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# Motivating adolescents: Goals for Australian students in secondary schools. <sup>1</sup>

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Student motivation during adolescence has become an increasingly important issue for educators and researchers. Using a goal theory perspective, researchers have investigated a range of goals (including achievement goals, social goals and future goals) that influence students' desire to achieve at school. The present study examines the range of goals pursued by adolescents (N=195) from two secondary schools and investigates the achievement goals that are important to their motivation. The results show that future goals have a critical impact on students' motivation and that students pursue multiple and related goals in learning situations. Implications for future research are discussed.

Keywords: motivation, adolescence, goals.

#### INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that an issue of great concern to educators is developing and maintaining students' optimum motivation. Particularly during adolescence, many students experience a lack of motivation to engage in academic activities and fail to reach their academic potential. Consequently, the motivation of adolescents has been the focus of much research (Pajares & Urdan, 2002). Although there has been a range of theories developed to better understand why students choose to engage in learning activities (see for example, Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008), over the last 20 years, goal theory has emerged as one of the most prominent theories of motivation (Midgley, 2002). This paper uses a goal theory perspective to develop understandings about the goals that influence adolescents' desire to achieve at school.

Goal theory focuses on the mental representations of desired outcomes that initiate and direct behaviour (Austin & Vancouver, 1996). Although a range of goals influencing student motivation have been identified and investigated, the majority of research has focused on achievement goals (Ames, 1992; Ames & Archer, 1988) which represent the "purposes students perceive for engaging in achievement-related behaviour" (Patrick, Anderman, Ryan, Edelin, & Midgley, 2001, p. 35), such as the desire to develop or demonstrate competence. Social goals (Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Wentzel, 1996) and more recently, future goals (Miller & Brickman, 2004) have also been shown to influence students' motivation and engagement at school. A widely held view is that motivation is best understood by a multiple goals perspective, where motivation occurs through multiple goals working simultaneously

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(Boekaerts, de Koning, & Vedder, 2006; Dowson & McInerney, 2003; Wentzel, 1992; Wosnitza & Volet, 2009).

Even though the research using goal theory to investigate the motivation of adolescents has been plentiful, there are emerging issues that still require investigation. Firstly, much goal focused research has examined particular goals (such as achievement goals), sometimes in isolation, and often with predetermined assumptions about what goals might reflect students' motivation to achieve at school. Such research typically uses deductive methods, which can reduce potential for understandings about other goals (and multiple goals) to be developed by limiting students' opportunities to spontaneously articulate their own goals. Only a few recent studies (see for example, Dowson & McInerney, 2003) have used inductive measures and considered the range of goals that may influence students' desire to achieve. Secondly, there is some evidence that goals may differ across contexts and, for example, according to culture and ethnicity (Freeman, Gutman, & Midgley, 2002; McInerney, Hinkley, Dowson, & Van Etten, 1998). Thus questions emerge about how goal emphasis may vary in different countries and educational contexts. These issues have informed the present study conducted in two Australian secondary schools, which firstly examines the range of goals that influence students' desire to do well and secondly investigates how important predetermined achievement goals are to this group of students, and why.

# Overview of goal theory

#### Achievement goals

Achievement goals focus on developing competence (mastery goals) or demonstrating competence (performance goals) (Ames, 1992) and have been used extensively to develop understandings about students' cognition, behaviour and affect in learning contexts. Mastery goals involve developing competence and increasing 'knowledge and understanding through effortful learning' (Murphy & Alexander, 2000, p. 28). Students pursuing mastery goals have self-established achievement standards and view success in terms of mastery and learning. Mastery goals positively influence learning and motivation, and are associated with high cognitive engagement, high levels of self-efficacy, interest in challenge and problem solving (E. M. Anderman, Maehr, & Midgley, 1999).

Performance goals typically reflect "a desire to gain favourable judgements and avoid negative judgements of one's competence" (Murphy & Alexander, 2000, p. 28) and students pursuing performance goals are inclined to view success in terms of their performance relative to others. The approach and avoid distinctions (Elliot & Harackiewicz, 1996) reflected in this definition have received much research attention. Performance approach goals are associated with high levels of achievement, but also with surface approaches to learning and focus on external rewards (Midgley, Kaplan, & Middleton, 2001). Performance avoidance goals have a negative influence on achievement related behaviours, resulting in shallow processing, poor retention, and self-handicapping strategies such as procrastination and reluctance to seek help (Midgley & Urdan, 2001).

The use of approach / avoid distinctions, particularly with performance goals has been widely used by many researchers and instruments have been developed that reflect this distinction (see for example Midgley et al., 2000). Even so, there is evidence, mostly from studies using qualitative data and inductive analysis (see for example Dowson & McInerney, 2003) that the approach /avoid distinction may not reflect how all students describe performance goals. Some students refer to 'grade goals' (wanting to achieve high marks and grades, or to receive external rewards associated with high performance), goals that show a desire to demonstrate competence, but not competence relative to others. Brophy (2005) argues performance goals with the approach/avoid distinction are a "low incidence phenomenon" (p. 171) as students rarely spontaneously articulate performance goals with social comparison when describing reasons for achievement. Similarly, Urdan and Mestas (2006) suggest "researchers may over-estimate the natural occurrence of mastery and performance goals in particular settings" (p. 355). Students' reasons for engaging and wanting to achieve at school may also focus on reasons other than competence (Miller, Greene,

Montalvo, Ravindran, & Nichols, 1996). This paper contributes to this ongoing discussion by investigating students' views about goals that involve social comparison.

Social goals

Classrooms are inherently social places where the nature and relative success of social interactions has an impact on motivation and achievement. Not surprisingly, researchers have become increasingly interested in the role of social goals in student motivation (Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Wentzel, 1991). A range of social goals students pursue in learning situations has been identified and investigated including social responsibility goals (to comply with school and classroom rules and expectations) (L. H. Anderman, 1999b), prosocial goals (willingness to help, share and cooperate) (Spera & Wentzel, 2003), affiliation and relationship goals (desire to belong, to be liked by others, to establish relationships) (Wentzel, 1996), approval goals (to be liked by others, to seek approval from teachers, peers, parents), welfare goals (to help others), and status goals (to be well regarded within the peer group and the class) (Levy, Kaplan, & Patrick, 2004). Social goals are relevant to this study which investigates the range of goals that are relevant to students' desire to achieve at school.

# Future goals

The role of individuals' views of themselves in the future and how this may influence more immediate motivation for academic tasks has become of recent interest to researchers and has been investigated from various theoretical perspectives with terminology such as 'utility value' (Eccles et al., 1983), 'future time perspective/orientation' (FTP/FTO) (McInerney, 2004), 'perceived instrumentality' (PI) (Lens, Simons, & Dewitte, 2001), and 'future-oriented extrinsic goals' (Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindran, & Nichols, 1996). In the present study, the term 'future goals' is used to describe goals pertaining to students' future desires including career and employment, materialistic possessions, success and happiness.

Consistently, research has found positive relationships between an individual's future vision and goals, and immediate engagement and performance (Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindran, & Nichols, 1996). Some researchers have argued that future goals are relevant to achievement motivation (Malka & Covington, 2005; Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindran, & Nichols, 1996) due to possible influences on situation specific achievement goals, and potential to positively influence academic achievement, self-regulation, deep processing and effort and for sustaining effort when interest is low (Miller, Greene, Montalvo, Ravindran, & Nichols, 1996). It is reasonable to expect that future goals will be important to adolescents, particularly as goals for the future are strongly encouraged by parents and teachers, and students who are nearing the end of their secondary education will have specifically selected their curriculum based on career aspirations. Even so, the extent to which adolescents view these goals as being important is not fully described in the literature. The present study contributes to the emerging literature about adolescents' future goals.

Given the issues emerging in the literature as described in the preceding section, the purpose of this study is firstly to investigate the range of goals that influence students' desire to do well at school and secondly explore the relative importance of predetermined achievement goals for a group of adolescents. Two specific research questions are addressed:

- 1. What goals influence students' desire to do well at school?
- 2. Why are particular achievement goals (mastery, performance approach and avoid) perceived as very important, important, or not important, to students' motivation?

#### **METHOD**

#### **Participants**

This study was conducted at two secondary schools (one independent, one government) in ethnically diverse, low to middle income SES areas in metropolitan Western Australia. The participants were 195 volunteers: 128 Junior (age 12-13, 62 male, 66 female) and 67 Senior

(age 15-17, 27 Male, 40 Female) students. The researchers were not known to the students and students were aware that their responses would be anonymous.

#### Data collection

Participants completed a short survey mid-way through the academic year. The survey included the open ended question "Do you want to do well at school? Why/why not?" which gave students the opportunity to freely and spontaneously report their reasons for wanting to do well at school, or otherwise. This question is reflective of the types of questions that are typically used to ascertain the purposes underlying students' academic achievement (i.e. goals). The survey also included an activity where students rated six statements reflecting achievement goals (two each for mastery, performance approach and performance avoidance) as defined in the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales (Midgley et al., 2000) as very important, important, or not important. Students were then asked to explain why they had given each statement a particular rating. This activity was designed to explore the reasons why particular achievement goals were important or otherwise. A list of the statements provided to students is shown in Appendix A.

### Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis procedures were used to analyse survey data. Data from the question, "Do you want to do well at school? Why/why not?" were analysed firstly for content and then according to emergent goals. Three coders (whose experiences ranged from not familiar to very familiar with the literature) verified the coding processes across 56% of the total data with inter-rater reliability of 90%. Differences occurred when student responses had been ambiguous and were resolved between coders after discussion. Predetermined codes were not used during content coding, however, where emergent goals reflected those identified in the literature an appropriate coding category was used. Where student responses indicated multiple goals, the response was given more than one code. The coding categories shown by students' responses are reported in the following section (see Table 1).

Given that the purpose of the rating activity was to enable understandings to be developed about why students perceived mastery, performance approach and performance avoidance goals as very important, important or not important, the data was analysed by firstly grouping explanations according to both their goals and ratings (ie mastery-very important, mastery-important, mastery-not important, etc), then analysing the explanations to identify key reasons why ratings were given. In the reporting of the data in the following section, percentages are used only to give an impression of the number of students, relative to the cohort, who articulated particular goals, and who rated specific goals in a particular way. Further quantitative analysis of these percentages was not required to address the research questions.

### RESULTS

This section reports the results of the study according to the two research questions.

What goals influence students' desire to do well at school?

In answering the question "Do you want to do well at school? Why?" all students (N=195) responded "yes" and explained why. This question was the first question in the survey and thus reveals students' spontaneous responses, free of assumptions about the types of answers that might be expected or desired. Some students provided brief responses while other students gave more in depth answers referring to multiple reasons for wanting to do well. Table 1 presents the goals reflected by students' responses and how the goals were defined. The right hand column shows the percentage of students who articulated each goal. Because students articulated multiple goals the percentages are useful to show the goals given most priority by students, i.e. future goals and performance achievement goals.

Table 1: Students' goals for wanting to achieve at school

Goal	Definition	% students
Future goals		
	Wanting to do well to realise future goals, such as to have a good job, materialistic possessions, financial means, to be successful, to pursue a particular career or to gain entrance to tertiary study.	85%
Achievement goals	•	
Mastery	Wanting to learn and to improve.	10%
Performance Social goals	Wanting to attain and/or maintain 'good' marks.	29%
Responsibility	Wanting to meet expectations of family and/or teachers, or to meet obligations.	
Approval Welfare	Wanting to attain approval from parents and/or teachers Wanting to be able to help others.	10%
Well being goals	Wanting to enhance self-confidence, self-esteem, and to be happy and fulfilled in life.	9%

# Future goals

As Table 1 shows, future goals were by far the most commonly mentioned with 167 students (85%: 80% Junior, 91% Senior) reporting these reasons for wanting to do well at school. Future goals pertained to students' future desires, i.e. having a good job, earning a good wage, having materialistic possessions or pursuing a particular career as illustrated in the following statements:

- I want to get a good job, earn good money and live a good, financially supported life.
- I want to go on to university and have an enjoyable and successful career.
- I believe that if I do well in school this will create a springboard into other institutes of education, e.g. University.
- I think that if I do well I will have a positive attitude in further education too.

A few students acknowledged that doing well at school would also help them avoid being unsuccessful in the future.

- I want to have a good career and have options. I want to be successful and not work at a place like McDonalds or something.
- Yes, because if I don't, I'll get nowhere in life.

Future goals therefore played a significant part in motivating students to want to do well at school.

#### Achievement goals

Seventy-six students (39%) referred to the achievement goals of mastery and performance when explaining why they wanted to do well at school. Mastery goals were shown in 10% (9% Junior, 11% Senior) of responses such as:

- I want to learn more and get better at my work.
- I want to be able to understand more and then be able to learn more.

Even though these goals were not prominent in responses to this question, as discussed later, mastery goals were related to multiple goals. Performance goals were more frequently reported with 29% (18% Junior, 40% Senior) articulating comments about wanting to get 'good' or 'high' grades or marks:

- I want to get good grades.
- I want to do well in everything I do.
- It matters to me to do as well as I can and to achieve high marks.

These comments show the desire to demonstrate competence but without the social comparison typically used when performance goals are considered with the approach/avoid distinction. Interestingly, no students gave statements indicating performance goals with approach or avoid distinctions; therefore, this distinction was not used in the coding system. Furthermore, achievement goals were not the dominant goals in responses to this question. This is surprising given that the majority of research about purposes for wanting to achieve at school has focused on achievement goals. These findings suggest that achievement goals may not be the most prominent goals for all students.

# Social goals

A range of social goals were identified in 10% of student responses (9% Senior, 11% Junior) including relationships (*I want to achieve so I can meet new people, get a job and have fun with old and new friends*) responsibility (*I want to do well because it is expected of me*), approval (*I want to do well so my Mum and Dad will be proud of me*) and welfare (*One day I want to become a teacher and help people to go far in their life*). While these social goals were certainly less prominent than other goals, the statements made show how social goals are closely linked to future and performance goals, thus contributing to students' multiple goals.

### Well-being goals

Some students (9%: 13% Senior, 5% Junior) also mentioned well-being goals which were evidenced by a desire to be confident, happy and fulfilled in life and their responses illustrate students' awareness of this.

- I want to have good esteem and be happy confident and successful.
- It is nice to know you have done well for esteem issues.

Well-being goals of this nature are not well established in the literature, however, some definitions of future oriented goals have incorporated students' future affect (ie to be happy and successful) and so well-being may be linked to future goals.

# Multiple goals

The results show that students' desire to do well at school is influenced by multiple goals as many students (42%) referred to multiple goals when explaining why they wanted to do well at school. Close examination of the students' statements which were double coded revealed some associations between particular goals. The most common association was between performance and future goals with forty-eight students of the total cohort (25%) linking demonstration of high performance to future aspirations, such as potential university entrance, or more options in life generally. Fourteen students (7% of the total cohort) linked future and well-being goals, stating that attainment of future goals would lead to happiness, confidence and/or success. Mastery and performance goals were related for ten students (5% of the total cohort) who believed that learning and improvement would lead to high marks.

While most of the comments related two goals, some more in-depth responses showed how more than two goals were important and actually supported each other.

I want to do well at school for various reasons; so I can achieve my goals (best possible results); so I can get into Uni; doing well is what leads us to how the rest of

your life will play out; I want to have a good esteem, and have a good, happy, successful life, doing well.

Here performance goals will assist attainment of future goals which in turn will lead to positive well-being. Similarly, the following statement shows how performance goals are underpinned by the goal of improving others' welfare. These goals sit alongside future goals of having a comfortable life and well-being goals of being successful.

I want to be at a high level academically to help others and improve people's lives with higher training. Also I will be financially able to lead a comfortable life if I succeed academically.

The multiple goals articulated here indicate that investigating goals in isolation may potentially overlook relationships between goals which can be critical to successful goal pursuit. These findings reinforce the importance of using a multiple goals perspective to understand student motivation.

Why are particular achievement goals (mastery, performance approach and avoidance) perceived as very important, important or not important, to student motivation?

The first survey question gave students the opportunity to freely articulate *what* goals influenced their desire to do well at school and as the results show, achievement goals were spontaneously reported by 39% of the total cohort who described their desire to develop competence (mastery) and/or demonstrate competence (performance goals). Because many studies investigating students' motivation for achievement have used an achievement goal perspective to investigate what achievement goals students pursue, the second research question focused on developing understandings about *why* students' perceive achievement goals as typically defined in the literature to be very important, important or not important. To do this, students were provided with six statements reflecting three achievement goals (mastery, performance approach, performance avoidance) and were asked to rate them as 'very important', 'important' and 'not important' and then explain why particular ratings had been given. This activity yielded some interesting results about the relative importance of these achievement goals.

# Mastery goals

Mastery goals (as indicated by the statements 'it is important to me that I learn and understand new concepts this year' and 'it is important to me that I improve my skills and schoolwork this year') were rated as 'very important' for 172 students (88% from the total cohort). Reasons for this rating included the following.

- Because I want to really improve my school work this year and I want to learn and understand new concepts.
- I am at school to learn and improve my work.

Some students rated learning and improvement as 'important' because they would lead to other outcomes including academic achievement (performance goals), parental approval (approval goals) and positive future opportunities (future goals).

- I want to learn and understand as much as I can to get good marks in school.
- I want to learn more. I want experience and I want my parents to be proud of me
- I want to learn new things this year to have more choices for my future.

These statements show that even though mastery goals were important in their own right they also supported other goals including performance goals, approval goals and future goals.

# Performance approach goals

Performance approach goals as evidenced by students' wish to look smart in comparison to other students in the class and to want class members to think they are good at their work were rated as 'very important' by twelve (6%) of students, and 'important' by thirty-eight (19%) students.

- I believe that competition is the biggest motivation. When others think I am good at my work it not only boosts my self-esteem but encourages me to stay in that position.
- I want to seem smart ... and leave a good impression on others.

These explanations show how performance approach goals are important to other goals such as well-being (i.e. self-esteem) and approval from others.

The proportion of students rating performance approach goals as important in this activity is considerably lower than those who spontaneously referred to performance goals (evidenced by wanting to get good grades, high marks) when responding to the open ended question. The key distinction here is that although students want to do well and achieve high marks (grade goals), relatively few are concerned about social comparison or looking smart in front of others.

# Performance avoidance

As with performance approach goals, performance avoidance goals ('it is important that I avoid looking like I have trouble doing the work'; 'it is important that I don't look stupid in class') were rated as 'very important' by only fourteen (7%) students. More students (N=43, 22%) gave the rating of 'important', however it needs to be noted that of these 37 (19% of the total cohort) were junior students. This may well be expected given that the junior students were still becoming accustomed to the new school environment and were conscious of making a good impression.

- I don't wish for everyone to think I am stupid.
- I don't want to get embarrassed when I don't understand my work.

#### What goals are not important to students?

Given that performance approach and avoidance goals were only rated as 'very important' by a relatively small number of students, it was also necessary to ascertain what goals students had rated as 'not important' and examine why. No students rated mastery goals as 'not important', however, one hundred and forty five (74.3%) rated performance approach goals as not important, and one hundred and thirty eight (70.7%) rated performance avoidance goals as not important. Students explained their ranking by rejecting the importance of social comparison.

- It doesn't matter what others think. They aren't going to help me with my future
- I'm here not to look good, but to learn.
- I don't care what others think about me or my schoolwork. I don't care if somebody calls me dumb, because that means they're too distracted to do their own work.
- What others think is not important at all to me because I study and I do my work for myself... if I have trouble with work, I'll ask for help.

These students rejected social comparison of performance because they were focused on their own learning and referenced success according to their own goals, standards and aspirations rather than the performance of others.

Furthermore, some students expressed positive approaches to help seeking and explained how disguising lack of academic progress or understanding would be detrimental to future academic progress and achievement.

- If I avoid looking like I'm not doing well, that means I won't be able to ask for help, which could result in me failing academically.
- It is good to let your teachers know if you're struggling so they can help you.

The key reasons for rejection of the social comparison component of performance goals here are consistent with a focus on mastery goals.

# DISCUSSION

This study contributes to the literature in Australia and internationally that focuses on the goals adolescents pursue in learning settings. Although this study is limited by its relatively small sample size and exclusive use of qualitative processes, there are three key findings.

Firstly, the results from research question one point to the important role future goals play in motivating students to want to do well at school. The majority of students who described future related reasons for wanting to achieve suggests that future aspirations do indeed influence students' motivation. Furthermore, for these students, future goals were associated with both mastery and performance goals. Some researchers have suggested that broader life goals and aspirations contribute to more immediate achievement goals (Malka & Covington, 2005), however the research about these associations is still in its infancy. This study indicates there may be a link between these goals and that future goals may play a larger role in adolescents' motivation than has been acknowledged in existing literature.

There are also interesting findings here regarding the salience of future goals at different stages of development. Wigfield (1994) argues that younger students do not have a well developed sense of the future value or purposes of school. While the purpose of this paper is not to compare Junior and Senior students, it is interesting that a high percentage (80%) of Junior students articulated future goals. Much of the research regarding future goals has been conducted with high school and university students, yet this data suggests that future goals are salient for students as young as 12. Given this finding, interventions focusing on future goals may be appropriate for enhancing the motivation of early adolescents as well.

The second key finding of this study concerns the definition of performance goals with social comparison. Urdan and Mestas (2006) argue that social comparison is a "defining feature of performance goals" (p. 355), however other researchers have described 'grade goals' as performance goals (Harackiewicz, Barron, Carter, Lehto, & Elliot, 1997) and questioned the relevance of the approach/avoid distinction (Brophy, 2005). The finding from the present study that students wish to demonstrate competence, but not competence relative to others, raises questions about how performance goals are defined and whether the approach/avoid distinction in performance goals is representative of goals that are salient for students. Indeed, many students made statements that emphatically rejected the importance of social comparison to their engagement and achievement at school. Although it may be the case that the approach/avoid distinction and social comparison was not important to these students given the high importance placed on mastery goals, the desire to demonstrate competence would benefit from further consideration. Furthermore, in this instance, demonstrating competence, may actually be important to developing competence. In this way, obtaining feedback about progress, understanding and improvement (in the form of marks, grades or achievement of outcomes) may provide valuable information to students about their learning. Such information may be critical to a continued striving for understanding, learning, improvement and pursuit of mastery goals. Consequently, it may be important in future studies to define students' goals to demonstrate competence as either an important dimension of mastery goal pursuit, or as a 'grade' goal.

Another consideration is that there may have been factors about the specific educational contexts (i.e. outcomes based education) the students participated in and the reliance on criterion rather than norm referenced assessment practices. The relative infrequency of standardised testing combined with some reporting structures that are largely free of comparative information, may contribute to less focus on academic competition and promote

an emphasis on individual effort and achievement. While investigation of context was beyond the bounds of this study, future research may further develop discussion about goals and specific educational contexts in Australia.

Finally, this study contributes to the growing body of literature showing students pursue multiple goals in learning contexts (Dowson & McInerney, 2003; Wentzel, 1992; Wosnitza & Volet, 2009). The findings show that not only are other goals, such as future goals, important to students' motivation but these goals may play a role in determining types of achievement goals adopted in more immediate settings. Thus considering multiple goals should not be limited to achievement and social goals, but should include all goals articulated as important by particular groups of students. In addition, findings show that considering the direction and possible hierarchy of goals may be important. For example, mastery goals (learning and understanding) will lead to performance goals (defined here as attaining good marks/grades) which in turn support future goals (having a successful career). Likewise, performance goals may support future goals which will lead to future and present well-being (feeling happy and confident). It is vital that researchers examine the full range of reasons for student achievement and adopt a more holistic view of goals if we are to improve student motivation and achievement in educational settings. Furthermore, understanding the complexity of goals and interrelationships between particular goals will enable an increasingly accurate picture of how goals influence adolescents desire to achieve in learning contexts.

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# Biographical note

Caroline F. Mansfield (PhD) lectures in Educational Psychology in the School of Education at Murdoch University, Western Australia. Previous experience as a secondary teacher has lead to a keen interest in student motivation and how it can be enhanced in learning contexts. Current research interests also include learning processes, self-efficacy, teacher motivation and resilience.

# APPENDIX A – GOAL STATEMENTS

(based on Midgley, et al, 2000)

# **Mastery statements**

It is important to me that ...

- A. I learn and understand new concepts this year
- C. I improve my skills and school work this year

# Performance approach statements

It is important to me that ...

- B. I look smart in comparison to other students in my class
- E. Others in my class think I'm good at my class work

# Performance avoidance statements

It is important to me that ...

- D. I avoid looking like I have trouble doing the work
- F. I don't look stupid in class