The Psychic Rewards of Teaching: Examining Global, National and Local Influences on Teacher Motivation

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Abstract

What are the main influences on the day-to-day motivation of classroom teachers? The particular focus in this research is the micro-events that teachers experience and which enhance or undermine their motivation. We conceptualise such events in terms of their proximity/distance. We suggest that experiences with a proximal origin (classroom and school) may be more relevant to motivation than events that a more remote origin (national and global events) partly because of the frequency with which they impinge on proximal events happen. To measure the importance of these microevents for teachers' motivation, we propose that events are a function of their affective intensity and frequency of occurrence. We also propose that events that have a positive affective tone are more significant for motivation than events that have a negative emotional tone. Our initial efforts to map the construct of teachers' motivation are based on a multi-faceted approach. Rather on the basis of current research and thinking, as well as on judgements of what people usually consider motivation to be, we propose four indices that may gauge the underlying construct. These are: commitment to teaching (wanting to continue in the profession and in this particular school), teacher-efficacy (the most widely studied concept in this area), organizational citizenship (readiness to go beyond what is strictly required in contracts), and willingness to engage in new learning and professional development.

What Makes Teachers Tick? Understanding the Motivation of Classroom Teachers

The extant literature gives some indication of reasons why people enter teaching as well as the important factors on teacher retention but very little information on the influences that sustain teachers' motivation on a daily basis. There is considerable evidence that teachers enter teaching for reasons to do with the intrinsic nature of the work including 'making a difference', 'doing work they will enjoy', and 'enhancing lives of children' (Farkas et al, 2000; Shipp, 1999; Spear et al., 2000). With regard to teacher retention, the review by Guarino et al. (2006) summarizes evidence on the importance of pay on teacher retention, citing a small number of studies indicating that earnings were negatively associated with attrition. There is also evidence that high rates of behaviour problems, low influence on their work and poor leadership are important influences in quitting teaching (Stockhard & Lehman, 2004). Other studies have shown that not having a sense of success with students as well as the absence of support structures are important factors in quitting (Moore-Johnson & Birkeland, 2003).

However, while we have some understanding of the major factors influencing decision to enter teaching and leave or stay, we have know little about what sustains teachers between these choice points. Even teachers who were initially committed to teaching experience so many challenges and changes (inside and outside school) that they constantly need to ask themselves whether 'teaching is worth it to them' (Hamerness, 2006, p.431). While recognizing that many have entered teaching because 'to make a difference...to change the world or.... improve the human condition' (Cochran-Smith (2003, p. 374), over the long haul teachers need other sustaining factors including 'school conditions where they are successful and supported, opportunities to work with other educators in professional communities, differentiated leadership, and advancement prospects and good pay for what they do' (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p.5).

To attempt to provide an answer to these questions, we put forward two conceptual frameworks; the first concerned with understanding teachers' motivation and the second focusing on the way that experiences and events impinge enhance or undermine motivation. These models are tested in a nation-wide sample of teachers in the first five years of their career in a country with a high retention rate of teachers.

Focus on Positive Motivational Processes

The dominant approach to the study of motivation in educational settings has centred on negative motivational states. Several studies have examined teacher 'burnout' (e.g. Byrne, 1994; Goddard et al., 2006), 'stress' (Carlyle & Woods, 2003; Kyriacou, 1987), 'distress' (Hodge et al., 1994) and 'occupational stress, burnout and health' (Gugliemi & Tatrow, 1998). It might be argued that in addressing these negative emotional and motivational states, an understanding of 'positive' states is brought about by looking at the mirror image of what causes negative experiences.

However, strong lines of evidence indicate that this is not the case. The recent evidence from neuroscience indicates that positive and negative motivational states are controlled by different parts of the parts of the brain (Davidson et al, 2000). In addition, the psychological evidence is that the course of action of positive and negative events that impact on motivation, have different trajectories (Taylor, 1991). Finally, the literature on the social psychology of emotions strongly suggest that positive and negative affect are independent systems (Goldstein & Strube, 1994). Thus, rather than thinking of positive and negative motivational states as the end of a continuum, it may be more appropriate to think of them as independent systems. In line with this, a recent study of teachers' job satisfaction using diary methods, found that measures of positive and negative affective experiences were largely uncorrelated with each other (Morgan, Kitching, & O'Leary, submitted for publication). Interestingly, the more recent work on job burnout has stressed the importance of engagement 'the positive antithesis of burnout' (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001, p. 397)

A Multi-faceted, Dynamic Conceptualisation of Teachers' Motivation

In talking about motivation, we are focusing not only on the commitment to remain in teaching but also on energy, drive, enthusiasm, a sense of direction, a drive and a sense of purpose. We take the view that teachers' motivation should be thought of as an umbrella-like concept to include several related features. This includes features like drive, energy and commitment, as well as factors suggested in the literature to promote teaching as sustained professional activity, one with a sense of mission and purpose which is mindful of the social context in which teachers operate. With this in mind we propose five components of teachers' motivation. These are drawn from disparate areas (including psychology, sociology and classroom research). They are substantially research-based and synchronise well with motivational influences relevant to teachers.

Teacher-efficacy has at least two important motivational outcomes (Bandura, 1997). Firstly, it influences the kind of challenges and environments teachers are prepared to face in their work. If teachers believe that teaching difficult subject matter or working with colleagues will overwhelm them (low self-efficacy) they will avoid these situations in favour of less challenging and ultimately less beneficial learning contexts. Secondly, strong self-efficacy beliefs influence effort and persistence. Teachers with high self-efficacy quickly recover following setbacks in their teaching efforts and this resilience is crucial in helping students to maintain their persistence and self-belief.

The second motivational component focuses on the extent to which teachers are prepared to go outside what they are strictly required to do in the interests of their students and colleagues. The sociological concept of 'organisational citizenship' is particularly relevant to this element, referring as it does to the extent to which a teacher is prepared to be involved in activities that are beyond their strict contract requirements (Organ, 1988). This is an important motivational component since it refers to the extent to which a teacher is prepared to spend time and effort to help students in ways that are 'beyond the call of duty'.

Two components are commonly thought to be almost synonymous with teacher motivation. The first of these is *commitment to remain in teaching*. This commitment, we suggest, refers both to the occupation and to the institution in which the individual is working (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005). Secondly, we propose that the *desire to continue to learn*, to sustain professional development and openness to new

ideas is a crucial component of motivation, since it underpins the readiness to encounter an ever-changing learning environment (Van Eekelin, Vermunt, & Boshuizen, 2006).

There are four distinguishing features of the motivational model proposed here. Firstly, its roots are truly multi-disciplinary involving educational psychology, organizational sociology and classroom research. Secondly the multiple measures that are proposed reflect the multi-dimensional nature of teachers' motivation. Rather than thinking of motivation as a single entity variable to be measured by one measure, we are underlining the multi-faceted nature of motivation. Thirdly we bring together components of behaviour, emotion and cognition under a single construct, thus recognising the interaction of these components of motivation in teachers' lives. Finally, as noted above the approach taken is a dynamic and positive one; rather focusing exclusively on the negative and undermining effects of stress and burnout, we underline in addition, the significance of commitment, positive emotion and the malleable nature of motivation.

Motivational Events in Teachers' Lives: Affectivity and Zones of Influence

From even the briefest consideration of motivational factors on teachers' lives we realize that the number and variety of influences is very substantial. How can we make sense of a list that includes pay, class size, vacations, helping to make a difference, student behaviour, children's learning, peer support, attitude of management, accountability and images of the status of teaching? Efforts to categorise influences are further complicated by the changes that can occur over time (between one school term and another), by the frequency with which they happen, and consideration of whether the events are positive or negative. Here we suggest that events can be compared in terms of teachers' affective reaction to them and can be categorized in terms of zones of influences, frequency, positive/negative and in terms of the interval in which occurred.

We propose teachers' affective/emotive reaction to events in their experience is critical in gauging the importance of these events for motivation. This approach is based on three arguments. Firstly, studies of some factors sustaining teachers in schools have uncovered factors which strong affective dimension to them. These

include 'doing work you loved' (Farkas, Johnson & Foleno (2000) 'magic moments' (Bloomfield & Singer, 1994), 'intrinsic rewards of teaching' (Serow & Forrest, 1994) and 'behaviour climate of schools' (Kelly, 2004). Secondly, a recent study using a variant of the experience sampling technique found that the affective intensity of positive experiences (what made me feel good as a teacher) strongly and consistently correlated with commitment to teaching over a five-week period (Morgan et al, submitted for publication). Finally, several conceptual frameworks in psychology and sociology place identify affect as a central marker of enhanced self-esteem (Crocker & Park, 2004) and identity (Turner & Stets, 2006)...

The concept of zones of influences can provide a useful framework for understanding motivational influences. We suggest that some events have an immediate, proximal origin, i.e., with the realm of the teachers' own classroom, while others have a more remote or distal origin, i.e. global events that impinge on teachers' status. In considering the proximal vs. distal distinction, attention is drawn to the fact that some influences on teachers' motivation have a worldwide, global dimension. Thus, matters like changes in professional status are relevant in nearly all Western countries (Hargreaves, 2000). Other features particularly to do with pay, conditions are specific to particular countries and have therefore a national dimension. The recognition of the importance of school culture and associated influences, testifies to the significance of school level influences on motivation, while the direct encounters with their students at **classroom level** remains a highly significant factor. We recognise that this distinction is not exclusive in the sense that influences at one level may be mediated at another. Furthermore, other levels might be relevant, for example, local or state factors. However, it is proposed here as a starting point to assist in categorising influences that have their origins in different zones in teachers' lives.

Experiences of teachers relevant to motivation differ not only in affectivity and in origin but also in frequency. The significance of events for a teacher may arise not from the strength of affective reaction on any occasion but rather because of the recurrence of this type of events. This is especially well illustrated in stress research; it has been shown convincingly that minor but frequent negative events (hassles), are more influential in well-being than are infrequent but major traumatic events (Chamberlain & Zika, 1990). On the basis we propose that the significance of

affective events could best be gauged by taking into account the frequency and intensity of occurrences (frequency x intensity). In other words we measure the significance of events for teachers not merely on how they react to events but also on how frequently they become aware of the kind of event in question.

Because the experience-events in teachers' lives change not only from year to another but also from one term/week/day to another, there is merit in defining the interval that is the focus of the inquiry. This targeting of a specific time is important in any questionnaire/interview context as has been shown by the use of experience sampling and similar methods that ask for contemporaneous recording of events (Robinson & Clore, 2002). It is especially important in a study like the present one which asks about judgements of frequency. We have designated a school term as the appropriate target interval (asking teachers about events they have experienced at the end of the school term), on the grounds that a school term is likely to be long enough for most relevant events to occur and yet is specific enough to elicit affective reactions that are accurate.

Ireland and Teacher Retention

Ireland is similar to many Western countries in terms of GDP, economic growth, and structure of educational system. For a number of historic reasons, teaching attracts high-ability candidates and the number of applications invariably outnumbers places in Universities and Colleges of Education. Moreover, the problem of teacher attrition is not a major one and in the case of primary teaching is negligible. At the same time, Ireland's new economic prosperity and changing cultural mix has generated problems that are long familiar in schools in other countries. This context is especially appropriate in seeking out the positive and sustaining factors that have received relatively little attention while at the same time giving due attention to discouraging influences.

Method

Target Population and Sample

The target population consisted of primary teachers who had entered the Irish Educational system over a five-year period from 2002 to 2006 (c.6000). The sampling frame was the graduation lists from four Colleges of Education from which 85% of these had graduated. A random sample of 30% (proportionate to number graduating in each college) made up the target sample of 2900, to whom the questionnaire was sent in late November/early December 2006. While 2800 questionnaires were mailed, close to half of the addresses were later found to be out of date. We estimate that no more than half reached the target teachers. The number of completed questionnaires received was 705, giving a response rate of about 50% (based on our belief that about half reached the targeted individual).

Table 1 shows the demographics of the sample.

Table 1: Most Salient Characteristics of Sample

Characteristic	Percent
Gender	90.5 (Female)
Years Teaching	61.8 (Less than three years)
Entry Route to Teaching	79.8 (Regular Route)
Highest Qualification	81.0% (Bachelor's Degree)
School Type	30.3 (Designated as Disadvantaged)

Instruments

The test battery was designed to measure the two main components of the study, viz., teachers' motivation and motivational influences. In accordance with the conceptual framework described above there were four components in the teachers' motivation domain while the motivational influence measures involved four parts each corresponding to the zone of influence (classroom, school, national and global).

With regard to **teacher motivation**, the first measure consisted of a measure of **commitment** to teaching and this school. Since there is evidence that commitment to a profession (vocational commitment) may be somewhat different from commitment to a particular school (organisational commitment; Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005), three items were designed to measure vocational commitment ('I feel that teaching is really right for me') and two targeting desire to stay in their particular school ('I am happy to continue working in this particular school). These statements were rated on a ten-point scale ranging from 0 (never true) to 9 (always true).

A ten-item measure of '**readiness to learn'** about teaching was devised for this study, based on literature relating to teachers' motivation for learning and professional development (e.g. paper on teacher learning). The focus in these items was readiness to embrace new ideas and change as well as feelings of responsibility for keeping up to date with innovations and new ideas. Each of the 10 statements were rated on a ten point scale ranging from 0 (never true) to 9 (always true).

The six-item **teacher efficacy** scale was concerned general teacher efficacy and focused on broad skills with applications across a range of topics/subjects. These included 'teaching all of the subjects on the curriculum' and helping children focus on leaning tasks and avoid distractions. In accordance with the principles suggested for constructing teacher efficacy scales (Bandura, 1997) the teachers were asked to indicate their confidence that they succeed in each activity on a regular basis on a ten point scale from 'cannot do it all' to 'certain I can do it'.

The measure of **organisational citizenship** was comprised of 16 items that were designed to examine the involvement of participants in activities that were not strictly part of the teacher's contract. These included organising trips for students, managing sporting activities, volunteering on a staff committee, helping to transport students to events, organising book fairs and running home-work clubs. Respondents indicated the extent of their involvement in each activity on a 10-point scale from 0 (not involved) to 9 (extremely involved).

The measurement of **motivational influences** was made through a scale of 'Experience of Recurring Events' specially developed for this study is designed to

measure the frequency and affective intensity of everyday experiences in teachers' professional lives. The categorisation of the experiences corresponded to the important zones of influences relating to classroom, school, national and global events.

Initially a number of themes were identified for each zone. These were derived from diary narratives of teachers' experiences of positive and negative events (See Morgan, Kitching & O'Leary, submitted for publication) and an examination of the literature on factors that have been shown to be relevant to entering and leaving teaching as well as on factors sustaining teachers.

The major themes identified included the following: positive experiences of student learning, student engagement in classes, disruptive behaviour and negative circumstances of students (*classroom level*), co-operative atmosphere with colleagues, relationship with school management, perception of school success and inadequate resources (*school level*), career opportunities inside and outside of teaching, changes in conditions of work, teachers' pay and litigation (*national level*), qualifications of teachers, portrayal of teachers in media, professionalism of teachers and teachers' role in social changes (*global level*). The major emphasis was on how the teachers had experienced the kind of event in question ('being aware of... noticing that... hearing that, and so on).

Half of the experiences were expressed in positive form and half in a negative format. Examples at classroom level are 'Noticing that children engage serious with material that I want to teach', 'seeing that students misbehave in a disruptive way'; at school level the items included 'having my ideas discussed by colleagues at staff meeting's and 'hearing a parent say that our school is doing badly'. The national level of influences included 'Hearing of a teacher being sued in matters related to work' and 'hearing favourable news about teachers' pay', while at the global level the items featured 'Realising that only through education can change come about in many countries' and 'seeing how teachers are negatively portrayed on TV'.

The teachers were asked to make two judgements with regard to each of these events; (i) a frequency rating and (ii) an affective rating. The frequency of events was

measured on a 10-point scale ranging from 0 (Did not happen) to 9 (constantly occurring). The affective measure for each event consisted of a 10-point scale, from 0 (feel really bad if this happened) to 9 (feel really good). For each question the response was in respect of the interval between 'the beginning and the school year' (early September) and the time of completing the questionnaire (early December).

Results

Reliability of measures

Table 2 shows the reliability for each measure in the survey. For three of the motivational measures, the reliability is very satisfactory; in the case of 'readiness for learning and professional development', reliability is weak.

Table 2. Reliability of Motivational Measures

Motivational components	Items	Alpha
Teacher commitment	8	.92
Efficacy	6	.81
Organisational citizenship	16	.84
Readiness for learning and	10	.52
professional development		

Comparison of Mean scores in Zones of Influence

For each domain of influences (classroom, school, national and global) a score of the **significance of experienced events** was calculated on the basis of the frequency of their happening (0-9) x (times) the affective reaction to the event in question (0-9). Thus for each of the five positive and negative events in each domain the significance score is a function of frequency and affectivity (positive or negative for the events). (Both positive and negative affective scores are based on the strength of affective reaction, i.e., a score of nine indicates 'feeling really good' or really bad' for positive or negative events, respectively).

Table 3 shows the mean scores for each domain, for positive and negative events experienced during the current semester. The repeated measures comparison indicated that domain was an important factor. In the case of positive experiences, classroom and school events were had much greater personal significance that did either national or global events.

(The precise outcomes for the statistical tests of significance will be checked for the conference)

The second striking outcome is that negative events are much less personally significant in terms of mean frequency x affectivity scores. This was the case for every domain of influence. Furthermore the trend that is evident for positive events (ie. greater significance for closer events) is not evident for negative events. Specifically, experienced events with a global origin are relatively more important than either school or national events.

Table 3: Mean Values of Proximal and Distal Motivational Influences

	Positive	Negative	
Classroom level	45.34	20.82	
	(9.18)	(9.66)	
School Level	39.17	12.27	
	(11.49)	(9.03)	
National Level	20.88	13.39	
	(11.58)	(8.44)	
Global Level	27.08	16.98	
	(13.82)	(11.35)	

The calculations are made on the basis of the frequency x intensity of events in each domain (5 positive, 5 negative events in each domain). Main table entries are means and standard deviations are shown in parentheses).

To give instances of the kinds of events that were of most significance to teachers in each domain, Table 4 shows the experiences that had the highest rating in each of the four domains of influence (positive and negative). Looking at the positive items, it is particularly interesting that some feature of 'making a difference' emerges consistently. The strongest individual items as might be expected are found at the classroom level and aspects of children's learning (either social-emotional or cognitive) are to the fore. It is noteworthy that 'making a difference' also emerges at the global level with the two positive items reflecting the perceived significance of teachers' work throughout the world.

Table 4: Top Two Experiences of Events in Each Domain of Motivational Influence

	Events	Mean Significance	
		Score	S.D.
Classroom Level			
Positive	Enjoying the interpersonal aspect of relationship with students	67.55	14.81
	Seeing my planning has paid off in successful teaching and learning	58.69	16.30
Negative	ve Feeling there are too many constraints for me to teach properly		20.24
	Noticing that children are absent at important times	26.37	18.36
School Level			
Positive	Feeling that I am a part of a professional, dynamic school community	56.0	21.0
	Knowing that I can count on school management to support me	55.1	24.6
Negative	Not having adequate resources for teaching	22.91	18.18
	Thinking that the school does not work in a way that benefits some of children	14.6	17.1
National Level			
Positive	Being aware that the education system works better for more children	27.08	18.4
	Being aware that the move to inclusion means more teaching jobs	26.18	19.85
Negative Hearing that Irish teachers have to stay in school after hours Becoming aware that school reports are available to everyone		20.64	22.59
		18.08	15.85
Global Level			
Positive	Becoming aware of how significant the work of teachers can be in peoples' lives	44.6	21.96
	Realising that only through education can changes come about in many countries	32.68	22.17
Negative	Seeing how teachers are negatively portrayed on TV	28.23	21.91
	Hearing that teaching is falling behind other professions in many countries	22.79	21.31

Table 5 shows the correlations between the various zones of influence and the measures of teachers' motivation. Three features of this table are noteworthy. Firstly, proximal zones of influence (classroom and school) have higher correlations with motivational measures than is the case with remote zones of influences (national and global factors). Secondly, positive events have a stronger relationship with motivational measures than negative events. Finally, while three of the motivational measures have a fairly similar pattern, organisational citizenship diverges from the other measures in important respects.

Table 5: Correlations of Commitment with Motivational Factors

	Commitment to teaching	Teacher Efficacy	Organisational Citizenship	Openness to learning
Class Level				
Positive Events	.37**	.46**	.12**	.35**
Negative Events	-20**	-23**	05	06
School Level				
Positive Events	.39**	.33**	.28**	.23**
Negative Events	41**	14**	.04	.07
National Level				
Positive Events	.21**	.21**	.08*	.19**
Negative Events	02	12**	.16**	03
Global Level				
Positive Events	.21**	.11**	.12*	.18**
Negative Events	02	05	16**	03

(A further analysis will involve SEQ – see discussion)

Discussion

One of the major objectives of the present was to examine the strength of various motivational influences in terms of the proximal vs. distal influences, specifically the relatively importance of everyday events that have their origin in the classroom, the school or have a national or global origin. With regard to positive events, the results are remarkably consistent with the view that events that arise from the zones of influence that are relatively close are more personally significant than was the case

with those that are more remote. This was shown in absolute terms (ratings of frequency X intensity) and also in the extent of the correlations with motivational measures.

As predicted positive and negative events operate quite differently. It is especially striking that the correlations with motivational measures are much less strong far negative events. This is the case for events that might be thought of stressful or even traumatic. Part of the reason for this is that such events are relatively rare and therefore impinge on most people's lives to a lesser extent than more common everyday events. This finding mirrors the findings on severe stresses vs. everyday 'hassles'.

Our analysis has not been extended to examining the matter of whether the four indices of motivation can be thought of as reflecting an underlying single construct. The pattern of correlations with the factors in the zones of influence suggests that for three of the measures, there is a consistent pattern (*efficacy, commitment and openness to new learning*). However, this is not the case for *organisational citizenship*. An analysis using structural equation modelling approach will be the next step in examining the emerging questions concerning the underlying construct.

Policy Implications

We refer briefly to a number of important policy implications of our work. In countries that have major problems retaining teachers, efforts to prevent the exodus of teachers have included among other approaches salary improvements, public relation exercises to improve the image of teaching. Our findings suggest that a focus on the immediate proximal level may be much more promising. In particular, to neglect the significance of the individual school and the ethos of support at this level is a serious omission not only in preventing attrition but also in developing the morale of the teachers in the system.

This finding regarding the relative importance of positive and negative events has important implications for strategies to maintain teachers' motivation. It would seem that making positive experiences happen will be a more effective approach than

efforts to prevent negative events occurring. It is especially worth noting that positive experiences do not simply reflect the absence of negative outcomes.

Given the finding of the importance of 'making a difference' in entering teaching, to what extent is fulfilment of this need an important factor in job satisfaction? The results presented indicate very many of the same factors that cause people to enter teaching are of major importance in maintaining day-to-day motivation. 'Making a difference' at the classroom, school and global level emerges consistently as major factors.

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