and well-being is of importance, too. Unfortunately, as the architecture and apparatus of these reforms have been implemented, little consideration has been given to how they play out in relation to teachers' motivations. Taking into account what we now know about teachers' motivations is essential if the extensive and expensive policy reform mechanisms are to come close to delivering their much heralded outcomes of improved student success; it was surely never intended that these reforms should operate at the expense of retaining and sustaining positively motivated and healthy teachers.

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