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Achievement Motivation: A Study With Women Cross-cultural Learners

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Abstract

The significance of identifying and meeting individual learning needs in culturally appropriate ways is a professional responsibility of all teachers. This research explored achievement motivation from within the cultural context of women tertiary students from Asia and Pacific Island nations. Narrative data were collected from focus groups using semi-structured interviews that were led by facilitators of the same culture as participants. The role of the researcher was to observe and record the meetings where the women were involved in discussions about issues relating to learning and motivation. Data were analysed to identify factors linking cultural, gender identity and goals to achievement motivation as well as determining the nature of these links. Strong evidence of the effect of societal conditioning and the resulting impact on motivational orientation was found. This supported existing literature regarding the difficulties faced by ethnic minority learners, often due to societal expectations and their personal priorities. However findings challenged much of the literature that has influenced public discourse on the role of women. To maintain and enhance the achievement motivation of women, teachers must be aware of the diversity of socio-cultural values relating to the role of women and avoid making generic assumptions about goals, values and priorities. The research recommends that teachers acknowledge the goals and purposes of learners and that the values and practices of the learner's culture are evident in teaching strategies, particularly in the context of praise and reward.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Ko tahi te kaahao o te ngira e kauna ai.

Te miro ma

Te miro pango

Te miro whero

Translation from Maori:

There is but one eye to the needle through which each thread must pass

The white thread

The black thread

The red thread

Potatau (1958), Ngaruwahia.

As a lecturer in a tertiary programme that has both a predominantly female student representation and a considerable number of students from ethnic minority groups, my observations have prompted concern for the number of women ethnic minority students who disappear or slide away when a problem, often personal, arises. It is not uncommon for these students to claim to be enjoying the programme and be successfully completing work to the required standard. Many of the women who fall by the wayside do so after making a promising start. Most do not give sound reasons but drift away, with the majority leaving during the first year of study.

An example of student fall-out from one tertiary education programme during the first year of study shows that from 21 students, enrolled, six women from minority ethnic groups or 28% left the course. Only one New Zealand born non-Maori (Pakeha) woman withdrew. This is consistent with findings from Statistics New Zealand (2001) that show only 16% of people of Pacific Island (Pasifika) origin who were born outside New Zealand hold a bachelor degree or higher qualification. This compares to over 20% of New Zealand born Pasifika who have a degree. Statistics from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs (2001) reveal that 55% of Pasifika born in their Pacific nation have no tertiary qualification contrasting the 35% of those born in New Zealand.

Aims and Purposes

The purpose of this thesis is to identify methods of ensuring that the motivational level of such students is retained and enhanced. The objective of this research is to find out how women students, who were born and educated to secondary level in their country of origin, find and use motivation strategies when studying in a New Zealand tertiary institution.

Teachers at any level of education have a professional responsibility to meet the learning needs of students in a way that no learner becomes disadvantaged (Hall & Bishop, 2000). It is therefore my aim to identify links between gender, culture and motivation, specifically the factors that motivate women tertiary students who have been born in Asia or the Pacific Islands. It is anticipated that the findings of this research will assist in the identification of teaching practice that will enhance the chances of success for women cross-cultural students.

Literature concerning achievement motivation for women cross-cultural learners is scarce. Also there is little that relates to the New Zealand education field and to the cultures most commonly found in this country. Much of the literature available relates to the American education system (Sue & Okazaki, 1990, Elliot, 1999 Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999), none of which specifically look at women as learners. I therefore expect that this study will contribute to the understanding of women in the tertiary system in New Zealand and add a further element to the teaching strategies that can assist with motivating women students through the difficulties they may experience.

This study will apply culturally and gender appropriate methods to further the understanding of women who are learning in a cross-cultural context. In accordance with the recommendations of Teariki and Spoonley with Tomoana (1992), Hall and Bishop (2000) and Vaiote (2000), a method that includes participants as partners in the research process has been selected. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that a qualitative methodology allows the voice of participants to come through and provides for an active relationship between the participant and researcher to be established. Focus groups have been selected as a suitably interactive research design

for this study and are supported by Turner (1982) and Gill (1995) as an appropriate feminist research tool.

In keeping with the qualitative approach and with the interactive design, this study uses the narrative contributions of participants. Narrative data requires an interpretive approach to analysis. Findings have therefore emerged by identifying themes, patterns and common issues relating to cross-cultural learning and motivation then related to theory.

Structure of This Thesis

Chapter 2 provides a review of literature on topics related to this research. This chapter is therefore divided into sections that discuss literature in the areas of gender, culture and motivation. As an interpretive review, this chapter identifies gaps and problems within some existing literature and challenges certain assumptions made, particularly in relation to public discourse.

Chapter 3 describes the methods used to conduct this qualitative study. An overview of the intended procedure and theoretical foundation is followed by a detailed description of the actual process applied to collect data. This chapter also describes the process used to analyse the data collected.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of the analysis and findings. The identification of common themes occurring from within the data is described and placed in a heuristically valid context. The analysis also provides a theoretical evaluation. Extracts from the narrative of participants are interspersed throughout this chapter to illustrate themes and to support findings.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings in relation to the literature discussed in chapter 2. This is then discussed in the context of teaching practice.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by providing a reflective overview of the methods and findings. Recommendations for further research in this area conclude this study.

This research will have relevance for lecturers in the tertiary education sector by providing further understanding of the following areas:

- The relationship between Asian and Pacific Island cultures and achievement motivation.
- The attitude of women learners to achievement motivation.
- Strategies for fostering and maintaining achievement motivation in women from Asian and Pacific Island cultures.

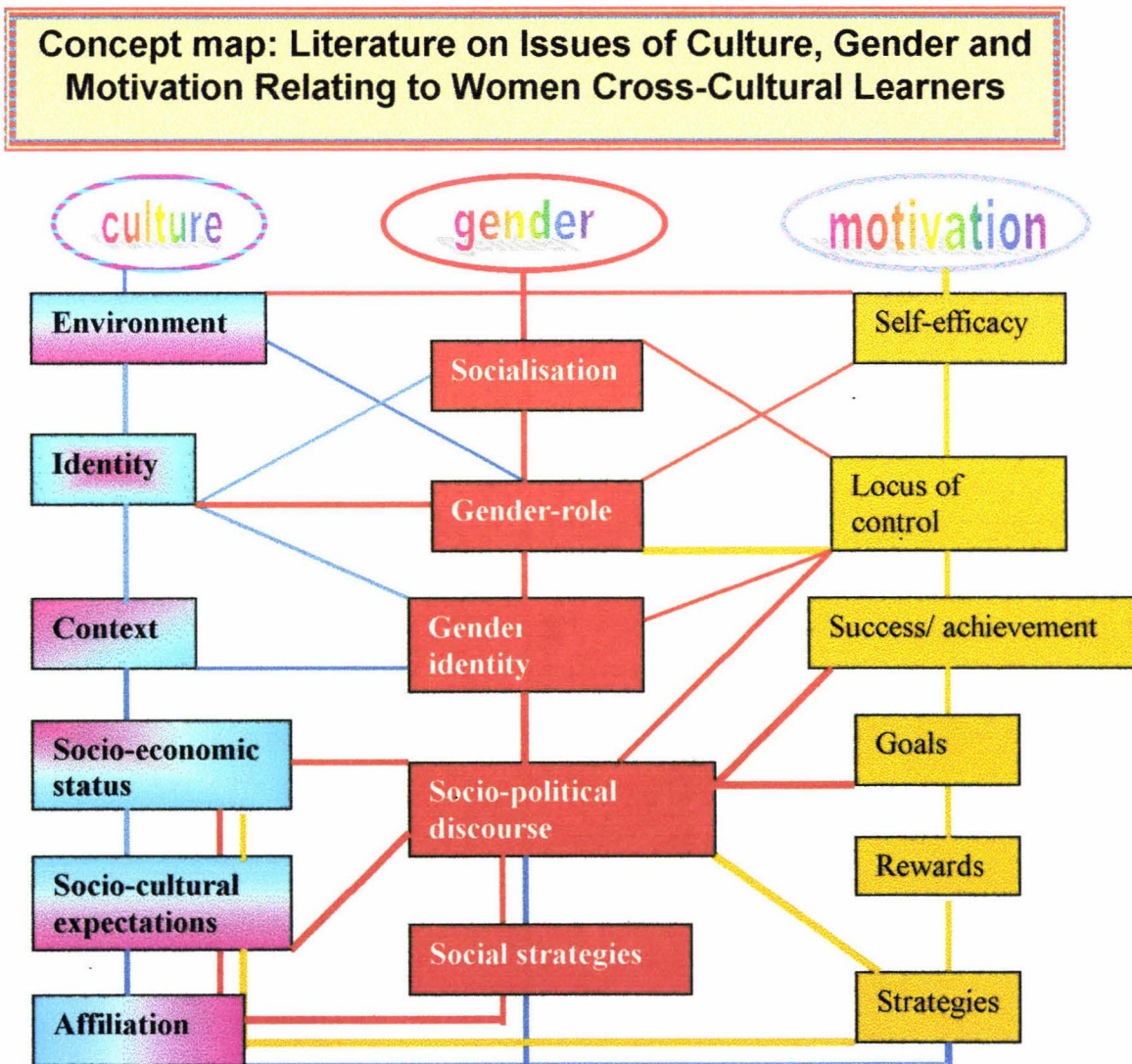
It is hoped that this study will lead to further research in the area of achievement motivation to explore the differences in motivation across a greater diversity of cultures. This study will support existing studies (Scott, Burns & Cooney, 1998; Fletcher, 2000; Hall & Bishop, 2000) and provide a contextual base for understanding the motivational sources and strategies of cross-cultural women students that relates to the New Zealand tertiary system and structure.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This chapter provides a review of literature relevant to this study. This review will be constructed in three major sections: culture, gender and achievement motivation. The themes emerging from these three sections will be drawn together in the conclusion of the chapter and discussed in relation to this study. Figure 1 adds a visual overview of the interconnections of the issues on culture, gender and motivation from the literature in this review that apply to women cross-cultural learners. Some of the papers reviewed in this chapter could belong in more than one section, for example, gender and culture. They have been discussed in the context most appropriate to this study and where their content is most relevant.

Figure 1



Culture

Culture, Context and Values

This section explores literature concerning the cultural context of ideas and understandings in relation to educational and social issues. Although Banks (1988) suggests that there is no clear definition of culture that all social scientists can agree on, he quotes the definition given by Taylor (1871). "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"(p.72).

Banks (1988) remarks that cultures are "dynamic, complex and changing...are systems and must be viewed in wholes, not isolated parts (p.73)." This suggests that cultures are not static, but do move in keeping with the needs of the time. Such changes must be holistic as, by removing or altering part of a whole, we threaten the existence of that item. The work of Watkins, Mortazavi and Trofimova (2000) emphasises that generational differences within cultures might have some effect on certain values and beliefs. Therefore, the cultural environment in which any development occurs colours, highlights and frames the themes and issues of value to the individual in all areas of experience.

Niles (1998) has explored achievement behaviour from a cross-cultural perspective and argues that achievement can mean different things from different cultural perspectives. Respondents in Australia and Sri Lanka were asked to nominate ten preferred things that would give them a sense of achievement and ten means for achieving them. The participants of the study by Niles represented a broad spectrum of the communities of Australia and Sri Lanka. Findings showed, however that the diversity of values led to quite different priorities between the two nations. Australian values focussed on strong work ethics and self-determination whilst the values of Sri Lankan participants were similar with the notable exception of areas involving family and social responsibility. From the Sri Lankan perspective, duty to parents and children were deemed more important than more hedonistic aspects of life. According to Walker and Dimmock (2000) this was also the case for Chinese students, also from a collectivist society. Walker and Dimmock also allude to the

possibility that often the different emphasis becomes misconstrued as a lack of motivation in the student.

It is admitted by Niles (1998) that the meaning of relevant factors could not be taken for granted, for example, material wealth came low on the scale in Sri Lanka, suggesting an acceptance of the unlikelihood of achieving assets such as financial wealth or a new car in that community and focussing more on the elements of life that were more readily achievable. As suggested by Maslow (1970) the individual is motivated to strive for their most urgent needs and is unlikely to move towards higher aspirations if the basics such as nourishment and shelter are not adequately met.

The quantitative method used in the study by Niles (1998) may have reduced the value of the findings as in many examples of setting priorities, the circumstances driving the needs are highly relevant. Perhaps using a qualitative method this could have been further explored as more personal approaches such as face-to-face interviews can draw greater meaning (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and provided a more distinct cultural frame to the responses.

The specific frame through which an individual perceives their culture is likely to be contextualised by the gender perspective and coloured by the social role designated by the community. A frame forms a context through which a picture is viewed. It provides a window that puts parameters around any perceived issue, item or event. It actively limits the view and focuses attention in a pre-set direction. Hesford (1999) stated this succinctly by in her introduction:

Frames imply boundaries; they limit what and how we see something. Window frames. Eye-glass frames. Analytical frames. Methodological frames. Institutional frames. Cultural frames. Historical frames. Frames of references....Frames are a state of mind. Formulations. Constructs (p. x).

Hesford (1999) researched the effects of context on the lives of college students in the USA. By listening to their stories and observing behaviour Hesford (1999) was able to identify trends and patterns within marginalized groups. She was particularly interested in women from minority ethnic groups; however Hesford gave considerable

attention to a situation where a white male student felt marginalized when excluded from a meeting to discuss sexual harassment. This provided another interesting insight into human behaviour when facing exclusion. In this case, the male student was well used to being dominant mainstream both culturally and by gender expectation. Finding himself marginalized and rejected he attacked the group. This situation provided a stark contrast to the other situations of marginalisation described relating to minority-group women for whom the normal response was to become introverted to and try and blend in quietly.

One of the main social strategies disclosed by Hesford (1999) was to attempt to assimilate by blending, a strategy based on the principle of safety in numbers. Hesford was critical about the pedagogical constructs of the college, claiming that the programmes of learning and the social structures were based on the dominant mainstream culture and ignored the interests and values of others.

Hesford (1999) claimed that for learners to have a sense of belonging, the environment must relate to the student community. The outcome of an institution imposing a set learning structure removes the input of the individual. This suggests that students need a voice in the constructing of learning programmes.

By having a voice, students in minorities, either ethnic or gender, can become visible. This can provide a discourse for change in institutional power structures. This may in turn lead to changes in pedagogy to more closely fit the needs of learners. For culture as with gender issues the influence of social discourse is a powerful factor in influencing the role of the woman (Hamilton, 1996; Dickie, 2000; Vaiotele, 2000).

The influence of socio-political discourse on the cultural aspect of the gender-role is further demonstrated in Figure 1 by the links between the gender, identity and the locus of control. As with gender issues, socio-political discourse impacts on the contextualisation of culture-specific identity and has a major influence over the self-regulation applied by the individual.

The significance of identifying and meeting individual needs in culturally appropriate ways was pointed out by Goldberg (2000) who found that many learners become

confused between the values of the different cultures in which they must function. This was found to compromise their belief in the culture of their origin and leave the learner culturally dysfunctional potentially resulting in low levels of self-belief. Motivation to learn or achieve set goals in life requires specific components such as belief in one's ability and self-belief as a worthy and competent individual (Weiner, 1979; Alderman, 1990).

Cultural Maintenance and Motivation

When describing her research with immigrant children and their families in America, Igoa (1995) found that the most effective way to enhance achievement was to work through the culture or cultures represented in each family. Although this work was undertaken in the U.S.A. Igoa makes points regarding cross-cultural education that are relevant to this study.

To assist students to adapt to a new environment, Igoa (1995) found that understanding and acceptance was the main key that to unlock the skills, motivation and identity of each individual. Those who tried to assimilate or deny any aspect of their heritage performed at a lower level. The tale is described of a Samoan child who was regarded as a behaviour problem. Once he had been offered the chance to use traditional and valued aspects of his own culture in storytelling, the boy became motivated and enthusiastic about learning, thus providing an excellent example of one of the links between motivation and culture.

Igoa (1995) also discusses achievement motivation in the context of the teacher's role. She claims that her expectations as a teacher are usually reflected in the standard offered by students "If I have high expectations, they do meet the standards of excellence – and I believe this builds their self-esteem" (p.181), a point echoed by Gibbs (2000) and Hill and Hawk (2000).

Igoa (1995) adds that by demonstrating sound pedagogical strategies for working with rather than against the culture of the learners thus further enhancing self-esteem. She reinforces the importance of including gender role within the context of culture thus allowing the student to feel comfortable whilst learning to live in a new environment.

Of significance to this study are the issues Igoa (1995) raises regarding the attitudes of teachers. To work with the learner through their own culture demonstrates respect and acknowledgement for the culture. It also ensures that the learner has a sense of belonging and acceptance and the expectation that the student will learn and achieve. This is supported by Vaiote (2000) who claims that teachers need to be able to work within cultural values rather than across them.

More recently, Hawk, Cowley and Hill (2001) have explored the factor of relationships of teachers with Maori and Pasifika students from across three sectors of education. This work explores the factors that Maori and Pasifika students believe make successful teachers but the outcomes are worthy of consideration in this section as they deal with cross-cultural issues.

The findings of Hawk, Cowley and Hill (2001) note little difference between sectors in the components of a learning environment that make a student comfortable. Primary, secondary and tertiary students all stated that the quality of relationship with the teacher made the most significant difference. Interviews were conducted with students of teachers who were regarded by their colleagues as effective in their work, who were highly regarded by their seniors, heads of schools and by their students. Of particular significance to this study is that all three sectors reported that the ethnicity of the teacher was not significant in forming relationships with Maori or Pasifika students. Rather it was the attributes demonstrated by the attitude and behaviour of the teachers that resulted in effective learning and motivation of students from all sectors.

The particular attitudes and behaviours found to cause effective learning and help to motivation in tertiary students were reflected in two areas: Cultural values in relation to education; and the culture of the classroom as it relates to cultural issues and values.

Cultural values in relation to education:

- Empathy: Acceptance of the student's values and their lives beyond school. Learning names and how to pronounce them. Learning about the culture and related practices and commitments and respecting them

- Going the extra mile: Demonstrating effort above and beyond class-work that showed interest and thoughtfulness. Providing extra support
- Belief in their ability: Showing a commitment to their learning. Making them feel special and valued
- Respect: Not necessarily being liked, but giving helpful explanations, treating the students with respect and valuing their contributions

The culture of the classroom as it relates to cultural issues and values:

- Passion to enthuse: Making learning interesting and fun. Showing energy through love of the subject. Using humour and keeping the environment relaxed. Being positive
- Patience and perseverance: Knowing the teacher will not give up or become irritated by repeated asking for help
- Caring: Friendliness, helpfulness and tending to pastoral issues

The outcomes for students of such relationships with teachers were that confidence, loyalty, reciprocity and enhanced work ethic were established. Although it is likely that such qualities and attributes in a teacher would benefit all students, Hawk, Cowley and Hill point out that for Maori and Pasifika students, the relationship is of immense significance. They suggest that the quality of teacher and student relationships is fundamental to the likelihood of motivation and success and as such needs to be incorporated into future pedagogical research and planning.

Cultural Differences in Relation to the Expectations of Teachers

At this point no similar studies in New Zealand have explored relationships between Asian students and their teachers. However, Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) described the influence of culture on the social construction of pedagogical strategies. This influence includes the impact of history on social values and learning behaviour in Mainland China. This was demonstrated by the presence of Confucian values in current structures. These values include a strict hierarchical system of parental authority, teacher authority and child obedience. Respect and compliance is expected. Maintaining appropriate social roles is regarded as crucial in retaining effectiveness. Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) comment that some Western teachers and parents may

compromise their authority by trying to be liked. Pratt, Kelly and Wong describe three models of teaching that have been developed from the hierarchical social structure:

- The teacher as Master, assuming a role of loco parentis (in place of parents). In this role the teacher holds all power over the student.
- The teacher as virtuoso performer: Here the teacher shows their command of the subject rather like the concert pianist.
- The teacher as coach: Although this model requires less formality and aloofness outside the classroom, the respect, authority and obedience in the class are absolute. As with all three models, the teacher has high expectations of the student's academic performance.

Making a comparison between the Pasifika requirements of an effective teacher and the Chinese ideals demonstrates the need for cultural understanding and relevant knowledge of ethnicities by teachers in New Zealand. Differences in expectations are particularly apparent in the area of pastoral care and friendliness. Whilst Walker and Dimmock (2000) suggest that Chinese students like a teacher to be warm, friendly and good-hearted they also point out that society prepares students to be co-operative and ready respect the teacher and to learn. Such attitudinal comparisons are valuable for this study as they contribute to the differences in motivational styles and pedagogical expectations.

Ethnic identity can become compromised when a lack of knowledge about the practices and values of a culture turn to bias within a community. The individual may learn to doubt the worth of their values and practices and therefore themselves. Goldberg (2000) explored this phenomenon from the perspective of a social worker dealing with difficulties caused by a cultural practice that was socially unacceptable to the community in which a family of a minority ethnic group resided. Goldberg (2000) referred to three conflicts that ensue from cross-cultural misunderstandings.

1. Respecting the contents of a culture and the human right to retain cultural values and practices.
2. The value of understanding the needs of cultures vs. professional perspective.
3. The bias of professionals vs. the obligation to eliminate bias.

These three factors relate equally to educators as to professionals such as teachers, social workers and health workers. The relevance of this point highlights the fact that all people are acculturated into their own context. This can cause a clouding of judgement when dealing with a different perspective on life and can be the cause of miscommunication. The result as Goldberg (2000) points out can lead to the disempowerment of minority group individuals who may already be in a lowly position in the social hierarchy.

This same position is taken by Siraj-Blatchford (1995) who found the power differential between educators and students and their families to be a barrier to building trust. One of these perceived barriers was the emotional baggage born by some minority group people due to previous negative experiences, but another potentially more dangerous barrier was concerned with the generalised and stereotypical assumptions that people in positions of power apply to individuals. Siraj-Blatchford (1995) emphasises the responsibility of educators to recognise and deal with their own biases, accept the beliefs and practices of students and build the confidence of students and their families. One mechanism suggested by Siraj-Blatchford (1995) for this is a sharing and participatory relationship where a shared sense of purpose can be established. However, it is also pointed out that for some minority learners, survival in the system might be their greatest priority.

Culture and the New Zealand Education System

Many students in cross-cultural learning situations do not survive the system. Vaiote (2000) highlights the statistic that in New Zealand 43% of Pacific Island students leave school with no formal qualifications. He also points out that despite this figure there is little research on Pacific Island students. Vaiote (2000) blames the failure of Pacific Island students firmly on the doorstep of what Scheurich and Young (1995) refer to as the 'epistemological racism' of the school system that denies students the freedom to learn through their own cultural values then judge learners capabilities against the model of the dominant culture for whom the system is set up. Bourdieu (1973) refers to this as the cultural capital of the dominant culture, likening the system to that of economic capital. In other words, those who possess the relevant qualities, values or body of knowledge will be more likely to succeed in the system.

According to Harker (1985) educational institutions become “knowledge possessors as well as people processors” (p.67). Harker further suggests that the curriculum has its embodiment in the culture of the dominant group and therefore represents middle-class Pakeha.

Harker (1985) also claims that the education system in New Zealand is based on the European system and cites Bernstein (1977) as a basis of analysis. Bernstein (1977) describes two basic types of knowledge code, a collection code that suggests the acquisition of specifically prescribed knowledge, and an integrated code that ties learning to a main purpose or focus. The point that Harker (1985) makes is that the European system and hence the New Zealand system subscribe to the collection code. This may well disadvantage those whose aspirations, values and prior learning do not coincide with the dominant culture.

Self-blaming and the resulting lowering of self-esteem is a further outcome (Freire, 1994; Vaiote, 2000), claiming that many minority group students do not start off on a level playing field but are disadvantaged when compared to those from the dominant group (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) falling further behind as “they become convinced of their own unfitness” (Freire 1994, p. 45).

In a discussion of the effect of the unlevelled playing field, Vaiote (2000) refers to cross-cultural learners as working in a cultural deficit situation. He predicts that if current trends persist there is the potential for educational disaster in New Zealand. He points out that currently 65% of school students are Pakeha, however by 2051 this figure will be 33%. Therefore, if the system does not address the needs of cross-cultural students the potential for large-scale failure is enormous.

Suggestions made by Vaiote (2000) to address this situation include recognising the values and practices of ethnic groups, particularly the collectivist nature of Polynesian society. He points out that the European based education system is designed to meet the needs of an individualist ethos, a notion shared by Bishop and Glynn (1999). This is supported by the findings of several other studies that emphasise the collectivist nature of many Polynesian and Asian cultures including India, Japan and Sri Lanka (Singhal & Misra, 1989; Niles, 1998). Bernstein (1977, cited in Harker, 1985) states

that under a European education system “Knowledge is seen as private property with its own power structure and market situation” (p. 68). The significance of this is found in the emphasis of collectivist cultures on achieving for the community. Learning is, according to Vaiote (2000) for the benefit of the community in order to contribute to the community. The learner who is consistently deprived of success by barriers is likely to suffer from a feeling of personal failure. This may further result in a feeling of failing the community and bring a sense of personal shame (Vaiote, 2000).

Gender

The issues to be explored in this section of the literature review include significant aspects incorporated in the construction of the gender role and gender identity. These issues include the role of social discourse, socialisation, cultural expectations and the notion of achievement for women within individualist or collectivist societies.

The roles adopted in adult life generally have their roots in gender role and gender identity. Gender identity has been defined as “a self concept that is masculine or feminine” with gender roles as being, “certain beliefs about what is appropriate behaviour” (Stevens-Long & Commons, 1992 p. 336). The gender roles people adopt cause them to, “behave in more or less traditional ways” (ibid).

The concept of gender identity is subjective as it relates to a constructed aspect of self. Gergen (1994) suggests that the narrative form taken by men and women demonstrates a distinct difference in perception of gender-identity. These narrative forms reflect the social discourse which dictate how a man or woman should act in their world. This world may vary according to any given society, culture or place in time. Before exploring concepts of motivation with respect to gender, it is necessary to consider the socio-cultural determinants of behaviour. This includes social discourse, socio-historical influence and culture.

In this present study an assumption is made that gender is socially and therefore culturally constructed. As New Zealand has an education system based mainly on a European philosophy (Harker, 1985; Hall & Bishop, 2000), it is pertinent to review literature relating to gender that has been written from a Western perspective. It is

likely that the gender-based opinions of many New Zealand Pakeha women educators have been influenced by Western-orientated feminist literature. It is also likely that such influences become reproduced through discourse in the opinions and judgements made by educators in relation to the expected gender-role behaviour and choices of women.

Many diverse perspectives relating to women's issues have been published and therefore are likely to have influenced social discourse. It has been suggested (Travis, 1988; Reinharz, 1992) that culture and socio-historical influences cloud the genuine and natural characteristics of women's perspectives on issues. That no aspect can be taken in isolation is apparent from the interconnectedness of for example, the link between gender-role, self-efficacy and identity in women's lives (See Figure 1). All of these combine to construct elements of the identity of the woman.

Reinharz (1992) raises the issue of gender identity when articulating the relationship between male-dominated social structures and issues she describes as female intellectual subordination. She suggests that there is a danger in research of looking past the truth of situations and not seeing the sociological influences that may serve to preserve mythological female characteristics. Attitudes towards gender are also discussed by Gergen (1994) who suggests that the narrative of men and women reflects socially constructed expectations of gender.

Although the standards accepted for men and women may differ within socio-cultural environments, there is evidence to suggest (Travis, 1988; Reinharz, 1992; Gergen 1994) that in many societies public discourse provides the model for women to follow. This is reinforced in many areas of society in media and reflected in personal narrative (Wagner-Martin, 1994). It has been demonstrated by Chodorow (1974), Wagner-Martin (1994), Le Page-Lees (1997) and Weiler and Middleton (1999) that women and men construct narrative from diverse perspectives. Perhaps this is where issues of perspective and standards become confused in the nature of social discourse. Judgements made on anything perceived as outside the social norm, is commonly labelled as wrong or inferior. Therefore, if the male way of functioning is perceived as the norm then the female way must be inferior. Similarly, if the woman selects a lifestyle that fails to conform to the socially constructed image of the feminine norm it

may meet disapproval. Conversely, if a man behaves in an individual manner he is regarded as interesting (Wagner-Martin, 1994) highlighting the power of social discourse in shaping behaviour.

Hearn (2000) has carried out a long-term study on the movement of public attitudes as reflected in social discourse during the last thirty years. Given the enormity of changes in society during that time one could be forgiven for expecting attitudes towards gender issues to have changed. Hearn (2000) provided both male and female American college students with a clued story. Students were required to complete the story, men writing as 'John' and women writing as 'Anne'. The exercise required participants to write Anne or John's academic story with his or her outcome as the conclusion. The objective was to expose the discourse surrounding male and female academic achievement and public expectations of men and women in academe. The study demonstrated that far from being more egalitarian, public discourse has not changed significantly in thirty years.

The women in the study tended to place negative connotations on female achievement. Stories included 'Anne' having sex with her lecturers to get good marks. Alternative themes suggested that she only tried to succeed because she was ugly therefore threw herself into her study, suggesting a lack of femininity as a motive for academic achievement. Hearn (2000) suggests that in reality, even women who want to succeed still demonstrate a resignation to some form of sacrifice in order to achieve. In other words women can achieve but there is a cost in relationships, image or identity. Although this work does not relate to any specific culture, the relevance to this study is in the suggestion that social discourse remains relatively stable in bias towards women's achievements and expected roles.

The interplay between identity, memory and social discourse is portrayed by Weiler and Middleton (1999) as they explore a history of women in education. The 'chicken and egg' debate of gender and socialisation in the construction of identity is highlighted in stories of women teachers over a span of three decades. Personal recollections are used to provide graphic examples of the social construction of perceptions of how women should be and the socially constructed definition of gender. The reader is reminded that identity is a subjective notion and is dependent on

the experiential interaction of environment and society to establish the parameters that surround the individual's development. This is ultimately written into the memory subtext and becomes an integral part of the reconstruction of narrative. In other words, the individual becomes a party in their own socially defined identity.

People are not simply defined by the ideological of what they should be, but negotiate expectations, both external and internalised in their own consciousness, in the context of material need and desire through competing discourses. In this case, they engage in the construction of their own gendered subjectivity within the contexts of existing practices, discourses and institutions... (Weiler & Middleton, 1999, p. 46).

The work of Weiler and Middleton (1999) is consistent with the findings of Hearn (2000) and defines through narrative accounts how social expectations have shaped the way women behave. They suggest that as a result identity becomes moulded, established in part by reflective analysis of the perception of compliance or rebellion. This is highly relevant to this study as they demonstrate how the attitudes and expectations held by society towards others are conditioned by such discourse. This also illuminates the resistance of society to change. The accounts of Weiler and Middleton (1999) and Hearn (2000) are revealing of such societal behaviour patterns, however its limitations are found in the period in which it has been set. Much of the rebellion referred to in accounts would have been typical for young women in the decade between 1970 and 1980 and therefore reflected a form of age-related discourse of a period in social history where the word 'new' was a popular adjective and to stick to the status quo would have almost been a rebellion against one's peer group. As Weiler and Middleton (1999) point out about their lives, despite their mini-skirtedness and minor rebellions of their early teaching careers, now (at the time of writing in 1999) they sport the expected corporate image of the professional academic woman. Again these images of themselves remain consistent with social expectations for their gender and status.

The concept of social expectations appears as a major theme in much of the literature on women's issues. Wagner-Martin (1994) discovered the extent that social discourse will travel in order to preserve the sanctity of the traditional gender image of the woman. These include the overlooking of non-traditional gender-based behaviours in

historical recordings of prominent women. Wagner-Martin points out that the effect of social and political discourse is stereotypical of the identity of women. This stereotype effectively over-rides individual identity, eventually becoming a pre-ordained life-recipe for the woman. In presenting her study Wagner-Martin states, “Just as the human subject orchestrates actions to construct the appearance of a unified or consistent identity, so must that person’s biography present that self with integrity. In this regard then, the biography is the enactment of cultural performance” (p. 8).

The outcome of the public writing of women’s identity has according to Kauffman (1993), become a discourse of subordination. She suggests that marginalisation for women has become a cultural norm for all ethnicities and either sexual orientation. Kauffman highlights the dialogically socialised role of the woman as the other (person). She points out that if this applies to all women then the impact for women of colour or alternative sexuality, already marginalized by definition, the effect is compounded. Wagner-Martin (1994) supports this stating “Cultural stereotyping forces women into professional patterns that interface with their approved life-role” (p.19).

Identity is constructed by what Kauffman (1993, p.275) refers to as a “..rear-view mirror approach...” In other words, one looks back and gives an experiential evaluation of what has been passed along the road of life. Kauffman uses this terminology in a warning to feminists that this is a practice likely to buy into the societal discourse of mythological female characteristics. Conversely if by looking back at the self and one’s life history in a mirror, experience can then be incorporated into reflective practice for the future. Such practice must then be a worthwhile exercise in the construction of identity.

Largely ignored in most literature is the self-esteem component involved in the construction of identity described by Erikson (1963). According to Erikson (1963) this process of identity begins in infancy. He claims that the process is more likely to achieve a positive outcome if the ego, or sense of self is strong. However, during middle childhood and early adolescence, self-esteem is more likely to be high if individuals perceive themselves as fitting in with the socially established image. This includes issues relating to academic or socially relevant skills and gender role. The

outcome of this process is that the majority of women are likely to already be conditioned to the status quo by the time they reach adolescence. Therefore individuals perceiving themselves as existing outside the social norm are more likely to have difficulty in establishing high sense of self-esteem.

If conditioning controls the factors that make a person feel good about themselves this may be dependent on philosophical aspects related to the specific culture. Those living in an individualist culture expect the freedom to make personal choices and decisions and to hold a self-perception of uniqueness (Walsh & Banaji, 1997). Alternatively, in a collectivist ethos, as suggested by Salili (1996) identity is based on the concept of obedience, loyalty, interdependence and co-operation. Moreover, it has been demonstrated by Watkins, Mortazavi and Trofimova (2000) that such philosophical differences may indeed make a difference to such life-elements as priorities and goal setting. Their study of the components of self esteem of college students across four countries indicated that attitudes might vary for different generations within the same culture, perhaps indicating some effects of globalisation. Generally, women were found to hold more interdependent values than men in three of the four cultures countries, although Watkins, Mortazavi and Trofimova (2000) warn of the dangers of generalising findings.

Achievement Motivation

In this section, literature concerning achievement motivation will be reviewed including an exploration of concepts related to goals, motives, incentives and cultural issues. Teacher-support of student motivation will also be discussed. McClelland (1985) has defined motivation as goal-directed behaviour that is a learned response associated with a natural incentive. For the purposes of this study this will be the understood meaning. However, McClelland concedes that there are over 98 definitions of motivation that cover a wide range of theoretical orientations.

In defining achievement motivation McClelland (1985), suggests that the necessary factors involve doing something in a situation where actual incentive will be available, usually something a person has learned to do. He also claims that the

individual needs to be able to recognise where such incentive exists. This can be described as a carrot and stick effect whereby a pleasant outcome is kept constantly in sight and tends to draw the desired behavioural response. The motivational carrot in question may well be an intrinsically contrived notion such as personal satisfaction. Personal satisfaction may be derived from gaining a state of agency (power) or affiliation.

Furthermore, where personal achievement causes elation, the outcome may result in a factor described by McClelland (1961) as ego enhancement. In this state, the individual is driven by a high need for achievement in their search for the ideal self. However, the individual also has a need to receive positive feedback from others to reinforce the desirable concept of self. McClelland (1961) also suggests that the drive for ego enhancement will cause individuals to strive for achievement in order to receive such feedback. This is supported by Deci (1972) who cited pleasure as a powerful source of motivation in the quest for well-being and satisfaction in the sense of self.

The experience of elation provides the self-system with a reward that according to Schaller and Cialdini (1990) creates an increase in arousal levels thereby energising effort. They regard mood as a significant factor in the construction of the learning environment. However Schaller and Cialdini (1990) also point out that negative and positive moods have notably different and equally important outcomes. Their findings support the work of Archer, Hornmuth and Berg (1982) who demonstrated that negative moods focus attention on the self whereas those in a state of happiness are likely to become less self-reflective. Schaller and Cialdini (1990) suggest that negative moods therefore are more likely to cause motivational behaviour that results in self-preservation. Elated moods are more likely to cause the individual to throw caution to the wind and act more impulsively. Schaller and Cialdini (1990) claim that this may affect goal-setting behaviour.

McClelland's (1985) model of motivation suggests that it is not usual human behaviour to drive oneself towards unpleasant outcomes. Rather, the impulse to act is elicited by an appropriate stimulus where the individual knows that elation or satisfaction may be achieved.

Goals

The appropriate stimulus to drive goal-orientated behaviour is discussed by Bargh (1990). Whilst a great deal of the model of motivation by McClelland (1985) may be driven by intrinsic rewards, Bargh (1990) also posits that external factors influence motivational behaviour. These effects can be related to the learning environment and therefore are significant to this study.

Bargh (1990) describes three major areas of goal related behaviour:

- Norm goals that reflect the responses of participants to common social, cultural or family expectations and are automatically triggered by the environment.
- Reactive goals reflecting responses that have intent but are spontaneously elicited by the environment.
- Chronic motives that require plans, generally long-term and are the internally designed product of deliberate cognitive engagement.

This model suggests that the goal-orientated behaviour of an individual may be driven either negatively or positively by the behaviour of others. Such responses are referred to as automotive, suggesting that they are automatically elicited motivational behaviours. Norm goals, are those conditioned expectations that may be related to socio-cultural factors and generally determine motivation to comply with society, for example; 'I must to be a good student.' Although the information connected with being a good student is cognitively accessible to the memory (Higgins, 1989) the behaviour that operates the activation of such goals and motives becomes as automated as other socially driven and conditioned norms (Bargh, 1990).

Conversely, reactive goals could include either the motivation to perform well or negative responses such as leaving a course. Reactive goals are also likely to include pre-determined behaviours planned to provide a response to frequently experienced behaviours of others that threaten personally valued states of beliefs. Whilst the reactive goal is cognitively accessible, meaning that it is planned as a goal, the catalyst that triggers the reactive goal is controlled by the other. This relates to the

suggestion of Schaller and Cialdini (1990) that a negative mood promotes defensive behaviour. For example: 'The lecture is boring it has no relevance to me. If the next one is like this I'll leave.' The next lecture is indeed boring thus triggering the goal to leave. Such a goal is hard to ignore or over-ride. Although this may sound rather superficial it is relevant to this research in that it demonstrates the forms and direction that motivation can take. From this it could be suggested that although not responsible for providing motivation for a student, a teacher might inadvertently decrease or thwart motivation. This might occur in a situation where teaching practice contradicts the values of the learner or material seems irrelevant.

Achievement Motivation and the Self-System

To over-ride powerful behavioural responses requires the form of self-control and awareness described by Bandura (1977) as self-efficacy. The self-system plays a significant role in providing individuals with the ability to control and alter the environment and influence their own actions.

A significant determinant of self-efficacy is the ability to be self-reflective (Bandura, 1986). Using self-reflection the individual is able to evaluate and interpret their own performance. During this process the knowledge and skills of prior achievement are evaluated as a reference point for assessment of the current level of achievement. Self-efficacy therefore is used to control and drive performance levels to ensure that a satisfactory outcome is reached.

The constructs of self-efficacy suggest a positive self-concept and high self-esteem. Bandura (1986) suggests that the individual needs to have a belief in their performance ability and a sense of agency (power) over their own behaviour and their capacity to shape and direct the environment to achieve their desired outcome. Through self-efficacy a sense of self-control can be developed.

Gibbs (2000) suggests that self-efficacy is a necessary component of successful learning. He regards the ability to use self-reflection as a desirable skill in teachers, not only to assess and enhance their own teaching performance but also as a learning disposition to model to students. Therefore, if a teacher practices self-reflection it is more likely that students will follow the example and take responsibility for their own

performance. However, as Hill and Hawk (2000) suggest, motivation is “inextricably linked to success” (p.1) and reinforce the point by stating “... a student will not be motivated to learn if they constantly experience failure and are convinced that their academic performance will never improve” (ibid). As pointed out by McClelland (1985) achievement motivation is increased by positive incentives and intrinsic motivation is more likely to occur when a positive sense of self exists.

It is suggested by Hill and Hawk (2000) that students in a failure situation may play down their repeated lack of achievement by reducing the social significance of educational achievement, labelling achievement as ‘uncool’. It is therefore necessary to identify the key concepts to facilitate achievement. Although the research carried out by Hill and Hawk (2000) was with secondary school students, the findings are of interest to anyone involved in any area of education. Research by Dickie (2000), Hawke, Cowley and Hill (2001) and Fa’aoi and Fletcher (2001) and suggests that their findings are equally valid for the tertiary sector.

Hill and Hawk (2000) outline four factors that are interlinked and interdependent in that they tend to become prerequisite to each other. Factor 1; motivation cannot occur without some measure of factor 2; success that cannot be achieved without an element of factor 3; self efficacy as the self-belief that one can learn is necessary to motivate the learner to try in the first place and this cannot occur without factor 4; locus of control that allows the students to know that their success is within their own influence.

The student may not always feel that the locus of control belongs to them making the motive of agency difficult to achieve. This may be by design or it may be the result of external factors causing disempowerment. Weiner (1979) proposed that individuals hold certain causal beliefs about their success or failure. Simply put, to preserve self-concept (the image of self as believed to be seen by others) one may find explanations in external factors deemed to be outside personal control. According to Weiner (1979) attribution is a significant factor in motivation as it determines the effort and attention given to a task. Where the individual perceives barriers to their achievement, they are unlikely to devote much time, energy or effort (McWhirter, 1997). Accordingly, repeated exposure to perceived barriers contributes to the

development of a pessimistic attributional style. This may mean that on seeing familiar signs that predict failure the response becomes automated as with the process described by Bargh (1990) and the reactive goal is to find a way out.

The attribution theory described by Weiner (1979) constitutes a means whereby those fearing failure or feeling disempowered can achieve control. As attribution is caused by experience and learning, Bandura (1986) suggests that the motive can be replaced by teaching self-efficacy. By developing coping strategies that teach self-reflection, evaluation of success and accurate performance assessment the individual can learn to become more aware of their own ability. From this point, goals for further enhancement can be set.

As claimed by Weiner (1986), those with high levels of self-efficacy are less likely to use external attributional causes to explain their failings. Of the causes described by Weiner (1986), luck and task difficulty are externally controlled factors that might determine an outcome. Aptitude and effort are internally controlled although aptitude is a relatively fixed factor.

Motivation and Rewards

Self-efficacy, as suggested by Bandura (1977, 1986) applies to the individual taking control of their own destiny and looking critically at their own performance levels. This involves factors of internal control and self-determination. Seeing one's own progress may provide intrinsic motivation to achieve. Deci (1972), McClelland (1985) and Deci and Ryan (1987) claim that task pleasure provides an intrinsic form of motivation for achievement. Individuals who demonstrate high levels of intrinsic motivation seek little social praise or other forms of tangible rewards.

Rewards from external sources can produce a powerful source of motivation. Bandura (1986) and Deci and Ryan (1987) suggest that when an engaged in a task that is perceived as a means to an end the motivation is extrinsic. Such rewards may be instrumental. Working hard to achieve a pay rise for example, or studying hard to gain a qualification will achieve an instrumental reward. Other forms of extrinsic motivation include social rewards such as praise or tangible rewards such as a prize or certificate.

Higgins and Trope (1990) suggest that one factor that distinguishes intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is the input factor. This factor largely determines the rationale for the activity and may vary even for performance of the same task on a different occasion. Higgins and Trope (1990) explain this with the example of a child who has been given blank white paper and some new felt pens. The child might be drawing either for their own satisfaction or they may have been asked to draw a picture to help an adult.

Although Bandura (1986) suggests that self-efficacy is more closely concerned with internally controlled motivation, the skills of self-evaluation, performance monitoring and reflection can apply to either intrinsic or extrinsic motivation. By teachers applying self-reflective skills, Gibbs (2000) believes that students can learn to develop increased levels of self-efficacy. This is supported by Bandura (1986) who also suggested that such skills could be learned by modelling from a mentor who is highly regarded by students. The findings of Bandura (1996) and Gibbs (2000) suggest that teachers can have a positive effect on the motivation of students by demonstrating good strategies such as verbalising goals and reflecting on progress.

Finding out the characteristics of a good teacher in the eyes of students, schools and tertiary institutions was the objective of a study conducted by Hawk, Cowley and Hill (2001). It is interesting but not surprising to find that two of the most important features of a good teacher in the opinion of the students were reciprocity and respect. These are values that are significant in most Polynesian cultures (Vaiote, 2000) and are factors that allow students to feel acknowledged and comfortable with the teacher. This point was also made by Igoa (1995) who stated that children from immigrant families, both Asian and Polynesian became unresponsive and appeared to lack motivation when teachers failed to acknowledge their values. These findings suggest a relationship between the teaching of self-efficacy, empowerment and setting goals. Therefore a teacher who can make students feel comfortable and provide a sense of belonging appears to be a significant factor to enhancing achievement motivation.

It must be pointed out that at this point there is no known research that covers desirable educational practice from the perspective of all ethnic groups of women

represented in New Zealand. Therefore the findings discussed above may not be representative of all viewpoints. However, this project is specifically exploring achievement motivation from the perspective of Asian and Pasifika women in one tertiary institution and acknowledges that some differences might occur within these groups elsewhere.

Culture and Motivation

The link between culture and motivation has been clearly demonstrated by the different foci of ethnic groups in research involving the individualistic or collectivist concepts of the value of learning (Singhal & Misra, 1989; Niles, 1998; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Vaiotele, 2000; Walker & Dimmock, 2000). The direction this takes is driven by socio-political discourse (Falzon, 1998) as it shapes the values of any given society.

Walker and Dimmock (2000) suggest that differences are apparent between the motivational styles of Asian and Anglo-American students. They claim that the socio-political environment of China causes children to be brought up with very different expectations and perceptions of learning and teaching. The discipline and respect reflected in classroom behaviour of Chinese children lends itself to a more focussed, academic teaching environment. Walker and Dimmock remark that Anglo-American students expect teachers to be creative and entertaining whereas Chinese students are more on-task and willing to learn. A mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic sources therefore motivates Chinese students. Significant to this is the sense of duty and obligation to the family whereas Anglo-American students are more interested in the intrinsic factors involved in learning.

The path connecting socio-political discourse, achievement, socio-cultural expectations, and gender role and, form strategies for social behaviour (Wagner-Martin, 1994; Hesford, 1999; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Vaiotele, 2000) (See figure 1). Wagner-Martin (1994), Hesford (1999) and Hearn (2000) demonstrate the influence of society on the academic expectations of women. They suggest that, motivated by the need for affiliation as described by McClelland (1961) women are driven to conform to the social expectations of their specific community and gain its approval. The role of socio-political discourse in predetermining the achievement expectations

of women is linked to motivation by a stereotypical gender-role perception as suggested by Hearn (2000). For a woman to be academically successful she must sacrifice something personal, love, attractiveness or moral standards.

Bias is one of the outcomes of socio-political discourse according to Hamilton (1996) and Hearn (2000). The bias against minority group students particularly women, was discussed by Hamilton (1996). She found that the hierarchical structure of American universities was based on class and gender. These immediately disadvantaged women, especially those from ethnic minorities who were frequently from lower socio-economic groups.

Furthermore, Hamilton (1996) found that the majority of minority ethnicity women had dual goals driving their motivation to achieve. These were to elevate their own educational and socio-economic status and to use this to enhance their community. She found that the community goal was the most powerful motivating factor in maintaining their desire for success.

Hofstede (1980, p. 45) describes the difference between individualist and collectivist cultures stating, "Individualism implies a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and of their immediate family only, while collectivism is characterised by a tight social framework in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups." Triandis (1994) claimed that members of individualist cultures tended to have associations with more in-groups than those from collectivist societies however individualists lacked the intensity of attachment to in-groups, moving more freely between groups.

As claimed by Triandis (1994), Watkins, Akande, Fleming, Ismail, Lefner, Regmi, Watson, Adair, Cheng, Gerong, McNerney, Mpofu, Sing-Sengupta, and Wondimu (1998) and McCormick and Shi (1999) classification of individualist and collectivist cultures is not straightforward and may vary according to particular situations. Moreover, as claimed by Walker and Dimmock (2000) cultures might also be influenced by globalisation thus adding different attitudes to societies. The findings of Niles (1998) support the idea (Feather, 1990; Singhal & Misra, 1989; Walker & Dimmock, 2000) that motivation can be collectivist or individualist and that this may

be culturally dependent. In her investigation of achievement behaviour, Niles (1998) classified Sri Lanka as a collectivist society and Australia as individualist.

In a study of fourteen countries covering fifteen cultures by Watkins and associates (1998) an analysis of self-concept of participants in relation to satisfaction was conducted. Findings revealed that although the collectivist cultures placed greater significance on family values in relation to self-concept, the findings in relation to social relationships demonstrated that no distinction existed between individualist countries such as the U.S.A. and collectivist countries such as India. However, gender differences were found for Western individualist cultures indicating that women placed higher value on family and social relationships than did men. These latter findings show that gender must be taken into account when considering cultural issues in relation to goals and motivation.

The level of subjectivity and complex contextual nature of motivation was highlighted by Platow and Shave (1995). Their findings suggested that individuals with a collectivist (interdependent cultural philosophy) approach appeared less motivated than those from individualist (autonomous, socially detached) cultures. Their study incorporated the use of a work and family orientation questionnaire (Helmreich & Spence, 1978). The involvement of students in games suggested that men were slightly more concerned with achievement and success rates than women. However, no mention is made of culture, neither is there consideration given to the relevance of the tasks completed to the individuals. It appears that anyone who was of a collectivist motivation would score less well on a scale that measured competitive levels in games that were of an individualist nature and had no real purpose or outcome for anyone else.

Finding purpose in tasks is likely to provide the incentive to succeed (McClelland, 1985). However, the purpose for completing any given task may be quite an individual construction. This may be due to aspects related to the self-concept, which as stated by Watkins, Mortazavi and Trofimova (2000) is strongly influenced by gender and therefore culture. This may well influence the directions and experiences selected for priority of attention referred to by McAdams (1985, p.151) as "thematic lines".

As part of his model of identity (see appendix 1), McAdams (1985) describes thematic lines as recurring themes or patterns that form a major component of the life-story of the individual. Thematic lines have the two distinct motives of agency or communion. A person high in agentic motives shows a more autonomous, power-orientated or self-defining life-story. Similarly, the recurring pattern for a person high in communion is likely to demonstrate a high level of caring, nurturing and selfless episodes. Both motives are said to be relatively stable parts of the personality and motivate and direct life-choices. Although McAdams makes no formal connection between culture and gender on this aspect of personality and identity it seems likely that women for whom family responsibilities and community orientation is high may well be high in the motive of communion.

Supporting and Maintaining Student Motivation

Such individual differences in motives and values may relate to the diversity of student academic focus. The need for investigation into learning needs and strategies of Pacific Island students was recognised by Dickie (2000a). His study of teacher trainees revealed the types and nature of support students identified as needs and strategies they employed to enable them to achieve. The research by Dickie has relevance to this study as the interview methods used, and ethnic backgrounds of participants had similarities. The responses of students (Dickie, 2000b) supported the collectivist concept illustrated by Niles (2000) and demonstrated the need for students to be acknowledged under the context of their own cultural heritage (Vaiote, 2000).

A further cause of difficulties for adult students concerns the basic assumptions made by lecturers that basic skills exist. This may include, the ability to research information, possess certain levels of general knowledge and that material delivered by the lecturer is understood. Such basic skills impact on the success of students and are often compounded for cross-cultural learners as was demonstrated by Dickie (2000 a). The reading and researching of material, assignment writing and comprehending terminologies used by tutors were referred to by the Pacific Island participants of Dickie. Furthermore, teacher bias was raised as a problem for students, supporting the findings of Goldberg (2000) and claiming that the stereotypical assumptions of tutors contributed to their difficulties in achieving academic success and maintaining motivation. These assumptions alluded to by the

Pacific Island participants of Dickie (2000a) included being shy, and not asking questions. As a result, teachers frequently excluded Pasifika students, or left them alone. This was supported by the findings of a similar study by Fa'afoi and Fletcher (2001).

Although the gender mix of participants in the study by Dickie (2000a, b) is not stated it is likely that the problems faced would be generic to Pasifika students as they correspond to findings of other studies that encompass both gender and culture (Vaiote, 2000; Hall & Bishop, 2000). Further problems interfering with the students' opportunities of success included having to explain aspects of Pacific culture. This was seen as a put-down and as demoralising (Dickie, 2000b).

The points raised by Dickie (2000b) demonstrate the need for cultural understanding and the facility for students to learn in a supportive environment that is conducive to positive learning experiences. As Hall and Bishop (2000) state, "In order to develop individual autonomy and become a self-determining individual every individual needs to discover his or her identity" (p3). It is acknowledged that Hall and Bishop (2000) were referring to school-age children whereas this study explores the needs of adults. However identity can become a contextual issue and as such can be compromised in that constant disparagement can impact on the individual's sense of self-worth (Vaiote, 2000). To this point, Hall and Bishop (2000) refer to Taylor (1992) who claims that identity is not established in isolation but is developed "through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others" (p.34). A strong sense of self worth has been established as a necessary component of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986; Gibbs, 2000) and low self worth resulting from repeated failure linked to a negative attribution style (Weiner, 1979).

A further factor in low achievement or repeated failure of students was identified by McWhirter (1997) as the perceived barriers to achievement or career paths. These barriers might not exist in reality however McWhirter suggests that the perception of such obstructions to success is sufficient to control the outcome and deny achievement in any given area. This relates to the attribution theory of Weiner (1979) who describes causal attribution whereby the individual searches for a hypothesis to provide an explanation for their lack of achievement. Recommendations by Bandura

(1986) and Gibbs (2000) regard the construction of positive self-worth and self-efficacy as necessary to overcome perceived barriers to success.

According to Ashcroft (1972) the learning environment can also become a barrier to achievement. People tend to be most at ease and receptive and motivated when in an environment that is comfortable, to which they feel a sense of belonging and in which they can openly communicate and be understood (Ashcroft, 1972). In other words we do best in an environment that we easily identify with and relate to. For the student who is learning outside their own homeland the need for acceptance and belonging is of vast importance. Therefore low achievement is a likely outcome of feeling ill at ease and undermined and the inability to cope. For some it is perhaps too much and in non-compulsory education, a reason to quit.

The need for achievement to maintain motivation is significant (McClelland, 1985). The ability to communicate in the dominant language of the institution would undoubtedly enhance the chances of success for learners. Many teachers at all levels of education use group work as a means to encourage and facilitate the use of spoken language between dominant language speakers and second-language learners. Franken and Haslett (1999) conducted a test-based study of predominantly Asian high school students for whom English was a second language. It was found that the use of collaborative tasks prior to written work created no improvement in grammatical accuracy and complexity. In fact it was found that the accuracy and complexity of written work improved after time working alone.

Amongst the suggested explanations for their findings Franken and Haslett (1999) considered the likelihood that the prior experience of the Asian students in educational settings. As described by Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998), Ting (2000) would have been of formal, independent, solitary rather than group-work settings. It could be suggested that these students were not prepared for the change of institutional culture.

In a study of the coping strategies of African American baccalaureate nursing students, Kirkland (1998) found major stresses caused by lack of preparedness for the institutional culture. These students experienced indifference by not only white students but also teaching staff and many found a feeling of extreme isolation.

Kirkland (1998) claims that there is little literature on successful black women students. Like the students described by Dickie (2000a, b), a common theme was negative stereotyping and inappropriate assumptions. The resulting low self-esteem caused many failures. Fletcher (2000) found that from primary school teacher trainees, men and non-European students were least likely to complete their course. Some also reported a feeling of role disparity, self-questioning their own right to be there.

The feeling of role-disparity was shared by African women studying abroad. Many reported feelings of role-strain, especially caused by attempting to combine study with family responsibilities (Tapologo, 1999). Many who failed asked for help, but too late. The students were perhaps less forthcoming about suggestions for improvement to their success rate than those reported by Dickie (2000a), nominating stress-management as a possible strategy.

The teacher trainees in the study by Dickie (2000a, b) identified peer support groups with students working with others from their own culture, time-management strategies, and tutor support based on student needs amongst their ideas. They also suggested that tutors needed to learn something about the cultural practices of the students and to avoid making assumptions.

The role of teachers and the assumptions made regarding the motivation of students was examined by Givvin, Stipek, Salmon and MacGyvers (2000). Although this study was conducted with children, the findings are highly relevant to this study. Using 100 multi-ethnic participants in California, the study sought to measure the self-perception of student motivation and the teacher-perception of the motivation of the same students in maths topics. Findings showed that teacher perceptions were less likely to change than that of the students. Once the teacher perceived a student as highly or lowly motivated, the judgement was unlikely to vary much. However, with the correct assistance was provided the student's perception of their motivation could vary considerably.

Furthermore Givvin, Stipek, Salmon and MacGyvers (2000) found that teacher perception of the cause of student problems was often erroneous. The authors were able to cite several examples of incorrect assessment of student difficulties and

failure. One such case involved a student who showed low motivation because she was confused about what to do. Another student suffered from anxiety when unable to give the correct answer quickly. Both of these were labelled by their teachers as disinterested or unmotivated.

The students in this study experienced the negative result of teachers making inaccurate and uninformed assumptions. For the purposes of this study, the value of teachers at all levels of education forming an informed understanding of student academic needs and abilities is clearly demonstrated. Although the research by Givvin, Stipek, Salmon and MacGyvers (2000) makes no analysis of gender or ethnicity, other studies (Dickie, 2000a; Goldberg, 1995; Hall & Bishop, 2000; Vaiote, 2000) show that these factors increase the likelihood of teacher bias and assumptions reducing the learner's chance of success.

Although the self-fulfilling prophecies of teacher assumptions may impact negatively on many ethnic minority students, the same may be true of the self-expectation of students. In a study of Chinese students Salili (1996) described the psychological approach taken to enhance the likelihood of achievement. Salili discussed the significance of cultural values and beliefs in the context of achievement, claiming that all contributing factors must be considered.

The motivation for Chinese students to achieve academically is, according to Salili (1996) and Walker and Dimmock (2000), derived from the cultural aspect of education, whereby hard work and effort are regarded as highly desirable virtues. This was also found to have no gender-based differential. Failure tends to be attributed by Chinese students, to lack of effort. This is explained by Salili as having a secondary purpose stating, "Emphasis on effort rather than ability is more adaptive as it protects one's self-esteem and minimises learned helplessness in the face of failure....hence when subjects attribute success more to effort than ability they may be engaged in a self-effacing attribution which is also a desirable Chinese characteristic (p.93)." Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998), Ting (2000) and Walker and Dimmock (2000), support this concept.

Learned helplessness is a motivational state where the individual seeks no ego-enhancement. McClelland (1985) regards motivation as requiring an incentive to

achieve, therefore as suggested by Bandura (1977) where an individual's self-perception is of little ability they may see no point in trying. This can ultimately lead to a permanent pessimistic state in a specific area.

The importance of focussing on effort rather than ability is according to Salili (1996), not always recognised by teachers. In Salili's opinion, Caucasian teachers are far more likely to praise a student by acknowledging their ability. This can prove to be a de-motivation for Chinese students, as a high-ability student needs to expend less effort to achieve the same result as their low-ability classmate. For this reason, Chinese teachers rarely praise for achievement and are likely to punish a high ability person for poor results. Chinese teachers regard praise as detrimental to the student's character.

Asian student's mental toughness to accept and thrive on demanding study regimes was also discussed by Ting (2000). In a study that explored Asian student retention and motivation at U.S.A. universities, Ting found that social isolation and resulting psychological problems was the most likely cause of student withdrawal from courses.

The findings of Ting (2000) concur with Salili (1996) who found that the push for academic success and tough discipline appeared to have little difference on student self-esteem. The achievement of performance goals for self and family pride maintained a high level of engagement and drive. This is consistent with the ego-enhancement theory of McClelland (1961) as the student understands that their effort will bring success that will bring happiness to their family and in turn, to them.

The need for social support was also researched in New Zealand by Tofi, Flett and Timutimu-Thorpe (1996). In a small-scale study of Pasifika university students they found a strong correlation between the psychological well-being of students and support systems. Contrary to expectations there was no relationship found between academic performance and general psychological well-being. However, Tofi, Flett and Timutimu-Thorpe point out that the number of participants was small. Furthermore, it could be suggested that the questionnaire used might be regarded as potentially subjective when asking how well the student thinks they are performing against their own expectations and class-mates. It is also worth noting that the rating

scale of this section of their questionnaire was in reverse order of assessment, therefore potentially leading to erroneous responses.

The outcomes of the study by Tofi, Flett and Timutimu-Thorpe (1996) whether or not the academic results were accurate, highlight the need for appropriate social support systems for students from overseas. However, Ting (2000) found that many universities and colleges in the U.S.A. provided little or inappropriate on-campus support for minority group students. The opportunity and time to become involved with campus life and to have appropriate support services was found to be more significant than cognitive-based factors such as ability or test results. However, the lack of time to participate in activities, presumably due to the high study time factors described by Salili (1996) isolated students. This was found to lead to depression and other related problems such as alcohol and substance abuse and also contributed to unrealistic self-expectations.

Conclusion

There is a great deal to be learned from literature produced both overseas and from within New Zealand that relates to this study. In particular, educators need to be aware of the cultural contextualisation of life experience and allow for that within the structure and content of material to be taught (Goldberg, 2000). Furthermore, the contextual frames through which material is absorbed effects the understanding, relevance and application and therefore must be a major consideration when teaching to cross-cultural learners (Hesford, 1999).

If educational institutions fail to incorporate cultural values into the pedagogy the outcomes for New Zealand future educational achievement could be serious as such a high percentage of students in all levels of education will be from outside the Pakeha group (Harker, 1985; Hall & Bishop, 2000; Vaiote, 2000). There is a need for a strong sense of cultural identity to remain intact as if this is not retained there is a far greater likelihood of academic failure (Igoa, 1995; Vaiote, 2000). Furthermore, the attitudes and attributes demonstrated by teachers towards Maori and Pasifika students has been shown to be a critical factor in motivation and achievement (Hawk, Cowley

& Hill, 2001). Similarly, Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) have shown the significance of maintaining cultural practices in the motivation of Chinese students.

The identity of women is socially constructed and influenced by socio-political discourse (Kauffman, 1993). The fact that attitudes to women's achievements have changed little in thirty years emphasises the power of social and political discourse in predetermining the role and social identity of women. The result of this is clearly seen in the educational findings of Hearn (2000) and Kirkland (1998) as their work has demonstrated that women continue to feel that educational achievement is gained at a cost or sacrifice.

Culture adds a further dimension to the identity of women. Jaret (1995) suggests that a sound and well-established cultural identity is necessary to overcome obstacles in life and to provide a clearly defined sense of self and a high level of self-esteem. A person with this sense of identity is more likely to succeed (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Igoa, 1995; Vaiote, 2000).

An issue for women cross-cultural learners from collectivist cultures appears to be that educational achievement in New Zealand is measured against individualistic motivation (Vaiote, 2000; Hall & Bishop, 2000). If a person cannot become excited by the thought of achieving well for themselves they may appear to be unmotivated. This adds to the stereotypical assumption that people of a specific ethnicity or gender are less interested in achieving.

It has been claimed by McClelland (1985) that learners find motivation to achieve by finding incentives. It would appear however that the system is not built around the elements of life that would provide incentives for women whose cultural values expect that they will to continue to regard the needs of their families as a priority.

However, for many women, the motivation to achieve may be linked to communal values whereby their own success is devoted to contributing to the community (Hamilton, 1996; Watkins & associates, 1998). As the motivation is intrinsic, perhaps it is not that the system needs to provide for them. It is doubtful whether this exists in their own homelands, rather, it might be that the system needs to accept and acknowledge and works with their values and understand the motivation (Harker, 1985; Vaiote, 2000). Deci (1972) suggests that social approval brings a sense of

well-being and thus motivates the individual to continue to seek this reward. This might be gained by performing socially desirable tasks well.

Although recently it has been shown that women are generally performing more successfully in academic areas, the system in New Zealand is designed to favour European males. This is primarily in the recognition of individualist ethos within institutions (Hall & Bishop, 2000). This fails to acknowledge the interdependent values of many women across many cultures and nationalities (Watkins, Mortazavi & Trofimova, 2000). It would seem that until educators begin to accommodate the diverse needs and individual differences of the New Zealand population the disparity of achievement of many learners will not begin to be addressed. As suggested by Harker (1985), Hall and Bishop (2000) and Vaiote (2000) this is most likely to be those from minority ethnic groups whose values and cultural practices do not coincide with those of the dominant culture.

Key Themes

Although the literature reviewed in this chapter has been taken from studies from both New Zealand and overseas, the problems effecting women and minority group learners appear to have many commonalities. The following themes that have particular relevance to this study:

- Achievement motivation is most likely to occur where pleasure and satisfaction is obtained
- Achievement motivation may be reflected in different ways according to cultural values
- The cultural capital of any specific society may advantage those of the dominant culture and disadvantage others with different values
- To achieve ego-enhancement the individual needs to feel satisfaction and pride in their achievements therefore these need to relate to their specific social values
- The socio-cultural construction of gender-role identity
- The negative impact of social discourse on women who do not conform to the expected gender-role

- The frequent occurrence of inaccurate assumptions by teachers regarding ethnic minority students
- The integral component of culture in establishing learner identity
- Teachers are not responsible for creating student motivation but poor teaching practice can negatively impact on student motivation
- The lack of teacher acknowledgement of cultural values and resulting reduction of learner empowerment
- The impact of socio-cultural values on goals and motivation
- The socio-cultural impact of gender on goals and motivation

This chapter has reviewed existing literature on achievement motivation, gender and, as the three main areas associated with this study. Literature relating to the support and motivational needs of students has also been reviewed. Although these areas have been separated for the purposes of this review, the emerging themes will be incorporated into the analysis of data and relating discussion.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter describes the method used to conduct this study. The qualitative methodology will be discussed followed by a description of the focus group design and narrative data. This will include an explanation of the process for selecting participants and facilitators and the conducting of a trial group. The role of the researcher as an observer and the relationships between the researcher, participants and facilitators will be discussed. The procedure for conducting focus group meetings will also be included in this chapter.

The ethical considerations related to focus groups will be detailed and the steps taken to address these will be discussed. This will include access to participants, cultural concerns and potential power relationships. Finally, an explanation of the procedure for the analysis of data and validation of findings will be provided.

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this study is to increase understanding of achievement motivation with women cross-cultural learners from Asia and the Pacific Islands. This involves personal reflections and requires the participants to consider aspects of their own cultural and social backgrounds. Due to its contextualist nature, and consistent with the definition of qualitative research by Lincoln and Guba (1985) there can be no known or preconceived assumptions made with regard to the outcomes of a qualitative study. A context might be the result of cultural perspective as this can construct meaning. Therefore understanding is shaped by the environment, its systems and structures. This was articulated by Bruner (1990, p.34) who stated, "...it is culture, not biology, that shapes the human life and the human mind, that gives meaning to action by situating its underlying intentional states in an interpretive system."

Issues relating to different cultural perspectives are subject to the context of that culture. Therefore this may require an inductive approach that will facilitate

interpretation and contextualisation of the information provided by participants. Creswell (1994) describes an inductive research model as one that allows a theory to evolve from the data. Issues that arise from the contributions of participants can be evaluated by applying relevant theory.

The qualitative method, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) uses a constructivist or naturalistic approach. The qualitative method creates an informal and personal approach to research, requiring the active involvement of participants and researcher (Creswell, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This is reflected in the informal language used that allows the personality and voice of the participants and researcher to be heard. The focus on process rather than product suggests that the study does not focus on a specific predetermined path, but rather allows the responses of participants to direct the outcome (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). This provides the opportunity for the multiple realities of participants to evolve. The term qualitative suggests that the participation sample size need not necessarily be large, but rather be an in depth and inductive approach that brings the attitudes and values of participants into context (Bell, 2000).

The qualitative process is therefore appropriate for cross-cultural research as opportunity can be provided for participants to become fully involved. This allows communities that could become marginalised by research, to establish trust in the researcher. Furthermore this may reduce the risk of inappropriate use or erroneous interpretation of data (Teariki & Spoonley with Tomoana, 1992) a factor that is particularly important in the context of this study.

Discussing issues surrounding personal experience, and values particularly in cross-cultural situations involves a substantial element of trust, in the researcher with both the collections and use of the material. This requires attention to the ethical, interpretative and human elements that cannot be overlooked in the design of the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It also requires a direct and involved approach to data collection.

Research Design

It is suggested by Anderson (1990) that group discourse provides an ideal design for qualitative research because it is centred on personal opinion and individual

perspectives. As it was the intention to identify patterns and shared ground in relation to academic achievement within particular cultural groups, the focus group appeared to provide an appropriate forum. The group discussion process allows participants to clarify their ideas and has been found to provide a forum where individuals often choose to disclose opinions, feelings and ideas that they would have been unlikely to do in written form or in an individual interview situation (Anderson, 1990).

Focus groups have become an accepted method of data collection for qualitative research since around 1980 (Kidd & Parshall, 2000). Some of the criticism levelled at focus groups suggests that participants may state an opinion that they feel the facilitator or other participants may want to hear (Carey & Smith, 1994). Other critics have suggested that issues of group agreement over individual opinion can cloud analysis (Sim, 1998).

Proponents of focus groups claim that participants may feel less isolated and singled out than in an individual interview situation (Kidd & Parshall, 2000). The focus group according to Delamont (1992) is usually comprised of individuals who share certain characteristics and therefore have common ground for discussing issues relating to a specific topic.

One characteristic shared by the participants in this study is gender. It is my contention that this method may be perceived as more empowering for women. The experience of speaking in a group of other women, may feel less threatening and a sense of common bond may develop. Research by Fa'aoi and Fletcher (2001) with Pasifika student teachers found that regular focus group meetings identified issues specific to the group. The support gained by talking out common issues was valuable to these students. This is supported by gender-based characteristics such as verbal communication preferences in women suggested by Gill (1995) and the female preference to discuss and share open communication as found by Turner (1982). This view is strongly expressed by Reinharz (1992) who suggests that focus groups are a highly appropriate research tool for feminist studies. Reinharz (1992) comments on the benefits of women being able to build on each other's ideas and listen to each others' experiences. Furthermore, Madriz (1998) claims that focus groups have a

great deal of value where research with marginalised groups are concerned. This makes the use of focus groups highly relevant to this study.

Data Collection Method

The primary function of the focus groups is to provide a forum that will facilitate narrative accounts that illustrate the educational attitudes. This includes the values and aspirations of participants, particularly in relation to their motivation to achieve. Narrative has been selected as an appropriate data collection method and focus groups as an appropriate design due to the anticipated ethnicity of participants. Narrative research is epistemologically interactive and permits a contextual interpretation of both questions and responses (Bruner, 1987).

This research will be a type of narrative because it will seek data in the form of stories on specific topics. The stories may be short examples of events, dreams or plans related to their perspective on specific discussion topics. These will include educational experience, motivational beliefs and understanding of achievement. The narrative, or selection of excerpts from their own life story, will provide an image of reality from the individual's perspective, revealing culture, values, identity and self-concept. By collecting stories of participants from each group it is anticipated that patterns will emerge that will provide data for analysis to identify commonalities in achievement motivation.

This research explores achievement motivation from the perspective of three diverse cultural groups. It is anticipated that each group will have different ideas and beliefs on this concept. Bartlett (1932) stated,

Every social group is organised and held together by some specific psychological tendency or group of tendencies, which give the group a bias in its dealings with external circumstances. The bias constructs the special persistent features of group culture...and this immediately settles what the individual will observe in his environment and what he will connect from his past life with this direct response (p.255).

It is expected that the attitudes and values that drive motivation will emerge from the stories told by participants. Connelly and Clandinin (1997, p.81) suggest, " One of

the best ways to study human beings is to come to grips with the storied quality of human experience, to record stories of educational experience and to write still other interpretative stories of educational experience.”

The narrative approach is also supported by Bempechat and Drago-Severson (1999) who found that by using this method, significant meaning-making of data could occur which, when given appropriate contextual, cultural interpretation provided far greater insight into the behaviour of specific ethnic groups. The heuristic, or meaning-making aspect of storytelling is described by Bruner (1987, p.55) when commenting, “We *know* from our own experience in telling consequential stories about *ourselves* that there is an eluctably “human” side to making sense.” Bempechat and Drago-Severson (1999) also highlighted the incorporation of self-stories into learning and motivation teaching by Asian and Pacific families, suggesting that narrative is an important social tool and one that would be regarded as appropriate to the anticipated participants. They found that for Asian groups, although not a culture with an oral history, storytelling has continued to be a tradition for making meaning and as such is a significant part of communication.

The telling of self-stories using the spoken word provides a personalised approach to data gathering with the spontaneity of human conversation. Flood (2000) defines the humanness of narrative thus:

Narrative is a form of meaning-making, using a discourse which is more than a mere collection of words or sentences – the stories contain meaning which has been gained from the integration of the sentences to produce a global meaning. The messages given and received are dependent on the levels of communication based on contact, a code and a context... The researcher is the interpreter or the decoder of the story... Self narratives are the self developed stories in which people undertake adventures that are then told in specific historical terms... These are elements of the plot that is a life journey (p.2).

Narrative therefore provides a means through which identity, both national and personal can be expressed and understood.

Focus Group Selection

For the purpose of this study and in accordance with the theoretical approach of Delamont (1992), it was decided that there would be three separate groups of participants. Each group would have in common the characteristics of ethnic background and gender. To achieve this, there would be one group of Pacific Island women (Pasifika); one group of Asian women and a third group of European New Zealanders (referred to as Pakeha, the Maori term for non-Maori) women. This would be appropriate for a study based at Whitireia Community Polytechnic, which is a multi-cultural tertiary education provider with the main non-European ethnic representation from outside New Zealand being Pacific Island and Asian.

As this research is selecting to uncover the needs of cross-cultural learners, Maori were not included as it is expected that under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi the needs of Maori students would be included in all areas of New Zealand education. The Treaty of Waitangi requires that the needs of Maori will be acknowledged by practices that include their cultural needs and reflect Maori interests. It is not suggested that this is believed to be occurring in educational practice at adequate levels, but that is not an argument to be explored in this thesis. The decision to include a Pakeha group was based on the premise that, as mainstream education in New Zealand is based on Pakeha systems the needs of these learners would be most readily represented (Harker, 1985; Hall & Bishop, 2000).

The literature suggests that between five and ten participants Each group would be comprised of between five and ten participants is manageable for data collection and provides sufficient people for potential discussion (Morgan, 1997). Morgan also suggests that less than five can be too limiting and over ten can result in difficulties with monitoring participation. To achieve the desired outcomes of this study, participants need the opportunity to relate personal anecdotes; therefore a moderate group size will be selected of between five and eight women.

Each group would be recruited from Whitireia Community Polytechnic. All participants in both the Asian and Pasifika groups should have experienced education to high school level in their own nation prior coming to New Zealand.

It has been claimed by Teariki and Spoonley with Tomoana (1992) and Delamont (1992) that researcher bias and misinterpretation of data present potential flaws in cross-cultural research (see discussion on ethical considerations). To remove the potential for my own assumptions or biases that may potentially influence the directions of focus groups, a facilitator of the same ethnic group as the participants would be appointed.

Role of Facilitators

The facilitators of each group of participants would be assigned responsibility for introducing participants to the discussion topics and ensure that all members are provided with equal opportunities for participation. Facilitators can maintain the dynamics of the group and encourage the narrative of contributors on relevant discussion topics. It is desirable for the facilitator to be able to empathise with the narrative of participants and be able to acknowledge and respect their contributions.

Each facilitator was provided with an outline of the potential discussion topics. Facilitators would however be able to articulate these in the way most appropriate to their group. This would allow for different cultural understandings and meanings of terms and concepts. They would also be able to add or delete topics as appropriate. This would allow for cultural interpretation and ensure that topics and issues discussed are culturally appropriate and phrased in a way that will be understood in the context intended. Discussions would be conducted in English to avoid the complexities of translation where inaccuracies may occur, however facilitators may translate terms or words for participants if clarification were needed.

A briefing meeting of all three facilitators would take place prior to the commencement of focus group meetings and following a trial focus group. The purpose of the briefing meeting was to ensure that each facilitator understands the context of the research and the nature of the data that is required. See appendices 8-13 for an outline of the questions and discussion topics.

Selection of Facilitators

To meet these requirements the facilitator would need strong interpersonal skills and have experience in working with groups. Although it would appear that these

qualities might be found in a lecturer it is necessary to avoid involving anyone who would have influence or power over any of the participants (see ethics discussion).

Facilitators were selected through recommendations and personal knowledge. All were staff members at Whitireia Community Polytechnic. Two were lecturers and one had responsibilities for liaising with international students. The facilitators were aged between thirty and fifty and held no position of power over participants but were known to them in some cases.

Role of the Researcher

As indicated, it was intended that the facilitators would each manage their own focus groups however, as is consistent with qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), my role as the researcher would remain interactive. It is my intention to be present at each meeting, to interact with participants prior to the discussion. During the discussion I intended to take responsibility for recording data both by taping discussions and by hand-written notes. The notes would include description of body language, gestures and noting of the participant speaking during each interaction (for example, participant 2). This information would support the taped conversations. It was not my intention to become involved in discussions in any way as this could influence the direction or context of discussions. This procedure was followed.

Trial Focus Group

To ensure that the data collection methods proposed would be effective, a trial focus group was conducted. For this meeting volunteers were gathered from women within the Whitireia Community Polytechnic School of Teacher Education and Training. The volunteers included an Asian student, a Pasifika student and a New Zealand European (Pakeha) student. The ages ranged from approximately 23 to approximately 34 and included one parent. All volunteers were members of the same student group and were therefore well known to each other. The facilitator was the same woman appointed to the Pakeha group aged around fifty and known to the volunteers. The volunteers knew prior to agreeing to participate that she would be the facilitator. The facilitator had been briefed with an outline of the nature of the research, discussion topics and questions. The expectations of the role of facilitator had also been explained. This included introducing the discussion topics and questions, maintaining

the group dynamics, ensuring equal opportunity to contribute and drawing out narrative and discussion on appropriate topics.

The facilitator had signed a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix 2) and the volunteers were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix 3) and required to sign a consent form (see Appendix 4). However the volunteers were informed that the data collected would not be included in the thesis or used in any publication resulting from this research.

The trial focus group meeting was held in a large classroom familiar to and popular with the School of Teacher Education and Training students. The participants were offered light refreshments prior to commencing discussions. As proposed, I attended and engaged in pre-discussion conversation. Once the meeting had commenced, my role was to record data. A tape deck was used and placed close to the participants on a table adjacent to the group. This reduced the obtrusiveness of the recording machine.

The trial group provided the following information:

- The facilitator has an extremely vital role and is the key to gathering quality data.
- The communication skills used by the facilitator include reflective listening, reading the dynamics of the group, and adding personal anecdotes to relax the group and to bring out the stories of participants.
- The facilitator needs the judgement to know when to allow the group autonomy as participants tended to draw out each other's stories at times.
- Facilitators of the same ethnicity as participants proved necessary to ensure appropriate interpretation. It was discovered later in the trial meeting that one participant who was non-European did not understand one discussion topic but felt unable to say this at the time. It seems a fair assumption that this would be less likely to occur with a facilitator of the same ethnicity.
- The hand-written notes providing details of body language and noting participants contributing are essential for adding emphasis and emotion.

- Quality note keeping proved essential for the ease of transcribing. The small group made transcribing easy and the quality of taped recording was adequate.
- The size of the group was not an issue. Although the group was slow to warm, once the discussion impetus was aroused the narrative flowed as stories were told. I felt that the quality of the data was revealed irrespective of the numbers.
- The room size was an issue. Although the participants were familiar with the surroundings it was generally felt that the participation level would have been more quickly aroused in a smaller and more intimate environment.

Selection of Participants

To seek participants for the genuine focus groups, advertisements (See Appendix 6) were placed on the notice boards of schools within the Whitireia Community Polytechnic. The Whitireia Community Polytechnic Research Ethics Committee and the Massey University Ethics Committee had agreed this to this. Consent was also sought from the Students' Association of Whitireia Community Polytechnic (see Appendix 5) to place an advertisement on their notice board and to place a box for responses in the office of the Whitireia Community Polytechnic Students' Association. This request was discussed at a committee meeting and agreed to. Volunteers were able to give their name to the Students' Association, the Pacific Liaison Officer, or myself. The options of personal contact, a phone message, a note in the response box or email were available. A notice was also placed in the Whitireia Community Polytechnic Te Karere newsletter (see Appendix 7)

To ensure that participants were not compromised by power relationships (see the ethics section of this chapter), neither students from the Diploma of Teaching (ECE) programme nor from the Diploma in Pacific Islands Early Childhood Education Bridging programme were eligible. However, women students and lecturers from other programmes within the School of Teacher Education and Training were eligible, as no potential power relationships existed between potential applicants and myself.

The 10 applicants for the Pasifika focus group were from the School of Nursing, lecturers from the School of Teacher Education and Training and students from the

Diploma of Pacific Islands Early Childhood Education. The group formed were aged between 18 and 55 years with the average age being around thirty years. Most were mothers or grandmothers and only two were single and not mothers. It must be pointed out that these participants came from care-giving careers; however, it may also be possible that this may reflect socio-cultural expectations that care-giving careers are socially acceptable.

The six applicants for the Asian focus group were from the School of Business Studies, the School of Nursing and the School of Further Education. Two were mothers and the others were single. The ages were between 20 and 32 years with the average age being around 27 years.

The five applicants that were received for the Pakeha focus group were from the Diploma of Teaching (Secondary), lecturers from the School of Teacher Education and Training and a Manager of a department of Whitireia Community Polytechnic. Their ages were between 25 and 45 years with the average age being around 37 years. Four were mothers and one grandmother.

Although participants in the Asian focus group were slightly younger on average than participants in the Pasifika or Pakeha groups, there was an overall equilibrium achieved across the three groups. Each group had representation from women who had achieved higher education status, who had experienced responsibility in the workforce and who had experienced balancing family, education and work responsibilities. However, all members of the Pakeha group were currently in paid employment whilst studying (see Limitations p.36).

The Focus Groups

Each of the three focus groups was conducted using a similar structure. The time and date of each meeting was arranged to meet the needs of participants and facilitator. All meetings were held on campus at Whitireia Community Polytechnic. From the conclusions drawn after the trial group, small rooms were used. The rooms used varied due to availability. All meetings were commenced with light refreshments as a

relaxing introduction as recommended by Anderson (1990), and also as a reflection of appropriate practice in Asian and Pacific Island cultures.

As with the trial focus group, my participation as the researcher was in welcoming participants and pre-commencement conversation only. During the discussions my role was as an observer and note taking.

All participants were provided with a copy of the consent form that was then signed by them. They were reminded of the requirement to maintain confidentiality and to respect the information shared during discussions. Facilitators also signed a confidentiality agreement prior to the first meeting. To assist with establishing trust, participants were informed of this.

The three groups, Asian, Pasifika and Pakeha each met on two separate occasions for sixty to ninety minutes. As previously indicated, each group had their own facilitator of the same ethnicity as participants. The facilitators had been briefed with the nature of the research, anticipated outcomes of discussions and the general concepts of discussion topics or questions to prompt discussion. Facilitators were free to re-work these discussion topics to ensure cultural appropriateness and context. The outcome of this was that each session had its own form in keeping with the culture represented.

Asian Group

The meetings for this group were both reflective and projective. Participants told stories that involved reflections about childhood but then were projected into plans for future aspirations as outcomes from work and achievement patterns. The stories tended to be short as some participants were learning English. Occasionally the facilitator translated or helped with language prompts. Discussions were more direct than in the other groups and tended to be more tightly focussed, however clear indications of shared meaning and understandings arose from the narratives

Pasifika Group

The first group meeting involved formal introductions. This was culturally important to them and was stated as such by one of the participants. The names were omitted from the transcripts for purposes of anonymity. However, although this meant that

most participants spoke only once or twice, they told their own stories as part of the introduction process.

The second meeting was a rich discussion forum that included shared understandings from the personal experiences recounted and empathy within the group for each other's stories. In keeping with cultural tradition, interruptions during each other's narrative were rare, but there were frequent agreements, laughter and respect.

Pakeha Group

These meetings provided lively discussion that included several interactions within the group. Shared understandings of experiences were frequent. Even when the experiences of others differed, the understanding existed and respect was given to differing viewpoints. It must be noted that the tape was turned off at the request of one participant during the second meeting for over five minutes. This section of data was not recorded. The meetings will be discussed in depth in Chapter 4, findings and data analysis.

Following the conclusion of the meetings, the taped recordings of meetings were transcribed. As the transcriber I incorporated the handwritten notes to identify individuals speaking as a method of identifying the follow-on of themes from individuals and any potential links. Names were not used. The transcripts of their own group discussion were offered to participants but these were not requested. The tapes and transcripts were secured in my home to maintain confidentiality.

Procedures for Data Analysis

The transcripts were read to identify trends or patterns that revealed representations of culture in the discourse and to evaluate the emergent group characteristics. The use of the term 'patterns' in the context of qualitative research is taken from the definition of Lincoln and Guba (1985) who suggest that a researcher using an inductive approach may look for categories or themes that form a pattern. Transcripts were coded according to indications of the following with the purpose of identifying different areas of culturally driven motivation characteristics.

- Gender expectations
- Family pressures
- Academic goals
- Personal aspirations and goals
- Attitudes towards educational achievement.

Three different approaches were used for the analysis of data so that clearer patterns could be revealed as consistencies emerged. The objectives for the analyses were to identify behavioural patterns and explain them within the cultural context. The purpose of this was to construct meanings that can be used as arguments for creating strategic approaches that may enhance achievement motivation in women cross-cultural learners from Asia and the Pacific Islands.

In all three analyses, thematic lines, gender identity and automotive responses, data were analysed across both group meetings for each of the three groups of participants. As this study aims to identify the achievement motivation within the Asian and Pasifika groups of learners, the analysis of data was conducted as a group entity. This was to enable the determining of commonalities within each group and to make comparisons against the other groups.

Thematic Lines

To identify whether commonalities of identity exist within groups the thematic line components of the McAdams (1985) model of identity (see Appendix 1) were applied to the narrative from each group of participants. McAdams described thematic lines as stories with recurring content indicating a tendency towards patterns of behaviour. Individuals may select to relate issues or stories concerning their lives that they regard as important to them. This is highly relevant to this study as the identification of the motivational drive may reveal a great deal about appropriate strategies to apply to learners. McAdams considers these motives as thematic lines that occur frequently in autobiographical stories that provide a statement of identity and an image of self.

The thematic lines of agency or communion are considered by McAdams to be relatively stable throughout life and provide the drive and energy to pursue the

direction and goals of the individual. A person who demonstrates a thematic line of agency (power) is more likely to be focussed on self-achievement than a person high in communion (intimacy). Individuals who are high in intimacy are likely to see themselves as nurturers, caregivers and regard their role as serving a community.

McAdams (1985) constructed the model of identity to demonstrate the factors that influence the establishment of individual identity and perception of self within social contexts, including gender and culture. He does not suggest that these motives are gender specific.

To identify the thematic lines, transcripts were read for indications of agency (power) or communion (intimacy) motives. Each indication of either motive identified was colour-coded then counted for each of the three groups of participants. For example, a response such as "To help our people" would be coded as communion. Alternatively "To get a job with the best company" indicates an agency motive. The transcripts for both focus group meetings for each set of participants were combined for this analysis.

Gender Identity

To explore the effect of gender-based expectations on girls and women the transcripts were read for indications of behaviour reflecting gender identity. It has been suggested by Gilligan (1982) women's perception of right and social justice reflects a priority for social good, caring and nurturance. This may include delaying personal objectives to pursue the role they see as their moral and social responsibility and obligation. Gilligan (1982) developed a theory of moral development in response to that of Kohlberg (1973) to more clearly define the cognitive processes of women. Gilligan's (1982) work reflected the belief that women are more likely to contextualise issues from a perspective of responsibility and caring. When analysed for gender-role identity, data may reveal indications that demonstrate cultural differences in the way that this is expressed.

The data were evaluated for examples of gender-based role expectations (Bandura, 1986) that may have indicated behavioural responses to culturally determined social discourse. Bandura suggested that the behaviour of men and women was largely conditioned by the environmental effect of socially constructed behaviour modelled

by influential others. This behaviour when internalised, impacts on the cognitive response and controls aspects of cognitive behaviour such as self-efficacy. The desire to care for others might be highly motivating and provide the incentive to achieve in order to succeed in this goal.

The extent to which the educational aspirations of participants have been affected by gender-role expectations has implications for this study. To explore this concept, the relationships between the participants and their families were evaluated as indicators of gender-role identity. For example, the pressures of the responsibilities of motherhood, or the perceived obligations towards parents or children may indicate gender-role expectations that have been socially determined and expressed in culturally conditioned behaviour (Weiler & Middleton, 1999; Hearn, 2000).

Statements indicating gender-role perceptions were marked and counted. These were analysed across both focus group meetings for each group.

Automotive Responses: Goals

For the purpose of this study it was important to identify the level to which learning behaviour related to higher order self-directed goals or alternatively, demonstrated an automotive response to environmental factors. This information provides evidence of motivation sources. As this study seeks to identify practical teaching approaches that are culturally appropriate from a motivational perspective, a group approach to analysis has been maintained. Bargh (1990) suggests that motivation can be activated by specific situations. Although the motivation does not lie in the situation, the impact of the environment can affect the motivational response. Basically, if the situational features are non-conducive to the motive, the motive will not be activated. This may have implications to teaching strategies, as they may become a catalyst for the triggering of motivation or alternatively de-motivating the learner. This is supported by Schaller and Cialdini (1990) who describe the impact of moods on motivation. They claim that a positive mood can increase work activity and impulsive behaviour whereas a negative mood causes increased reflectivity and caution.

Bargh (1990) suggests three different types of goals:

- Norm goals that arise from cultural or societal expectations

- Perceptual goals are a subset of reactive goals and act as an interpreter of stimuli and channel the behaviour accordingly such as applying a tactic. Reactive goals function as a direct response to environmental stimuli. A situation may arise that draws the response 'I'm going to...'. Bargh describes this as a 'tit for tat' response (p105).
- The chronic motive arises from a repeated awareness of information that exists outside the preconscious level of the behavioural goals. This has direct implications for academic learning and achievement and has higher order motivational links. Such motives have long-term implications and involve procedural contingencies.

The transcripts were read with the purpose of identifying examples of norm goals, perceptual goals or chronic motives as described by Bargh (1990). The analysis used a coding system to identify examples of goals in relation to education.

- Goals that reflected parental or social expectations were coded as norm goals as the behaviour was unquestioned and automatic. "Work hard and get high marks"
- Goals that demonstrated a reaction to situations with an element of considered response were coded as reactive goals. Such responses may reflect norm goals but be triggered by specific previously encountered stimuli. "Avoid shame"
- Goals that required planning and represented long-term personal aspiration were coded as chronic motives. These may still have represented culturally determined behaviours but also be related to the plans and choices of the individual. "What I want to do is paint and write...but the Masters being imposed gets in the way..."

These examples were analysed across the two meetings for each group of participants. The analysis of these was used to determine cultural differences in social influences on goals.

Ethical Considerations

Combining the role of researcher with that of lecturer at Whitireia Community Polytechnic where this research was conducted could have created ethical problems.

The participants were expected to be students and staff of this tertiary institution. This could have created issues concerning power relationships and confidentiality. This section discusses the measures taken to eliminate or minimise risks to participants.

Power Relationships

Power relationships occur when person feels an obligation to participate or continue to participate in research to please or gain the approval of a person who holds influence over their immediate future (Bell, 1993; Creswell, 1994). A lecturer may be perceived as holding this position.

Issues relating to power relationships were addressed by ensuring that no student attending classes that I would be likely to teach were allowed to participate. As two of the focus group facilitators were also lecturers the same restriction was applied. The methods of recruitment also removed any duress of potential influence over participation as participants were invited to volunteer through three different methods, placing a name and contact number in a sealed box placed in the Whitireia Community Polytechnic Students' Association, phoning one of three people or emailing one of the same three people. Participants were not directly asked to participate by myself as the researcher.

Freedom of Choice

Further consideration of freedom of choice in participation was provided during the focus group meetings, as participants were free to withdraw from groups or ask for material to be withheld at any time. This occurred when a participant requested that the tape be turned off as she felt that the information was too personal and may lead to her possible identification. Participants were also invited to read transcripts of the group in which they had participated. No participants requested this.

The information sheets (Appendix 3) and consent forms (Appendix 4) ensured that participation was with informed consent. The information sheet also ensured that participants were aware that no names would be used in the research or on transcripts, thus ensuring that the identities of participants would remain confidential. However, as focus groups involve several individuals this can present potential problems with

confidentiality and makes anonymity impossible at least within the group. To address this, participants were made aware of their responsibility to retain the privacy of other participants. All participants were requested to refrain from discussing any material provided in meetings outside the group environment.

Cultural Issues

Any occasion where a person conducts research with a cultural group different from their own presents potential problems. Teariki and Spoonley with Tomoana (1992) and Delamont (1992) claimed that one of the most potentially damaging aspects of cross-cultural research was the likelihood of misinterpretation of data due to cultural differences and misunderstanding due to different value systems. Durie (1992) also suggests that research conducted on minority groups by a researcher representing the dominant culture can create a disempowering situation for participants.

To overcome these potential situations, data were collected from focus groups facilitated by a woman with the same ethnicity as the participants. This reduced the likelihood of participants feeling disempowered during discussions. This also minimised the possibility of issues becoming misrepresented by the researcher or misunderstood by participants.

Methods of Verification

All qualitative research is concerned with the constructions of reality according to participants and recognises that multiple realities may exist within groups of people (Merriam, 1988). Accordingly, the data collected reflects the particular reality specifically of the groups of participants in this study. Similarly, researcher bias could effect the interpretation of data. This creates a problem with reliability.

Reliability in relation to qualitative research is defined by Merriam (1988 p.172) as “the extent to which a study can be replicated”. It is not the intent of this study that results be replicable, as the findings may relate only to the group of participants from the tertiary institution concerned. However, Lincoln and Guba (cited in Merriam, 1985) suggest that qualitative researchers should be primarily concerned with dependability and consistency. To ensure dependability of results the audit trail as recommended by Merriam (1988, p.172) has been established by the detailed

description of the data collecting processes and data analysis methods. Consistency has been established by the procedures and theoretical approaches applied to the analysis of data. The audit trail suggests that it would be possible for this study to be used as a model for further similar studies.

Limitations of this Study

As this study was conducted with participants from one polytechnic the findings cannot be necessarily considered to be representative of the wider tertiary education community. Furthermore, a study from one tertiary institution may reflect the demographics of the participants. The limitation imposed by the number of volunteers for each focus group resulted in my having little control over such demographic details. Although the participants in the Pakeha group were either still engaged in academic study, or had recently been students, they were all in paid employment whereas this was not the case with the Asian or Pasifika groups. Only three of these participants were studying whilst employed. The Pasifika group were older on average than the Asian or Pakeha groups, but overall the Pakeha group had higher existing qualifications. It is impossible to know whether this had any systematic effect on the data.

Further limitations of this study through time constraints and recruitment difficulties resulted in the generalisation of Asian and Pasifika participants. It is acknowledged that much diversity exists in the Asian and Pasifika nations.

Recruitment of participants was limited by the ethical constraints imposed by both Whitireia Community Polytechnic and Massey University. It is acknowledged that it is important to have the rights of participants protected. However, the restriction on approaching individuals directly does not take into account the preference of Pasifika people to be invited by the researcher to participate. For Pasifika women it is considered inappropriate to volunteer as it assumes individual value, knowledge and status. Such behaviour is considered arrogant. These restrictions need to be examined to find a way of protecting participants and opening involvement in a culturally appropriate way.

Summary

This qualitative study of achievement motivation with women learners in cross-cultural educational situations used a research design that was regarded as appropriate for women and Pasifika and Asian participants. A detailed description of the research design, focus group structure and data collection using narrative, has been provided along with the relevant theory. A description of the concept of narrative data applied to this study provided detail of the interpretative approach of cross-cultural research. Ethical and cultural considerations have also been provided.

The methods used to analyse the narrative data have been presented. The theoretical approaches used to interpret the data have been explained. These analyses will be provided in the following chapter along with the findings revealed.

Chapter 4

Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter presents the analysis of data and the findings that have emerged from the processes described in chapter 3. The analysis begins with an evaluation of the focus group meetings, with each meeting evaluated separately; Asian, Pacific Island then Pakeha. The themes and patterns that emerged from this will be discussed. These findings will then used in three stages of analysis that have applied the McAdams (1985) model of identity (see Appendix 1) to establish thematic lines; evidence of gender role identity and goal-setting using Bargh's (1990) automotive responses. Excerpts from the transcripts have been presented here to support the analysis and findings. The findings have been discussed in relation to the literature.

Focus Group Meetings

Asian Focus Group Meeting 1

The five participants met in a small classroom that was furnished with light easy-chairs and low tables rather than the traditional desk and chair arrangement. As it was mid-day a light finger food lunch was provided. Participants were from three different Asian countries, two from China, two from Japan and one from Korea. The facilitator was from Hong Kong.

The facilitator began by asking the question, "What was your best or happiest memory from education or schooling?"

The participants were noticeably tense from their body language, but immediately the responses entered into conversation about grades, subjects and favourite teachers.

Participant 3: My happiest time was at High school. We had good teachers. I studied Japanese history. I then went on to junior college. I did a major in Japanese history.

Participant 2 responded with a giggle that reflected embarrassment:

(giggles) Not highest grades. *(pause)* Sports and friends.

Participant 5 discussed her experience of high school and living away from home.

We had a big class *(facilitator. Prompts to clarify. Did you like the big class?)* Yes, I had lots of friends. It was different from living with parents. At high school. I lived with my friends. I had to do the washing, wash dishes and things like that. *(laughs)*.

Throughout however, the conversation and stories always returned to academic achievement. The meeting could be summarised by the statement that effort reaps reward. When asked the question, "How do you define achievement and success?" participant 4 explained her ambition, motivation and philosophy;

I think it's to get A's. To get as high marks as possible. Some people just do the assignment and the exam and pass the course. That's not good, they're not getting high, they just pass and do not much study. I think you do not get high marks if you do not study..."

Participant 4 went on to discuss her reasons for studying in New Zealand.

I studied English in China and I couldn't do well. I couldn't get high marks.

She explained that her motivation was also driven from interest.

Sometimes when you study something hard like physics or chemistry you do it because you know you have to. Sometimes it's because something is interesting we can do it because it interests us.

Attitudes toward family were demonstrated in the stories. Generally these referred to parents and family expectations even from those who were already mothers themselves. The attitudes reflected a respect for parental authority and an acknowledgement of parental expectations. This is consistent with the literature, particularly of the concept defined by Weiler and Middleton (1999) that women

create their own gendered subjectivity by committing to the expectations of social discourse. Participant 1 explained the role of her parents in her achievement and her respect of their knowledge.

My parents were very supportive. Why I chose the business course? My parents chose subjects I studied in high school. My parents told me what to study they said, "After you finish you can get a good job." They are probably right but if I could choose I would probably have studied early childhood. But I know that if I start business course then when I finish whether it's in China or overseas then I get a good job.

Facilitator: So the tradition of your parents choosing is good?

Yeah but I think after I do this course I choose another course...in how do you say it? (*Talks to facilitator in Chinese*) Yeah that's it, I like to study archaeology

During the narrative, participants made few references to feminist issues or gender role expectations. The ambitions and career goals set either by family or self were not related to gender. Goals seemed to be related to success for self but also as an expectation of family. The perceived kudos from academic success was for their own gain in obtaining a well-paid job with career prospects.

Asian Focus Group Meeting 2

This meeting was held in a different room from the first. The room was furnished with large tables and standard chairs. Again, being mid-day a finger food lunch was provided. Participants were notably more relaxed than before with the result that narrative flowed more readily early in the meeting. However, the stories tended to be short. I assumed this to be due in part to the fact that some participants were still learning English and perhaps felt a little embarrassed at their imperfections. Two of the participants had expressed to the facilitator prior to the start of the meeting that their English wasn't very good yet.

This meeting was started with questions that sought intra-personal reflections. Some of the responses produced from these discussion topics brought thoughts of freedom from work and pressure. The facilitator opened with a question that asked who

participants would want to be if they had to be somebody else. Participant 3 thought at first that she would not want to be anybody else but then after a reflective pause smiled and claimed:

If I have to, (big pause) maybe I be a little girl. Without worry, without study, be free. I could be worry free I'd always be happy and I don't worry about (hesitation) people. And everybody'll take care of me.

Participant 1 however felt that she would like to be her parents. Perhaps revealing that she as an adult saw her parents in a different way than she did when in her childhood.

It would be my parents. My parents very nice to me. (*pause*) Now I realise that they care for me.

Facilitator: Because are they a very successful person?

No. Because they brought me up and they care for me.

The next discussion topic asked participants about their dream and the role of their dreams in relation to their study. This produced interesting contradictions. For example, participant 2 had previously spoken of the need to pass exams with high grades to achieve the desired successful career. However when speaking of her dreams a different picture emerges.

Finish study. I like a part time job, just a part time job and I like to have enough money to travel. Just to remain working constant (*consistently?*) and maybe I can't do that (*laughter*) and travel. It's only a dream at this stage.

Facilitator: Oh that's a good dream

But it's difficult I just want to work part time

However, the responses and stories still revolved around achievement and success in relation to hard study. Participant 1 was talking about her dream to have a family and a career. She claimed that her dream was her motivation, therefore linking her dream to reality.

So in a way, my dream which is to have a good family just like that I must work hard at the moment to achieve that dream and concentrate to achieve a better dream in the future.

Dreams and reality also connected strongly in other stories where dreams were grounded by expectations. When discussing her future, Participant 5 stated:

You think about the reality that if you do the exam then I must pass it. That's one of the things that motivates you to go. To overcome your difficulties.

The future was more of an issue than the past. The discussions soon moved off the original reflective topics and onto projective concepts. As with the first meeting, the theme was effort reaps reward. Work achievement and future freedom of choice were shown to be major sources of motivation. Participant 2 explained:

I think about the future in New Zealand or overseas. I try to think about the type of company I will work for. But I need good English. I haven't decided yet. I used to have an ordinary normal job. I sick of that. If I can't speak English But if I don't have good English then how can I choose the company I work for? In a way, you think of getting a better job when you think of studying English it gives you better choices of a better job when you go back to Japan. After I study hard then I can make the choices You can make the choices and choose the company rather than the company choosing you.

The topic of motivation brought about some interesting contradictions. Previously, in the first meeting as well as in this second meeting, participants had spoken of the need for self-reliance in achievement. The facilitator asked

Even though you study hard you don't do well...how would you deal with that situation?

Just work hard. I have to study hard. Get A's

Participants generally were demanding of teachers. There were definite feelings that existed within the group that regardless of all the claims of effort reaping reward, teachers could be blamed for any failure that occurred.

...to set out things more quickly, to be organised rather than just slack.

Telling you what you're going to be learning in advance rather than or you feel what's the point of all this. I think if I cannot understand this, how can I pass exams? I work hard. And I think, maybe if I can't pass exams I can't go to university.

Sometimes if the teacher just give you a piece of paper to read and in a way you felt that you learned nothing. To just read a bit of paper I can do at home. In a classroom situation I want some input from the teacher. I want to ask questions

Of the themes that emerged from these two focus groups the strongest and clearest are:

1. The influence of family pressures on the participants: This appears to have become internalised with academic achievement unquestioned. Similarly neither is the choice that parents made for the participants questioned. This is consistent with the claims of Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) regarding hierarchical social structures.
2. The choices of parents and those made by participants are grounded in reality. The expectation is that they will happen.
3. Dreams and reality appear to be connected with the here and now. The inference from this suggests that what is achieved today determines the future and dreams are of little use if not incorporated into an overall plan.
4. Gender appears to be a non-issue. When speaking of parental expectations or their own goals, gender roles were only mentioned once. Even in this discussion, the participant planned to have a good family and a good career. Blair, Legazpi-Blair and Madamba (1999) claim that as Asian parents

generally have a strong academic back-ground, the same is expected of any children, regardless of gender. Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) suggest that since the Chinese restrictions to one child, the single child, regardless of gender, is expected to achieve for the pride of the family.

These themes are consistent with the literature reviewed regarding Asian academic values. Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) and Ting (2000) describe the influence of social constructs on the learning behaviour of Chinese students and the role of the teacher. They demonstrate the socially constructed power relationship of teacher and student as being second only to the family in its influence of the learner.

Pasifika Focus Group 1

The nine participants for this meeting gathered at lunchtime. As was culturally appropriate, lunch was provided and this was taken prior to the start of the meeting. The meeting was held in the same small classroom as the second Asian group meeting.

Participants originated from several of the Pacific Islands however, the largest number was from Samoa with seven members of the group. Other nationalities were Tokelau and Nuie. The facilitator was from Tuvalu.

The meeting began with a question that asked participants to tell of their educational experience prior to attending Whitireia Community Polytechnic. As indicated in the methods chapter, participants felt the need to introduce themselves fully. This was achieved by one participant at a time speaking then moving on to the next person. During this however, stories were told, some quite expansive, about their lives, dreams, goals and past experience. Although some of the participants were learning English, there was no reluctance to speak at length. Participant 1 provides an example of the narrative form typical for most of the group.

I am a Samoan and I am a mother of 4 children. The purpose of my study is to help my family. I am a single mother. I chose early childhood to be my perfect... my goals. For my children to be able to choose their own lives. And I want to achieve...to try harder and learn better. Yeah, so that

was my goal. To help our Pacific Islands people. I wanted to help my culture and our children and the Pacific Island mother tongue and culture.

The facilitator allowed the group to continue through this theme. She prompted and extended on to discussions at times but the narrative that was provided was proving to be a rich source of data. Participant 4 illustrates the patterns that were emerging from the narrative.

I'm from Nuie. I left school over there at 11. I went to college in Auckland but it was too fast I just wanted to play. I went back to Nuie then I finished school. I went nursing for 2 years but then I came back and changed my mind. I still wanted to play. I ended up getting married. I come from a big family. When I say big family, there are 16 in our family. I have 5 kids and 3 grandkids. I decided to do this last year. I was pushing my daughter through last year at college. She pointed out to me why don't you go and do something for yourself so I decided to come back last year and do some more study try to achieve my goals but I ended up pushing my daughter and myself. It's a very big challenge for both of us. We are working together and it really helps. I try to achieve my goals.

From this group, the themes that emerged were:

1. That education was not a priority for the young. This was stated by several participants, usually with the reflective adjunct that "If I had known..."
2. Family was a major theme, both from the perspective of their own parents and their own children.
3. The goals that were expressed were primarily those of helping others, their own children, grandchildren, or their communities. Although this reflects the career direction of these women, nursing and teaching, after hearing their stories it may be inferred that these careers were those that they were directed towards as girls.
4. The self-perception expressed by the participants of their motivational orientation is one of nurturance.

The narrative of participants in this group does not reflect the perspective of feminist literature, particularly Kauffman (1993) who claims that women are marginalised by

their social roles. Many of the women in this group had given much of their lives to their families. The role that these women accepted for their families was valued, both by themselves and their communities. They did not appear to regard themselves as marginalised for having filled this role.

Pasifika Focus Group 2

The second group followed the same pre-discussion format as the first. The venue and participants were the same. However, on this occasion, no introductions were necessary and the discussion was quite different. However, few interruptions occurred during a participant's contribution. The facilitator was seen as the person to speak to, perhaps like a parliamentary role of "Ms Speaker" although, as stated in chapter 3, in her role as a lecturer in the polytechnic, she held no position of power or influence over any of the participants. After lunch, the facilitator asked a question that was designed to cause reflection.

What is a good student? What did you understand in your home as a good student?

Most of the responses reflected the expectations of trying hard, listening to parents and teachers and living up to community expectations. Several participants claimed to have played through school and to have been poor students, expressing regret with hindsight.

Participant 1 expressed effort and achievement as a total social expectation rather than an educational behaviour:

It's not only important to be a good student at school, but whatever you do in education at your school has to carry on to your home by er, listening to your parents the way you listening to your teacher or anything you do. The discipline... It has to carry on into your home.

Facilitator: So it wasn't just a measure of school success but the whole range of all your activities.

Yeah that's right, it went into everything...everything you did...

The expectations and involvement of the community in an individual's achievements was an interesting aspect of the narrative. Participant 2 told the story of how the family and community became involved in her nursing career, pressing for her success.

Facilitator: So somebody that was "good" was held up as the example for all of us...Does that reflect back on the family?

I was educated at home in those days and then I sent away an application for to um, become a nurse and in Samoa. And the night before and the exam was in the morning for me to go to the exam my parent that night, my family asked the priest to come to our home and have a service for asking for praying for me for the exam the next morning, and so in the morning I went to the exam and when I came back my parents asked me "How you go" "I think I did all right but you know." So I had to wait for the next week, so a week later I heard on the radio that I'd been accepted so the day before, because I had to be there at 10 o'clock in the morning, so that night my parents call again to the priest, to the minister to say thank you for they accepted me to become a nurse. And that was what I was educated for and I was applying for a job and I got it...it was a very exciting thing for my family. Even my brothers and everybody they take part to find ways to find money to buy things for me to take to the hospital. And everyone was so happy because I'd done well in my education and that's how I got into that job and er, I dunno how I got in here, but at least I got in and that's why I go well.

The involvement of families and communities in achievement continued to be a significant theme. Not all the comments and stories about community involvement were positive. Some regarded it as a problem.

Participant 3: I wasn't a good student (lots of laughter) but to me I grow up in a family of 4 boys and 2 girls and I always come at the bottom but I stand up for myself. I went to the primary school, then the secondary school then mum sent me to the boarding school and then after all that the first boarding school I went to was the big boarding school and then dad decided to find a job for me instead and so I was employed and I

remember that I tried to get into the nursing and I was accepted but then I decided to come over here because I thought it would give me my freedom cos that's the other thing over there I haven't got that freedom to stand up for myself, not only school rules and that but, but I think that's the power, I think it's the power over there and freedom over here and I think that's why I get my education over here. I got that freedom to choose what I can do over here. I see women that don't do well they stop and drop out, But even if there's something stop them, they still have that confidence to choose and freedom to choose...Power over there, freedom over here.

Facilitator: On the one hand having your families support you...and the whole village gives you a show of support...you know where you stand. On the other hand sometimes a constraint really on the individual...Like the first story...the whole village celebrating your successes...you can't fail privately (laughter). Do you think that that sort of knowledge, that your family, your whole village will hear it on the radio...the fact that um, provides some...um, motivation to work hard...you know that if you don't get it right, everybody's going to know. There's no confidentiality around the results like we're used to here. They used to publish the results in the paper and you know you can look to see if you've passed. It's a difference in culture really isn't it.

Discussion moved towards gender-based attitudes. The discourse showed strong correlations with the findings of Hesford (1999) in the context of gender and socialisation. Although the narrative generally suggested that education was not gender-biased, contradictions in the socio-cultural expectations of gender-specific behaviour emerged.

Participant 9: ...and some of the things that I have seen that, when girls, especially when they don't live with their families...and parents always notice the changes in their lives...and sometimes they notice them becoming cheeky and having boyfriends and say "All right, you're not going to school any more. You can stay home", and sometimes that can be some girl who was doing well at school...

Facilitator: So for some girls, education is seen as too liberating.

P9: And some girls are boarding, living away from the village...then when you go back later on, the changes they may have seen in you, especially when you started having boyfriends and so on and because of that they say "This is the influence of education!" Especially with girls... I have come across many a good friend that was stopped by the parent ...because they said, this is what she got from going to town to school, boyfriends and not so much education.

Gender expectations also became the subject of discussion from the perspective of being a parent. In these narratives, the role of the caregiver, supporter and nurturer became strongly apparent. This reflects the findings of Wagner-Martin (1994) who commented on the negative outcome for women who defy social expectations. Initially the narratives reflected on the parenting styles of their own mother and father. Participant 3 remembered her own father:

We always talk about...our whole family...about how hard our father worked...in the garden, in the sea...to fish...in the plantation...our mother used to say to our dad I worry that you always be so hard to our children, why? Why? And my dad always say I wanted them to learn and grow to know that this is how to be responsible, they have to learn from hard, hard work that they must carry on with their work to be a better person

Facilitator: A parent understands what a parent does and how the child repays the parent by achieving so you will do the same for your own children and the cycle will be continued and you will have your own children do for their children what your parents did for you. And that's how it goes, and they take their satisfaction from seeing the children succeed.

Participant 3 then moved the topic of discussion to express priorities and values in relation to motivation.

That's the thing that keeps me motivated, (facilitator's name), is my family, um, now when I look at my children they are going to finish their school, and they might need me and it's the only way up for me is to go

back to school...and pick my own goals and get a job. Help myself and also help my family. They might be needing my help

Participant 9 demonstrated the sacrifice that was common amongst this group. The role of the nurturer seemed unquestioned along with a hold on their goals or ambitions.

Yes, we've been tied up bringing up our kids and everything like that and struggle and our lives and we've had no time to come to study. To me, now I've got time and I've got my children and my grandchildren was growing now and my children got jobs and when I'm looking at my family now it's time for me to come and work and I can work to try and help the young children and to motivate my family to try to push their children because now I look at our young children they start to lose their own culture and their own language. So I come to a school like this and try to become an early childhood teacher, because my family they got other jobs to do and I feel sorry that I see my own grandchildren, they might go the same way unless I...me as a grandmother I got nothing to do now so I might as well come here so I can try to develop some knowledge of how to help teach our young children their culture.

Participant 7: Another thing that motivated me. I've been cleaning all my life. And because you're a mother you have to stay and look after the children and your husband supporting you, by providing the things for the family. And I thought, Oh, I'm sick of cleaning and I wanted a new start and a job, and another thing, I wanted some higher pay to live on other than 10 dollars. If other people do it then why can't I? You know this is what, motivated me. No I don't want to clean. I want to do something else and more money.

Whilst having enough self-confidence as a learner to return to education in New Zealand, after raising a family, or simply being new to this education system, the group appeared to agree that being a second language learner made motivation considerably more difficult. When asked how they maintained motivation during difficulty the responses centred on their original goal. Participant 2 articulated this.

To get jobs. And the other is to help with the family. (*General agreement*)

As all members of the group were bilingual, the role of the teacher in supporting their needs was of considerable importance to them. Consistent with the findings of Niles (1998) and Dickie (2000) teacher assumptions, lack of consideration for or knowledge of cultural values and basic issues such as speed of oral delivery were of concern. The discourse regarding the responsibilities of teachers suggested specific expectations and requests. The responses closely echoed the findings of Hill and Hawk (1999) and Vaiotele (2000) who identified the need for reciprocity and respect.

Participant 3: I think the best things that tutors can do is learn your names, to understand who I am.

Participant 2: It's very important to see students as people and to work alongside the students.

Facilitator: One of the most important things is for tutors and students to get to know each other well enough so that when a tutor says, do you understand, you can say "NO".

Participant 7: It's easy to say yes,

Facilitator: If you know your tutors well enough that you can say no then you've got a good working relationship.

Participant 3: The teacher says, any questions and we say, no thank-you and then we go outside and say "What she saying?"

Participant 4: It's better to go back and ask the person who delivered the material.

Participant 7: One of the hardest things for us is when the tutor speaks fluent English they talk fast...and it's the language they use...and then you don't understand and you loose interest.

Of the themes emerging from the two Pasifika focus group meetings the most apparent were

1. The perceived role as a nurturer. Socio-cultural expectations have been instrumental in directing educational and social behaviour. This could be seen in both the career choices of these women by their responses to family duty.

2. The gender-role identity was fundamental to the nurturance role. This was unquestioned and appeared to be uncompromised in any of the narratives.
3. The goals that were set were directed towards the fulfilment of this social expectation. The fulfilment of social expectations appeared to have strong links to the modelling of the roles demonstrated by their own parents.
4. However the construction of the gender-role identity occurred, it appeared to be consistent within the group and central to their personal identity and motivation.
5. The communion motive was powerful and was demonstrated in such a way that even when a goal was defined as personal, the nurturing role, family support and family well-being became central to that goal. This was also demonstrated in the requirements of a good teacher to develop relationships.
6. The agency motive appeared to be directed at the perception of self as a capable individual and as someone who could make a difference in the community. This was demonstrated in some by the ability to take up the challenge to return to education after a long absence regardless of the known difficulties with language.
7. Attitudes towards education appeared to highlight some areas of contradiction in the stories. Clearly, community pride and interest in the achievement of its young people was strong. Statements such as "I just played" indicated a measure of guilt and reflections on what could have been with the benefit of hindsight. This suggested acknowledgement of the need to achieve and live up to family and community expectations.

The importance of the gender-role emerges repeatedly throughout. Kauffman (1993) and Wagner-Martin (1994) refer to the marginalisation of women through the effects of social discourse. They suggest that women have become accustomed to a subordinate role. However, during the narrative of these women, there was no impression of unhappiness, frustration or any sense of marginalisation due to their

gender role. Rather there was a pride in the contribution they aimed to make, and a definite pride in the achievements of their children. This was more consistent of the suggestion by Jaret (1995) that pride in ethnicity and culture builds a stronger and more stable identity.

Pakeha Focus Group 1

The five applicants for the Pakeha focus group gathered in the afternoon in a classroom of moderate size, able to seat around 25 students. Although a smaller room would have been preferred, seating was arranged in a circle to make the space feel more intimate, and finger food was provided for afternoon tea.

The meeting began with a reflective question that required the group to tell stories of their school days. This gained instant response with Participant 1 immediately recollecting her primary school days.

I remember going to school in Auckland, the school bus going across the causeway. It's a vivid memory. And there were all these lovely trees that we used to play in.

My own memory is of trees. I grew up in Pukerua Bay so when you said trees it made me think of my own school days. The trees are all cut down now. There was this huge plantation of pine trees. We used to love them.

Conversation continued around the school day stories for several minutes, with all stories centred on aesthetical and social aspects of school. Stories did mention sport but mostly in the context of fun and play. Academic issues began to emerge when the topic turned to achievement. However, throughout the discussions on achievement, personal conflicts were articulated. Participant 2 expressed her own struggle and others concurred:

...going as far as I can. I'm actually unmotivated at the moment, Academically unmotivated. I know I need to do more but I'm unmotivated by exams at this stage. The thought of study really puts me off. But I k now I need to do some more... For me it's finding what the Lord wants me to

do. Like (p1) said, my first priority is to my husband and my family. The dilemma for me, should I, shouldn't I.

When I passed my radiography it meant nothing to me. That was just getting a bit of paper. I guess it means that something has to have a purpose. The Master's is a problem, a dilemma. What I want to do is write and paint. The Master's is being imposed on me and that makes it hard.

Having established that conflicts occurred in their personal and academic lives, further complex emotions were aroused with the issue of motivation. Hill and Hawk (2000) define motivation as having links to success and arising from an internal locus of control. Certainly, the tangible rewards of money were significant, but so too was satisfaction.

Participant 3: Money! (*laughter*) Financial reward. Not status. I'm not into the little labels but effort brings reward. But financial reward

Participant 2: Everything. Even the ironing. Academic, children It's just me. Everything I do has to be the best I can do.

Yes motivation changes when you've had children. I think it's a character thing got to be everything to everybody

Because you're a mother its something you get from parents... (parenting)

The conflicts experienced by participants became centralised on gender role issues seeming to suggest a response to social discourse and feminist issues. Whilst a strong urge to be independent was voiced, the motherhood role caused feelings of guilt when career or personal achievement interfered with this. This closely reflected the literature on feminist issues, particularly Gergen (1994) who suggested that public discourse had a profound effect on the standards women accepted.

Participant 4: ...I want him to work, I'd love him to work...I would love to stay home and be a mother and have him support me and my children.

Participant 1: Self motivation... good friends...I go to my friends for support, especially emotional things, my younger sister, but friends mostly I don't like the sense of my husband bringing the only money in...I like to have some control...independence

Participant 4: Not for me... money isn't a motivating thing...I know I could carry on if I didn't have him...I don't want anyone near me. I rush my family. It's the responsibility of having the role as a mother and working...

Regardless of the guilt, achievement was regarded as being important. However achievement was qualified as being something to feel good about. Labels for achievement were not important. Achievement appeared to be attached to the outcome of the effort, having some worth as a statement of identity.

Participant 5: Types of knowledge are not important, not significant...

Participant 2: That's why I'm not motivated to do a Master's not...it's timing

Participant 1: in terms of getting qualifications I'm happy with my degree...the competitive model of things made me cringe, and I had to unlearn that. I'm happy with my level of achievement.

Themes emerging from this group meeting:

1. Gender-role conflicts appeared to be a major issue: Social pressure to work and achieve academically alongside the social need to be a mother and to provide for the caring, nurturing and well being of the child appeared to create problems.
2. Achievement did not need to be attached to diplomas or certificates but needed to have personal value and satisfaction as its main outcome. Self-determined areas of interest were of more value as achievements.
3. There were contradictions again with the issue of achievement value when financial reward was introduced into the equation. Most conceded that pay was important and that it was generally attached to higher qualifications.

4. Qualifications were regarded as important and necessary though appeared to hold little intrinsic value.
5. Identity was expressed as a mixture of power and intimacy motives. The theme of power was expressed in many ways related to achievement, work and self-determination. Communion was also strongly articulated with family responsibilities, relationships with friends and partners.

The themes identified with Pakeha women appeared to be consistent with literature by Kirkland (1998) and Hearn (2000) who suggested that women continue to perceive that there is a social and emotional cost to education. The narrative of these participants also reflected that meeting family needs had emotional cost, particularly when a choice is made to put these ahead of reaching academic potential. This also reflected the effect of socio-political discourse described by Kauffman (1993) that set socio-cultural attitudes towards the role of women in society. Kauffman claimed this to be the cause of emotional conflict and guilt.

Pakeha Focus Group Meeting 2

The venue and format for the second Pakeha group meeting were the same as the first. There were two changes to the group members with one dropping out and another coming in. The number of participants was the same, however I have numbered them as continuous from the previous meeting. Therefore, Participant 6 replaces Participant 4.

The starting theme of this meeting was dreams. This focussed attention on perceived potential. The facilitator started by asking participants who they would like to be if they could choose to be someone else. This gained immediate response from Participant 6:

(spontaneously) Oh I'd be the woman from the body shop. (Facilitator: The woman from the Body Shop? And why would that be?) I think she's got an interesting balance of business/entrepreneurial skills. (Facilitator: The woman that started up the business) But I also think she's got some

real ethics there and balance the business – and do business in another way, too.

And she's sort of challenged the traditional role of business people because there's sort of that feeling out there that if you're successful you can't be ethical.

Participant 1: Hard question! I think Mother Theresa's life would be one that really inspires me. To be non-judgemental and able to put her life on the line amongst life threatening illnesses and to hold on to her vision of what she believed her purpose in life was, right to her death.

Dreams continued into the next phase of discussion when participants projected their thoughts towards the future. The mix was complex with the recurring theme of personal dreams and family aspirations, especially for their children as a struggle between family academic and work commitments became apparent. The dreams also reflected changes of direction in reminiscing and projection. Participant 6 started the discussion:

Yes, lots of things. You mean in terms of how I would live? My dream is to make videos. I made one a couple of years ago and I'd really like to make documentaries about important issues. I might end up going back to the aid work but there are a lot of really key issues out there and I really feel that using the video as a medium for doing that is useful. But it costs a lot of money and a lot of time. When it's for a cause that gets me really fired up.

Participant 5: Ah well, I think that that's my key motivation... I wake up every day and I think that there's so much happening in the place, like financial and emotional stress but I say every day's a new day and you've just got to get up and get on with it. Don't look at the past, keep focussing on the future, look at the good things that happen in a day (this doesn't happen to me every day) but happiness motivates me. Peaceful, happy. It's really important

The topic of dreams and satisfaction led onto motivation. The recurring theme was again personal interest and intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is considered in education to be that inner, self-directed sense of reward that is derived from doing a

task for its own value rather than seeking a tangible reward such as grades or money (McClelland (1985). Participant 6 expressed this need for balance in life:

I'm in a new relationship and I'm really quite cruisy. The video dream doesn't drive me at the moment, it might be something for the future, but personal happiness drives me more at the moment. Just hanging out together. I'm quite keen to get my department working well. I'm really quite keen just to see that through and develop a team and get the work at a reasonably good level. And when you're at that really serene level it makes life so much easier.

This led to talk about motivation when things start to become pressurised. However, the context was not dissimilar, with the intrinsic value continuing to be dominant. Participant 2 was able to articulate this into academic issues.

When things get difficult in study I sit there and think why do I bother...look what it's doing to me! I question but at the same time I find something valuable to me.

Yes but what inspires me even more is that I'll gain more knowledge I feel that it's a lifetime thing. Like when you sit down to do an assignment you think that at the end of the day I'm going to have this label. That isn't what I'm after but the fact that I can get more financial control and feel secure in my life and give back to my whanau is more important and that I'm getting the knowledge

Participant 6 expressed her perception of the balance between achievement, satisfaction and pragmatics.

I do like having fun but there are times when I feel that if I don't achieve these things that they begin to bug me...You need thinking time. Like in our office, we respond a lot to what 's going on out there. People walk in all the time and so it's kind of a busy environment so you need to relax... I really like to learn more too. For me to try something out and have it working is really satisfying. Like having a meeting, and something sort of

jumps when you meet the right person. I prefer to make something happen.
I find that very exciting...

Finally, from the perspective of teaching, organisation and stimulation were generally agreed on as motivational aspects. A great deal of emphasis was placed on basic teacher administration tasks in assisting learners with motivation. Interpersonal skills, communication strategies and enthusiasm were also regarded as significant.

Participant 3: I went on a course and this guy and he was a teacher on a different level from other teachers I've ever known. I was on this course for a week and the first day he said ok we can choose to do this course in 3 ways. I can teach you, we can do it together or you can teach me. And I thought "Oh, he wants me to teach him"? Who does he think he is? But in the end we did learn 3 different ways fascinating stuff. And a lot of personal power too because whatever came up in class would be followed through. I think it was that he turned a lot of my preconceptions on their head about what teaching is about. And I found that fascinating. I always thought I'm down here and you're up there, but he changed that power relationship around. Just challenged all sorts of things. It was really interesting. I just remember thinking 'Who does he think he is, getting me to teach'. He got us all writing things up on the board that we could teach because he wanted to learn.

Facilitator: And he was empowering you.

Participant 6: I think one of the most important things I ever learned was learning how to be a learner. What skills do I need, what things do I need to have with me. Clinical things, and to have a goal.

The themes in this second Pakeha focus group meeting confirmed those identified in the first meeting. Although two participants were changed, the themes and patterns were similar: Guilt and confusion over gender-role identity and the impact of social discourse, conflicts between power and intimacy motives and a need for personal satisfaction as an outcome of effort. This suggests that, as Hill and Hawk (2000) state, those who have experienced achievement become more motivated to continue to

achieve. It also reflects the need for power and affiliation and ego enhancement (McClelland, 1985).

Summary of the Focus Group Meetings

The content of the three focus groups, Asian, Pasifika and Pakeha was similar in the discussion topics (see Appendices 9-14). The variations that existed were at the discretion of the Facilitators. As stated in the methods in Chapter 3, part of their responsibility was to ensure that questions, topics and the meeting processes were appropriate to the culture of the participants.

The cultural differences of the three groups were revealed in three major areas.

1. Attitudes to family related issues
2. Attitudes towards academic achievement
3. Attitudes towards goal setting

The Asian groups reflected a strong achievement ethos. High grades and academic success were regarded as necessary. This was reflected in family expectations and evident in the pressure participants placed themselves under to achieve. Goals were set on an effort reaps reward basis and successful careers were anticipated by parents. Parents were actively involved in the career and study choices of the participants and this was respected. Parenthood and work or study as conflicting elements of life was not discussed, suggesting that no perception of conflict existed.

The Pasifika participants also demonstrated no conflict between parenthood and work or study. The majority of participants however, had placed their own study and careers on hold in favour of being a mother. Some had worked to support their families but this had often occurred at night-time reducing the compromise to their role as a mother. The gender role identity of the Pasifika women was highly evident. Socio-cultural expectations were modelled from parents and maintained for the next generation and goals were set with the achievements of the next generation in mind.

Success was regarded as a vicarious issue with the most highly prized being the achievement of the next generation. Goals and motivation reflected this rather than being associated with their own achievements. The different definitions of achievement across the groups reflected the work of Niles (1998) who discussed the cultural context of achievement. This was consistent with the findings of Siraj-Blatchford (1995) who claimed that child-rearing practices across different cultures might lead to different parental expectations. Such diversity in expectations is not always understood by educators and therefore tends to lead to misunderstandings between parents and teachers.

Achievements for the Pakeha group were related to personal satisfaction. Most participants in the Pakeha groups were accepting of the need to gain qualifications but only if they held more than a paper value and reflected self determined goals.

Academic and career goals for the Pakeha group were in conflict with family duties. All who were parents felt that life was complicated by the social demands of careers and motherhood.

Themes for Analysis

From the themes identified in the focus groups, the following will be analysed under these three headings:

Agency and communion (McAdams, 1985)

Family expectations: gender-role identity (Bandura, 1986; Wagner-Martin, 1994; Hesford, 1999)

Goals (Bargh, 1990)

Given the different numbers of interactions and the culturally determined nature of each discussion group, the data displayed in graphs is indicative of general trends and patterns rather than statistical information. This is demonstrated in the model provided by Silverman (2000). In this model, Silverman (2000) discusses the value of charting overall patterns to provide an impressionist visual image of data. Consistent with the interpretation of qualitative data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), an

interaction may reveal more than one concept and has thus been used in more than one analysis. An example of this might occur when the same excerpt from a statement about goals may include evidence of gender-role identity and demonstrate a motive of intimacy.

The power and intimacy motives taken from the model of identity (McAdams, 1985) demonstrate thematic lines. Thematic lines are recurring patterns or episodes within the life-story of an individual. For example, a person who frequently tends to the well being of others or devotes a great deal of time to the community may be seen as having a strong thematic line of communion (intimacy). Conversely, a person who frequently takes leadership roles, accepts high levels of personal challenge or looks for personal career advancement for personal achievement values may have a strong agency (power) motive. Although every individual has episodes of both power and intimacy, there is likely to be a pattern showing a stronger tendency towards one or the other.

The self-perception of many women as career based or nurturers or both, may influence the setting of goals. Participants in all groups identified goal setting as important. This was also a recurrent theme in much of the relevant motivation literature (McClelland, 1985; Gibbs, 2000; Hill & Hawk, 2000). Identifying the factors and motives that impact on the goals set by students is relevant to this study as it should enhance cross-cultural understanding.

Model of Identity: Thematic Lines: Power and Intimacy

Responses were taken across each group, Asian, Pasifika and non-Maori New Zealanders (Pakeha). The responses were examined for evidence of motives of agency (power) or communion (intimacy) as shown on Figure 1, McAdams (1985) Model of Identity. The motives of agency or communion identified in the narrative of participants were categorised and colour-coded.

To identify agency (power motives) the coding system used searched for examples of behaviour that reflected:

- Goals for personal achievement

- Behaviour initiated from self determination
- Behaviour reflecting autonomy and self-definition
- Behaviour related to the perception of self as someone who can create changes.

These behaviours may be regarded as synonymous with the power motive. Overall they relate to individual achievement and a desire to be successful.

To identify communion (intimacy motives) the coding system used searched for examples of behaviour that reflected:

- Interpersonal relationships
- Behaviour directed at benefiting others
- Desire to be with others, either working with or working for (helping)
- Behaviour that suggested sacrifice of personal interest for others
- Pride in the achievements of others (especially own children)

These behaviours may represent identification with the intimacy motive. Overall, they demonstrate nurturance and a desire to serve and care for and alongside others.

Asian Participants

The analysis of data was undertaken and responses for agency and communion motives colour-coded and counted. The sorting process looked for examples where the words or application of words indicated a sense of agency (“You do well...get A’s, A+”) or communion (“the teacher might tell you parents”). The Asian data demonstrated an almost even balance between agency and communion motives with the greater influence being agency. From 187 responses indicating either agency or communion traits, 43 % were communion and 48% agency.

The agency responses indicated a clearly focussed achievement drive. Although parent-directed, the anticipated outcome was not necessarily related to family or community but aimed at individual’s success and future, as family were not necessarily mentioned during these responses.

Participant 2: Achievement is how people think. You do well. Study hard. Get A's, A+...

Participant 4...Ummm I didn't like maths. I can't get high marks. High marks in some cases. But some boring things, can't do boring things. I like history I can get high marks, 98 marks. (*Facilitator: that's very good.*)

Participant 2: You can make the choices and choose the company rather than the company choosing you.

The narrative from the Asian group that identified communion motives showed evidence of extrinsic motivation. This may reflect the expectations of family for achievement that shape the values of the individual. Responses clearly demonstrated the influence of family pride and community expectations.

Yeah, I don't care about other people's results but I care about me so I decide that I have to work hard to get results to avoid shame.

Parents very supportive. Why I chose the business course? My parents chose subjects I studied in high school. My parents told me what to study they said, "After you finish you can get a good job." They are probably right but if I could choose I would probably have studied early childhood.

In China if you don't do the homework maybe the teacher tell your parents you cannot get high marks, you not pass exams. Here you do the assignments you can pass the course.

Overall as shown in Figure 2, the results between the thematic lines of agency and communion were close. However, the context of certain aspects of the narrative, for example the references to parents and shame, suggested that participants regard their success as having an impact on the family especially in relation to pride. The closeness of the Asian result provided an interesting perspective; perhaps not so much with the quantitative fact of the result in the distribution, rather the way the responses could be

contextualised. McAdams (1985) does state that a balance between the two thematic lines is healthy as it shows a measure of self-determination and social responsibility. However if this is socially constructed then so might be the concept of what is deemed appropriate for women. The nature of the responses both agency and communion demonstrated passion; passion for success and passion for the pride of the family. This is consistent with McClelland's (1985) motivation theory that suggests the need for affiliation or power. The satisfaction that this brings also results in the socio-cultural reward of pleasing the family and meeting the expectations of the community. The individual mirrored the expectations of the family to become a high achiever. This was reflected in and driven by the thematic line of agency that was in fact more influential than the communion motive.

Pasifika Participants

The responses from the Pasifika group demonstrated a clear tendency towards intimacy motives. From the 165 responses counted 117 demonstrated communion and only 48 suggested agency motives. This is represented in Figure 2 as 29% agency and 70% communion responses.

The most powerful motivating factor and common theme for these students was to see the next generation enjoy greater opportunities in academic and employment success than themselves. Although the Pasifika participants see themselves as having the ability to offer something to their communities, they perceive the need to acquire knowledge and skills first before offering their contribution.

Yes, we've been tied up bringing up our kids and everything like that and struggle and our lives and we've had no time to come to study. To me, now I've got time and I've got my children and my grandchildren was growing now and my children got jobs and when I'm looking at my family now it's time for me to come and work and I can work to try and help the young children and to motivate my family to try to push their children because now I look at our young children they start to loose their own culture and their own language. So I come to a school like this and try to become an early childhood teacher, because my family they got other jobs to do and I feel sorry that I see my own grandchildren, they might go the same way unless I ..me as a

grandmother I got nothing to do now so I might as well come here so I can try to develop some knowledge of how to help teach our young children their culture.

Facilitator: So that's a very strong motivation for you as a grandmother...a very strong wish for your grandchildren for providing their cultural heritage.

...And I'd like my children to follow that, you know, to be strong and follow.

The motive of intimacy was frequently reinforced several times within the same dialogue. Participants were constructing an image of themselves in the role they perceived as appropriate.

Help myself and also help my family. They might be needing my help.

I am a Samoan and I am a mother of 4 children. The purpose of my study is to help my family. I am a single mother. I chose early childhood to be my perfect... my goals. For my children to be able to choose their own lives. And I want to achieve...to try harder and learn better. Yeah, so that was my goal. To help our Pacific Islands people. I wanted to help my culture and our children and the Pacific Island mother tongue and culture.

We are working together and it really helps.

I worked supporting the elderly.

That's how I came to study, to give back something to the community

Erikson (1959) described the synchronic aspect of identity as being threads that work together over the span of time. These threads weave together the past, present and anticipated future. The responses of the Pacific Island women identified threads that cross not only the span of their own lives but the temporal order of their ancestors and older family members.

Facilitator: My mother had a lifetime of working in a biscuit factory and she used to say to us some time, 'cos she used to get cross with us, "If I'd had half the chances that you've had then I wouldn't be making biscuits." It was her way of saying that we weren't making the most of the opportunities that she'd provided for us. It reflects the sense of loss that she experienced in her life that she'd had no opportunities, and she'd wanted to achieve.

Facilitator: So what you're saying is that the parents take on a role creating an environment and support.

Yeah, it's like I feel sorry for my dad. He had worked but he didn't have success, but he support us.

When I think back to those days I feel sorry for my parents, well because at the time we went to school we went to the college but we had only one uniform for the whole term well we were very poor...But now he's passed away and we got good jobs and good money but we can't repay those days and that's why I feel sorry for him.

The responses indicate a commitment to the ongoing cultural direction of the people. This is consistent with the findings of Moles (1999) in a study of retention of cultural identity in cross-cultural learners.

Pakeha Participants

The Pakeha responses indicated a strong thematic line of agency revealing 91 agency responses against 69 communion-based responses. Overall the participants from the Pakeha group were uncomfortable with the idea of individual success whilst being nurturers. However success in career or academic areas was also regarded as important. Gaining personal satisfaction was a common factor of valued achievement.

When I passed my radiography it meant nothing to me. That was just getting a bit of paper. I guess it means that something has to have a purpose. The Master's is a problem, a dilemma. What I want to do is write and paint.

Not status. I'm not into the little labels but effort brings reward.

Priorities have offshoots. Sometimes it's like we have to do things that are necessary. When I want to spend time with (child) but there's other pressures Like my Master's! (lots of laughter, makes a point about feelings towards imposed study.)

Examples also existed that demonstrated negative power suggesting that the participant had a sense of being controlled and having no choices. This is different to the Asian participants who were directed by family to take specific courses of study. For them, they had a sense of purpose and were motivated by the feeling of satisfaction in the pride of family and community.

The Master's is being imposed on me and that makes it hard.

Going as far as I can. I'm actually unmotivated at the moment, Academically unmotivated. I know I need to do more but I'm unmotivated by exams at this stage. The thought of study really puts me off. But I know I need to do some more

Although the sense of agency was strongly evident in the Pakeha narrative, communion still had considerable influence. The second example in particular demonstrates a sense of agency in the need for achievement and yet guilt at being a wife and mother and putting her own needs first.

Sometimes I let myself down if I take work home and I get involved with (grandson) and forget all about it.

When I study I don't want anyone near me...I push my family away...

Passing my assignments...achieving my goals

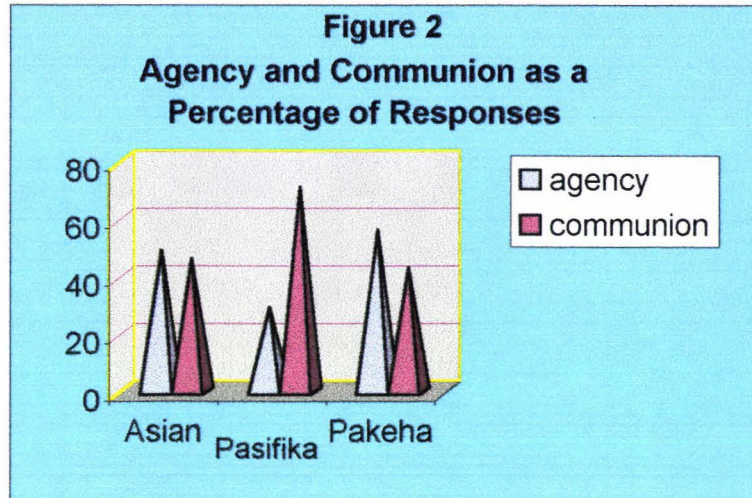
I like to be in control...

The Pakeha responses indicated a drive motivated by a sense of personal achievement. The concept of personal achievement was also related to motherhood

as it appeared to be equally important to be an affective dutiful parent, but one who could also have a successful career.

Summary

This section of the data analysis has explored the identity construction of the women from the three focus groups using aspects of McAdams's (1985) Model of Identity (Appendix 1). From the evaluations it can be seen that substantial differences exist in the thematic lines and gender role identity.



Data were analysed taking each group as an entity, using examples of traits taken from the data. Clear distinctions were found within the data from each group as indicated on Figure 2. The percentage analysis of thematic line responses indicated considerable difference amongst the three groups. The most striking result of all was the Pasifika orientation towards the communion motive with the correspondingly weak agency motive of only 29%. The thematic lines of agency and communion showed dramatic differences between groups. The Pasifika communion motive response of 70% that was significantly higher than either the Asian or Pakeha groups was the most clearly defined. The Pakeha examples of agency at over 55% were also significant.

Gender Role Identity: Family Expectations

Data from the responses were analysed for examples of gender-role identity. A further significant link was found between the gender role, socio-political discourse and achievement. The impact of socio-political discourse on achievement motivation was profound as the three groups showed such clearly defined patterns. As indicated by Wagner-Martin (1994) and Hesford (1999), the attitudes towards women in social and academic roles can impact on motivation by causing a drive to achieve to meet

family expectations or negatively by possibly causing a conflict of roles, particularly when motherhood is involved.

Data were read and examples of behaviour that could be interpreted as resulting from a perceived gender role expectation were counted. The coding system sought examples of behaviour that suggested gender specific behaviour i.e.: I'm doing this because I'm a woman. These included references to motherhood and to family from the perspective of being a daughter.

Asian Participants

Gender role identity seemed less of an issue with the Asian participants, than for Pasifika participants. The responses of Asian participants contradict Kauffman (1993) who suggests that gender-role identity is a powerful and marginalising social factor for women. Kauffman's work was not culturally specific but suggests that this should apply to all women.

Only three responses from the Asian participants indicated direct reference to gender identity. Furthermore on a count of responses detailing references to family there were only four. The responses in relation to achievement and motivation were not gender-specific. This is consistent with the findings of Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) that families, particularly in China expect the same academically from male and female children.

To achieve in my direction. To have a good career, and have a family

Facilitator: Have a family at the same time?

Yes. Have a good family and good career. But I think I get a job first.

This was consistent with the power motive focus of the thematic line analysis. Furthermore, Bandura (1986) suggests that personal goals can become part of a triangulated system of determinants. In this case the environment rewards the individual for high academic achievement. It is also consistent with the drive to achieve for family and self-pride that was evident in the nature of the narrative that related to the power motive. Also reflected is the model of achievement that strongly reinforced in the social environment.

Pasifika Participants

The gender identity responses for the Pasifika participants were clear and unambiguous and generally related to their direct experience. Several responses referred to their own children and their motherhood role.

From the total number of responses, 59 references were made to the family and from these, 25 related to being motivated to achieve for their family or because of their family. One of the most significant statements of gender-role identity was heard in the responses of participants with reference to putting their own careers on hold for family duties. There appeared to be no question or compromise or suggestion of anything but acceptance of this role. Moreover, there was also evidence of the belief that there is life after family duties and in the capacity to make a contribution in a different way. The two responses below indicate that two types of motivation that related to families. The first demonstrates the motivation to achieve to reach a sense of satisfaction through fulfilling a socially desirable role as a woman, thus also gaining a sense of well-being (Deci, 1972). Also reflected in this example is the motivation suggested by McClelland (1985) and driven by the need for power or affiliation. Affiliation would be gained from social approval and power through being able to achieve community orientated goals.

I am a Samoan mother of 2 of my own children and 4 adopted children...I want to complete this to help our children and our people.

The second example demonstrates the motivation of ego-enhancement (McClelland, 1961). By achieving her goals, the individual will receive praise and acknowledgement from her family. Again, affiliation and social approval will be gained by living up to the expectations of her family in her role as a mother (McClelland, 1985).

I,... my family they encourage me. She (my daughter) tried to push me out of the house, go on mum, you can do it.

As suggested by Gilligan (1982) women's perception of right and social justice reflects a priority for social good, caring and nurturance. This may include delaying

personal objectives to pursue the role they see as their moral and social responsibility and obligation. From the perspective of the Pasifika participants, there was a clear sense of obligation towards the continued well-being of the family rather than personal gain.

...you will have your own children do for their children what your parents did for you. And that's how it goes, and they take their satisfaction from seeing the children succeed.

To get jobs. And the other is to help with the family

Facilitator:...you see the women coming down – walking down from Cannon's Creek at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning to catch the train to go into Wellington to go to a night cleaning job and you know they'll come home and put in another day's work. (Raising children).

A second area of gender-role identity was expressed in the experiences referred to as limitations due to the gender-based expectations for women in their Pasifika communities. However, although many of the participants have experienced the form of gender bias expressed in this data excerpt, they seem to have rejected gender bias for their own children.

...For some girls education is seen as too liberating..

They say (parents) This is what they get from education.... boyfriends and not so much education...

This relates to the claims by Banks (1988) that cultures are constantly undergoing change. Also relevant is the suggestion by Hamilton (1996) and Vaiote (2000) that the role of women within a culture is influenced to a large extent by social discourse.

I decided to come back last year and do some more study try to achieve my goals but I ended up pushing my daughter and myself.

The analysis of gender-role identity for the Pacific Island focus group was consistent with the high number of family-based responses and the high number responses indicating an intimacy motive in the analysis based on McAdams (1985) Model of Identity. Pasifika responses proved to be the most strongly aware of gender-role identity with a total of 26 direct references.

Pakeha Participants

The Pakeha participants were more divided on the issue of gender role identity. A total of twenty recorded responses were directly related to gender identity issues. (More responses that were not recorded due to the request of a participant were also related to gender-role issues). Of the twenty responses eleven related to the role of women and nine suggested that their family gave them motivation to achieve.

The responses that related to the role of women suggested a significant degree of guilt attached to being a mother and working.

Sometimes it's like we have to do things that are necessary. When I want to spend time with (child) but there's other pressures; Like my Master's! *(lots of laughter, makes a point about feelings towards imposed study.)*

This is consistent with the literature regarding feminist issues surrounding parenting (Bernstein, 1998; Weiler & Middleton, 1999; Hearn, 2000). This is also discussed by Falzon (1998) who contends that we are not passive in our application of socio-cultural patterns of behaviour. Rather we act by choice to uphold the social order by our conformity. The implied meaning from the narrative of these women suggested a feeling of being in a lose-lose situation; wrong for working with a child or wrong for not pursuing their own chosen career path whilst being a mother. According to Hearn (2000) social discourse tells women that they may be perceived as doing wrong to themselves and the community by not utilising their ability to contribute in a tangible way. This reflects the cultural confusion of Western women who feel the expectation of the community to be selfless nurturers and caregivers (affiliation) whilst being high academic or professional achievers. Many of the dreams and aspirations of the Pakeha participants reflected the value of family and relationships combined with

professional goals. Discussions related to the role of a woman in relation to family duties, making contributions both through nurturing and financial means.

Definitely for me my first priority has always been my family but although saying that, my other first priority has always been continuing my study.

Money! (laughter) Financial reward. Not status. I'm not into the little labels but effort brings reward. But financial reward... my family, money can make my family more comfortable.

The responses of the Pakeha participants reflect confusion between intimacy and power motives (McAdams, 1985). On one level they desire the acknowledgement of society for being a dutiful mother, they show a need for strong family bonds and intimate relationships. On another level, the participants were driven by a need for power from academic and professional achievement. This also suggests the need for the ego reinforcement from affiliation and power, drawing the individual to strive for achievement for the praise and acknowledgement anticipated (McClelland, 1985).

Summary

As with the trends demonstrated in the thematic line analysis the gender role analysis data showed clear distinctions between the three groups of participants. The Asian data that had reported a close match between power and intimacy showed fewer examples of gender-role expectations than either of the other groups.

Although the data from Pakeha participants had shown a proportionally high number of power responses, conflict was demonstrated between the thematic line and gender-role analyses. This was reflected in a strong sense of family duty and nurturing responsibility at the expense of self-interest.

Self-interest was not evident in the Pasifika data. The number of responses that indicated gender-role identity supported links to the strong thematic line of intimacy. Unlike the Pakeha group there were no recorded examples of conflict between

gender-role and personal goals. The gender-related sense of duty was unquestioned and automatic.

Goals

Goals were identified in the responses of participants to the demands of the environment and in the statements reflecting self-directed plans. Bargh (1990) states, "The evidence...indicated that responses to the environment – be they behaviours, decisions or judgements - are goal-directed." As described in chapter 3, these were defined in three ways, norm goals, reactive goals and chronic motives (Bargh 1990). This application of the auto-motive response model of Bargh is highly pertinent to the exploration of goals and motivation in this study. If elements of motivational behaviour are triggered by factors in the environment then teachers who actively determine the learning environment must be aware of this. Teachers hold a great deal of responsibility for contributing to either triggering a desirable learning response or being the catalyst for a negative response or loss of motivation. Transcripts were read for indications of goals under these three concepts and coded accordingly.

- Norm goals reflect the responses of participants to common social, cultural or family expectations and are automatically triggered by the environment.
- Reactive goals are reflected in responses that have intent but are spontaneously elicited by the environment.
- Chronic motives require plans, generally on a long-term basis and are the product of deliberate cognitive engagement.

Responses from the Asian Groups

Norm Goals

The responses in this analysis demonstrate the desire of participants to fulfil the expectations of Asian society. These responses generally reflect passing exams, attaining high marks and achieving academic success.

Do study, do study, do study!

Sometimes when you study something that's hard like physics or chemistry you do it because you know you have to.

Reactive Goals

These responses demonstrate the effect of the environment on the behaviour of participants. This is significant as a learning environment that is inappropriate for a student may elicit a negative response or reduce motivation (Pratt, Kelly & Wong, 1998).

The pattern of responses from the Asian participants suggest that social pressures cause behavioural reactions that generally reflect in an automatic response. These responses may include behaviour such as guarding against failure or applying defensive reasons. An example of the attributional behaviour was found in the first statement where the participant blamed her performance on the subject for being boring. Her reaction to history was that she could get high marks. This suggests that the motivation lies in the potential for academic success rather than in the intrinsic reward of learning the subject matter.

Yeah, I don't care about other people's results but I care about me so I decide that I have to work hard to get results to avoid shame.

I have to work hard and study hard to get top marks. Get good exam results or everybody knows I don't work hard.

Chronic Motives

As a higher order goal setting behaviour, chronic motives involve planning. This may be based around personal goals or may be linked to the goals set by parents.

The context of the responses from Asian participants that showed long-term personal and higher order goals related to the balanced findings of the agency and communion motives from the thematic lines analysis.

I think about the future in New Zealand or overseas. I try to think about the type of company I will work for. But I need good English.

To finish my degree. Do a Master's degree. But I think I'll get a job first.

Responses from the Pasifika Groups

Norm Goals

These demonstrated behaviour that unquestioningly complied with social/family/cultural expectations.

Yeah, I finished primary school and I was in 2nd or 3rd form. I hadn't completed and when I came to New Zealand in 1962 I worked in the library at Wellington Polytechnic and I was working in the day and also part time at night and in the day I had to take my English.

At school they always do something at the end of the year. In Samoa they call them...for prizes for the end of the year. That involved the parents. That's the time when if you get a prize you're lucky you get more holidays from the parents.

I was educated at home in those days and then I sent away an application for to um, become a nurse and in Samoa. And the night before and the exam was in the morning for me to go to the exam my parent that night, my family asked the priest to come to our home and have a service for asking for praying for me for the exam the next morning,

Some of my schooling time I wish I'd work harder so that's why I'm here, to catch up. I know that this is a hard job, but I don't like being here...

Reactive Goals

Pacific Island responses indicating reactive goals responses showed behaviour that suggested automatic response to situations, either by attitude or action. In some instances these responses reflected an automatic reaction of attributing cause to achievement outcomes, removing themselves from either achievement or failure. Examples of this occur in the first and second responses listed below.

The education over there isn't very good.

...but certainly my mum giving me a clip around the ear was part of the motivation for getting me off to school. Not so much celebrating success, but um fearing failure... which is a bit different. (general agreement and apparent identification with the sentiment.) So I think those things together were quite powerful.

Chronic Motives

Pasifika responses indicating chronic motives: These responses provided an interesting picture when compared to the gender-role analysis. Differences between the reactive and norm goals are subtle, but these statements demonstrated a long-term goal or aspiration that has required planning and indicates an element of self-efficacy.

...and I remember that I tried to get into the nursing and I was accepted but then I decided to come over here because I thought it would give me my freedom 'cos that's the other thing over there I haven't got that freedom to stand up for myself, not only school rules and that but, but I think that's the power, I think it's the power over there and freedom over here and I think that's why I get my education over here. I got that freedom to choose what I can do over here.

The numbers of self-enhancing goals for Pasifika participants were low compared to the other two groups. This corresponds with the high value placed on duty to the family and the socio-cultural context of the gender-role expectations.

Responses from Pakeha Participants

Norm Goals

The Pakeha responses to norm goals were mostly confined to work expectations. Family values were evident, especially from the context of trying hard to succeed academically.

I'm a teacher. People in jobs who should have motivation and commitment.

Passing my assignments. Achieving my goals.

Reactive Goals

The small number of Pakeha responses indicating reactive goals might suggest that participants generally felt the need to conform to expectations. This was also consistent with the greater responses demonstrating norm goals. The same need for conformity was also demonstrated in the findings for gender-role identity

When things get difficult in study I sit there and think why do I bother...look what it's doing to me!

Chronic Motives

Pakeha responses indicating chronic motives generally reflected long-term personal goals that indicated a desire for personal satisfaction. The majority of statements in this context suggested that the ideal would be that personal satisfaction could be derived from career and academic achievement.

My dream is to make videos.

I think one of the most important things I ever learned was learning how to be a learner. What skills do I need, what things do I need to have with me. Clinical things, and to have a goal.

Yes but what inspires me even more is that I'll gain more knowledge I feel that it's a lifetime thing.

Summary of Goal Analysis

The data from the combined discussions for each group were analysed for evidence of responses, or schema, to situations that affected the learning behaviour. The nature of response for reactive goals and norm goals for the Asian and Pasifika groups suggests a consistent expectation to respond to specific stimuli such as family expectations, motherhood duties or career-based family and community expectations.

The data indicating reactive goals provided findings that corresponded with the culture being either collectivist or individualist. These findings are consistent with the studies of Niles (1998), Watkins and associates (1998) and Walker and Dimmock (2000) who all demonstrate that individuals from collectivist cultures express their affiliation to their group by the focus of their achievement goals. Watkins and associates (1998) claim that affiliation with the family or community is a significant aspect of self-concept. This would suggest that collectivist individuals would have their group affiliation in mind when setting goals.

Both the Asian and Pasifika groups (collectivist cultures) demonstrated a need for stimuli that reflected the value of their learning towards achieving for their communities of family. The pressure of expectation therefore, produced a positive reactive goal. The effect of an environment that held no appropriate stimuli seemed to elicit a dismissive reaction. The response from the Pakeha group (individualist culture) produced reactive goals that tended to be less concerned with the learning environment and more focussed on the potential for personal gain from the situation.

The chronic motivation goals indicate a long-term expectation of academic achievement, requiring a planned approach to an expected outcome. This analysis looked for examples of self-regulation and self-direction, as indications of an individual's own expectations rather than the expectations of others. In this respect, the Pakeha participants appeared to look beyond immediate needs and focussed on long-term personal satisfaction. The Asian participants focussed on more immediate goals and connected these to their future aspirations, for example, studying hard now will lead to getting a good job and having choices of employment in the future. The Pasifika long-term goals were less specific but maintained the community focus of contribution to the next generation.

The relationship between setting goals, motivation and support will be discussed in chapter 5.

Teaching Strategies

Participants in all three groups were asked to discuss the strategies of teachers that caused them to feel motivated. They were also asked what teachers do that reduces their motivation. The responses were not dissimilar across the three groups.

Teacher Behaviour that Assists Motivation

Responses from Asian Participants

Teachers need to ask a lot of questions

I like to study in a group

Use lots of different models and knows about their subject

Get to know you, to know your name

Be organised

Responses from Pasifika Participants

Be patient and considerate

Talk slowly

Teachers need to know our names, to know about us

Responses from Pakeha Participants

Have enthusiasm and provide challenge

To know their stuff

... she made me feel good and confident

Teacher Behaviour that Reduces Motivation

Responses from Asian Participants

One teacher (not at this school) answered phone calls in class

Some teachers don't come to class on time

Sometimes I feel I learn nothing...just look at a piece of paper

Responses from Pasifika Participants

Talk too fast

Rush and not give enough time

They don't understand the way of our people

Responses from Pakeha Participants:

Being unplanned and unprofessional

Lack of enthusiasm

The responses from participants generally fall into three categories: Professionalism, personal knowledge and sensitivity.

- Both Asian and Pasifika participants regard personal knowledge about them as a student is important.
- Both Asian and Pakeha participants wanted to see clear evidence of the teacher's professional knowledge.
- All three groups wanted a teacher that could involve them and provide meaningful learning.

Summary of Analysis and Findings

In keeping with the accepted interpretive approach to analysing qualitative data as described by Bogden and Biklen (1992), this analysis has identified the traits and

characteristics of the data gathered in each of the three focus groups. The data has been analysed using three different approaches.

- Indications of agency and communion motives
- Gender identity
- Goal
- Teacher qualities

The analysis of agency and communion demonstrated significant differences between groups. Responses from the Pasifika participants were dominated by communion motives whereas the Asian responses were quite evenly divided. The Pakeha participants however, were considerably more motivated by agency.

Supporting these findings, the analysis for indications of gender-role identity revealed that Pasifika participants were clear in their role as nurturers and caregivers. They saw their contribution to their families and communities as central to their self-concept. This was expressed in their total commitment to this role.

Although the Asian participants demonstrated commitment to their family this was expressed as a sense of obedience and duty. As with the Pasifika participants this duty was unquestioned. However, the link to gender-role identity was less significant as the results in this area were not expressed as being dependent on gender.

The goals for participants from the three groups were clearly linked to the specific cultural perspective. The norm goals of the Asian and Pasifika participants reflected family and community expectations and duty. The reactive goals of the Asian and Pasifika participants reflected attributional responses (Weiner, 1979) to guard against the outcomes of failure. The statements coded as reactive goals of the Pakeha group related to conforming to expectations.

The most notable difference in goals was revealed in the chronic motive analysis. The Pakeha need for personal fulfilment dominated their shorter-term sense of duty towards family obligations. This was consistent with the indications of confusion

between their culturally expected role as a nurturer and the social expectation that they will be academically and professionally successful. The chronic motives of the Asian and Pasifika participants more closely represented their norm-goals, maintaining these and projecting them into the future.

Although there were differences in values and priorities that were reflected in the goals of the three groups, the qualities expected in a teacher were relatively consistent. The most strongly desired quality was professionalism. This was reflected in different ways by participants but organisation, knowledge and courteous behaviour were regarded as essential for student motivation. Both Asian and Pasifika participants needed to feel acknowledged and known and understood by the teacher.

The findings presented in this chapter will be discussed in Chapter 5. The relevance of the findings to tertiary teaching will also be reviewed.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This study aims to identify factors that maintain or enhance achievement motivation for women who are cross-cultural learners. Once these factors have been identified it is anticipated that they can strengthen teacher understanding women cross-cultural learners and be incorporated into teaching practice in tertiary education.

The analysis of data and findings from Chapter 4 demonstrated significant differences across the three groups of participants in agency and communion motivation, gender-role identity and goals. These appear to be related to different cultural values and social perspectives. This chapter will therefore, discuss the links between findings from the thematic line, gender-role identity and goal setting analyses and relate them to achievement motivation.

This discussion will review each ethnic group individually, Asian, Pasifika then Pakeha. An integrative discussion will then be presented. Throughout the discussion, links will be made to the literature on culture, gender related issues, and achievement motivation. Finally the findings will be discussed in the context of potential teaching strategies that might support learner motivation.

Discussion of Data from the Asian Participants

The analysis of the agency and communion motives (thematic lines) for the Asian participants, showed no strong inclination to either direction in numbers of responses as there were only slightly more agency than communion. However in terms of significance as a motive, agency appeared more dominant. As an ethnic group associated with collectivist culture (Singhal & Misra, 1989; Niles, 1998), it could have been expected that this result would strongly favour communion, with family and community support a prominent theme within the narrative.

Salili (1996) regarded collectivism as a co-operative, inter-dependent community ethos. Walsh and Banaji (1997) described individualism as an approach that supported

uniqueness and independence. Watkins, Mortazavi and Trofimova (2000) suggest that the cultural dimension of individualism or collectivism is likely to influence the self-concept of the individual, particularly in their perspective of self in relation to the family and community. The nature of the collectivist ethos demonstrated by the Asian participants reflected an individual effort and motivation directed towards the well being of the family and community. The well-being might be gained through tangible rewards such as money, or it could be found in the sense of pride in the achievement of the individual.

The importance of family was evident in some narratives but was mostly referred to for its supportive and guiding influence. Furthermore, the discourse suggested that the way to acknowledge this support was to honour the expectations of family by achieving the required goals. The achievement of goals, however, whether set by self or other is represented in personal pride and reflects in the agency motive. This means that the goal is being achieved for self and the family in tandem. This supports the collectivist model described by Singhal and Misra (1989) and Niles (1998), in working with the family and community or group whereby the achievements of the individual are regarded as a contribution to the well-being of the group. In an individualist culture, achievement is regarded on a more personal level. This concept is not related to a gender-based model although the culturally determined gender role might affect the nature of the contribution expected.

In the narratives of these participants there was no suggestion that family expectations would have been different if they were male. This supports the observations of Salili (1996) that student achievement for family pride is not a gender-based issue. Wagner-Martin (1994) suggests that women are frequently moulded into certain professional lifestyles that meet the approval of their socio-cultural background. This seems irrelevant to this group, although the possibility that such issues could arise cannot be dismissed. It would seem however, that there is not a predetermined gender-related cultural expectation affecting these women in academic or career issues. This might be an issue in other lifestyle contexts not related to this study.

As mentioned, student goals reflected family wishes in most instances. The analysis of goals however, reflected a high level of norm goals. This could be interpreted as an

outcome of the culturally expected duty to study hard and also supports the findings of Pratt, Kelly and Wong (1998) and Ting (2000). They found that Chinese students expected teachers to be authoritative. This relationship was found to be representative of hierarchical social structures and incorporated into pedagogy. It is interesting also that although learning behaviour might begin as a conditioned response represented by norm goals, the behaviour appears to become internalised and accommodated into academic schema. Salili (1996) has suggested the possibility that this is culturally related given that family expectations and pride in achievement are based on traditional models of academic achievement. However, if the teacher's behaviour does not meet the expectations of the student it is possible that the learning behaviour is not activated.

Discussion of Data from Pasifika Participants

The narrative of the Pasifika participants was dominated by a pattern of stories relating to communion. These were represented in the thematic lines and gender-role identity analyses. The setting of goals was also consistent with the image of being a nurturer.

This was also reflected in a study by Fa'afai and Fletcher (2001) who explored barriers to success of Pasifika student primary school teachers. In focus group discussions, it was found to be common for women participants to maintain their social and family roles as well as studying full time. This resulted in most of their study being undertaken in the early hours of the morning, with students surviving on only a few hours sleep each night. In this way they were able to maintain their culturally imposed expectations of tending to their family duties.

The role of the nurturer also reflected strongly in the setting of goals directed at fostering the achievements of the next generation. This was seen to be the focus of the motivation for the women. Their own success was not perceived as significant if it had no relationship to the future of the children. Kauffman (1993) speaks of dialogical socialisation that function from what she describes as a "rear-view mirror approach" (p.275) that serves to preserve historical images of what has been before and recycles the same patterns of behaviour. Several examples of recycling behaviour were seen in the narrative of the women who had cared for their children and grandchildren before

moving on into careers of their own. It may be unlikely that older women in the Pacific Islands would return to study, but likely that they would serve the community in some other way. This approach is supported by Wagner-Martin (1994) who refers to the context of culture as a “unified or consistent identity” (p.8). She continues by highlighting the social significance of maintaining the expected image to preserve identity and cultural integrity.

The preservation of cultural integrity appears central to the motivation of the Pasifika women. The significance of the findings of the goals analysis suggests that the strategies of teachers should work with the values and motivational orientation of the students. This is consistent with the automotive response theory of Bargh (1990) that claims social representations are activated by specific stimulus from the environment, acting as catalysts for motivational behaviour. Bargh aligns this behaviour with social constructs such as stereotyping and conformity. This suggests that if teachers use motivational strategies that relate to achievement for self-glory and individualist constructs, the Pasifika student may feel uncomfortable as such motives do not conform to their self-concept.

Discussion of Data from the Pakeha Participants

The dominant pattern observed in the Pakeha group was the value of an internal locus of control and self-determination. This came through strongly in relation to the need for learning and achievement to be perceived as personally relevant. The findings from the analysis of data for agency or communion motives were consistent with this as agency dominated the Pakeha result. However, the agency motive was not without some conflict when placed in context with gender identity.

The Pakeha women appeared to struggle with the conflict between gender identity and personal achievement. There is a close relationship in this context with the claim by Hearn (2000) that although during the past 30 years, society appears to have embraced feminist issues, the patriarchal social expectations and biases of old still remain. The social discourse has changed only in lip service. The internalised values relating to female gender-role was shown in the guilt and confusion that became evident in the narratives of these participants. Although this may seem old-fashioned it reflects the

findings of Hearn (2000) that the role of female subordination and sacrifice has been maintained in many societal expectations.

The expectations of society of the need to be academically successful have also impacted on the Pakeha women through the education system. As stated by Harker (1985) Hall and Bishop (2000) and Vaiote (2000), the education system in New Zealand is based on a European individualist system and rewards self-determination and self-motivated achievement. This paradox is a feminist issue as discussed by Weiler and Middleton (1999) who referred to the emotional battles of women who become torn between living to the demands of two conflicting social images.

Achievement Motivation: Teaching Strategies

Drawing together the discussions of the Asian, Pasifika and Pakeha findings, the significance of cultural contrasts in the context of achievement motivation becomes apparent. The themes significant to teaching strategies that have emerged from the data analysis include:

- Socio-cultural issues as they effect styles of learning
- Goals in relation to cultural issues
- Goals in relation to gender issues

The findings of this study suggest that the factors that may motivate one group of women may be diametrically opposed to the factors that would motivate another group. For example, the Pakeha group expressed the need for personal achievement from study whilst for the Pasifika women this was considered inappropriate. Similarly the Asian women responded to the goals set for them by others whilst the Pakeha women found this oppressive.

The acceptance by Asian participants of the achievement expectation of parents is evidence that these students have a considerably different perspective of authority and leadership than Pakeha learners. This is supported by Salili (1996) and Ting (2000) who describe the strict teaching styles of Asian teachers. They make particular reference to the strictness of Chinese teachers and the generally positive response of their students to this. This expectation transfers to the leadership behaviour of

teachers in New Zealand. The Asian participants generally found teachers in New Zealand to be kind, but several comments referred to disorganised or casual teaching practice that they found unmotivating.

One specific teaching practice found to be unmotivating for Pasifika participants was related to the assumptions made in relation to existing understanding, and judgemental attitudes relating to ethnicity. The Pasifika participants also found it discouraging when teachers rushed ahead, speaking too quickly and assuming understanding to have occurred as questions might not have been asked.

Similarly, Pasifika participants in the study by Dickie (2000a, b) had cited generalised assumptions of tertiary educators as a de-motivating factor. Participants in both this and the study by Dickie (2000a, b) suggested that teachers would assume Pasifika students to be lazy or unmotivated. Participants in this study suggested that often the problem is that material has not been adequately understood. It is further suggested that an additional problem may lie in the teacher's interpretation of student motivation. Clearly, if the teacher is promoting achievement for self-interest, a concept likely to be regarded as inappropriate or irrelevant to Pasifika women learners it is therefore unlikely to motivate them. The study by Givvin, Stipek, Salmon and MacGyvers (2000) demonstrated the effect of teachers who made false assumptions about student motivation and thereby, missed the opportunity to provide appropriate support. The findings from this study and that of Dickie (2000a) suggest that it is equally likely that similar misunderstood motivational needs are a common occurrence of cross-cultural education at tertiary level.

Motivation to achieve appeared to be inextricably connected to the values and particular goals perceived as appropriate for women belonging to a specific culture. Hesford (1999) articulated the effects of marginalisation on college students in the USA. In this situation students felt marginalised by the lack of acknowledgement for their culture and in some cases direct bias against them. Marginalisation can also occur in settings such as multicultural New Zealand institutions by a lack of understanding and acknowledgement of the values, social demands and external pressures on students. In this situation, the understanding, support and empathy of others can help.

Hesford (1999) further pointed out that students felt the most supported when working alongside others from their own culture, referring to it as finding safety in numbers. Part of the group safety concept related to the fact that norm is established within the context of culture (Dickie 2000a). Fa'afoi and Fletcher (2001) also found that the majority of Pasifika students enjoyed meeting as a group. In their study at Christchurch College of Education, Fa'afoi and Fletcher established a facility for Pasifika students to meet on a regular basis. It was found that this form of support built confidence and lifted student achievement.

Much of the success of the group support strategy described by Fa'afoi and Fletcher (2001) was the increased awareness of cultural issues in relation to study. Issues could more easily be passed on to lecturers and addressed in an appropriate way. Such understanding is also necessary for Asian students particularly in the specific cultural values and achievement goals. For example, it may be the norm for Asian women to accept the goals set for them by family whereas it would be outside the norm to disregard the wishes of family and seek achievement in a self-selected area.

The cultural values held by any particular group tend to be reflected in their achievement goals (Ting, 2000). Marginalisation is one potential outcome of disregard for the specific cultural values of groups of people (Hall & Bishop, 2000; Ting, 2000). This study has taken as understood that everybody wants to achieve. Furthermore, this study has sought to find how the notion of achievement becomes contextualised within the frames of different cultures. For example Niles (1998), who surveyed people in Australia and from Asian and Pacific cultures on their concept of achievement, found that socio-economic situations bore a substantial influence on responses. For the lower socio-economic groups, factors that would make their living easier such as a regular income were notably prominent.

To be effective, support for achievement motivation needs to relate to the cultural norm. Clearly it is unlikely that an individual can be motivated by something that feels culturally wrong. If an individual feels uncomfortable in a situation it is difficult for them to access the necessary commitment to reach an optimum level of performance. In other words, they are unlikely to be motivated. This is consistent

with the findings of Hill and Hawk (2000) outlining the factors that were deemed as pre-requisite to achievement motivation. Success was the first link identified by Hill and Hawk as being necessary, however this needs to be put into context by asking just whose success this relates to. A Pakeha teacher might define success as the achievement of academic excellence in certain subjects, as may an Asian student. A Pasifika student may define success as knowing that they have contributed to the achievements of their children, therefore any study they undertake needs that goal in sight for them to be successful. Therefore to maintain the motivation of the student, the goals and motivational orientation of the student needs to be understood by the teacher.

To be able to construct teaching strategies that will support and maintain the motivation of all students is unlikely. As has been shown in this study the differences between students are too diverse for generic answers. However, therein lies the key, as it is the acknowledgement of the diversities of different cultures that is the most likely factor to achieve this.

One of the commonalities of all three groups in this study came from ideas of what makes a good teacher. A good teacher was defined as one who is effective in promoting student learning. All groups stated that teachers should form a relationship with students. Developing an understanding with students was also considered to be an essential factor to learning. The Asian participants saw this as being communicative, asking and answering questions, whereas the Pasifika and Pakeha women wanted a teacher who could get to know them as well as individuals. This is consistent with the findings of Dickie (2000) and Fletcher (2000) who both found that students, who perceived their teachers as responding in culturally appropriate and sensitive ways were more motivated. Similarly those who felt their cultures to be under-acknowledged by teachers were less likely to complete their study. This is also consistent with the findings of Hall and Bishop (2000) who linked cultural acknowledgement to self-esteem and Ting (2000) who found culturally appropriate student support to be significant in maintaining student enrolments.

Sound motivational strategies used by teachers need to acknowledge individuals within the context of their culture. This requires knowledge, understanding and

adaptability. If a teacher fails to acquire knowledge of a student they cannot know what the student values. This has been clearly demonstrated by the diverse attitudes to goal setting by the participants of this current study and supports the findings of Salili (1996) and Vaiote (2000). Salili (1996) discussed Asian attitudes to praise, stating that to suggest a student has ability might be de-motivating, whereas the same praise may uplift the self-esteem of a Pakeha student. In articulating the Pasifika perspective, Vaiote (2000) explained the need for teachers to communicate within the perspective of the culture, incorporating the specific cultural values.

The differences between groups that were highlighted in the analysis of goals using the model of Bargh (1990) indicated diverse motivation styles. The foundation to this was evident in the definition of achievement articulated by participants in the focus groups. To the Pasifika participants, achievement was linked to their families rather than their own credentials. The Asian participants saw achievement as getting high marks, 'A's whereas the Pakeha definition was based on satisfaction and was more intrinsic.

The nature of the goals described within each group represented the path to the desired achievement. Therefore, the Pasifika women sought training that would help them to work most effectively for the next generation. The Asian women desired to gain the approval of their families by getting high marks and good results, to come top of their class and achieve good professional status. Pakeha goals were directed at gaining qualifications to support the family with longer-term goals of being in a position to have freedom of choice and personal satisfaction.

Accordingly, motivation for each of the groups was directed towards the anticipated outcome for achieving their goals. The Asian participants specifically stated that avoiding shame was a strong motivating factor. The positive side to this was the family pride in their achievement. Participants in the Pasifika group also referred to the pride of the community in their achievements, describing the way an entire community would celebrate the success of an individual. However, the focus was to achieve for the betterment of the community rather than self-interest. One participant described how her motivation was drawn from seeing her parents struggle and her strong desire to repay them even after their death, by achieving.

In both the Pasifika and Asian motivation styles, community approval for performing to expectations was evident. The Pakeha group also sought this, but moreover gaining personal satisfaction motivated participants. This related to pleasure from performing the task and being happy on a personal level. Happiness in performing a task can, according to Schaller and Cialdini (1990) cause the individual to be less cautious and more spontaneous. This state of elation can affect goal-setting behaviour, diverting attention from other tasks or objectives. As one of the Pakeha participants claimed, 'Happiness motivates me'. The Pakeha motivation style was somewhat more progressive with a mixture of long-term and short-term goals that changed direction from family-based to personal. The short-term goals reflected the cultural expectations of duty whereas the longer-term goals related to personal satisfaction reflected the individualist nature of the Western society.

The different goals and diverse motivational orientations of the three groups provide interesting reflections on their socio-cultural backgrounds. The instrumental motivation of the Asian participants directed towards future careers was highly evident. This contrasted with the instrumental motivation of the Pasifika participants that was aimed at seeking social approval and fulfilling their expected role effectively. It could be argued if taking the Pakeha narratives at face value that they might have least reason for instrumental motivation, more in-depth knowledge of the participants' circumstances might alter such an opinion. Although the Pakeha group had all experienced previous academic success, all but one participant had a great deal to gain financially and professionally by achieving higher qualifications. They also risked a great deal by not gaining higher degrees. Despite this all appeared more highly motivated by intrinsic goals.

Supporting and maintaining intrinsic and extrinsic motivation requires the teacher to use open and flexible strategies. Such teaching practice must include the issues raised by participants in this and other studies conducted in New Zealand (Dickie, 2000; Fa'afoi & Fletcher, 2001; Hawk, Crowley & Hill, 2001). The following recommendations provide strategies for teachers to support student motivation

1. Providing group support: As reflected in the study by Fa'afoi and Fletcher (2001), the emotional well-being of students is strengthened by the knowledge that empathetic others are available for support. Others with similar experiences provide that most effectively. Also, teachers are more likely to become aware of the issues faced by students if groups are able to make their needs known.
2. Personal knowledge: If teachers become acquainted with students, damaging assumptions are less likely to occur. Where a relationship is formed, communications may become more open. In this way, when women have demanding commitments outside the classroom and are often working all night to complete assignments, the teacher can provide meaningful support and understanding.
3. Understand what the student values: Where a teacher has personal knowledge of a student there is likely to be greater understanding of the values and priorities that are driving the learner. Knowing how important it is for an Asian student to achieve top marks on an assignment might change the focus of the teacher. For example, as the School of Teacher Education and Training has a philosophy that acknowledges the contribution of each student, competitive grades are not awarded. This encourages open sharing of knowledge and skills. Feedback is regarded as the most important outcome of assessments. However, this does not satisfy all students as for some, getting the best marks have been shown to be important. As a result of this, a feedback system has been devised that rates achievement on competency criteria aspects of each assessment, even though the overall recorded result remains complete/incomplete. Under the revised marking system, a student might receive the marks of all 'A's for producing excellent work. This has proven highly successful.
4. Understanding what the student knows and what they need to know: When a teacher is knowledgeable about the student, inaccurate assumptions about their existing knowledge are less likely to occur. This may also be reflected in a reciprocal relationship of respect and acknowledgement.
5. Not shaming students: Understanding differences in social practices can enhance communication and ensure that all students gain a sense of

- empowerment. For cultural reasons, some students find asking questions of teachers inappropriate. A different way of ensuring that information is received and understood can be achieved by acknowledgement of the problem and negotiation of an appropriate solution.
6. Acknowledging the goals of students: Where a teacher understands the goals and motivational orientation of students, they are able to articulate these and reflect them back to the student as a support to motivation when difficulties arise.
 7. Ensuring that classes are interesting: Both material offered and presentation styles need to be meaningful and useful to students. Using a variety of teaching methods ensures that all learning styles and preferences are catered for and that boredom does not become a factor. As pointed out by McClelland (1985) it is uncommon for people to be motivated to do something unpleasant. It is also uncommon to be motivated to do something not understood (Ashcroft, 1972), therefore learning must be framed in a context that relates to the learner, their culture and gender-role identity.

Cultural and ethnic differences are not represented in the literature concerning women's issues reviewed in this study. The rationale behind this decision concerns the influence of literature that has conditioned socio-political discourse over the past decade. It is these attitudes that are reflected in the comments and narratives of participants. Bronfenbrenner (1989) described the systems of ecological influence that impact on values and social behaviour. The concept of globalisation suggests that the social spheres of ecological influence described by Bronfenbrenner (1989) have been severely constricted by the influence of media and the effect of popular culture. Howe (1999, p.32) described this as "McDonaldisation" meaning that the same product is available worldwide. This is also discussed by Falzon (1998) who contends, "...we are not passive in our application of socio-cultural patterns of behaviour. Rather, we act by choice and therefore have a desire to uphold the social order by our conformity." Howe (1999) expands on this concept claiming, "It is ironic that in an age where many citizens firmly believe their personal freedoms are expanding, the reality is increasingly the very opposite in so many critical areas of

their lives. A salient example is the incredible agency of the peer group to consolidate the ubiquitous message of the image makers in the advertising world..." (p.32).

The result of the social patterns described by Falzon (1998) and Howe (1999) is that those who belong to the dominant culture accommodate the popular lifestyle model, usually originating in the U.S.A. or Europe. This appears to become regarded as desirable for all to aspire to regardless of cultural values or individual differences. This is evident in the individualist ethos that pervades teaching in New Zealand tertiary institutions (Hall & Bishop, 2000; Vaiotele, 2000). The outcome for those of minority ethnic groups who do not desire to conform to this model of individuality is to be subjected to the negative assumptions that they are unmotivated.

To support the motivation of women cross-cultural learners teachers must become aware and respectful of their individuality. Ironically, the curriculum for early childhood education in New Zealand, Te Whaariki (Ministry of Education, 1996) regards holistic development as one of the principles of education for children. Holistic development incorporates all dimensions of the child's being. This means that equal respect must be given to all aspects of the child's being and acknowledges that no individual can thrive if even one aspect of the components that comprise the concept of self is undermined. Te Whaariki (Ministry of Education, 1996, p.40) states that the curriculum shall show "Recognition of the spiritual dimensions of children's lives in culturally, socially and individually appropriate ways...recognition of the significance and contributions of previous generations to the child's concept of self."

The narrative of participants in this study has demonstrated that adult learners have the same needs for holistic consideration as younger learners. Perhaps consideration should be given to the development of a curriculum model similar to Te Whaariki, (Ministry of Education, 1996) the early childhood curriculum, for adult learners. This might raise the awareness of tertiary educators to the individual needs of adult students. In an education sector where many teachers have not undertaken the minimum of a three-year teacher-training programme as required by teachers in early childhood, primary and secondary sectors, more specialised guidance appears to be needed.

Summary

The distinctly different perspectives of achievement motivation identified in this study are factors derived from the context of culture. The goals of students might be based on tangible, instrumental rewards such as money, or might relate to social acknowledgement or personal satisfaction. Achievement, motivation and goals are interdependent and are inextricably linked to socio-cultural constructs that may include gender and relationships.

To support and maintain motivation with women cross-cultural learners, teachers need to be informed of the socio-cultural constructs that relate to specific cultural groups. Strategies must include the following:

- Learners need to feel comfortable with the context of the required learning
- Teachers must be aware of the of learner's goals and purpose
- Acknowledgment of the values and practices of cultures need to be evident in teaching strategies, particularly in the context of praise and rewards
- Reality according to the individual must be acknowledged in the context of the norm for the individual and may be based on gender-role identity
- Teachers need to acknowledge that generic achievement motivation is not likely for women cross-cultural learners.

Teachers are more likely to meet student needs when the learner feels part of a supportive group. Culture and gender provide a context for the understanding of human existence and as such might become part of the individual's identity. Culture also provides a significant aspect of a sense of identity that, if acknowledged and incorporated into learning can affirm self-esteem (Igoa, 1995; Vaiote, 2000; Hall & Bishop, 2000).

As gender-role identity of women is culturally generated it varies significantly across different ethnic groups. Much feminist literature (Kauffman, 1993; Hearn, 2000) suggests that gender-role stereotyping marginalises women. However the women of Pacific Island nations in this study demonstrated pride and satisfaction in their gender roles. The contribution made by women to the next generation was held as culturally

and socially significant. To deny them this role or to undermine it would be to potentially marginalise them in their own society.

The influence of feminist literature written only from a European or American perspective can be used to place pressure on women from other cultures to adopt similar values and practices. This discredits their own cultural values and creates a social divide within their self-concept. Goldberg (2000) highlighted the emotional and social problems that emerge when minority group practices come into conflict with dominant cultural ideals.

Ironically, the participants from this study who appeared to be most compromised by the conflicting expectations of women learners were those of the Pakeha group. These women clearly articulated the stresses of social expectations to perform academically and be perfect mothers. Neither the Asian nor the Pasifika participants suffered such conflicts of interests as long as they were performing their expected culturally determined role.

The Asian women in this study were driven by academic goals whereas the Pasifika women were focussed on family-based goals. Other studies (Igoa, 1995; Salili, 1996; Ting, 2000; Vaiote, 2000; Hall & Bishop, 2000) have shown that teachers using European-based strategies overlook the foci of learners from ethnic and cultural minorities. This study has demonstrated the significance of teaching strategies working with student goals and values.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

This final chapter will provide a review of the study. An overview of the research methods and findings will be followed by a discussion of the study in relation to its value to tertiary education. From this recommendations for tertiary educators will be made. A review of the methods used in this study will be followed by recommendations for areas for further research.

Overview of Methods

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore achievement motivation from the perspective of women cross-cultural learners. Applying a qualitative method and focus groups as the design, narrative data were collected from three groups of women participants. Focus groups were used as an interactive design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and narrative data as an appropriate process for participants from the Asian and Pasifika women (Delamont, 1992; Kidd & Parshall, 2000). The three groups represented the major ethnicities of the student community in one polytechnic. Asian, Pacific Island (Pasifika) and New Zealand European (Pakeha) were the ethnic groups involved. The inclusion of the Pakeha group was to represent the dominant Western culture of New Zealand.

The education system of New Zealand is based on a European model, and therefore represents the values of Pakeha (Harker, 1985; Hall & Bishop, 2000; Vaiotele, 2000). This suggests that the values of some minority ethnic groups are not necessarily included in mainstream education settings. The purpose of the study was to explore achievement motivation as it relates to women who are learning in a cross-cultural environment.

Overview of Findings

The analyses showed distinct differences between groups in attitudes towards achievement, gender role identity and goals. Motivation and achievement were closely associated with gender-role identity particularly for Pasifika women for whom motivation was found in contributing to the chances of success for the next

generation. This contrasted with the notion of achievement for the Asian participants for whom gaining high marks specifically 'A's, and building good career prospects was the focus. In this way both groups were fulfilling the expectations of family.

In this study, for the Asian women the context of achievement appeared to hold no relationship to gender-role. This was not the case for Pakeha women who appeared to experience considerable compromise with the demands of academic and career achievements, and family responsibilities. The Pakeha participants demonstrated conflict between the traditional caring, nurturing role expected of women and the current Western expectation that they will also have successful careers. Regardless of personal conflict, Pakeha women felt empowered to pursue their own goals.

Scheurich and Young (1997), Hall and Bishop (2000) and Vaiote (2000) described the New Zealand education system as biased against members of collectivist cultures such as those from Asian and Pacific Island nations. Collectivist cultures reflect interdependency and co-operation rather than the independent and autonomous values of individualist cultures (Watkins, Mortazavi & Trofimova, 2000). The New Zealand education system has been based on individualist European philosophies. This favours the Pakeha learners who are motivated by achieving personal goals in areas of self-determined interests.

Although the New Zealand education system promotes an individualist philosophy, the application of appropriate pedagogical practice can enhance and maintain motivation for learners from cultures that have a collectivist ethos. By getting to know students, tertiary educators can develop an understanding of their culture and the values. This basic awareness could lead to an increased understanding and acceptance of the goals of learners. More specifically though such awareness would place the understanding in the appropriate cultural context.

The teaching practice and educational settings experienced by cross-cultural learners coming to New Zealand is inevitably different from their previous experience in their homelands. Equally inevitable is that learners coming to a new country to study will adapt in some ways to their new learning environment (Igoa, 1995). However, to ensure that effective learning occurs, teachers must understand the factors that

motivate the student. This includes understanding their goals, values and desired outcomes. With these kept in sight and respected by their educators, motivation is more likely to be maintained.

As this study has clearly shown, the cultural context of goals is one of the major components of motivation. Other studies (Hall & Bishop, 2000; Ting, 2000; Vaiotele, 2000) have also demonstrated that learners who perceive their cultural values to be undermined are more likely to lose motivation.

Motivation is most likely to be maintained by teachers acknowledging the goals of learners within the appropriate cultural context of the student. This also includes personal understanding and communication between teacher and student. However the teacher must initiate this as they are in the role of perceived power. Learners will be more comfortable in an environment that supports their values and acknowledges reality from their perspective.

Finally, teachers must acknowledge that the reality from the perspective of women from minority cultures may be quite different from their own ideas. This may mean that motivation to achieve may take on a very different form to the ideals of the dominant culture and that expressed in some feminist literature.

The Value of This Study to Tertiary Education

This study further suggests that the findings highlight the need for tertiary educators to reflect on teaching practice. The inclusion of individual values and goals must be considered in the development of teaching strategies that incorporate the holistic needs of women cross cultural learners and demonstrate that generic goals and values cannot motivate all students. The findings of this study suggest that applying motivation strategies or goals that reflect self-interest can potentially reduce motivation for Pasifika women.

Similarly, teacher behaviour can effect the motivation of Asian and Pasifika women. Teachers whose practice does not reflect thoroughness of subject knowledge, professionalism and academic rigour may reduce the motivation of Asian women. Asian women expect to work hard and to do this, want to feel that skilled, informed

professionals are teaching them. Pasifika women need to know that they are understood and their values respected. Where classroom practice contradicts their values, motivation is undermined.

Recommendations for teachers who work with diverse cultures within groups of women students are as follows:

- Form personal understandings of the individual goals and aspirations of students
- Ensure that material has been understood and that the knowledge for applying course content is in place.
- Teachers must be able to demonstrate that they are knowledgeable
- Acknowledge and respect priorities and values and form strategies with students if these interfere with academic programmes rather than trying to change their practices
- Allow for individual pace within groups to accommodate learning and personal needs, learning styles and most appropriate method of information transmission
- Ensure that cross-cultural understanding exists within the group to develop supportive relationships between student groups.
- Teach with cultural differences and incorporate these values into programme structures
- Assist students to keep their personal goals in sight.
- Be well-prepared for class
- Ensure students are informed of the programme organisation and curriculum content

Teachers cannot be held solely accountable for motivating students. With adult students a great deal of other circumstances outside the classroom are likely to impact on individuals, often making it difficult to continue with study. It is also likely that students coming from low socio-economic groups are more vulnerable to financial difficulties or may live in conditions that make effective study impossible. Such factors can lead to withdrawal. However, this study has been able to show differences

in factors that motivate different cultural groups of women students and has made practical recommendations for teachers. The study has also been able to indicate areas where teaching practice can negatively impact on student motivation.

Limitations of the Methodology

As a qualitative study using a focus group design to collect narrative data, the findings have relied on the analysis and interpretation of data. Although focus group facilitators representing the ethnic groups of participants were involved in the collection of data, as the researcher I have been responsible for making meaning from the stories of others from cultures outside my own personal experience.

Furthermore, the focus groups included participants from different Asian and Pacific Island nations. It is acknowledged that cultural differences exist within these nations. Equally diverse are the origins of participants in the Pakeha group. Such diversities might have impacted on the findings.

The groups were comprised of individuals of different ages, experience and life-stages. The composition of groups was not consistent, for example, the Pakeha group were generally academically qualified at a higher level than the other groups. The Asian group was generally younger and the Pasifika group generally older. It is possible that such differences might have affected the type of concerns raised in each group. This could provide alternative explanations for some of the findings.

Areas for Further Research

Tertiary educators in New Zealand are not necessarily trained as teachers. It is therefore recommended that the training requirements for teachers engaged in tertiary education in New Zealand be examined. There is also an absence of any guiding document such as the New Zealand Curriculum Framework ((Ministry of Education, 1995) that covers primary and secondary education, or Te Whaariki ((Ministry of Education, 1996) the early childhood curriculum. The value of such a document is that its purpose is not to be prescriptive, but to serve as a general guideline for practice against which specific programme content can be developed and assessed. Research into the establishment of a similar document for tertiary education could ensure that whilst meeting the learning outcomes required for academic, professional

or trade training, further holistic outcomes could be addressed. Much research has shown (Ashcroft, 1972; Hall & Bishop, 2000; Vaiote, 2000; Hawk, Cowley, & Hill, 2001) that when learners feel a sense of well-being, belonging and empowerment they are more motivated, and are therefore more likely to be successful.

Research such as this should encompass the needs of Maori. Due to the criterion for participants to have been born and educated overseas, Maori were not included in this study. Further study could identify the needs of male students and broaden the spectrum of ethnicities incorporated.

It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the literature available regarding cross-cultural learning with women in tertiary education. As this study has been limited to one tertiary institution and three broad cultural groups, it is also hoped that further research with a wider diversity of cultures will be possible.

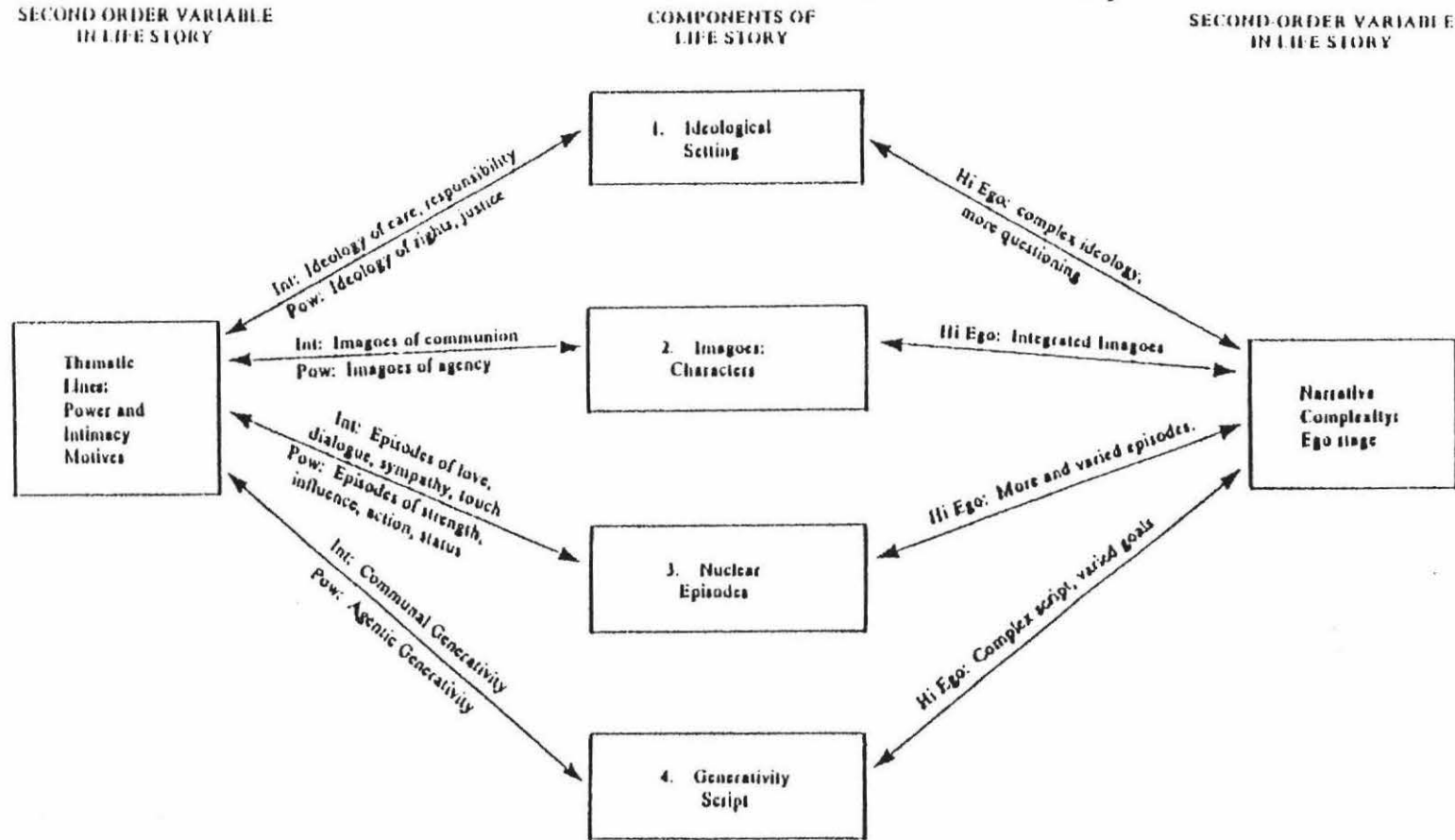
E hara te pai i te tawhiti rawa, ki ngu mea e haere tftika

Translation from Maori:

No horizon is too far for those properly prepared.

(Anon)

Figure 1. The Life-Story Model of Identity



Note: Arrows connecting boxes in the figure refer to testable hypotheses concerning relationships between motives (content predictors) and ego development (structure predictor) on the one hand and four components of the life story—ideological setting, images, nuclear episodes, and generativity script—on the other. These hypotheses are tested with data from 90 college students and 50 mid-life adults in McAdams (1985a)

Source: McAdams (1985a, p. 61)

Figure 2

Appendix 1

Achievement motivation: A study with women cross-cultural learners

Focus group facilitator confidentiality agreement.

I agree to maintain the confidentiality of all information disclosed by participants in the focus groups during the course of this research. I will not discuss the material disclosed at meetings with any other person. I agree to respect the privacy, confidentiality and identity of participants.

I understand that I may not take copies of transcripts, audiotapes or make written notes during facilitation of focus groups for this research. I understand that the information being disclosed during the focus groups belongs to the participants and is being offered for use only under the terms of the information sheet and consent form.

I understand the rights of all focus group participants to:

- **Decline participation**
- **Decline to answer any question**
- **Withdraw at any time from the research**
- **Ask any questions relating to the research**
- **Provide information on the understanding that complete confidentiality will be observed by the researcher and facilitator and that no names will be used.**

Signed.....

Date

This project has been approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, P/N Protocol 00/157 and the Research Committee of Whitireia Community Polytechnic.

Information sheet

Achievement motivation: A study with women cross-cultural learners

My name is Janet Moles and I am a lecturer in the Diploma of Teaching (ECE) at Whitireia Community Polytechnic. I am also a Master of Education student at Massey University.

During my M.Ed. studies I have developed a special area of interest in adult cross-cultural learning. I intend to pursue this topic in my thesis, as I perceive it to have particular relevance to Whitireia Community Polytechnic.

To prepare my thesis I will need to conduct research to collect data. I wish to establish three focus groups of approximately eight participants. The focus groups will be facilitated by an independent leader and will discuss topics related to achievement motivation in women from the perspective of cross-cultural learning.

Description of the research:

This research follows on from a pilot study that I carried out in 1999 titled: "Then and now: Maintenance or change in identity in cross-cultural learners." This is available in the library at Whitireia Community Polytechnic.

The proposed research will explore the sources of achievement motivation and strategies used to achieve academic success. The use of focus groups will develop discussion around specific topics. It is expected that participants will have a free input into the direction and nature of the discussions. The narrative methodology has been selected to facilitate relaxed and informal discussion.

Participation:

I require at least 18 participants to form three focus groups. One group will be women students who are of Asian ethnicity. One group will involve women students who are of Polynesian ethnicity. One group will be comprised of women who are European New Zealanders. Volunteers for the Asian or Polynesian focus groups whom I shall invite to participate, must be women who were born outside New Zealand and educated to secondary school level in their country of birth. Volunteers for the European New Zealander group must have been born and educated in New Zealand and be of European heritage.

The focus groups for Asian and Polynesian participants will meet for no more than one and a half hours, three times. Each of the planned meetings will be structured around a specific aspect. The initial meeting will be to discuss the concept of success and achievement in their cultural context. The second meeting will address sources of motivation and the final time, participants of the Polynesian and Asian groups will be brought together as one group to discuss their main findings. The majority culture New Zealand focus group will meet twice for no more than one and a half hours. Each focus group will be lead by an independent facilitator of the same cultural heritage as the participants.

Questions will include general aspects of motivational context such as; "What do you consider as academic achievement?" "What do you consider to be your priorities in life?" "Where do you feel you get your motivation to achieve?" "Do you consider yourself to be

academically successful?” “How do you keep going with something when it may be difficult or bring other problems (such as time or commitments)?”

Discussions will be audio taped then transcribed by a person unknown to and unfamiliar with the participants. I will also take hand-written notes. Tape recordings will be destroyed after checking following transcription. Participants will have the opportunity to read and review the transcripts from their own focus group and will also have the opportunity to read the final report and ensure that all content is used in an appropriate manner and is contextually accurate.

Meetings will take place at a neutral location that is acceptable to group members and at a time mutually agreeable. Light refreshments will be available and reimbursement of travel costs will be offered.

No names will be used on tapes or hand-written notes nor in the final report. All participants will be asked to respect the privacy of other participants.

Rights of participants.

Participants will have the right at all times to:

- **Decline participation**
- **Decline to answer any question**
- **Withdraw at any time from the research**
- **Ask any questions relating to the research**
- **Provide information on the understanding that complete confidentiality will be observed by the researcher and facilitator and that no names will be used.**
- **Be given access to the tape recording before transcription and know that the tape will be destroyed after transcription and verification of content.**
- **Be given access to the transcripts and final report and contribute to the validation of contextual accuracy of data.**
- **Be given a copy of the final report.**

The supervisor for this research is:

Sue Watson. Lecturer in Human Development

Should any questions or problems arise for participants, Sue can be contacted at:

Department of Health and Human Development,

Hokowhitu Campus

Massey University

Palmerson North.

Phone: 06 350 5799 Ext. 8882

I can be contacted at: School of Teacher Education and Training, Whitireia Community Polytechnic. Telephone: 237 3103 ext. 3608. Email: j.moles@whitireia.ac.nz

This project has been approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, P/N Protocol 00/157 and the Research Committee of Whitireia Community Polytechnic

Achievement motivation: A study with women cross-cultural learners

Consent form

I have read the information sheet and have had the details of the research explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time and to decline to answer any questions or to withhold any information.

I agree to provide the information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission and that my confidentiality outside the focus group is assured. I understand that the information supplied will only be used for the purposes of this research.

I understand that to minimise any reduction of privacy, all participants and the facilitator will be required to keep confidential, the identities of all participants and any information disclosed within the group.

I agree to respect the right to privacy of all other participants.

I agree/do not agree to the focus group being audio-taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the focus group discussions.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

This project has been approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, P/N Protocol 00/157 and the Research Committee of Whitireia Community Polytechnic.

Appendix 5

Proposal to: Whitireia Polytechnic Student Association
From: Janet Moles, School of Teacher Education and Training
Date: 20th February 01
Re: Proposal for Student Association involvement in research

I am planning to conduct research with women students with the purpose of developing motivation strategies for cross-cultural women learners. To collect information I am intending to gather three focus groups. From these, narrative data will be collated and analysed to develop classroom strategies aimed at culturally appropriate motivation techniques.

To seek participants for the focus groups, A4 posters (copy attached) will be displayed on campus. These will state that a box, into which student volunteers may submit their name and a contact phone number, will be placed in the Student Association building. I would also place a poster in the Student Association building. I would also like to place an advertisement in the Students' newsletter. As with the poster, this would include the names of people that participants can contact either to volunteer or to seek further information. These processes remove me from directly approaching volunteers unless they choose to contact me.

I attach a copy of my information sheet and the extracts from my research proposal that detail the research methods. The Massey University Human Ethics Committee and the Whitireia Polytechnic Research Committee have approved this research.

Thank-you for your consideration.

Janet Moles
Email: j.moles@whitireia.ac.nz
Ext: 3608

Are you a motivated woman?

You are invited to participate in focus groups to discuss achievement motivation.

Janet Moles, a tutor at Whitireia Community Polytechnic and Massey University student is seeking participants for three focus groups to research the topic

Achievement motivation: A study with women cross-cultural learners.

If you were born in Asia, the Pacific Islands or are a New Zealand born European and would be interested in joining one of these groups, meeting for about 1 1/2 hours two or three times please place your name and phone number in the box in the Student's Association office.

Or

For more information you can contact one of these people:

**Susan Forbes, Research co-ordinator: Ext. 3792
Valeti Aipolo Finau: Ext. 3709
Janet Moles: Ext. 3608**

Light refreshments and travel expenses provided.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee P/N Protocol 00/157 and the Whitireia Community Polytechnic Research Committee

Appendix 7

Motivation tips

I am undertaking a study linking gender and culture to the factors that motivate learners. To do this I require participants to form focus groups to discuss the factors that motivate women to achieve. The second study will be focussed on men, culture and motivation. The purpose of the research is to improve teaching strategies for the motivation of students, focussing on culture and gender specific needs.

If you are a woman born in Asia, a Pacific Island Nation or are New Zealand European and would like to participate in a project designed to find the best ways to assist women cross-cultural learners achieve, please place your name and contact phone number in the box located in the Students Association, or contact one of these people:

Susan Forbes, Research co-ordinator: Ext. 3792

Valeti Aipolo Finau: Ext. 3709

Janet Moles: Ext. 3608

Travel expenses and refreshments will be provided

I look forward to meeting you.

Janet Moles.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee P/N Protocol 00/157 and the Whitireia Community Polytechnic Research Committee

Appendix 8

Discussion topic content: Focus group 1 with Asian participants

1. What are your happiest memories from your education
2. What did you enjoy about the academic side of school
3. What motivates you to achieve.
4. How do you feel about education in New Zealand
5. What strategies do you have for learning

Appendix 9

Discussion topic content: Focus group 2 with Asian participants

1. If you were to be someone else, who would you choose to be
2. Do you have a dream
3. Does your dream influence your study
4. How do you cope with the difficult times
5. Are there sometimes things that make you want to give up
6. What makes a good teacher
7. What can teachers do that will help you

Appendix 10

Discussion topic content: Focus group 1 with Pasifika participants

1. Tell us about the background to your own education
2. What are your memories of education
3. What do you expect to achieve in your education in New Zealand

Appendix 11

Discussion topic content: Focus group 2 with Pasifika participants

1. Who would have said they were a good student at school
2. What was a good student in the Islands
3. How did your family celebrate success
4. Do you think boys were favoured over girls
5. How is education different in New Zealand
6. What can Palagi teachers do to help
7. What keeps you motivated in spite of difficulty

Appendix 12

Discussion topic content: Focus group 1 with Pakeha participants

1. What are your memories of your early days at school
2. What are your priorities
3. Where do you get your motivation to achieve
4. How do you choose what to commit to
5. What about support systems, how important are they
6. Do you consider yourself to be academically successful

Appendix 13

Discussion topic content: Focus group 2 with Pakeha participants

1. If you could be someone else, who would you choose to be
2. Do you have a dream
3. How much does your dream drive you
4. What makes you happy
5. What do teachers do that motivate you
6. What makes you want to give up
7. If you could choose any one person to teach you, who would it be

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