Contemporary Educational Psychology **25,** 105–115 (2000)
doi:10.1006/ceps.1999.1021, available online at http://www.idealibrary.com on IDEAL®

What Is It That I'm Trying to Achieve? Classroom Goals from a Content Perspective

Kathryn R. Wentzel

Department of Human Development, University of Maryland

In this article, goals are discussed with respect to content, that is, as cognitive representations of *what* it is that an individual is trying to achieve in a given situation. In support of this perspective, I argue that a focus on the content of students' goals can provide unique and valuable insights into ways in which students' multiple social and academic goals might influence their academic accomplishments. Several models of relations between multiple goals are described. First, from a developmental perspective, relations among social and academic goals might be one-directional, with fundamental orientations toward the self and the social environment guiding efforts to be academically competent. Second, relations between goals also can be complementary, with social and task-related goal pursuit independently contributing to academic achievement. Finally, relations between social and academic goal pursuit can be reciprocal and hierarchical in nature, reflecting students' beliefs about how to achieve academic success. The significance of a goal content perspective in relation to other goal-related constructs also is discussed. © 2000 Academic Press

Personal goals have been of central importance in models of motivation and explanations of behavior (see Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Pervin, 1983). In the domain of academic achievement, goals have been described with respect to their content (Ford, 1992; Wentzel, 1991a, 1991b, 1992); levels of challenge, proximity, and specificity (Bandura, 1986); and orientations toward achievement (Dweck, 1991; Nicholls, 1989). Common to these descriptions is the notion that people do set goals for themselves and that they can be powerful motivators of behavior. However, these descriptions also represent fundamentally different components of motivated behavior. Goals as defined by content serve to direct behavior toward a specific outcome; levels of challenge, proximity, and specificity direct behavior toward certain standards or definitions of performance; and goal orientations define specific ways to regulate efforts to achieve.

In my own work, I define goals with respect to content, that is, as a cogni-

Address correspondence and reprint requests to Kathryn R. Wentzel, Department of Human Development, University of Maryland, College of Education, College Park, MD 20742

0361-476X/00 $35.00
Copyright © 2000 by Academic Press
All rights of reproduction in any form reserved.

tive representation of *what* it is that an individual is trying to achieve in a given situation (see Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Ford, 1992). Examples of school-related goals that reflect this definition are social relationship goals such as to gain approval from others, to establish personal relationships with teachers or peers, or to cooperate with classmates; task-related goals such as to master subject matter or to meet a specific standard of achievement; or more cognitive goals such as to engage in creative thinking or to satisfy intellectual curiosity or challenge (see Ford, 1992 for a comprehensive list of personal goals). This specific aspect of goal setting represents the basic decision-making process concerning what to do and as such, defines the context for examining other motivational processes that regulate goal pursuit (e.g., goal-specific efficacy, values, etc.).

A goal content perspective is essential for understanding motivation within context. First, it allows for the possibility that goals can emanate either from the individual or from the context (cf. Dweck, 1991; Nicholls, 1989). For instance, a goal to cooperate can be a personal goal or one promoted by teachers or peers. Therefore, a focus on goal content allows for the possibility that although individuals might pursue a core set of personal goals across a variety of situations (such as to get along with others), goals also are socially derived constructs that cannot be studied in isolation of the rules and conventions of culture and context (e.g., Eccles, 1993). Indeed, academic institutions also have multiple goals and objectives for students to achieve (Wentzel, 1991c). Schools require students to pursue goals that extend beyond idiosyncratic intellectual, task-related, or social interests to include those that reflect the interests and concerns of other individuals (e.g., teachers) or groups (e.g., a class or cooperative learning group).

A goal content perspective also allows for the fact that individuals are likely to pursue more than one goal in a particular situation. Indeed, that students pursue multiple goals at school, both social and academic, has been demonstrated empirically (Allen, 1986; Wentzel, 1989, 1991b, 1992, 1993). The importance of identifying students' multiple goals is underscored by the social realities of institutionalized education—being a successful student is dependent on more than just an intrinsic, intellectually oriented approach to learning (see also Ryan & Stiller, 1991). Children are required to conform to rules for social conduct such as to pay attention, cooperate with others, and to restrain from aggressive or disruptive behavior. Students also must conform to rules and conventions for completing learning activities; teachers provide students with procedures for accomplishing academic tasks and dictate specific criteria and standards for performance. In fact, a student's goals will most likely contribute to their academic competence to the extent that they match the motivational and behavioral objectives of the classroom (Wentzel, 1989).

Finally, the likelihood that individuals pursue multiple goals implies that the ability to coordinate the pursuit of these goals effectively is a critical self-regulatory skill that links motivation to competent behavior. A focus on the content of goals can provide a rich description of the multiple goals that students try to achieve at school as well as a motivational basis for understanding person–environment fit as it relates to classrooms and schools (Eccles, 1993). The significance of a goal content perspective, however, goes beyond the perhaps obvious notion that students pursue social as well as academically related goals at school and that how they do so has implications for school success. In particular, it raises new and interesting questions for the field to consider: how do students coordinate social and academic goals and what is the motivational significance of social goal pursuit for understanding academic performance and intellectual outcomes? These issues of multiple goals and goal coordination are discussed in the following sections.

SOCIAL GOALS AND ACADEMIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS: MODELS OF INFLUENCE

Correlational and descriptive studies provide fairly consistent evidence that variations in academic performance can be explained, in part, by the sets of social- and task-related goals that students pursue (e.g., Wentzel, 1989, 1993, 1996). Although these correlational findings are suggestive, the challenge remains to identify precise ways in which motivation to achieve multiple (i.e., social and academic) goals might *influence* academic accomplishments. In the following sections, several theoretical perspectives are presented that provide the basis for models that link motivational functioning in multiple domains (see Wentzel, 1999, for a more detailed discussion of these models). At the most general level, relations among goals are presented as one-directional, with fundamental orientations toward the self and the social environment guiding efforts to be academically competent. Next, with specific reference to within-classroom functioning, relations between social and academic motivation are described as being complementary. Finally, relations between social and academic goal pursuit are described as being reciprocal and hierarchical in nature. These perspectives are not meant to provide a comprehensive explanatory model of academic achievement. Rather, the purpose is to illustrate how researchers might think about interactions among specific social and academic processes. Moreover, it should be clear that these various models are not mutually exclusive. The models present various levels of complexity at which social and task-related goals might be related to each other (e.g., developmentally vs. hierarchically) as well as specific processes that might link social and task-related goals to each other (e.g., beliefs about causality).

A Developmental Perspective on Social and Task-Related Goals

Rooted in developmental theory, this most general perspective assumes that adoption and pursuit of socially appropriate goals in a given situation or context emanates from a more generalized need to form interpersonal attachments and to experience a sense of social belongingness and relatedness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Connell & Wellborn, 1991). When these needs are met, individuals experience a positive sense of self, emotional well-being, and beliefs that the social environment is a benevolent and supportive place (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Ford, 1992). Moreover, individuals are likely to adopt the goals and values of those who help them meet these needs.

According to this model, students' desires to achieve socially valued outcomes in the classroom, including academic success, might be part of an overarching or more global motivational system derived from early socialization experiences. Students who perceive their classrooms as socially supportive environments are likely to pursue these goals that are valued in that context. If students develop a sense of relatedness to their teachers, this should translate into pursuing social goals to behave appropriately but also task-related goals to learn and achieve. This developmental perspective reflects an underlying assumption that achieving at socially valued academic tasks is an aspect of social competence. Therefore, interventions to change maladaptive motivational orientations toward learning must begin with attention to students' social and emotional needs.

Only recently have theorists begun to assign social and emotional well-being a central role in motivating academic achievements (e.g., Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Ryan, 1993). This model, however, has gained some empirical support. For instance, young children's initial orientations toward achievement at academic tasks appears to be grounded in a child's fundamental view of him-or herself as a morally and socially acceptable human being (e.g., Dweck, 1991; Heyman, Dweck & Cain, 1992). Others have documented that during the elementary school years, many children equate many aspects of being a good student with being a good citizen of the classroom (Blumenfeld, Pintrich, & Hamilton, 1986; Hamilton, Blumenfeld, Akoh, & Miura, 1989). Evidence that emotional well-being is related to positive aspects of task-related motivation and that it likely precedes academic competence also provides support for a social developmental perspective (e.g., Kohn & Rosman, 1974; Thompson, Davidson, & Barber, 1995). Finally, interventions designed to create classrooms that address the social and emotional needs of elementary school-aged children also have increased levels of academic as well as social competence in students (Watson, Solomon, Battistich, Schaps, & Solomon, 1989).

Complementary Relations among Social and Task-Related Goals

A second model depicts the pursuit of task-related and social goals at school as operating in complementary albeit independent fashion to influence academic outcomes. Few would argue that task-related goals lead to task engagement and subsequent skill development. It is reasonable, however, to expect that pursuit of social goals also can result in intellectual gains independently of task and intellectual goal pursuit. For instance, goals to be socially competent should lead to displays of cooperative and helpful behavior (Wentzel, 1992, 1994). In turn, constructivist theories of development (Piaget, 1965; Youniss & Smollar, 1989) propose that positive social interactions (e.g., cooperative and collaborative problem solving) can create cognitive conflict that hastens the development of higher-order thinking skills and cognitive structures (e.g., DeBaryshe, Patterson, & Capabaldi, 1993; Slavin, 1987; Wentzel, 1991a).

Hierarchical Relations among Classroom Goals

A third model depicts social and task-related classroom goals as being causally and hierarchically related, although in this case, ''causality'' is in the mind of the student, represented by beliefs about why things happen at school. Based on the notion that context-specific goals develop in an interdependent fashion, this perspective assumes that students will develop their own causal models of influence (see Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Pervin, 1983; Skinner, Chapman, & Baltes, 1988) and organize their goal pursuits accordingly (Pervin, 1983). According to Pervin, goal hierarchies develop over time as individuals are taught to prioritize goals and to associate goals with each other in causal fashion. With respect to school, therefore, children learn which goals are most important to achieve and how the attainment of one set of goals can lead to the attainment of others. For instance, children might come to school with a basic goal to establish positive relationships with others. Over time, this goal might become linked in causal fashion to more specific goals such as to establish a positive relationship with teachers. This relationship goal might be accomplished by pursuing even more specific goals such as to behave appropriately, to pay attention, or to complete assignments. Similarly, children might learn that in order to achieve a rather global goal of demonstrating competence, they first must achieve subordiante goals such as learning subject matter, outperforming others, or supporting group efforts (see Ames, 1992).

The concept of goal hierarchies is helpful for understanding ways in which beliefs about relations among social and task-related goals might have an impact on efforts to achieve academically. To illustrate, an example of a Task → Social goal hierarchy would be pursuit of goals to do well at academic tasks

in order to achieve a social goal to please one's parents or teachers. Or students might try to engage in academic tasks because they see this as a way to achieve goals to cooperate or to comply with classroom rules. Examples of Social → Task goal hierarchies are less obvious. However, students might believe that pleasing a teacher by behaving in socially appropriate ways will ultimately result in accomplishing task-related goals. For the most part, students who believe that achieving at learning tasks can be accomplished solely by social means (e.g., pleasing a teacher) are setting themselves up for failure. However, cooperative learning activities provide contexts wherein students who pursue this kind of goal hierarchy might experience positive academic gains (e.g., Damon & Phelps, 1989). Similarly, students who believe that adhering to socially derived rules and conventions will lead to task-related accomplishments also are more likely to be successful than those who do not. Most academic activities are governed by procedures and behavioral conventions that facilitate successful completion of tasks.

Empirical findings are intriguing in their suggestion that in contrast to goal pursuit in and of itself, hierarchical belief systems that link academic success to other nonintellectual goals might play an important role in sustaining (or undermining) levels of student performance over time. For instance, students who pursue multiple classroom goals that are social as well as task related also tend to be high achievers (Wentzel, 1989). When these goals are linked hierarchically, however, students might experience less-than-adaptive outcomes (Wentzel, 1993a). Work on academic goal orientations illustrates how other motivational processes might undermine the effectiveness of Task → Social hierarchies for achieving academic success. Learning goal orientations have been conceptualized as reasons why students try to achieve academically, with performance goal orientations representing desires to achieve outcomes derived from expectations or values associated with the consequences of task engagement (see Pintrich, this issue). These outcomes can take the form of gaining positive social judgments or avoiding negative social judgments of the self.

Of relevance for the present discussion is that performance goal orientations, a type of Task → Social goal hierarchy, have been associated with a lack of persistence, helplessness, and withdrawal from tasks in reaction to failure (see e.g., Dweck, 1991). The negative outcomes associated with performance goal orientations, however, appear to be the result of motivational factors other than the goals themselves: When expectations for success are high, these Task → Social goal hierarchies are linked to positive aspects of performance (e.g., Elliot & Church, 1997; Elliot & Dweck, 1988). Therefore, perceptions of ability in conjunction with one's choice of goals, appears to account for the negative consequences of trying to achieve in order to gain positive appraisals of the self.

Finally, just as students pursue multiple goals (e.g., to learn, to have fun, to make friends), they also are likely to pursue multiple goal hierarchies. To illustrate, students might have multiple reasons for trying to achieve academically, some of which are social. Therefore, in situations when a learning activity is less than stimulating or interesting to students, reasons other than an intrinsic interest in the task might be needed to motivate performance. In such cases, multiple social as well as task-related reasons for engaging in the task, such as ''I'll probably learn something,'' ''It's what I'm supposed to do,'' ''It will get me a job some day,'' ''It will please mom and dad,'' or ''It will impress my friends,'' can provide a powerful motivational foundation for promoting continued engagement.

Some students who try to pursue multiple goals, however, might be unable to coordinate the pursuit of their goals into an organized system of behavior and, as a consequence, become distracted or overwhelmed when facing particularly demanding aspects of tasks that require focused concentration and attention. An example of this problem is when students want to achieve social goals *and* task-related goals. Students who are unable to coordinate these goals in hierarchical fashion might opt to pursue social relationship goals with peers (e.g., to have fun) in lieu of task-related goals such as to complete class assignments. Students with effective goal coordination skills would likely find a way to achieve both goals, for instance, by doing homework with friends. An identification of specific self-regulatory strategies that enable students to accomplish multiple goals simultaneously seems essential for helping students coordinate demands to achieve multiple and often conflicting goals at school.

CONCLUSION

With respect to other goal-related constructs discussed in this issue, a goal content perspective complements the existing work on achievement values (Wigfield & Eccles, this issue). As defined by Eccles (Eccles, Adler, Futterman, Goff, Kaczala, Meece, & Midgley, 1983), values are beliefs about the desirability of certain outcomes or goals. ''Desirability'' can reflect the importance of achieving a goal to the individual, enjoyment derived from achieving a goal, the usefulness of goal attainment for achieving other outcomes, and costs associated with goal attainment. Values, therefore, provide individuals with specific reasons for goal pursuit and have the potential to explain why students pursue some goals with greater persistence than others. Goals, however, should not be confused with values or how important it is to achieve something, as individuals can believe that many outcomes are important, useful, or enjoyable but not necessarily pursue them.

In addition, unique to the field of achievement motivation is the construct of goal orientations toward learning, beliefs reflecting the reasons why stu-

dents try to achieve academically (see Pintrich, this issue). Mastery goal orientations represent desires to achieve outcomes derived from the actual process of learning, such as feelings of satisfaction and competence or actual intellectual development. Performance goal orientations represent desires to achieve outcomes derived from expectations or values associated with the consequences of engaging in academic tasks. From a goal content perspective, these orientations represent only two of the multiple goals that students might pursue at school. A mastery orientation would be conceptualized as a cognitive goal to learn or master intellectual challenges associated with academic tasks. As discussed, a performance goal orientation would represent a unique hierarchical system of multiple goals wherein task-related or cognitive goals are pursued to achieve social goals.

In support of a goal content perspective on motivation, I have argued that a focus on the content of students' goals can provide unique and valuable insights into ways in which students' multiple social and academic goals might influence their academic accomplishments. Several models of relations between social and academic goals were discussed. From a developmental perspective, relations among goals might be one-directional, with fundamental orientations toward the self and the social environment guiding efforts to be academically competent. Relations between social and academic motivation also can be complementary, with social and task-related goal pursuit independently contributing to academic achievement. Finally, relations between social and academic goal pursuit can be reciprocal and hierarchical in nature, reflecting students' beliefs about how to achieve academic success.

It is clear that these various models are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they reflect various levels of generality at which goals might be studied. At the most general level, a student might have a proclivity toward perceiving classrooms as caring and benevolent places and therefore choose to pursue those social and academic goals that are valued by his or her teachers. However, teachers are likely to differ in their promotion of specific classroom goals as well as beliefs concerning how to achieve academic success. For example, a student who chooses to pursue goals valued by his or her teacher might learn that being better than others defines success, whereas this same student might learn from another teacher that progressively mastering a subject defines success (see Ames, 1992). Therefore, it is difficult to predict which goal hierarchies (if any) students will adopt without knowing the content of goals and belief systems being communicated by individual teachers. Moreover, ways in which these students coordinate their personal goals with those being espoused by teachers are likely to vary dramatically as a function of other factors, such as their social skills (Dodge, Asher, & Parkhurst, 1989), self-regulatory strategies (e.g., Zimmerman, this issue), or social support systems (Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). The important point is that if we are to understand the relevance of multiple goal pursuit for academic outcomes,

issues raised by each perspective will have to be explored: which goals does the student bring to the classroom; which goals do teachers expect students to achieve and how; and does the student have effective strategies for coordinating these multiple goals.

REFERENCES

Allen, J. D. (1986). Classroom management: Students' perspectives, goals, and strategies. *American Educational Research Journal.* **23,** 437–459.

Ames, C. (1992). Classrooms: Goals, structures, and student motivation. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **84,** 261–271.

Austin, J. T., & Vancouver, J. B. (1996). Goal constructs in psychology: Structure, process, and content. *Psychological Bulletin,* **120,** 338–375.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice–Hall.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin,* **117,** 497–529.

Blumenfeld, P. C., Pintrich, P. R., & Hamilton, V. L. (1986). Children's concepts of ability, effort, and conduct. *American Educational Research Journal,* **23,** 95–104.

Connell, J. P., & Wellborn, J. G. (1991). Competence, autonomy, and relatedness: A motivational analysis of self-system processes. In M. R. Gunnar & L. A. Sroufe (Eds.), *Self processes and development: The Minnesota symposia on child development* (Vol. 23, pp. 43–78). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Damon, W., & Phelps, E. (1989). Strategic uses of peer learning in children's education. In T. J. Berndt & G. W. Ladd (Eds.), *Peer relationships in child development* (pp. 133–157). New York: Wiley.

DeBaryshe, B. D., Patterson, G. R., & Capabaldi, D. M. (1993). A performance model for academic achievement in early adolescent boys. *Developmental Psychology,* **29,** 795–804.

Dodge, K. A., Asher, S. R., & Parkhurst, J. T. (1989). Social life as a goal coordination task. In C. Ames & R. Ames (Eds.), *Research on motivation in education* (Vol. 3, pp. 107–138). New York: Academic Press.

Dweck, C. S. (1991). Self-theories and goals: Their role in motivation, personality, and development. In R. Dienstbier (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 38, pp. 199–236). Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

Eccles, J. (1993). School and family effects on the ontogeny of children's interests, self-perceptions, and activity choices. In J. Jacobs (Ed.), *Developmental perspectives on motivation: Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 40, pp. 145–208). Lincoln, NB: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

Eccles (Parsons), J., Adler, T. F., Futterman, R., Goff, S. B., Kaczala, C. M., Meece, J. L., & Midgley, C. (1983). Expectancies, values, and academic behaviors. In J. T. Spence (Ed.), *Achievement and achievement motivation* (pp. 75–146). San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Elliot, A. J., & Church, M. A. (1997). A heirarchical model of approach and avoidance motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* **72,** 218–232.

Elliott, E. S., & Dweck, C. S. (1988). Goals: An approach to motivation and achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* **54,** 5–12.

Ford, M. E. (1992). *Motivating humans: Goals, emotions, and personal agency beliefs.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hamilton, V. L., Blumenfeld, P. C., Alcoh, H., & Muira, K. (1989). Citizenship and scholarship in Japanese and American fifth graders. *American Educational Research Journal,* **26,** 44–72.

Heyman, G. D., Dweck, C. S., & Cain, K. M. (1992). Young children's vulnerability to self-blame and helplessness: Relationship to beliefs about goodness. *Child Development,* **63,** 401–415.

Kohn, M., & Rosman, B. L. (1974). Social-emotional, cognitive, and demographic determinants of poor school achievement: Implications for a strategy of intervention. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **66,** 267–276.

Lepper, M. (1983). Social control processes, attributions of motivation, and the internalization of social values. In E. T. Higgins, D. Ruble, & W. Hartup (Eds.), *Social cognition and social development: A sociocultural perspective* (pp. 294–330). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Nicholls, J. G. (1989). *The competitive ethos and democratic education.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Pervin, L. A. (1983). The stasis and flow of behavior: Toward a theory of goals. In M. M. Page (Ed.), *Personality—Current theory and research* (pp. 1–53). Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

Phelan, P., Davidson, A. L., & Cao, H. T. (1991). Students' multiple worlds: Negotiating the boundaries of family, peer, and school cultures. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* **22,** 224–250.

Piaget, J. (1965). *The moral judgment of the child.* New York: The Free Press.

Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and organization: Intrinsic motivation, autonomy, and the self in psychological development. In J. Jacobs (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 40, pp. 1–56). Lincoln, NE: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

Skinner, E. A., Chapman, M., & Baltes, P. B. (1988). Control, means-ends, and agency beliefs: A new conceptualization and its measurement during childhood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* **54,** 117–133.

Slavin, R. E. (1987). Developmental and motivational perspectives on cooperative learning: A reconciliation. *Child Development,* **58,** 1161–1167.

Thompson, T., Davidson, J. A., & Barber, J. G. (1995). Self-worth protection to achievement motivation: Performance effects and attributional behavior. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **87,** 598–610.

Watson, M., Solomon, D., Battistich, V., Schaps, E., & Solomon, J. (1989). The child development project: Combining traditional and developmental approaches to values education. In L. Nucci (Ed.), *Moral development and character education: A dialogue* (pp. 51–92). Berkeley: McCutchan.

Wentzel, K. R. (1989). Adolescent classroom goals, standards for performance, and academic achievement: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **81,** 131–142.

Wentzel, K. R. (1991a). Relations between social competence and academic achievement in early adolescence. *Child Development,* **62,** 1066–1078.

Wentzel, K. R. (1991b). Social and academic goals at school: Achievement motivation in context. In M. Maehr & P. Pintrich (Eds.), *Advances in motivation and achievement* (Vol. 7, pp. 185–212). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Wentzel, K. R. (1991c). Social competence at school: Relations between social responsibility and academic achievement. *Review of Educational Research,* **61,** 1–24.

Wentzel, K. R. (1992). Motivation and achievement in adolescence: A multiple goals perspec-

tive. In D. Schunk & J. Meece (Eds.), *Student perceptions in the classroom: Causes and consequences* (pp. 287–306). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Wentzel, K. R. (1993). Social and academic goals at school: Motivation and achievement in early adolescence. *Journal of Early Adolescence,* **13,** 4–20.

Wentzel, K. R. (1994). Relations of social goal pursuit to social acceptance, classroom behavior, and perceived social support. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **86,** 173–182.

Wentzel, K. R. (1996). Social and academic motivation in middle school: Concurrent and longterm relations to academic effort. *Journal of Early Adolescence,* **16,** 390–406.

Wentzel, K. R. (1999). Social-motivational processes and interpersonal relationships: Implications for understanding students' academic success. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* **91,** 76–97.

Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1989). Adolescents' interpersonal relationships in social context. In T. J. Berndt & G. Ladd (Eds.), *Peer relationships in child development* (pp. 300–316). New York: Wiley.