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CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT: VALIDATION
OF THE CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS ACHIEVEMENT MEASURE AND ITS
USE IN UNDERSTANDING MOTIVATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
OPPOSITIONAL, RACELESSNESS AND PRIMARY CULTURAL
IDENTIFICATION

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT:
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MEASURE AND ITS USE IN UNDERSTANDING MOTIVATIONAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF OPPOSITIONAL, RACELESSNESS AND PRIMARY
CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Significance of the Study	6
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
Review of Research on African American Student Cultural Identification.....	8
Critical Review of Previous Racial Identity Scales	22
Descriptions of the Three Categories of African American Identification	24
Development and Preliminary Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (CCAM).....	27
Plan for the Present Studies	29
Correlation Expectations.....	33
Expectations for Group Differences	34
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	36
Research Setting	36
Sample	37
Procedures	41
Method of Analysis	42
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	43
CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	67
Implications for Pedagogical Approaches	67
Limitations	74
Future Research.....	76
Closing Remarks	82
APPENDICIES	89
Appendix B: MIBI: Centrality, Assimilatorist & Nationalist.....	91
Appendix C: Stereotypical Beliefs Subscale Measure.....	94
Appendix D: Identification with Academics Subscale	95
Appendix E: PALS – Mastery Goals	97
Appendix F: PALS – Performance Approach Goals	98
Appendix G: PALS – Performance Avoidance Goals	99
Appendix H: PALS – Academic Efficacy	100
Appendix I: PALS – Academic Self-Handicapping	101
Appendix J: PALS – Disruptive Behavior	103
Appendix K: PALS – Skepticism about the Relevance of School for Future Success	104
Appendix L: Child Assent Form	105
Appendix M: Parental/Legal Guardian Permission Form.....	108
Appendix N: Demographic for Students.....	111
Appendix O: Script for Data Collection.....	112
Appendix P: Matrix of Pearson r Correlations	113

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Constructs and Scales with Predictions about Outcomes.....	32
Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Validation Constructs.....	43
Table 3: Rotated Component Matrix	44
Table 4: Validation Correlations	45
Table 5: Means and Standard Deviations for Identification with Academics by Identity Category	49
Table 6: Means and Standard Deviations for Centrality by Identity Category	50
Table 7: Means and Standard Deviations for Assimilation by Identity Category	51
Table 8: Means and Standard Deviations for Nationalist by Identity Category	52
Table 9: Means and Standard Deviations for Stereotypical Beliefs by Identity Category	53
Table 10: Means and Standard Deviations for Disruptive Behavior by Identity Category	54
Table 11: Means and Standard Deviations for GPA by Identity Category	55
Table 12: Descriptive Statistics of PALS	57
Table 13: Means and Standard Deviations for Mastery Goals by Identity Category	60
Table 14: Means and Standard Deviations for Performance Approach Goals by Identity Category.....	60
Table 15: Means and Standard Deviations for Performance Avoidance Goals by Identity Category.....	61
Table 16: Means and Standard Deviations for Academic Efficacy by Identity Category	62
Table 17: Means and Standard Deviations for Self Handicapping Strategies by Identity Category.....	63
Table 18: Means and Standard Deviations Skepticism about School for Future Success by Identity Category.....	64

ABSTRACT

Cultural Identification and Academic Achievement: Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure and its use in Understanding Motivational Characteristics of Oppositional, Racelessness and Primary Cultural Identification

The present study presents evidence regarding the reliability and validity of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (CCAM). The CCAM consist of three subscales representing three cultural dimensions of African American identity. Responses to the CCAM were collected from 201 African American high school students from a predominantly Black high school. Using factor analysis, evidence was found for the three predicted subscales (Oppositional Identity, Raceless Identity and Primary Cultural Identity) measuring unique cultural identifications for African American students. Results indicated that the CCAM is both internally and externally valid. Additionally, results indicated two new patterns of identity, one a combination of primary cultural and raceless identities and the other a combination of having primary cultural and oppositional identities. The second part of the study explored the motivational characteristics that distinguish these three groups of African American students. Distinct motivational patterns were found for the three cultural identities of the CCAM and for the two blended or combined identities.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the most pressing issues confronting educators, researchers, and policy makers is the underachievement of African American children and adolescents. Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, and Fulmore (1994) summarized data from past and recent large-scale surveys and showed that achievement differences between African American and White students begin in elementary school and persist throughout all grade levels.

Further, their research revealed that by 8th grade, almost half of the African American and Hispanic students were performing below grade level and were not likely to catch up (Taylor et al., 1994). The discrepancy between African American and White achievement is especially distressing in light of current and expected shifts in the labor market toward jobs requiring higher skills and higher levels of education, which ultimately will negatively affect African Americans immensely in their pursuit of academic excellence and upward mobility.

Too often educators and the public think in very stereotypical ways of racial and ethnic minorities, who, as a group, perform poorly in school. The stereotype maintains that African American students are unmotivated, do not value school, have no support from home, and do not care about learning, and so on. However, such stereotypical thinking is inherently wrong since African American students' exhibit considerable variation in their motivation and valuing of school, the support they receive from home, and the amount they care about their learning, and, as a result, in the level of academic achievement they attain.

Hence, thinking about students stereotypically masks the characteristics of students who defy the stereotype. By accepting the stereotype as applicable to all

members of a group, educators are tempted to throw up their hands in despair, or simply just give up in their attempts to change what they see as inevitable. Consequently, this stops educators from asking very important questions such as: why do some African American students succeed while others do not? What sets them apart? Can we learn things from those who succeeded that will help us understand and improve the lot of those who have failed or who are at risk of failure?

Historically, there have been countless attempts to analyze and explain the academic achievement, underachievement, and higher achievement of African American students. An interesting line of research has investigated the effects of cultural identification and its influence on achievement for these students (Ogbu, 1992; Fordham, 1988). The *oppositional culture* explanation for racial disparities in school performance posits that individuals from historically oppressed groups (involuntary minorities – such as African Americans) signify their antagonism towards the burden of “acting White” and White cultural frames of reference by resisting school goals (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1992; Ainsworth-Darnell, & Downey, 1998).

Several researchers have analyzed conflicts and oppositional processes between involuntary minority groups (African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans) and majority culture within the school context (Bergin & Cooks, 2002; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1992). They concluded that conflicts and opposition often cause involuntary minorities to form oppositional social identities, and oppositional cultural frames of reference that discourage motivation for doing well in school (Ogbu, 1992).

Conversely, Fordham (1988) suggested that within the structure of schools, African American adolescents consciously and unconsciously sense that they are expected to give up aspects of their identities and cultural systems in order to achieve success as defined by the dominant group's terms. In conforming to these terms, their resulting social selves and cultural identification are defined by the notion of *racelessness*. This concept connotes the adoption of a Eurocentric value system by African American individuals who perceive this as rejecting their culture and minimizing relationships with their cultural community.

African American students with a raceless identity seek to maximize their success potential by minimizing their relationship to the African American community and to the stigma attached to "Blackness" in order to succeed in school and in life (Fordham, 1988). Individuals who have adopted a raceless persona believe firmly in "the American dream" (Fordham, 1988). They willingly, and in some instances not so willingly, seek to distance themselves from the fictive-kinship in the Black community in order to receive school rewards. Raceless people feel this is the primary way to achieve vertical mobility and success.

Yet another perspective concerning cultural identification and achievement contends that African Americans who have a working knowledge of their culture of origin (Africa) as a part of their self-schema have improved self-concepts and hence are confident in their abilities to do well in school (Bass & Coleman, 1997). These students are able to demonstrate persistence in achieving school goals because having a positive primary cultural identity allows them to see possible long-term benefits of schooling (Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfu, & Harpalani, 2001).

Having a positive primary cultural identity allows African Americans to further experience accommodation without assimilation since they no longer risk losing their identity (Bass & Coleman, 1997). Accommodation involves participation in the dominant culture without becoming a member. Assimilation involves emulating the dominant culture and attempting to become apart of the dominant culture. Thus, accommodation without assimilation allows an individual to maneuver within the dominant culture without sacrificing their cultural identity (Ogbu, 1992).

Students with a primary cultural identity compare their conditions to that of their cultural heritage in Africa, and African American heritage. They have favorable perceptions towards working hard in school because education is viewed as important not only to self but also to the group as a whole. African American students who have a positive primary cultural identity maintain optimistic attitudes regarding both their chances for success in America and the payoff for efforts aimed at promoting achievement, just as voluntary immigrants are able to do (Chavous, Bernat, Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, & Zimmerman, 2003).

The present study was designed to validate a new measure of the three cultural identities just reviewed (oppositional, raceless, and primary cultural identity). Research with such a measure may help educators and researchers in understanding why some African American high school students are able to do well in school, and why some do not. If opposition to school and learning continues among African American students, resulting in a lack of participation in school for many of these students, we will continue to see serious achievement problems for this population in the future.

Undeniably, advances in civil rights legislation opened up a myriad of opportunities for African Americans in the period of the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, the number of African Americans attending schools and institutions of higher learning mushroomed and a period of general optimism in the academic progress of this traditionally marginalized group of Americans ensued (Maehr, 1984). However, this legislation and the accompanying optimism did not fully mitigate the damage done by generations of oppression. Hence, in the language of Ogbu (1992), this is expressed as an oppositional attitude typical of involuntary minority populations.

This oppositional attitude is directly related to the notion of motivation for academic persistence and success. Many researchers have uncovered connections between motivation for academic achievement, engagement in academic work, and academic success (Greene & Miller, 1996). For Ogbu and other researchers, the motivation of African Americans for academic success is clouded by this problem of opposition. It is therefore incumbent upon researchers to better illuminate the construct of academic motivation among involuntary minorities such as African Americans so that we can overcome the detrimental effects of the development of oppositional attitudes that have been shown to exist among these involuntary minorities.

However, the problem is not simply the development of an oppositional identity. There also are serious social and emotional costs to developing a raceless identity or persona. Oppositional and raceless identities need not be the only options for African American students. A sense of *cultural connectedness* may provide a way to foster a healthy form of academic motivation for African American students.

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to (1) describe and validate a new instrument that will help identify three different forms of cultural identification among African American students that correspond to the research and theory reviewed; and (2) to further refine our understanding of the motivational characteristics that distinguish these three groups of students.

The research previously reviewed is valuable to the educational process because it promotes a greater understanding of the psychological impact of cultural identification on academic motivation for African American high school students. However, no quantitative measure has yet been developed differentiating these three cultural frames of reference (oppositional, racelessness, primary cultural identification) and their expected academic outcomes. Research concerning these cultural frames of reference has been explored primarily through qualitative research methods or through instruments measuring a single identity type (Racelessness by Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Ethnic Identity by Taylor et al., 1994). Thus, the goal of this study is to validate an instrument through quantitative means in order for educators to be able to better identify different influences on student motivation among African American students.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The academic achievement of African American students in the United States has provided a bottomless trough from which educational researchers could feed. Indeed, debate on the “achievement gap” and the teaching of “Ebonics” has entered into the jargon of American popular culture. In the rich history of research into the academic achievement of African Americans, investigation into the specific area of academic motivation and African American achievement has materialized as an area of interest among many educational psychologists. Research has shown that the academic achievement of African American students is influenced by the way African Americans identify themselves within the cultures in which they live and function.

As is typical of any group of people, African American students differ from one another in their motivation for school and their achievement. Some students demonstrate high levels of motivation and performance, while others demonstrate little motivation and poor performance. Ogbu (1992) has identified one reason African American students may perform poorly in school - their racial/cultural identity leads them to experience cultural inversion, which results in an *oppositional identity* to the goals and values reflected in school. On the other hand, Fordham (1988) has argued that African American students who are motivated for school and achieve at high levels have developed a *race-less persona*, essentially abandoning their racial identity in order to achieve school success.

I will summarize the theoretical arguments of both Ogbu and Fordham regarding this issue, and the research findings related to their claims. Also, I will discuss school success for African American students being contingent on not adopting a raceless persona. I will explain how African American students can maintain their racial identity

and still be motivated for success in school by having a *primary cultural identification* or connection (Bass & Coleman, 1997; Chavous et al., 1995; Columbus, 2000; Taylor et al.1994). Finally, to conclude this chapter, I will provide a critical analysis of the theoretical foundations of these studies and limitations of the methods, including measurement

Review of Research on African American Student Cultural Identification

Oppositional Identity

Ogbu (1992) identified several reasons African-American students may perform poorly in school. These reasons include social stratification, marginality, and the racism they have experienced in the society at large. According to Ogbu, external factors, such as inequities in the social and educational systems, have led many African Americans to view academic performance as futile. Some of these children may reject academic effort if they have observed or learned from their parents that success in school does not necessarily lead to success in life (Ogbu, 1978, 1992).

Ogbu's (1992) theory distinguishes between voluntary minorities who perform well in school and involuntary minorities who perform poorly. In essence, his theory holds that voluntary and involuntary minorities differ in their perception of schooling in terms of (a) its role in aiding upward social mobility, (b) the extent to which the school and those who control it can be trusted to provide them with "the right education," and (c) how the process of schooling affects their minority cultural and language identity, depending upon how and why they came to this country. Their means of incorporation into the society at large, their view of cultural differences, and the treatment they received in this country all influence their beliefs about (a) the role of school credentials in striving

to succeed, (b) how they are treated in school, and (c) crossing cultural and language boundaries or learning the dominant culture and language in the school context, which in turn affects school performance.

Minorities who come voluntarily to the United States believe that this move will lead to greater economic, political or social well-being (Ogbu, 1992). They tend to believe (a) that they have a better chance of improving their socioeconomic status in the U.S., (b) that school credentials (i.e. diplomas, degrees) are more important for making it in the U.S. than they were "back home" where family status and favoritism are often the criteria for upward social mobility, (c) that cultural and language barriers can be overcome to achieve the goals of their emigration and that they can cross cultural and language boundaries without losing their minority-group identity, and (d) that their trust in acquiescence to U.S. schools and those who control the schools is well founded (Ogbu, 1992). As a consequence of these beliefs and attitudes, voluntary minorities work hard to succeed in school because they fully expect that success in school will lead to success later in life.

In contrast, involuntary minorities who were incorporated into the United States society against their will through conquest or slavery did not choose to come and did not arrive with expectations for a better future (Ogbu, 1992). Involuntary minorities have experienced a history of discrimination and tend to view their situations in light of this experience. In the United States, involuntary minorities include American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Pacific Islanders, some Hispanic populations, and, of course, African American descendants of slaves (Ogbu, 1992).

There are four important aspects of involuntary minorities according to Ogbu (1992) that must be articulated so as to better understand their particular problems with respect to school and formal education. First, because they do not have another homeland or "back home" with which to compare, they compare their chances of making it with those of the dominant White group. Generally, they are likely to conclude that they are worse off because of their minority status. Second, they believe that regardless of school credentials and hard work, society has made it almost impossible for them to improve their standard of living as minorities. They therefore tend to believe that it requires more than school credentials for them to get ahead in this country. Third, they have developed an oppositional identity to the dominant White American culture and language that influences their interpretation of the process of schooling. They tend to believe that crossing cultural and language boundaries in the school context will result in a loss of minority group social identity (Cultural Inversion) (Ogbu, 1992). That is, they tend to believe that acquiring certain standard school behaviors, including standard English, would result in a loss or displacement of cultural and language identity. Fourth, because the relationship between involuntary minorities and the schools and White Americans who control the schools has historically been characterized by conflict and distrust, they distrust the schools and are skeptical of the ability of the schools to educate their children. As a result of all these factors, involuntary minorities are ambivalent about schooling, consciously or unconsciously resist adopting some school standard behaviors equated with White ways, and do not seem to work hard in school.

In an in-depth exploration of the relationship of group identification and achievement, Ogbu and Fordham (1986) conducted a qualitative study in Washington

D.C. that included 33 African American high school students. Their definition of "coping with the burden of acting White," suggested that there are various strategies students use to resolve the tension between desiring to do well academically and striving to please their peers with behaviors and attitudes that validate their African American identity. The African American students who chose to pursue academic success were perceived by their peers as "being kind of White" and therefore not truly Black. They asserted that because of ambivalence, affective dissonance, and social pressures, many African American students who are academically able do not put forth the necessary effort in their school work, and consequently do poorly in school.

Thus, school failure may be interpreted as African Americans' attempt to form a personal identification; by failing to succeed in school, children demonstrate their distinctiveness from and opposition to the dominant White, European American culture (Fordham, 1988; Ogbu & Fordham, 1986). Academic failure among African American students represents according to Ogbu and Fordham their desire to maintain their solidarity with their own culture.

Ogbu and Fordham's (1986) study demonstrated this phenomenon of African Americans choosing to maintain group identification rather than risk losing social identity by choosing to do well in school. The African American students in Ogbu and Fordham's (1986) study identified several behaviors that they defined as "acting White." Some of these behaviors included; (a) speaking Standard English, (b) spending a lot of time in the library studying, (c) working hard to get good grades in school, and (d) getting good grades in school. This list indicates the kinds of behaviors likely to be negatively

sanctioned by other African American students, and therefore avoided by many of the students.

Consequently, Ogbu (1992) argued that initiatives such as racial integration and multicultural curricula are based on erroneous assumptions, and will not have a substantial beneficial effect on the students these initiatives have targeted. He argued that this perspective is too narrow and ignores the communities in which these students live, communities that are primarily responsible for communicating the meaning and value of education and allowing and encouraging youth to incorporate excelling in academic achievement into their self-schema. He further argued that as long as members of these groups for example feel subjugated (African Americans, Native Americans and Hispanics), students in these groups whose cultural frames of reference are oppositional to the Euro-centric value system and culture, will continue to have greater difficulty crossing cultural boundaries to learn and achieve in school (Ogbu, 1992).

In summary, Ogbu's research suggests that African Americans as involuntary minorities (a cultural group brought into America against their will to work for Whites) experience more difficulties in school learning and performance partly because of the relationship between their culture and majority culture (Ogbu, 1992).

Raceless Identity

As we have seen, African American students who strive for academic achievement may attempt to safeguard their success by adopting many of the attitudes, behaviors, and values most often associated with the mainstream European American culture. To some extent, high-achieving African American students minimize their relationship with their own African American communities and are criticized by their

African American peers but are not fully accepted by White Americans either (Fordham, 1988; Frazier, 1968).

Fordham (1988) used the term *racelessness* to refer to the behaviors and experiences of these high achieving involuntary-minority (African-American) students. According to Fordham (1988), African American students who assume a raceless persona experience a great deal of interpersonal conflict and ambivalence due to their inability to integrate the demands of the school environment with those of their own culture. These students consciously behave in ways that help them to gain the approval of teachers. They adjust their speech and behavior, avoid affiliation with other African Americans who are not as academically motivated, and do not participate in activities that have been defined as "Black" activities. Some raceless students simultaneously attempt to avoid the recrimination of their families and peers by camouflaging their academic abilities. Also, these students tend to believe that negative stereotypes of African Americans are credible, but do not apply to them personally, and that, despite its flaws, the American social system as a whole is fundamentally egalitarian (Fordham, 1988).

Fordham however associated this form of racial disidentification with negative psychological consequences in spite of raceless students having higher achievement status than their peers. She argued that African American adolescents' attempts to succeed often distance them from their African American community, resulting in feelings of cultural alienation, depression, and anxiety (1988).

Arroyo and Zigler (1995) support these claims in their study of racial identity, academic achievement, and the psychological well being of economically disadvantaged adolescents. Their research was designed to achieve two goals. The first was to assess, in

a quantitative manner, the basic premise of the raceless construct proposed by Fordham and Ogbu (1986; Fordham, 1988). To this end, the Racelessness Scale, which measures four behavioral and attitudinal domains, was designed. Validity for the scale was demonstrated by showing that, consistent with the racelessness formulation, high-achieving African American students in the sample (n=91) reported higher scores than their lower achieving African American peers.

The second goal of their study was to explore the psychological correlates of racial identification. Their results supported Fordham's (1988) contention that being raceless for African Americans is not completely a good thing (Fordham, 1988). Analyses of the patterns of correlations between the RS (Raceless Scale) and measure of depression and anxiety showed that among African American students, racelessness was positively related to introjective depression. Specifically, those African Americans who reported higher RS scores also expressed greater concerns about losing the approval of others (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995).

Fordham's (1988) research to support her theory comes from the same high school sample she and Ogbu used (Ogbu & Fordham, 1986). Her longitudinal qualitative study included 33 African American high school students. The study examined the academic success of African American high school students with the "burden of acting White." She found that high achieving students used various strategies to resolve the tension between desiring to do well academically and pleasing their peers with behaviors and attitudes that validate African American identity. The African American students who chose to pursue academic success were perceived by their peers as "acting White" and therefore not being truly Black.

Fordham (1988) also discovered in her study that the influence of the fictive kinship system was clearly evident, though officially negated. She denotes fictive kinship as a cultural symbol of collective identity among African Americans, and is based on more than just skin color. It refers to a kinship-like connection between and among African people in society, not related by blood or marriage, who have maintained essential reciprocal social or economic relationships (Fordham, 1988). It also implies the particular mind-set, or worldview, of those persons who are considered to be Black (Fordham, 1988).

Consequently, Fordham (1988) concluded in her findings that the African American students who are encapsulated in the fictive kinship system experience greater difficulty in crossing cultural boundaries, such as, in accepting standard academic attitudes and practices of the school and in investing sufficient time and effort in pursuing their educational goals. While some of the high achieving students do not identify with the fictive kinship system in order to make it in school, others do and purposely adopt strategies to camouflage their academic success or achievements. This occurs because there is not much support for African American students who are perceived as striving for school success by other African Americans, because succeeding in school is invariably associated with movement away from the community and is seen as a sign of having been co-opted by the dominant society.

Hence, even those high achievers who camouflage their efforts at academic excellence are viewed with suspicion, and are tested constantly by their less successful peers to determine whether they are Black or not. This surveillance helps the group to maintain established cultural boundaries, ensuring the survival of the group as well as its

cultural integrity. Unfortunately, this constant surveillance of the behaviors of members of the school community - both high and underachieving - drains the energy of students who might be devoted to the pursuit of academic excellence and other creative endeavors (Fordham, 1990). Thus, while the development of a raceless persona is a strategy for success in the advanced placement curriculum of the school, it is equally the case that the development of such a persona is marked by conflict and ambivalence (Fordham, 1988; Woodson, 1928). However, there may be a more positive identity that maintains social connectedness yet results in higher levels of achievement without the social/emotional penalty of a raceless identity - a positive primary cultural connection.

Primary Cultural Identity

Having a primary cultural identification allows African Americans to experience accommodation without assimilation because they no longer will be at risk for losing their identity (Columbus, 2000b). Historically, strong affiliation with the African American community has been linked to having a strong value for learning and education, a motivating value that results from an awareness of African Americans' past and current struggles for educational access and opportunity (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood & Zimmerman, 2003). Higher levels of connectedness to heritage are important when involving racial identity and achievement (Osyerman, Ager & Gant, 1995). Connection to the group allows for the mobilization of the self to achieve as part of a group rather than alone (Fordham, 1988; Osyereman, Ager & Gant, 1995). African American youth must conceptualize achievement concept as naturally occurring within the context of being an African American (Osyerman, Ager & Gant, 1995) because when this component of the African American identity schema is

not present, achievement may be culturally inverted and viewed as being White and anti-Black.

From Ogbu's (1992) description of the problem of cultural inversion, we can infer a possible solution to reduce opposition to schooling and reduce racelessness among African American students. Bass and Coleman (1997) wondered if involuntary minorities, particularly African Americans, had a deeper primary cultural connection, would they be less likely to adopt an oppositional cultural stance against school and learning? Their study reported on the development of a school-based Afro-centric intervention for middle school African Americans who were at risk for academic failure or underachievement. In addition to being African American, the criteria for inclusion in their study were, (a) academic performance below the student's capacity according to informal teacher evaluations and (b) consistent problems with controlling behavior in the classroom as reflected in a higher than school average rate of referrals for disciplinary actions.

Bass and Coleman (1997) hypothesized that by teaching these students about the seven Kwanzaa principles, and then helping them learn to apply these principles in their academic lives, these students' performance on a variety of school related behaviors would improve over the course of the school year. Their results indicated that participants (n=8) in the study achieved their academic goals during the school year and the collective GPA of the group increased by over 45%, from an average of 1.9 before the intervention to 2.51 at the end of the 20 week group intervention.

Having a primary cultural identification allows African Americans to experience accommodation without assimilation because they no longer will be at risk of losing their

identity (Gibson, 1991). African Americans students may no longer identify with being involuntary when incorporating a primary cultural identity within their self-view or schema (Taylor, et al., 1994). Therefore, the infusion of African centered positive ideas, attitudes, language, and history into the social and cultural imperatives of African Americans becomes the first requirement for establishing a primary cultural identity that allows one to activate a self-schema for present, past, and future selves (Osyerma, Gant & Ager, 1995; Karenga, 1977).

This possible positive primary cultural identity for African Americans is acquired through acquisition of declarative knowledge concerning their culture of origin and the continent of Africa (Bass & Coleman, 1997). Through exposure to African culture, its symbols, principles, and traditions, African American students can gain a primary cultural connection and an understanding of the African worldview and culture of origin. African American students also can acquire a better understanding of themselves and their group responsibility for doing well in school and not letting down the group (Bass & Coleman, 1997; Karenga, 1977). This information may lead to a positive primary cultural connection or identity and a personal sense of self, and an appreciation of African American culture in America (Bass & Coleman, 1997).

The central theme of the notion of “identity” is that it is a means of organizing and interpreting social experiences, regulating affects, and controlling behavior and is therefore a central part of ones' self concept (Osyerma, Gant & Ager, 1995). African Americans' identity involves a dual task of assembling a positive sense of self while discrediting negative identities attributed to African Americans (Osyerma, Ager & Gant, 1995).

The American educational system has played a major role in perpetuating negative images of African Americans by portraying them as descendants of savages and people who have failed to make a significant contribution to America or world civilization (Oliver, 1989). Thus, the need for a positive primary cultural connection for African Americans is paramount (Asante, 1987). The acquisition of a cultural identity anchored in culture of origin facilitates higher levels of academic motivation for African Americans (Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus & Harpalani, 2001; Osyerman, Ager & Gant, 1995; Bass & Coleman, 1997; Taylor et al., 1994).

In an examination of the impact of ethnic identity on the school performance of African American students, Taylor et al., (1994) explored ethnic identity and achievement. They examined the perceptions of a discriminatory job ceiling, the importance of schooling, ethnic identity, self perceptions of ability, and school performance. Their sample consisted of 344 African American and European American students who were selected from both public and Catholic high schools. They investigated the hypothesis that African Americans adolescents' school achievement is detrimentally influenced by their perception of discrimination. To examine ethnic identity, they utilized the Multi-group Ethnic measure composed of 27 items. The items assessed three aspects of identity: (a) ethnic group identification, (b) ethnic identity development, and (c) attitudes and orientation towards other groups.

Interestingly, the results revealed that African American students' ethnic identity was significantly and positively associated with their grades and their school engagement. This positive association demonstrated that students who reported having a clear sense of ethnic identity were more likely to report that they engaged in behaviors conducive to

school achievement, and they had better grades. Furthermore, Taylor et al. (1994) indicated that the African American students in their study, who were confident in their racial identity, had higher levels of achievement because they didn't believe that getting good grades was "acting White."

Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, and Harpalani (2001) complimented these findings in their study that revisited the "acting White" assumption. Their sample consisted of 562 African American youth from sixth, seventh, and eighth grade classrooms of four participating public middle schools in a metropolitan, southeastern U.S. city. The researchers found, contrary to the traditionally offered "acting White" assumption, African American students showed high self-esteem and achievement in conjunction with high Afro-centricity.

Columbus (2000a) also reported similar findings in a qualitative phenomenological study designed to investigate what motivates successful African American College students to exert effort to succeed in school. The study asked whether these students perceived the same systemic bias and racism that underlies the oppositional behavior identified by the African American students in Ogbu's (1992) work. It also sought to discover whether they displayed signs of being "raceless" as suggested by Fordham (1988). The sample consisted of 26 African American undergraduate students' ages 19-26 that were enrolled in an on-campus African American Studies course at a Midwestern University.

Themes concerning cultural connectedness emerged from the analysis of the participants' interviews and focus group discussions. The main themes the participants related indicated the importance of having a primary cultural identification in order for

them to be successful in all dominant culture domains. Also, racial barriers, stereotype threat, and the motivational consequences of having their individual performances in school not only reflect on them directly, but also reflect on the group (African Americans) as a whole (Steele, 1997).

The data analysis revealed that these African American college students perceived that they had fewer returns on education and more limited occupational opportunities than students from the dominant (White) group. Furthermore, they did not trust that the American educational system would educate African American students as well as it educated Euro-Americans. The results further showed that many African American college students had an oppositional cultural frame of reference (Ogbu, 1992); however they worked hard in school to pursue academic excellence in schooling. The participants in this study indicated a commitment to their motivation to do well in school to overcome racial barriers they felt existed for them and their kinship group (Columbus, 2000a).

The results of these studies illustrate that there is a link between having a primary cultural identification and higher achievement for African American students. Ethnic heritage frames positive possible selves (future goals) for African American students that might in turn increase academic achievement (Osyerman, Ager & Gant, 1995; Bass & Coleman, 1997). Having a primary cultural identification allows African Americans to experience accommodation without assimilation because they no longer will be at risk for losing their identity (Columbus, 2000a).

African Americans' having working knowledge about their culture of origin improves self concept, and hence belief in their abilities (Bass & Coleman, 1997).

Accommodation without assimilation can occur for African Americans who are culturally

inverted to school and achievement (Columbus, 2000a). This crossing of cultural boundaries can take place in school contexts when African Americans incorporate a primary cultural connection into their self-schema (Bass & Coleman, 1997). I assert that African Americans with a primary cultural identification can succeed in school and overcome the burden of "acting White" found among those with a raceless persona (Ogbu, 1992; Fordham, 1988) within the school context in America.

In summary, cultural identity can raise academic achievement and reduce failure (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, & Zimmerman, 2003). African American success in schooling need not be contingent on adopting a raceless persona which leads to being ostracized by their peers in the process (Fordham, 1988). It can be contingent on having a deeper primary cultural sense of self, where success in school becomes a group valued goal and not just an individualist pursuit (Columbus, 2000a).

Critical Review of Previous Racial Identity Scales

Many researchers have examined the notion of *racial* identity development. This, however, must be distinguished from *cultural* identity development. This distinction is important here as it explains the development of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (CCAM) validated in the present study. Racial identity is roughly defined by biological characteristics. Cross (1971) considered racial development as a stage theory in which African Americans progress through life entering and exiting certain stages of development. However these stages are stratified on a continuum that moves from *less desirable* stages to *more desirable* stages. When snapshots are taken of

individuals at a given time using his instruments, they fall into stages of racial identity development.

This stage theory, however, struck several researchers as somewhat simplistic. They suggested that racial identity development is more complex. Sellers (1997), is one such researcher who developed an instrument that contained multiple continua or dimensions. This more complex view of African American identity development still was defined in terms of *race*. Ogbu and Fordham (1992) later attacked the problem of African American identity development by bringing to bare the notion of *culture*. As anthropologists, they considered African American identity development to be a problem of culture rather than race. Their qualitative work in this field was an important step forward, and led to the obvious next step which would be to quantitatively measure African American identity development from a cultural rather than racial standpoint in a way that would be valid, trustworthy, and reliable. The validation of the CCAM is an attempt to do that.

The goal of the CCAM is to identify three different types of African American students in classroom settings. The CCAM is a tool for identifying students' personal investment towards learning or not learning. The instrument was not made for therapy reasons or interventions. It was not an instrument to be used for anything other than understanding African American student approaches to learning in classroom settings.

The Purpose of the Present Research

The research reviewed in the previous section indicates the existence of at least three distinct categories of cultural identification. With evidence of three categories, we must create a valid instrument that can unambiguously identify particular students' form

of identification. Previous quantitative measures only indicated variation on one type of identification per study. For example, racelessness was observed by Arroyo and Zigler (1995). Ethnic identity (primary cultural connection) was observed by Taylor et al. (1994). Research that clearly distinguishes three categories of African American identity is essential if we are to fully understand the ramifications of each type of identification and develop a knowledge base that will enable successful interventions to foster the motivation of students who need it. It is important to have a single measure that can distinguish these three forms of African American identity because (a) oppositional identity has not been quantitatively measured yet and because (b) measuring all three identity types with the same instrument would be a more meaningful and efficient way to make identity comparisons and understand relevant ramifications.

This study extends our understanding of the three types of cultural identification by exploring achievement goals and self-efficacy for students falling in the three groups. Although both students' achievement goals and self-efficacy have been shown to be important variables for exploring student achievement, there has been virtually no research looking at variations in motivation in the three cultural identity groups. Exploring this will allow us to make predictions and inferences with respect to the motivation of students who fall into the three identification groups.

Descriptions of the Three Categories of African American Identification

The development of an instrument to measure the three categories of African American identification requires clear descriptions of the categories. The purpose of this section is to present these descriptions. The descriptions then were used as a foundation for the development and validation of the Cultural Connectedness and Achievement

Measure (CCAM). Following the descriptions of the three categories, I will identify important distinctions between and among the categories to further clarify the validation predictions.

Oppositional Identity

Students with an oppositional identity exhibit peer culture that is oppositional to implicit and explicit school goals. These students do not identify with the goals of the majority culture schools and hence have problems crossing mainstream boundaries in school contexts. These students do not see the personal long-term benefits of schooling and have deeply held negative academic stereotypes that consequently make it hard for them to identify with the goals of school. Such students feel that their cultural identity is threatened if they demonstrate effort in school. These students mistrust the education system as another institution “controlled by White Americans,” and are skeptical of the ability of these schools to provide them the “right education” and are skeptical of the ability of “the system” to adequately prepare them to succeed in life by fostering their success in school. Simply put, these are students who do not believe that the “American dream” was designed for them.

Raceless Identity

Fordham's (1988) analysis suggested that within the school structure African American adolescents consciously and unconsciously sense that they have to give up aspects of their identities and of their indigenous cultural system in order to achieve success as defined by the dominant group terms. When such success is achieved, their resulting social selves are defined by the notion of *racelessness*, a concept of adopting a

Eurocentric value system, rejecting ones' culture, and minimizing relationships with their cultural communities (Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

These students have a type of cultural frame of reference that submits to both the implicit and explicit school goals of the majority culture. These students see personal and long term benefits of schooling and feel that the widely held negative academic stereotypes imposed on their group do not apply to them because they are “different” and, in contrast to other group members, they “work hard.” They seek praise from teachers and wish to be considered different from other African Americans who do not do well in school.

Raceless students adopt assimilation as their strategy for doing well in school. They trust the schools will provide them with the right education in order to succeed in life. They believe that school credentials and hard work are sufficient criteria for “making it” as African Americans. They have no problem crossing mainstream boundaries in order to do well in school. To some extent, their cultural identity is sacrificed in order to succeed in school. They believe that they are fully capable of sharing in the American dream.

Primary Cultural Identity

Students with a primary cultural identity are those who adopt accommodation without assimilation as a strategy for success in school. Individual needs are intertwined with considerations involving the good of the group so that success for the individual is success for the group. These students are not reluctant to cross mainstream boundaries because it serves both personal and group goals. They work hard in school for the survival of the race and to honor themselves, their ancestors, family, peers, and so forth.

They value school as a positive way to effect change for their cultural group. They see success in school as their responsibility to serve their cultural group. Their embedded social solidarity goals are not oppositional towards working hard in school. These students see no real distinction between the self and others in their racial group. They are willing, and may even strive, to play the classroom “game” by the rules and try to overcome all kinds of schooling difficulties because they believe that there will be payoff for it later and that their individual success is tied to the success of the group. This positively impacts their overall well-being.

Development and Preliminary Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (CCAM)

Although these identity types have been observed in the past, there is a need to develop an instrument that might quantitatively measure these previously discussed identity types. As we have seen, the notion of motivation permeates all three of the identity types. The development of an instrument that would measure these identities should, therefore, enable us to better conduct research regarding the academic motivation of African American students with different identities.

The development of this instrument and using it to research motivational difference among African American students with different forms of identification may have implications for pedagogy. By better understanding the psychological makeup of students with different types of identification, especially their motivational makeup, we as educators are in a better position to determine which characteristics should be fostered in students and which characteristics should be minimized. Having such knowledge puts us in a better position to develop both school-based and out-of-school interventions to

accomplish these ends. The validation of this new instrument is essential if it is to be useful.

Preliminary Validation

As a preliminary step to provide evidence of content validity on the initial 33 items, several experts in the field of educational psychology agreed to read and to provide feedback for the (CCAM) instrument. Several suggestions were made regarding the rewording of items, and the appropriate changes were made to the instrument. In the second phase, the initial draft of the CCAM was composed and tested, and empirical evidence regarding factor structure, reliability, and content validity was compiled. Data collection occurred over two academic semesters. Participants during the testing were administered a copy of the CCAM along with information regarding the three cultural frames of reference (Oppositional, Racelessness, Primary Cultural). The participants were told to read each item and determine whether or not the item represented someone who was oppositional, raceless, or having a primary cultural identity.

Cronbach alphas for each of the subscales were computed. The initial analyses indicated that some items were not correlated with the intended subscale. These items were deleted leaving 4 items measuring opposition, 4 items measuring Racelessness identity and 4 items measuring Primary Cultural identity. The Cronbach alpha for oppositional identity was .71. The racelessness identity items subscale had a Cronbach alpha of .75 and the items related to Primary Cultural identity yielded a Cronbach alpha of .70.

Factor analysis was performed to provide support for the proposed factor structure of the three dimensions of the CCAM (i.e. Oppositional, Racelessness, Primary Cultural)

for the entire sample ($n = 125$). I conducted a principle components extraction with varimax rotation on 12 items. The factor analysis yielded three factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. The oppositional items loaded on one factor with factor loadings ranging from .65 to .43. The racelessness items loaded on one factor as well with factor loadings ranging from .82 to .54. Lastly, the primary cultural connectedness items also loaded on one factor with factor loadings ranging from .71 to .55. No items on the CCAM were reworded or added after this preliminary analysis.

Plan for the Present Studies

Constructs used in the present validation of the CCAM

Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) recognize four types of evidence for demonstrating the validity of test score inferences: (1) construct-related evidence, (2) content-related evidence, (3) predictive evidence, and (4) concurrent evidence. The preliminary validity study described earlier provided strong content-related validity evidence. The present study will provide construct-related and concurrent validity evidence.

Because we can make predictions or inferences based on African Americans' identity types, the following seven constructs were used for the purpose of validating the CCAM. The first measure that was used is the *identification with academics* scale (Walker, Greene, & Mansell, 2004). The concept of "identification" goes back at least to William James (James, 1892/1968), who argued that one must choose a "self" on which that individual "must stake his salvation" (James, 1892/1968). Success in school appears to be related to identification with academics (Osborne, 1997a; Finn, 1989). Identification with academics is the extent to which academic pursuits and outcomes form a basis for global self evaluation (Osborne, 1997a). Students who are identifying more closely with

academics should be more motivated to succeed because their self esteem is directly affected by academic performance (Osborne, 1997a). Consequently, this measure was selected in order to show students who have a primary cultural or raceless identity are indeed identified with academics while oppositional students are not.

The second measure that was used is the *Stereotypical Beliefs* subscale. This is a measure of students' sense of being raceless as defined by Arroyo & Zigler (1995). Also, the items reflected student's beliefs about the general performance of African Americans in academic areas and their endorsement of commonly held stereotypes of African Americans. Accordingly, we would expect raceless students will score high on stereotypical beliefs while students who are oppositional and have a primary cultural identity will not.

The third measure that was used is the *Assimilation* subscale (Sellers, R., Rowley, S., Chavous, T., Shelton, N., & Smith, M., 1997). This is a measure of the extent to which an African American student seeks to blend in with White culture. An assimilationist philosophy emphasizes the commonalities between African Americans and the rest of American society. Thus, we would expect raceless students to really identify with this measure. It was selected to indicate philosophical or ideological differences raceless students have compared to students with a primary cultural and oppositional identity.

The *Nationalist* subscale is the fourth measure that was used to make predictions for the CCAM in this study. This subscale (Sellers, R., Rowley, S., Chavous, T., Shelton, N., & Smith, M., 1997). was selected because it measures the extent to which an African American student feels that activism related to African American causes is important. A

nationalist philosophy characterizes a viewpoint that emphasizes the importance and uniqueness of being of African descent. Therefore, we would expect to find students who have a primary cultural connection to identify highly with this measure, unlike raceless students. This measure was chosen specifically to show differences between being raceless and having a primary cultural identity.

Centrality is the fifth measure that was used in the validation of the CCAM. Centrality measures the extent to which an African American student considers being African American to be central to his or her definition of himself or herself. Furthermore, the centrality dimension of racial identity refers to the extent to which a person normatively defines her or himself with regard to race (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Thus this subscale measures whether race is a core part of an individual's self-concept. In consequence, this scale was selected to indicate differences between the three identity groups in the importance of being Black. We would expect oppositional students as well as students with a primary cultural identity to have being black as a part of their core being, unlike their raceless peers.

The *disruptive behavior* subscale (Midgley, Maehr, Hruda, Freeman, Gheene, Kaplan, Kumar, Middleton, Nelson, Roeser, & Urdan, 2000) is one more measure that was used in the validation of the CCAM. The disruptive behavior subscale measures the extent to which a student disrupts or disturbs the classroom, which oppositional students theoretically are argued to exhibit. This measure was selected to show oppositional students are more disruptive than both primary cultural and raceless students.

The last measure that was used as a validation predictor variable is self-reported *Grade Point Average (GPA)*. This is a measure of school performance where by

oppositional students should have lower GPA's than raceless students as well as the primary culturally connected students. Both raceless students and students with a primary cultural identity are predicted to have higher GPA's.

Table 1 indicates inferences regarding correlations on these constructs.

Table 1: The Constructs and Scales with Predictions about Outcomes

Constructs	Oppositional	Raceless	Primary Cultural
Identification with Academics	Negative	Strong Positive	Strong Positive
Stereotypical Beliefs	Strong Negative	Moderate Positive	Strong Negative
Disruptive behavior	Strong Positive	Strong Negative	Strong Negative
Grades	Strong Negative	Strong Positive	Strong Positive
Assimilation	Strong Negative	Strong Positive	Negative
Nationalist	Moderate Positive	Negative	Strong Positive
Centrality	Strong Positive	Strong Negative	Strong Positive

Variables used in the Exploratory Study

The following six constructs will be used for the purpose of discovering motivational patterns associated with the three identities measured on the CCAM. The first measure that is used is the *mastery goals* scale. When oriented to mastery goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to develop their competence. They seek to extend their mastery and understanding. Attention is focused on the task. A mastery goal orientation has been associated with adaptive patterns of learning (Midgley et al. 2000).

When oriented to performance-approach goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to demonstrate their competence. Attention is focused on the self. A performance-approach orientation has been associated with both adaptive and maladaptive patterns of learning (Elliot & Church, 1997).

When oriented to performance-avoidance goals, students' purpose or goal in an achievement setting is to avoid the demonstration of incompetence. Attention is focused on the self. A performance-avoid orientation has been associated with maladaptive patterns of learning (Elliot & Church, 1997).

Academic Efficacy is the fourth motivational variable that was explored using the CCAM. This refers to students' perceptions of their competence to do their class work (Midgley et al. 2000).

Academic Self-Handicapping Strategies is the fifth measure that will be used in the exploratory phase of study two. This refers to strategies that are used by students so that if subsequent performance is low, those circumstances, rather than lack of ability, will be seen as the cause (Midgley et al., 2000).

The last measure that will be used as an exploratory variable is *Skepticism about the Relevance of School for Future*. This refers to students' beliefs that doing well in school will not help them achieve success in the future (Midgley et al. 2000).

Correlation Expectations

In accordance with theoretical inferences, the following correlation hypotheses would provide supportive evidence for the construct validity of the CCAM:

Oppositional subscale scores will have a negative correlation with identification with academics. Raceless subscale scores will have a strong positive correlation with identification, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will also have a strong positive correlation with identification with academics. Oppositional subscale scores will have a negative correlation with stereotypical beliefs. Raceless subscale scores will have a strong to moderate correlation with stereotypical beliefs while primary cultural identity

subscale scores will have a negative correlation with stereotypical beliefs. Oppositional subscale scores will have a positive correlation with disruptive behavior. Raceless subscale scores will have a negative correlation with disruptive behavior, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will also have a negative correlation with disruptive behavior. Oppositional subscale scores will have a negative correlation with grades. Raceless subscale scores will have a positive correlation with grades, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will have a positive correlation with grades. Oppositional subscale scores will have a negative correlation with assimilation. Raceless subscale scores will have a strong positive correlation with assimilation, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will have a negative correlation with assimilation. Oppositional subscale scores will have a moderate to high correlation with nationalist. Raceless subscale scores will be negatively correlated with nationalist, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will have a strong positive correlation with nationalist. Oppositional subscale scores will be positively correlated with centrality. Raceless subscale scores will be negatively correlated with centrality, and primary cultural identity subscale scores will be positively correlated with centrality.

Expectations for Group Differences

In accordance with Table 1, the following ANOVA hypotheses would provide supportive evidence for the construct validity of the CCAM:

Oppositional students will score significantly lower on identification with academics than raceless students and students with a primary cultural identity. Raceless students will score significantly higher on stereotypical beliefs than students with a primary cultural identity or oppositional students. Oppositional students will score

significantly higher on disruptive behavior than raceless students and students with a primary cultural identity. Oppositional students will have significantly lower GPA's than raceless students and students with a primary cultural identity. Raceless students will score significantly higher on assimilation than students with a primary cultural identity or students with an oppositional identity. Raceless students will score significantly lower on nationalism than students with a primary cultural identity. Oppositional students and students with a primary cultural identity will score significantly higher on centrality than raceless students.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was twofold. The first part of the study describes the validation of an instrument (CCAM) that measures the three forms of African American identification: oppositional, raceless, and primary cultural connectedness. It attempted to determine the reliability and validity of the Cultural Connectedness and Achievement Measure (CCAM). The second part of this study took an exploratory approach focusing on the achievement goals and self-efficacy for African American students falling into the three groups. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent do the three subscales of the CCAM demonstrate reliability?
2. To what extent does the CCAM demonstrate construct validity?
 - a. Do the subscales on the CCAM correlate with the validation measures as predicted?
 - b. Do students classified as having oppositional, raceless, and primary cultural identities differ significantly in their mean scores on the validation measures as predicted?
3. Are there significant differences between or among the three types of African American identities on the following motivational constructs: academic self-efficacy, achievement goals (mastery, performance-approach, and performance-avoidance) or self-handicapping?

Research Setting

For this study, the selected high school was state accredited. The school was located in an urban community setting with African American students comprising more than 97% of the total student body. The remaining 3% were proportioned evenly among

Whites, Hispanics, and Native Americans. The annual overall enrollment for the school was 1,200 students, with the largest proportion being ninth graders and the smallest being twelfth graders. The selected high school was relatively balanced as far as gender (60% are female and 40% are male) and socio-economic status.

Sample

The participants were 242 students from an urban high school in the Southwestern part of the U.S. who were enrolled in Science and Math classes taught by three different teachers. African American students, who totaled 201, were the only sample used for analyses in this study. There were 103 girls, and 98 boys in the sample.

Data sources

The data sources or instruments discussed below were used in this study. The following subscales were used in the validation study (study 1):

Cultural Connectedness and Achievement Measure

The CCAM consists of twelve items designed to measure three aspects of African American students' cultural identity: *oppositional*, *raclessness*, and *primary cultural identification*. In the survey, the participants were asked to decide how much each item represented them by rating it on a likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not true at all) to 6 (very true). Sample items for this scale are "I work hard in school for Black people" (primary cultural item) and "Most Blacks who do well in school act white" (oppositional item).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

Three aspects of racial identity were measured with the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997).

The *Centrality* subscale consists of eight items that assess the extent to which being African American is central to respondents' definition of themselves. Sample items include: "Being Black is a major part of my identity" and "I feel close to other Black people." Other subscales from the MIBI that were used are assimilation and nationalist measures. The *Assimilation* subscale consists of eight items that assess the extent to which an African American student seeks to blend in with White culture. Sample items included: "A sign of progress is Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever" and "Because America is predominately White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools."

The *Nationalist* subscale consists of eight items that assess the extent to which an African American student feels that activism related to African American progress is important. The respondents rated themselves on a Likert-scale with (1) not true at all and (6) very true. Sample items for this measure are "Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afro-centric values" and "Blacks students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks".

Identification with Academics

I used 16 items that were based on the Identification with Academics scale used by Osborne (1997a), and Walker, Greene, and Mansell, (2004). They found a Cronbach alpha of .79 for the scale. A sample item for this scale is "Being a good student is an important part of who I am." The respondents rated themselves on a Likert-scale with (1) not true at all and (6) very true.

Stereotypical Beliefs

The stereotypical beliefs subscale from the Raceless Scale (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995) consists of four items that assess students' who adopt behaviors and attitudes that distance them from their culture of origin. The Cronbach alpha level for the items they found was .96. A sample item for this scale is "Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against." Respondents rated the degree to which the item characterizes them on a scale ranging from 1 (not true at all) to 6 (very true).

Disruptive behavior

The disruptive behavior subscale (Midgley et al. 2000) consists of five items assessing students' engagement in behaviors that disrupt or disturb the classroom. They found an alpha level for the items yielded .89. A sample item for this scale is "I sometimes behave in a way during class that annoys my teacher."

Achievement/Grades

Achievement was assessed by students' overall grade point average (GPA). Students self-reported their on grade point status to the researcher.

Subscales Used in Study 2

Study 2 was an exploratory look at how motivation variables were related to the three CCAM subscales. Six aspects of motivation were measured with subscales from the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scales (PALS) (Midgley et al. 2000).

1. The *Mastery* subscale consists of five items that assess the extent to which students' purposes or goal in an achievement setting are to develop their competence. They found an alpha level for the items of .83. A sample item for this scale is "It's important to me that I learn a lot of new concepts this

year.”

2. The *Performance Approach Goals* subscale. This subscale consists of five items that assess students’ purpose or goal in an achievement setting to demonstrate their competence. They found an alpha level for the items of .89. A sample item for this scale is “It’s important to me that other students in my class think I am good at my class work.”
3. The *Performance-Avoidance Goals* subscale. This subscale consists of four items that assess the extent to which students’ purposes or goals in an achievement setting are to demonstrate their competence. They found an alpha level for the items of .74. A sample item for this scale is “It’s important to me that I don’t look stupid in class.”
4. The *Academic Efficacy* subscale consists of five items that assess students’ perceptions of their competence to do their class work. They found an alpha level for the items of .78. A sample item for this scale is “I’m certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.”
5. The *Skepticism about the Relevance of School for Future Success* This subscale consists of six items that assess the extent to which students’ believe that doing well in school will not help them achieve success in the future. They found an alpha level for the items of .83. A sample item for this scale is “Even if I do well in school, it will not help me have the kind of life I want when I grow up.”
6. The *Self handicapping* subscale. This subscale consists of six items that assess students’ attributions for why they do not achieve in school. They

found an alpha level for the items of .84. A sample item for this scale is “Some students fool around the night before a test. Then if they don’t do well, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?”

Respondents rated the degree to which the item characterized them on a scale ranging from 1 (not true at all) to 6 (very true).

Procedures

The participants in the study were contacted for data collection while they were attending their scheduled English class for data collection. The data collection took place over a three-day period where participants were given a packet containing all 92 items for the study. After distributing the packet to students, I explained to them that I was a doctoral candidate in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma and I was conducting a study called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure.”

In this study, they were told that they would be answering questions regarding things they sometimes feel about school and culture. Additionally, the participants were told that no one at home or school would ever see their answers and that this research would help researchers better understand the experience of students in high school and help us (educators) develop better educational practices to support students.

The participants then were asked to read each item, and circle the number that best describes them. The time necessary to complete the questionnaire for all participants took from 45 to 70 minutes.

Method of Analysis

Questionnaires were hand-scored by the researcher to ensure that all information was coded appropriately and that demographic data were submitted. The data were saved in an electronic format to be analyzed using SPSS. Total scores were calculated for each subject and initial descriptive data were computed.

Initial data analysis consisted of conducting a factor analysis and calculating the reliabilities indices for each of these three identity types. Next, to assess the construct validity of the CCAM, convergent and divergent validity was determined by using the Pearson r correlations to explore relationships between the validation or predictor variables and the CCAM. Finally, an ANOVA was performed among the CCAM groups to identify significant group differences on the predictor variables.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Study One

Reliability Indices

Cronbach alphas for each of the scales were computed. All of these reliability values were sufficiently high to provide evidence of internal consistency, suggesting that the items for each scale are measuring the same construct. The Cronbach α coefficients, along with other descriptive statistics, are shown in (Table 2) below.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Validation Constructs

Measure	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Alpha
CCAM						
Oppositional	201	1.00	6.00	3.23	1.47	.84
Raceless	201	1.00	6.00	3.60	1.34	.77
Primary Cultural	201	1.00	6.00	3.66	1.35	.76
Identification with Academics	201	2.19	5.75	4.42	0.81	.87
MIBI						
Centrality	201	1.50	6.00	4.17	1.10	.83
Assimilation	201	2.13	6.00	3.80	1.01	.79
Nationalist	201	1.00	6.00	3.94	1.21	.85
Stereotypical Beliefs	201	1.00	6.00	2.90	1.25	.76
Disruptive Behavior	201	1.00	6.00	3.01	1.47	.91
GPA	201	1.80	4.10	2.84	0.53	.91

Factor Analysis

A factor analysis was performed to provide support for the proposed factor structure of the three dimensions of the CCAM (i.e. oppositional, raceless, primary cultural) for the entire sample. I conducted a principle components extraction with varimax rotation on the twelve items. The factor analysis yielded three factors with eigenvalues greater than one. The oppositional items loaded on Factor One, with factor

loadings ranging from .85 to .70. The primary cultural items loaded on Factor Two, with factor loadings ranging from .80 to .73. Lastly, the racelessness items loaded on Factor Three, with factor loadings ranging from .88 to .42. There were four items displaying some crossloading. Three of these items were ones measuring raceless and crossloaded negatively and more strongly with the oppositional factor. The fourth item was a primary cultural item that had a moderate factor crossloading with oppositional. Given the antithetical nature of oppositional and raceless identities this pattern of cross loadings is surprising. These findings support the factorial structure of the CCAM and provide preliminary evidence for the validity of this instrument.

Table 3: Rotated Component Matrix

CCAM Item # - Intended Identity	OP Factor 1	Component PC Factor 2	RP Factor 3
1. Oppositional	.85	.06	-.09
2. Racelessness	-.72	-.04	.35
3. Primary Cultural	-.02	.80	-.13
4. Oppositional	.82	.02	-.08
5. Primary Cultural	-.28	.74	-.22
6. Racelessness	-.68	-.06	.43
7. Primary Cultural	.21	.76	.02
8. Racelessness	-.11	-.06	.88
9. Oppositional	.70	.13	.04
10. Racelessness	-.55	-.08	.56
11. Primary Cultural	.34	.73	.18
12. Oppositional	.78	.03	-.08

Correlations

Evidence for the validity of the CCAM is provided by the correlations between the three identification types measured on the CCAM (oppositional, raceless, and primary

cultural) and the following constructs: disruptive behavior, identification, centrality, assimilation, nationalism, and stereotypical beliefs). All of the predictions presented in Table 1 (p. 32) were supported. The Pearson *r* correlations for all the variables in this study are shown in Appendix P.

Table 4: Validation Correlations

Validation Variables	CCAM Subscale		
	Oppositional	Raceless	Primary Cultural
Identification with Academics	-.51*	.44*	.36*
Stereotypical Beliefs	-.39*	.57*	-.31*
Disruptive Behavior	.40*	-.24*	-.18*
GPA	-.38*	.28	.19
MIBI			
Centrality	.50*	-.51*	.60*
Assimilation	-.50*	.66*	-.07
Nationalist	.54*	-.49*	.58*

Consistent with theoretical predictions, the *oppositional* identity score was positively correlated with the *disruptive behavior* construct (.40*). The other two identity scores (raceless and primary cultural) were significantly negatively correlated with disruptive behavior (raceless -.24*; primary cultural -.18*). Results here suggest that students who scored high on oppositional tended to score high on disruptive behavior. It appears as students identify more with being raceless or having a primary cultural connection they report being less disruptive in classroom settings.

Consistent with theoretical predictions (Osborne, 1997a; Steele, 1997 & Ogbu, 1992), the *oppositional* identity score was negatively correlated with the *identification with academics* construct (-.52*). The other two identity scores (raceless and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *identification with academics* (raceless .44*;

primary cultural .37*). The findings here support predictions made in Table 1, and provide convergent as well as divergent validity evidence for the CCAM. Students who scored high in both primary cultural and raceless identities also tended to score high on identification with academics. On the other hand, students who scored high in opposition, tended to score lower in identification with academics as would be predicted.

Consistent with theoretical predictions, the *raceless* identity scores was negatively correlated with the *centrality* construct (-.52*). The other two identity scores (oppositional and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *centrality* (oppositional .50*; primary cultural .61*). This finding supports claims made by Columbus (2000a).

Consistent with theoretical predictions, the *raceless* identity score was positively correlated with the *assimilation* construct (.66*). The oppositional identity score was negatively correlated with *assimilation* (-.50*). The primary cultural identity score was not significantly correlated with *assimilation* (-.08). The findings here suggest that as students score higher on the oppositional subscale they tend to score lower on *assimilation*.

Consistent with theoretical predictions, the *raceless* identity score was negatively correlated with the *nationalist* construct (-.50*). The other two identity scores (oppositional and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *nationalist* (oppositional .54*; primary cultural .58*). The results here provide divergent validity evidence in that the raceless subscale was negatively correlated with nationalism as was predicted. Additionally, the results here support the notion of convergent validity evidence in that the primary cultural subscale was found to be positively correlated with

nationalism as would be expected. The results from this correlation suggest that students who report a strong a primary cultural identification are nationalist by nature and identify with supporting other Black people within their everyday lives.

Consistent with theoretical predictions, the *raceless* identity score were positively correlated with the *stereotypical beliefs* construct (.57*). The other two identity scores (oppositional and primary cultural) were negatively correlated with *stereotypical beliefs* (oppositional -.39*; primary cultural -.31*). As predicted, scores on the raceless subscale were the only ones to demonstrate a positive correlation with beliefs that Blacks are no longer discriminated against.

Consistent with theoretical predictions, Osborne's (1997a) the *oppositional* identity score was negatively correlated with GPA (-.52*). The other two identity scores (raceless and primary cultural) were positively correlated with GPA (raceless .44*; primary cultural .37*). As students' oppositional scores increased their performance in school declined. As primary cultural and raceless scores increased on the other hand, so too did performance in school.

Analysis of Variances (ANOVA) Test

After establishing factor structure and correlation evidence to support the reliability and validity of the CCAM, further analysis to demonstrate that this instrument will be useful for classifying students was completed. This task was necessary because each of the correlations using the CCAM subscales included the entire sample, not just students who are high on each subscale. Hence, the questions that need to be addressed in this analysis are: How useful is the CCAM for classifying students as being predominantly oppositional, raceless, or primary culturally connected? Do students fall

clearly into a single category or do they score equally high in two or three categories? Finally, when students are categorized into a dominant identity category, are there significant differences between groups on the validation variables as predicted by theory?

An analysis of variance was conducted to address the above questions. The first step was to identify high scores in each of the three identity types. To determine what a high score was, I calculated the median score for each of the three identity types. All three median scores were found to be above the mid-point on the CCAM, which is on a 6-point scale. I made a score of 3.5 or above a *high* score in the oppositional identity type. I made a score of 3.7 or above a *high* score in the primary cultural identity type. Lastly, I made a score of 4.0 or above a *high* score in the raceless identity type. If a participant's score was above the cutoff on only one subscale he or she was given that identity as his or her dominant identity. By doing so, I ended up with 35 participants in an "oppositional group," 56 participants in a "raceless group," 13 participants in a "primary culture group." This left 97 participants unclassified. I examined these participants and found that two other major categories of identity emerged. One was a group of participants who scored at or above the cutoff on both primary cultural identity and oppositional identity (n=42). This was not surprising given the qualitative work of Columbus (2000a), which indicated that college students often held both views. The other group comprised participants who scored above the cutoff on both primary cultural identity and racelessness (n=26). This combination of identities was surprising. This accounted for all but 29 participants. These 29 participants did not score at or above the cutoff on any of the CCAM subscales. I used these five groups to determine whether there were significant difference among the dominant identity groups: oppositional,

raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural + raceless, and primary cultural + oppositional.

The results from the ANOVA with identification with academics as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 39.04$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .48).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with identification with academics being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 5) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless, primary cultural, combined primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional identity. No other statistically significant differences were found. This indicates that only oppositional students were not identified with academics.

Table 5: Means and Standard Deviations for Identification with Academics by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	3.26 _a	.86
Raceless	4.64 _b	.50
Primary Cultural	4.53 _b	.77
Primary Cultural & Raceless	4.87 _b	.63
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	4.72 _b	.39

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with centrality as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 44.93$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .52).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with centrality being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results indicated raceless identity was statistically significantly lower than oppositional, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional identity (see Table 6). Further results indicated that the combined primary cultural & oppositional identity was statistically significantly higher than oppositional, raceless, and the combined primary cultural & raceless identity.

Primary cultural & raceless identity was statistically significantly higher than primary cultural & oppositional and raceless identity. Lastly, primary cultural identity was only statistically significantly higher than raceless identity. Overall this indicates two things. Race is not very central to students with a raceless identity, which is expected. Additionally, students with a combination of primary cultural & oppositional identities, reported race to be very central to their identities. In fact, their mean score was nearly at the ceiling (5.35 on a 6 point scale). Students with oppositional, primary cultural, and the combined primary cultural & raceless identities also reported race to be central to their identities, but not to the extent that the combined primary cultural & oppositional students did.

Table 6: Means and Standard Deviations for Centrality by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	4.46 _b	.09
Raceless	3.34 _a	.11
Primary Cultural	4.76 _b	.23
Primary Cultural & Raceless	4.08 _b	.19
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	5.35 _c	.09

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with assimilation as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 38.78$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .48).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with assimilation being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 7) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional identity.

The results also indicated that raceless identity and combined primary cultural & raceless identities were statistically significantly higher than oppositional, primary cultural, and the combined primary cultural & oppositional identity.

This indicates that having the dimension of racelessness in one's identity, whether alone or in combination with a primary cultural identity, leads one to be more assimilationist in his or her beliefs. In contrast, oppositional students are least likely to hold assimilationist beliefs. Students with either a primary cultural or primary cultural & oppositional identity were more ambivalent in their beliefs about assimilation.

Table 7: Means and Standard Deviations for Assimilation by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	2.74 _a	.80
Raceless	4.56 _c	.75
Primary Cultural	3.63 _b	.79
Primary Cultural & Raceless	4.40 _c	.63
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	3.35 _b	.79

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with nationalist as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural,*

primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 50.57$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .55).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with nationalist being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 8) indicated raceless identity was statistically significantly lower than oppositional, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional identity.

The results also indicated that the combined primary cultural & oppositional identity was statistically significantly higher than oppositional, raceless, and primary cultural & raceless identity, but was not significantly different from the primary cultural identity.

Overall, these findings indicate that raceless students tend to be the least nationalist in their beliefs, while students with a primary cultural & oppositional identity have the most nationalist beliefs. Oppositional, primary cultural and primary cultural & raceless students leaned toward nationalist beliefs but not to the extent that primary cultural & oppositional students did.

Table 8: Means and Standard Deviations for Nationalist by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	4.47 _b	.67
Raceless	2.93 _a	.87
Primary Cultural	4.73 _{b & c}	.74
Primary Cultural & Raceless	3.94 _b	1.0
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	5.13 _c	.67

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with stereotypical beliefs as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated

there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 23.14$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .36).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with stereotypical beliefs being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 9) indicated raceless and combined primary cultural & raceless identities were statistically significantly higher than oppositional, primary cultural, and combined primary cultural & oppositional identity, and did not differ from each other. Overall, these findings indicate that students with a raceless dimension to their identities found the stereotypes Whites often have for Black people to be more plausible than did students without a raceless dimension to their identities. It should be noted however, that the mean scores for both the raceless and combined primary cultural & raceless students were just slightly above the mid-point of the scale, so these views about stereotypes were not strongly held.

Table 9: Means and Standard Deviations for Stereotypical Beliefs by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	2.22 _a	1.07
Raceless	3.73 _b	.958
Primary Cultural	2.25 _a	1.15
Primary Cultural & Raceless	3.44 _b	1.00
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.03 _a	1.08

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with disruptive behavior as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 14.63$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .26).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with disruptive behavior being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 10) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly higher than raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional identity. No other differences were found. This indicates that oppositional students reported being more disruptive in their classes than were students with other identities.

Table 10: Means and Standard Deviations for Disruptive Behavior by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	4.52 _a	1.19
Raceless	2.69 _b	1.34
Primary Cultural	3.20 _b	1.55
Primary Cultural & Raceless	2.45 _b	1.41
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.73 _b	1.09

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with GPA as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless, and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 27.05$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .39).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with GPA being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 11) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional identity.

The results also indicated that primary cultural identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless with GPA being the dependent variable, but not the other groups. These findings indicate that oppositional students are not good students.

Raceless students were the best students, but not much different than students in the combined primary cultural & raceless or combined primary cultural & oppositional groups.

Table 11: Means and Standard Deviations for GPA by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	2.20 _a	.284
Raceless	3.11 _c	.454
Primary Cultural	2.70 _b	.513
Primary Cultural & Raceless	3.02 _c	.463
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.84 _c	.548

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

Summary of Validation Results

Oppositional Identity

As predicted, students with an oppositional identity exhibited low identification with academics. Being Black was central to these students' identity. They also had a nationalist identity. On the other hand, when we look at cultural dimensions that explain their make up, these students did not identify with stereotypical beliefs that African Americans are no longer discriminated against and did not adopt an assimilation point of view. These students were the only students who were significantly high in disruptive behavior.

Racelessness Identity

Again, as predicted, students with a raceless identity exhibited strong identification with academics. However, unlike the oppositional students, being Black was not central to this group. These students viewed being Black as less important to who they are than all did other groups. When looking at cultural dimensions, these students were moderately accepting of the stereotypical beliefs of the majority culture, such as the belief that African Americans are no longer discriminated against and that they can now

share in the “American Dream.” Obviously, results indicated that these students are highly assimilated. They believe that their success lies in adopting the identity of the majority culture.

Primary Cultural Identity

Once more, as predicted, students with a primary cultural identity revealed a strong identification with academics. Like oppositional students, primary cultural students considered that being Black was central to their identity. They also had a nationalist identity. In considering cultural dimensions, these students did not identify with the stereotypical belief that African Americans are no longer discriminated against. They also did not adopt an assimilation point of view and were not disruptive in class.

In view of the reliability coefficients, correlations and ANOVA’s reported, it is safe to state that the CCAM appears to be a valid and reliable instrument for illuminating African American identity. It can now be used to compare the three African American identity types discussed earlier with various academic and motivational characteristics.

Other Interesting Findings from Study One

An interesting finding that emerged in the data was the appearance of two additional possible identity statuses. These reflected a combination of identities outlined in my theoretical description. The combination of primary cultural & oppositional identity was discovered as well as the combination of primary cultural and racelessness identity was found.

Study Two

The purpose for study two was to take an exploratory approach focusing on the achievement goals and self-efficacy for African American students falling into the three

identities. The objective was to discover motivational patterns associated with these three identity types measured on the CCAM.

Reliability Indices

The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients were computed for each of the PALS subscales (mastery, performance approach goals, performance avoidance goals, academic efficacy, self-handicapping, and skepticism about the relevance of school for future success). All of these reliability values had sufficiently high evidence of internal consistency (.74 - .89). The Cronbach alpha coefficients, along with other descriptive statistics, are shown in (Table 12) below.

Table 12: Descriptive Statistics of PALS

Measure	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Alpha
Mastery	201	2.60	6.00	5.03	0.96	.88
Performance Approach	201	1.00	6.00	2.63	1.21	.79
Performance Avoidance	201	1.00	6.00	3.23	1.28	.74
Academic Efficacy	201	1.20	6.00	4.81	0.95	.76
Self Handicapping	201	1.00	6.00	3.14	1.26	.80
Skepticism	201	1.00	5.50	2.58	1.43	.89

Correlations

To explore the relationship between the PALS achievement goals and the CCAM, I conducted Pearson r correlations between the three identification subscales measured on the CCAM (*oppositional, raceless, and primary cultural identity*) and the following constructs: *mastery goals, performance approach goals, performance avoidance goals, academic efficacy, self-handicapping strategies and skepticism about the relevance of school for future success*. An examination of the complete Pearson r correlations was conducted and is shown in Appendix P.

Consistent with theoretical prediction, the *oppositional* identity subscale was negatively correlated with the *mastery goals* construct (-.45*). The other two identity subscale (raceless and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *mastery goals* (raceless .40*; primary cultural .32*).

Consistent with theoretical prediction, the *oppositional* identity subscale was negatively correlated with the *performance approach goals* construct (-.15*). The other two identity subscales (raceless and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *performance approach goals* (raceless .25*; primary cultural .23*).

The *primary cultural* identity subscale was negatively correlated with the *performance avoidance goals* construct (-.52*). The raceless identity subscale was positively correlated with *performance avoidance goals* (.19*). These significant correlations are very interesting, considering performance avoidance goals have been linked to stereotype threat (Ryan & Ryan, 2005). This finding suggests some African Americans cultural identities may be more vulnerable to stereotype threat and heightened anxiety at test taking time than others.

The *oppositional* identity subscale was negatively correlated with the *academic efficacy* construct (-.18*). The other two identity subscales (raceless and primary cultural) were positively correlated with *academic efficacy* construct (raceless .15*; primary cultural .32*).

Consistent with theoretical expectations, the *oppositional* identity subscale was positively correlated with the *self-handicapping* construct (.33*). The other two identity subscales (raceless and primary cultural) were negatively correlated with the *self*

handicapping construct (raceless $-.15^*$; primary cultural $-.24^*$). It appears that as oppositional scores increase, there is more concerned about protecting ego.

Finally, consistent with theoretical expectations, the *oppositional* identity subscale positively correlated with the *skepticism about the relevance of school for future success* measure ($.58^*$). The other two identity subscales (raceless and primary cultural) were negatively correlated with the *skepticism* measure (raceless $-.30^*$; primary cultural $-.26^*$).

Analysis of Variances (ANOVA) Test

To illuminate the motivational characteristics of the five groups found in study 1 and to see whether there were differences between them on motivational variables, I ran an analysis of variance with the Patterns of Adaptive Learning Scale (PALS) as the dependent variable. This was an exploratory analysis, thus no predictions of group mean differences were offered.

The results from the ANOVA with mastery goals as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional*, *raceless*, *primary cultural*, *primary cultural & raceless*, and *primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 24.30$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = $.37$).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with mastery goals being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 13) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless, primary cultural, combined primary cultural & raceless and combined primary cultural & oppositional identity. None of the other group differed from each other.

Table 13: Means and Standard Deviations for Mastery Goals by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	3.85 _a	1.19
Raceless	5.31 _b	.71
Primary Cultural	5.36 _b	.51
Primary Cultural & Raceless	5.42 _b	.67
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	5.27 _b	.59

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with performance approach goals as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 2.51$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .06). A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with performance approach being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 14) indicated there were no significant mean differences between the groups on the variable of performance approach goals. None of the five groups reported being particularly competitive.

Table 14: Means and Standard Deviations for Performance Approach Goals by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	2.13	1.19
Raceless	2.63	1.28
Primary Cultural	3.06	1.34
Primary Cultural & Raceless	2.98	1.36
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.67	.90

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with performance avoidance goals as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*)

indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 6.32$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .13).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with performance avoidance goals being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 15) indicated the combined primary cultural & oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than oppositional, raceless, primary cultural and combined primary cultural & raceless identities. There were no other statistically significant differences. None of the other groups differed from each other and all were above the mid-point on the scale. This indicates that moderate concern about failure and embarrassment associated with failure was typical of all groups except the primary cultural & oppositional group.

Table 15: Means and Standard Deviations for Performance Avoidance Goals by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	3.63 _b	1.05
Raceless	3.51 _b	1.27
Primary Cultural	3.73 _b	1.16
Primary Cultural & Raceless	3.45 _b	1.35
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.48 _a	1.19

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with academic efficacy as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 20.31$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .33).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with academic efficacy being the dependent variable and

identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 16) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly lower than raceless, primary cultural, combined primary cultural & raceless and combined primary cultural & oppositional identity. The other groups did not differ from one another and were well above the mid-point (4.69 for primary cultural to 5.27 for primary cultural & oppositional). No other statistically significant differences were found. These findings indicate that all groups except oppositional were confident in their ability to succeed in school.

Table 16: Means and Standard Deviations for Academic Efficacy by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	3.86 _a	.163
Raceless	5.04 _b	.086
Primary Cultural	4.69 _b	.231
Primary Cultural & Raceless	5.12 _b	.154
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	5.27 _b	.093

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with self handicapping strategies as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 11.33$ $p < .001$ ($\eta^2 = .21$).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with self handicapping strategies being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 17) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly higher than raceless, primary cultural, combined primary cultural & raceless and combined primary cultural & oppositional identity. No other statistically significant differences were found.

Table 17: Means and Standard Deviations for Self Handicapping Strategies by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	4.30 _a	1.02
Raceless	2.96 _b	1.12
Primary Cultural	3.05 _b	1.33
Primary Cultural & Raceless	2.77 _b	1.50
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.69 _b	1.29

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

The results from the ANOVA with skepticism about the relevance of school for future success as the dependent variable and identity category as the independent variable (*oppositional, raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & raceless and primary cultural & oppositional*) indicated there was a significant difference between groups $F(4,167) = 34.86$ $p < .001$ (eta-squared = .46).

A bonferroni multiple comparison test was conducted to determine significant differences between the groups with skepticism about the relevance of school for future success being the dependent variable and identity category being the independent variable. The results (see Table 18) indicated oppositional identity was statistically significantly higher than raceless, primary cultural, combined primary cultural & raceless and combined primary cultural & oppositional identity. There were no other statistically significant differences found. These finding indicate that oppositional students did not see schooling as instrumental to their futures, whereas the other groups did. Research (Brickman & Miller, 2001; Greene et al, 2004; Miller et al 1996) has shown that perceptions of instrumentality for school to be positively correlated with student engagement in school (e.g., the use of meaningful learning strategies, putting forth effort, adopting mastery goals). This may explain the positive achievement (GPA) of all the groups except the oppositional group.

Table 18: Means and Standard Deviations for Skepticism about School for Future Success by Identity Category

Identity Category	Mean	Standard Deviation
Oppositional	4.61 _a	1.34
Raceless	2.13 _b	1.14
Primary Cultural	2.03 _b	.918
Primary Cultural & Raceless	2.07 _b	1.05
Primary Cultural & Oppositional	2.24 _b	.895

NOTE: Means sharing the same letter do not differ from each other. Means with different letters are significantly different statistically.

Summary of Exploratory Results

Oppositional Identity

When looking at results of the PALS measures, I found that these oppositional students were highly skeptical about the relevance of school for future success. They demonstrated significantly lower mastery goals than the other groups. They also had lower scores on performance approach goals and academic efficacy. One might conclude that their orientation opposed all the meaningful factors educators would normally desire for them. They seem to be opposed to school and learning in general. They seem ambivalent about the future and pessimistic about future success in the White world.

Raceless Identity

When looking at results of the PALS measures, I found that these raceless students were convinced about the relevance of school for future success. These students were not at all skeptical about the importance of school. They demonstrated high mastery goals and high academic efficacy. Their performance approach goals were below the mid-point on the scale indicating they were not highly competitive. Their performance-avoidance goals were above the mid-point on the scale indicating they were concerned about failure and embarrassment. They were not disruptive and did not adopt self

handicapping strategies. They seem optimistic that if they adopt the majority culture, they will be successful in the future.

Primary Cultural Identity

When considering the results of the PALS measures, I found that these primary cultural students were convinced about the relevance of school for future success. These students were not skeptical about the importance of school. They demonstrated strong mastery goals. They also displayed moderate performance approach goals and fairly high academic efficacy. They were not disruptive and did not adopt self handicapping strategies. They seem optimistic that if they hold true to their own Black culture and community, they will be successful in school and in the future more generally.

Combined Primary Cultural & Raceless Identity

When looking at results of the PALS measures, I found that combined primary cultural & raceless students saw the significance of school for future success. These students were not at all skeptical about the importance of school. They demonstrated high mastery goals and high academic efficacy. Their performance approach goals were below the mid-point on the scale indicating they were not exceedingly competitive. Their performance-avoidance goals were above the mid-point on the scale indicating they were moderately troubled about failure and embarrassment. They were not disruptive and did not take on self handicapping strategies. They seem positive that if they adopt the majority culture, they will be successful in the future.

Combined Primary Cultural & Oppositional Identity

When considering the results of the PALS measures, I found that students with a combined primary cultural & oppositional identity were convinced about the relevance of school for future success. These students were not skeptical about the importance of school. They demonstrated significant positive identification with mastery goals. They also displayed low performance approach and avoidance goals and high academic efficacy, which would make them the least likely group to experience stereotype threat. They were not disruptive and did not adopt self handicapping strategies. They seem optimistic that if they hold true to their own Black culture and community, they will be successful in school and in the future more generally.

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Implications for Pedagogical Approaches

The purpose of this study was to (1) to describe and validate a new instrument (CCAM) that will help identify three different forms of cultural identification among African American students; and (2) to extend our understanding of the three groups and their motivation for learning and academic achievement. The results provide evidence that the CCAM is a reliable and construct valid measure of cultural identification. The results suggest that the CCAM measures three different forms of cultural identification and may be useful in identifying two other forms of cultural identification.

Validity of the CCAM

The results of the three validity analyses provided solid support for the subscales of the CCAM. The factor analysis provided a three-factor solution, with each factor corresponding to one of the intended CCAM subscales. Three of the raceless items displayed negative crossloadings with oppositional items but they were consistent with the conceptual definition of the groups. The correlations among the three CCAM subscales and each of the validation instruments matched the theoretical predictions described in Chapter 2. Finally, the pattern of statistically significant differences among the subscales of the CCAM on the validation instruments was consistent with the theoretical predictions described in Chapter 2. Overall, this collection of evidence indicates that the results obtained from the CCAM are useful for identifying students' cultural identities and that these identities are distinct from one another and are consistent with theoretical predictions.

The goal of this study was to validate an instrument through quantitative means in order for educators to be able to better identify different influences on student motivation among African American students. This research is valuable to the educational process because it promotes a greater understanding of the psychological impact of cultural identification on academic motivation for African American high school students. Also, it provides a quantitative measure of these three cultural frames of reference (oppositional, racelessness, primary cultural identification) and their expected motivational academic outcomes.

New Identity Patterns

As mentioned in chapter 4, the ANOVA analysis in study one yielded two new unexpected identity types. These new identities were in fact *blended* identities. Students that displayed these blended identities exhibited characteristics of two combinations of the other three identities. The original three identities were oppositional (Op), racelessness (Rp) and primary cultural identity (Pc). The two new identities were a combination of primary cultural & raceless identity (Pc-rp) and a combination of primary cultural & oppositional identity (Pc-op).

In terms of their cultural beliefs, PC-RP students were similar to the raceless students in some ways and similar to students with a primary cultural identity in others. Like the raceless students but unlike students with a primary cultural identity, the PC-RP students had moderately high stereotypical beliefs and high assimilationist beliefs. Like students with a primary cultural identity, but unlike raceless students, they had high centrality and moderate nationalist beliefs. So these students appear to represent a merged synthesis of two distinct cultural identities. Being African American is a central

aspect of their identity yet they simultaneously maintain some modest stereotypical beliefs about African Americans in general and believe that assimilating with White culture would be a good thing.

The academic perspectives and behavior of PC-RP also represented a synthesis of both raceless students and those with a primary cultural identity. The PC-RP students identify with academics at a high level, one equal to that of students in the raceless and primary cultural groups. Consistent with identification with academics, they reported a low rate of disruptive behavior, which was equal to raceless and primary cultural groups. Given these two characteristics, it is not surprising that they reported high GPAs, ones equal to that of the raceless students, and higher than that of students with a primary cultural identity.

Conversely, in terms of their cultural beliefs, PC-OP students were similar to the oppositional students in some ways and similar to students with a primary cultural identity in others. Like the oppositional and primary culturally connected students, but unlike students with a raceless identity and combined PC-RP, the PC-OP students had low stereotypical beliefs. Like students with a primary cultural identity, an oppositional identity or a combined PC-RP identity, but unlike raceless students, the PC-OP students had high centrality. Like students with a primary cultural identity and unlike oppositional, raceless and combined PC-RP students, students with combined PC-OP identity scored high on nationalism. As a result these students appear to represent a synthesis of two distinct cultural identities. Being African American is a central aspect of their identity and they believe that assimilating with White culture would not be a good thing for them.

Surprisingly, the academic perspectives and behavior of PC-OP was most similar to raceless students and those with a primary cultural identity. The PC-OP students identify with academics at a high level, one equal to that of students in the raceless and primary cultural groups and the combined PC-RP group. Consistent with identification with academics, they reported a low rate of disruptive behavior, which was equal to the raceless and primary cultural groups and the combined PC-RP group. Given these two characteristics, it is not surprising that they reported moderately high GPAs; however ones lower than those of the raceless students and students with combined PC-RP identity, but significantly higher than those of students with a primary cultural identity, who were significantly higher than the oppositional students.

The discovery of these two new blended identities (Pc-rp and Pc-op) sheds new light on the notions of African American identity and academic motivation. At the outset of this study, a fundamental concern was whether there were ways to engage African American students who had developed identities that were opposed to school and learning. The notion of an identity that could be at once fully and authentically black but not opposed to school and learning would lead to hope that a pro-learning identity could be fostered in African American students.

The finding of a blended oppositional and primary cultural identity lends empirical evidence to the idea that the development of such an identity is not only possible, but has already been cognitively generated by some African American youth. It is imperative that this discovery is followed by more research into whether the negative effects of an oppositional identity maybe mitigated by blending it with a primary cultural identity. Furthermore, while racelessness and oppositional identities are inherently

mutually antagonistic, a primary cultural identity is compatible with both. Any acrimony between raceless and oppositional students may be minimized by fostering a primary cultural identity. These findings are very important for gaining a better understanding of African American high school students.

Identity Categories and Motivation

With the validity of the CCAM established, I will discuss how the CCAM identities are related to motivation variables and whether the identities differ from one another in their patterns of motivation.

Oppositional students have low mastery, moderate performance avoidance, low self-efficacy, and high skepticism about the long-term payoff of school. Given this motivational framework, we would expect the students to be engaging in self-handicapping, and school disruption as strategies to protect self-esteem or self-worth, which is exactly what was found in this study for oppositional students. As a result of these self-defeating, yet self-protective strategies, we would also expect their identification with academics to be low and school performance (GPA) to be low, which is what was found with this sample.

Raceless, primary cultural and PC-RP students all had the same motivational profile. They had high mastery and self-efficacy, moderate performance avoidance, and low skepticism about the long-term payoff of school. Given this motivational framework, we would expect the students to have low rates of self-handicapping, and school disruption. As a result of their high identification with academics, we would also expect school performance (GPA) to be high, which was found with this sample.

Pc-op students have high mastery and self-efficacy, significantly lower performance avoidance goals than primary cultural, raceless or PC-RP students, and low skepticism about the long-term payoff of school. Given this motivational framework, we would expect the students to have low rates of self-handicapping or school disruption. As a result of their high identification with academics, we also would expect school performance (GPA) to be high, which was the case with this sample.

What sets the combined primary cultural & oppositional (Pc-op) group apart from the other four groups (Op, Rp, Pc, Pcrp) is that they have significantly lower performance-avoidance goals. This suggests that they would be the group least affected by stereotype threat. Stereotype threat is a situational experience in which an individual feels vulnerable and pressured by the possibility of confirming or being judged by a stereotype (Steele, 1997). This threatening experience elicits heightened performance anxiety (performance avoidance goals) and leads to poorer performance even among highly skilled individuals (Smith, 2004). Future research should examine the susceptibility of the various cultural identity groups to the effects of stereotype threat.

Another interesting finding in this motivational analysis was the motivational profile of the oppositional group. These students had the lowest self-efficacy of all groups and moderately high performance avoidance goals. This combination of motivational characteristics is usually associated with high levels of self-esteem protecting behavior such as self-handicapping. These oppositional students scored significantly higher than the other groups on self-handicapping. It may be the case that the oppositional stance of these students is another way in which they can protect self-esteem. By not cooperating

in class and refusing to do class work, oppositional students could mask incompetence or avoid putting their competence up for assessment.

Because centrality proved to be high in both oppositional and primary cultural students, they may view blackness differently. These two groups may have different conceptions about what it means to be black. For the oppositional group, blackness means lack of effort within school settings while for students with a primary cultural identity blackness increases the likelihood that these students will exhibit effort within classroom settings. More research will be needed to verify whether opposition is a form of self-esteem protection and how these groups view the essence of blackness.

The theoretical perspective guiding this study contends that because White students and students from other academically successful groups (e.g., Asian students) can see the personal long-term benefits of schooling and have no widely held negative academic stereotypes, they more easily identify with the goals of the school. Conversely, students about whom widely held negative academic stereotypes exist (e.g., oppositional students) and who cannot see the long-term benefits of schooling are less likely to identify with the goals of the school. In addition, Ogbu (1992) argues that involuntary minorities often develop goals that are in opposition to those of the dominant group (cultural inversion). As a result, not only do such students fail to identify with the goals of the school, quite often there is peer support for opposition to the achievement of school goals. Thus, I would argue, oppositional students have a type of peer culture that is oppositional to implicit and explicit school goals. Abandoning the group goals for those reflected in the school means both opposing their identity group and fighting negative academic stereotypes held by others (stereotype threat). This means many African

American students who lack peer support for academic pursuits, and may experience rejection for such achievements, must deal with the negative expectations of others. They must deal with the motivational consequences of having their individual performance not only reflected on him or her directly, but also reflected on the group as a whole (Steele, 1997). Consequently, all of this makes positive motivation for academics difficult at best. What I propose is a way of establishing a new peer culture, one that is not oppositional to academic success and not contingent on being raceless. That peer culture would focus on fostering a primary cultural identification for all African American students.

Limitations

In this study, a number of issues emerged as salient with respect to its limitations. While there may be more issues, the following represent those that seem most prominent to the researcher.

First of all, five respondents had to be removed from the study. In short, these African American high school students were so oppositional that they would not cooperate with the study. One asked, “Didn’t you say this is voluntary?” “Yes,” I replied. “Well I quit” he tersely responded and that was the end of his participation. Another problem emerged when I said to the respondents, “It’s important that you answer the questions in a meaningful way and not just fill in anything because then I can’t use your data.” One child responded, “My teacher just said we got to fill it out so I guess that’s on you Cuz.” Another student kept asking his friends questions like, “Hey Tommy, whatcha get on numba five!?” A qualitative study could explore this further but it is possible that some of the data in this study is polluted by oppositional students just putting down any

answer so that they could finish the instrument. These oppositional students opposed the administration of my instrument just as they oppose the school environment in general. Future research must find ways of measuring oppositional students that feel less like the “White” school activities they so oppose.

Literacy is a potential factor I did not account for. It may be that more oppositional students have lower literacy skills again presenting a potential problem here. The literacy level of respondents is always an issue with studies that use written instruments and this may be compounded here with the notion that raceless students do better in school than oppositional students. Future research must find ways to account for this.

Another important limitation of this study was that it only included high school students who may display different results from younger or older students. With younger elementary school or middle school students, we might find that these identity types have yet to crystallize or we might find different results. Future research should examine identity among students of different ages and include some longitudinal studies that could address this problem of the age of the respondents.

I also acknowledge that things are more complex than they may appear here. Identities are complex and are not completely static. It is problematic to say that people are essentially this or that. Although I found evidence of five categories of identity, it is problematic to say that someone is essentially this or that. The question could always arise, might they be something else? Might there be identities not included in the CCAM? Still, this research quantitatively identifies three African American identity types and does so reliably. Plus the CCAM can be used to identify two other identity categories.

The validation of the CCAM provides a tool for exploring issues related to African American identity but does not solve all the problems related to this complex area of concern.

Another problem was that data was collected in a high school that was 98% African American. Data might look very different in different contexts, such as schools that are 98% White or in schools that are more diverse. This might also look different in different regions of the country such as in the deep-south or in very large cities.

It is important to note that I did not control for socioeconomic status. Does SES have any bearing on identification? Since slavery times, there have been divisions among African Americans that center not only on academics and identification as examined in the present study but also on socioeconomic status. Are wealthier African Americans more likely to identify as raceless? Controlling for socioeconomic status is an important subsequent step in this line of research. Finally, grades were self-reported. Future research should look at the actual grades of participants rather than self-reported grades which are somewhat less reliable.

While these are all significant problems, the successful validation of the CCAM is hopefully an important step in the illumination of the role cultural identification plays in academic success for African American students.

Future Research

There are three central areas with respect to future research that are logical next steps in this work. The continued validation of the CCAM, studying new aspects of the three identities and studying the effectiveness of fostering a primary cultural identification are very important to future research concerns.

The continued validation of the CCAM

Although this study provided solid evidence for the validity of the results of the CCAM with this high school sample, it remains to be seen whether the results of the CCAM are valid for older and younger samples. This could be done in colleges and middle schools to expand both validity and applicability of the scales and related findings. This is important in a university setting because we want to be able to paint accurate portraits of successful African American university students. We would expect that most African American university students would have either raceless, primary cultural, primary cultural & oppositional or primary cultural & raceless identifications. What are the proportions of each? Might it be that almost all African American college students are raceless? If so, what does this say about American society? What about students attending historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs)? Are they different from African American students attending predominantly White institutions of higher learning?

It also is important to replicate this study among middle school students and possibly even younger so that we might potentially view the onset of these identity types and possibly identify a critical period for intervention. This could also help us to understand who is adopting what cultural identity and why. Indeed there may be many other identity types. How might these account for success or lack thereof?

Another way of continuing the validation of the CCAM and its subscales is by classifying *known* groups of African Americans. This might be done by administering the CCAM to juvenile delinquents as well as school drop outs and gang members. We would expect that such individuals would exhibit an oppositional identity and that their

opposition has become manifest in their behavior resulting in school failure. Similarly, we might expect that African Americans in organizations such as “Young Americans for Freedom” or the “Black Republicans” would likely exhibit a raceless identity. If such expectations are borne out, then this would do more to support the validity of the CCAM.

We also need to correlate teacher judgments about their students to bolster the validity of the CCAM. Teachers who spend a lot of time with students and administer continual assessments would be likely to have robust assessments of their students. If we could administer the CCAM to students and successfully correlate the findings with teacher assessments or expectations of how their students would identify, the validity of the instrument would be enhanced.

We also need to correlate the classifications of the CCAM with the actual behavior of students. For example, if students take the CCAM at the beginning of the school year and exhibit an oppositional identity, we would expect that these students would be more likely to do poorly in school and perhaps even drop out. We might also expect that students who take the CCAM at the beginning of the school year and exhibit a raceless or primary cultural identity would be more likely to do well in school and be less likely to drop out. This would, again, improve the validity of the CCAM.

Study New Aspects of the Three Identity Types and Combinations of Them

We also need to pursue other motivational characteristics of the three identity types. The current study looked only at mastery goals, performance approach and avoidance goals, academic efficacy, self-handicapping strategies, and skepticism about the relevance of school for future success. At present, this is all we know about the motivational characteristics of students who fall into these three identity types. We need

to further elaborate these identity types by looking at other motivational variables such as intrinsic/extrinsic motivation, future oriented motivation, self- regulation, and attribution.

We also must reexamine these identities and stereotype threat in light of both Steele's work and the CCAM. The replication of Steele & Aronson's (1995) work in light of these identity types is important because it may be that stereotype threat operates for all students except those who are identified as having a combined primary cultural & oppositional identity. These students were the only students found not to have a moderate concern about failure and embarrassment associated with failure. Educators need to determine whether or not performance avoidance goals moderate underperformance for African Americans at test taking time and which African American students run the highest risk of stereotype threat. Understanding the elements that make up stereotype threat is extremely important in lowering anxiety for these stigmatized students in the future. Those who were raceless in this study both were identified with academics and had moderately high performance avoidance goals, which is extremely negative on the future academic challenges they will incur.

Study the Effectiveness of Interventions

Also, we need to look at the effectiveness of interventions directed at fostering primary cultural connections among oppositional students as well as raceless students. This study indicates that both of these groups could benefit from interventions addressing either integrating primary cultural identification or motivation. This is the central goal of this work particularly since we know that primary cultural identification offers a possible intervention angle for students who are oppositional as well as raceless. This may serve to improve their motivation for school and perhaps then their academic achievement if

they are oppositional, and reduce alienation and being called a “sell-out” if they are raceless. Future research should include naturalistic studies of interventions currently underway that seek to foster a primary cultural identity. Additionally, such studies should explore instructional products or curricula that seek to do the same.

One example of such a curricular intervention is the Philadelphia project in which the entire school system has implemented “African American studies” for all students. As a district, they believe this will benefit all students by impacting both their identity development and their appreciation for the cultures of the world. This intervention must be explored and evaluated with respect to the impact on student cultural identities. The CCAM would be an ideal instrument for doing so. We would hope to see some academic improvements among African American students in this district because the results of the present study indicated that primary cultural identification enhances school success for students who are oppositional.

A study looking at this more closely would administer the CCAM to the Philadelphia students at the beginning and at the end of the year and track African American students’ identity types. We could then gauge the effectiveness of teaching African American studies to African American students by looking at how their identification might be impacted and how this affects their achievement. If their identification is indeed affected by teaching African American studies, then we might conclude that this is an effective intervention that should be scaled up.

The CCAM instrument provides us with a tool for viewing another avenue or strategy for academic success for African Americans. This strategy is taking on a primary cultural identity or, better yet, integrating it with a raceless or oppositional identity.

identity. This is an observable, quantifiable, alternative that some African American students take that overcomes this dichotomous problem of having to otherwise choose an oppositional identity that sacrifices academic success for cultural integrity or choose a raceless identity that sacrifices cultural integrity for academic success.

The obvious implication of this discovery of an alternative to either an oppositional or raceless identity is that educators and instructional designers must create and implement educational materials and curricula that fosters the integration of a primary cultural identity among all African American students.

This theoretical perspective offers a possible means of increasing academic performance for those African Americans who are oppositional to school and learning, as well as reducing the alienation African American students experience when they choose a raceless strategy for school success. Primary Cultural identity has been positively related to academic achievement in this study and in previous research (e.g. Columbus, 2000a' Spencer et al. 2001; Taylor et al. 1994). African American success in schooling should not be contingent on adopting a raceless persona and being ostracized by their peers in the process. It should be contingent on them having a deeper primary cultural sense of self, where school becomes a group-valued goal and not just an individualist pursuit.

African Americans who are oppositional to school might successfully cope with the burden of acting White by adopting a primary cultural identity and may thereby no longer feel that their identity is threatened by doing well in school. The students will be expected to do well in school because of group norms, and simply because it's their role in relationship to others in their "fictive kinship group." Fostering a primary cultural

identity for all African American students appears to be a promising goal and line of research for the future.

Closing Remarks

In summary, the research reported here has accomplished three important aims. First, I validated an instrument that will be useful in studying the characteristics of African American students with different cultural identities and the effectiveness of interventions designed to improve the academic orientation of oppositional students. Second, I also discovered two new cultural identities that refine our understanding of the complexity of such identities. Finally, I discovered important motivational characteristics for students with varied cultural identities. All of these outcomes will be valuable in the continued effort to understand and improve the academic motivation of African American students.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

(**OP**=Oppositional Identity, **RI**=Raceless Identity and **PC**=Primary Cultural Identity)

1. What is taught in school is geared towards White people. **OP**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. What is taught in school is geared towards all races. **RI**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. African Americans who don't do well in school are letting down their people. **PC**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. Most Blacks who do well in school act White. **OP**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. I would rather go to school and learn so I can uplift my people. **PC**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

6. All races have the same opportunities if they work hard in school. **RI**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

7. Identifying with your heritage is important for doing well in school. **PC**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

8. Blacks should identify with being American first and African second. **RI**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

9. Blacks receive fewer opportunities on education when compared to Whites. **OP**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

10. The American education system discriminates against Black people in school. **OP**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

11. It is good for people of color to assimilate into mainstream culture. **RI**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

12. I work hard in school for Black people. **PC**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix B: MIBI: Centrality, Assimilatorist & Nationalist

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

Centrality Subscale

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself. **R** (reverse scored)

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. **R** (reverse scored)

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

6. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

7. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships. **R** (reverse scored)

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

8. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Assimilation Subscale

9. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

10. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

11. Because America is predominately White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

12. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

13. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

14. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

15. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

16. Blacks should view themselves as being American first and foremost.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Nationalist Subscale

17. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

18. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

19. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

20. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afro-centric values.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

21. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

22. Whenever possible, Black should buy from other Black businesses.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

23. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Black today.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix C: Stereotypical Beliefs Subscale Measure

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. Poor Blacks are responsible for their problems

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. In general, Black are to blame for their negative image among Whites.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. Blacks must change the way they act if they wish to succeed.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix D: Identification with Academics Subscale

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. Being a good student is an important part of who I am.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. I don't care whether I get good grades or bad grades. **R**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. I feel good about myself when I get good grades.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. When I work on homework I feel like I am doing something important.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. The people in school are interested in me.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

6. I think it is important to do well in my classes.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

7. I want my friends to think of me as a good student.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

8. My classes are very boring to me. **R**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

9. I always put a lot of effort into the work I do for my classes.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

10. I would feel really bad if I got a bad grade on a test.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

11. I enjoy learning new things.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

12. I plan to go to college.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

13. I feel like the things I do at school are a waste of time. **R**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

14. How I do in school is really not important to me. **R**

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

15. I want my teachers to think I am a good student.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

16. I would be really sad if people thought I wasn't a good student.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Note: R = reversed scored

Appendix E: PALS – Mastery Goals

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

1. One of my goals in class is to learn as much as I can.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. One of my goals is to master a lot of new skills this year.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. It's important to me that I thoroughly understand my class work.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. It's important to me that I improve my skills this year.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix F: PALS – Performance Approach Goals

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. It's important to me that other students in my class think I am good at my class work.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. One of my goals is to show others that I'm good at my class work.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. One of my goals is to show others that class work is easy for me.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. One of my goals is to look smart in comparison to the other students in my class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. It's important to me that I look smart compared to others in my class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix G: PALS – Performance Avoidance Goals

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. It's important to me that I don't look stupid in class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. One of my goals is to keep others from thinking I'm not smart in class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. It is important to me that my teacher doesn't think that I know less than others in class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. One of my goals in class is to avoid looking like I have trouble doing the work.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix H: PALS – Academic Efficacy

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. I'm certain I can master the skills taught in class this year.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. I'm certain I can figure out how to do the most difficult class work.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. I can do almost all the work in class if I don't give up.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. Even if the work is hard, I can learn it.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. I can do even the hardest work in this class if I try.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix I: PALS – Academic Self-Handicapping

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. Some students fool around the night before a test. Then if they don't do well, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. Some students purposely get involved in lots of activities. Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say it is because they were involved with other things. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. Some students look for reasons to keep them from studying (not feeling well, having to help their parents, taking care of a brother or sister, etc.). Then if they don't do well on their class work, they can say this is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. Some students let their friends keep them from paying attention in class or from doing their homework. Then if they don't do well, they can say their friends kept them from working. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. Some students purposely don't try hard in class. Then if they don't do well, they can say it is because they didn't try. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

6. Some students put off doing their class work until the last minute. Then if they don't do well on their work, they can say that is the reason. How true is this of you?

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix J: PALS – Disruptive Behavior

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. I sometimes annoy my teacher during class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. I sometimes get into trouble with my teacher during class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. I sometimes behave in a way during class that annoys my teacher.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. I sometimes don't follow my teacher's directions during class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. I sometimes disturb the lesson that is going on in class.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix K: PALS – Skepticism about the Relevance of School for Future Success

Instructions: BELOW ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS STUDENTS SOMETIMES FEEL ABOUT THEIR SCHOOL AND CULTURE. PLEASE BE VERY HONEST AND TELL US HOW TRUE EACH OF THESE IS FOR YOU. NO ONE AT HOME OR AT SCHOOL WILL EVER SEE YOUR ANSWERS. PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT BEST DESCRIBES WHAT YOU THINK.

1. Even if I do well in school, it will not help me have the kind of life I want when I grow up.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

2. My chances of succeeding later in life don't depend on doing well in school.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

3. Doing well in school doesn't improve my chances of having a good life when I grow up.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

4. Getting good grades in school won't guarantee that I will get a good job when I grow up.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

5. Even if I am successful in school, it won't help me fulfill my dreams.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

6. Doing well in school won't help me have a satisfying career when I grow up.

Not true at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 Very true

Appendix L: Child Assent Form

For participation in research that is being conducted under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus

Dear Student:

We invite you to participate in a study called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure” Doctoral student Marco Columbus from the department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma is trying to see how high school students identify with culture and academics. In this study, students will answer questions regarding things students sometimes feel about school and culture. This research will help researchers better understand the experience of students in high school and help us develop better educational practices to support students.

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to validate a new instrument that will help identify three different forms of cultural identification among high school students that correspond to the research and theory reviewed. Moreover, the objective for this present study is to find evidence regarding the construct validity of the Cultural Connectedness and Achievement Measure (CCAM). The CCAM consists of three subscales measuring different cultural frames of reference representing African American cultural identity. The three cultural frames of reference are: Oppositional, Racelessness and Primary Cultural identity. All research concerning these cultural frames of reference has been explored primarily through qualitative research methods or through instruments measuring a single identity type (Oppositional by Ogbu, 1992; Racelessness by Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Ethnic Identity by Taylor et al., 1994). Thus, the goal of this study is to validate an instrument through quantitative means in order for educators to better be able to identify different influences on student motivation for high school students.

As a part of this project, participants will be administered a demographic form asking them to indicate their race, sex, age and grade. Then, the participants will be provided a series of questionnaires regarding examples of things students sometimes feel about their school and culture. The participants will be told to read each item, which ask them about themselves as a student, and to circle the number that best describes what they think. The time necessary to complete the questionnaires should take from 60 to 90 minutes.

Conditions of Participation

Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate without any penalty or loss of any educational privileges that you now experience. Also, you may stop your participation at any time without any penalty or loss of privileges. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from this study, no data of any kind will be gathered on you.

Confidentiality

Protecting your confidentiality is extremely important to me. Your name will only appear on this assent form. Each student will be given an ID number that will be used to track all your data.

Confidentiality will be maintained in all reports of this study. Further, all data will be kept in a locked place. All data will remain anonymous, and teacher and administrations will have no access to it.

Subject Benefits/Risks

There is no perceived physical or psychological danger to you that would result from participation in this study. The potential benefit to students in general is significant. Educational and Psychological research has repeatedly shown that students of color tend to under perform in the academic realm relative to White or Asian students (Demo & Parker, 1987). Thus, understanding the role cultural identification plays in academic achievement for high school students is paramount, in order for educators to begin to reduce the levels of underachievement for this population.

If you agree to participate in this project, please complete and return the form on the next page. Please keep these first two pages for your information.

If you have any questions about this project, you can contact my faculty sponsor Dr. Raymond Miller at (405) 325-1501 with any questions about the research. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at (405) 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

I thank you for considering your student's participation in this project.

Sincerely,

Marco A. Columbus
Department of Educational Psychology
University of Oklahoma

_____I agree to participate in the project called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure” that is taking place at John Marshall High School. I understand that participation in this project will mean that I will be answering some questions regarding my beliefs about school and culture.

Your Name: _____
Please Print

Your Signature: _____

Appendix M: Parental/Legal Guardian Permission Form

For participation in research that is being conducted under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus

Dear Parent or Guardian:

We invite your child to participate in a study called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure” Doctoral student Marco Columbus from the department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma is trying to see how high school students identifying with culture and academics. In this study, students will answer questions regarding things students sometimes feel about school and culture. This research will help researchers better understand the experience of students in high school and help us develop better educational practices to support students.

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to validate a new instrument that will help identify three different forms of cultural identification among high school students that correspond to the research and theory reviewed. Moreover, the objective for this present study is to find evidence regarding the construct validity of the Cultural Connectedness and Achievement Measure (CCAM). The CCAM consists of three subscales measuring different cultural frames of reference representing African American cultural identity. The three cultural frames of reference are: Oppositional, Racelessness and Primary Cultural identity. All research concerning these cultural frames of reference has been explored primarily through qualitative research methods or through instruments measuring a single identity type (Oppositional by Ogbu, 1992; Racelessness by Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Ethnic Identity by Taylor et al., 1994). Thus, the goal of this study is to validate an instrument through quantitative means in order for educators to better be able to identify different influences on student motivation for high school students.

As a part of this project, participants will be administered a demographic form asking them to indicate their race, sex, age and grade. Then, the participants will be provided a series of questionnaires regarding examples of things students sometime feel about their school and culture. The participants will be told to read each item, which ask them about themselves as a student, and to circle the number that best describes what they think. The time necessary to complete the questionnaires should take from 60 to 90 minutes.

Confidentiality

Protecting your confidentiality is extremely important to me. Your name will only appear on this assent form. Each student will be given an ID number that will be used to track all your data. Confidentiality will be maintained in all reports of this study. Further, all data will be kept in a locked place. All data will remain anonymous, and teacher and administrations will have no access to it.

Subject Benefits/Risks

There is no perceived physical or psychological danger to your child that would result from participation in this study. The potential benefit to students in general is significant. Educational and Psychological research has repeatedly shown that students of color tend to under perform in the academic realm relative to White or Asian students (Demo & Parker, 1987). Thus, understanding the role cultural identification plays in academic achievement for high school students is paramount, in order for educators to begin to reduce the levels of underachievement for this population.

If you give your permission for your *child* to participate in this project, please complete and return the permission form on the next page. Please keep these first two pages for your information.

If you have any questions about this project, you can contact my faculty sponsor Dr. Raymond Miller at (405) 325-1501 with any questions about the research. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at (405) 325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Thank you for considering your child's participation in this project.

Sincerely,

Marco A. Columbus
Dept of Educational Psychology
University of Oklahoma

_____ I give permission for my child to participate in the project called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure” that is taking place at John Marshall High School. I understand that participation in this project will mean that my child will be answering some questions regarding their beliefs about school and culture.

Student's Name: _____
Please Print

Your Name: _____
Please Print

Your Signature: _____

Appendix N: Demographic for Students

Directions: Please answer the following questions about yourself. Please place a check mark, or write in the answer that best fits you.

1. What is your gender?

Female_____

Male_____

2. What is your age _____

3. What is your grade level: _____

4. What is your current overall GPA? _____

5. Race/Ethnicity: (Select all that apply)

_____African American

_____Asian/Pacific Islander

_____Caucasian/White

_____Hispanic

_____Native American

_____Other

Appendix O: Script for Data Collection

May 16, 2005

Hello, my name is Marco Columbus, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Oklahoma. I am conducting a study called “The Validation of the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure” In this study, you will answer questions regarding things you sometimes feel about school and culture. No one at home or school will ever see your answers. This research will help researchers better understand the experience of students in high school and help us develop better educational practices to support students.

As a part of this project, you will be administered a demographic form asking you to indicate your race, sex, age and grade. Then, you will be provided a questionnaire asking you about how you feel about school and culture.

You are to read each item, and circle the number that best describes what you think. The time necessary to complete the questionnaire should take from 60 to 90 minutes.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate without any penalty or loss of any educational privileges that you now experience. Also, you may stop your participation at any time without any penalty or loss of privileges. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from this study, no data of any kind will be gathered on you.

Lastly, protecting your confidentiality is extremely important to me. Your name will only appear on this assent form. Each one of you will be given an ID number that will be used to track all your data.

Appendix P: Matrix of Pearson r Correlations

Correlations for Motivation and Achievement Variables and Race-Related Variables as Assessed by the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (page 1)

SUBSCALE		MASTERY	PERFAPP	PERFAVD	ACAEFF	SLFHC
Mastery	Pearson Correlation	1	0.274**	-0.067	0.483**	-0.397**
Performance Approach	Pearson Correlation	0.274**	1.000	0.364**	-0.021	-0.033
Performance Avoidance	Pearson Correlation	-0.067	0.364**	1.000	-0.178*	0.268**
Academic Efficacy	Pearson Correlation	0.483**	-0.021	-0.178*	1.000	-0.371**
Self Handicapping	Pearson Correlation	-0.397**	-0.033	0.268**	-0.371**	1.000
Disruptive Behavior	Pearson Correlation	-0.475**	-0.130	0.150*	-0.315**	0.412**
Skepticism	Pearson Correlation	-0.591**	-0.075	0.075	-0.453**	0.453**
Identification	Pearson Correlation	0.754**	0.377**	-0.007	0.477**	-0.382**
Oppositional	Pearson Correlation	-0.454**	-0.151*	-0.020	-0.301**	0.332**
Raceless	Pearson Correlation	0.397**	0.252**	0.192**	0.152*	-0.147*
Primary Cultural	Pearson Correlation	0.315**	0.233**	-0.170*	0.324**	-0.236**
Centrality	Pearson Correlation	-0.021	0.114	-0.048	-0.043	0.152*
Assimilation	Pearson Correlation	0.457**	0.163*	0.104	0.315**	-0.166*
Nationalism	Pearson Correlation	-0.115	0.007	-0.085	0.027	0.102
Stereotypical Beliefs	Pearson Correlation	0.273**	0.207**	0.235**	0.185**	-0.035

NOTE: * = p. < .05; ** = p. < .01*

Appendix P: Matrix of Pearson

Correlations for Motivation and Achievement Variables and Race-Related Variables as Assessed by the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (page 2)

SUBSCALE		DISBEH	SKEP	IDACA	OPP	RP
Mastery	Pearson Correlation	-0.475**	-0.591**	0.754**	-0.454**	0.397**
Performance Approach	Pearson Correlation	-0.130	-0.075	0.377**	-0.151*	0.252**
Performance Avoidance	Pearson Correlation	0.150*	0.075	-0.007	-0.020	0.192**
Academic Efficacy	Pearson Correlation	-0.315**	-0.453**	0.477**	-0.301**	0.152*
Self Handicapping	Pearson Correlation	0.412**	0.453**	-0.382**	0.332**	-0.147*
Disruptive Behavior	Pearson Correlation	1.000	0.617**	-0.591**	0.403**	-0.243**
Skepticism	Pearson Correlation	0.617**	1.000	-0.668**	0.575**	-0.303**
Identification	Pearson Correlation	-0.591**	-0.668**	1.000	-0.516**	0.442**
Oppositional	Pearson Correlation	0.403**	0.575**	-0.516**	1.000	-0.650**
Raceless	Pearson Correlation	-0.243**	-0.303**	0.442**	-0.650**	1.000
Primary Cultural	Pearson Correlation	-0.184**	-0.255**	0.367**	0.154*	-0.152*
Centrality	Pearson Correlation	0.160*	0.130	-0.046	0.503**	-0.518**
Assimilation	Pearson Correlation	-0.193**	-0.368**	0.449**	-0.504**	0.661**
Nationalism	Pearson Correlation	0.160*	0.168*	-0.107	0.542**	-0.499**
Stereotypical Beliefs	Pearson Correlation	-0.102	-0.166*	0.291**	-0.391**	0.572**

NOTE: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

Appendix P: Matrix of Pearson

Correlations for Motivation and Achievement Variables and Race-Related Variables as Assessed by the Cultural Connectedness Achievement Measure (page 3)

SUBSCALE		PC	CENT	ASSIM	NAT	STEREO
Mastery	Pearson Correlation	0.315**	-0.021	0.457**	-0.115	0.273**
Performance Approach	Pearson Correlation	0.233**	0.114	0.163*	0.007	0.207**
Performance Avoidance	Pearson Correlation	-0.170*	-0.048	0.104	-0.085	0.235**
Academic Efficacy	Pearson Correlation	0.324**	-0.043	0.315**	0.027	0.185**
Self Handicapping	Pearson Correlation	-0.236**	0.152*	-0.166*	0.102	-0.035
Disruptive Behavior	Pearson Correlation	-0.184**	0.160*	-0.193**	0.160	-0.102
Skepticism	Pearson Correlation	-0.255**	0.130	-0.368**	0.168*	-0.166*
Identification	Pearson Correlation	0.367**	-0.046	0.449**	-0.107	0.291**
Oppositional	Pearson Correlation	0.154*	0.503**	-0.504**	0.542**	-0.391**
Raceless	Pearson Correlation	-0.152*	-0.518**	0.661**	-0.499**	0.572**
Primary Cultural	Pearson Correlation	1.000	0.607**	-0.079	0.582**	-0.312**
Centrality	Pearson Correlation	0.607**	1.000	-0.400**	0.699**	-0.473**
Assimilation	Pearson Correlation	-0.079	-0.400**	1.000	-0.416**	0.636**
Nationalism	Pearson Correlation	0.582**	0.699**	-0.416**	1.000	-0.554**
Stereotypical Beliefs	Pearson Correlation	-0.312**	-0.473**	0.636**	-0.554**	1.000

NOTE: * = p. < .05; ** = p. < .01*