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WHAT MOTIVATES HUMAN BEHAVIOUR ?

Personality and Education

** Malcolm Pumpa*

QUESTION : WHAT MOTIVATES HUMAN BEHAVIOUR ?

Education Area : Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education (A.T.S.I.)

The broad outcomes of 25 years of state education for A.T.S.I. people are not encouraging. Whilst it would be premature to say that the system has failed these people, it is obvious that the outcome has not met the expectations of many educators and many A.T.S.I. people.

To examine the reasons for this outcome, it is appropriate to look at the important components of the education system:

- (1) The A.T.S.I. students
- (2) The A.T.S.I. community
- (3) The school

Looking at these three areas, it is evident that "the wires are crossed" in cross-culture education! The underlying problems are caused by a mismatch between the actions and motives of the school and those of the A.T.S.I. people. A central question is, "what are the reasons for the actions of the school and A.T.S.I. people?" Another question is, "how are their motives different and how does this difference affect their performance in the school setting?"

The answer to these central questions affect our entire approach to A.T.S.I. education. This information, used wisely, is essential in the design of culturally sensitive pedagogy which might serve the needs of both A.T.S.I. students and the school more effectively. Aspects of the school such as teacher selection, teaching styles, curriculum content, and institutional organisation and climate should all be modified using information about the motives and values of A.T.S.I. people.

The major mismatch between motives of A.T.S.I. students and those of the school lies embedded in the values of their respective cultures. The school is a pervasive agent which explicitly and implicitly transmits the values of its middle-class European culture. The A.T.S.I. cultures have very different histories of development and this is reflected in the different motives and values of A.T.S.I. people.

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I propose to consider how four theories of personality development - namely Need theory, Social Theory, Cognitive Theory and Social Learning Theory - provide insight into A.T.S.I. Education. Theorists from these four schools of personality theory address this mismatch in different ways but a common thread through all of them is an emphasis on the central role of cultural learning and the wide ranging effects of a culture on motivation, personality development, perception and actions. The theories of the four schools are mainly concerned with mainstream culture and there is a scarcity of information about oral cultures. The consequence is that the theories are not always appropriate for the A.T.S.I. situation. By examining the A.T.S.I. situation with respect to the four schools of personality theory, I will attempt to show both how they enhance our understanding of cross-cultural education.

NEED THEORY:

Murray, the major exponent of Need Theory, postulates that a variety of basic needs motivate human behaviour. These needs organise the way people perceive, think, act and feel. Murray describes a need as "a force which influences a person to see things and do things in such a way that an unsatisfying situation is changed into a satisfying one." (Cartwright, D.S., 1979, p. 49) Murray believes that a person can not be studied in isolation but only in conjunction with the environment (press). He states that "needs interact with press to produce and guide behaviour." (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981, p. 163). There are a wide variety of basic needs exhibited by all human beings but the importance placed on some needs over others varies from culture to culture. One method that Murray uses to categorise needs is Overt/ Covert. Overt needs are permitted expression by the culture whereas covert needs are suppressed. We can conclude that, "anthropological findings seem to bear this out, in that needs-based behaviours vary widely from culture to culture." (Hjelle & Ziegler; 1981, p. 160).

Murray believes that one of the most basic of these needs or motives is for achievement or the need to master tasks and to excel. He believes that the origin of these motives lies in a person's early childhood and experience and training. The need for achievement is particularly applicable to students motives for succeeding at school. However, the psycho-social origin of Achievement motivation renders both its formation and strength susceptible to cultural influence: "While Murray includes achievement as a basic motive, he agrees with psycho-dynamic theorists that early environmental influences shape the adult personality. The evidence suggests that cultural factors play a large part in determining the strength of achievement" (Diamond, C.P.T., 1991).

This brief is supported by evidence from cross cultural studies of American tribes, their child rearing practices, and the strength of the need for Achievement. It is reasonable to assume therefore, that there would be some differences in achievement between mainstream culture and A.T.S.I. culture. Exactly what those differences are have not yet come to light, but from research "the picture of child training practices amongst parents of high achievement children is essentially that of middle class children." (Diamond, C.P.T.)

Can we assume then that the picture of A.T.S.I. students is *simple*: because they don't succeed, they have a low achievement motivation. This is not necessarily so, as there is a difference between the strength of achievement generally and the achievement aroused by a particular situation, for example school. Diamond (1991) states: "An individual might have a high achievement but not be oriented to school learning, since the motive merely provides the impetus to excel and does not delineate the areas in which such excellence should or may take place." It follows that A.T.S.I. students may be failures at school but express their achievement needs in the traditional dance or hunting or some other culturally approved area.

The cultural variation in achievement is associated with a variation in values. Diamond (1991) states that, "Rosen has reported significant differences with respect to activist-passivist, present-future and familiaristic-individualist orientations. All are considered to be associated with a desire to excel in school learnings." All of the following orientations describe differences among A.T.S.I. and mainstream learners: - *Passivist* describes the prevalent informal learning styles of A.T.S.I. people in community situations; *Present* describes the emphasis with present events and irrelevance of future planning; *Familistic* describes the need for affiliation and ego identity to be defined by membership in a social group related to a particular geographical area.

The overt expression of achievement is further complicated by two factors— *incentive* and *expectancy of goal attainment*. There will be no incentive to satisfy achievement needs if other stronger needs have not been met. Diamond (1991) states, "There is considerable clinical and experimental evidence to support Maslow's scheme, which, if applied to school learnings, suggests that the situational arousal of achievement is dependent on prior satisfaction of more basic motives, especially, in this case, belonging and esteem." This view corresponds to the findings that A.T.S.I. students are particularly person-orientated. Their primary focus in classroom is to establish personal relationships rather than achieve academic success. This strong need for belonging and esteem indicates that the teacher and teaching styles must be "warm" and person orientated in the A.T.S.I. classroom.

The second factor influencing the expression of achievement is that of Expectancy of goal attainment. Diamond(1991) states that "the arousal of achievement is dependant on the subjective probabilities of success and attendant incentive values." Many A.T.S.I. students do not perceive any great chance of success at academic pursuits in the long-term. They do not see a swelling corp of highly trained A.T.S.I. people taking their place in society. As a result, their academic aspirations are generally low. There are many reasons for this to be discussed throughout this paper, but the subjective probability of A.T.S.I. success is reinforced by the objective probability of success. An education system geared to mainstream programs and staffed almost exclusively by mainstream teachers ensures a difficult task for the A.T.S.I. students to learn effectively when the teaching style does not match their learning style.

Needs Theory enhances our perceptions of A.T.S.I. education in a number of ways. It shows us that A.T.S.I. people probably have a different priority of basic motives to mainstream society. It postulates the importance of early childhood cultural learning in the formation of the achievement motive. It shows that it is erroneous to assume that A.T.S.I. people have no motive for achievement. Their motives for achievement will more likely be expressed in culturally acceptable fields of endeavour rather than in academic endeavour. It shows us that there may be more important A.T.S.I. student needs that should be satisfied in schools before achievement motives can be aroused. Finally, it shows us that the incentives to achieve provided by schools are largely seen by A.T.S.I. students as not applying to them and national statistics seem to support this perception.

SOCIAL THEORY:

The proponents of this school of personality theory also cite motivation for achievement as a basic drive in humans. However, they place increased emphasis on the person-environment interaction and how this can affect motivation for learning. There is also an emphasis on the co-ordination or matching of students to learning environment with the aim of achieving an optimal interaction for motivation and learning. A central premise of social personality theory is the Behaviour-Person-Environment connection which states, according to Hunt (1975, p. 193), that : "In the classroom, Behaviour (learning), would be considered as determined both by the Person (kind of student) and Environment (way of teaching)."

This paradigm promises to address the mismatch between A.T.S.I. culture and the school setting. But first it is necessary to look at what the desired outcome or Behaviours are from this equation. Both Hunt and Veroff address this question. Hunt (1966,P. 286) states that, "From a conceptual systems viewpoint, the aim of education is to produce persons who are questioning, inventive, original,

critical, creative and, if needs, be different." Hunt has a very specific idea of what education should be and also some strategies to achieve that end. Studying the development of achievement motivation, Veroff (1966, P. 181) is not so specific when he states : "Who is to say that we should not be encouraging affiliative concerns in people of love of beauty?" Veroff (1966, p. 181) puts a further perspective on achievement motivation when he states: "But in no way does this report suggest that building achievement motivation is the only route or even the most important, for realising the greatest potential in human beings."

A.T.S.I. students would welcome this assertion! In it there is a glimpse of a broadening of values to include some goals or ways of learning towards which A.T.S.I. people might be motivated. Unfortunately, the school system as representative of a certain culture, is locked into catering to that culture which fosters this achievement motive. Schools have tried, in some ways, over the last 25 years to accommodate A.T.S.I. students through curriculum and teaching changes. But, are schools capable of real proactive change?

In fact, there is some evidence that Queensland schools at least adopt educational practices that heighten the mismatch between students conceptional level and the learning environment. This situation disadvantages all students but must also further diminish the chances of A.T.S.I. students for academic success. (Cambell, p. 131) states that: "All of these streams of current educational thought include a developmental notion which suggests that, as students advance through the school grades, the characteristics of the learning environments should respond to the increasing maturity of the students."

However, contrary to current educational thought, Queensland schools increase in structure from Year 8 to Year 12. (Campbell, P. 131) maintains that, "A study of secondary school experiences in Queensland however, suggests that except in the area of extra-curricular activities, the structures become more obvious and more restrictive as students move from Grade 8 to 12." From this study, the conclusion can be reached that Queensland schools are not catering effectively for mainstream students let alone the minorities in the system of whom A.T.S.I. students would present the most disparate group (being one of a few groups with an oral rather than literate culture).

The question raised by the interaction of person and environment still remains:- How can the motive of A.T.S.I. students and the real motives of the school be brought closer together? That is, either A.T.S.I. students must develop a more orthodox achievement motivation or the learning environment must be modified

to suit their particular motives and learning styles. Veroff (1966, p.181) speaking from the American situation, states that, "the problem is how to develop the achievement motive in Negro children when this motive has not been an apparent part of the experience of a majority of Negroes."

So it seems that the origins of the achievement motive vary from culture to culture. Even in mainstream culture, the achievement motive may change through life, as Veroff (1966, p. 190) states: "During adolescence, an orientation towards skills development can be maintained, but other types of interests become dominant; particularly those related to greater personal evaluation by the same or opposite sex."

Thus, the origins and development of the achievement motive are highly variable. The only constant, it seems, is the prevailing influence of cultural values on the individual's achievement motive.

For example, an Aboriginal youth may have, as an overriding goal, his initiation into the knowledge of his totem group, and this is socially culturally sanctioned activity which requires long periods of time away from school and A.T.S.I. values in this situation is obvious, but usually the cultural values are stronger. Therefore, it seems a little difficult and inexact to concentrate on the academic achievement motive of the A.T.S.I. student. Perhaps it is more fruitful to change the learning environment. Veroff (1966, P. 183) suggests a strategy for this when he states: "if we want to heighten achievement behaviours, therefore, we would tell the social practitioner to measure the dominant motivation and then make achievement behaviours instrumental to this incentive." Given the example of the Aboriginal Youth; can we measure his/her dominant motivation? are there tests that are appropriate? And even if we could do this accurately, could the school and staff be flexible enough to structure a learning situation around that dominant motivation?

Hunt postulates that the grouping of students into conceptual level groups and structuring the learning environment for optimal achievement motivation would solve many problems. Hunt (1966, p. 296) states: "The use of stage-similar homogeneous grouping emphasises similarity in personality orientation. It is possible that the use of homogeneous grouping which place together Negro and White students of similar personality level might transcend and diminish the importance of skin colour."

Hunt (1976, P. 277) puts forward the concept of teacher adaptability as a factor in the learning environment when he states: "The evaluation of the effect of teacher adaptability on students must proceed in designs which take account of

the context, age and type of student's objectives etc. In the meanwhile, the effectiveness of the highly adaptable teacher remains an article of faith, which seems very intuitively reasonable."

For a white middle class teacher to teach A.T.S.I. students effectively (especially those in community situations), "highly adaptable" is an extreme understatement! A complete cultural and values rethink is advisable in order to redefine the parameters of the teacher's motives, objectives and role. The concept of consensus of roles as put forward by Gross illustrates another facet of the mismatch between A.T.S.I. and school motives. This has important implications for teaching practice as there are incompatibilities between school and home, and between school and community and incongruencies between student needs and school expectations."

For example, A.T.S.I. parents express the wish that their children learn English. However, they are reluctant to speak English in the home and do not realise that schools cannot teach functional English without home reinforcement. Also, speaking language or Creole is an important form of A.T.S.I. cultural maintenance which A.T.S.I. people (parents included) hold to be more important, at least in day to day situations than speaking Standard Australian English. Obviously there is a clash between cultural maintenance and the ability to function in a wider society. Should schools be encouraging cultural erosion? Also, many A.T.S.I. people perceive the passing of time at school as equivalent to success at school. The concept of achieving academic success is alien as there are already culturally acceptable tasks towards which to direct achievement motivation.

Social personality theory enhances our knowledge of A.T.S.I. education in a number of ways. It shows that achievement motivation is variable in its origin and development. It suggests that achievement motivation, whilst important in mainstream schooling is but one motive for achieving human prudential. It places due emphasis on the learning environment and how it could be manipulated to enhance both motivation and learning. And finally, social theory suggests that expectations brought to a learning environment influence the roles of participants and also their motives, both explicit and implicit.

COGNITIVE THEORY

The proponents of this school of thought focus on the influence of the human intellect or thinking processes upon personality and motivation. Ausbel concentrates on how we learn and acquire new information, whilst Kelly emphasises the power of the intellect to construct ways of interpreting the world, making decisions and predicting.

Kelly believes that everyone is motivated by just being alive. The expression of this motivation is determined by the decisions that a person makes. Individuals who perceive events in similar ways begin to constitute a culture. Individuals in a culture not only behave in a similar fashion but, people who belong to the same cultural group construe their experiences in the same way (Kelly, 1955). This may explain why A.T.S.I. students and the school so easily misconstrue what the other wants in schooling.

This mismatch of constructs may be closely tied to an oral culture interacting with a literate culture. Ogn (1982) argued that literacy transforms the mind producing styles of thinking which are possible only after the mind has internalised the writing. These thinking styles are reductionist, that is, they decompose the natural observable world in to progressively smaller units to understand it. Therefore, many A.T.S.I. students are disadvantaged when operating in the school environment, because the styles of thinking and ways of learning which are used in schools are deeply rooted in western traditions of literacy.

Kelly (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1991, p. 325) believe that each person acts as a "scientist" in that, "We are all motivated to anticipate the future and make plans based on expected outcomes."

Science is based on the scientific method. This involves recognising patterns, generalising forming hypotheses, observing, experimenting and establishing control situations. This method is a western practice, designed to "change" and "improve" the world. Not all societies are so change orientated. Some are "conservative". In order to survive, these societies have had to maintain their long held practices and ideas. They do not actively encourage these processes of hypothesizing, and experimentation.

It could be asserted that A.T.S.I. constructs are not made by the same process as Kelly postulates. His emphasis on future events may not apply so well in an oral culture that must constantly revise past events in order to preserve them in consciousness. Therefore, the influence of past events may be very different to a literate culture which can write its culture down and put it on the shelf for prosperity.

Ausbel takes a similar approach but puts less emphasis on controlling events and future orientation. However, because of the cognitive approach, his idea of motivation are closely aligned to the Western tradition. Ausbel (1968, p. 365) states:

"The trend in recent research and thinking has been to place greater emphasis on the motivational power of such intrinsic and positive motives as curiosity, exploration, activity, manipulation, mastery or competence and the need for simulation."

His concept of "meaningful learning" could also apply to all cultures. However, the problem is: what is *meaningful* in one culture is not necessarily meaningful in another! It is reasonable to state that, "meaningful learning automatically provides rewards." (Ausubel, 1968, p. 365).

Do schools cater for the felt needs of A.T.S.I. students? The felt needs as expressed by the A.T.S.I. community are interesting and somewhat paradoxical. The QATSICC Education Policy states that: "At school, the curriculum should be at a standard which is equal to mainstream education, but does not weaken the cultural heritage of the child."

The picture emerging from the various schools of personality theory is that this may well be an impossible task! Indeed, Ausubel (1968, p. 372) states that, "there is a need to reduce dissonance, incongruity, or conflict between the two cognitions. This may lead to a change in one of the beliefs, to integrative reconciliation, or to summary dismissal or compartmentalisation of the contradictory cognition." Depending on the disparity between A.T.S.I. and school beliefs in any area, any or all these three processes could occur.

Ausubel suggests that the cognitive drive is only one part of achievement motivation. There are two other factors:- the drive for ego-enhancement, and the affiliative drive. Ego enhancement is concerned with self esteem and the achievement of status. Ausubel (1968, p. 378) describes it thus: "On the average, ego enhancement motivation is undoubtedly the strongest motivation available during the active portion of an individual's academic and vocational career."

Does this statement still apply to A.T.S.I. culture where the notion of "academic" and "vocational" are not as culturally inculcated. Indeed, Christie (1985, p. 55) states that a feature of informal learning style is that: "There is no conscious learning goal. Learning may be incidental to an activity. Motivation is to live out more fully the day to day activities of the group. Learning takes place incidentally during the socialization of an individual into the culture."

Clearly, here is further evidence of a mismatch between the motivations of A.T.S.I. students and the school. It is reasonable to suggest that both cognitive drive and ego enhancement motivation do not function in quite the same manner or strength in A.T.S.I. culture. The last component of achievement motivation is the affiliative drive which is the need to achieve in those areas which correspond to the

value of the culture. Ausubel (1968, p. 377) admits that this can be a powerful force: "The desire for approval, however, may also depress the achievement motive when such achievement is negatively valued by the group."

Again, we can imagine the conflict for an A.T.S.I. student who might want to do well but who must also spend large amounts of time preparing for other cultural activities. As the school moves more into the "scientist" mode and values this largely to the exclusion of anything else, the chances of matching A.T.S.I. motives and school motives in some sort of compromise is set back further. Ausubel (1968) with respect to the Negro situation acknowledges that children may inherit low self-esteem due to their low social status and poverty. Any culture held in such low esteem in their own land must find it hard.

Ausubel (1968, p. 447) suggests that motivation of this type of student can occur by affirmative action; that is, "by making available abundant scholarships, also providing models of A.T.S.I. people who have succeeded in the school system and display high academic achievement motivation." Also, he suggests that teachers forget about achievement motivation and "focus on the cognitive aspects of teaching." This sounds positive but we have just seen that the cognitive aspects for A.T.S.I. students are often very different to those from the school and its educators.

Cognitive theory enhances our understanding of A.T.S.I. education in a number of ways: (i) with the concept of "meaningful learning" and addressing the felt needs of the learner; (ii) by acknowledging the importance of an affiliative drive as a factor in achievement motivation; and (iii) with Kelly's notion of motivation as a construct of the observer rather than a "real" force which could help teachers realise that many A.T.S.I. students do achieve but in areas that are more culturally appropriate for them than school.

Social - Learning Theory:

Skinner and Bandura emphasise the importance of the environment in engendering motivation in the individual. Social-learning theory is concerned with the effects of reinforcement which accompanies action. Skinner rejects the "autonomous person within" and places the antecedents of all behaviour firmly in the sphere of environmental consequences or reinforcement. Bandura, while stressing the importance of the environment, acknowledges the import of behavioural and cognitive influences. Bandura (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981) believes that "most of our behaviour is learned by observing other people and modelling our

behaviour after theirs." This notion of learning compares well with the informal learning style of A.T.S.I. people stated by Christie (1985, p. 55) : "Learning takes place as a result of self-motivated day-to-day experiences. The exercise of conscious personal control over learning behaviour is less important."

Bandura believes that the origins of motivation lie in modelling accompanied by positive reinforcement. He (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981, p.246) believes that, "if positive incentives are presented, modelling or observational learning is promptly translated into action." This notion also concurs well with the informal learning style. Christie (1985, p.55.) states that: "Feedback is immediately available to learners as they attempt to live out adult roles. Feedback is inherent in the learning setting. The feedback is usually directly applicable to on 1=1 going learning experience, therefore it is not usually misapplied."

The self generating influences that Bandura says are so important to learning can be divided into self-observation judgement, and self-evaluation. The self-evaluation component sheds some light on academic motivation of many A.T.S.I. students, Bandura believes that, "people expend little or no effort in activities that have no personal relevance for them." (Hjelle & Zeigler, 1981, p. 251) Another aspect of self-evaluation that applies to the causes of A.T.S.I. academic behaviour is their mainly external locus of control in the school setting. Bandura believes that, " people seldom derive much satisfaction when they attribute their success to external factors such as luck or chance." This is precisely the mechanism that many A.T.S.I. students use to explain their academic standards. Many also misread the motives of the school, and Christie (1985) argues that many Aboriginal children view school as a ritual where "staying seated", "listening" and "staying quiet" will inevitably lead to success.

Bandura believes that people can learn self-evaluative techniques through modelling. He believes that "children tend to adopt evaluative standards displayed by exemplary models." (Hjelle & Zeigler, 1981, p. 252). They can then judge their performances against these models and these act as incentives for self-generating motivation. Bandura nominates four factors which maintain this self-generating motivation and all of these may have some severe problems when applied to A.T.S.I. culture. Bandura also deals with the mechanisms of behavioural change which are particularly appropriate to the changes that A.T.S.I. society is going through. He maintains that change is difficult because, "conventional patterns are usually fortified by belief systems and moral codes that portend hazardous consequences for departure from socially sanctioned practices." (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981, p. 194).

Bandura again believes that modelling is integral to social change, but other factors are also important. He cites Erasmus (1961) who states that: New cultural practices are most accepted when they produce immediate inspectional benefits and the casual relationship between new behaviour and advantageous outcomes can be easily verified.

The delayed gratification of 12 years of schooling does not meet these criteria, especially if students think that sitting still and being quiet are all that is required. Again, the gulf between A.T.S.I. and school culture is emphasised. Bandura believes that appropriate incentives are the key to motivation and behaviour change. He states that, "to produce intellectual strivings in children who display little interest in academic pursuits, one would arrange favourable conditions of reinforcement with respect to achievement behaviour, rather than attempt to create in some ill defined way, an achievement motive." (1969, p. 225). Integral to this method is, "the development and selection of an effective incentive system." (1969, p. 225).

What incentive system could be used for A.T.S.I. students? The incentives would have to address all the differences in A.T.S.I. learning styles and behaviours. Again, the subjective expectations and motivations of A.T.S.I. students for academic success are reinforced by the very low objective chances of success.

Skinner addresses the notion of cultural value as merely those things which are positive for culture; that is, help it survive. He stresses the mutual reinforcement of the culture and the individual. Skinner states that: "Things are good (positively reinforcing) or bad (negative reinforcing) presumably because of the contingencies of survival under which the culture evolved."

Therefore, what is good in one culture is not necessarily good in another culture, but its individuals help to maintain it by their actions. Skinner believes that, "much of what a person does to promote the survival of a culture is not intentional." (1971, p. 133.) This simple statement would seem to explain much of what is going on in A.T.S.I. education. Students maintain their culture by valuing and participating in its rituals and ways of behaviour. Thus, Torres Strait Islander students take time from school for tombstone ceremonies and celebrations, for dance festivals and first shave ceremonies. They also promote their culture by their insistence on working together, their refusal to listen to "chalk and talk", and their relaxed time frame. Teachers and schools, on the other hand, promote their culture by the timetable, the rigid "do your own work" assessment, and by teaching that is heavily language based. Each of these groups has modelled itself on a culturally appropriate model and has gained positive reinforcement from it.

Skinner maintains that, “no culture is in permanent equilibrium” (1971, p. 127) and this is certainly true of A.T.S.I. society. The values of A.T.S.I. people must be in flux but as Skinner notes, “the individual’s behaviour depends upon the control exerted by the social environment.” (1971, p. 110). Skinner believes that to alter values and provide suitable reinforcement, “the first step is to identify all the “goods” received by the individual when he is in controlled for the “good” of the others.” (1971, p. 119). The problem for A.T.S.I. students is identifying, from their point of view, the “goods” that they get. In the long term, they might achieve success and money; they might gain competence in a given field. All these are delayed reinforcements. The immediate reinforcements are less persuasive 1=1 social contact, doing some interesting things, some practical skills. Literacy is one of the major thrusts of A.T.S.I. education but what immediate “goods” do the student get from speaking English? It is usually not necessary in their own communities which is where most A.T.S.I. people eventually hope to return and live. All in all, the “goods” that schools offer are very diffuse and future oriented, whereas in the past and to some extent now, the school offers many aversion stimuli to the A.T.S.I. student. Not least of these is the perceived low status of A.T.S.I. education; this almost total use of Standard English with sanctions against the use of other languages; the denial of A.T.S.I. styles of discipline. Skinner states that the use of aversive stimuli punishment may cause a severe and debilitating anxiety, behavioural inhibition and anti-social behaviour and these effects are being observed on remote communities at present. The culture of the school is undoubtedly contributing to them in some measure.

Social-learning theory enhances our knowledge of A.T.S.I. education in a number of ways. It shows the importance of appropriate incentives. It emphasises the importance of modelling, both in learning behaviours and in cultural changes and lastly it shows us that self-generating behaviours are greatly influenced by cultural values.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the effect of the social group or culture on the motivation of human behaviours cannot be overestimated, especially in a situation such as A.T.S.I. education where two disparate cultures are put together in a context representing only one of those cultures. The motives of one culture are resisted by the motives other, leading to a variety of behaviours that have total influence on the events in the classrooms and which may result in non 1=1 effective education for the members of the non-dominant culture.

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