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VALUES, REWARDS, AND JOB SATISFACTION IN ESL/EFL

Abstract

When asked what aspects of work are most important to them personally, 107 experienced ESL/EFL teachers in Egypt and Hawai'i emphasized values and goals directly associated with teaching, including helping students to learn, having a job in which one can perform to the best of one's ability, and having good relationships with others. Extrinsic aspects of work such as salary, title, and opportunities for promotion were rated as less important. When asked to think about their current jobs and the rewards that they gain from them, job internal rewards were also stressed over extrinsic rewards, indicating a generally good (but not perfect) fit between what ESL teachers think is important at work and what they get. A factor analysis of responses to question items concerning work values suggests that there are five distinct sets of basic wants or needs: a relationship orientation (what is important is relationships with students, other teachers, supervisors, etc.), extrinsic motivation (what is important is security, salary, fringe benefits, etc.), autonomy needs (what is important is freedom, independence, encouragement of initiative, etc.), a self-realization factor (what is important is to be able to develop one's ability, have sufficient challenge, etc.), and institutional support needs (what is important is to have clear rules and procedures, a supervisor who gives clear guidance, flexible working hours, etc.). Factor analysis of job rewards indicates four factors, which partially overlap with these values factors. There seem to be four variants of "a good job": the job in a well managed institution, the job that provides professional status (extrinsic rewards plus an emphasis on creativity, independence, and initiative), the job where the primary rewards come from students and the classroom itself, and the challenging job that provides scope to learn and develop in a stimulating atmosphere. From the data reported here, it appears that job and career satisfaction are mostly influenced by job rewards rather than what teachers say they think is important (values). No support was found for either the "fit" hypothesis (the idea that what is important is the match between what one values and what one gets) or the "dual source" hypothesis (the idea that different factors contribute to satisfaction and dissatisfaction).

INTRODUCTION

The research described in this chapter evolved from an initial concern with learner motivation, specifically the motivation of learners of English in a foreign language environment. As we pursued this research over several studies (Schmidt, Boraie, & Kassabgy, 1996), it became increasingly clear to us that teachers have a very important influence on the motivation of language learners (see also Nikolov, this volume), and we know very little about the motivation of teachers themselves. The motivation of language teachers has been researched much less than the motivation

of language learners, and few studies have been reported in the applied linguistics literature.

Jacques (this volume) compared the sources of motivation of foreign language learners and language teachers in a US university sample and reported that teacher motivations grouped generally into clusters including a job satisfaction component (subsuming both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards); a career orientation (e.g., “teaching this course is important to my career development”); a perseverance orientation (e.g., “I work hard at all aspects of language teaching, even though not all of them are equally pleasant”); and an ability cluster (e.g., “I am good at teaching grammar, pronunciation, reading and writing, etc.”). However, the number of subjects in this study (21 teachers of Spanish, French, and Portuguese) was too small to allow the use of factor analysis or other techniques to uncover the underlying structure of teacher motivation in a more definitive way.

The most relevant work in the applied linguistics field has been that of Pennington and her students (Pennington, 1991, 1995; Pennington & Ho, 1995; Pennington & Riley, 1991; Wong & Pennington, 1993), who have approached the topic of teacher motivation through the perspective of job satisfaction in ESL, with a view to deriving implications for both program management and the development of English language teaching as a profession. Pennington and Riley (1991) found that ESL practitioners (a sample of TESOL members) were moderately satisfied with their jobs as a whole but expressed varying degrees of satisfaction with individual job facets. The areas of compensation, opportunities for advancement, and some aspects of administrative oversight were given generally lower ratings, while the most positive responses concerned the areas of human relations and the inherent rewards of teaching. Pennington and Ho (1995) used the Maslach Burnout Inventory with a sample of randomly selected members of TESOL, finding no indication of career burnout. Ratings on key variables were lower than for other groups surveyed using the same instrument, including K–12 teachers, social service workers, attorneys, and police, although the ESL group scored somewhat higher on an emotional exhaustion scale than several other groups. Pennington (1991) concluded that “For those who choose to go into ESL, there appears to be a reasonable match between their characteristics and aspirations and the inherent characteristics and requirements of ESL work” (p. 81). However, Pennington did not attempt to measure this relationship directly.

Although there have been relatively few studies of language teacher motivation, the motivation of teachers in other fields has been more extensively researched, and workplace motivation and job satisfaction have been the subject of a great deal of research in the human resource field (Pennington, 1995, provides a detailed review of the literature). Several studies of teacher motivation are relevant to the present study. Although the traditional view is that the structure of the teaching occupation favors the distribution of intrinsic (psychic) rewards that come from working with students rather than extrinsic (material) ones (Lortie, 1975), Ames and Ames (1984) identified three systems of teacher motivation, which they called an ability system (related to self-esteem), a task mastery system (focused on the

accomplishment of objectives), and a moral responsibility system (concern for student welfare). Barnabe and Burns (1994) studied Québec teachers (not specifically language teachers), using a model positing three conditions for work satisfaction: experiencing the work as worthwhile, experiencing responsibility for results, and understanding how effectively they are performing.

Conley and Levinson (1993) examined interrelationships between work redesign (e.g., the establishment of career ladders), work rewards, values, and teacher job satisfaction. Conley and Levinson found differences between more and less experienced teachers in whether work redesign led to more satisfaction. A finding relevant to the study reported here is that Conley and Levinson looked at relationships between work values (what is “important” to individuals) and work satisfaction, as well as between work rewards (what one actually gets from a job) and satisfaction. Values were found to be unrelated to satisfaction, while rewards were highly correlated.

This is an interesting finding with respect to a number of theories of motivation in the workplace that can generally be labeled as process theories. Process theories, which are currently predominant in the organizational behavior literature, describe the ways in which motivation arises in the workplace and how people go about satisfying their needs (Moorhead & Griffin, 1995). Job satisfaction in these theories is viewed as contingent upon the interaction of work experiences and personal values (Hackman & Lawler, 1971; Kalleberg, 1977; Loscocco, 1989; Martin & Shehan, 1989; Mortimer, 1979; Mortimer & Lorence, 1979; Mottaz, 1987). These theories suggest that the essence of job satisfaction lies in the fit or congruence between the person and the job. The point seems obvious enough. People work for different reasons. Some want money, some, security. Some find their life’s meaning in their jobs, while others want a job that is not too demanding and allows time for family and other concerns. The fit hypothesis posits that those who attach the most importance to specific rewards will be happiest if they get them and unhappiest if they do not. The fit hypothesis is assumed in many studies of job satisfaction. For example, Pennington (1991), writing about ESL teachers, commented that “The perception of the fit between these underlying values and expectations, on the one hand, and the reality of the work situation, on the other, gives rise to the complex emotional response, or affective reaction, that is here referred to as work satisfaction” (p. 60). However, Conley and Levinson’s (1993) finding that rewards but not values predicted teacher job satisfaction casts some doubt on this hypothesis.

Another hypothesis investigated in this study is Herzberg’s dual-structure hypothesis, which holds that different sets of factors lead to satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Herzberg (1968; Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959) has argued that motivational factors intrinsic to the work itself (such as achievement and recognition) determine satisfaction; when absent, the result is not dissatisfaction but merely lack of satisfaction. Dissatisfaction, on the other hand, is held to be affected by factors that are extrinsic to the work itself, such as job security, pay, and fringe benefits. According to this theory, low pay and lack of security lead to

dissatisfaction; good pay and security lead not to satisfaction, however, but merely to the absence of dissatisfaction. Does this apply to ESL/EFL teachers as well?

The following research questions were addressed in this study:

1. What aspects of work are most important to ESL/EFL teachers?
2. What sorts of rewards do these teachers get from their current jobs?
3. How satisfied are ESL/EFL teachers with their jobs and their careers?
4. Do values or rewards (or the interaction between them) predict job and career satisfaction better?
5. Are the aspects contributing to job/career satisfaction the same or different from those leading to dissatisfaction?

METHOD

Subjects of the study were 107 experienced ESL/EFL teachers, 70 from Egypt and 37 from Hawai'i, who completed a questionnaire. Only teachers currently providing direct English language instruction to learners in the classroom were included (administrators, supervisors, former teachers, etc., were excluded). Subjects were approached in a variety of educational settings known to the researchers. Participation was voluntary in all cases.

The instrument used consisted of a questionnaire requesting the following information:

- Biographical data, including gender, age, qualifications, teaching situation (full or part-time, one or more employers), years of teaching experience, and level/stage of students taught
- Responses to four open-ended questions:
 1. Think of the educational organization where you work and list the major factors that have a positive influence on your job.
 2. List the major factors that have a negative influence on your job.
 3. Think of a time when, in your relationship with your supervisor (principal, department head, or another title), something very favorable and positive happened that made you feel good about your teaching and your relationship with your supervisor.
 4. Think of a time when, in your relationship with your supervisor (principal, department head, or another title), something very unfavorable and negative happened that did not make you feel good about your teaching and your relationship with your supervisor.
- Responses to a series of 36 statements concerning pay/working conditions, recognition and prestige, the need for power/autonomy, self-esteem/self-

actualization/growth needs, achievement needs, affiliation needs, and needs for intrinsic satisfaction. Subjects were asked to rate each statement on a 5-point Likert scale according to “how important this aspect of work is to you personally.”

- Responses to a series of 36 statements, matched to those in the previous section except that subjects were asked to indicate (again on a 5-point Likert scale) their agreement or disagreement concerning how each relates to their current job. For example, in the “values” section, subjects were asked to indicate the importance of “having a superior who gives clear guidance,” and in the following “rewards” section, they agreed or disagreed with the statement “My supervisor gives clear guidance.”
- Responses to a final set of four questions dealing with job and career satisfaction, two phrased positively (“I am truly satisfied with my present job/my profession as a teacher”) and two phrased negatively (“I will change my career/job if I have the opportunity to do so”).

A copy of the survey instrument appears in Appendix A.

RESULTS

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

As indicated above, two thirds (70/107) of our respondents were Egyptian EFL teachers; one third were ESL teachers in Hawai‘i. In both samples, approximately 70% were female and two thirds were currently employed in programs teaching adults (i.e., university students or older), while one third taught at lower levels. About half of our teachers were full time, with the remainder split almost equally between holders of one part-time job and holders of two or more part-time jobs. As noted above, our sample of respondents represents experienced teachers. The mean number of years of experience was 10 for the Hawai‘i ESL teachers and 15 for the Egyptian EFL teachers. Virtually all were “qualified,” with credentials ranging from undergraduate qualifications (in ESL/EFL or education) to RSA certificates, MA degrees, and a few doctoral degrees. Given the small numbers of respondents in many of these categories, these demographic data were not used as variables in the analysis.

TEACHER VALUES AND TEACHING REWARDS

Our subjects think that most of the characteristics of employment mentioned in the survey instrument are important, and as indicated in Table 1, 15 items received overall means of 4.5 or higher, where 4 meant *somewhat important*, and 5 meant *very important*, while only 5 items were rated lower than the 3.0 neutral or *no opinion* point. These responses also confirm the stereotype that teachers as a group are altruistic and more concerned with the intrinsic, classroom based aspects of their profession than with its extrinsic aspects. Teachers in both Egypt and Hawai‘i ranked “Really helping my students to learn English,” “Having a job in which I can

perform to the best of my ability,” and “Being treated fairly in my organization” among the top five in importance. Having good relationships with students, colleagues, and supervisors was considered very important, as were student and supervisor evaluations.

Table 1: Teacher values

What’s most important to ESL/EFL teachers? (means>4.5)	
Having a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability	4.883
Really helping my students to learn English	4.864
Having a job that is enjoyable and stimulating	4.814
Being fairly treated in my organization	4.806
Having the freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching to do a good job	4.767
Having a job in which I can learn and develop my abilities to my full potential	4.738
Being allowed to deal creatively with students’ problems	4.699
Having a supervisor who is responsive to suggestions and grievances	4.650
Having a manageable work load	4.592
Having a supervisor who gives clear guidance	4.578
Having a friendly relationship with my students	4.670
Being evaluated positively by my supervisors	4.670
Having good relationships with colleagues	4.641
Having a good relationship with my supervisor(s)	4.563
Being evaluated positively by my students	4.553
What’s least important to ESL/EFL teachers? (means<4.0)	
Fringe benefits	3.98
Having a profession that is prestigious	3.932
Being promoted to a senior supervisory job at some point in my career	3.476
Having a prestigious job title	3.369
Having a good relationship with my students’ parents	3.08

In contrast, teachers in both Egypt and Hawai’i ranked having a prestigious career and job title and being promoted to a senior supervisory position among the five least important aspects of work to them personally. The fact that “Having a good relationship with my students’ parents” was ranked last in importance by teachers in both locations probably reflects the high percentage of teachers of adult language learners in our sample.

It is probably a good thing that teachers value the intrinsic aspects of work over extrinsic factors, because—as shown in Table 2— ESL/EFL teaching provides more intrinsic than extrinsic rewards. Teachers in both locations identified job security, fringe benefits, and prospects for promotion as the three things that they most definitely do not have in their current jobs.

Table 2: Teaching rewards

What rewards do ESL/EFL teachers get from their jobs? (means>4.0)	
I have good relationships with colleagues	4.495
I know that I am really helping my students to learn English	4.485
I work for a reputable educational organization	4.447
My students evaluate me positively	4.402
I have a good relationship with my supervisor(s)	4.388
My work is enjoyable and stimulating	4.257
My supervisor evaluates me positively	4.225
My job is challenging	4.188
I am allowed sufficient freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching in order to do a good job	4.165
My supervisor is responsive to suggestions and grievances	4.097
I have a manageable work load	4.07
My job provides scope to learn and develop my abilities to my full potential	4.01
My supervisor gives clear guidance	4.00
My job provides sufficient variety in tasks/type of activity	4.00
What rewards do ESL/EFL teachers not get from their jobs? (means<3.5)	
I am included in my organization's goal-setting process	3.267
I have a good relationship with my students' parents	3.237
Independence and initiative are rewarded	3.223
I am able to introduce changes without going through a lot of red tape	3.176
I have a good salary	3.167
I have good job security	2.647
I have good fringe benefits	2.663
I have prospects for promotion	2.696

Teachers do receive lots of rewards from their current jobs, though we note that none of the items in this section received group means higher than 4.5. The rewards that teachers get in their current jobs are in most cases congruent with what teachers say is important. Teachers agree with the statement that “I know that I am really helping my students to learn English” (which was also ranked as very important by teachers in both locations), and teachers in both locations strongly agree that they have friendly relationships with their students, also considered very important. There are some discrepancies between the ratings for importance and those for rewards received, however. Fair treatment and the ability to perform to the best of one's ability (both identified as very high in importance), for example, do not emerge as the most common rewards of ESL/EFL teaching jobs. On the other hand, teachers strongly agree that they work for reputable educational organizations and that their jobs are challenging, factors which were not ranked especially high in importance.

FACTOR ANALYSES

As implied above, the rankings of what teachers consider important and what teachers say they get from their jobs in terms of rewards showed no major discrepancies between EFL teachers in Egypt and ESL teachers in Hawai'i. This was somewhat surprising to us but suggests that quite a bit of what it means to be a teacher, perhaps particularly a language teacher, is common across national boundaries and cultural institutions. Considering this fact, the fact that both native and non-native speaking teachers of English were known to be represented in both groups (although we did not elicit this information) and the fact that factor analysis is licensed only with samples of 100 or more, we did not factor analyze the responses from the Egypt and Hawai'i-based teachers separately but treated them as a single group.

Questionnaire results were factor analyzed using principle components analysis and varimax rotation (oblique). In factor analyzing the responses, we considered factor analyses with as few as two and as many as six factors. Conley & Levinson (1993) found that both teacher values and teaching rewards could be reasonably accounted for by a factor analysis with a simple two-factor solution: extrinsic versus intrinsic. With this in mind, the first analysis we carried out was to see whether a similarly clean explicit/intrinsic split would emerge in this study for both values and rewards. However, a two-factor solution proved unsatisfactory for our data, accounting for only 32% of the variance in value questions and resulting in uninterpretable factors for work rewards. After examination of Scree plots and considering only factors contributing 5% or more of variance, a five-factor solution was chosen for work values that accounts for 50% of variance. For work rewards, a four-factor solution was chosen that accounted for 51% of the variance.

Factor analysis of values

The following items from that part of the questionnaire asking respondents to rate the importance of various factors in their work situation load on Factor 1:

.754	Being treated fairly in my organization
.738	Working with other teachers as a team
.686	Having a supervisor who is responsive to suggestions and grievances
.615	Having good relationships with colleagues
.609	Having a friendly relationship with my students
.581	Having a good relationship with my students' parents
.550	Having contact with professionals in the field of English language teaching
.518	Being able to introduce changes without going through a lot of red tape
.506	Really helping my students to learn English
.470	Having sufficient variety in tasks/type of activity
.450	Having a good relationship with my supervisor(s)
.430	Being included in the goal setting process

Factor 1 seems to represent the need for affiliation, or a Relationship Orientation. The items loading on this factor are primarily social in nature, concerning relationships with other teachers, supervisors, students, and professionals. Concerns for fair treatment and being included in goal setting can also be viewed as social relationship variables.

The following items load on Factor 2:

.722	Fringe benefits
.663	Having a profession that is prestigious
.618	Job security
.622	Earning a good salary
.581	Being promoted to a senior supervisory job at some point in my career
.667	Having a prestigious job title

Factor 2 clearly represents Extrinsic Motivation. All of the items that load on this factor are external to the classroom.

The following items load on Factor 3, which represents the need for autonomy and self-determination in one's work setting:

.762	Having the freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching to do a good job
.685	Being allowed to deal creatively with students' problems
.708	Being able to work independently and use my own initiative
.499	Being recognized for my teaching accomplishments
.427	Having a job that is fun

Four items load on Factor 4. They seem to represent Self-realization and personal growth. These are all directed at internal satisfaction needs, and none of the items mention other people:

.801	Having a job in which I can learn and develop my abilities to my full potential
.698	Having a challenging job
.665	Having a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability
.557	Having a job that is enjoyable and stimulating

The items loading on Factor 5 primarily represent needs that are satisfied through Institutional Support:

.694	Having a supervisor who gives clear guidance
.666	Being evaluated positively by my supervisors
.612	Having a job in which I am relaxed and have peace of mind
.642	Having clear rules and procedures
.554	Having a prestigious job title

.541	Having flexible working hours
.451	Having a profession that is prestigious
.440	Working for a reputable educational organization
.424	Having flexible working hours

Respondents who score high on this factor emphasize the need for institutional support from a reputable institution, including guidance, clear rules and procedures, and (favorable) evaluations by supervisors. People scoring high on this factor might be characterized as somewhat dependent and not concerned with internal growth. Feeling relaxed and having peace of mind are viewed as more important. This factor shares a certain similarity with Factor 2 (extrinsic rewards), though the rewards in this case have more to do with prestige than money.

Factor analysis of rewards (characteristics of current job)

Of the questionnaire items dealing with the rewards of English teaching, the following items loaded on Factor 1:

.826	My supervisor is responsive to suggestions and grievances
.853	I have a good relationship with my supervisor(s)
.738	I am fairly treated in the organization
.713	My supervisor gives clear guidance
.648	My supervisor evaluates me positively
.643	I have a manageable work load
.603	There are clear rules and procedures at work
.533	I'm relaxed and have peace of mind in my job

The items loading on this factor suggest that one way in which a job can be good (or not) depends on the administration of the school or program, including having clear guidance, rules and procedures, and flexible working hours, with a very strong emphasis on the role of the supervisor. Working within a well organized program and having a good boss are linked to having peace of mind in one's job. We label this factor of job rewards Good Management.

The following items load on Factor 2:

.723	I have prospects for promotion
.712	I have good fringe benefits
.620	Teaching accomplishments are recognized
.575	The emphasis is on team work
.560	I have good job security
.542	Teaching English is a prestigious profession
.536	I have a good relationship with my students' parents
.511	I am included in my organization's goal-setting process
.502	Independence and initiative are rewarded

.438 Creativity is emphasized and rewarded

We have labeled this factor of job rewards as a Professional Position. The items loading on it include extrinsic rewards (recognition, security, fringe benefits, opportunities for promotion) but are not limited to that, since this factor also includes an emphasis on creativity, independence and initiative, a team work orientation, and inclusion in goal-setting. While Factor 1 represents one way in which an institution can exhibit quality management (through support and supervision), this represents another (by encouraging staff development and participation).

Factor 3 includes the following items:

.774	I have a friendly relationship with my students
.745	I know that I am really helping my students to learn English
.705	I have good relationships with colleagues
.489	Teaching English is a prestigious profession
.443	My students evaluate me positively
.423	I work for a reputable educational organization

This factor indicates that another major source of job rewards is one's Students. A good job can be characterized according to this factor as working for a reputable organization with good students.

Factor 4 includes the following items:

.834	My job is challenging
.795	I have sufficient opportunities for contact with professionals in the field of English teaching
.766	My job provides scope to learn and develop my abilities to my full potential
.681	I am allowed sufficient freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching in order to do a good job.
.666	My job provides sufficient variety in tasks/type of activity
.622	My work is enjoyable and stimulating
.602	My job is fun
.496	I have a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability
.421	I receive frequent enough feedback about the effectiveness of my performance

This factor indicates that in addition to working for a well-managed institution or program, the benefits of a professional position, and rewards gained from one's students, another source of rewards in English teaching can come from having a Challenging Job. Such jobs encourage creativity, provide scope to learn, and allow one to perform to the best of one's ability. Such jobs are enjoyable, stimulating, and fun.

CAREER AND JOB SATISFACTION

In general, ESL/EFL teachers assign higher ratings when they are asked to rate some aspect of work in importance (the overall mean for all value items was 4.397, where 4=*somewhat important* and 5=*very important*) than when they are asked to agree with a statement that they get such a reward from their work (the overall mean for all reward items was 3.804, where 3=*no opinion or neutral* and 4=*agree*). This may be merely human nature — perhaps it is natural to be more enthusiastic about what one would like than what one has — but it may indicate discrepancy between values and rewards as perceived by teachers.

The teachers in our sample also seem to be somewhat more satisfied with their career choice than with the specific jobs they now have. We created a Career Happiness index by averaging ratings on the statement “I am truly satisfied with my profession as a teacher” with the ratings (reverse scored) on the statement “I will change my career if I have the opportunity to do so.” By this measure, teachers seem reasonably happy with their careers as teachers (mean=3.948), compared to average scores for a similarly constructed measure of Job Happiness (mean=3.481).

Which of the different aspects of work related values and rewards discussed above influence job and career happiness most strongly? Recall that the “fit” hypothesis predicts that individual ratings of both values and perceived rewards — and especially the interaction between them — should determine job satisfaction, while more traditional theories emphasize the importance of rewards alone. In order to address this issue, we carried out Pearson product-moment correlations between job and career happiness scores and several possible predictor variables,¹ including subjects’ average ratings on all “importance” items, their ratings of rewards associated with their current jobs, and what we call a Discrepancy Index, consisting of the ratings of importance of specific job attributes minus the ratings for whether one’s current job provides those rewards. For example, if an individual rated “earning a good salary” as *very important* and strongly disagreed with the statement “I have a good salary,” that person would have a value score of 5 for this variable, a reward score of 1, and a discrepancy score of 4. Another individual might rate having a good salary as *somewhat unimportant* and also strongly disagree with the statement “I have a good salary;” that person would be assigned a value score of 2, a reward score of 1 for this variable, and a discrepancy score of 1. We reasoned that, if the fit hypothesis is correct, there should be a stronger (negative) correlation between job/career happiness and the Discrepancy Index than between happiness and the various reward measures alone. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 3.

¹ It may be noted that we did not use the outputs from the factor analyses reported in the previous section as inputs for these analyses. Since those factor analyses produced a five-factor solution for values and a four-factor solution for rewards, it was not possible to compute a measure of discrepancy by subtracting one set of measures from the other.

Table 3: Predictors of job and career happiness

	career happiness	job happiness
career happiness	1.000	.732*
job happiness	.732*	1.000
values	.192 (NS)	.188 (NS)
rewards	.505*	.548*
discrepancy	-.402*	-.452*

* $p < .01$

Correlations between career and job happiness and average ratings for all value items, average ratings for all reward items, and a discrepancy measure (value/importance rating minus reward rating)

As shown in Table 3, for this sample of ESL/EFL teachers, it appears as though values (importance ratings) have relatively little effect on Job or Career Happiness compared to both rewards and the discrepancy between values and rewards. The average importance ratings for all 36 value items correlated with Career Happiness at only .192 ($p = .0715$, n.s.) and with Job Happiness at only .188 ($p = .0779$, n.s.), whereas the average ratings on reward items correlated with Career Happiness with meaningful and significant coefficients of .505 and .548 respectively. It should also be noted that Career and Job Happiness were highly correlated (.732) with each other.

We also looked at all correlations between individual item scores (both values and rewards) and the scores for Career and Job Happiness, once again finding that rewards have a strong relationship to happiness, values a minor one. Because this analysis involved a large number of correlations, we set a relatively stringent value of alpha at $p < .01$. By this criterion, only two value items (“having flexible working hours” and “having contacts with professionals in the field”) were significantly related to Career Happiness, and only four value items (“having flexible working hours,” “having clear procedures,” “having a supervisor who gives clear guidance,” and “working for a reputable educational organization”) were significantly related to Job Happiness. In contrast, 21 of 36 reward items were meaningfully and significantly correlated with Career Happiness, and 18 of 36 reward items were significantly correlated with Job Happiness. Rewards correlating with both Career and Job Happiness include items from each of the four clusters of items identified in the factor analysis for rewards, although it is very interesting to note that the most consistently high correlations are with items that load on rewards Factor 4 (challenge and growth), including “My job provides scope to learn and develop my abilities to my full potential” (.601 correlation with Career Happiness and .476 with Job Happiness), “I have a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability” (.510 correlation with Career Happiness and .593 with Job Happiness), “My work is enjoyable and stimulating” (.433 correlation with Career Happiness and .496 with Job Happiness), and “My job provides sufficient variety” (.427 correlation with Career Happiness and .408 with Job Happiness).

Since our earlier analysis of values indicated that internal rewards such as having a job in which one can perform to the best of one's ability and developing one's full potential are very important to these teachers and since we have just indicated that whether or not these rewards are obtained from one's job predicts Job and Career Happiness, this might suggest some support for the fit hypothesis, as does the fact that (as shown in Table 3), there are significant correlations between the overall Discrepancy Index and both Career and Job Happiness. On the other hand, several variables that were rated as much less important by teachers, for example, having a profession that is prestigious and having a prestigious job title, also correlate significantly with both Job and Career Happiness. Recalling our reasoning that if the fit hypothesis is correct, then correlations between the Discrepancy Index and Job and Career Happiness than the comparable correlations using rewards alone, this is clearly not the case. The average of reward ratings correlates .505 with Career Happiness and .548 with Job Happiness, while the Discrepancy Index correlates lower at $-.402$ and $-.452$, respectively. Moreover, the overall average for rewards and the Discrepancy Index correlate highly with each other ($-.759$). These averages are not independent, and it is doubtful that there is any effect for the discrepancy between a value and a reward beyond the effect of the reward alone. The same picture emerges when we look at individual items to see the effects of rewards and the discrepancy measure. For 8 of 36 items, there is a significant (negative) correlation between the Discrepancy Index and Career Happiness, and for 11 items there is a significant correlation with Job Happiness. However, these items are a subset of those for which a significant correlation was found for rewards and Career/Job Happiness, and in every case the correlation is lower. We conclude, therefore, that the fit hypothesis is not supported by our data.

Our data also fail to support Herzberg's dual structure hypothesis, which claims that the factors contributing to satisfaction are different from those contributing to dissatisfaction. It is true, as we have noted, that these teachers are most satisfied with the more intrinsic rewards of teaching in their jobs and least satisfied (most dissatisfied) with the extrinsic rewards they receive, but this seems to reflect the rewards that teaching does and does not offer, rather than an inherent link between lower-level needs and the range between dissatisfied and neutral and between higher-level needs and the range neutral to satisfied. Because our satisfaction scales are continuous, from satisfied (*strongly agree* that I am truly satisfied with my current job) to dissatisfied (*strongly disagree* that I am truly satisfied with my current job), the fact that we have quite robust correlations with a large number of job-related rewards suggests that those rewards do not relate to just one end of the satisfaction-dissatisfaction continuum.

In order to pursue this question in a different way, we looked at the answers to the open-ended questions on our questionnaire. Recall that we asked our informants to list separately those factors that have positive and negative influences on their jobs, as well as to describe critical incidents that made them feel good or bad about their teaching and their relationship with a supervisor. The question we considered was whether different aspects of job and career were mentioned frequently only in connection with happiness or unhappiness rather than both.

For the most part, the answer to this question is “no.” Of course, individual teachers cited different reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their particular jobs. For example, one teacher might mention having supportive colleagues and enthusiastic students as positive factors and lots of paperwork and large classes as negatives. But another teacher might mention small classes as a positive aspect of their job while reporting dissatisfaction with colleagues and unmotivated students. Students, colleagues, school or program administrative support, resources, and job conditions were all mentioned frequently as sources of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It also seems that most of the items on our questionnaire were related to things that informants bring up when asked more open-ended questions, although there were exceptions to this. None of our informants mentioned task variety as an important job attribute (either positive or negative) or, surprisingly, really helping students to learn. This might be because teachers simply assumed that they are in the language classroom to help their students learn and therefore neglected to mention it. There was also one variable that was not included in our questionnaire that did show up repeatedly in the responses to the open-ended questions: respect. Our questionnaire asked about prestige (a sociological variable), but many of our informants mentioned respect (a more interpersonal variable), especially in connection with their recounting of critical incidents. Incidents showing that a supervisor listens to, appreciates, and validates the opinions of teachers were often reported, and many respondents related stories in which their supervisor responded to a request, asked them for advice, took a suggestion seriously and implemented it, or otherwise showed respect and trust towards the teacher. Being treated without respect, as expendable, or being subjected to public embarrassment were equally often mentioned as causes of deep dissatisfaction.

CONCLUSIONS

Given the general lack of information in the applied linguistics literature concerning what makes English language teachers tick—their motivations, their goals, and their views on what teaching does and should offer to people who make a career of it—we view this study as exploratory and think that we have only brushed the surface of understanding what it means to be a teacher. However, we do think that we have established several basic findings for a limited sample of experienced teachers in two locations. First, not all teachers want the same things from their teaching jobs and careers. As a group, teachers emphasize the importance of intrinsic over extrinsic rewards, but there is considerable variation. One cluster of teacher values or needs concerns relationships of all kinds. Another concerns the extrinsic values of salary, security, fringe benefits, and so on. Other clusters of values relate to autonomy and self-realization (separate factors in our analysis), and teachers also vary in the extent to which they profess a need for institutional support. Second, ESL/EFL teaching jobs vary and provide different rewards, which also cluster into identifiable factors. One job may be better because it represents good management, another because it brings all the trappings of a professional position (including salary, recognition, and an emphasis on creativity); other jobs

may lack these rewards but provide room for personal growth or the rewards of working with enthusiastic students.

Although the factors that indicate what (different) teachers think is important overlap considerably with the rewards that (different) jobs have to offer, values and rewards do not match precisely. The most interesting difference we found was that there is a value cluster associated with relationships of all kinds, but there do not appear to be jobs that provide all the elements of that cluster. Instead, relationships with one's students appears as part of a cluster that is all about students, while relationships with one's supervisor is more commonly related to the overall management of an institution or program.

We have also explored relationships between our variables of values and rewards, together with a Discrepancy Index that we created, and career and job satisfaction. Somewhat to our surprise, we found that while job rewards were highly correlated with job and career satisfaction, work values were not so correlated, and the correlations between happiness and our Discrepancy Index seemed to be spurious, attributable to the influence of rewards alone. That is, we cannot say much as a result of this study about whether a particular person will be happy as an English teacher by considering what aspects of work they value most highly, but we can predict their job and career happiness reasonably well by considering the rewards of a particular job. We think that there is a positive way to look at this finding. English language teachers are idealistic. However, just like anyone else, they will not be happy with a job or career that only fulfills their most idealistic needs. They also expect and demand respect, fairness, reasonable extrinsic rewards, and good management.

One methodological limitation of this study derives from the fact that we factor analyzed the results from teachers in Hawai'i and in Egypt as one group. Future research should certainly consider a much larger sample of English language teachers and might be more concerned with differences among teachers in different locations (to that end, readers should feel free to use the scales we created as instruments for additional studies), but our major concern here has been with the construct of English language teacher, not Egyptian or American teachers. On the other hand, our sample represents experienced career teachers with impressive qualifications. Quite a different picture might emerge from a study focusing on mostly young, untrained, and short term teachers such as the British EFL teachers surveyed in Blackie (1990). Another limitation, we think, is related to the quantitative methodology used in this study. Although we have not found support for either the fit hypothesis or Herzberg's dual source hypothesis, this could be attributable to the fact that we have looked at the interplay of variables across a fairly large number of subjects. We suspect that longitudinal qualitative case studies or studies of a small number of individuals might find closer relationships between values and career and job satisfaction than we have found, since our methodology has necessarily eliminated life histories and idiosyncratic patterns in favor of general trends. Finally, we have not even begun to approach the interesting question of how the worlds of teachers and students intersect with respect to motivation, goals, values, and

rewards. In addition to the various things that teachers can do to motivate learners (see, for example, Noels, this volume), it is widely believed that teachers who are themselves highly motivated inspire their students to be motivated as well. Is this so, or do students respond more to personality traits than to perceptions of teacher motivation that might not be accurate in any case? We have only begun to look at what motivates teachers and have not yet turned to the possible impact of these influences on learners.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY FORM

THE TEACHER'S WORLD SURVEY

The purpose of this survey is to identify some of the factors that influence, motivate, and empower English language teachers in EFL and ESL settings. The questionnaire concerns both job satisfaction and career satisfaction. There is no known risk associated with participation in this research. Participation is entirely voluntary. Data from the questionnaires that follow will be anonymous. Names of participants will not be connected to questionnaire information. This is not an evaluation of any language teaching program, and the identity of the program in which you work will not be connected to the data.

At the present time, we are asking that this questionnaire be completed *only* by individuals who are *currently teaching English*. You are eligible to participate if you are currently providing direct instruction to learners of English as a second or foreign language, either full or part time, at any institution or in any language program.

The survey consists of three sections. Section One consists of four open-ended questions, for which you are invited to respond in as much detail as you wish. Section Two consists of 36 statements each followed by a five-point scale on which you are requested to indicate the *extent of importance* that each statement has for you. Section Three consists of 40 statements specifically related to the organization or program in which you currently work. If you work for more than one organization or program, please *focus on one only*.

We greatly appreciate your contribution. If you are interested in finding out the results of this survey, you may do so by sending an email message to Richard Schmidt at schmidt@hawaii.edu.

BIODATA

Gender: male _____ female _____

Age: _____

Academic degrees, diplomas, certificates: _____

Qualifications for teaching English: _____

Please indicate which situation applies to you:

- _____ I am employed full time in one educational organization
- _____ I am employed part time in one educational organization
- _____ I am employed part time in two or more educational organization

_____ I am employed both full time in one educational organization plus part-time at one or more additional organizations

Total number of years of teaching experience: _____

Level/stage of the students you teach:

- _____ primary/elementary school
- _____ preparatory or middle school
- _____ secondary/high school
- _____ university students
- _____ adult learners not currently in school

SECTION ONE

Think of the educational organization where you work and list the major factors that have a positive influence on your job.

List the major factors that have a negative influence on your job.

Think of a time when, in your relationship with your supervisor (principal, department head, or another title), something very favorable and positive happened that made you feel good about your teaching and your relationship with your supervisor.

Think of a time when, in your relationship with your supervisor (principal, department head, or another title), something very unfavorable and negative happened that did not make you feel good about your teaching and your relationship with your supervisor.

SECTION TWO

Rate each of the following according to *how important this aspect of work* is to you personally. Indicate your response by circling a number on the scale below each item. The numbers on the scale correspond to the following:

5=very important
4=somewhat important
3=no opinion
2=somewhat unimportant
1=not important at all

1. Earning a good salary
1 2 3 4 5
2. Having flexible working hours
1 2 3 4 5
3. Job security
1 2 3 4 5
4. Fringe benefits
1 2 3 4 5
5. Having clear rules and procedures
1 2 3 4 5
6. Having a manageable work load
1 2 3 4 5
7. Being fairly treated in my organization
1 2 3 4 5
8. Having a supervisor who is responsive to suggestions and grievances
1 2 3 4 5
9. Having a supervisor who gives clear guidance
1 2 3 4 5
10. Having sufficient variety in tasks/type of activity
1 2 3 4 5
11. Working for a reputable educational organization
1 2 3 4 5
12. Having a profession that is prestigious
1 2 3 4 5
13. Having a prestigious job title
1 2 3 4 5
14. Having the freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching to do a good job
1 2 3 4 5

15. Being allowed to deal creatively with students' problems
1 2 3 4 5
16. Being included in the goal setting process
1 2 3 4 5
17. Being able to introduce changes without going through a lot of red tape
1 2 3 4 5
18. Having a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability
1 2 3 4 5
19. Being promoted to a senior supervisory job at some point in my career
1 2 3 4 5
20. Having a challenging job
1 2 3 4 5
21. Having a job in which I can learn and develop my abilities to my full potential
1 2 3 4 5
22. Having contact with professionals in the field of English language teaching
1 2 3 4 5
23. Frequent feedback about the effectiveness of my performance
1 2 3 4 5
24. Being able to work independently and use my own initiative
1 2 3 4 5
25. Being evaluated positively by my students
1 2 3 4 5
26. Being evaluated positively by my supervisors
1 2 3 4 5
27. Being recognized for my teaching accomplishment
1 2 3 4 5
28. Really helping my students to learn English
1 2 3 4 5
29. Having good relationships with colleagues
1 2 3 4 5
30. Having a friendly relationship with my students
1 2 3 4 5
31. Having a good relationship with my supervisor(s)
1 2 3 4 5
32. Having a good relationship with my students' parents
1 2 3 4 5

33. Working with other teachers as a team
1 2 3 4 5
34. Having a job that is enjoyable and stimulating
1 2 3 4 5
35. Having a job that is fun
1 2 3 4 5
36. Having a job in which I am relaxed and have peace of mind
1 2 3 4 5

SECTION THREE

Read the following statements and think about each in relation to your current job.
The numbers on the scale correspond to the following:

- 5=strongly agree
4=agree
3=no opinion
2=disagree
1=strongly disagree

1. I have a good salary.
1 2 3 4 5
2. I have flexible working hours.
1 2 3 4 5
3. I have good job security.
1 2 3 4 5
4. I have good fringe benefits.
1 2 3 4 5
5. There are clear rules and procedures at work.
1 2 3 4 5
6. I have a manageable work load.
1 2 3 4 5
7. I am fairly treated in the organization.
1 2 3 4 5
8. My supervisor is responsive to suggestions and grievances.
1 2 3 4 5
9. My supervisor gives clear guidance.
1 2 3 4 5
10. My job provides sufficient variety in tasks/type of activity.
1 2 3 4 5

11. I work for a reputable educational organization.
1 2 3 4 5
12. Teaching English is a prestigious profession.
1 2 3 4 5
13. My job title is satisfactory.
1 2 3 4 5
14. I am allowed sufficient freedom to do what is necessary in my teaching in order to do a good job.
1 2 3 4 5
15. Creativity is emphasized and rewarded.
1 2 3 4 5
16. I am included in my organization's goal-setting process.
1 2 3 4 5
17. I am able to introduce changes without going through a lot of red tape.
1 2 3 4 5
18. I have a job in which I can perform to the best of my ability.
1 2 3 4 5
19. I have prospects for promotion.
1 2 3 4 5
20. My job is challenging.
1 2 3 4 5
21. My job provides scope to learn and develop my abilities to my full potential.
1 2 3 4 5
22. I have sufficient opportunities for contact with professionals in the field of English teaching.
1 2 3 4 5
23. I receive frequent enough feedback about the effectiveness of my performance.
1 2 3 4 5
24. Independence and initiative are rewarded.
1 2 3 4 5
25. My students evaluate me positively.
1 2 3 4 5
26. My supervisor evaluates me positively.
1 2 3 4 5
27. Teaching accomplishments are recognized.
1 2 3 4 5

28. I know that I am really helping my students to learn English.

1 2 3 4 5

29. I have good relationships with colleagues.

1 2 3 4 5

30. I have a friendly relationship with my students.

1 2 3 4 5

31. I have a good relationship with my supervisor(s).

1 2 3 4 5

32. I have a good relationship with my students' parents.

1 2 3 4 5

33. The emphasis is on team work.

1 2 3 4 5

34. My work is enjoyable and stimulating.

1 2 3 4 5

35. My job is fun.

1 2 3 4 5

36. I'm relaxed and have peace of mind in my job.

1 2 3 4 5

37. I am truly satisfied with my profession as a teacher.

1 2 3 4 5

38. I am truly satisfied with my present job.

1 2 3 4 5

39. I will change my career if I have the opportunity to do so.

1 2 3 4 5

40. I will change my job if I have the opportunity to do so.

1 2 3 4 5