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African-American identity, the quality of school life and academic achievement

Michael James McIntire
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AFRICAN-AMERICAN IDENTITY,
THE QUALITY OF SCHOOL LIFE AND
ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

by
Michael James McIntire

A THESIS
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Master of Arts Degree in School Psychology of
Rowan University
May 1, 1997

Approved by
Professor

Date Approved 5/1/1997
ABSTRACT

Michael James McIntire

African-American Identity, The Quality of School Life and Academic Achievement 1997

Thesis Advisor - John W. Klandereman, Ph.D.
School Psychology

Although some studies have linked educational outcomes to identity status (Francis, 1981; Hummel & Roselli 1983), only Taylor, Lasten, Flickinger, Roberts and Fulmore, L.D. (1994) have attempted to link educational outcomes to the racial identity status of minority group members. Given the theorized importance of adequate racial identity development for the future psychological health of minority group members, and the impact of educational achievement in high school on subsequent educational, economic, and social outcomes, the present study is designed to assess the quality of school life and the racial identity of African-American high school students, and to determine the extent to which these identities are related to their academic performance. Those who scored high on Cross's racial identity
both the quality of school life and academic achievement. The results also showed a positive correlation between the quality of school life and academic achievement.
The purpose of this study is to assess the racial identity and the quality of school life of African-American high school students and to determine the extent to which these identities are related to their academic performance. The results indicated a positive correlation between both racial identity and academic performance and racial identity and the quality of school life, for those students who scored high on Cross's racial identity scale.
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CHAPTER 1

NEED FOR THE STUDY

What might influence some African-American high school students to pursue a college career? Does the lack of the African Heritage education in our school system today delay the African-American student's ethnic identity? Does this lack of ethnic identity deter them from wanting to continue their education? These and many other questions are asked by educators, administrators and parents across the United States everyday. The hope is that in finding the answers to these questions that we may learn new ways to educate African-American children so that they will continue to further their education.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to assess the racial identity and the quality of school life of African-American high school students and to determine the extent to which these identities are related to their academic performance.
HYPOTHESIS

It is expected to be found that there is (a) a correlation between racial identity and academic achievement, (b) a correlation between racial identity and the quality of school life and (c) a positive correlation between academic achievement and the quality of school life.

THEORY

ERIKSON'S THEORY

In 1968, Erikson published Identity: Youth and Crisis, which is considered to be a seminal work on identity development theory. In it he described as a “.....subjective sense of invigorating sameness and continuity.....” (pg. 19). Furthermore, he described the identity development process as central to human existence, in that one's identity serves as the basis for the individual's relationship to himself or herself as well as to the social world. According to Erikson, the processes which influence identity development operate at all levels of mental functioning, and thus manifest their influence in a person's cognition, affect and behavior. Constructs such as self-concept or self-esteem are limited in that they reflect more conscious,
Identity developmental processes first exert their influence upon a human being's behavior with the infant's first contact with a caregiver (i.e., his or her first exposure to the social world). One's identity undergoes significant, if not constant, change throughout the life span and becomes characterized by increasing differentiation as the social world of the developing person grows and social interactions become more numerous, varied and complex. According to this view, even though individuals may achieve a certain awareness of perception of their continuity, identity is not immutable because it is always changing in the social environment.

Erikson (1968) theorized the existence of psychosocial stages which characterize ego and personality development throughout the life span. The crucial elements which characterize each stage exist from the beginning of life and are related to all the others, but increase in salience and importance at different points in the person's life. These points are assumed to be the critical periods necessary for identity development to proceed optimally and are manifested in the form of a state of "crisis". These states of crisis are
characterized by a new sense of awareness of one's actions and subsequent feedback from the environment, both of which are incorporated into the person's perceptions of him or herself in relation to the world.

The adolescent years include stages five, Identity versus Identity Confusion and six, Intimacy versus Isolation (Bradley and Stewart, 1982; Erikson, 1968). Erikson considered adolescence to be a particularly important period for identity development, because during these years sexual maturation occurs, educational achievement begins to translate into occupational opportunities and an occupational identity; social exposure increases and interpersonal interactions become much more complex. During adolescence, there are more sources of and chances for social comparison and the young man or woman must evaluate the perspectives of many more people, who are in turn evaluating him or her. Erikson (1968, pg.309) states:

Unless provoked prematurely and disastrously...the identity crisis is not feasible before the beginning, even as it is not dispensable after the end of adolescence, when the body, now fully grown, grows together into an individual appearance; when sexuality, matured, seeks partners in sensual play and sooner or later, in parenthood; when the mind, fully developed, can begin in envisage a career for the individual within a historical perspective....
In the face of these physical, psychological and social changes, the task of finding or maintaining a sense of continuity or sameness become difficult at best, but is now even more critical because achieving an adequate identity is the cornerstone of adult psychological health and functioning.

Erikson acknowledged that one’s racial or ethnic identity was just as important a facet of the total identity as one’s sexual and occupational identities. He acknowledged that this identity was something to be sought after, bequeathed by the larger society or created by anyone—but something to be recovered and a bridge from past existence (presumably pre-Slavery) to the future. In this light, he described the efforts of writers and researchers to investigate the nature of an African-American identity as a “...corrective trend in historical evolution.” (Erikson, 1968, pg.297)

Erikson believed that the ideology of a society and the identities of individuals within that society are linked: they are complementary and an interactional (transactional) relationship exists between the two. He maintained that the identity crisis of the youth of the nation was a crisis for a whole generation and as such would challenge the agenda and ideologies of the entire society. The adolescent identity crisis would be most pronounced
in those who were least able to invest themselves in the social, occupational or sexual ideologies of the main stream society. Thus Erikson postulated that African-Americans and other minority groups who are excluded because of their membership in one or more of these social categories would have the most trouble resolving their identity struggle, but yet are in the best position to test the “ideological soundness” of the society (Erikson, 1968, pg309).

Erikson did not, however, specifically address how ethnic identity developed nor how it functioned in relation with the “total” identity to guide behavior. His theories suggest that an adequate ethnic identity would be important for the psychological health of minority individuals, even if such an identity runs counter to pressures of the larger society.

CROSS’S THEORY

Cross (1971, 1978) proposed a theory of Black identity development by which people moved through five stages ranging from a least healthy, White-defined identity to a healthy, self-defined racial identity characterized by racial transcendence (Helms, 1990). This process of identity development was termed Nigrescence, which literally means “becoming Black”. Although
Cross’ model was not the only developmental model of racial identity developed during that time, his model has been the one most utilized in empirical research because it is best suited for operationalization (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1990).

Specifically, Cross’ (1971) model of Nigrescence postulated that a (Black) person transforms phenomenologically from a “Negro”, whose world view is Euro-American to a black (African) American, whose world view is fundamentally African, but balances the two cultural perspectives. Cross originally proposed five developmental stages: Pre-Encounter; Encounter; Immersion-Emersion; Internalization and Internalization-Commitment.

During Pre-Encounter, a person views the world in such a way the “Blackness” is non-existent or is even anti-Black in his or her attitudes and perspective. This person has been “programmed” to accept White standards, norms and believes Whites to possess more positive attributes (e.g., intellectual superiority, greater physical attractiveness) then Blacks. People in the Pre-Encounter stage of development are politically naive and individual achievement is used as the measure of injustice, as opposed to the society’s relationship with the treatment of the entire racial group.
During Stage 2, the Encounter Stage, some significant life event occurs which challenges the person’s White-dominated world-view and motivates changes at the cognitive and affective and behavioral levels. There are two aspects of the Encounter: first, experiencing the event and second, altering perceptions of the world because of the experience. According to Cross, people in this stage feel guilt over having lived previously according to White standards and degrading themselves as well as other Blacks and anger at having been programmed, tricked or brainwashed by “the system” into doing so. It is at this stage that the person becomes motivated to search for a Black identity.

The Immersion portion of the third stage entails immersing oneself in things which are Black and renunciation of the White world. Besides guilt and rage, a growing sense of pride in Black things characterizes this stage. A person in this stage elevates all things Black to almost divine status: Black physical characteristics are the only ones that are attractive; African or African-American clothing and symbols are the most appropriate dress and African and African-American history, literature and philosophy are the only things worthy of study. “Black militants” are prototypical of this stage.
Emersion, the second part of Stage 3, occurs when the person emerges from "...the dead-end, either/or racist, oversimplified aspects of the immersion experience." (Cross, 1971, pg.20). In attitude and affect, the person questions or abandons his or her previously simplistic view of the goodness of Blackness and can critically examine both Black and White thinking and rational judgment in order to produce behaviors effective in developing the Black community and engaging in these behaviors and activities become a primary activity.

Cross’ fourth and fifth stages were subsequently combined by other theorists because of the difficulty in differentiating them empirically (Helms, 1990). Theoretically, the distinction between the two involves the level of commitment characteristic of each: stage four, Internalization, involves a total and complete change in perspective towards oneself, other Black people and Whites, as well as behavioral changes in lifestyle. In any case, Cross emphasized that there is a crucial shift from concern with others’ perceptions of the developing person, to confidence in personal standards for living; from living in accordance with a new identity to becoming the new identity.
DEFINITION OF TERMS

Racial Identity - refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group.

Quality of School Life - refers to the students' general satisfaction with school, commitment to school work and reactions to teachers.

Academic Achievement - refers to the students' current year grade point average.

ASSUMPTIONS

One major assumption needs to be noted concerning this study. The assumption is that all students taking part in this study will answer the questionnaires accurately and honestly.

LIMITATIONS

This study also contains some limitations. The first limitation is that the study is limited to one small school district in South Jersey. The second limitation is that the experimenter was not able to randomly select the students, rather the students volunteered to participate in the study.
OVERVIEW

Chapter one introduces the need for the study, the purpose and the experimenters hypothesis. Along with a good understanding of the theory behind the study. Chapter two, the review of literature, will include literature pertaining to the various behaviors that racial identity may have an influence on. In Chapter three the design of the study will be discussed. Including the sample, the measures used to assess the sample and the analysis used to get the final results. Chapter four will take a close look at the results and Chapter five will be the discussion and conclusion of the study.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature suggests that the adolescent years encompassing both the high school and college experience seem to be the critical years for forming or crystallizing one's identity (Erikson, 1968). For minority group members' race or ethnicity is a significant component of their total identity. The stage of development or strength of one's identity-racial, ethnic, ideological, interpersonal or otherwise may influence present and subsequent behavior, especially behavior or in social settings. For early adolescents, educational achievement in high school is logical to examine, because educational achievement is subject to social influence and has such broad implications for future life trajectories. Ogbu (1988) asserts that educational achievement for minority students in the form of test scores and class grades is reflective of the social influences of the school environment. Ogbu suggests that one possible reason for Black students failing to do well involves the attitude by either the student or by his or her peers, that doing well in school means that the student is "acting white" and has thus betrayed his or her racial group.

This train of thought has several implications. First, it indicates that
these students have notions of what "being Black" means (i.e., the presence of racial identity attitudes). Second, it suggests that "being Black" to these adolescents is in some way incompatible with school norms which stress individual achievement and competition as means for success (reflecting to varying degrees the attitudes of the dominant culture). Third, it suggests that attitudes about "being Black" (i.e., racial identity) could have an effect on performance in school. Students who must choose between performing well in school (behaviorally as well as academically) and "being Black" can be said to be experiencing some form of conflict resulting from an identity crisis involving not just whether or not to "be Black", but more fundamentally what "being Black" and "acting White" means. According to Ogbu, school achievement occurs in a cultural context which is not always aligned with African-Americans' cultural heritage and is sometimes counterproductive with regards to maintaining status or having positive interactions with same-race peers. Ogbu's analysis proposes that minority students perform more poorly in school because there is a poorer fit between their cultural experiences and priorities and that of mainstream society. There is, however, evidence which indicates that stronger or more developed ethnic identities are
to be found in students who do better and progress farther along in the education process (Baldwin, Duncan, & Bell, 1987; Cheathan, Tomkison, & Ward, 1990; Cross, 1978).

Some studies have linked educational outcomes to identity status. Hummel & Roselli (1983) results indicated that higher academic achievers were also high identity achievers. In Meeus (1993) study, he found that there was a significant relationship between school performance and identity achievement.

One study examined systematically the relationship between racial/ethnic identity and school performance (Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts and Fulmore (1994). In this study it was hypothesized that students who perceived that discrimination would adversely affect their future job opportunities would (a) devalue the importance of their education, (b) underestimate their own academic ability and (c) develop a racial identity that conflicts with high academic performance. They drew their sample from two high schools, one predominantly African-American public school and one predominantly White Catholic school. The investigators found strong support for the first hypothesis, but not for the second or third. In fact, the
investigators found a significant positive relationship between the ethnic identity and school engagement and academic performance for African-American students in the public high school (this relationship was non significant for African-American students in the Catholic school).

Furthermore, this relationship did not appear to be related to their perceptions of discrimination. One variable which the Taylor, et. al. study did not incorporate was the students’ attitudes towards other racial or ethnic groups. Phinney (1992) demonstrated that one’s own ethnic identity was not necessarily correlated with one’s own ethnic identity was not necessarily correlated with one’s attitudes toward other ethnic groups. It is possible that negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups are more indicative of an identity at odds with school achievement (especially in an racially integrated setting) and that inclusion of these attitudes would have produced the inverse relationship Taylor and his associates expected.

These lines of research suggest that there are both inter and intra-group differences with respect to elements of culture and that these differences may have important implications for learning and academic
performance. They also suggest that various aspects of African-American culture and experience should be considered when designing and implementing academic interventions for African-American students (Allen & Boykin, 1978, Boykin & Allen, 1988).

SUMMARY

The Literature indicates that the adolescent years are the critical years for forming or crystallizing one's identity. Therefore, one's educational achievements in high school may be influenced by one's identity or identity crisis. This study was designed to add more support to the theory that identity plays a role in academic achievement and therefore should be given more attention in school curriculum.

In Chapter three you will look at the design of the study, the sample, the measures used to collect the data and the analysis used to form the results.
CHAPTER THREE

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

SAMPLE

The Sample for the study consisted of eighty five African-American high school students. The students attend a small suburban high school in South Jersey. The students range from the ages of sixteen to eighteen and are in their sophomore, junior or senior year of high school. All of the students reside in the same township, which is a lower middle income professional community comprised of various racial and ethnic groups.

MEASURES

BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES SCALE

The short version of the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale was used to assess the students racial identity. The short version consist of 30-items which yield a score for each of Cross’ Four Stages of Identity Development. The reliability coefficients for three of the subscales: Pre-Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization are acceptable - ranging from .69 to
The reliability for the Encounter items was .51. This finding seems to be attributed to the dynamic changeable nature of these attitudes. Thus, it is difficult to measure a phenomenon consistently if the phenomenon itself is not consistent (Helms, 1990).

QUALITY OF SCHOOL LIFE SCALE

The Quality of School Life Scale (QSLS; Epstein and McPortland, 1976, 1978) is a 27-item measure which yields three dimensional scores and a total score. The Quality of School Life dimensions are general satisfaction with school, commitment to school work and reaction to teachers. The reported KR-20 reliabilities for the subscale scores are acceptable, ranging from .73 to .80, with a KR-20 reliability coefficient for the total score of .89. The total score is the sum of the three subscale scores.

GRADE POINT AVERAGE

The grade point average was obtained through the guidance office for each student. The grade point average was calculated on a four-point grade scale for all classes. An A=4 points, B=3 points, C=2 points, D=1 point and F=0 points.
DESIGN

The author approached the principal directly to gain permission to conduct the study. Then those students from the sophomore, junior and senior health classes who volunteered to take part in the study were taken to the library during their health class to answer the questionnaires. Each student was given both the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the Quality of School Life Scale and a pencil to complete the questionnaires. The students were then given three instructions to follow: First they were instructed to put their student ID number in the top right hand corner of each questionnaire. Second they were told that there are no wrong answers and that I, the author, would be the only one who would see the results. Finally, they were asked to answer each and every question as accurately and honestly as possible. A list of the student's ID numbers were given to the Guidance office in order to get their grade point averages.

TESTABLE HYPOTHESIS

It is expected to be found that there is (a) a correlation between racial identity and academic achievement, (b) a correlation between racial identity
and the quality of school life and, (c) a positive correlation between academic achievement and the quality of school life.

ANALYSIS

With the collection of the participants racial identity, quality of school life and grade point average, this data was then treated statistically using a correlation analysis.

SUMMARY

All of the students participating in this study have completed both questionnaires and their grade point averages have been obtained through the Guidance department of their high school. A correlation analysis has been run on the data and it is now time to discuss the results.

In Chapter four, an analysis of the data will be addressed. Descriptive statistics will be presented, as well as, a discussion and presentation of the present findings.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to assess the racial identity and the quality of school life of African-American high school students and to determine the extent to which these identities are related to their academic performance. The study was conducted in a lower middle class public high school in Southern New Jersey. There were a total of 85 subjects (n=85) in the sample. Data was collected by administering the Quality of School Life Scale, the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale and obtaining the subjects' grade point average from the school's guidance department.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The first hypothesis stated that it was expected to be found that there is a correlation between racial identity and academic achievement. Note that racial identity was broken down into four subgroups: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. In Table 4.1 the research findings indicate that the correlation between Preencounter identity and academic achievement was significant. The correlation between the
Encounter identity and academic achievement was not significant. The negative correlation found between Immersion/Emersion identity and academic achievement was significant and the positive correlation found between Internalization identity and academic achievement was significant.

The second hypothesis stated that it was expected to be found that there is a correlation between racial identity and the quality of school life. In table 4.1, the research findings indicate that the correlation between Preencounter identity and the quality of school life was not significant. The correlation between Encounter identity and the quality of school life was not significant. The negative correlation between Immersion/Emersion identity and the quality of school life was significant and the positive correlation between Internalization identity and the quality of school life was significant.

The third hypothesis stated that it was expected to be found that there is a positive correlation between academic achievement and the quality of school life. In table 4.1, the research findings indicate that the positive correlation found between academic achievement and the quality of school life was significant.
### TABLE 4.1
Correlation Coefficient

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(Coefficient / (Cases) / 2-tailed Significance)

Note: Pre = Preencounter; Enc = Encounter; Im/Em = Immersion/Emersion; Int = Internalization; QSL = Quality of School Life; GPA = Grade Point Average.
DISCUSSION

While the results do not show significant findings for all four subgroups of identity when compared to academic achievement or quality of school life, they do show a significant positive correlation between academic achievement and the quality of school life. Many of the subgroups of identity were found to have a significant correlation with academic achievement or quality of school life or both. Thus making the results still prove interesting when looked at separately.

Looking at the first hypothesis, it is expected to be found that there is a correlation between racial identity and academic achievement, the results indicated a significant correlation for three of the identities. Preencounter and Immersion/Emersion identity showed a significant negative correlation. This indicates that people who scored high in either of these identities, scored low in academic achievement. The results for the Encounter identity showed a negative correlation, although not significant. This still indicates that people who scored high in the Encounter identity, tended to score low in academic achievement. Finally, there was a significant positive correlation for the Internalization identity. This means that those people who scored high in the
Internalization identity, also scored high in academic achievement.

In the Second hypothesis, it is expected to be found that there is a correlation between racial identity and academic achievement, the results indicate a significant correlation for two of the identities. Both Preencounter and Encounter identity results were not significant. The results of both showed a negative correlation, which indicates that people who scored high in these identities, generally scored low on the quality of school life scale.

The results of the Immersion/Emergence identity show a significant negative correlation. This means that those who scored high in the Immersion/Emergence identity, scored low on the quality of school life scale. The results of the Internalization identity showed a significant positive correlation. This means that those who scored high on the Internalization identity, scored high on the quality of school life scale.

In the Third hypothesis, it is expected to be found that there is a positive correlation between academic achievement and the quality of school life. The results failed to reject the null hypothesis. This means that the results state that those who score high in academic achievement, score high in the quality of school life. The opposite is also true, in that those who score
low in academic achievement tend to score low in the quality of school life.

The results, although not significant, give support to Cross's theory of Black identity in which people move through the stages ranging from least healthy (Preencounter) to healthiest (Internalization). The results for both the First and Second hypothesis indicate that people who score high in the first three stages of identity (unhealthy stages) score low in both the quality of school life and academic achievement. People who score high in Internalization identity (healthy stage), score high in both the quality of school life and academic achievement. These results support Cross's theory that people in the first three stages of identity are too busy dealing with interpersonal conflicts to enjoy or succeed in life. Whereas people who are considered to have reached Internalization identity, they have been thought to have reached a completeness in perspective towards oneself and others both black and white. Therefore they can fully enjoy and succeed in life.

What do these results lead us to believe about this small sample of African-American high school students in relation to Cross's theory of Black identity compared to the quality of school life and academic achievement? If nothing else the findings pose a need for further research. These implications for the future will be discussed in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY

Although some studies have linked educational outcomes to identity status (Francis, 1981; Hummel & Roselli 1983), only Taylor, Lasten, Flickinger, Roberts and Fulmore, L.D. (1994) have attempted to link educational outcomes to racial identity status of minority group members. Given the theorized importance of adequate racial identity development for the future psychological health of minority group members, and the impact of educational achievement in high school on subsequent educational, economic, and social outcomes, the present study was designed to assess the quality of school life and academic achievement of African-American high school students, and to determine the extent to which these identities are related to their racial identity. The results indicated that all four subgroups of identity when compared to academic achievement and/or the quality of school life were not significant, some were found to have a significant correlation with academic achievement or the quality of school life or both. Thus making the results still prove interesting when looked at separately.

The lack of significant results in some of the subgroups of Cross's
racial identity may have been due to sample size. Some of the subgroups may have contained too few subjects causing the findings to lack statistical significance. The insignificant results may have also been caused by the fact that the instructor used volunteers for the study, rather than obtaining a random sample of the population. Due to the insignificant results, some recommendations have been made for further research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Before replicating this study, a few things should be considered in order to successfully achieve significant results. First, instead of asking for volunteers for the study, the instructor should try to obtain a completely random sample of the population. Second, one should achieve a significant number of subjects in each of Cross’s identity subgroups before performing any statistical analysis. Finally, one may want to obtain subjects from two or more different school districts in order to encompass a wider range of socioeconomic levels.
IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The results did not show significant findings for all four subgroups of identity when compared to academic achievement or quality of school life. They did show significant results for most of the subgroups, which raises many questions such as why were some findings significant and others not? What other positive or negative behaviors correlate with racial identity? In order to answer these questions and others like them, further research such as this study should be conducted. Further research should be done not only to support Cross's Theory of Racial Identity, but to learn how each of his subgroup stages effects a person's life. In replicating this study or conducting a similar study, one should first take into consideration the recommendations earlier mentioned. Then consider different behaviors such as referrals to the office or participation in school activities such as sports, band, drama club, etc... that would be of use to educators and/or parents knowing if a correlation exists between the behavior and identity. Through such research one may learn the different behaviors that tend to correlate with each identity. This information may better prepare educators to know what behaviors to expect and how to educate the person so that the individual may raise their
level of racial identity and increase their chances to achieve their goals in life.

Research of all kinds is imperative to better our future, especially in the field of education. Further research may not only lend more support to theories such as Cross’s Racial Identity theory but they may also help in developing new and better ways to educate the youth of today in hope of building a better tomorrow.
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Note: Pre = Preencounter; Enc = Encounter; Lm/Em = Immersion/Emersion; Int = Internalization; QSL = Quality of School Life; GPA = Grade Point Average.
REFERENCES


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## Total Number of Marks

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