UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Classroom influences on intrinsic motivation to learn:

An exploratory study on Filipino students in Hawaii

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

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June 2011

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Classroom influences on intrinsic motivation to learn: An exploratory study on Filipino students in Hawaii

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Jessica Villaruz Cabalo

DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to

my children, Tyler & Mia

and my husband, Adam.

Each of you inspires me every single day.

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ABSTRACT

Classroom influences on intrinsic motivation to learn: An exploratory study on Filipino students in Hawaii by

Jessica Villaruz Cabalo

Filipino students in Hawaii, like other ethnic minority students, continue to face academic struggles. Yet, there are few studies that have looked at the root of this issue for Filipino American students. While past research have focused on interventions through "culturally appropriate" instruction and multicultural curriculum, the researcher aimed to explore this issue by focusing on *intrinsic motivation to learn*. In this study, the researcher examined Filipino students in Hawaii who were learning under two different classroom learning orientations—a *culturally conforming* classroom that utilized cooperative learning techniques and a *culturally confronting* classroom that utilized individualistic learning techniques. Specifically, she explored the effects of these classroom learning orientations on three aspects of intrinsic motivation to learn--competence, self-determination and autonomy. The researcher hypothesized that student intrinsic motivation to learn would be generally stronger in the *culturally confronting* classroom than the *culturally conforming* classroom, especially for lower achieving Filipino students.

Using a variant of the ethnographic method of Observant Participation (Block, 1975), a mixed-methods, quantitative and qualitative research methodology, the study involved 30 total visits to 2 6th grade classrooms, 150 hours of participant

observation, 12 student and 2 teacher ethnographic interviews, and student surveys and writing samples.

The methodological limitations of the study, such as small sample size, issues in treatment sampling, and dosage of treatment resulted in uninterpretable findings. Despite this, the study still provides recommendations for future research particularly in the area of Observant Participation. The study also provides valuable insight for the need to continue investigating the academic issues of Filipinos in Hawaii.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Filipino students in Hawaii, past and present, continue to face a myriad of problems in public schooling, including disruptive behavior, gang involvement, high rates of pregnancy and suicide, and more prominently, low academic achievement. These problems have persisted because 1) there is a general lack of achievement data on Filipino as a group; 2) they are understudied in the area of learning, especially at the elementary school level; and 3) the few programs that have attempted to address their academic plight do so only through "culturally appropriate" instruction or multicultural education².

Filipinos in U.S. Schools

The U.S. population is growing due to an increase in a number of diverse ethnic groups. Data from the 2008 American Community Survey³ indicated that Filipinos represent the second largest Asian group and the third largest ethnic group

¹ Culturally appropriate instruction has been defined as school practices/instruction that matches students' culture at home (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Wertsch, 1991).

² Multicultural education has been defined as education that places cultural diversity at the center of teaching. It realizes the importance of teaching students about themselves and the diversity that exists around them (Halagao, 2004).

³ Data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau for 2008.

immigrating to America. The 2006 census data indicates that there are slightly over a half a million school-age (5 to 19 years old) Filipino students. This number is only an estimation of Filipino students in the public school system. Findings from a national study on the academic achievement of Filipinos suggested that Filipino students in the American K-12 public schools are not being adequately prepared for the high-demand, high-skills jobs in the current workplace environment (NAFAA, 2008)⁴.

Filipinos in Hawaii

In Hawaii, the proportion of Filipinos is even larger as they represent one-fourth of the total Hawaiian population with roughly 4,000 Filipino immigrants arriving annually since the 1960s (Agbayani & Sam, 2008). Yet, Filipinos are perhaps the most often forgotten group of Hawaiian immigrants (Heras & Revilla, 1994) and one of the least understood subcultures of Pacific Islanders. Such forgetting about and lack of understanding affects Hawaiian socio-economic development, for Filipinos are among Hawaii's most socio-economically disadvantaged ethnic/racial minorities. Relative to the dominant Caucasians, Chinese and Japanese, Filipinos fall into the lower levels of Hawaiian ethnic/racial stratification along with Native Hawaiians, Samoans and other Pacific Islanders (Okamura, 1998).

⁴ The National Federation of Filipino American Association conducted a national study on the academic achievement of Filipinos in 2007. No known studies have been conducted since then specifically on academic achievement of Filipinos.

Filipinos in Hawaii Schools

The Hawaii K-12 public school system serves 36,595 Filipino students, comprising 21% of the student population and representing the second largest ethnic group, second only to Native Hawaiians. The academic achievement levels of Filipino students are second lowest, only ahead of the Hawaiian students. Data from the 2006 Standards Based Assessment—the Hawaii Content Performance Standards (HCPS-II)—showed that only 44% of Filipino students scored high enough to meet reading proficiency. Even worse, only 25% of Filipino students scored high enough on the assessment to meet mathematics proficiency (NFFAA, 2008).

Lack of Data

This academic underachievement has persisted partly because Filipino students continue to be understudied. There is also a lack of academic data on Filipinos as a single ethnic group. In the U.S., Filipinos have historically been classified as Asian Americans, creating misconceptions about the academic data for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI). That is, classifying Filipinos with other Asian American groups like the Japanese and Chinese who consistently occupy upper levels of educational attainment (NFFAA, 2008), masks the problems of this particular sub-group creating the misleading notion that all Asian Americans are high academic achievers.

In the latest report from the National Center for Education Statistics, *Status* and *Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups* (2010), Filipinos are still included under the broader Asian category. Only very recently has it been recognized

that Filipinos need to be studied as a distinct subgroup, instead of under the larger "Asian" category.

The White House Initiative on AAPI's has recognized that "although data on educational achievement and attainment are generally disaggregated by major racial and ethnic groups, including AAPI students, a lack of further disaggregation within the AAPI group masks hidden achievement gaps. While educational attainment among East Asian and South Asian groups is high, educational attainment among Pacific Islanders and Southeast Asian groups is relatively low" (White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 2010).

As part of the White House Initiative on AAPI's, the National Commission on Asian American and Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE)⁵ was established to analyze disaggregated data in order to raise awareness about the dismal educational outcomes, help inform and enable researchers, policymakers, educators and practitioners. CARE also seeks to identify specific needs for AAPI students and reduce misinformation that confounds subgroups like Filipinos with others AAPI students.

At a more local level, it is surprising that while Filipinos make up a large proportion of the Hawaii State population, and over one-fifth of the student population, Hawaii agencies do not consistently collect data on Filipinos as a separate group (Agbayani & Sam, 2008). If these data were consistently collected, then

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⁵ Under President Obama's White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

perhaps they would generate more attention for persistent problems and result in a sense of urgency for future studies, especially on students.

Research on Filipino Students

Past and current research specifically on Filipino students in Hawaii typically focus on their underrepresentation in the College of Education at the University of Hawaii, Manoa and in higher education in general. This means that these students are not making it to college but the cause is unknown because there is very little research that focuses on elementary and secondary schooling of Filipino students.

A small but growing number of education researchers has begun to explore what might be done to reverse this Filipino academic struggle. Given the complexity of the problem, it is not surprising that different groups of researchers have taken off in very different directions. Older research provides some explanations for modern Filipinos' socio-economic plight. Ponce (1980), in particular, attributes their status to such factors as their population's size, the recency of their immigration to Hawaii relative to other major ethnic groups such as the Japanese and Chinese who immigrated in the 1800s (see, Libarios, 2002), their relatively slow urbanization, an imbalance in age-sex structure, and patterns of stratification and inequality that exist across ethnic lines of participation in the occupational life of the Hawaiian community.

Later research, however, suggests that no factor, even socio-economic status, explains Filipinos' low level in the Hawaiian ethnic/racial stratification structure more than their level of education. Here, too, Filipinos occupy the lowest rungs of

student learning (Agbayani, 1996). Peng (1995), for instance, reports that relative to non-Asian and other Pacific American groups, Filipinos tend to exhibit low educational achievement and educational aspirations.

More recent research uncovered various psychosocial issues Filipinos face in education. It has been found that Filipinos are highest at risk (among other Asian groups) for early pregnancy and suicidal rates as well as other psychological stressors (Nadal, 2008), are more likely (than Chinese students) to be faced with the social realities of violence and gangs and face more negative affects of social/racial climate (Teranishi, 2002) and demonstrate higher rates of disruptive behavior (Mayeda et al., 2006). Additional research points to "stereotype threat" (Steele, 1997) and other issues related to equity and race relations as contributors to this problem.

Agbayani and Sam's (2008) research reveals other major challenges that impact the performance of Filipinos in education today including 1) the high cost of living and the relatively low wage-earning jobs that Filipinos occupy, predominantly in the service sector (hotel industry, health care, sales, etc.); 2) the limited amount of time parents who work more than one job have to spend with their children; 3) the unfamiliarity of many immigrant Filipinos with the English language and the public school system; and 4) the prejudice and discrimination exhibited by a lack of sensitivity by student peers, teachers, media, business and governmental policies.

While this research provides valuable insight into the peripheral issues associated with Filipinos in education, it is still unclear where the problem lies for student learning. Upon closer inspection of actual academic issues, Agbayani and

Sam (2008, p. 34) cited the following problems or barriers to Filipino students' success in school:

- Lack of Filipino and Filipino American content integrated into mainstream curriculum;
- Absence of Filipino American children's stories that are American/Hawaiibased and not Philippines-based;
- Many public school teachers are unaware of culturally responsive pedagogy for Filipino American students;
- Low self-esteem and pride of Filipino youth in being Filipino American;
- Relatively few Filipino role models in teaching, administration and counseling professions;
- Limited parental involvement in their child's learning and at their school; and
- Unrealistic Federal educational legislation (e.g. No Child Left Behind) that requires students who are limited English speakers/English as a Second Language students to be as proficient as their English-speaking peers in reading and mathematics. In addition, the focus on NCLB resulted in the elimination of programs that involve art, music and drama, which are subjects that Filipino students tend to do well in, and that can serve as a bridge to learning core academic content.

The Motivational Perspective

Few scholars recognize the need for further investigation and even fewer have turned their research into practical programs that aim to impact these students. This brings us to another issue contributing to poor academic achievement among Filipino students. The only formal instruction designed specifically with Filipino American students in Hawaii in mind focuses on "culturally appropriate" instruction through multicultural education, where social studies programs like *Pinoy Teach* (Halagao & Cordova, 1996) and *iJeepney* (Halagao et.al, 2006), for example, include Filipino culture and history. Developing and implementing such multicultural curricula is truly important. While acknowledging, understanding, and preserving culture through awareness is imperative, I believe that it is secondary and that in order to address this persistent issue of low academic achievement directly, educators should first focus on cultivating students' life-long love for learning.

Because I believe that:

- *intrinsic* motivation to learn lies at the heart of the learning problem for Filipino students in Hawaii;
- "culturally appropriate" instruction, as currently developed, seems not to directly concern Filipino students' motivation to learn;

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⁶ In this study, "culturally appropriate" instruction is a term used to describe instruction that recognizes a need for classroom contexts to adapt to the cultural context of the students.

• if culturally appropriate instruction did concern Filipino students' intrinsic motivation to learn, that it might be tempting to put in place motivation to learn structures, especially cooperative ones, that fail to address important elements in intrinsic motivation to learn, themes such as competence, self-determination and autonomy.

For the reasons noted above, I believe it would be wise to move in a less "culturally appropriate" instructional way. Specifically, I believe that more study is required of instructional situations that confront culture rather than conform to culture. Therefore, just as Maehr and his colleagues (1999) studied the potential impact of such confrontational techniques on motivation to learn in the largely African American cultures of the upper Midwest, I explored the potential impact of these techniques on Filipino culture of Hawaii.

The research questions that guided this study were:

- 1. How do a cooperatively-oriented, or <u>culturally conforming</u> classroom and an individualistically-oriented, or <u>culturally confronting</u> classroom affect intrinsic motivation to learn among Filipino students? and
- 2. Do these *culturally conforming* and *confronting* classrooms affect different aspects of intrinsic motivation to learn especially for the low to average achieving Filipino students?

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 1 described the importance of investigating the continuing struggle of Filipino students in Hawaii schools. The purpose of the literature review is to present the different perspectives represented in the study, trace the emergence of such perspectives, understand the different cultures involved in this problem and describe the classroom learning orientations that correspond to these different cultures.

The Culturalists

The main research group, influenced no doubt by mainland researchers' experience with the children of recent immigrants such as Latinos, have focused on understanding the general <u>cultural</u> factors that Filipino students bring from home to school. Broadly defined, *culture* is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior (Spradley, 1979). As Gollnick and Chinn (1994) define culture, it is first learned through enculturation, the process of acquiring a language, and socialization, the learning and internalizing of social and cultural norms and rules. Secondly, culture is shared through customs and values, which identify and bind people to an identifiable group. Thirdly, culture changes and is not static. In education, culture is perceived to have an impact on socialization and schooling processes.

These *culturalists*' methods are built on the general and well-established belief that home practices provide experiences that are fundamental to future school

practices (Levin, Brenner & McClellan, 1993). So, they argue that understanding the specific values and beliefs that are taught and learned in their homes may provide important insights to these Filipinos' schooling. Bulatao (1964), Ponce (1980), Okamura (1998), and, most recently, Halagao (2004) and Nadal (2008), all describe prominent life goals, values, and expectations shared among the Filipino family and collective community.

The first identified value is the concept of *emotional closeness and security in a family*. This reflects the belief that a) the interest of the individual must be sacrificed for the good of the family; b) parents should be protective and watchful of their children; and c) women are highly valued for their mothering and housekeeping qualities (Bulatao, 1964; Okamura, 1998; & Ponce, 1980). The second value is the concept of *approval by authority figures and by society*. Lynch (1964) adds the need for Filipinos to always strive for *social acceptance*. The last value is *economic and social betterment*. Sub-themes to this latter value include a) a striving for economic sufficiency for the family; b) continual dedication to improve one's economic situation; c) social recognition in both academic and work settings; and d) individual sacrifice or suffrage before rightfully gaining happiness.

Filipinos are among the many peoples in the world for whom education is seen as the one and only key to upward mobility to success in all fields and endeavors (Andres & Ilada-Andres, 1987). Paradoxically, the high expectations parents have for their children conflict with their own levels of education and occupational status.

Because education is valued and viewed as a means of socioeconomic mobility for

children, it is the best legacy parents can bestow to them, despite the fact that the parents themselves may not hold degrees in education.

The Cultural Dynamists

While most *culturalists* have focused their efforts on better understanding the home circumstances of Filipino students outside of school, a few *culturalists* have gone a step further and traced the actual impact of that culture inside the school.

These *culturists* argue that certain <u>cultural dynamics</u> are manifested in schools and classrooms as a result of the Filipino students' ethnic stratification and their interactions with students of other strata. Upon entering the school, students and teachers bring a host of prior experiences and knowledge that dispose them to certain interactions or dynamics within the classroom. As these dynamics involve the relationship between different ethnic groups within the school, they structure interaction, expectations and values within and between groups within major social institutions such as schools.

Cultural dynamists for the Hawaii State Department of Education (1994) reported, for instance, that Filipino students particularly face general schooling issues such as English language deficiencies, difficulty socializing with local students, lack of relevant schooling in their native country, and difficulty in understanding the value system of American society. For example, Filipino students adopt different general perceptions of the student role and attitudes of teachers as authority figures. They also face some specific schooling issues, which involve both verbal and non-verbal language, subject matter mastery and competencies, relational aspects of classroom

interaction, rules of conduct that are culture-oriented, and classroom protocol (Chattergy & Ongteco, 1991). For example, Pablo (1988) concluded that teachers misunderstood Filipino students' nonverbal requests for help because they expected them to raise their hands and ask for help. In seeking help, Filipino students used more passive tactics that were not clear to the teacher such as silently lingering around the teacher's desk. Additionally, the present school structure constrains Filipino students to take courses inappropriate to their individual needs or level of achievement. This kind of structure breeds failure, threatens self-esteem, and fails to understand the social ills of a fast-growing immigrant group caught in a maelstrom of cultural and social problems (Flores, 1998). Other researchers suspect these students possibly experience "stereotype threat," a concept coined by Steele (1997), where students' academic underachievement is affected by the threat of being viewed with a negative stereotype, inadvertently confirming racial stereotypes (Teranishi, 2002).

The Culture Mismatchists

Perhaps the most salient attempt to address the schooling issues of Filipino students has involved neither a focus on the students' home experience nor on their related school experience but on the interaction between the two. Central to this research has been the assumption that there is perhaps a <u>cultural mismatch</u> between what the children bring to the schooling experience and the experience itself that somehow interferes with the learning process. This cultural mismatch is purported to cause Filipino students to have unfamiliar experiences and to feel rather different than

other students. This unfamiliarity and these feelings, in turn, lead to tension within and between particular students and to tensions with the teachers themselves.

Table 1, for instance, details some of the specific inconsistencies between Filipino culture and school views reported by *cultural mismatchists* (Chattergy & Ongteco, 1991, p. 150). These home versus school cultural mismatches, particularly the aspect of student learning style, are speculated to have direct influences on students' motivation to learn and their actual learning itself.

Table 1
Filipino cultural mismatch between home and school perspectives

Item	Home Rule	School Perspective
Learning Attitudes	Learn by observing.	Ask questions and ask for help.
	Read the book and learn from it.	Review the book. Comment and Critique. Question.
Role Perception of Teachers and School	Do as your teacher tells you. He/she is your parent in school. Teacher "knows everything."	Self-initiative is good. Teacher is facilitator of learning, not parental surrogate. Teachers are not the only source of knowledge or information.
	The school is the major source of knowledge and information.	We need parental support and help.
	The school will teach you how to make a living.	We can only do so much.
Interaction	Speak only when spoken to.	Volunteer responses.
	Do not ask too many questions.	Learn by discussing, asking, verbalizing.
	Listen and do as I say.	Contribute to discussions.

Working Preference	Work with others. Help one another like you do at home with chores.	Do your own work. Do what you think is best for yourself. You alone are responsible for your actions. The sooner you're on your own, the better.

The Culturally Appropriatists

Growing out of the *cultural mismatchist* tradition has also been a pragmatist movement designed to go beyond simply describing the many possible cultural mismatches that Filipino students may face at school. Central to this research movement has been the idea that something must be done to mitigate these mismatches. These researchers believe that the key to this mitigation lies in the development of schooling ideas that are more <u>culturally appropriate</u> for Filipino students. Building on the work of Vygotsky (1978) and neo-Vygotskians (e.g. Rogoff, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Wertsch, 1991), this *culturally appropriatist* movement advocates for instructional practices at school that are matched (i.e., compatible, relevant, specific and/or congruent) with practices within the child's culture at home. Such instructional practices require that teachers adjust their teaching styles to meet the needs of various values, learning styles, and behavioral modes of their students. Such instruction can build upon students' cultural mores and can guide more effectual methods of instruction for students deemed "at-risk."

"Culturally appropriate" instructional strategies are grounded in past research studies on various indigenous groups such as the Native Alaskans, Native Americans and Native Hawaiians (Au, 1980; Chang & Liu, 1998; Jordan, 1984; Lee & Wong,

2002; Mau, 1998, 2002; Tharp & Gallimore, 1974; Yamauchi, 1993, 2002). When home values and norms are consistent with school values and norms, students are more apt to do well in school. However, when there is inconsistency, students need to adapt quickly or they generally will become underachievers (Mau, 1998).

Most of the "culturally appropriate" instruction targeting Filipino students has resulted from the famous Kamehameha Early Education Project (KEEP), a project first designed for Native Hawaiian children, children who, along with Samoans, occupy the same depressed social-economic strata as Filipinos. In the late 1960s, studies in anthropology indicated that there were cultural mismatches between expectations and demands of the school and culture of Native Hawaiian children (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974). Based on the fundamental idea of cultural congruence, KEEP was established in 1972 as a language arts program, designed specifically for children of Native Hawaiian ancestry who were at-risk for academic underachievement. The project sought to discover ways of improving the education achievement of Hawaiian children by studying the home and school culture. When these two cultures are mismatched, the school fails to teach the child and the child fails to learn (Jordan, 1984).

Two principle assumptions of KEEP included that first, all neurologically normal children, whatever their cultural background, possess the necessary skills and abilities to learn what schools are charged with teaching. Second, children have already learned very complex material as part of being socialized in their own culture

prior to formal schooling and both the child's culture and the school culture are involved (Jordan, 1984).

Based on these assumptions, anthropological data from the culture and environment were collected to yield insight in developing instructional strategies and curricula, as well as designing a socio-culturally similar environment within the classroom. Using these data and insights, KEEP established a K-6 lab school that modified the curriculum and teaching strategies by incorporating aspects of the children's home culture, including peer-directing learning centers and the use of culturally compatible participation structures in reading lessons (Au, 1995).

The Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE)

As a result of KEEP, the Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE) was founded in 1996 as a research-based, interdisciplinary reform movement for multi-lingual and multi-cultural student populations.

Policymakers, experts and practitioners formulated CREDE's standards of effective pedagogy for "culturally appropriate" instruction. These standards are (a) *Joint Productive Activity*— students and teachers working together to create tangible and intangible products; (b) *Language and Literacy Development*— promoting language development in all classes, not just in language arts; (c) *Contextualization*—connecting new information to what students already know from their prior home, school, and community experiences; (d) *Challenging Activities*— engaging students in complex thinking; and (e) *Instructional Conversation*—teaching through dialogue (CREDE, 2000; Tharp et. al, 1999).

As one of the CREDE experts in Hawaii, Yamauchi (2002) studied Native Hawaiian students in the Hawaiian Immersion Program. Positive outcomes of academic growth and preservation of culture among Hawaiian students has allowed a continuation of work through the Hawaiian Studies Program (Yamauchi, 2003, 2005, 2007). An extension of Yamauchi's studies on Native Hawaiian students is research focused on Danish and Greenlandic groups where reform focused on *contextualization* and *modeling*, two CREDE standards that make explicit use of culture to teach (Wyatt, 2009).

"Culturally Appropriate" Instruction

Many other researchers have adopted the idea of "culturally appropriate" instruction. In fact, since its introduction, there has been an evolution of pedagogy termed as *culturally congruent instruction*, *culturally proficient instruction*, *culturally relevant pedagogy* (Ladson-Billings, 1994), *culturally responsive schooling* or *culturally responsive teaching* (Gay, 2000) *culturally responsive teaching and learning* (Hollie, 2001), most recently *culturally responsive standards-based instruction* (Saifer et al, 2011).

Ladson-Billings (1994) famously coined the term *culturally responsive pedagogy*, which is defined as "pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes" (p.18). In her philosophy of *culturally responsive pedagogy*, Ladson-Billings (1995) focused on teachers' conceptions of themselves and others, the manner in which classroom social interactions are structured and the teachers'

conception of knowledge. Her success using culturally responsive instruction with African American youth has become widely known and adopted with further modifications.

Extending the work of Ladson-Billings' *culturally responsive pedagogy* was Gay's *culturally responsive teaching* (CRT), which focused on instructional preparation and delivery suitable for more diverse ethnic groups that are sometimes deemed "underachieving" including African, Asian, Latino and Native American students. Gay (2000) asserts that *culturally responsive teaching* requires 1) explicit knowledge about cultural diversity; 2) acquiring factual information about particularities that exist among different ethnic groups; and 3) gaining a deeper understanding about multicultural education theory, research, and scholarship. The central idea of this approach is to use the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively. Further, it is believed that CRT validates, facilitates, liberates, and empowers ethnically diverse students by simultaneously cultivating their cultural integrity, individual abilities, and academic success (Gay, 2000).

Other scholars have taken CRT research practices into schools with the use of Pearson Education's *Culturally Responsive Curriculum: Content Equity in the Classroom* (Pearson, 2008). This curriculum was developed specifically for California's growing ethnically and linguistically diverse student population, with particular focus on a culturally responsive literacy system for African American and Mexican American students. Hollie (2001) further extended this focus by co-creating

the Center for Culturally Responsive Teaching and Learning in California, where he implemented a culturally and linguistically responsive approach.

Challenges of "Culturally Appropriate" Instruction

While traditional culturally appropriate instruction has been deemed successful in some classroom situations with specific cultural groups, there have also been cases of such instruction having a negative impact on student (and even teacher) learning. Studies like this address other challenges faced in the practice of culturally responsive teaching, including misconceptions and assumptions made about certain ethnic groups due to inadequate information, miscommunication between teachers and students, student resistance and confusion, bias, etc. In one case study, for instance, the use of culturally relevant pedagogy resulted in confusion among students and teachers. In that case, math teachers used a documentary on fast food consumption as a tool to relate to English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) students about math concepts. The findings of the study indicated that the documentary was not relevant to these particular students, resulting in the inability for them to identify with the topic and engage in the discussion. Other findings showed boredom among students and a lack of scaffolding from the teachers. In this case, not only did culturally relevant pedagogy fail to reach the students, but it also resulted in teachers questioning their belief about teaching as well as their role as the teacher (Leonard, Napp & Adeleke, 2009).

Integrated "Culturally Appropriate" Instruction

Despite challenges culturally appropriate instruction brings, Ginsberg and Wlodkowski (1995) still adopted the "culturally appropriate" tradition, but developed the theory further by recognizing that in addition to cultural responsive teaching, intrinsic motivation is equally essential in order to improve classroom learning. They supported the idea that what is culturally and emotionally significant to a person evokes intrinsic motivation. Their *Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching*, includes:

- 1. *Establishing inclusion*, which refers to employing principles and practices that contribute to a learning environment in which students and teachers feel respected by and connected to one another.
- 2. *Developing a positive attitude*, which refers to employing principles and practices that contribute to, through personal and cultural relevance and through choice, a favorable disposition toward learning.
- 3. *Enhancing meaning*, which refers to bringing about challenging and engaging learning. It expands and strengthens learning in ways that matter to students and have social merit.
- 4. *Engendering competence*, which refers to employing principles and practices that help students authentically identify that they are effectively learning something that they value (Ginsberg & Wlodkowki, 2000, p. 6).

Most recently, other scholars have taken this motivationally and "culturally appropriate" instruction to integrate the nation's priority of standards-based schooling.

Culturally Responsive Standards-Based Teaching: Classroom to Community and Back, developed by Education Northwest, cites findings that teachers who are most successful in engaging students develop activities with students' basic psychological and intellectual needs in mind. Students need work that develops their sense of competency, allows them to develop connections with others, gives them some degree of autonomy, and provides for originality and self-expression (Ames, 1992; Anderman & Midgely, 1998; Strong, Silver, & Robinson, 1995).

"Culturally Appropriate" Instruction for Filipinos

Following this lineage of *cultural appropriatists*, most relevant to this particular study is Halagao and Cordova's (1996) work on a multicultural curriculum, focusing on Filipino culture. With the belief that motivation comes from relevancy, they helped spearhead a movement toward multicultural education by developing curricula, *Pinoy Teach*, that includes Filipino history. These scholars trained educators to properly implement *Pinoy Teach* and in a follow-up study, Halagao (2004) looked at the long-term effects of *Pinoy Teach* on teachers who used the curriculum with their middle school students. This study resulted in participants reporting 1) love and appreciation of ethnic history, culture, and identity; 2) life-long embodiment and commitment to principles of diversity and multiculturalism; and 3) continued activism in the teaching profession and/or involvement in social and civic

issues in the community (Halagao, 2010, p. 496). Most significantly for the present study, Halagao's participants also reported feelings of lasting empowerment and self-efficacy.

Halagao's (1994) perspective embodies the premise of "culturally appropriate" instruction as specifically applied to best teach Filipino students. Her instructional recommendations include the following:

- 1. Know your Filipino American students.
- 2. Connect the curriculum to your Filipino American students.
- 3. Help to decolonize the mindsets of Filipino American students and parents.
- 4. Establish personal connections with your students.
- 5. Build a bayanihan or spirit of community in the classroom
- 6. Give voice to Filipino American students.
- 7. Teach Filipino American students to speak their minds.
- 8. Use art forms such as visual representation, dance, and music to teach and assess core subjects.
- 9. Involve Filipino American parents in non-traditional ways.
- 10. Provide a variety of resources and role models for students.

Another contributor to the research on "culturally appropriate" classrooms for Filipino students is Nadal (2008) who takes a psychosocial perspective and recommends guidance, support of their psychological needs and awareness of

Filipino culture and history. One study that speaks to this need for such support and guidance found that teacher biases of Filipino students reflected direct ways that perceived teacher and counselor bias could affect students' self-esteem and self-efficacy (Teranishi, 2002).

Halagao, Tintiangco-Cubales and Cordova (2009) have approached the Filipino schooling issue through research and development in the area of multicultural curriculum studies. They created Filipino/a American curricula that included Filipino heritage, history and background. They also conducted a comprehensive and critical literature review of the existing thirty-three curricula used for the same purpose of providing a cultural background of Filipino history. Also part of this multicultural curriculum approach, Nadal (2008) further recommends that teachers celebrate Filipino heritage and pride, understand and validate students, recognize the conflict Filipino students may face in discovering and maintaining their racial and ethnic identity as well as understanding the stressors and discrimination.

The Confronting Culturalists

The research outlined in the rest of this chapter is situated in the tradition of those educational researchers who believe that the solution to the problem of learning itself among Filipinos involves studying the cultural mismatch between home and school factors. More specifically, this research is also situated in the pragmatist tradition of those *cultural mismatchists* who also believe in applying theory in schools through interventions. Researchers like Maehr (1996) started looking at motivation less as an internal disposition and more heavily as a function of context. He and his

colleagues believed in confronting culture with culture. That is, they believed in changing the school culture by reaching students through school and class-level strategies that focus on motivational aspects related to the learning environment (Maehr & Midgley, 1999).

While the bulk of this cultural mismatch literature supports interventions that conform to Filipino culture, this study recognizes the emerging value of alternative interventions that sometimes need to confront Filipino culture, too. This confronting culture position has developed out of my own experience as an academically successful Filipina and my attempts to understand my own success. This experience has provided a unique perspective on the root of the learning problems amongst Filipino students.

One part of my perspective is that the root of Filipino students' learning problems lies in their *intrinsic* motivation to learn and not in their capacity. *Intrinsic* motivation to learn refers to when students are motivated by effective interaction with the learning process and not by extrinsic rewards or punishments (Brophy, 1983; Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Stipek (2002), in particular, has written extensively about intrinsic motivation to learn. For her, and the bulk of motivational researchers, this motivation is defined by certain thoughts, emotions, and actions that reflect active and productive engagement in the learning process by "autonomous and self confident" students who value and enjoy learning both in and out of school and throughout their lives. As a Filipina student, I rarely found myself surrounded by Filipino classmates whose

thoughts, emotions, and actions reflected this autonomy, self-confidence, and valuing/enjoyment of the learning process. My classmates' most basic thoughts and emotions about the learning process was that learning was not active and productive but boring and simply expected of them. Likewise, their most basic action was not to maximize the learning process but to do all they could to minimize it. Put another way, they were physically present but mentally and otherwise absent.

The second part of my perspective is that most of the "culturally appropriate" instruction in Hawaii tends not to focus directly on motivation to learn. Even in major projects like KEEP, there are virtually no explicit motivational techniques suggested for classroom use. Only in the CREDE standards developed by Tharp et al (2000) is there one single standard targeted directly toward issues of student motivation and that concerns the development of "challenging activities." This absence/paucity of motivational standards in KEEP/CREDE stand in stark contrast to other well-known lists of "effective pedagogy" standards such as those of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Cotton, 1999). Moreover, the techniques proposed for building even the one single standard of "challenging activities" (CREDE) are minimal in terms of challenge theory and practice (see Malone and Lepper, 1987, for a comprehensive discussion of such theory and practice). Additionally, the suggested practices of "culturally appropriate" instruction from Ladson-Billings (1994), Gay (2001), Halagao (2004) and Nadal (2008) support student empowerment through cultural pride and ethnic identity, not through their own learning.

Apparently, the general assumption in "culturally appropriate" instruction seems to be that intrinsic motivation to learn, specifically, is not an issue—students who are taught in culturally appropriate ways will just naturally be motivated to learn. Only in the research of Ginsberg & Wlodkowki (1995, 2000) and perhaps Saifer et al. (2011) has motivation to learn been recognized in this body of literature. Since this assumption has little general support in the effective instruction and intrinsic motivation to learn literature (Brophy, 1983; Cotton, 1999), it is hard to accept in the "culturally appropriate" literature, too.

The third part of my perspective revolves around my scholarly concerns of what might happen even if "culturally appropriate" instruction better addressed the intrinsic motivation to learn issue. My reading of the "culturally appropriate" literature suggests that, even then, the motivational structures developed might fall far short of what is needed. This is because the structures that would seem to be most "culturally appropriate" would probably not develop the requisite levels of competence, self-determination and autonomy that are so important in intrinsic motivation to learn.

Motivationally speaking, there are three general kinds of motivational systems that one can develop in a classroom—cooperative, competitive and individualistic (see Table 2, Ames & Ames, 1984). As defined by Ames and Ames (1984b) cooperatively-oriented classrooms imply interdependence of goals; that is, group members work together by sharing responsibilities to reach a common goal.

Contrastingly, competitively-oriented classrooms imply students working against

each other to reach a goal; that is, the probability of achieving a goal is reduced by the presence of other students. Thirdly, individualistically-oriented classrooms imply independence of goals among students; simply put, one student's ability to attain his or her goal, is not necessarily dependent upon another student achieving that goal. Students can work alone or together, depending on the nature of the learning task.

Table 2

Systems of student motivation

	Competitive	Cooperative	Individualistic
Cognitive Factors	Goal Structures	Goal Structures	Goal Structures
	Self-Other		
Salient Information	Comparison	Self-Group Comparison	Self-Self Comparison
Attributional Focus	Ability-related	Effort-related	Effort-related
		"Are we trying hard	"Am I trying hard
Self-evaluative and	"Am I smart enough?	enough? How can we do	enough? Can I do
Strategy Focus	Can I do this?"	this?"	this?"

Motivationally speaking, a "culturally appropriate" instructional intervention would look at the cultural findings reflected in Table 1 and infer a structure that would respect these cultural findings. Given both the importance of "cooperative learning" in "culturally appropriate" instructional theory and practice and that Filipino students "preference to work with others and to help one another like they do at home with chores," the best structure to motivate Filipino students to learn would likely be a "cooperative" one. In this structure, students could collaborate in doing and learning at school, just as they collaborate in doing and learning at home. As a by-product of such doing and learning, per Table 1, they would also acquire certain motivation to learn attributes.

What students would not learn, however, are other cultural ideas also important, per Table 1, to intrinsic motivation to learn at school. Students might not learn certain "learning attitudes" especially attitudes about "book learning" unless the cooperative learning experiences went beyond learning by observing one's peers. Nor would students likely acquire desirable role perceptions of their teachers and schools. For instance, true cooperative learning relies heavily on peers as major sources of knowledge and career guidance, not on teachers or schools. Finally, the students might not learn certain interactional patterns, especially patterns that would govern their own interactions with teachers.

Many researchers and educators would challenge this belief since there has been an increased use of cooperative learning in schools and universities across all subject areas since its first introduction in the 1940s. The application of cooperative learning is grounded in social interdependence theory, which exists when the outcomes of individuals are affected by their own and others' actions (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). Cooperative learning is a practice that was once unknown and unused but is now widespread and institutionalized (Johnson & Johnson, 2009). Still, elements of a cooperative learning structure, like *group processing*, where group members would a) reflect on which member actions were helpful and unhelpful and b) make decisions about which actions to continue or change (Johnson & Johnson, 2009) would hinder an individual's focus on their own learning process.

In short, under a cooperatively-oriented classroom, there is a chance that Filipino students might not learn some very important dynamics at school, dynamics

that should shape their intrinsic motivation to learn. They might not learn a sense of competence, autonomy and self-determination central to learning that reinforces the thinking to "Do your own work. Do what you think is best for yourself. You alone are responsible for your actions."

To develop these other dynamics, then "culturally appropriate" instruction might be tempted to espouse one of the other motivational orientations – the competitive or the individualistic. The choice of a competitively-oriented classroom would teach some of these cultural dynamics not taught by a cooperatively-oriented classroom— for instance, the teacher knows everything and what s/he doesn't know is in books. But competitively-oriented classrooms have long been one of the main evils in cultural mismatch theory and culturally appropriate instructional practice (Mau, 1998). Moreover, competitive oriented-classrooms have been roundly and rightly criticized—for being inhospitable to cooperative and collaborative work (Ames, 1984).

Then, again, it might be tempting to implement an individualistic-oriented classroom. These learning orientations have all the benefits of the competitive orientations in terms of teaching those cultural dynamics not taught by cooperative ones, but in individualistic orientations, competition shifts from the interpersonal level to the intrapersonal. In addition, they admit the use of cooperative and collaborative learning when certain tasks call for them.

The following chapter uncovers how the researcher conducted the study in seeking to explore how a *culturally conforming*, cooperatively-oriented classroom

and a *culturally confronting*, individualistically-oriented classroom impacted Filipino students' intrinsic motivation to learn.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Chapter 2 provided the background literature upon which this study is based. This chapter details how the study was conducted—the research design, sampling, participants—and how data were collected, processed, and analyzed.

Wilson's (1993, 1994) sequential studies of motivation to learn among elementary school students served as the conceptual guide for this research's design. In the first of these studies, Wilson (1993) sought to understand student intrinsic motivation to learn in one learning environment—a *competitively* structured classroom—but found that environment to be non-intrinsically motivating. So, she then conducted a follow-up study (1994) using a second learning environment specifically selected to confront the prior competitive one from the standpoint of the learning activities that were offered. This confronting classroom did enhance student intrinsic motivation to learn (Wilson, 1994). Following Wilson (1994), the current study explored whether two different learning orientations—a *culturally conforming* classroom and a *culturally confronting* one—had differential effects on intrinsic motivation to learn among Filipino students.

Research Design

A quasi-experimental, separate-samples, two-treatment X outcome design (see, Campbell & Stanley, 1963) was used to examine the effects of the two different learning orientations on student intrinsic motivation to learn. The learning orientations were a student learning treatment purposely selected to conform to

specific parameters of local Filipino culture in Hawaii and a treatment purposely selected to confront those parameters.

Observant Participation (Block, 1975), a 36 year-old mixed-methods research methodology was used to gather data within this design. This methodology entailed 30 school visits, 150 hours of participant observation, ethnographic interviews with 12 students and 2 teachers totaling 10 hours, writing samples, and student surveys.

Outcome Variable

The outcome variable in this study is *intrinsic motivation to learn*, referring to students' perception of learning as being meaningful and worthwhile without extrinsic rewards or punishments (Stipek, 2002). Such perceptions are manifested in student thoughts, feelings, and actions that reflect greater autonomy, self-determination, and competence in their learning (Reeve, 1996).

Autonomy refers to the freedom and flexibility to make decisions to pursue different learning tasks (Reeve, 1996). A specific indicant of autonomy includes task initiation by individual students without prompting by their teachers.

Self-determination refers to behaviors determined by one's own needs, beliefs and feelings instead of environmental rewards or pressures (Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Students with self-determination display behavior that is driven by their internal factors as indicated by their own interest and initiation.

Competence encompasses the need for challenge, feedback, and enjoyment (Reeve, 1996). An indicant of competence would be the act of being capable and successful engagement in a task. Students display this by confidently adapting to a

changing environment; for example, a student would display confidence in approaching a task when asked to change from one group to another for a group activity.

Intrinsic motivation to learn, i.e., competence, self-determination and student autonomy, was assessed through a mixed-methods approach: 1) qualitatively through "Observant Participation" *techniques* – participant observations, ethnographic interviews, and writing samples – and 2) quantitatively through an intrinsic motivation to learn survey.

Observant Participation (Block, 1975) is, according to a recent application (Barrie, 2005, p. 82):

a strategy with a long lineage in the study of students (Allen, 1986; Bacon, 1988; Elmore & Thompson, 1980; Gentilucci, 2001; Hartwig, 1986; Mitchell, 1993; Wilson, 1993, 1994). Observant Participation goes beyond simple participant observation to explore what Becker & Geer (1970) termed the "student perspective" on school life. A perspective includes the collective problems that students actually experience in their educational setting and the collective thoughts, feelings, and actions that they develop in response. Observant Participation uses the researcher's personal knowledge of the student perspective and especially of its associated "argot"—the students' special vocabulary and idiom—to stimulate students to become more voluble and descriptive, i.e., more "observant", about their own

experience. It requires the researcher to "become a student" and creates the potential to "discover the hidden principles of another way of life" (Spradley, 1979, p.4), becoming privy to the "emic" (Pike, 1954), "insider" (Smetherham, 1978), or "subjectivist" (Gentilucci, 2001) perspective. In so doing, Observant Participation provides "voice" to the students' problems, thoughts, feelings, and actions.

So as to tap the student perspective on various facets of their school and classroom life, Observant Participation uses a mix of methods. In its original qualitative form, the form pioneered by Elmore (see Elmore & Thompson, 1980) and subsequently used by Allen (1982), Bacon (1988), and Wilson (1993, 1994), the researcher uses participant observation techniques to actually become one of the students of interest and uses his/her knowledge and rapport from that experience to develop and conduct ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979) to unpack students' general and specific thoughts, feelings, and actions regarding the experience. Participant observation involves the researcher living as much as possible with the individuals they are investigating, blending in and taking part in their daily activities. Participant observers watch what people do, listen to what people think and feel, and interact with participants. They become learners, so as to be socialized by participants into the group under investigation (Burnett, 1974b). Ethnographic interviews allow for more substantive interactions and detailed data because they are based on the ongoing relationships and rapport built during the participant observation and, thus, allow a genuine exchange of views between the interviewer and interviewee based on shared experience. Such interviews encourage the interviewees to shape, according to their perspectives, the questions being asked and possibly even the focus of the research study (Heyl, 2001). This purposeful exploration of meanings is mutual to both the interviewer and interviewee, even if the meanings are not those that the interviewer had hoped to explore.

Wilson (1993,1994) extended this original qualitative form for tapping the student perspective by adding writing samples to better cross-validate her participant observation and ethnographic interview data. *Student writing samples* access thoughts, feelings, and actions that students may have been unable or unwilling to verbalize in their ethnographic interviews (Oldfather, 1991). While such writing samples may be not gathered on the "fly" as natural artifacts of some experiences of interest, they can be gathered in most classrooms where writing assignments are typical. The researcher negotiates with class teachers to distribute the writing assignment as part of the normal classroom activities, as well as to allocate in-class writing time so that the samples are completed on the spot.

Mitchell (1992) then proposed a more quantitatively-oriented alternative form for tapping the student perspective that replaced Elmore's (1980), Allen's (1986), and Wilson's (1993, 1994) by actually "becoming" a student in focus groups for cases where the researcher already had a working, participant-observer knowledge/rapport with the students of interest. Focus groups are defined as groups of people the researcher may want to involve because they feel they are affected by the research through informal and formal means (Mertens, Farley, Madison, & Singleton, 1994),

Importantly, too, Mitchell (1992) used self-constructed, focus group-based surveys to cross-validate his focus group findings. Typically in qualitative research, a member check, focus group-like activity occurs after the study. Here, the researcher orally debriefs study participants about basic findings either collectively or, where necessary, individually (see Barrie, 2005; Gentilucci, 2001) and allows the participants to confirm, expand, or reject the findings as the participants see fit. Mitchell, following Hartwig (1987), who had first attempted to quantitize Elmore's ethnographic interview findings into a survey instrument, saw no reason why a member check might not equally be performed using a survey wherein the researcher has built basic findings into a series of items to which study participants can respond. These survey data allowed him to quantitize his Observant Participant findings in ways that the more qualitatively-oriented form of Elmore and Wilson could not, at that time.

The current study further mixed the more qualitatively-oriented and the more quantitatively-oriented forms of Observant Participation methodology. Since the researcher had already had extensive familiarity with elementary school children as a consequence of other university-related research projects, I decided to use the basic elements of Wilson's qualitative iteration – namely participant observation, followed by ethnographic interviewing and writing samples— but not to go as native as she had.

From Mitchell's quantitative iteration, though, the researcher borrowed the notion of using more quantitatively-oriented techniques and, in particular, a self-constructed *Intrinsic Motivation to Learn* survey drawn for cross-validation of the

qualitative findings. So as to develop and validate this instrument, the researcher reviewed several domains or themes that emerged from the interview data and developed domain-related survey items aimed to confirm these themes as well as to probe for further information. This domain analysis resulted in a 28-item survey consisting of Likert-scale items, open-ended and ordinal questions as well as student rankings. Embedded in the Student Perspective is the use of perceptions—what students feel about their actions, not just their actions themselves. This particular approach originated from the work of Trickett and Moos (1974), which studied the relationship between perceived environments and the human context. Student rankings in this study were used to characterize certain aspects of each classroom as well as particular aspects of intrinsic motivation to learn.

Finally, following Gentilucci (2001), who had successfully reanalyzed Elmore's ethnographic interview data using a quantitative technique for qualitative data analysis in NUD*IST⁷, the researcher also created a quantitative representation of the qualitative data. In particular, she used computer-based programs to aid in the organization and processing of data.

Treatment Variables

There are two treatment variables in the study: a culturally *conforming* classroom treatment and a culturally *confronting* one. The culturally *conforming* treatment is considered one that integrates Filipino cultural practices into classroom

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⁷ NUD*IST is a qualitative research software designed to handle large volumes of data.

instruction. Contrastingly, the culturally *confronting* treatment is one that confronts those practices for the purposes of guiding instruction.

The culturally *conforming* variable was operationalized by selecting a classroom that was cooperatively-oriented—a classroom where students create shared responsibility, social interdependence, and value group effort to attain a common goal (Ames & Ames, 1984a; Johnson & Johnson, 1985). As noted in Chapter 2, a key value in the Filipino family is shared responsibility and kinship (Jocano, 1966). Each child is taught from early on to be sensitive to the needs of others and to make an effort to minimize conflict (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966). Cooperative learning would logically be most suitable for Filipino students at school because shared responsibility is encouraged and practiced at home. Moreover, in Philippine society, social interdependence on the family is encouraged; dependence equates to obedience and independence is viewed as a sign of rebellion (Heras & Revilla, 1994). Children are expected to conform to this dependent orientation at home (Litton, 1999). A cooperative learning orientation focuses on social interdependence within the group as well. Children are expected to conform to this interdependent orientation at home. Finally, the more general Filipino culture is structured based on group effort and allegiance to the community, as well as the family. Based on the literature on culturally appropriate instruction (Au, 1980), it seems that cooperative structures would be considered the most suitable method to implement when working with students of community or family-structured cultures.

The *confronting culture* variable was operationalized by selecting a classroom that was <u>individualistically-oriented</u>, where students focus on individual responsibility, social independence, and value individual effort and accomplishment (Ames & Ames, 1984). Such learning confronts Filipino practices of shared responsibility, social interdependence, and the value of group effort. While it would be inaccurate to say that individualistic learning classrooms possess no concern for others and teach students to be selfish and self-centered (see Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), it is fair to say that they place an emphasis on mastery of the academic learning side of school, not the social side. When that learning requires cooperation for mastery to be reached, students will cooperate. When it does not, they will not. Cooperation, then, depends on the task, with the student's task mastery goal focused on the context of others in order to improve. Self-improvement is primary; other improvement is secondary.

Treatment Sampling

Purposeful sampling was employed in order to select the appropriate treatment classrooms for the study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1980). The following details how decisions were made regarding the research site, the grade-level within that site, and the classrooms within that grade-level upon which the research would focus. Following these decisions, several strategic steps were taken that included: meeting the experts, locating the ideal research site, and preparing for the researcher role.

Selecting the School Site

University researchers and program coordinators (all affiliated with the University of Hawaii at Manoa [UHM]), school administrators and teachers in Hawaii who were deemed knowledgeable about learning issues impacting Filipino students were contacted in 2003 for the purpose of finding the school site with the appropriate contrasting classroom learning orientations. At the UHM, affiliates included a special services coordinator, an outreach coordinator and program director of a multicultural student services program for Filipino and other low performing students in Hawaii, a professor in Ethnic Studies, and a professor at the UHM College of Education. The latter three were all authors of the Filipino literature cited in Chapter 2. These experts each made suggestions of suitable schools and facilitated an introduction to school administrators and teachers who they thought could provide additional suggestions.

Two of the suggested school sites were then selected based on a demographic make-up that included a large percentage of Filipino students and their non-Filipino academic counterparts. After contacting each school, the final selection was made when it became clear that this study would work better logistically at one school instead of the other.

The school site chosen was Oahu Elementary, a pseudonym, located in a rural town off the north shore on the Hawaiian island of Oahu. Oahu Elementary is a Title I school with an enrollment of 550 students (grades K-6) in 2003, 10.4% of whom are of limited English proficiency and 46.4% eligible for free or reduced meals. The school has a diverse student population—the largest groups being Part-Hawaiian, Filipino, and White (see Figure 1). Many students, though, have experienced

social/family problems due to difficult economic times (large unemployment and transiency) and community identity issues that stem from illiteracy and illegal drug use.

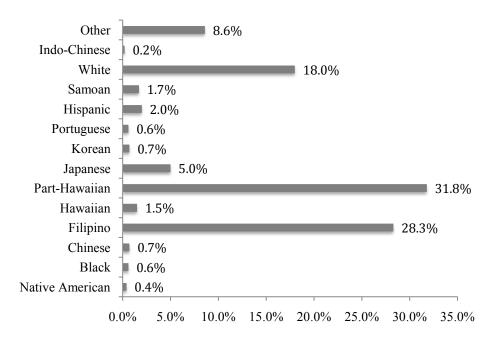


Figure 1. Student Ethnicity for Oahu Elementary School, 2003-2004⁸ (N=544).

Oahu Elementary School is staffed by thirty-two classroom teachers, including three special and eight supplemental instruction teachers. The school is structured as a typical elementary school in Oahu with disconnected two story

⁸ All information about Oahu Elementary School was obtained from the Hawaii Department of Education Website: http://doe.k12.hi.us/

buildings, a main office, multipurpose room, library, computer lab, basketball court, playground and

groups of connected trailers as building extensions.

During the majority of the school day, Oahu Elementary implements "core-learning" subjects that include integrated language arts, math, science and social studies curricula. Unique to the school are *Academies*, where students apply the skills and knowledge learned in the academic classes to project-based learning activities replicating the real world of work (Hawaii State Department of Education, 2003). Examples of these academies are: Hydroponics, Drama, Tropical Fish, Astronomy, Solar Heating, and Business.

Grade Selection

Sixth-grade elementary school students were selected as the target population for this study for two reasons. First, the development and articulation of perspective on one's life in an institution increases with time spent at the institution itself (Elmore, 1979). Because they have lived the K-6 elementary school experience the longest, assuming that they remain at the same school, students at the 6th grade level have the most well-developed perspective about their elementary school experience (Gentilucci, 2002). By their last year of elementary school, 6th graders should have developed a strong sense of their motivation to learn based on previous schooling experiences. In addition, they tend to be better at articulating their own thoughts and feelings (Oldfather, 1991).

Second, the development and articulation of perspective on one's life in an institution increases with the constancy of the treatment. There is a greater chance that they will develop a collective perspective on their particular learning environment than if they rotated through classes as is the case at junior high school (see Bacon, 1988) and at high school (see Allen, 1986). Studying students at the elementary school level allowed for more thorough observations, consistency, and continuity in tracking the students than if students rotated between teachers and classrooms throughout the day.

Classroom Selection

Once Oahu Elementary School was selected as the research site and 6th graders as the target research population, the next step was to secure two 6th grade classes at Oahu Elementary wherein a *culturally conforming* and a *culturally conforming* and a *culturally conforming* learning orientation were presented to Filipino students. To this end, specific school administrators were contacted for an informational meeting. The school's principal, Mrs. Yamane, was new to her position and thus referred the researcher to work solely with the Curriculum Director, Mrs. Konishi, regarding this study. Mrs. Konishi had worked at Oahu Elementary for several years and was very knowledgeable about the school community, teachers, and students. The researcher had also worked with Mrs. Konishi previously during her participation in another university-related research project SchooLink *Hawaii*, a project in partnership with

the University of California Santa Barbara's Center for Advanced Studies of Individual Differences (CASID).⁹

Upon meeting with Mrs. Konishi, the researcher provided her with a general overview of the study and asked for access to two classrooms that employed individualistic and cooperative learning orientations. In explaining the basic differences between these environments, the researcher emphasized that each classroom was to meet the following basic criteria: the individualistically-oriented classroom was to value and practice more independent work, while the cooperatively-oriented classroom was to value and practice more collaboration and group work. In addition to these basic criteria, the researcher also stressed the importance that factors other than the classroom learning orientations be constant so the researcher could identify that the discernable differences between the classrooms were the classroom learning orientations. These common factors included ethnic makeup and normal distribution of academic achievement of the students, presence of a classroom aide, access to resources, class activities, schedule/routine, instructional content, etc.

Mrs. Konishi suggested three classrooms most suitable for the study and so the researcher arranged one formal meeting to introduce the study to each of these classrooms' teachers. During this meeting, the researcher provided each teacher with a folder that contained important study details particularly pertinent to them and their

⁹ School Link *Hawaii* was a partnership supported in part by a gift from Verizon Foundation and a grant (T195B010033) from the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs, U.S. Department of Education.

students. These details included the purpose and length of the study, the timeline, a description of data to be collected, the data gathering procedures, the need for consent from the students and parents, and the selection of students.

All three teachers were receptive to the study, but specific questions arose including:

"What happens to the results of your research?"

"How will you protect the names and identification of our students?"

"What do you want the students to call you?"

"We have some very non-academic activities these next months, so would this suffice for your observations? Or do we need to reschedule your time for later in the year?"

"Why were we selected for the study?"

"There are some parents who might have a problem with the study. How will you exclude their children?"

"How will you address unhappy parents?"

Additionally, they expressed caution and concern about how the study might affect their students. The researcher repeatedly reassured them that all necessary measures would be taken to guarantee their own and their students' safety and that the confidentiality of the research was carefully guarded in order to protect the research participants. She further explained that the research was governed by approved Human Subjects protocols of UCSB.

Once the teachers were informed and comfortable with the study, they granted permission to observe each of their classrooms for approximately three and a half hours each on three separate days. These observations were conducted with a specific set of classroom criteria in mind, especially the classroom learning orientation—individualistic or cooperative, as defined by Ames and Ames (1984b), and how goal attainment was enforced, how activities were structured, and what kind of reward system was employed, if any.

On the basis of these observations, one of the three classrooms was eliminated because the class was co-taught by two teachers, so there was less constancy in the learning environment. Moreover, the class included students with special needs whose learning environment had certain characteristics that would require separate study. Thus, the other two classrooms were selected for the study.

The teachers of the two selected classrooms were then contacted to reaffirm their willingness to participate in the study, and secure their formal agreement to participate (Appendix A). These teachers were Miss Delgado and Mrs. Williams. Both were considered *local* Hawaiians--they were born and raised on the island of Oahu in rural areas. Both, too, attended undergraduate school and teacher training at the local University of Hawaii at Manoa and were accustomed to and familiar with the ethnic and economic diversity found in the surrounding school community. Both, moreover, had similar academic goals and timelines for their students -- they differed primarily in their instructional style.

Miss Delgado was ethnically mixed -- half Filipino and half Japanese. At the time of the study, she was 40-years old, single, and an aunt to two nieces in the school, one of whom was a 6th grader in neither of the selected classes. She had taught upper elementary grades at Oahu Elementary School for 15 years and was actively involved in the community as grade-level leader, Academy Advisor, and sponsor of the school's successful student-run business. Miss Delgado also participated in other off-campus, school-related functions and was easily accessible to her students by cell phone during non-school hours. Having lived in this particular community for most of her life, Miss Delgado had many personal ties to the faculty and students. She was well-organized and considered to be strict and passionate about teaching.

Miss Delgado had an aide, Mrs. Post, who came to school on a regular basis to assist in organizing and preparing assignments and projects for Miss Delgado. On occasion, she also helped facilitate discussion when the class was separated into different reading groups. Students felt comfortable around Mrs. Post and sometimes called her "auntie," a commonly used term of endearment in Hawaii for an adult female considered part of the family.

Mrs. Williams was also ethnically mixed -- half Caucasian and half Japanese. At the time of the study, she was in her mid-30's, married, and a mother of two, her second child being a young infant who was sometimes ill and required extra care. Mrs. Williams had taught in elementary school for several years as well. She had

transferred from a nearby elementary school and had been teaching at Oahu Elementary for three years.

She was the Advisor of the Astronomy Academy on campus. For this particular school year, she did not participate in many off-campus activities due to her family responsibilities. She was considered to be nice, caring, and easy going.

Mrs. Williams also had an aide, Miss Reynolds, who came to assist in facilitating reading group discussions. Miss Reynolds was primarily a content specialist for students who needed supplemental reading instruction, but she sometimes led whole class reading activities. On occasion, she would assist in preparing materials for classroom activities. She was present during different times of the day and was not always in the classroom.

Classrooms Selected

The two teachers' classrooms were located at the farthest corner of the third building. Behind and alongside the building were views of a hillside and a small roadway of concrete and red dirt for school faculty parking. On the second level, the classrooms overlooked a grassy courtyard that separated the buildings. This was where students sometimes congregated during morning recess. There were a few lunch tables nearby where, on occasion, students had class activities.

Each classroom had glass windows along two sidewalls; one sidewall had two doors. Each also had six ceiling fans to ventilate the room during hot and humid days, a sink and countertop area, computer area, and a partially carpeted area just beneath

the projector screens and white dry-erase boards. Large filing cabinets, containing classroom supplies, lined their far walls.

Both classrooms had the Oahu Elementary Learner Outcomes posted on the wall, but they were physically structured and organized very differently, instructionally speaking, for reaching these outcomes. Miss Delgado's classroom was the culturally *confronting* one, while Mrs. Williams' classroom was the culturally *conforming* one.

Miss Delgado's classroom was arranged so that there were four desks to make one group and six groups total in the classroom. On occasion, the desks would be rearranged in a U-shape so that classroom visitors could comfortably walk around (e.g. Christmas Candy House displays, Open House, Cultural Luncheon, etc). There were a few bookshelves along the side and in the front of the classroom for curriculum materials and student books. The carpet area was used only when students were separated into two reading groups.

Miss Delgado had one main desk front and center in the classroom and connected to the center group. Her side desk was where students kept their writing tablets and designated subject binders. In the rear of the classroom, there were designated student stations consisting of mailboxes where students were left reminders, individual assignments, and homework, as well as cubbies where students kept their personal items, such as backpacks, jackets, and lunch. The back wall also held each student's ID tag and displayed a collection of student projects.

Miss Delgado also had a storage room in the front corner of the classroom that contained four unused computers and boxes of grade-level material. Just outside of that room and adjacent to the front of the classroom was the computer area, which housed one new iMac and one older Mac. Miss Delgado most often used the iMac, and her students used other iMac computers in the computer lab.

Mrs. Williams' classroom was arranged almost without exception in a large U-shape with four pairs of desks linked in the center, a U-shaped arrangement only occasionally used by Miss Delgado. The front carpet area was often used for the whole class during reading.

Mrs. Williams' main desk was in the front corner of the classroom, facing the door closest to the carpet area. There were no designated student stations, but student projects were displayed on the back wall like Miss Delgado's classroom and also along the top of the front wall. Student ID tags were kept on the back wall near the sink area, but individual stations were supplanted by a couch area (including a collection of plush toys) surrounded by two bookshelves of student books at the classroom's rear. The side wall was lined with a row of five Macintosh computers that were collectively used by Mrs. Williams and the students.

Student Sampling

Each of the selected classes consisted of 23 students, students "normally" distributed, academically speaking. Miss Delgado's class consisted of six Caucasian students, two Japanese students, four Filipino students, five half-Filipino students, one Samoan student, and the remaining students were a combination of two or more

ethnicities (Portuguese, Hawaiian, Japanese, etc). Although several students in her class qualified to be in the *Enrichment Program*, only one student participated in the program. No student participated in the ESL (English as a Second Language) program.

In general, Miss Delgado's students were generally on-task, well behaved, and respectful of one another. As one of their rewards, students were often allowed to select their own seating arrangements. Naturally, students opted to sit with their friends, but many times they chose classmates they knew they worked well with.

Mrs. Williams' class consisted of three Caucasian students, three Japanese students, six Filipino students, two half-Filipino students, one Samoan student, and, similar to Miss Delgado's class, the remaining were a combination of ethnicities. Three of her students participated in the *Enrichment Program* (one student was Filipino). Also, three students recently immigrated within the past two years from the Philippines, but only two of these students participated in the ESL program. During the times of observation, these students were always in class.

In general, Mrs. Williams' class was often off-task, noisy, but manageable. Certain students were disruptive and characteristically defiant, usually affecting the classroom dynamics. Perhaps because of these students' penchant for disruption and defiance, Mrs. Williams' students were not allowed to select their own seating arrangements and typically remained in the same seats, unless they were moved for disruptive behavior.

Once parental consent forms (Appendix B) were obtained for students in both classrooms, the researchers began observations of all students and gave them a writing assignment on their classroom experiences. On the basis of these observations and writing samples, coupled with the recommendations of their respective teachers ¹⁰, a handful of students were purposely selected within each classroom for more focused ethnographic study and survey taking. These focus groups consisted of two high achieving, two average achieving, and two low achieving students in each class.

Table 3
Student achievement groups by classroom

Ethnicity	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
Filipino	Lea (Low)	Michael (Low)
	Garrett (Low)	Lisa (Average)
	Sam (Average)	Jonathan (High)
	Kelly (Average)	Terrence (Average)
	Lauren (High)	, - ,
Half-Filipino, Half Caucasian	Mark (High)	Tanya(High)
Mixed: Filipino, Caucasian and Othe	er	Sarah(Low)

The focus group from Miss Delgado's class consisted of four Filipino students, one half-Filipino and half-Caucasian, and one mix of Filipino, Hawaiian, and Chinese. The focus group from Mrs. Williams' class consisted of five Filipino students and one half-Filipino and half-Caucasian. Table 3 indicates each student by

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¹⁰ For this study, achievement group rankings were determined by having teachers rate their students as low, average and high achieving within their own class.

their pseudonym, the student's ethnicity, and their academic performance (as designated by their teachers).

Data Gathering

Data Collectors

Observant Participation employs qualitative techniques, such as participant observation and ethnographic interviewing, which make humans central to the data gathering process. Critical to the quality of qualitative data gathered in this study, then, was the quality of the human data gatherers – the researcher and her assistant.

As background, the researcher is a Filipino American female who, at the time of the study, was 26 years old. This made her 14 years younger than the teachers and 14 years older than the students, but she made up for these age differences based on several factors, factors that led the focal students to treat her like an older sister or relative. One factor was her familiarity with 6th grade students from a prior experience teaching health education to this age group in the Los Angeles Unified School District. A second factor was her prior experience in working with Oahu Elementary School's teachers and kids in connection with a previous research study with a population similar to that of this study. The third factor was her personal knowledge of the different cultures and mixed ethnicities of Hawaii—the researcher had family living close by in the area and was living in Hawaii at that time herself.

While she had previous field experience with ethnographic techniques used in this study such as ethnographic interviews, focus group interviews, participant observation, and survey development, She had less formal experience with Observant Participation.

The research assistant, Melanie, was a Thai and Laos American female, who, at the time of the study was 23 years old. Though younger than the teachers and older than the students, too, her ethnic mix helped her blend into that particular school environment and was also viewed as an older sister or relative.

Melanie's main role in the study was to act as a backup during the participant observation phase of the study. Specifically, she was charged to assist in taking field notes and observations. She had been one of the researcher's former students in two UCSB undergraduate practicum focused on individual differences and especially the tutoring of elementary school students in the classroom setting. She had also taken an undergraduate research assistantship with the researcher where she became familiar with the background literature and design of the study. Melanie was familiar with conducting ethnographic interviews, focus groups and especially participant observation through past courses and research assistantships.

Data Collection

As per the design of the study, the collection of data was ongoing and included various data sources that were collected over an extended span of time.

Table 4 includes the five phases of data collection and the timeline for each phase.

Table 4

Phases of data collection

DECEMBER	JANUARY	FEBRUARY TO MARCH	APRIL TO MAY	JUNE
PHASE ONE: Participant Observation	PHASE TWO: Writing Samples	PHASE THREE: Ethnographic Interviews	PHASE FOUR: Survey and Teacher Interviews	PHASE FIVE: Teacher Debriefing

Phase One: Participant Observation

Prior to the start of participant observation, the researcher and her assistant visited the school site and introduced themselves to school faculty and staff, as well as the students of the two selected classrooms. Because the study required daily visits to the school site over the span of several months, it was important to establish a comfortable environment for everyone. So, they both dressed casually, as per Hawaiian school custom, and explained details of the next few months of the study in as colloquial and as inviting terms as possible. Parent Consent forms and Student Assent forms were signed and collected prior to the start of data collection, per UCSB Human Subjects requirements.

This initial visit, plus several follow-up visits to the school site to meet the school faculty and the selected teachers and students, appeared to put everyone at ease with the events that were soon to take place in their school environment. The office staff and school faculty, in particular, got a better understanding of the

researchers' presence in their school, and the selected teachers and students felt prepared to participate in the study.

Following Wilson's data collection protocol (1994), the researchers then began gathering data using extensive participant observation in both classrooms. Observations were made in each classroom during the first half of the school day for approximately three and a half hours per day, two to three days per week, over a tenweek period. These weeks were non-consecutive due to holidays, breaks, and preparation for state assessment preparation.

On a typical school day, the researcher and her assistant would arrive at school at 7:50 a.m., sign in as visitors in the school office, and separate into each classroom. They alternated participation in the two classrooms every day to ensure the validity, reliability, and objectivity of the observations.

As observers, it was apparent how different the two teachers were. Mrs. Williams was welcoming and more relaxed, but Miss Delgado was stern, cautious, and very protective of her students' safety. Despite these differences, the researchers were able to quickly gain their trust and usually they conducted their school day without any notice of their presence. Miss Delgado would occasionally explain something to the researcher if their class started a major project prior to the study or in case she seemed unsure of what was going on. For example, their class had just received a response from an author to whom they had written. Miss Delgado explained that at the beginning of the school year, the class wrote letters to several authors on their "recommended books" list, and this letter was their first response.

As "students," the researcher and her assistant would sit and act as individual class members, sometimes as group activity members, too. Here they would share in similar experiences inside the classroom. During math lessons, for instance, the researcher learned new concepts with them, such as new methods and shortcuts in multiplication and division problems. During social studies projects, the researchers shared in expressing personal creativity and in continually gaining new knowledge of the world, as students were assigned to keep current with local and global news everyday. The researchers abided by the same classroom rules of hand-raising, shoeremoving when stepping on the carpet or entering the computer lab, safety-following protocols during flood, lockdown, and tsunami drills, and talking, chewing, or eating restrictions.

The researchers would simultaneously observe the class and type field notes into their laptops. On occasion, students would question them about the laptops, asking *what* they were typing, *why* they were typing, and whether they could read what they had entered. They answered all of their questions and the students' curiosity quickly subsided after the first few days. During the core learning periods, the researchers would sit, observe, and ask and answer questions from the students. Their regular presence allowed everyone to settle into their everyday school life and for students to share that life with them.

When class was out and on recess, students in both classes would occasionally socialize with the researchers by offering them their snacks or "talking story," a local Hawaiian term for casual chatting or sharing stories. Once recess was over, class

would resume, and they would continue as active participants/note-takers until the students' Academy period came.

Initially, observations were made in Miss Delgado's and Mrs. Williams' Academies, too. They spent 32 hours observing these Academies. But since the twelve focus group students were spread across so many other academies, they simply did not have the resources, time, or timing to be able to observe them all. So, Academy observations were cut and observation field notes were archived. Also archived were observations from an occasional Hawaiian lesson with "Kumu," meaning teacher in Hawaiian. Kumu taught the students about Hawaiian history, language, art, culture, etc. While each class had a regularly scheduled time with Kumu, Mrs. Williams sent her class to Kumu on a regular basis, while Miss Delgado did not.

At the end of the day, during the 45-minute drive home, the researchers would review their field notes and make necessary modifications to the core classroom observations only, not the Academy or occasional portions like Kumu. They would then debrief each other by discussing details of what went on in each classroom and reflecting on the day's occurrences. The debriefing sessions were somewhat structured as they covered highlights, details that might yield new information to the study, changes or differences in student behavior, and plans for upcoming visits.

This participant observation phase was very time-demanding, yet it provided rich data. From December 2003 to March 2004, the researcher and her assistant spent nearly 150 hours in participant observation and typed over 6,200 lines of field notes.

Eighty-one of these hours were spent in Miss Delgado's class and sixty-seven in Mrs. Williams. The difference in observation hours in Miss Delgado's class was due to attendance of two field trips (to the city stadium and to a theater production at the local community college) and one Family Day outing. Miss Delgado considered the researchers a full part of the class and included them in all events while Mrs. Williams did not.

Phase Two: Writing Samples

During the participant observation phase, at the beginning of second semester, writing samples were obtained as a regular class assignment (Appendix E). The purpose of these writing samples was to access more directly students' thoughts on and feelings about their motivation to learn in school by use of their own expression written in their own words. The specific writing assignment was:

You have had over six years of experience in being a student. Describe what that experience has been like for you. When, in school, do you find yourself wanting to learn, trying hard, and actively involved? How often does this happen for you? What subjects and activities are you most interested in this year? Why? What subjects and activities are you least interested in this year? Why?

Mrs. Williams' class' assignment were submitted late because several students misunderstood the topic and had to rewrite them. Miss Delgado's assignments were submitted on time probably because her students were frequently assigned to write in

their designated writing tablets for regular and "free writing" assignments. While Mrs. Williams' class also had such tablets, they were not used on a regular basis per the observers' "student" experience.

Phase Three: Ethnographic Interviews

Following the collection of writing samples, the researcher then conducted a series of ethnographic interviews with the focus group students from each respective class. In Wilson's (1994) study, students were interviewed in pairs to help them evoke ideas and thoughts from one another. The present study used individual interviews instead because the teachers preferred to only pull out one student at a time so as to not disrupt or hinder frequent in-class partner or group activities. Moreover, the interview phase of the study occurred at a busy time for the students and teachers when a single-student interview schedule made the process more manageable for everyone.

As promised to the teachers and parents, informational letters were sent home to confirm parental consent of those who were to be interviewed (Appendix C). Prior to the actual interviews, Miss Delgado and Mrs. Williams described the interview process to the selected students, explained consent (Appendix D), and reminded them of their interview time. Teachers also posted the interview schedule in each classroom.

The items for the ethnographic interviews flowed from the participant observations during Phase One (cf., Elmore & Thompson, 1980). There, grand tour questions (Spradley, 1979), where questions exist at the most general level (Werner &

Schoepfle, 1987), were piloted by asking focus group students to address the following issues:

- What are the students' perspectives on learning in school?
- How do students approach learning activities?
- What do students think about their own motivation to learn?
- What do they feel about their motivation to learn?
- What affects students' wanting to learn?

During formal interviewing, these grand tour questions were asked again and were followed by *mini-tour* (Spradley, 1979) questions (see Elmore and Thompson, 1980). These narrower and more refined questions helped unpack the students' grand tour responses (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987). Specifically, the *mini-tour* questions were intended to elicit a thorough understanding of the focus group students' motivational mindsets (see Appendix F for the specific interview questions).

These *mini-tour* questions included the three main types of ethnographic interview questions—descriptive, structural, and contrast questions. *Descriptive questions*, the easiest and most commonly used in interviews, allow the interviewer to collect a sample of the informants' language (Spradley, 1979). The informant can freely describe their experiences, thoughts, etc. "Can you describe that activity?" is an example of a descriptive question. *Structural questions* allow the interviewer to understand *how* the informants organize their knowledge into *domains*, the basic units in an informant's cultural knowledge (Spradley, 1979). "What are the different types of questions on the test?" is an example of a structural question. Lastly, *contrast*

questions allow the interviewer to understand meanings by the various terms used in the informant's language. Contrast questions enable the ethnographer to discover the dimensions of meaning that informants employ to distinguish the objects and events in their world (Spradley, 1979). "What is the difference between the writing tablet and the journal?" is an example of a contrast question.

During the mini-tour questions, the researcher also used *mini-tour follow-up probes*. The purpose of these probes was to steer the interview in a more focused direction, as well as to assist the student in elaborating on a specific topic or detail he/she previously mentioned.

Each of these types of mini-tour questions, as well as the grand-tour ones, were asked within the confines of an Interview Guide that allowed students to share information while at the same time feeling comfortable and safe. See Appendix F for the Interview Guide.

Both Miss Delgado's and Mrs. Williams' students were interviewed in a storage room that contained extra chairs and a desk, during regular class time. This storage room was located in the back corner of Mrs. Delgado's classroom.

Unfortunately, though, interviews had to be conducted in two rounds because the 30 to 45 minutes allocated per student proved to be insufficient. Generally, the interviews ran smoothly, but were, at times, disrupted due to bouts of class noise or when something needed to be retrieved from the storage room.

Once each student arrived at the storage room per the interview schedule, each was given an explanation of the Interview Guide by the researcher. Only once they

felt comfortable and understood what the interview entailed were they asked to sign the student assent form (Appendix D). The interview then began with no audio-taping (per student request) and with the researcher just taking written notes.

In conducting these interviews, the researcher followed Heyl's (2001) basic elements of ethnographic interviewing, particularly:

- Careful and respectful listening, developing an ethical engagement with the participants at all stages of the project;
- Self-awareness of the researcher's role in the co-construction of meaning during the interview process;
- Cognizance of ways in which both the on-going relationship and the broader social context affect the participants, the interview process, and the project outcomes; and
- Recognition that dialogue is discovery—only partial knowledge will ever be attained.

The researcher was especially sensitive to the fact that the formality of the interview might be intimidating to some students and might cause them to clam-up. So when those students, who were usually very verbose with her, expressed shyness, she attempted to ease their discomfort by briefly reverting to student mode, simply to remind them that she was someone they knew and were comfortable with.

Phase Four: Survey Administration

After the completion of all focus group interviews, all six members of each group were taken outside on the same day to the lunch tables and given an explanation of the Intrinsic Motivation to Learn Survey (Appendix H). Once the students understood the instructions, they were asked to complete the survey individually, which most students did within 10 minutes without any further direction. Sometimes, though, a few students had additional questions, which the researcher answered for the entire group. Students had questions on *how* to answer questions (e.g., "Do I order these items of importance from 1 to 5?"). Other questions were related to the content of the survey item (e.g. "What do you mean by learning strategies?").

On this particular day of survey administration, students appreciated being pulled out of class and requested a longer stay away from their class. Interestingly, perhaps because of the nature of the survey or because they knew that their part in the research was coming to an end, they spent five additional minutes "talking story" with the researcher before they returned to their respective classrooms. The nature of talking story was casual conversation about informal topics.

Collecting the Intrinsic Motivation to Learn Survey results allowed the researcher to take a step further in gaining additional data for understanding the motivational mindsets of Filipino American students. The survey served as a confirmatory tool to validate previously gathered information from student interviews. It also provided an opportunity to ask follow-up questions from their

interview responses. Survey results were triangulated with participant observation and ethnographic interview data to ascertain reliability and validity.

Phase Five: Teacher Debriefings

While the focus of the study was on the student perspective, teacher interviews (Appendix I) were conducted as well and used as a debriefing tool simply to ensure the accuracy of the observations as well as to confirm the classroom observations were accurate. Interviews were conducted in the teachers' respective classrooms shortly after the final school day of the study. Each debriefing lasted approximately 40 minutes and was captured through handwritten notes.

The debriefing sessions focused on the teacher's respective perspective on her own teaching methods, classroom structure, reward systems, organization, behavior management, etc. Both teachers seemed appreciative of the opportunity to share their thoughts and reflections of their own classroom experience during the study.

Data Processing

Wilson (1994) processed her observational data and informal interviews by use of a "jot book," where she recorded field notes. These field notes were written accounts made on the spot or as soon as possible after their occurrence and represent the interactions and activities of the researcher and the people studied (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992; Bond, 1990; Burgess, 1982, 1984; Sanjek, 1990; Spradley, 1980; Webb, 1926; Whyte, 1984; Williams, 1967, as cited in Wilson, 1994). These field notes were then organized into *descriptive* text that included the setting, *interpretive* text that included references to students' thoughts and feelings, *analytic* text that

included how her observations related to her research problem, and, finally, personal reflections. Next, her audio taped interviews were transcribed, which involved translating from an oral language, with its own set of rules, to a written language, with another set of rules (Kvale, 1996). *Coding* then occurred which involved counting or enumerating items so that the items could be defined and located within the data records (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). Together, the field notes and transcriptions were triangulated with the writing samples. Information in her jot book, transcriptions, and writing samples were then transferred to a computer to ensure accuracy of names, phrases, key words, etc. and to better manage data.

With new advances in technology, the present study followed a less laborintensive, computer-based protocol for processing data. This protocol enabled an
efficient integration of the qualitative and quantitative data that was simply
unavailable at Wilson's time. Similar to Wilson's (1994) data processing procedures
of recording field notes into a "jot book," field notes in this study were directly
recorded into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets on laptop PC computers. Each
spreadsheet represented one day's worth of observations and was organized into files
by classroom. Within each spreadsheet were columns that specified interpretive
and/or analytical text for noteworthy occurrences. These spreadsheets were templates
containing the date and time, class, event, and a coding scheme corresponding to
important classroom events. See Appendix J for an example of field notes.

While the ethnographic interviews were not audio-tape recorded as in Wilson's (1994) research, detailed notes were taken during each interview. For

example, student responses were written verbatim, as well as any necessary details that provided interpretive or analytical notes. These notes were backed up by using a digital voice recorder at every chance—during recess or lunch, time in between interviews and/or after school—to annotate all of the students' responses and especially specific phrases or quotes that were deemed noteworthy. She further made sure to digitally record her own comments and reflections. These comments and reflections, annotations, and handwritten notes and observations were then recorded in her laptop with the writing samples for later *triangulation*, the use of multiple data sources to validate results.

All data from the interviews and the writing samples, together with the survey data, were imported into a software program, FileMaker Pro 7, which allowed for record keeping, categorizing, sorting and searching data. All raw data were then entered into a Microsoft Excel workbook for subsequent data processing. Separate spreadsheets were created within the workbook to isolate the data: by student, class and data source. This allowed the data to be easily viewable, accessible, and represented in multiple ways. A second Microsoft Excel workbook was created for categorized data, where I was able to view data as categories and identify common themes within these categories. Finally, a third workbook was created to view these categories comparing the different achievement groups in both classrooms.

Throughout the findings, a student perspective or quote is followed by a code sequence. An example of a code is (D-G1-WS). The first part of the code represents the classroom (D signifies Miss Delgado's class and W signifies Mrs. Williams'

class). The second part of the code sequence represents the achievement group level (G1 and G2 indicate a student in the low to average achievement group and G3 indicates a student in the high achievement group). The third part of the in the code sequence signifies the data source (WS represents Writing Sample, SI represents Student Interviews and SS represents Student Surveys).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an ongoing, cyclic process; as is the nature of ethnographic research (Spradley, 1980), that entailed continual analyses that lead to new questions, field notes, and transcriptions. Ideas and patterns became increasingly focused throughout this ongoing process and especially through the process of *triangulation*, where multiple methods and data sources were used to support the strength of interpretations and conclusions (Mertens, 1998).

Triangulating Data Analysis

So as to triangulate her data analysis, Wilson (1994) used domain analysis, grounded theory, and specific data coding procedures. The researcher adopted the same approach. *Domain analysis* was the first step in data analysis, since domains are the first and most important unit of analysis in ethnographic research. Any symbolic category that includes other categories is a *domain* (Spradley, 1979). This particular analysis involved a systematic examination of the motivation to learn phenomenon to find patterns in its parts, in the relationships among parts, and their relationship to the whole (Wilson, 1994). Once the observations were recorded into field notes, the ethnographic interviews were summarized, the writing samples were coded and

computerized, and common domains were determined among the various data sources.

Following domain analysis, the Grounded Theory Method of Qualitative
Analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was used. Grounded Theory, developed by Glaser
and Strauss (1967) and sometimes referred to as the Constant Comparative Method, is
a systematic approach for generating substantive theories that are born in and help
explain the real world. It offers rich and complex explanatory schema of social
phenomena (Sherman & Webb, 1988) and is especially suitable for studies like this
because it provides new perspective to long-existing problems such as student
motivation to learn when few adequate theories exist (see Stipek, 1997).

As part of the grounded theory analytic process, these coding procedures were followed in sequential order: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. *Open coding* involves identifying and categorizing phenomena through careful examination of the data. Field notes, writing samples, and interview summaries were broken down, compared and contrasted, and reflected on to ask further questions. *Axial coding* involves putting the data back together to identify the connections and relationships between the different categories. *Selective coding* involves selecting the single most important category and relating the other categories to it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These coding procedures are particularly important in theory building because it validates the hypothesized relationships with the data.

Quantitizing the Qualitative Data

While the researcher's rationale for triangulating the qualitative data largely followed Wilson's (1994) scheme, *how* the researcher analyzed the triangulated data was different and more advanced. Data analyses were conducted by use of specialized computer software programs.

Adding a quantitative component to the study allowed an extra step in validating the data. For quantitative variables (i.e. student self-ratings), the researcher utilized non-parametric statistical techniques in computer software known as Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The specific data analysis performed was the Friedman Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) or ANOVA for ranks (Siegel, 1956), which is the non-parametric alternative to the one-way ANOVA with repeated measures and compares three or more paired groups. This analysis compared the two classrooms for each of the assigned student achievement groups. Quantitizing the qualitative data through statistical analyses allowed the researcher to explore the possible relationship between all data sources.

Summary

In efforts to truly understand the effects of classroom learning orientations on the intrinsic motivation to learn of Filipino students, the researcher had to become part of their world and explored their motivational mindsets. This inquiry required her to design a study that utilized both qualitative and quantitative techniques while applying a methodological approach specifically intended to gain access into that world. Observant Participation—participant observation, ethnographic interviewing,

writing samples, and a survey–allowed her to reach beyond traditional methods and explore the student perspective on motivation to learn in two contrasting classroom learning orientations–a *culturally conforming* classroom that was cooperatively-oriented and a *culturally confronting* environment that was indivualistically-oriented. The next chapter details what the Observant Participation methodology revealed about intrinsic motivation to learn.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Chapter 3 discussed the methodology of the research. The following chapter is divided into several sections to address the findings. The first section describes the classrooms--culturally conforming and culturally confronting and their respective learning orientations. The second section focuses on student intrinsic motivation to learn within each classroom learning orientation, with specific topics on student views of school and learning, self-ratings, and student engagement.

Culturally Conforming vs. Culturally Confronting

The following section describes the *culturally conforming* classroom and the *culturally confronting* classroom using observational data and teacher and student interviews. Clearly, unless the classrooms themselves are really reflective of the *culturally conforming* and *culturally confronting* traditions, then no inferences can be drawn as to the impact of these different learning orientations on student intrinsic motivation to learn.

Classroom Learning Orientations

In the previous chapter, two classroom treatment conditions were specified for study in this research -- a *culturally conforming* classroom condition and a *culturally confronting* classroom condition. Generally speaking, the former condition is one in which cooperative learning is practiced, where students create shared responsibility, social interdependence, and value group effort to attain a common goal (Ames & Ames, 1984a; Johnson & Johnson, 1985); the other is one that practices

individualistic learning, where students focus on individual responsibility, social independence, and value individual effort and accomplishment (Ames & Ames, 1984).

Table 5

Hypothesized characteristics of a culturally conforming and culturally confronting classroom

	Culturally Conforming	Culturally Confronting
Responsibility		
Enforced Lesson	Family	Independence
Classroom Management (Student dependence and student responsibility)	Students are dependent on themselves as well as their peers. Students are responsible for themselves as well as their peers.	Students are independent. Students are responsible for themselves only.
Social Interdependence		
Group Work	Teacher primarily organizes students in groups for in-class activities.	Teacher primarily has students work individually for in-class activities.
Relationships	Students feel supported, respected and can relate to their teacher and peers.	Students to feel supported, respected, and can relate to their teacher and peers.
Effort/Accomplishment		
Consequences to School-related tasks	Students would prefer consequences in the following order: 1. Getting acknowledgement by peers, teachers or parents 2. Getting good grades 3. Getting rewards/prizes 4. Learning new things 5. Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits)	Students would prefer consequences in the following order: 1. Learning new things 2. Getting rewards/prizes 3. Getting good grades 4. Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents 5. Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits)
Rewards	Students are rewarded with prizes for good behavior and good grades.	Students are rewarded with prizes for good behavior only.

Table 5 displays in greater detail the characteristics hypothesized in a cooperatively-oriented *culturally conforming* or an individualistically-oriented *culturally confronting* classroom. As indicated in Chapter 3, student rankings, particularly for Group Work and Consequences to School-Related Tasks, were used to characterize each classroom.

Mrs. Williams' Classroom

Mrs. Williams' classroom was supposed to be the *culturally conforming* one.

Let us now examine whether it really fit its hypothesized characteristics per Table 5.

Responsibility

Enforced lesson. When asked what overall lesson she continually enforced in her classroom, Mrs. Williams conveyed that she strove for good behavior. She enforced that students be responsible for themselves, their actions and their own learning. She also promoted respect for their peers. In one instance, five students were caught off-task together and Miss Williams explained the importance of choices. "What kind of choices did you folks make just now? What you do in school carries on into real life. You need to write a letter to your parents about what happened: why you were misbehaving and how it affects you and your classmates."

Classroom management. Mrs. Williams employed a contract/demerit system to manage her class. Observations revealed that students were not consistent in following basic classroom rules (e.g. raising hands), did not adhere to an organized structure for discussion (e.g. students talked over one another), and were not reprimanded consistently. Often times, class activities or discussions would stray off-

topic because of unnecessary comments and/or disruptive behavior. Mrs. Williams needed to remind students to raise their hands, lower their voices, get their subject materials out, straighten out their desks, etc. Also, the class cabinet (student government) was disorderly and not a priority for this class. There were no observations of student officers carrying out their roles.

Social Interdependence

Group work. Mrs. Williams stated that she implemented group work for the purpose of creating a "family environment." She shared that in previous years, she usually has students work mostly in groups, but because of the dynamics of this particular class, she had her students work more individually now. Mrs. Williams expressed "I usually like to share more of myself and connect with my students. Students learn best when they are in a positive, nurturing and safe environment. If it's not safe, it's not a place they want to be and no learning can take place. I'm more traditional, but I like to work with small groups when I can. I believe in cooperative learning groups and small group projects."

In student surveys, the researcher asked Mrs. Williams' students about how they prefer to work when asked to complete a school-related task. Students were asked to rank the following work preferences for task completion: work only by themselves, with a partner, in a group, or as a class. Figure 2 illustrates that Mrs. Williams' class valued "Working in a group" most, with "Working with a partner" and "Working as a class" as their second and third preference. They preferred

"Working by themselves" the least among preferences for completing a schoolrelated task.

Relationships. To provide a context as to how students interacted with others, Mrs. Williams' students were surveyed as to how they felt they were respected and supported and as to whom they interrelated -- themselves, certain classmates, their teacher, or others. Five out of the six participating students in Mrs. Williams' class responded -- one student was absent on the day the student surveys were distributed and collected.

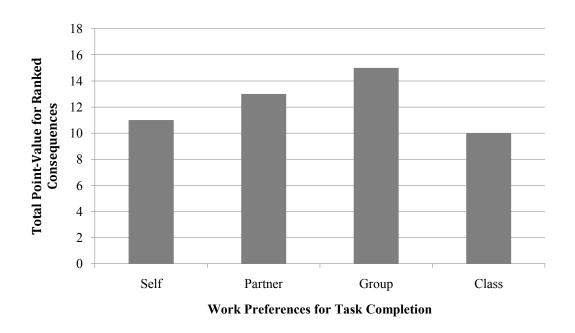


Figure 2. Work preferences of students in Mrs. Williams' class. One of the six participating students in this class did not respond to this survey item (N=5). Raw values were divided by the number of participants to equalize the scale.

In terms of <u>respect</u>, only two out of these five students respected themselves, all students felt respected by certain classmates, three students felt respected by Mrs.

Williams, and one student indicated feeling respected by his/her family. In terms of emotional support, three students felt they supported themselves, all students felt that certain classmates supported them, four students felt supported by Mrs. Williams, and one student felt supported by his/her family alone. In terms of relatedness, all five students felt that they related to certain classmates, one student to his/her class as a whole, and two students to Mrs. Williams.

Effort/Accomplishment

Consequences. Student rankings allowed deeper insight as to how students valued consequences when doing a task. Mrs. Williams' students were asked to rank-order the importance of consequences when doing a school-related task along the following lines:

- Learning new things
- Getting rewards/prizes
- Getting good grades
- Getting acknowledgement by peers, teachers or parents
- Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits)

Figure 3 illustrates that Mrs. Williams' students ranked "Getting good grades" as the most important consequence for doing school-related tasks. The second and third most important consequences were "Learning new things" and "Avoiding punishment." "Getting rewards/prizes" and "Getting acknowledgement from peers, teachers or parents" were ranked as the least important consequences.

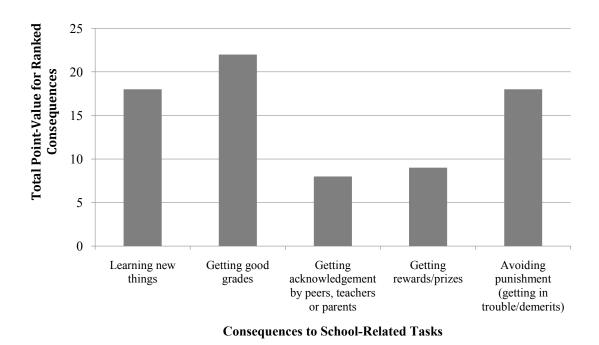


Figure 3. Mrs. Williams' student rank order of consequences to school-related tasks. One of the six participating students in this class did not respond to this survey item (N=5). 2. Raw values were divided by number of participants to equalize the scale. 3. In analyzing this variable, each ranking was assigned a value and the total for each consequence is reported. That is, the first ranked consequence was valued at 4 points, the second ranked consequence was valued at 3 points and so on (Alwin & Krosnick, 1985).

Rewards. When asked about the rewards system in her class, Mrs. Williams said that she did not want her students to expect rewards. She stated that she uses social reinforcement (e.g. praise), symbolic rewards (e.g., stickers), and material rewards (e.g., food or prizes) *occasionally*. It was observed that candy was sometimes given as a reward for submitting homework. She used public recognition (e.g. paper

on bulletin, announcement) when students display model behavior and/or high achievement. She rarely, if ever, used privileges as a form of rewards. Finally, as agreed upon by the other 6th grade teachers, Mrs. Williams used public reprimands, demerits, and contracts. She expressed "I use public criticism occasionally only because I want the peer pressure to help stop inappropriate behavior." Observations revealed that students are instructed to put their heads down as a "time-out" for disruptive or inappropriate behavior.

Summary: Mrs. Williams' Classroom

In Table 6, the researcher has summarized her overall judgments about the classroom according to the presence of each of the characteristics first hypothesized in Table 4. Generally speaking, Mrs. Williams' classroom appeared to possess almost all of the hypothesized characteristics of a *culturally conforming* classroom. Only in terms of the characteristic of student preferences for doing school-related tasks is the classroom non-culturally *conforming*. Despite her goal of creating a family environment in her classroom, it seemed that most of her attention, perhaps not by choice, was on keeping her class on task and well behaved.

Table 6

Observed Characteristics of a Culturally Conforming Classroom

	Criteria	Presence
Responsibility		
Enforced Lesson	Family	Yes
Classroom Management (Student dependence and student responsibility)	Students are dependent on themselves as well as their peers. Students are responsible for themselves as well as their peers.	Yes
Social Interdependence		
Group Work	Teacher primarily organizes students in groups for in-class activities.	Yes
Relationships	Students feel supported, respected, and can relate to their teacher and peers.	Yes
Effort/Accomplishment		
Consequences to School-related Tasks	Students would prefer consequences in the following order:	
	 Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents Getting good grades Getting rewards/prizes Learning new things Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits) 	No
Rewards	Students are rewarded with prizes for good behavior and good grades.	Yes

Miss Delgado's Classroom

Miss Delgado's classroom was supposed to be the *culturally confronting* one. As was the case with Mrs. Williams' classroom, let us now also examine whether it really was per the hypothesized characteristics of Table 4.

Responsibility

Enforced lesson. When asked if there is a particular lesson she consistently enforced with her students, Miss Delgado confirmed that she consistently taught her students to make informed decisions. She said she enforced the understanding of consequences, choices and responsibility. She specified that "students learn best when they are given structured choices within a certain realm and when students are given the freedom to decide on how they want to conduct their own learning. Students are most motivated when they are in charge of their own learning." This specification was observed on a daily basis. Within a single activity, students were reminded constantly that they were free to make decisions about how they wanted to execute their tasks. For instance, prior to group presentations, Miss Delgado prepped the students with advice, "Be confident about your project. Teach it, don't read it. Share the responsibility but do not reply on others to do the work. You are responsible for yourself. Take initiative."

Classroom management. Similar to Mrs. Williams, Miss Delgado used a contract/demerit system. Observations in Miss Delgado's class revealed that students had parameters. She ran an orderly classroom with routines, schedules and defined roles. A class cabinet of student officers existed and was apparent when conducting day-to-day activities. For example, student officers led the discussion on planning their upcoming class party, with little to no prompting from Miss Delgado. These officers facilitated an orderly discussion on supplies, activities, volunteers, etc. They

later conducted a voting process to finalize their decisions. Elections for class cabinet were a scheduled event that gave all students an opportunity to be involved.

Social Interdependence

Group Work. When asked about structuring tasks and activities, Miss Delgado reported mixing the task structures of individual, partner, and group work to "expose students to different experiences in how to deal with others." Students had clearly defined roles when grouped. For one group project, student groups were assigned to put together a Public Service Announcement for a particular topic, such as underage drinking, smoking, gun control, etc. Together they had to complete each part of the project together, but each student took a lead role in a different task (i.e. researching content, writing the script, filming, and directing). Miss Delgado structured group work this way so that each student contributed equally. She explained that [this way] "they are productive individually and as a group." During their group-work time, she suggested to the students that "sometimes it helps to share what you're doing with others because it helps organize your own thoughts."

Miss Delgado expressed that she sometimes enforced group work for the purpose of striving for efficiency. Prompts for more efficient performance occurred several times throughout the day, usually after Miss Delgado checked in with the students to assess their progress toward task completion. Observations of one specific group project revealed that she needed to facilitate productive work time within a 45-minute computer lab period, so she gave students nine prompts for efficiency, such as:

"let's make better use of our time..."

"you need to make better choices, prioritize and be more efficient...."

"everyone has their own responsibility. If you rely on each other, nothing is going to get done..."

Like Mrs. Williams' students, the researcher asked Miss Delgado's students in surveys about how they preferred to work when asked to complete a school-related task. Students were asked to rank the following work preferences for task completion: work only by themselves, with a partner, in a group, or as a class.

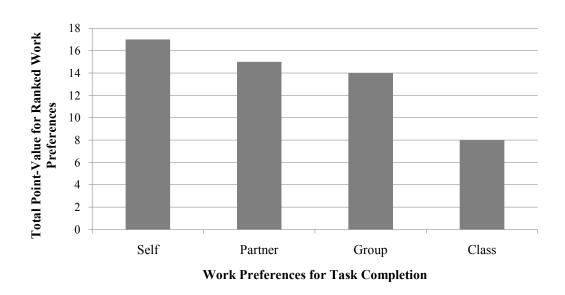


Figure 4. Work preferences of students in Miss Delgado's class. The item response from one of the six participating students in this class was omitted because the student only ranked one preference, thus affecting the values of all other preferences (N=5).

Figure 4 illustrates that Miss Delgado's students valued working by themselves most with "Working with a partner" or "as a group" ranked as their second and third preference, respectively. "Working as a class" was viewed as the least valued preference.

Relationships. All six participating students in Miss Delgado's class responded to the same survey regarding respect, support, and relatedness as the five students in Mrs. Williams' classroom. In terms of respect, four out of the six students respected themselves, all six felt respected by certain classmates, four felt respected by Miss Delgado, and one felt respected only by his/her family. In terms of emotional support, three students felt they supported themselves, five by certain classmates, four by their class as a whole, five by Miss Delgado, and one student by no one at all. In terms of relatedness, all students felt that they could relate to certain classmates, two to their class as a whole, and two to Miss Delgado. Interestingly, one student reported indicating feeling relatedness to only music and sports and to no people at all.

Effort/Accomplishment

Consequences. As did Mrs. Williams' students, Miss Delgado's students rankordered the importance of consequences when doing a school-related task along the following lines:

- Learning new things
- Getting rewards/prizes
- Getting good grades
- Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents

Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits)

Figure 5 illustrates the results of those rankings. As is evident from this figure, Miss Delgado's students ranked "Learning new things" as the most important consequence to school-related tasks. A close second ranked consequence was that of "Getting good grades." The third ranked important consequence was "Avoiding punishment." The least important consequences were "Getting acknowledgement by peers, teachers or parents" and "Getting rewards/prizes."

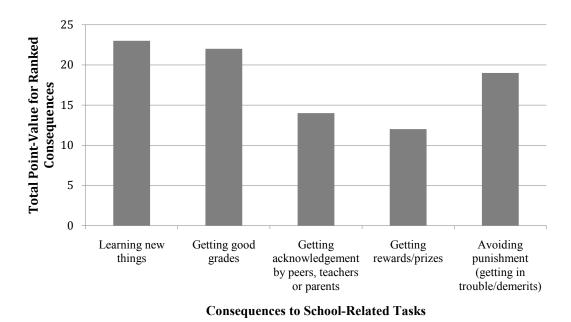


Figure 5. Miss Delgado's student rank order of consequences to school-related tasks. All six participating students answered this survey item (N=6). As noted, actual total point-values differed between classes because there were a different number of respondents to this particular item. Thus, each point-value was divided by number of respondents to create an equal scale for class comparison.

Rewards. Miss Delgado stated that she uses social reinforcement (e.g. praise) and symbolic rewards (e.g. stickers) and privileges (e.g. play with special materials, leisure time on the computer) occasionally. Students who maintained high performance on their quizzes would earn the privilege of having "time off," where students could choose not to participate in classroom clean-up. Other forms of privileges were a decreased number of "reflections" they had to write, free computer play or homework-free nights. In wrapping up a class activity, where students were to peer review the groups, Miss Delgado expressed, "I was looking for a few things today: effort, encouragement and behavior. I must say that on a scale of 1-6, you guys did a 6! So tonight, you will have the night off. You guys have worked hard on your culture projects and your unit projects."

She felt that she uses public recognition (e.g. paper on bulletin, announcement) when students display model behavior and/or high achievement, but uses material rewards (e.g. food or prizes) only once a quarter. This was observed in one instance where Miss Delgado announced "Congratulations to Student J. He was the only one who answered all the questions on the quiz correctly." And like Mrs. Williams, Miss Delgado confirmed she used public reprimands, demerits and contracts. Demerits sometimes resulted in revoked recess privileges.

Summary: Miss Delgado's Classroom

In Table 7, the researcher has summarized her overall judgments about Miss Delgado's classroom according to the presence of each of the characteristics first hypothesized in Table 4. While generally speaking, Mrs. Williams' classroom

appeared to be a good fit to a *culturally conforming* classroom, Miss Delgado's classroom was a more problematic fit to a *culturally confronting* one. In each of the areas of responsibility, social interdependence, and effort/accomplishment, there were places where the classroom definitely possessed the characteristics of the hypothetical *confronting* classroom and places where it only "maybe" possessed the characteristics.

Table 7

Observed characteristics of a culturally confronting classroom

	Criteria	Presence
Responsibility		
Classroom Management (Student dependence and student responsibility)	Students are independent. Students are responsible for themselves only.	Yes
Enforced Lesson	Independence	Maybe
Social Interdependence		
Group Work	Teacher primarily has students work individually for in-class activities.	Maybe
Relationships	Students feel supported, respected, and can relate to their teacher and peers.	Yes
Effort/Accomplishment		
Consequences to School-related tasks	Students would prefer consequences in the following order:	
	 Learning new things Getting rewards/prizes Getting good grades Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits) 	Yes
Rewards	Students are rewarded with prizes for good behavior only.	Maybe

Clearly, while great effort had been made on paper to secure as much a *culturally confronting* classroom as possible, the classroom selected was not as *culturally confronting* in vivo as was hypothesized.

Summary: Mrs. Williams v. Miss Delgado

Now that the criteria and confirmed conditions have been laid out for each classroom, the differences and, similarities, become more evident between the two treatment conditions. Conditions in Mrs. Williams' classroom appeared to have met all but one criterion to say that it fairly represented a *culturally conforming* classroom. One unexpected condition, however, was that of student views on "consequences." It was expected that students in this classroom would mostly value "getting acknowledgment by teachers, peers and parents." Instead, students reported "learning new things" as the most important consequence to school-related tasks, a response expected in a more *culturally confronting* classroom.

Conditions in Miss Delgado's classroom only **maybe** met the criteria to say that it fairly represented a *culturally confronting* classroom. To fit the *culturally confronting* classroom, it was expected that Miss Delgado would effectively enforce individual independence. She mostly enforced efficiency instead, followed by responsibility and consequences. On the responsibility front, yes, Miss Delgado stressed individual "responsibility" as an instructional means in her classroom but not as an instructional ends. On the social relationship front, no, Miss Delgado did not consistently stress individual over group work. On the rewards front, yes, Miss

Delgado gave rewards for good behavior, but sometimes she also gave rewards for other things such as performance.

Overall, then, these two classrooms probably turned out to be more similar than the researcher would have liked. As the following table indicates, students in both classrooms were generally treated as being independent and responsible, they felt supported, respected and interdependent, they shared similar views on the consequences for doing school-related tasks, and they were appropriately and only slightly differently rewarded for their efforts.

Table 8

Observed differences and similarities of the culturally conforming classroom and culturally confronting classroom

	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
	Culturally Conforming	Culturally Confronting
Responsibility		
Enforced Lesson	Good Behavior	Efficiency
Classroom Management (Student dependence and student responsibility)	Students were responsible and dependent on themselves. Class was managed inconsistently with reprimands/demerits.	Students were independent. Students were responsible for themselves only. Class was managed with clear rules and a structured system of reprimands.
Social Interdependence		
Group Work	Teacher primarily organized students in groups for in-class activities.	Teacher had students work individually for in-class activities as well as in pairs and groups.
Relationships	Students felt supported, respected and can relate to their teacher and peers.	Students felt supported, respected and can relate to their teacher and peers.
Effort/Accomplishment		
Consequences to School-related tasks	Students preferred consequences by the following order:	Students preferred consequences by the following order:
	 Learning new things Getting good grades Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents Getting rewards/prizes Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits) 	 Learning new things Getting good grades Getting acknowledgement by peers teachers or parents Getting rewards/prizes Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits)
Rewards	Students are rewarded with social reinforcement, symbolic rewards and material rewards occasionally. Public recognition is given for good behavior. Privileges are almost never used as a reward.	Students are rewarded with social reinforcement, symbolic rewards, and privileges occasionally. Material rewards were used only once a quarter and public recognition was used for good behavior.

Indeed, if the classes really differed anywhere it was in the area of the enforced lesson and, to a lesser extent, the area of student group work. As noted above, Miss Delgado managed her class along individualistic lines but not toward individualistic ends. The researcher's impression was that Miss Delgado was more interested in pedagogical efficiency, a matter of instructional delivery, than in pedagogical effectiveness regarding the development of her students as individuals striving to self-determine their learning and to make the learning choices of when and how to study so as to accomplish their respective school learning tasks. Though Mrs. Williams' student work was only occasionally organized into folders, Miss Delgado's student work was always organized into folders and a schedule for using them. Not only were her students told when to do their individual work, they were told what to work on and sometimes with whom. Students choosing what to work on, when, and with or without whom are central to more individualistically oriented classrooms. So while Miss Delgado's was individually-based on the surface, it was not really individualistically-oriented in reality.

Intrinsic Motivation To Learn

As previously defined, *intrinsic motivation to learn* refers to when students are motivated by effective interaction with the learning process and not by extrinsic rewards or punishments (Brophy, 1983; Deci & Ryan, 1985). The researcher had hypothesized that a *culturally conforming* classroom and a *culturally confronting* one should have significantly different impacts on student intrinsic motivation to learn, with the former classroom being more effective from an intrinsic motivational

perspective. So as to examine this hypothesis, she specifically explored student views of competence, self-determination and autonomy in each classroom – three dimensions of student intrinsic motivation to learn -- by gathering the students' perspectives on school and learning through interviews, surveys and writing samples. In the interviews, students were asked to share their daily experiences from the start to the end of their day, specifically covering their activities at home and school as well as with their teachers, class, and peers. In the student surveys, students were asked to share their views about learning and school and to define 1) a *hard working student* 2) a *motivated student* and 3) an *independent student*. Once students provided definitions for each student quality, the researcher asked them to provide a self-rating of how they viewed themselves as an *organized, motivated,* and *independent student*. In the writing samples, students were asked to share their experience of being a student by recalling a time when they tried hard, wanted to learn and were actively involved in their learning.

Competence

Competence is the cornerstone intrinsic motivation to learn construct that unites feedback, challenge, and enjoyment (Reeve, 1996) and involves the act of being capable and successful in task engagement. Competence, in this study is linked to students enjoyment of learning and was operationalized by asking students how they viewed the *fun* and *importance* of their learning, as well as how *hard working* they are as learners.

Learning is Fun

In student surveys, the researcher examined student views on learning, specifically on how *fun* they viewed learning. Generally speaking, the researcher expected that Miss Delgado's class should be more fun-full than Mrs. Williams', especially for students in the low to average achieving groups.

Table 9 summarizes, by classroom and achievement group, student self-ratings on a Likert scale from 1 to 10 that "learning is *fun*". In general, the researcher had expected that the overall ratings of learning being *fun* would be higher in Miss Delgado's classroom than in Mrs. Williams'. She further expected that Miss Delgado's low to average achieving students would rank learning being *fun* higher than the Mrs. Williams' low to average achieving students.

Table 9
Student Ratings for the Fun in Learning

Achievement Group	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
I avy to Ayaraga	6.67	7.25
Low to Average	6.67	7.25
High	6.50	8.50
Classroom Mean	7.00	7.50

Note: Students were asked to rate how much they agreed that learning is *fun* on a Likert scale from 1 to 10 (1=strongly disagree, 10=strongly agree). One student in Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group did not respond due to absence (N=11).

The descriptive statistics in Table 9 indicate her expectations appeared to be confirmed. On average, Miss Delgado's focal students ranked learning as being "fun"

more highly than did Mrs. Williams'. The low to average achievers rankings in Miss Delgado's class were higher than for Mrs. Williams' low to average achievers, too, and higher even than for Mrs. William's high achievers. They were not higher than for Miss Delgado's high achievers, though. All these descriptive data did suggest an interaction between classrooms and achievement groups. A non-parametric Friedman, two-way, classroom by achievement group ANOVA confirmed the presence of that interaction (p value = 0.01). What was the nature of the interaction? In Figure 6, the researcher has graphed "Learning is Fun" ratings against achievement groups. As is evident from this graph, contrary to the researcher's expectations, Miss Delgado's class seemed to have a much stronger impact on high, not low to average achievers than did Mrs. Williams'.

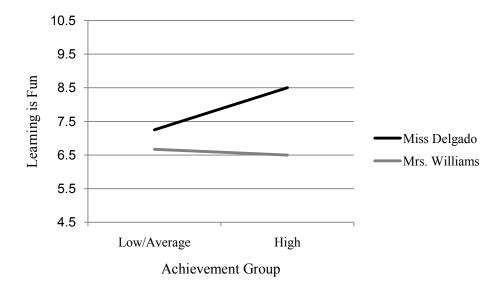


Figure 6. Interaction between classrooms and achievement groups on the Fun in Learning (N=11).

Learning is Important

Having *fun* in learning is one aspect of competence. As Block (1975) has noted, fun represents, from an adult perspective, the less serious, more play-like aspects of intrinsic motivation. Viewing that play-like learning as being *important* is another aspect of competence, the more serious, more work-like aspect of intrinsic motivation. Moving from seeing learning as fun to seeing it as being important too is a process, however, that requires extensive experience with "fun" oriented teaching techniques (Reeve, 1996). Given, then, that students in Miss Delgado's class had probably not had much experience in individualistically-oriented classroom settings heretofore and that Miss Delgado's class, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter, probably provided only a weak version of that learning orientation, the researcher did not hold out as high expectations that overall self-ratings of "learning being *important*" would be higher in Miss Delgado's class than Mrs. Williams' and that the self-ratings would also be higher for those in Miss Delgado's low to average students than the comparable group in Mrs. Williams' classroom.

To test her thinking, the researcher again returned to the student surveys to examine student views on how *important* they viewed their learning using a Likert scale from 1 to 10. Table 10 summarizes, by classroom and achievement group, student self-ratings that "learning is *important*".

Table 10

Student ratings for the importance of learning

Achievement Group	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
Low to Average	9.33	8.25
High	10.00	9.50
Classroom Mean	9.75	8.71

Note: Students were asked to rate how much they agreed that learning is fun on a Likert scale from 1 to 10 (1=strongly disagree, 10=strongly agree). One student in Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group did not respond due to absence (N=11).

As is evident from the descriptive statistics in this table, what the researcher expected is what she got. Based on classroom means, Miss Delgado's class generally ranked learning as being relatively less *important* than did Mrs. Williams'. Moreover, Miss Delgado's low to average students did not see learning as being as relatively important as did Mrs. Williams' low to average students. Again, these descriptive statistics suggested there was a classroom by achievement group interaction at work. A non-parametric Friedman, two-way, classroom by achievement group ANOVA confirmed the presence of that interaction (p value = 0.01).

Once again, the researcher used simple graphing techniques to trace down the nature of this interaction. In Figure 7, she graphed "Learning is *Important*" ratings against achievement groups. As is evident from this graph, contrary to the researcher's expectations, Miss Delgado's class seemed to have a weaker impact on low to average achievers than did Mrs. Williams'.

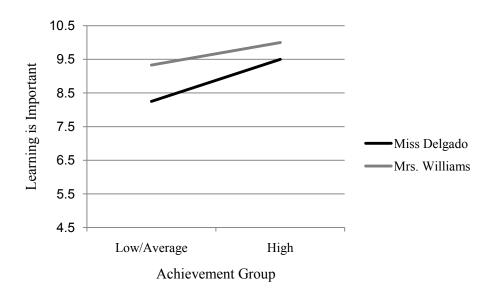


Figure 7. Interaction between classrooms and achievement groups on the Importance of Learning (N=11).

Fun and Importance: Some Ancillary Qualitative Data

Hoping to explore in greater detail the quantitative differences between Miss Delgado's and Mrs. Williams' students' view about learning being "fun" and "important" the researcher turned to her qualitative data, specifically those interview data that asked students to define school. The researcher expected that the focal students in Miss Delgado's class would view school as a more exciting and fun place to learn than Mrs. Williams' focal students.

The researcher's expectations were, in fact confounded. Focal students in both classes generally reported that school was fun or exciting, and most students in both classes' low to average achieving groups recognized the importance of school and learning.

In Miss Delgado's class, five out of the six participating students stated that school was either *fun* or *exciting*. One student viewed school as "educational because you do different things" (D-G1-SI). Two other students shared that school is fun for social reasons. They commented "school is fun because you always get to see and talk to your friends" (D-G2-SI). Only some of Miss Delgado's low to average students, though, also expressed views about the importance of school and learning. While one student, for instance, noted that "school helps you learn and get a job when you grow up" (D-G2-SI) another expressed frustration with school because "you always have to learn" (D-G1-SI).

In Mrs. Williams' class, all six participating students had positive things to say about school. Five out of the six students stated that school is *fun*. Four out of the six students mentioned that school is *fun* because you learn new things. One student shared that "school is fun because you can learn more about people, family, friends, aunties, your grandma and stuff. You learn that you treat people how you want to be treated. You learn to about respect and manners" (W-G2-SI). Others shared that school is fun for social reasons (e.g. you can talk to or play with your friends) (W-G1-SI, W-G3-SI). Two students viewed that school is a better place to be "instead of being bored at home" (W-G3-SI) or because "no one is at home" (W-G1-SI).

As in Miss Delgado's class, only some of Mrs. Williams' low to average achievers felt school and learning was important. As two of these students put it "subjects [in school] are important so you know what to do when you get older" (W-G1-SI) and "you get smarter and can go to college" (W-G2-SI). These same students,

though, thought about school in other terms than subjects, smarts, and going to college. One viewed school as a place to learn about people, family and friends (W-G2-SI), and the other as a place better than a lonely home (W-G1-SI).

Self-Determination

So far, the data indicate that both Miss Delgado's and Mrs. Williams' classes seemed to stoke matters of competence in their students. Miss Delgado's class seemed to make learning more "fun", especially for high achievers, and Mrs. Williams' class made it somewhat more "important", especially for low to average achievers. Why Miss Delgado's class, especially her low to average students, did not move from seeing learning as being more "fun" and more "important", too, might involve another intrinsic motivation to learn variable called self-determination. Self-determination involves student behavior that is driven by internal factors such as interest and initiation. It is self-determination that is supposed to help students internalize the notion that learning can be fun and important.

In this research, self-determination was operationalized by asking each focal student to rate himself/herself as *hard working* and to share his/her views on their own engagement in learning. Did, in fact, Miss Delgado's student ratings and views differ from Mrs. Williams' student ratings in terms of self-determination?

The Hard Working Student

Generally speaking, the researcher had expected that Miss Delgado's focal students would view themselves as more *hard working* than Mrs. Williams' focal students. She also had expected that the low to average achievers in Miss Delgado's

class would view themselves as being more *hard working* than Mrs. Williams' low to average achievers.

To test these expectations, the researcher first examined how the focal students in Miss Delgado's and Mrs. Williams' classes rated themselves as *hard working students*. Table 11 summarizes the self-ratings by classroom.

Table 11

Student self-ratings as a hard working student

Achievement Group	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
Low to Average	6.50	5.75
High	7.50	9.00
Classroom Mean	6.83	7.00

Note: Students were asked to rate themselves as a *hard working student*. On a Likert scale from 1 to 10. One student in Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group did not respond due to absence (N=11).

As the descriptive statistics in Table 10 indicate, Miss Delgado's focal students, contrary to the researcher's expectation, self-ranked themselves as being roughly comparable to Mrs. Williams' focal students as being *hard working*. Miss Delgado's low to average achieving students, though, seemed less *hard working* than Mrs. Williams' low to average students while her high achieving students seemed more *hard working*. Once again, there appeared to be an interaction between classrooms and achievement groups in terms of self-rankings as being *hard working*.

A non-parametric Friedman, two-way, classroom by achievement group ANOVA confirmed the presence of that interaction (*p* value = 0.02). So, still again, the researcher used simple graphing techniques to trace down the nature of this interaction. In Figure 9, she graphed "*Hard Working Student*" ratings against achievement groups. As is evident from this graph, contrary to the researcher's expectations, Miss Delgado's class seemed to have a stronger impact on high achievers than did Mrs. Williams' and a weaker impact on low to average achievers.

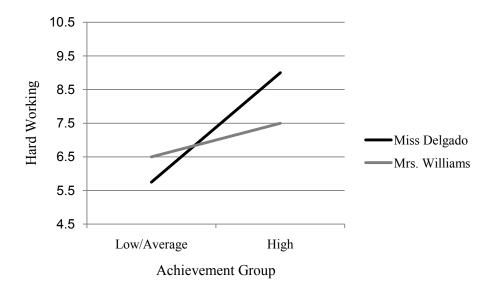


Figure 8. Interaction between classrooms and achievement groups on the hard working student (N=11).

The Hard Working Student: Some Ancillary Qualitative Data

In addition to gathering quantitative data regarding student views of themselves as being *hard working* students, the researcher also gathered qualitative, interview data on the same topic. These data suggested that students in the two

classes had only slightly different views of themselves along the *hard working student* line.

In Miss Delgado's class, the focal students generally defined the *hard* working student behaviorally, that is, by what the student did -- as one who "pays attention, knows what to do, and always gets their work done." Three students further defined the *hard working student* based on their perseverance, as someone who "never gives up and does their best" (D-G1, G2-SS). One student in Miss Delgado's low to average achievement group additionally defined the *hard working student* as someone who is "independent and organized" (D-G1-SS). All in all, Miss Delgado's low to average achievement group never mentioned that the *hard working student* was someone who helped anyone other than themselves. This lack of mention would be consistent with an individualistically-oriented classroom.

In Mrs. Williams' class, the focal students also generally defined the *hard working student* behaviorally, as someone who "turns in their homework." Some students in Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group also defined the student in terms of their perseverance, as someone who "tries really hard to learn, tries hard or always tries their best" (W-G1, G3-SS). Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group added an element to their definitions not found among Miss Delgado's class, though, defining the *hard working student* as someone "who helps others get good grades" (W-G2-SS). This added element would be consistent with a cooperatively-oriented classroom.

Student Engagement

Having explored student self-determination in the two classes from a *hard* work perspective, attention now shifted to exploring it from a *student engagement* perspective. With the help of both teachers, writing samples were collected from all students, not just the focal ones. In these samples, students were asked to describe their experience of "wanting to learn, trying hard and being actively involved." The samples were gathered as one of their assignments in their existing writing journals. Since students were familiar with writing openly and reflectively for such assignments, the writing samples gathered provided the ideal opportunity to gather authentic student perspectives and to share examples of times when they had been motivated and engaged in their own learning.

The researcher expected that students in Miss Delgado's class would be more self-determined by being more engaged, interested and involved in their learning than those in Mrs. Williams' class. Again, her expectations were confounded. Generally speaking, both Mrs. Williams' and Miss Delgado's students shared many self-determination to learn insights. Both Mrs. Williams' and Miss Delgado's students, in particular, shared a general wanting to learn and involvement in learning, effort, drive, interests, and/or learning strategies. Yet, there were still some students in both classes who shared only extrinsic, no, or other motivations to learn at all. To better understand these general and specific engagements in learning, let us consider precisely what the focal students, in particular, actually wrote by classroom and by achievement group.

High achieving focal students in both classes seemed to have the clearest and deepest understandings of their reasons for engaging in learning and these understandings were generally intrinsic in nature. One of Mrs. Williams' high achieving focal students writes, for instance:

"I like to learn. But some of the ways of learning aren't great. I dislike just listening. I will listen but I don't like to do it. I don't like going over examples, I just want to do it. I have always tried hard because I want to go to college. I'm about halfway through school and I will not stop trying. I like math this year. I think it's because I can do it on my own. I also like reading, because I love books that interest me. If I don't like it I could read and remember nothing" (W-G3-WS).

This student's writings mimic those of one of Miss Delgado's high-achieving students:

"I had always wanted to learn. My greatest experience is it's pretty hard when you learn our math. It makes you think so much about what is the right answer or if you did it right. It makes you have a better future and life though. When you want to learn it makes you smarter even if you already learned it you may learn more things about it" (D-G3-WS).

But even the high achieving students in both classes indicated there were some roadblocks in their ways to learning. These roadblocks seemed to involve, in part, how they were taught or not taught. As one of Mrs. Williams' students framed his/her learning issues:

"I get mad or irritated because I can't learn it or I can't get better at it. It's like I just kept repeating" (W-G3-WS).

One of Miss Delgado's students wrote similar sentiments and raised explicit concerns about her occasional dips into cooperative learning ventures. This student wanted to work more independently:

"I'm trying my hardest to get better and participate more. I'm also trying not to rely on people and do things myself" (D-G3-WS).

While the high achieving focal students in both classes almost always gave intrinsic reasons for the engagements in learning, their low to average achieving counterparts gave a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic. Some students in Mrs. Williams' class, for instance, wrote about their intrinsic wanting to learn and their involvement in learning:

"I wanted to know how to do math when I was little because I like when I did adding like 1+1=2. And when I was in third grade we were learning about multiplication, it was hard. But when I got to know how to times I got better.

And I got really involved math." W-G2-WS) and

"I want to learn how to read and type faster, how to talk more, raise my hand and learn more about the things we are doing" (W-G1-WS).

But not all low to average students in both classes wanted to engage in learning for learning's sake. One of Mrs. Williams' focal students was quite clear, in fact, that she/he learned just to please his/her parents:

"I want to learn how to do math...and I'm trying my best to do better in math.

I want to learn math so my mom and dad will be proud of me"(W-G2-WS).

The situation was the same in Miss Delgado's class. Some of her low to average achieving students generally mentioned intrinsic reasons for engaging in learning:

"I sometimes want to learn more than I do. If I'm interested in it, I am most likely to learn more...like in writing I love writing. I always try my best in math and reading because I want to know more than I do" (D-G1-WS).

One student even shared his/her interest in learning:

"practically everything, because my teacher turns learning into games" (D-G2-WS).

But other of Miss Delgado's focal students mentioned more extrinsic reasons for their engagement. One wrote that she/he learned only if she/he had or was asked to:

"Sometimes I try hard, but other times I just never try my best. I'm mostly involved only if we have to do work or when someone asks me to do work. This happened to me only sometimes, but not every time" (D-G1-WS).

Some low to average focal students in both classes also did not want to learn for intrinsic or extrinsic reasons, they did not want learn at all. As one of Mrs. Williams' students put the matter:

"I try hard, but I can't do it" (W-G1-WS).

Another student in Miss Delgado's class wrote, though, she/he would have engaged in learning if her/his schoolwork had been differently structured. In this case, the student pined for more group work:

"I like to work in groups a lot. I would work hard and get assignments done when I work in groups. If we had a question that we all would answer then we would get all the answers we all have and put it into one answer that would make sense" (D-G2-WS).

Autonomy

Autonomy joins student competence and self-determination as the third piece to intrinsic motivation to learn. Autonomy involves student freedom and flexibility to make decisions to pursue different learning tasks and to initiate these tasks initiation without prodding by their teachers. Autonomy was operationalized here by asking students to define and to self-rank themselves as a *motivated* and *independent* student.

The Motivated Student

In student surveys, the researcher examined how *motivated* students viewed themselves as a *motivated student*. The researcher expected that the overall self-ratings for the focal students on these surveys would be higher in Miss Delgado's classroom than in Mrs. Williams' classroom, especially for the former teacher's low to average achievers.

Table 12 summarizes, by classroom and achievement group, student selfratings as a *motivated student* on a Likert scale from 1 to 10. As the descriptive statistics in this table indicate, again the researcher's expectations were not met.

Table 12
Student self-ratings of the motivated student

Achievement Group	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
Low to Average	7.67	6.00
High	7.00	7.50
Classroom Mean	7.25	6.71

Note: Students were asked to rate themselves as a *motivated student* on a Likert scale from 1 to 10 (1=not very motivated, 10=very motivated). These self-ratings reflect the definition each student provided. One student in Mrs. Williams' low to average achievement group did not respond due to absence (N=11).

Contrary to the researcher's hypothesis, the focal students in Miss Delgado's class viewed themselves, on the average, slightly less motivated than those in Mrs. Williams' class. Moreover, the low to average achievers in Miss Delgado's class had the lowest average self-ratings among all groups on how students ranked themselves as a motivated student. As for her high achievers, they had self-ratings that were higher than for Mrs. Williams' high achievers but slightly lower than Mrs. Williams' low to average achievers.

All these descriptive statistics once again suggest an interaction between classrooms and achievement groups. A non-parametric Friedman, two-way, classroom by achievement group ANOVA confirmed the presence of that interaction (p value = 0.01). Figure 9 indicates the nature of that interaction.

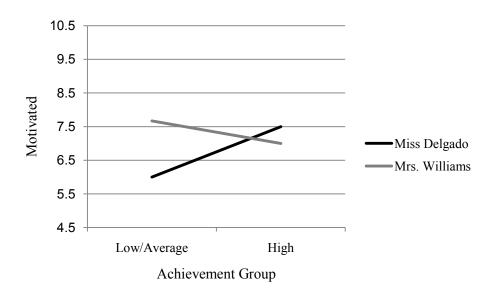


Figure 9. Interaction between classrooms and achievement groups on the motivated student (N=11).

As is evident from this figure, Miss Delgado's class seemed slightly more effective than Mrs. Williams' class for high achievers with regard to the *motivated* student variable. It was clearly less effective compared to Mrs. Williams' class for low to average achievers.

Motivated Student: Some Ancillary Qualitative Data

The researcher also expected that in their interviews, Miss Delgado's focal students would define the *motivated student* in more intrinsic ways than Mrs. Williams' students. Those interviews did, in fact, confound her expectation. High and low to average achievers in both classes defined the *motivated student* in intrinsic ways as being "someone who is excited to learn". High and low to average achievers in Mrs. Williams' class and low to average achievers in Miss Delgado's class added,

though, that having an intrinsic orientation to school and learning was not enough.

That orientation also needed to translate into action.

High achievers in Mrs. Williams' class did see the *motivated student* as being one with an intrinsic orientation toward school and learning, but one who also translates that orientation into action. As one of these students put it, the *motivated student* is "a faster learner and hard working" and "asks questions" (W-G3-SS).

Low to average achievers in Mrs. Williams' class expressed a similar view of the *motivated student*. One of these average achieving students, for instance, defined the *motivated student* as "someone who wants to go to school" and who "participates in all things" (W-G2-SS). Participation in all things was also voiced by one of the low achieving students (W-G1-SS).

High achievers in Miss Delgado's class, unlike Mrs. Williams', tended to see the *motivated student* with more of an intrinsic, less action orientation toward school and learning. One student defined a *motivated student* as being "a student who is excited to learn, is someone who wants to always learn, doesn't get busted, and listens to get things right" (D-G3-SS). As another one of her focal high achievers put the matter, the *motivated student* "wants to learn" and "has things to be excited about in school" (D-G3-SS).

Low achievers in Miss Delgado's class echoed their high achieving peers' view that the *motivated student* "had an intrinsic orientation toward school and learning." As one average achieving student put it, a *motivated student* is someone

who "loves school" and "has a lot of self-esteem" (D-G2-SS). Such a student "wants to be taught" (D-G1-SS) added a low achieving student.

Yet, Miss Delgado's low to average achievers, like Mrs. Williams', also seemed to appreciate the linkage between an intrinsic orientation toward school and learning and the need to act on that orientation. As one of her low achieving students noted, the motivated student is someone "who tries new stuff" (D-G1-SS).

The Independent Student

To further understand student autonomy in each classroom, the researcher next examined, using student survey data, how students viewed themselves as an *independent student*.

Table 13
Student self-ratings for the independent student

Achievement Group	Mrs. Williams	Miss Delgado
Low to Average	6.00	4.67
High	7.00	8.00
Classroom Mean	7.50	5.33

Note: Students were asked to rate themselves as an *independent student* on a Likert scale from 1 to 10 (1=not very independent, 10=very independent). These self-ratings reflect the definition each student provided. One student in Miss Delgado's low to average achievement group did not respond (N=11).

Table 13 summarizes by classroom and achievement group, the student selfratings as an *independent student* using a Likert scale of 1-10. Generally speaking, the researcher expected that focal students in Miss Delgado's class would rate themselves more highly as an *independent student* than students in Mrs. Williams' class. She also expected that the self-ratings for the *independent student* would be higher for those in the low to average achievement group in Miss Delgado's classroom than those in Mrs. Williams' comparable group.

As the descriptive statistics in Table 13 indicate, the researcher's expectations were once again foiled. Focal students in Miss Delgado's class, on average, viewed themselves as being much less *independent* than those in Mrs. Williams' class, and Mrs. Delgado's low to average achievement group ranked themselves the least *independent* of all. Miss Delgado's high achieving group, though, was the most *independent*.

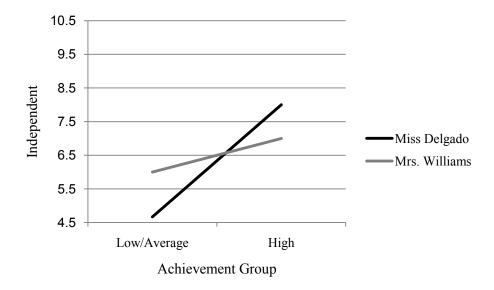


Figure 10. Interaction between classrooms and achievement groups on the *Independent Student* (N=11).

These descriptive statistics again suggested a possible classroom by achievement group interaction. A non-parametric Friedman, two-way, classroom by student achievement group ANOVA (*p* value=0.02) confirmed the presence of that interaction. Using simple graphing techniques, the researcher was once again able to explore the nature of this interaction.

Independent Student: Some Ancillary Qualitative Data

As was the case with the *motivated student*, the researcher obtained qualitative interview data on the *independent student* topic. Again, the researcher expected that Miss Delgado's focal students would define the *independent student* in ways related to autonomy more than Mrs. Williams' focal students. Yet again, her expectations were not realized

High achievers in Mrs. Williams' class defined the *independent student* as someone who "is not influenced by other people" or "who is able to do something by themselves [sic], without help" (W-G3-SS). As was the case with the *motivated student*, the *independent student*, in the eyes of these high achievers, demonstrated their independence through action.

Low to average achievers in Mrs. Williams' class defined the *independent* student in action terms, too. One average achieving student, for instance, characterized the *independent student* as being someone who "thinks" and "works by themselves" (W-G2-SS). While another low achieving student characterized the *independent student* as someone who is "organized" (W-G1-SS). High achievers in Miss Delgado's class defined the *independent student* in more thinking than action

terms than their counterparts in Mrs. Williams' class. As one such achiever opined, the *independent student* is someone who "thinks on their own" (D-G3-SS) or "understands what they are doing" (D-G3-SS).

It was the low to average achievers in Miss Delgado's class who characterized the *independent student* in more action terms. One average achieving student, for instance, defined the *independent student* as being someone *who* "does things by themselves" and "who doesn't always give up" (D-G2-SS). One low achieving student added that the *independent student* can "learn by themselves" and "works very hard" (D-G1-SS).

Intrinsic motivation to learn: A summary

Quantitative and qualitative comparisons have now been made between the two classrooms and across the various achievement groups for each of the aspects of intrinsic motivation to learn of interest in this research – competence, self-determination and autonomy. It was expected that the more "individualistic-learning" oriented classroom of Miss Delgado would better promote student intrinsic motivation to learn in general than the more "cooperative-learning" oriented classroom of Mrs. Williams, especially for Miss Delgado's low to average achieving students. What the researcher expected, though, was not what she got. Time after time, the student self ratings on competence variables such as learning is fun and important, on self-determination variables such as hard work and engagement, and on autonomy variables such as student motivation and independence pointed to significant statistical interactions between student intrinsic motivation to learn and the

classroom <u>and</u> the achievement group of the student. Not only did these interactions not point to the effectiveness of Miss Delgado's class, especially for low to average achievers, if anything, they suggested that sometimes her class was better for high achieving students instead.

The qualitative, interview data did not conform to the researcher's expectations about the effectiveness of Miss Delgado's class either. On the matter of competence, focal students generally reported that both classes were fun or exciting, and most low to average achieving students recognized the importance of school and learning in both classes, too. On the matter of self-determination, focal students also generally reported similar views in both classes about being hard working and engaged, with low to average achieving students having only slightly different views in both classes than their high achieving peers. Finally, on the matter of autonomy, focal students in both classes generally offered similar views about being motivated and independent, with low to average students having somewhat nuanced views compared to their high achieving classmates.

While it is tempting to dive immediately in to the interpretation of these findings, or in this case, non-findings, that interpretation would be premature. First, it is important to review the purpose and methods of this study. Then, it is important to consider the study's most significant limitations. That review and consideration begin with the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

Filipino students in American education have been understudied, especially in states like Hawaii where Filipinos represent a large part of the school population.

Still, there remain a handful of researchers who have looked into educational issues and academic struggles of Filipinos. This researcher, a Filipina herself, is one of those researchers, and her research, reported in the prior four chapters, has focused explicitly on the issue of Filipino students' *intrinsic motivation to learn*. The researcher believes that current programs of instruction largely do not address this motivational problem. Moreover, she thinks that those few that do address the problem may do so from the wrong perspective, a perspective that *conforms* to the culture the students bring from home rather than one that *confronts* that culture.

To test her thinking, the researcher conducted a quantitative and qualitative study of Filipino students in Hawaii who were learning under two different classroom learning orientations. One learning orientation was a *culturally conforming* one wherein there was use of cooperative learning techniques, cooperative learning being a tool recommended by experts and practitioners of culturally appropriate instruction (Au, 1980; Chang & Liu, 1998; Jordan, 1984; Lee & Wong, 2002; Mau, 1998, 2002; Tharp & Gallimore, 1974; Yamauchi, 2002).

The other learning orientation was a *culturally confronting* one wherein there was use of individualistic learning techniques, individualistic learning being a tool

recommended by experts and practitioners of *culturally confronting* instruction (Maehr & Midgely, 1999). The researcher hypothesized that student intrinsic motivation to learn should be generally stronger in the latter structure than the former, especially for lower achieving Filipino students.

To execute the study, a K-6 elementary school in a rural town off the north shore of the Hawaiian island of Oahu was purposely selected with the help of University researchers and other educators deemed knowledgeable about the academic underachievement of Filipinos in Hawaii to meet specific location, demographic, grade level, and goal-structure requirements. Two 6th grade classrooms were then identified within that school, one classroom (n=23) that employed cooperative learning techniques and the other (n=23) more individualistic ones. Further, within each classroom, students were classified into three groups -- from low to average to high -- according to their achievement, and, within each achievement group, a small number of focal students (n=2) were identified for concentrated attention.

In each of these classrooms, selected elements of student intrinsic motivation to learn were examined, namely, competence, self-determination, and autonomy. Competence had to do with feeling capable and successful in task engagement. Self-determination involved student behavior driven by internal factors such as interest and initiation. Autonomy was about student freedom and flexibility to make decisions to pursue different learning tasks.

Data were collected about each of these elements using a variant of the ethnographic method of Observant Participation (Block, 1975), a mixed-methods, quantitative and qualitative research methodology that allowed the researcher to tap students' collective thoughts, feelings, and actions about school and school learning. Overall, the researcher visited the school 30 times, conducted 150 hours of participant observation, executed 12 student and 2 teacher ethnographic interviews of over 10 hours total, administered self-constructed student surveys in each class, and gathered student writing samples. The visits, observations and interviews were intended to take the researcher inside the supposedly cooperatively-oriented and the individualistically-oriented classrooms and to explore how these classrooms functioned from a student perspective. The interviews, writing samples, and surveys were designed to explore the relationship between how each classroom functioned and student intrinsic motivation to learn.

All of the collected data were then processed for data analytic purposes.

Quantitative and qualitative data were stored electronically in database software,

FileMaker Pro and Microsoft Excel, so that they were available for coding, sorting,

deconstructing and categorizing. The quantitative data were then analyzed using

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), where, because of the small

number of students studied in each class, non-parametric, Friedman two-way,

classroom by student achievement group ANOVAs were used. Qualitative data were

analyzed with the use of domain analysis, followed by the grounded theory method

(Glaser & Strauss, 1967) using open coding, axial coding and selective coding throughout the process.

What did the data analysis show? The most straightforward answer is not what the researcher expected. The researcher, in particular, had expected one classroom to reflect a cooperative orientation toward learning that was *culturally conforming* and the other classroom to reflect an individualistic orientation that was *culturally confronting*. As noted in the prior chapter, though, these two classrooms in vivo turned out to be more similar and less different than the researcher would have liked. In particular, the researcher's many visits, hours of observation, and teacher interview data did confirm that her selected cooperatively-oriented class (taught by Mrs. Williams) definitely appeared to fit the bill of being a *culturally conforming* classroom. Her selected individualistically-oriented class (taught by Miss Delgado), however, largely appeared to only maybe fit the bill of being a *culturally confronting* classroom. The latter class turned out to be individually-based on the surface but not really individualistically-oriented in reality.

The researcher had also expected that the supposedly different classrooms would have different effects on student intrinsic motivation to learn. Specifically, she thought that the supposed individualistically-oriented class of Miss Delgado would have generally better intrinsic motivational effects than the supposed cooperatively-oriented class of Mrs. Williams, especially for low to average achievers. Neither the quantitative survey nor the student interview data analytic results, though, confirmed her expectations.

Quantitatively speaking, her data pointed to significant interactions between various aspects of student intrinsic motivation to learn and the classroom and the achievement group of the student. These interactions did not point to better effectiveness of Miss Delgado's class over Mrs. Williams' for low achievers but, if anything, for high achievers instead. Qualitatively speaking, students in both classes shared similar views about these various aspects of student intrinsic motivation to learn with low to average achieving students having only slightly different views than their high achieving peers.

Study Strengths

Before attempting to interpret these findings, it is important to note that there were a number of strengths to this study that may make these findings interpretable. What follows are the most salient of these strengths. Because so much of this study involved the collecting and analyzing of qualitative data, chief of these strengths was the fact that the researcher did rigorously adhere to general qualitative data gathering guidelines. In particular, she cleaved especially to the principles of credibility, dependability, and confirmability (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Credibility

Credibility ensures the value, truth, and authenticity of a study's findings. In this study, credibility was established following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) evaluative criteria for trustworthy qualitative research. These criteria include prolonged *engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, member-checking,* and

peer debriefing. During participant observation, the continual and consistent presence of the researchers allowed the teachers and students to view them as part of their natural classroom environment. This prolonged engagement also allowed them to trust the researchers with whatever actions or words they shared in their presence. Students accepted us and wanted us to also participate in all of their activities, field trips, lunch and recess. At one point, students even came up with a plan and schedule for us to "hang out" with them. The teachers were equally accepting as they provided us with their class calendar to see in what else we wanted to participate. Also during this persistent observation, the researchers took extensive notes, rich in detail and description to ensure thorough documentation of daily classroom occurrences. This was essential as the data developed and emerged. An example of such field notes is included in Appendix J.

Triangulation

Triangulation techniques, where multiple methods and data sources are used to support the strength of interpretations and conclusions (Mertens, 1998), were used in her research, too The triangulation of the observations, ethnographic interviews, student surveys, and writing samples helped track the consistency of student responses. *Member-checking* continually occurred to verify that what the researchers were observing was actually what was going on. This occurred casually on a daily basis as well as formally in interviews with students and teachers. Finally, *peer debriefing* occurred occasionally as discoveries in data were made. At the time of data analysis, the researcher was working at an education research company where she

was able to discuss her study with co-project managers who, like her, were finishing graduate studies in education. We would brainstorm relevant topics to test our thinking, as well as discuss our data.

Dependability & Confirmability

Dependability refers to the degree to which the findings of the study are consistent and repeatable, while confirmability refers to the extent to which the researcher maintains a degree of neutrality to avoid bias. In this study, an audit trail was developed to pursue them both. This audit trail included an organized system of all raw data from informal notes, field notes, writing samples, student surveys and interview transcripts. Also archived were supplemental documents provided by teachers such as schedules, classroom handouts, etc.

All raw data were organized and entered into files both in FileMaker Pro and then in Microsoft Excel, for purposes of personal organization, as well as for any future external audits. To ensure strict confidentiality, teacher and student names were given pseudonyms and classrooms and achievement groups were coded. Only these pseudonyms and codes were then used throughout the collection, processing, and analysis of data for consistency as well as neutrality.

Generalizability

Barrie (2005) noted that historically, there has been a low level of transferability of qualitative research (Clonts, 1992; Hathaway, 1995; Krippendorft, 1980). Rather than addressing transferability as part of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) evaluative criteria, let the researcher address generalizability instead. While it is

difficult to claim that any study, either quantitative or qualitative, is reasonably generalizable, there are principles to apply in the logic of achieving generalization. Shadish (1995) asserted that the core principles of generalizability apply to both quantitative and qualitative studies. These five core principles include 1) the principle of proximal similarity, 2) the principle of heterogeneity of irrelevances, 3) the principle of discriminate validity, 4) the principle of empirical interpolation and extrapolation, and 5) the principle of explanation. The principle most appropriate and applicable to this study is that of the *principle of proximal similarity*. According to this principle, we can generalize most confidently to applications where treatments, settings, populations, outcomes, and times are most similar to those in the original research (Shadish, 1995). As it pertains to this study, this principle allows us to say that the findings can be best and only generalized to other Filipino students in the same grade, within a similar setting, under similar conditions and similar treatments. Thus, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to other Filipino students outside this particular set of specifications.

Study Weaknesses

Before attempting to interpret these findings, it is also important to note that despite the researcher's best efforts, there were a number of weaknesses to this study that may make these findings uninterpretable. What follows are the most salient of these weaknesses.

Treatment Sampling

There were three major *treatment sampling* issues that probably affected this study's findings. These issues revolved around the school site, the treatments studied at that site, and the students studied within each treatment.

School Site

The school site selected for this study is probably one limitation in this study. Recall that this site had been highly recommended to the researcher by professors and professionals familiar with the learning issues faced by Filipino students, and the researcher, herself, had first hand experience with those issues having worked at the site. While the ease of access to the site because of that experience proved attractive, still the site might not have been the best one for executing this research. Recall the newly appointed site principal handed over any research-related matters to the school's curriculum director, who, in turn, then suggested particular classrooms suitable for the study. This greatly limited the options for classroom selection. As noted in Chapter 3 and confirmed in Chapter 4, it proved tough to find especially a highly individualistically oriented classroom at the site. Perhaps moving to another site might have offered better possibilities.

Treatments

Recall that a quasi-experimental, separate-samples, two-treatment X outcome design (see, Campbell & Stanley, 1963) was used in this research to examine the effects of the two different classroom learning orientations on student intrinsic motivation to learn. The learning orientations were to be a student learning treatment

purposely selected to *conform* to specific parameters of local Filipino culture in Hawaii and a treatment purposely selected to *confront* those parameters.

As documented in Chapter 4, though, only one of the treatments, i.e., learning or goal structures, appeared to be fully realized – Mrs. Williams' cooperative learning, culturally *conforming* structure. Miss Delgado's individualistic learning, culturally *confronting* structure was not fully realized. This lack of realization of one of the treatments significantly undermines the study's overall design, effectively converting it from a quasi-comparative study of the two treatments into more of two one-shot treatment by outcome designs. Such one-shot designs are among the weakest of the all the quasi-experimental designs used in educational research (Campbell and Stanley, 1963) and are fraught with internal (Campbell and Stanley, 1963) and external/representative validity (Bracht & Glass, 1968; Snow, 1974) flaws that make the interpretation of their results highly problematic.

Students within Treatments

Besides the issue of the fidelity of the treatments observed in this research, there is also the issue of the size of the samples that provided the bulk of the information about the intrinsic motivational outcomes of those treatments. Recall that the mixed methods nature of this study, especially its qualitative part, militated against studying the perspectives of too many students on their respective classrooms in student intrinsic motivation to learn settings. Indeed, just six students, two each from the low, average, and high achieving groups in each classroom became the focal students (N=12, in total) for the study. Not only did this limited number of students

create issues on the quantitative side, forcing the researcher to use non-parametric techniques, it also created them on the qualitative side especially in the interviews. A larger sample of students within both classes might have allowed the use of more powerful statistical techniques and certainly might have generated a much broader and richer set of interviews.

Observant Participation Issues

Besides treatment sampling issues that fundamentally affect the design of this study, there were also issues in the conduct of the Observant Participation data gathering methodology. Recall that the researcher elected to use Observant Participation as a major tool in her data gathering. While the use of this methodology usually requires the researcher to become an actual student in order to get at the student perspective on their school and classroom life, she decided to use a variant of this methodology developed by Mitchell (1993) in which she did not actually assume the student role. This variant is built on the assumption that the researcher already has intimate knowledge of what it is like to be a student in a particular educational setting, so the researcher need only to corral some focus group of students from the settings of interest and then gather ethnographic interview data from them based on this knowledge.

This researcher entered her Observant Participation working under the assumption that she already knew much about the students at the school site of interest. As noted in Chapter 3, she had already worked at the site prior to the research and built up a certain cache with both the school's staff and, more

importantly, its students. In short, she felt at the onset of the study that she had already established a certain level of trustworthiness with the staff and students that would allow her to bore into student life in the two respective classrooms with some ease

The execution of the study itself, though, unearthed her inexperience with the Observant Participation methodology, particularly participant observation. Rather than devoting roughly equal attention to the two classrooms, the researcher found herself more involved in Miss Delgado's *culturally confronting* classroom than Mrs. Williams' culturally conforming classroom. Miss Delgado actively solicited the researcher's involvement in the classroom and, on occasion, her help, too. The researcher also went on more field trips and participated in more variety of activities (discussions about current events, matriculation into high school, reflections/journal, field trips and family day). In Mrs. Williams' class, by contrast, the researcher found herself involved in much less classroom instruction due to frequent substitutes, the extensive use of the teacher's aide, and time scheduled with "Kumu". The net result of this differential involvement between the classrooms was more time spent observing Miss Delgado's classroom than Mrs. Williams'. The researcher, then, probably had a better feel for the student perspective in the former class than the latter one.

This feel probably translated into the response the researcher received from the teachers and students in each classroom, especially as she gathered her qualitative interview data – the Observant Participant part of her methodology. As is probably

apparent from each of the ancillary qualitative data sections reported in Chapter 4, the student interview data she gathered was relatively thin compared to other Observant Participation studies (see Barrie, 2005). More importantly, the interview data was pretty undifferentiated either between the classrooms or within the achievement groups within the classrooms, though she did get longer and more elaborate interview responses from Miss Delgado's students than from Mrs. Williams'. The bottom line remains, however. Issues in the participant observation side of this research seem to affect the Observant Participation part in a way that may have obfuscated differences between the classrooms rather than to have highlighted them.

Discussion & Future Research

To repeat, the purpose of this research was to explore two questions:

- 1. How does a *culturally conforming*, cooperative learning-oriented classroom compare to a *culturally confronting*, individualistic learning-oriented classroom in terms of Filipino students' intrinsic motivation to learn?
- 2. Do these *culturally conforming* and *confronting* classrooms affect different aspects of intrinsic motivation to learn especially for the low to average achieving Filipino students?

While the prior chapter has reported this study's quantitative and qualitative results addressing these two questions, this researcher is disinclined to trust those results and, so, will not even attempt to interpret them. Yes, her study has particular methodological strengths. Still, its weaknesses are apparent and even stronger. The

absence of a truly *culturally confronting* classroom, in particular, makes it impossible to do meaningful between classroom comparisons against the presence of a largely *culturally conforming* classroom. The small number of low to average focal students within each classroom, too, makes it difficult to say with any certainty that either classroom affected the low to average students' intrinsic motivation to learn, especially the *culturally confronting* one.

What is left for the researcher to do, then, is to not concentrate on this research's implications for theory and practice but to concentrate instead on its implications for future research. Since the fatal flaws in this research involved matters of Treatment Sampling and her execution of the Observant Participant methodology, her suggestions for future research address these particular issues.

Treatment Sampling Recommendations

Future research must simply ensure that a truly *culturally confronting* classroom is studied. The issues in obtaining such a classroom, to borrow some concepts from public health, are ones of dose, dosage, and dosee.

On the <u>dose</u> front, future research must first be sure to obtain a school site wherein *culturally confronting* classrooms are more the rule than the exception. This might mean moving to school sites where there is not quite such a history of Filipino student underachievement as was the case with the site recommended for this research. As Bloom (1968) has suggested, perhaps too much educational research is executed under conditions that are too hostile to innovations like *culturally confronting* instruction, conditions often found in chronically low achieving schools.

Otherwise, it might mean moving to school sites with a history of chronic low achievement on the part of Filipino students, but sites known for being highly innovative in addressing that achievement. Such sites might have a wider variety of instructional innovations underway, thus increasing the odds of finding more *culturally confronting* classrooms.

Finding a truly *culturally confronting* classroom is only part of the issue. The dosage of *confrontation* the students receive in that classroom is also important.

Studies of individualistically-oriented learning, in particular, show that it takes some time for students who have been working under one orientation to learning, in this case a cooperative one, to get up to speed in learning under a very different orientation. Block (1999) estimates that it takes, in particular, about 7-10 years to move an entire schools system along truly individualistic lines, while (Maehr & Midgely, 1999) talk of years for just a single school alone. As noted in Chapter 4, Miss Delgado appeared to be working along individually-based learning lines but not yet truly individualistic ones. Perhaps had the research chosen a classroom in a school with a longer track record of individualistically-oriented learning and a teacher who had a longer track record of individualistically-oriented teaching, too, then the results of this research might have been very different.

The dose of treatment that students receive and the dosage of that treatment has been shown repeatedly to affect their response to treatment. Future research, then, will also have to consider the <u>dosee</u> of the *culturally confronting* treatment, along with the dose and dosage. In studies of individualistically-oriented learning

treatments such as mastery learning and outcome-based education, to be specific, researchers find that the longer the students are in the treatments, the better the effects are (see Block, Efthim, & Burns, 1989). Accordingly, future research should not only have more low to average achieving focal students, it should also have more of these students with a clear history of being taught from an individualistic orientation. While the researcher has reported results suggesting that Miss Delgado was largely responsible for offering only an individually-based but not truly individualistically-oriented classroom, it is also probable that her students bear some responsibility, too. These students already had almost five years of learning under other instructional conditions, some of which were probably cooperatively-oriented. Research into self-paced, versus teacher-paced, individualistic-learning oriented instructional treatments makes clear that students need some considerable experience in transitioning from cooperatively-oriented, to individually-based, to truly individualistically-oriented learning (Block & Burns, 1976).

Observant Participation Recommendations

In addition to addressing the major treatment sampling flaws of this study, future research will need to address its flaws in executing its Observant Participation data gathering methodology. Going forward, the researcher recommends that any replication of this study return to the original Observant Participant methodology.

Recall, as noted in the opening summary of this chapter, the researcher used just a variant of that methodology, following the lead of Mitchell (1993). In that variant, she skipped actually becoming a student and then ethnographically

interviewing each student and used focus group techniques, plus writing samples per Wilson (1994) instead. The researcher chose this variant in part because, as other Observant Participation researchers have found, notably Elmore, as cited by Gentilucci (2001), becoming a student in one classroom is tough and doing it in another, different classroom is even tougher. The researcher just did not have the time or the wherewithal to give each classroom its observational due. In larger part, though, like Mitchell, she had just completed prior evaluative work in the school and felt knowledgeable about the Filipino students' perspectives, being a Filipina herself. Yet, while Mitchell was relatively close in terms of age and classroom experience to the students he studied, the researcher was not. She had not been a sixth-grader for well over a decade, was in her mid-twenties, and already had an undergraduate degree in hand and was working on her doctorate.

The net effect of her short cuts was that the researcher never actually crawled within the skins of her focal students to fully grasp the problems they faced or their collective thoughts, feelings and actions in reaction to these problems. These short cuts effectively ignored the heart of Block's Observant Participant methodology, a recognition stemming from his work on the student role in classroom instruction (Block, 1981), that far too often adults, having been students themselves, tend to miss (Musgrave, 1973) and even idealize (Calvert, 1975) what being a student was all about. As adults, we tend to focus on problems that are issues to us but which may not be issues to students, and we tend to have thoughts, feelings, and reactions to those problems, even if students agree there are problems, that are different from the

collective thoughts, feelings and reactions that the students really have. A return to the original Observant Participation methodology would probably better till the soil of the student intrinsic motivational experience in a *culturally confronting* classroom relative to a *culturally conforming* one.

A Final Comment

No one recognizes more than this researcher that this study was not perfect. Still, she would argue that it was prescient and that it deserves replication and extension along the lines specified just above.

When this study began, the multicultural movement was just taking a firm root in developed countries and associated ideas like "culturally appropriate" instruction were just beginning to hold sway with educators. Fueled by larger concepts like social justice, American educators, in particular, began to make changes in the name of diversity to accommodate the presumed learning problems of more students of color, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and special needs.

Lately, however, there has grown a chorus of voices in Western Europe (e.g., England, France and Germany) and here questioning the value of multiculturism, in general, as a societal benefit and framing the concept, in particular, as a potential bane instead. The same can be said for "culturally appropriate" instruction. As far as this researcher knows, she was one of the first scholars to call for some empirical testing of the value of culturally conforming versus culturally confronting instruction in one important subgroup of the multicultural stew in American education and

especially Hawaiian education. That her research had certain flaws that vitiated the value of this particular empirical test is troubling, yes. What is not troubling at all is the fact that early on she bravely called for the test at all, making the issue of *culturally conforming* or *culturally confronting* instruction a matter of empirics and not just faith for the underserved and understudied Filipino Americans of Hawaii.

APPENDIX A

Teacher Consent Form

About the study:

This study is an exploratory study that seeks to understand the nature of and relationship between learning situations in the classroom and motivation to learn. This study is designed to gather *descriptive* information about this relationship and specifically entails classroom observations, ethnographic interviews, writing samples and student surveys from selected students in two 6^{th} grade classrooms. Results of this study will be used to guide further research on the influences of classroom structures on student motivation.

Participation:

In agreeing to participate, you agree to become a participant in the study. This includes granting the UCSB doctoral researcher, Jessica Villaruz, permission to use your audio data, photo, and video images for the purposes of collecting and processing data throughout the study. All names (including school name, teacher names, and student names), geographic location or other information not relevant to the study will remain strictly confidential.

Consent:

The undersigned does hereby authorize Jessica Villaruz, and/or all assignees to photograph, film and/or record him/her or his/her student or child, and herewith agrees that Jessica Villaruz may use and/or permit others to use such photographic, sound or video material strictly for educational purposes.

Print Name			
Position/Title			
C: an atoms			
Signature			
Date	_		

APPENDIX B

Parent Consent Form

PARENT OR GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM (A)

December 2003

Dear Parents or Guardian,

Hello, my name is Jessica Villaruz and I am a doctoral student in the program of education at UCSB. I am writing to inform you of my involvement during the next few months in your son or daughter's classroom. My dissertation study seeks to understand how students are best motivated to learn in their classrooms.

In order to understand this, my research assistant, Melissa Sakoonphong and I plan to participate as observers in your child's classroom for the next few months. This means that we will simply observe the students in their classroom environments. This study also includes student interviews, surveys and writing assignments. You will be informed prior to the start of student interviews. Please be assured that this process will not interfere with your child's regular classroom routines. The Curriculum Coordinator and your child's teacher have both approved the goals and procedures of this research project.

Please be assured that we do not foresee any risks for your child. However, per legal requirements, any information received during the interviews that indicates the possibility of physical or sexual abuse to a minor will be reported to the authorities. The name of your child, the school, and the teacher will not be identified in the study. No information will be shared with anyone that identifies your child. Information will be kept strictly confidential and secured to ensure your child's anonymity. Your child's participation is voluntary and refusal to participate will not be a negative reflection on your child. Once you give your initial consent, you may stop your child's participation in the study at any time. I am, however, hopeful that you will permit your son or daughter to participate in this study because of its potential benefits for students.

Thank you, in advance for your cooperation. If you have any questions at all about this study, please feel free to call me at 347-8147 or contact your child's teacher.

Sincerely,

Jessica Villaruz

UCSB Doctoral Student

Gevirtz Graduate School of Education

PARENT OR GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM Do you permit your son/daughter _______ to participate in the study about the motivation to learn? If yes, please sign below. Signature ______ Date ______ Questions or problems about your rights in this research project can be directed to Kathy Graham; Human Subjects Committee; Office of Research, 3227 Cheadle Hall, University of California of Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California 93106. Telephone: (805) 893-3807.

APPENDIX C

Parent Reminder

PARENT OR GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM (B)

January 2004

Dear Parents or Guardians,

I contacted you in December about the study on the motivation to learn. As promised, I am notifying you that student interviews will soon begin. Your child's teacher has recommended your child for student interviews based on his or her performance in class. These interviews will help me further understand what motivates students to learn. Each interview will last approximately 20-40 minutes and will be relaxed so that your child will feel comfortable talking about thoughts and feelings related to their motivation to learn in school.

Thank you, again for your cooperation. If you have any questions about this study at all, please feel free to call me at 347-8147 or contact your child's teacher.

Sincerely,

Jessica Villaruz

UCSB Doctoral Candidate

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APPENDIX D

STUDENT ASSENT FORM

INTERVIEWS

I understand that Jessica Villaruz is going to interview me about what motivates me					
to learn in school. My parent(s) have given written permission for me to participate in					
this study. I understand that my partiparticipation at any time.	icipation is voluntary and I may discontinue				
I (Print Name)	_agree to be interviewed in the study concerning				
motivation to learn.					
Signature	Date				

APPENDIX E

STUDENT ASSENT FORM

WRITING SAMPLES

Dear students,

I am now writing up my dissertation study and I am interested in some of your writings. If you would be willing to allow me to quote some of your writing pieces, please sign below.
Thank you,
Jessica Villaruz
Do you agree to be interviewed by Jessica Villaruz for the study about the motivation to learn? If yes, please print and sign your name below.
Print Name
Signature Date

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE AND PROTOCOL

A. Introduction

"I want to talk to you today because I want to learn your insights and ideas of when, in your classroom, you have really wanted to learn. That means that I am interested in what motivates you to learn. Many people who have studied this have not tried to understand how students really think and feel. I decided that I wanted my research to understand the students' opinions of what is motivating in classrooms. I will use the information I learned while being in your class and the information you tell me today to help teachers. You have the opportunity to help me with my study. You have the opportunity to help teachers be better teachers, because I will use the information YOU tell me to help teachers develop learning activities in which students want to participate, want to try hard, and really want to learn.

The University requires that your parents give me permission to interview you, which they have done. Another rule of the University is that I need to ask you if you are willing to let me interview you. Although I hope you'll say "yes," it is perfectly fine if you would rather not be interviewed. Here is a permission form to sign if you would be willing to do so.

I will be asking you some questions and before we begin I want you to know that there is no RIGHT or WRONG answer. I am just asking for your opinion. And I highly value your ideas, thoughts, and feelings. I have noticed that many times 6th grade students answer a question with, "I don't know." If you feel those words coming out of your mouth, stop and try to think what you really think and feel. You are free to speak. You have the power to share your honest opinions.

Anything you tell me I will keep confidential. That means that I will not tell your teacher specifically what you said. I do plan to share with your teacher the important ideas that I learn, but I will not tell her who said what idea. I also will not use your name when I write up our study."

B. Grand Tour Questions

- How do you feel about *learning* in school?
- How do you approach learning activities?
- What do you think about your own *motivation* to learn?
- What do you feel about your motivation to learn?
- What affects you *wanting* to learn?

C. Mini-Tour Questions

Once the student has completed his/her grand tour of their daily classroom experience, begin asking the mini-tour questions; that is, return the student to an event he/she mentioned earlier and encourage him/her to elaborate on this event in detail. (N.B.: It was impossible, given the nature of this type of ethnographic interviewing, to specify in advance all the relevant mini-tour questions and probes for the mini-tour were created in situ to fit the respondent's emergent descriptions.)

1. Begin mini-tour by saying: "Now let's	go back to when you entered the
classroom. You said that	,,
2. Ask mini-tour <i>generalizing</i> questions:	
"Is this what you usually do during	?"
3. Ask mini-tour comparison questions:	
"You have given me a good idea of what	you do during class time. Now I
would like for you to compare this with o	ther classroom experiences."

E. Mini-tour follow- up Probes

Here the interviewer should ask questions constructed from the student responses in the first part of the interview. In general, these questions should focus on situations where the student made evaluations, choices, or comparisons in the first

part of the interview. The general format for these questions should begin with the
question: "You said that Could you tell me more about that?"
1. Ask specific questions about learning.
a. For example, what does learning mean to you? Please describe an
event or a particular time when you feel that you are learning best.
Why?
2. Ask specific questions about approaching learning activities.
a. For example, how do you approach tasks or activities on this
particular subject? Please describe how you feel when you approach
enjoyable activities. Please describe how do you feel when you
approach other activities. Why?
3. Ask specific questions about class activities.
a. For example, what kinds of activities require group work? What
kinds of activities require individual work? How do you feel when you
are doing group work? How do you feel when you are doing individual
work? Why?
4. Ask specific questions about peers.
a. For example, tell me about your peers. What are they like? What
activities do you enjoy doing with your peers?
5. Ask specific questions about their class.
a. For example, please describe your class, your classroom and your
classmates. What are your favorite things about your class? Why?
6. Ask specific questions about their teacher.
a. For example, please describe your teacher. You like it when your
teacher gives youactivities or when he/she assigns
You dislike it when your teacher gives youactivities or when
he/she assigns
7. Ask specific questions about their motivation.

- a. For example, what do you think motivates you to learn? Please describe an experience or event when you have felt motivated in school. How do you think your motivation affects your learning? Why?
- 8. Ask specific questions about the interview.
 - a. For example, did you think that these questions were clear? Which questions did you think were important? Why?

F. Closing Statements

- 1. Restate the purpose of the interview and the nature of the research.
- 2. Reassure the student about confidentiality.
- 3. Thank the student and tell him/her that you will share the results of the interview with him/her in s/he wishes.
- 4. Close interview.

APPENDIX G

WRITING ASSIGNMENTS

(January -- Only you can tell the story)

You have had five years of experience in being a student. Describe what that experience has been like for you. When, in classroom, do you find yourself wanting to learn, trying hard, and actively involved? How often does this happen for you? What subjects and activities would you expect to be <u>most</u> interested in this year? Why? What subjects and activities would you expect to be <u>least</u> interested in this year? Why?

APPENDIX H

STUDENT SURVEY

1. Learning is
2. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate learning as being fun :
3. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate learning as being important :
4. The SAT was
5. A good teacher is
6. My grades are
 7. How do you feel about your grades? (circle one) You did better than you expect You're satisfied with your grades You'd like to improve Other:
8. An <u>organized student</u> is
9. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate yourself as an organized student:
10. How do you keep yourself organized?
11. An <u>independent student</u>
12. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate yourself as an independent student:
13. A <u>hard working student</u> is

14. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate yourself as a hard working student:				
15. A <u>motivated student</u> or a student who is excited to learn is				
16. On a scale of 1 to 10, please rate yourself as motivated student:				
17. My learning goals are:				
18. Who sets your learning goals?				
19. Do you feel other things affect you wanting to learn? Yes or No (circle one)				
20. If so, what things influence you <i>wanting</i> to learn?				
21. What kind of learning strategies do you use to help you complete an assignment or project?				
22. If you had to complete a task, what would you do if (during the task), you becameBored:				
• Frustrated:				
• Confused:				
23. Without being graded or scored, would you rather do a hard task or an easy task? Why?				

 24. Circle all of those below you feel you <u>relate to</u> (or feel connected to): Only yourself Only certain classmates in your class Your homeroom class as a whole Your teacher All of the above Other:
 25. Circle all of those below you feel <u>respected by</u>: Only yourself Only certain classmates in your class Your homeroom class as a whole Your teacher All of the above Other:
 26. Circle all of those below you feel supported by: Only yourself Only certain classmates in your class Your homeroom class as a whole Your teacher All of the above Other:
27. Number the following in the order of importance (1 is the most important): Good Grades Learning new things Avoiding punishment (getting in trouble/demerits) Getting rewards/prizes Getting acknowledgement by peers, teacher or parent
28. Number the following in the order of how you like to work: Individual Partners Group Class

APPENDIX I

TEACHER INTERVIEWS

- 1. How do you structure your activities? Group, partners and individual?
- 2. What do you find works best for their learning?
- 3. In what situations do you see your students most motivated to learn?
- 4. How would you describe your instructional methods?
- 5. What do you find yourself enforcing most in class?
- 6. What role does culture play in your teaching?
- 7. Do you find yourself making teaching adjustments to certain individuals?
- 8. How do you keep your class under control?
- 9. How do you keep your students organized?
- 10. Is there anything else you'd like to share about yours students, individually and/or as a whole?
- 11. What kind of rewards system do you use in your class?
- Social reinforcement (praise)
- Symbolic rewards (e.g. stickers)
- Good grades
- Material rewards (e.g. food, prizes)
- Public recognition (e.g. paper on bulletin board)
- Privileges (e.g. play with special materials)
- Responsibilities (e.g., take roll, errand to the office)
- 12. What punishments do you use?
- Private criticism
- Public criticism
- Bad grades
- "Time out" (social isolation)
- Loss of privileges (e.g., no recess)
- Other
- 13. Upon which behaviors or outcomes is reinforcement contingent?

- High effort/attention
- Absolute performance (e.g. few errors)
- Relative performance (e.g. fewer errors than most other students)
- Improved performance
- Following directions
- Finishing
- Creativity
- Personal initiative
- Helpfulness
- 14. Upon which behaviors or outcomes is punishment?
- Low effort/attention
- Absolute performance (e.g. many errors)
- Relative performance (e.g. more errors than most other students)
- No improvement
- Not Following directions
- Not finishing
- Lack of personal initiative
- Dependency
- Refusal to help
- Misbehavior
- 15. Are there any children in your class who are frequently rewarded (e.g. with good grades, praise, or recognition) for good performance that did not require much effort (i.e. was fairly easily achieved)?
- 16. Are there any children in your class who are not rewarded (e.g. with good grades, praise, or recognition) even when they try?
- 17. Are the rewards in your classroom realistically available to all children?

APPENDIX J

Example of Field Notes

Class: Miss D 8:00a Homeroom: 8:00a-11:50a

Date: WEDNESDAY 12.03.03

FIELDNOTES (Descriptive)	Time	Code/Category	(I)nterpretive/(A)nalytic Notes
Miss D works with other group and explains telling is not			(I):Students are working in groups while Miss
teaching, further example and reads aloud to demonstrate		Group work	D checks in with each group.
Student S is at computer	8:35		
Student L suggests white boards	8:36		
Miss D works with other group		Teacher-student work	
Reading to them is not teaching them			
Miss D walk to computer and helps student S			
Miss D walks out of classroom	8:37		
Noise level rises	8:38		
Students are playful while working on projects			
Student goes to library			
Student B visits this group and asks if they can read music			
group looks			
Miss D returns and reviews this project		Teacher-student work	
This project has the potential to be good IF you are organized		Prompt for Organization	(A) Projects can be good only if organized.
All of the projects have potential. Some of them are funny			
Student asks about other group			
I don't know.			
Student B asks "Miss Jessica? Do you know how to read music?"		Student-Researcher Interaction	
Miss D says they struck out with her because she says she's not			
musically inclined			
			(I) Students were seeking more information for
Student asks me about Filipino Food	8:46		their project.
I go to group and help with examples			
MissD walks in			

I need to know how much time you need for you to be completely finished and prepared for tomorrow Miss D surveys students and students give suggested times Why don't we go until 9:05 and see if we need more time	8:47	Time management	(I) Miss D gages student progress on group project to adjust schedule. (A) Miss D adjusts schedule to maximize time efficiency.
Students regroup This group practices (Student L to S)S, you're on Students rotate and go to Miss D Miss D demonstrates Student L suggests something for Student J to say Miss D sits at table, making cards China quiz		Teacher demonstration Peer interaction	
This student heads to front to pick it up Anybody else go something for her to xerox? She's going down now. This group returns.	8:49	Teacher prompt	
"OK, guys, we gotta make it perfect." Student L Students head to white board. Come on, S (Student L to S) They practice in front Did you find anything (to Student S on comuter)		Peer interaction	(I):Group of students work together to perfect their presentation.
T, S and L, come here. By tomorrow, I don't think you'll be ready. You need to learn things about your country that you can teach us. Remember, telling is not teaching What do you already know? Students answer		Teacher prompt Teacher prompt	
Miss D reviews what needs to be done Student L, do you know what your role is now? Yes Miss D checks progress of group at board Miss D works with other group Miss D watches this group at board		Teacher Reminder	

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Student L has suggestion			
Student L approaches me "Miss Jessica, can you see that on the board"		Student-reseracher interaction	
I respond			
They erase board and			
Students ask Miss D if they can go to computer			
They go into storage room			
Miss D works with other group		Teacher-student work	(I) Miss D gives students freedom in how to
"Your choice"		Choices	present their projects
You don't have to memorize it. As long as you know it, you can teach it			
Just tell us.			
Miss D talks to this group	8:58	Teacher-student work	
Miss D needs board erased			
This group returns and Student L says, "I think we're pretty much set"			
Students play with car			
Student L puts tablet away and goes to other group			
Students start talking aboutcandy houses,			
I speak to students " are you done?"		Student-researcher interaction	
Yes			
How did you pick countries			
I don't know (Student L) I was absent			
Student S says they wanted Philippines, but they took it"			
Student L is restless and suggests her and student S practice			
Miss D: Question "Is your group completely done so that you're ready for tomorrow?"	9:02		
Yes			
Okay, then you can start working on your travel brochures	9:03	Productivity	(I) Miss D keeps students constantly productive
Students hurry to computer			
China			
Student L gets copies and gives it to Student S			
Miss D walks toward mailboxes (near me) and apologizes for "all the christmas stuff and grade-level stuff" coming in		Teacher-Researcher Interaction	

She says she doesn't have time, so I offer my help			
She declines and says she just needs time			
Student Lai washes hand	9:04		
She forgets my name, I tell her I remember hers and she giggles		Student-researcher interaction	(I) student feels more comfortable with me
She asks about my laptop and tells me about her alpha			
She says she got it in Washington when she was in 4th grade	9:05		
She returns to group			
Student S works on rewriting group's page			
Student S asks Student L where their other page is		peer interaction	
Student explains and Student L runs back	9:07		
			(I) activities are managed with the use of a
Timer goes off		Time management	timer (A) schedule is strict
Miss D walks in OK, stop			
Surveys each group how much time they need.		Time management	
Student groups respond 5-15			
OK, 15 minutes max	9:08		
Go to Mrs. W's room and ask her if you can use the computer that's connected to the server			
Miss D heps this group at computer and guides them in design,			
explains printing	9:09	Teacher-student work	
Miss D is in storage room			
Telephone rings and Miss L answers	9:11		
Group giggles and I look over at them			
They say hello, giggling	9:11	Student-researcher interaction	
Miss D walks in with reminder about tomorrow	9:12	Teacher reminder	
			(I) Miss D explains the importance of teaching
But if you taught them, so that they remember, you should be able			classmates vs. telling them about their
t .			"country" projects
Because "why give a quiz if, you need to make an impact on their learning"	9:12		(I) Miss D stress importance of impacting learning
Miss D and teacher aide discuss			
Teacher Aide reminds students about soda boxes for market day		TA Reminder	
Remaining groups "off task" and talk about one person seeing			
another person somewhere else yesterday	9:13		
I ask student S what the teacher's name is	9:14	Student-researcher interaction	

Which one?			
I clarify			
"Mrs.P"			
Okay thank you			
Why wasn't it typed yesterday	9:14	Productivity	(I) Miss D reinforces deadline
Student response		-	
That was supposed to be done at the lab yesterday			
Student response			
Miss D shows student timer		Time management	(I) Miss D stresses the importance of deadline
Other group comes back and practices		_	
Can I see one person from Japan, Puerto Rico and Philippines	9:15		
Miss D repeats			
If I don't have a quiz by the end of today, they you have to give an			
oral quiz like I do.	9:16		
You need the quiz today, by 1:15 otherwise		Consequences	
Miss D and Mrs. P discuss	9:17		
How long is your script (Student S to P group)	9:17	Peer Interaction	
Group P practices and looks at me	9:17		
Noise level rising and settles down	9:18	Noise Level	
It's your decision. Do not make me responsible for your teaching.			(I) Miss D gives reinforces responsibility for
Whatever you decide. If you decide to, then.		Choices/Responsibility	their projects
Students (this group) and I talk about their hobbies (Play station,			
characters, other games)		Student-researcher interaction	(I) Students are more comfortable with me
Started conversation asking about my laptop, (group C			
approaches)			
Stop. Miss D "some of you were playing around, talking and we even extended time	9:23	Behavioral prompt	(I) Miss D discusses misuse of time
You were even suppose to do your lessons today. I want to get	7.23	Benavioral prompt	(1) Wiss D discusses inisuse of time
started on your candy houses	9:23		
Wait stop, what I want you to do, after you clear your desk. I want			(I) Miss D gives explicit step-by-step
you to bring me your soda box with your name on it and I'll give			instructions (A) Less freedom for students to
you instrucitons		Instruction	figure things out
Students scramble to get boxes	9:26		

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