

When they see us: A critical analysis of racialized experiences within multiple contexts while
residing within the United States

by

Kennedy Clark

B.S., Kansas State University, 2004
M.B.A., MidAmerica Nazarene, 2010

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Applied Human Sciences
College of Human and Health Services

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2022

Abstract

The following three studies examine racialized and cultural experiences in various contexts in the United States. These studies utilized quantitative analyses to explore the concept of counter-storytelling and its importance in research. These studies sought to examine differences between cultural groups when responding to the same question. The first study explored the internalization of racialized experiences identified among Black and white populations; the results demonstrated that racialized experiences have effects on the two communities of interest. The second study sought to explore experiences related explicitly to the cultural affiliation of Black mothers and empathy outcomes for their adolescents; the findings demonstrated that adolescents who have mothers with higher levels of engagement and neighborhood involvement rate higher on the empathy measure used within the study. The final study is a comparative analysis that demonstrates the importance of research analyzing data and allowing space for the various findings among racial and cultural groups; the most important finding is that no two groups shared identical findings.

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Approved by:

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

This dissertation was birthed from my desire to enhance the research about the importance of creating space to increase the representation and visibility of marginalized voices within Family Science. Family Science centrally engages with large datasets in its research. While reading the Family Science literature, I often felt marginalized by the number of publications generalizing their findings to the entire population, even though their samples were predominantly white. When a sample is overwhelmingly white, it is most closely reflective of how white people feel, unless the story is told by disaggregating the data and allowing each group to tell their own story. Unfortunately, the disaggregation of data was not what I found to be the norm, even in cases where the sample size was large enough in a variety of racial groups to allow for the practice. I could not help but wonder whether we would find it acceptable to ask research questions about parenting while using a sample of 97% of fathers without correctly noting that this study was based on fathers. In such a case, we might even remove the three percent who did not identify as fathers and limit the study to fathers. Any study about parenting with 97% of the sample being fathers by default would become more accurately defined as a study about fatherhood rather than parenthood.

Acknowledgment of this inadequate representation occurs in groups with less marginalized identities. In the example, women are marginalized but not nearly to the extent of other marginalized identities, so they are more visible. In the case of race, sexual orientation, and gender identity, it seems more acceptable to overlook representation within Family Science. My purpose in developing the studies in this dissertation was to offer more visibility to people of the global majority, another term for people of color, to show the importance of representation. This dissertation has been an act of love and passion, but it has taken an incredible emotional toll. The

lack of adequate representation is disheartening. Family Scientists continue to use large datasets that lack representation for marginalized identities while crying foul about the inaccessibility of adequate samples. If we desire more representation as a field, we should utilize datasets with sufficient sample sizes to allow for more marginalized identities. That would require that those who develop the datasets create a plan and take action to access the missing participants. Moreover, if we choose to use majority-white samples for our studies, it might benefit us to remove the non-white people in the study and label the study and findings as findings of white people. These simple acts would add to the inclusion and more accurately identify who is being studied. Failure to do so continues the propensity of white normalization. The exception to this practice is when the groups are being divided and compared, which allows for representation from each group.

Being “not-racist” should no longer be acceptable in Family Science. Instead, Family Scientists should take action to become “anti-racist,” which means doing the work to address the issues related to inequity (Kendi, 2019). These steps include acquiring knowledge, listening to marginalized voices, self-reflection, and taking action. That action needs to include the design of new inclusive datasets.

If you are unfamiliar with race research, there are a couple of things that you should know before embarking on the journey of reading this dissertation. First, it is common to lower-case white while capitalizing Black and Brown. This practice was born for various reasons, and each researcher partakes in practice for their reasons. For me, white is often invisible and normalized, while anything viewed as Black or Brown deviates from the norm. As a result, in this research, for symbolic emphasis, I will follow the normalization of white by allowing it to

blend into the text with the other words while expressing Black and Brown in capitalized letters to show the deviation from the norm.

Additionally, this dissertation may cause discomfort; it is important to acknowledge that if you are a white person, it is likely that you often experience more flexibility and can move away from racialized experiences that cause discomfort. In contrast, existing as a Black or Brown person in the United States can often cause unescapable discomfort. I want to encourage you to sit in the place of discomfort and continue reading.

In the work that follows, I work with three prominent Family Science datasets to illustrate the problematic practices surrounding the use of race as a simple demographic variable. My effort to reveal the richness of multiculturalism obscured by various datasets relies on critical race theory.

Statement of the Problem

“If you ain’t white¹, you ain’t right,” said the character Phil Dunphy on the popular television show *Modern Family*. Though many would shutter hearing that phrase out of context, there is a parallel in much of the existing scholarly research. Family science is included as it has a propensity to perpetuate the normalization of the dominant culture (Allen & Barber, 1992; van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). It is not necessarily the intent of researchers to whitewash or hetero-normalize the research (van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). They often inadvertently do this by their choices related to the models they run and the samples they utilize (Allen & Barber, 1992; van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018).

¹ It is important to note that among Critical Race theorists it has become increasingly acceptable to capitalize Black while maintaining white in a lowercase format. Black is identified not only as a race, but an ethnic group and heritage. Whereas white is not related to a particular ethnicity (Hurtado, 1989).

Particular groups are under-represented in the scholarly research because white, hetero-normative, cis-gendered, and Christian populations are often overrepresented. This series of papers focus on racialized experiences within a variety of contexts. Individuals who are of non-dominant demographics often lack equal representation in the research unless the data are specifically focused on Indigenous, Chicana, Chicano, Latina, Latino, Latinx, Asian, and Black populations (Gillborn, 2006; Harris, 1993; Harris & Brown, 2006; van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). Research that is conducted disproportionately using mostly white populations is often used and generalized to all populations (van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). Additionally, research using predominately white samples is often used by practitioners and translated into other languages.

Race has often been identified as a simple social construct that often leads people to think that it can be easily eliminated (Gans, 2005). However, it is much more interwoven within multiple tiers of society. Race and racism are often so incorporated into American culture that it is often not recognized (Kendi, 2019; Takaki & Steffoff, 2012). Race has also become closely intertwined with class (Gans, 2005; Isenberg, 2017). Science within the United States has a long history of providing fewer resources, intentionally, perpetually oppressing, marginalizing, exploiting, abusing, ignoring, and subjecting non-white populations to inhumane treatment within and outside of science (Isenberg, 2017; Kendi, 2019; Takaki & Steffoff, 2012). The United States has a long history of social injustices and inequity throughout its time as a country. The population and the government engaged in atrocities of discrimination and oppression against groups who have since become identified as white. However, the disparities experienced by these groups are far from the level of inequity experienced by those identified as members of the global majority (Takaki & Steffoff, 2012). Though Americans within the United States would

prefer to categorize these acts as forms of history, they continue to have a lingering presence within the United States' culture (Takaki & Steffoff, 2012).

Race has played a significant role in American history through the standard practices of the colonizers historically and continues to remain a factor within the culture of the United States. In 1641, Massachusetts became the first colony to legalize slavery as a practice, which resulted in many Black people becoming slaves. Other colonies followed, but that enslavement was limited to adults and not children. However, in 1662 the law of heredity passed in Virginia. Prior to that year, Black people who were indentured or enslaved did not have to consider that their children would have the same status in life, in the way that white individuals who were brought from Europe did not have to worry; once they worked off their indentured status, their children were not obligated to complete the sentence (Isenberg, 2017). In both cases, each indentured servant individual was responsible for paying off their debt by working for the individual who paid for their transportation to the United States (Isenberg, 2017). However, the law of heredity was the point in time when those identified as Black people experienced reclassification so that their descendants would also become enslaved for their lives. Though the law in Massachusetts was the first official law when race became part of the legislation and explicitly included measures to oppress those identified as other than white systemically, it was the Virginia law that imposed the oppression upon the descendants by ensuring that future generations would remain oppressed.

Additionally, subsequent laws impacted those classified as Indigenous and all other categories who did not qualify as white (Takaki, 2008). However, the lack of focus on how these atrocities affect modern society is part of the well-established masters' narrative being the most pervasive narrative (Takaki, 2008). Though the masters' narrative remains a problem in most

areas of the culture in the United States, it is even more concerning that it remains a factor within academia, particularly in helping fields, including Family Science (Baham, 2012; Coleman, 2005).

A person's race is not a variable that can provide information about characteristics; instead, race should be identified as the unique cultural experiences often connected or associated with the race (Crenshaw, 1991). As the field of Family Science strives to become more inclusive by exploring the people of the global majority, allowing racial and cultural groups to reveal themselves and their cultures, researchers may want to mitigate utilizing the proximity to whiteness as the default measure. The studies in this dissertation sought to explore the effects of racialized and culture-based experiences of individuals residing in the United States. Moreover, these three studies examined how racial backgrounds can affect the lives of those who are from underserved populations (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

This dissertation seeks to explore the effects of racialized experiences within several different contexts. Racialized experience exploration is vital if the trajectory of Family Science is to be inclusive. It is crucial to move beyond defining race as a demographic and learn more about how experiences may differ within the culture of the United States. These studies focus on experiences associated with white normalization and the practice of othering people of the global majority. Race and racism are still incredibly complex and divisive issues within the context of the United States culture. Racialized experiences are often found as a foundation of many hostilities (Fluehr-Lobban, 2006). This dissertation researched the effects of race in various contexts as it is related to the experiences of American individuals and families in the United States.

Paper 1: Self-Identity in Black and white: Racial Familiarity, Racial Attitudes, Racial Centrality, Perceived Racial Affirmation, and Self-Identity

This study explores how racial familiarity and racial attitudes can affect self-identity for Black and white individuals in the United States. This research used the General Social Study (GSS) dataset (Smith et al., 1972-2018); these data were collected at 6-time points over 20 years. The purpose of this study is to analyze how the perceived racial affirmation and self-identity of Black and white individuals may be affected by racial closeness, stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality. This purpose was analyzed by utilizing Critical Race Theory and the Social-Ecological Model to ask the following research questions: *(a) Are there differences between Black and white people related to racial stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality? (b) How do racial closeness and racial stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality affect perceived racial affirmation and self-identity in Black and white people?* Analysis of these data was conducted using a Multilevel Regression Structure Equation Model (Kline, 2016).

Paper 2: Black Mothering through Blackness: Maternal Racial Identity, Expectations, and Adolescent Empathy Outcomes

This study aims to examine the effect of maternal race, heritage affiliation, stress, and conflict on the adolescent outcomes of multi-racial or multiethnic adolescents. This study analyzed data from the Fragile Family Dataset (McLanahan et al., 1998-2017), which is a longitudinal dataset with multiple data collection points over the course of 15 years. Using Critical Race Theory as the lens, this study explored the following hypothesis: *Maternal race, heritage affiliation, stress, and conflict will affect empathy outcomes in multi-racial and multi-ethnic adolescents.* Data were analyzed using a Hierarchical Regression Model.

Paper 3: Differences in Enjoyment During Adolescence: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter?

This study aims to explore how racialized experiences may affect the enjoyment of life in adolescents. Furthermore, this paper will discuss the differences that may appear by separating racial groups and analyzing them apart from the racial majority. When a study is being generalized to the American population within the United States, is it important to explore racial groups individually? Using Critical Race Theory as a guide and The National Longitudinal Study for Adolescent to Adult Health (ADD Health) dataset (Smith et al., 1972-2018), the following research questions were used to investigate this phenomenon: *(a) How do hope, and internalized feelings affect life enjoyment during adolescence across races? (b) How does a predominately white sample affect inferences on issues compared to each racial group having its recognition?* This study utilized linear and ordinal regression techniques to answer the questions (Darlington & Hayes, 2017).

Summary

Racial and cultural experiences continue to affect American society within the United States (Austin, 2006; Delgado et al., 2017; Ross, 2017). Topics and issues related to race are not always overt, and depending on the amount of systemic involvement, they may be difficult to recognize (Crenshaw, 1996). Benefactors and oppressed individuals continue to perpetuate the significance of race in many lives within the United States because race and racism continue to be elements of influence within the culture (Crenshaw, 1996). One's self-identity development becomes molded and influenced by every tier found in the social-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Xie et al., 2019; Zlotnick et al., 2019). The influence of race, culture, and racial experiences is not always apparent; however, when comparing interracial or

intercultural families and individuals to monoracial or monocultural families and individuals, we are better positioned to see the effects of racialized or culture-based experiences.

With the increase of diversity of families, Family Science must permit representation for all types. Those who are considered lay individuals are often not as well informed as those who hold positions as scholars, nor are they creators of scientific content. Family scientists, scholars, and practitioners must become aware of their complacency and perpetuation of underserved populations' continuous marginalization within research. Additionally, Family Scientists who are committed to equity should be focused on authentic community engagement and practice. Those holding the aforementioned key positions must take action to move the field forward while consciously practicing antiracism. A neutral ground does not exist; individuals are either racist or antiracist (Kendi, 2019). "Until the lions have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter" (Chinua Achebe, N.D.). The purpose of this study is to explore race-related topics by using counter-storytelling through the lens of the lion.

Chapter 2 - Paper 1: Self-Identity in Black and white: Racial Familiarity, Racial Attitudes, Racial Centrality, Perceived Racial Affirmation, and Self-Identity

The United States is considered a racialized society where whiteness is held with the highest regard (Harris, 1993; Montoya et al., 2016). white superiority is so intricately interwoven into American culture that the ideologies associated with white supremacy are often unnoticed and remain unchallenged (Montoya et al., 2016). Ultimately such doctrines can benefit those who are a part of the white race while subjecting those labeled as others to adverse conditions (Burke & Stets, 2009; Gaffney, 2015; Montoya et al., 2016). These ideologies can cause internalization of less than or otherness within those who exist outside of the parameters of what is valued or perceived as white (Baker, 2015; Burke & Stets, 2009). Unbeknownst to many, one of the most significant difficulties in overcoming whiteness is the ownership, emotional attachment to whiteness, and value placed on whiteness (Borell, 2021; Harris, 1993). People often do not understand how whiteness is upheld in a likeness to property within the United States. Whiteness is inherited, limited, and coveted (Harris, 1993).

As Family Science strives to become more inclusive of family diversity, it is crucial to explore the dynamics of intergroup relationships, particularly those related to race (James et al., 2018). It is also crucial to evaluate how white people internalize race within themselves rather than perpetually focusing on how they treat people within a racial context. A key question remains about how race is utilized in a modern historical context; participants' race is included in the literature as a description without a clear explanation of the significance and experiences associated with race. Allowing the practice of demographic analyses utilizing race without

providing context lacks sufficient inclusion of the lived experience. It may position readers to assume that those included in the study are deficient rather than analyzing the disparities surrounding and creating the circumstances. In other words, the experience of marginalization causes the issues often faced by the global majority of people rather than people born of a particular race or culture.

Researchers have asserted that more exposure to racially diverse populations often increased racial affinity in white individuals, whereas more exposure to diverse populations had the opposite effect on those who identify as non-white (Abscal, 2015). It becomes increasingly important for researchers to explore the effects of exposure to diverse populations on an individual as the United States population continues to diversify. According to 2017 census estimates, the population of white children in the United States has decreased by 1.2 million children compared to the previous census data (Vespa, 2020). During the same period, there has been an influx of racial minority populations of the same age demographic. As a result, there are more non-white children than white children under the age of 15 residing in the United States. This study will add to the literature by assessing how racial attitudes and communities affect self-identity.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) was developed with roots in feminist theory and legal studies. CRT developed as a response to the inequities and injustices found within the United States' judicial system (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado, 2017). The use of Critical Race Theory has expanded and is now often utilized within social sciences. There are five principles of Critical Race Theory: (a) racism is normalized and permanent, (b) the importance of counter-

storytelling, (c) white people and families remain the primary benefactors of the Civil Rights Movement, (d) systemic racism is often supported intentionally and unintentionally, and (e) race is a social construct (Delgado et al., 2017).

CRT asserted that racism is permanent and embedded in the culture, which is crucial in analyzing why race remains a vital aspect of American culture. Often racism is covert and remains invisible and intangible (Crenshaw et al., 1996). Racism can manifest through microaggressions, which are forms of bias or acts of racism; they can happen both consciously and unconsciously (Sue et al., 2007). Microaggressions are racial slights that are often confusing for the receiver and can be in the form of actions or communications.

Racism is not reliant on any one category of people to manifest and maintain its propensity to continue throughout the ranks of American culture and ideology (Crenshaw et al., 1996). This awareness is vital to this study because those who may not identify themselves as white may remain a coconspirator in upholding white supremacy ideology. Therefore, those who are not white may still ascribe to the belief consciously or subconsciously that whiteness should be prioritized and upheld (Sue et al., 2007).

Race is a social construct with very little to no biological significance (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado et al., 2005). Though this is considered common knowledge within the academic ranks, it may be less common among the masses. Race was socially developed as a mechanism to separate those who were not in a position of power from one another (Isenburg, 2017).

According to Critical Race Theory, race's invisibility and acts of oppression are intentional (Delgado et al., 2015; Hackney, 1998). Within the context of the United States, individuals of the dominant culture often can decide whether to opt in or out of adverse racialized experiences. However, members of society who are not members of the dominant

culture experience life through an intersectional identity that includes their race (Crenshaw, 1996).

Racialized experiences can affect every aspect of life, not only those who are adversely treated by the practices but also those who benefit from the system of racial oppression. Racism is harmful to all parties, even those who appear to benefit (Gaffney, 2015). As a result, the experiences and understanding of race relations vary significantly within the Black and white dichotomy.

Social-Ecological Model

Bronfenbrenner's (1992) Social-Ecological Model was also used as a guide for the study. According to the Ecological Model, multiple levels of social influence the development of an individual at the center of the model (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). The Ecological Model consists of five tiers: (a) microsystem, (b) mesosystem, (c) exosystem, (d) macrosystem, and (f) chronosystem. Each human has their own social-ecological system; this system develops around the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

The microsystem is often the most influential tier of the entire ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Within this tier exists the closest and most significant relationships to the individual in the ecological model. This tier includes, but is not limited to, the primary locations and people where the individual primarily invests time, energy, and efforts. When considering the outcome of self-identity, it is essential to consider how influential parents, school affiliated adults, teachers, and peers can be to the identity of the individual; it is crucial to know that those who are influential within the tiers may not always be aware of their effect on the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Within this tier, the relationships are the closest, and the bi-directional influence is the greatest at this level of the model.

The mesosystem is part of the model where relationships between an individual's microsystems are maintained and established. These communications and relationships can positively and negatively affect a person's self-identity (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Though this level does not directly include the individual, because it is the relationship between microsystems, the individual at the center of the social-ecological model will strongly influence this tier, just as this tier will substantially influence the individual.

The exosystem is a tier that is often further from direct interaction as it is related to the individual; however, it can still significantly affect the perceptions that one has related to their identity in many ways. The exosystem tier includes the community where the individual resides (e.g., the local police and neighbors). Entities that exist within the exosystem can positively and negatively affect the person's identity found in the center of the social-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Within this tier, the individual's influence is more limited for most individuals.

The macrosystem identifies and maintains the values, perceptions, and beliefs in a broader context. This tier, though somewhat removed from the individual, strongly influences the tiers that are more closely surrounding the individual. Despite the proximity to the individual, the units that exist within the macrosystem can positively and negatively affect the identity of the person found in the center of the social-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

Within the chronosystem, time and historical context exist. This tier includes historical influences as well as events occurring within the present. This tier is embedded in each tier within the entire ecological system (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

Review of Literature

Whiteness and Othering

The value of whiteness far exceeds the value of Black, Chicano, Chicana, Latina, Latinx, Latino, Indigenous, and Asian populations within the United States (Crenshaw et al., 1996). Several studies about whiteness have concluded that often those who exist within the classification of whiteness take for granted the comforts of being white (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; DiAngelo, 2018; Kendi, 2019). Though the definition of whiteness and the identity of those qualified as white have evolved over time, within the context of the United States, white people are still the most powerful and privileged racial group (DiAngelo, 2018; Tatum, 2005). Takaki (2008) concluded that within American history and society, the definition of whiteness has continuously evolved in an effort to limit access to whiteness. Harris (1993; 2006) discussed whiteness as property. It affords certain statuses and advantages to those who maintain ownership. White idealization is harmful to all, not just those oppressed (Gaffney, 2015; Harris, 2006). The otherness created can affect both the oppressed and the oppressors adversely (Gaffney, 2015). The inclusion and exclusion of whiteness can affect the development of one's identity and perception of self (Burke & Stets, 2009). Otherness contributes to this study aim by providing insight into why Black and white people experience different outcomes and perceptions related to their own identities. The experience of being othered can occur overtly and covertly and can affect the identity of an individual. For example, othering can be as overt as a micro assault or as covert as asking a student of color about how they can afford tuition at a Primarily White Institution (PWI).

Media

Scholars have long discussed the media's influence on perception, values, and attitudes (De Fleur & De Fleur, 2003; Steinke et al., 2007). Media influence is an element that often affects the perception of those who are considered underrepresented populations (Steinke et al., 2007). The media can affect perceptions and continuously affect the stereotype threat (Mastro, 2009; Mastro, 2015; Steinke et al., 2007; Tukachinsky et al., 2015). Steele and Aronson (1995) defined stereotype threat as a psychological discomfort that happens when someone exists or participates in activities or events that are not considered appropriate for their group identity because the group identity is not supposed to engage in that activity. For example, girls may watch professional sports, and because of the limited representation of women, they may internalize that girls and women cannot become professional athletes. Steinke and colleagues (2007) recognized that it could affect the perception of self and career choices.

With the introduction of social media, aspects of media are now created at every tier of the ecological model, rather than solely in the macrosystem. Media is no longer controlled by professionals, but it can be generated by anyone. It is a well-known fact that media influence often can significantly affect those exposed to the content (Steinke et al., 2007). Media is often used as a way to provide information in categories where individuals may be less knowledgeable.

When individuals primarily garner their perceptions of particular demographics based on media representation, these perceptions are often skewed. Media continues to overrepresent Black, Chicano, Chicana, Latina, Latinx, Latino, Indigenous, and Asian in roles that are less desirable as maids, couriers, taxi drivers, or criminals, the ingrates of society while perpetuating white women as victims and placing white men in prestigious and successful roles (Callanan,

2012; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1990; Lee & Thien, 2015). Callanan (2012) found that local news outlets had the most significant effect on the risk of being a victim of a crime and fear associated with race. Race-based fear associated with the fear of victimization was enhanced if the media sources incorporated race-based information about the suspects. Media can affect individuals' self-image and identity (Leonard & Guerrero, 2013; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

Racial Familiarity (Racial Exposure)

Race continues to be significant within American culture. Familiarization with different groups of people can affect the level of comfort to those who are visually different from themselves; these responses can be both associated with aspects of nature and nurture. Critical Race Theory designated that color-blindness as it relates to races does not exist (Brown et al., 2011; Delgado et al., 2017).

Sangrigoli & De Schonen (2004) found that infants who were three months old had the ability to recognize individuals of different races and showed more comfort towards those of a similar race to their own or their parents. This study shows that, to some degree, it is natural to identify with those who remind us the most of those we are most frequently exposed to or experience at a fundamental level (Sangrigoli & De Schonen, 2004).

Within the United States, many neighborhoods and communities remain relatively segregated. This segregation limits not only the equity of communities but racial familiarization (Wei et al., 2018). Many of the communities became Black and Brown through the practice of redlining (Rothstein, 2017). Redlining was a policy implemented by banks and supported by the government. Often, Black, Chicana, Chicano, Latino, Latinx, Latina, Indigenous, and Asian individuals were unable to attain mortgages in those communities as they were classified as less valuable and with higher risks (Rothstein, 2017). Yellow-lined residential areas may allow

white individuals to get mortgages in those communities; however, they were considered higher risk because often they were located near the redlined communities (Rothstein, 2017).

Green lined neighborhoods were allowed mortgages and hindered the ability of Black, Chicano, Chicana, Latina, Latinx, Latino, Indigenous, and Asian individuals to move into those communities, which ultimately would perpetuate the continued segregation that many cities across the nation continue to experience (Rothstein, 2017). In many cases, redlined neighborhoods are primarily impoverished today (Rothstein, 2017). However, some previously redlined residential areas have gone through the process of gentrification (Rothstein, 2017). Gentrification is the revitalization or remodeling of a neighborhood (Bentcur, 2011; Goetz, 2011; Levitt, 2015). These residential areas are often located near or considered to be in a city's urban core (Goetz, 2011). There have been cultural shifts in many metropolitan areas that have made it more desirable to live within city limits rather than drive for an exurbanite amount of time to work (Bentcur, 2011; Goetz, 2011; Levitt, 2015). Gentrified neighborhoods often remain primarily segregated in nature as well because as a neighborhood becomes gentrified, Black, Chicano, Chicana, Latina, Latinx, Latino, Indigenous, and Asian with fewer resources are forced out of those communities (Goetz, 2011). However, there have been several pieces of legislation passed to outlaw the practice of segregation in terms of housing and mortgages. Many communities remain segregated because of issues related to accessibility (Rothstein, 2017).

Self-Identity

The development of self-identity is complex. Identity is ever-evolving based on experiences and internal processing (Evans, 2013). Sometimes the changes in one's perspective of self are consciously changed, while other times, it's a development that can occur subconsciously (Evans, 2013). Within the context of this study, there are factors that stem from

multiple tiers in the social-ecological model that can influence the self-identity of an individual. How a person perceives themselves is often multi-tiered and full of external influences (Koubová, 2013). Self-identity has been identified in the sociological and psychological literature as a critical factor in the actor's self (Smith et al., 2008). Often, people have personal ideas associated with their own different identities; some of these are how they see themselves. At other times, these perspectives are based on how they see others who fit the identity they share (Evans, 2013). This can be challenging when their recognition of their shifting identities moves in a way that surprises the individual, for example, when an individual who has always seen themselves as only part of a "human race" but begins to view themselves through a racialized lens (Evans, 2013).

Stevenson and Arrington (2009) discussed the complexity of self-identity influenced by racialized experiences, which, along with the perception of one's race, can influence the behavior of an actor. Racialized experiences occur throughout the Social-Ecological Model. Whether or not these racialized experiences are consciously noted or apparent, they can influence the perception of an individual's self-identity. Individuals do not typically develop in isolated conditions where they are completely sheltered from influences outside of their microsystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Race is an integral aspect of American culture; though it is rarely discussed, it is very present (Sue & Constantine, 2007).

It is essential to understand how and if individual identities develop differently based on systemic, institutionalized, and internalized racism. As academia strives to become an integral participant in the dismantling of white supremacy, it becomes imperative that human-based fields begin to explore the internalization of racism on individuals' identities. Having a better understanding of the effects of white supremacy on the individuals who have been systemically

oppressed and have suffered at the hands of white supremacy is needed. The research related to self-identity is limited and rarely discusses how racialized experiences can help mold one's identity.

The Present Study

Though many researchers have included racial categories as demographic information, they often neglect to incorporate the stories associated with racially different individuals' experiences. Critical Race Theory established the importance of describing race and the storytelling element of why these findings vary among racial groups. The relationship between the racial composition of neighborhoods and self-identity has not yet been clarified. In 1903, Du Bois introduced double consciousness, which is the constant dual awareness for Black people who are consistently aware of whom they are while simultaneously seeing themselves through the lens of a white-dominated society. The effects of double consciousness have recently started gaining more momentum. Can neighborhood diversity provide an element of protection in self-identity development compared to less diverse neighborhoods where Black individuals continuously see themselves through the lens of an anti-Black society?

This study purposefully explored the effects of racial closeness, racial stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality on perceived self-identities of Black and white people. The purpose of this study is to explore how white and Black individuals react to racialized experiences while being influenced by the various elements within their social-ecological system and how that affects their self-identity. This purpose was examined by utilizing both Critical Race Theory and the Social-Ecological Model to ask the following research questions: *(a) Are there differences between Black and white people related to racial stereotypes, community*

diversity, and racial centrality? (b) How do racial stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality affect perceived racial affirmation and self-identity in Black and white people?

Methods

This study utilized data from the 2010 panel of the General Social Survey (GSS), a longitudinal three-wave panel study. Participants consisted of one person over the age of 18 per randomly selected household. Participant responses were collected using interviews conducted on the phone and in person, as well as through questionnaires.

The GSS 2010 panel included 2,023 participants. To meet the aim of this study, the inclusion criteria required that all participants only identified as Black or white. The comprehensive GSS 2010 panel included four ballots. Each ballot had two different versions for a total of 8 different question sets. Some question sets were eliminated from this study due to not having all of the questions within the scope of the variables being studied. Based on these criteria, the final sample size for this study was 837; the final sample included Black ($n = 138$) and white ($n = 699$) participants from the 2010 panel. There were both male ($n = 344$) and female ($n = 493$) participants included in the study. Adults represented in the study were an average of 48.38-years-old (range 18 – 89, SD 16.44). There were a variety of education levels represented within the sample; 10% did not graduate from high school, 50% were high school graduates, 29% graduated from community college or university, and 11% had education beyond the bachelor's degree. Participants reported the type of work they engaged in during the previous year; 385 participants were employed full-time, and 452 were employed part-time or other

Measures

Community Diversity

Community diversity was measured by asking respondents, Are there any (“whites” for Black respondents, “Blacks” for white respondents) living in this neighborhood now? This question was a binary response. This item was dummy coded to 0 (*no*) and 1 (*yes*).

Racial Stereotypes

The racial stereotypes index was created using three questions that consisted of information related to choices and life positions. People’s perceived intelligence was measured using a scale of 1 (*unintelligent*) to 7 (*intelligent*). Participants were asked if they thought that the particular people (Black or white) were lazy saw the 1 (*lazy*) to 7 (*not lazy*). Participants were asked if they thought that the particular people (Black or white) were Wealthy saw the 1 (*not wealthy*) to 7 (*wealthy*). All items mentioned above were coded so that those with a higher number were aligned with more positive associations with the group.

Racial Centrality

Perception of racial centrality is a latent index variable composed of 5 items. Sample questions include: “Are you proud to be your race?” These items were measured on a 10-point scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 10 (*Complete*). The mean was computed across all 5- items to get a single measure of perceived racial centrality (Nioplias et al., 2017).

Racialized Self-Identity

Racialized Self-Identity was measured with 5-items in Wave 3. Sample questions included, *Do you think that your race is important?* and *Do your friends see you as your race or ethnicity?* These questions were answered on a scale from 1 (*Strongly opposed*) to 5 (*Strongly favor*). Items were coded so that higher scores corresponded with the higher belief that the

respondent's perception was positive. The mean was computed across all 5 items to get a single measure of perceived racial affirmation and self-identity.

Controls

Education, the spouse's education, work status, and age were used as control variables for this study.

College Education. Respondents were asked about their education level. The education was dummy coded, 1 (*some college education and above*) and 0 (*high school education and below*). Education level has been viewed as a contributing factor to one's self-identity (Flouri, 2006).

Employment Status. Respondents were asked about their employment status. The employment status was dummy coded, 1 (*full-time employment*) and 0 (*non-full-time employment*). One's employment status can contribute to feelings associated with self-identity (Lee & Seon, 2019).

Race. Respondents were asked to self-identify their race. Race was dummy coded as 1 (*Black*) and 0 (*white*). One's race can affect the racialized experiences that an individual may experience (Tatum, 2017).

Age. Participants were asked about their age, and these were categorized into multiple groups. Young 1 (*those under 35*), middle-aged 2 (*those aged 35-64*), and older adults 3 (*those aged 65 and above*). The perception of self is ever-evolving, and throughout the tiers of the ecological system within the culture of the United States, certain ages are more valued than others, and that can affect the self-identity of the individual (Meier et al., 2011; Ogihara & Kusumi, 2020).

Data Analysis Plan

This study sought to examine the effect of racial closeness and racial stereotypes, community diversity, and racial centrality on the self-identity of an individual based on racialized experiences. A correlation analysis was run to test the relationship between variables. A structural equation model, more specifically a multi-level moderated regression model, was fit using AMOS 25. Multiple model fit indicators were utilized, including RMSEA, CFI, NFI, and $c2/df$ ratio (Kline, 2016). Multi-group moderation tests were conducted to examine any potential differences in the model (see Figure 2.1). Then, indirect effects were assessed using the Monte Carlo Method for Assessing Mediation to consider if community diversity mediated the relationship between racial closeness and racial stereotypes and perceptions of racial centrality for either racial group. Moderation examines how the trajectory of a relationship between the independent and dependent variables were affected by an additional variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986). This model was moderated by race, more specifically Black and white.

Results

These data were analyzed for missing data utilizing a Little's Missing Completely at Random Test (MCAR); it was not found to be significant (χ^2 133.62, df 113, $p = 0.90$), so the variables were missing completely at random. Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) was used to manage the missing data. Additionally, distribution normality and tests were run to determine which ballots had the variables of interest. After these analyses were conducted, several of the initial variables were eliminated due to missing data. After reviewing the 2,044-panel participants for the aforementioned characteristics, 837 remained in the sample (Black $n = 138$ and white $n = 699$). After the analysis of useable variables, one variable related to racial familiarity remained. There were four variables for the social attitudes, which included an index;

due to the variety of ranges between variables related to racial attitudes, creating a latent variable at this level of analysis was prohibited. In the third tier of the study, there were four variables with the same range used to formulate the latent variable of self-identity; this latent variable was used to capture the respondent's perceptions related to race and self. Additionally, there were four variables used to capture the perception of race centrality of the respondents.

Homoscedasticity, skewness, and kurtosis were in the range of normality (Kline, 2016). A requirement of multi-level regression is that all participants are independent of other participants. There were no existing relationships between individual respondents, which prevented multicollinearity (Kline, 2016).

Table 2.1*Self-Identity, Racial Familiarity, Racial Attitudes, among Black and White Sample: Correlations and Descriptives (N=837)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
WhiteStereotypes	-											
BlackStereotypes	.19**	-										
Race Centrality	.16**	.01	-									
White	-.04	-.23**	-.19**	-								
Black	.04	.23**	.19**	-.16**	-							
RaceselfID	.13**	.03	.87**	-.03	-.26**	-						
Sex	.08*	.11**	.07	.24**	.10**	.07**	-					
Age	.15**	-.12**	.20**	-.09*	-.09**	.20**	-.00	-				
Diversity	.02	-.08*	.01	-.06*	-.20**	-.01	.06	.10**	-			
Favor ½ Black Community	.00	-.16**	.03	-.07*	-.26**	.02	-.04	-0.16	.12**	-		
Favor ½ White Community	-.09*	-.024	-.10**	-.09*	.10**	-.26**	-.05	.00	.06	.36**	-	
Employment	-.14**	-.061	-.11**	-.14**	-.04	-.11**	-.16**	-.23**	-.26	.03	.04	-
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>M</i>	9.72	8.72	14.59	0.84	0.16	13.42	1.59	1.95	1.32	2.84	2.37	0.48
<i>SD</i>	1.46	1.61	6.23	0.37	0.37	6.89	0.49	0.64	0.47	0.95	0.89	0.50

A correlation analysis was run (see Table 2.1). Black stereotypes ($r = .19; p < .001$), race centrality ($r = .16; p < .001$), racialized self-identity ($r = .13; p < .001$), sex ($r = .08; p < .05$), favor residing in half white community ($r = -.09; p < .01$), employment ($r = -.14; p < .001$) were all significantly associated with white stereotypes. Race centrality was significantly correlated with white ($r = -.19; p < .01$), Black ($r = .19; p < .01$), racialized self-identification ($r = .87; p < .01$), Age ($r = .20; p < .01$), the desire to live in half white communities ($r = -.10; p < .01$), and employment ($r = -.11; p < .01$). Racialized self-identification was associated with negative white stereotypes ($r = .13; p < .01$), sex ($r = .07; p < .01$), and age ($r = .20; p < .01$). Additionally, there were associations between racialized self-identification and the desire to reside in a half white community ($r = -.26; p < .01$), employment ($r = -.11; p < .01$).

The maximum likelihood regression model in Figure 2.1 was tested using AMOS 25. Moderation examines how the trajectory of a relationship between the independent and dependent variable is impacted by an additional variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986). This model was moderated by race, more specifically Black and white.

Measurement Model

Figure 2.1

Self-Identity, Racial Familiarity, Racial Attitudes, white Model (N = 699)

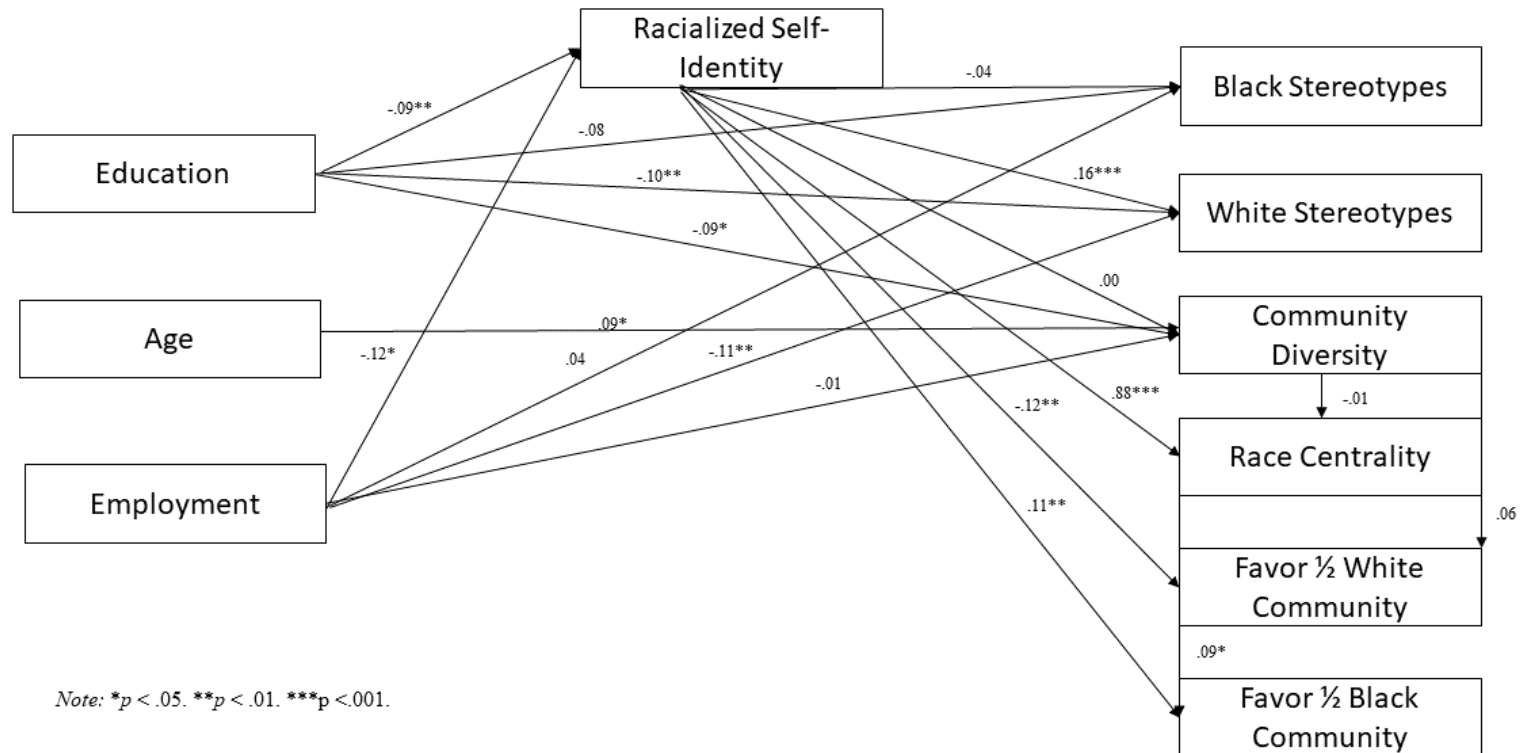
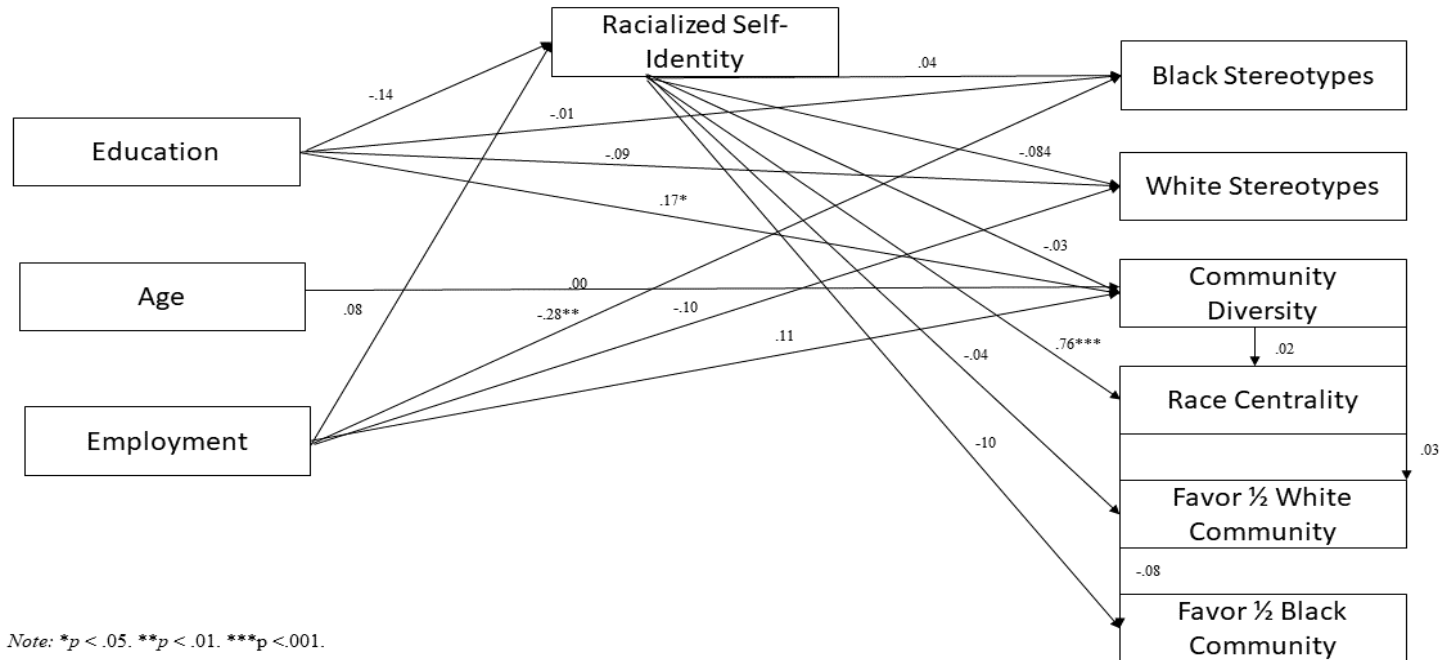


Figure 2.2

Self-Identity, Racial Familiarity, Racial Attitudes, Black Sample (N=138)



Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

The results from the analysis for model fit of the primary measurement model controlling for education indicated an acceptable model fit. Unconstrained: Chi-Square = 125.84 (*df* 44, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .047, $p < .001$). Structured: Chi-Square = 163.57 (*df* 62, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .044, $p < .001$) (Kline, 2016). The Black and white models were found to be significantly different from one another (Chi-square = 37.74, $p < .05$).

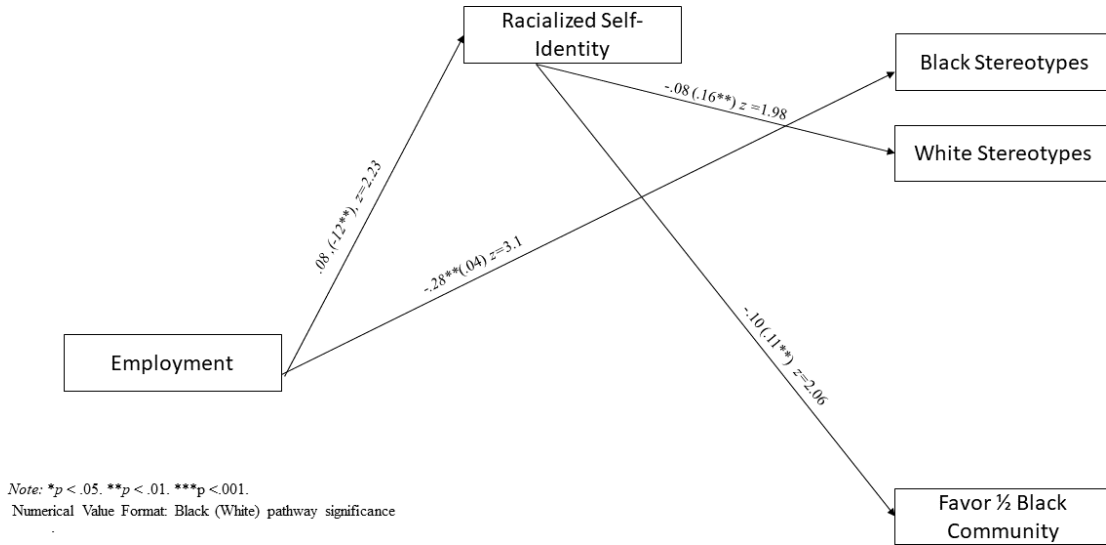
Self-identity was calculated based on racial stereotypes and racial attitudes. Results for the white sample are included in Figure 2.1, and results for the Black sample are included in Figure 2.2. When Black ($b = -.28$, $p < .01$) people were employed full-time, there was a decrease in their beliefs in positive stereotypes about Black people. Among the Black sample ($b = .76$, $p < .17$, $p < .01$) people had an increase in their education, they also had an increase in their community diversity, while higher education for white participants was associated with a decrease in community diversity ($b = -.09$, $p < .05$).

For white people, full-time employment decreased the racialized self-identity ($b = -.12$, $p < .05$). Additionally, when white ($b = -.16$, $p < .001$) people were employed full-time, they were likely to experience a decrease in their beliefs in positive white stereotypes.

Among white people ($b = .09$, $p < .05$), there was a positive association between community diversity and age. As age increased, so did the level of community diversity. Furthermore, there was a positive association for white people ($b = .09$, $p < .001$) between existing community diversity and the willingness to reside in half-Black community. As white people experience increases in racialized self-identity, their willingness to live in a half-white community decreased ($b = -.12$, $p < .05$), and the willingness half-Black community ($b = .11$, $p < .05$) increased.

Figure 2.3

Self-identity, racial familiarity, racial attitudes significant pathway differences Black and White (N=899)



According to the critical ratios, several pathways were identified as significant. The pathways between employment and racialized self-identity were found to be significant ($z = 2.23$). The pathway between racialized self-identity and favor living in a half-Black community ($z = 2.06$) was found to be significant. The pathway between racialized self-identity and white stereotypes ($z = 1.98$) was found to be significant. The pathway between Employment and Black stereotypes was found to be significant ($z = 3.1$).

Discussion

This study sought to explore the following question: *Are there differences between Black and white people related to age, racial stereotypes, community diversity, racialized self-identity, and racial centrality?*

Often, the subject of race and culture can be avoided by those who are white, and those who are in any category other than white may not have the ability to exercise the same privilege (Frankenberg, 1993; Minniear & Soliz, 2019). The results of this study show that there are differences between Black and white racialized experiences as it relates to community diversity and the desire to reside in more diverse communities. Additionally, the study shows that race perceptions about racial groups seem to change more in the white sample when compared to the Black sample.

Within the models, there were differences between some of the Black and white pathways. The differences in the model showed that race was a factor. The pathway between employment and racialized self-identity was a pathway that was significant and found that Black and white people have differing racialized experiences as it is related to their racialized self-identity. For white people, full-time employment led to a decrease in their racialized self-identification. For Black people, this was not significant. This finding appears to be understudied in the literature. There have been studies that discussed colorism, the effects of race on employment opportunities, and race and a variety of topics associated with employment (Itzigsohn et al., 2005; Landale & Oropesa, 2002). Much of the existing literature surrounding racialized identities and outcomes are focused on people of the global majority. This area of research could benefit from the expansion of the outcomes related to white racialized identities.

The pathway between community diversity and willingness to reside in a half-Black community was a pathway that was significantly different between Black and white participants. Within the context of this study, white participants who already had some diversity in their community had an increased willingness to reside in a half-Black community than those who did not. Black people did not show a change in their willingness to live in a half-Black community

based on their current community diversity. In more diverse communities, one may still find themselves faced with racial in-group representation (Nesbit & Compton, 2020). Residing in a neighborhood with diversity does not mean that groups are easily intermingled. Nesbit and Compton (2020) found that in cases where the community is diverse, the interactions between groups and neighbors may not be as fluid. The present study shows a willingness for white people to live in a more diverse community but does not consider how diverse their network will become as a result. Nai and colleagues (2018) found that people who resided in more diverse communities were also more open to change and more prosocial. They found a direct connection to being more prosocial and level of community diversity where one resides. Those who reside in more diverse communities are often more prosocial because they have had an opportunity to be immersed in a community with differing experiences (Nai et al., 2018).

The pathway between racialized self-identity and white stereotypes was significant for showing the difference between Black and white participants. The pathway between employment and Black stereotypes was found to be significant for the difference between Black participants who had higher levels of beliefs in negative Black stereotypes when they were employed full-time. Literature addressing racial stereotyping has been documented for at least the past three decades (Shore et al., 2020). As discussed by Shore et al. (2020), intergroup racial stereotyping within the workplace frequently happens for a variety of reasons. However, the literature related to workplace intragroup biases seems limited. The area of intragroup stereotypes, though, could be discussed within the framework of Black exceptionalism. Black exceptionalism is the belief that one differs from other Black people; this can be the result of focusing on a particular group and is rooted in stereotype threat (Stineke et al., 2007). The idea is that Black people are supposed to fit the particular mold established by society through a variety of means. Therefore,

when a Black person achieves beyond this expectation, there is an idea that they are no longer part of the group of Black people, but rather they are the exception (Butler, 2013; Sears & Salvalei, 2006; Wolfson, 2019).

The pathway between Black and white participants related to racialized self-identity and white stereotypes is significantly different between Black and white people. For Black people, this item was not significant; however, among white participants, as white people showed an increase in racialized self-identity, there was also a decrease in positive stereotypes about white people. This area of research still appears to have limited research. However, a higher racialized self-identity in white people was associated with an increasing belief in negative stereotypes about other white people. Much of the existing research explores the views of white people and their biases or feelings toward other races, or their own pride, but does not seem to address the ways in which white people internalize race and their perceptions towards one another (Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009; Kong et al., 2012; Lloyd et al., 2017; Squire, 2002). For example, Zebrowitz et al. (2010) discussed the stereotypes among Black and Asian faces through the lens of white people. However, they did not ask questions related to stereotypes of white people about other white people. Though this is important research, it is equally important to see if white people only have feelings and stereotypes about people who are a part of other racial groups, or do they have similar feelings or ideas about other white people? As the field moves forward, it is vital that researchers begin to explore the racialized experiences as both internal and external processes for white people.

The relevance of age as it relates to community diversity differed between Black and white individuals. For Black people, age was not related to the amount of diversity that existed in their community. However, for white participants, those who were older were also more likely to

live in more diverse communities (Kruse, 2013). One rationale that could be driving the results associated with white people residing in more diverse communities as they age is that within the context of American society, there is often a shift in the diversity of a community. Once a community has roughly 13%-15% (Rothstein, 2017) Black or Brown community members, a white flight often occurs in that community. White flight is when white people leave communities that they view as too diverse to retreat to white communities (Kruse, 2013; Rothstein, 2017). Within an aging demographic, they may find obstacles, including housing costs, the costs associated with moving, and lack of disposable income, which all may present barriers and hinder an aging white populations' ability to relocate to newer, thriving, and predominately white community.

For both the Black and white groups, race self-identification affected one's perceptions of race centrality. The more people identified with their racialized identity, the more they saw their race as a central component of their being, which means that the more one identified with their race, the more they saw themselves as part of the race. For example, if a subject internalizes their race as part of their identity, then they are more likely to see themselves as part of that racial group (Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009). According to Leung and López-McKnight (2020), allowing space for individuals to recognize and centralize their racial identities will be powerful in the process of dismantling white supremacy. This study reiterates the importance of race centrality.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

The findings of this study should be considered within the limitations of this study. The sample was primarily white people; the Black sample was almost one-third the sample size of the white sample. Having a larger sample may aid in a more comprehensive study; having such a

limited number of Black people hinders the ability to generalize to Black people. When a sample is more limited, it may limit the variances in responses which limits the ability to access useable regression analyses. Having such a reduction of the sample led to concerns with power within the analysis; within the Black group, there was a limited variance between several of the variables.

This study did not have access to geographical information, so it was impossible to determine the specific demographics and statistics about the participants' communities; this dataset relied solely on the participants to report community diversity.

It would benefit the field of Family Science to strive to work towards a more inclusive and comprehensive collection of research that includes more perspectives and experiences of those who exist outside of dominant identities. Family Science could benefit from asking questions to discover more in-depth analysis about how practices lead to less cultural awareness and sensitivity among white people. For example, Wang and colleagues (2014) found that several aspects of dominant American culture, such as individualism and the notion of color-blindness, have contributed to a lower level of cultural sensitivity among white people.

Future research could explore the relationship between a higher racialized identity in white people and an increased willingness to live in more diverse communities. Another interesting path for future research would be to analyze race perceptions of older white people as they age in a more diverse community and is that perception different between impoverished or more affluent communities. Chao et al. (2015) began a conversation about white racial attitudes and white empathy related to other groups. It would be interesting to explore how those attitudes are different or similar when explored intragroup. Another interesting path would be to analyze why so many aspects of these variables changed for white people as opposed to Black people; it is the case that Black people often have a daily awareness of white people, their customs, and

cultures since they continue to be a majority of the population living in the United States or is there something else?

Implications

This study shows that white people are affected by race in many ways, whether or not they are aware of their own racialized identity. In contrast, Black people did not have as many variables where race affected their choices in life, though we often find that Black people are often well aware of the existence of culture and race (Minniear & Soliz, 2019). One possible reason for this is because whiteness is normalized and a part of the lives of many Black Americans, whereas exposure to those of the global majority may be limited for those who are white. This study revealed very different perspectives between white and Black participants.

An implication of this research in practice could be the inclusion of racialized identity and appreciation without taboos and qualifiers into the school curriculums. Additionally, the results of this study support the practitioners' understanding of how their own racial identity influences their practice. Their awareness of their own race expression improves their ability to be engaged and relevant to the clients and families they serve. An implication for researchers is that doing more nuanced work and allowing autonomy among groups that are represented in the data provides a more comprehensive and accurate portrayal of the life lived of those represented in the study.

Conclusion

This study expanded the literature by exploring how self-identity and race compare across the racial groups of Black and white. We found that there were differences between groups. This is important because focusing on groups as their own entities allows the story to be told from a more specific perspective with a better understanding of the nuances. Within the

context of the nuance, we can find the breadth of information. There were positive associations with Black and white individuals who were employed full-time have higher beliefs in negative white Stereotypes. However, there were more differences between the groups when assessing several of the variables such as aging and community diversity and race centrality, and racialized identity.

This study reiterates the need to consider race as more than a simple demographic. Critical Race Theory identified the importance of expressing different perspectives (Delgado et al., 2015). Within the context of this model, we note that there are different outcomes related to variables that are identified as significant among the two racial groups. It is essential to consider racialized experiences and recognize that the context of race may affect one's experience as a member of the culture of the United States. It is not enough to assume that the general experiences of those represented in the dominant culture are shared by those who do not exist within the paradigm of that culture. Family Scientists should strive to make their research not only inclusive but reflective of members who are often underrepresented.

Chapter 3 - Paper 2: Black Mothering through Blackness: Parental Racial Identity, Neighbors, and Adolescent Empathy Outcomes

As Family Science strives to become inclusive of all families, it becomes increasingly important to allow space for the study of diverse families without requiring comparisons to other groups who are not the focus of the study. Families are becoming more racially and ethnically diverse within the United States (Allen & Barber, 1992). To adequately accomplish the critical race tenant of counter-storytelling, there must be a focus on the story without a distraction of the stories of other groups who may not meet the same identity requirements of the group of focus

(Delgado et al., 2015). More research is needed to understand better how child outcomes may be affected by parental racial identity, parental heritage identification, and parental heritage affiliation. There is little research that seeks to explore the internal processes and operations of culturally and racially diverse families (Dalmage, 2000). As with families from the dominant culture, it becomes crucial for researchers to explore these families' internal processes. The effect of race is often researched within the social sciences, but there remains limited research that discusses race beyond demographics within Family Science literature (Allen & Barber 1992; van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). Race is an integral aspect of American culture; race is often present despite being rarely discussed (Gaffney, 2015).

Review of Literature

Racial Identity of Parents

Race is considered a social construct and is not considered biologically significant (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado, 2005); therefore, it is essential to note that racial identity development occurs because of social aspects instead of morphological characteristics (Morning, 2011; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Racial identity is a complicated, multi-dimensional topic (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Typically, values are developed within families, and family members share experiences. Racial identity can exist both consciously and subconsciously, making it somewhat challenging to assess (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Traits associated with racial identity can be categorized differently, making it difficult to analyze racial identity because it is very much reliant on the perspective of the individual (Riina & McHale, 2010). Those who have historically oppressed or marginalized status within a culture are often more aware of their race's negative and positive implications (Birditt et al., 2010; Elenbaas & Killen, 2016).

Maternal Ethnicity and Heritage Identity

It is essential to acknowledge that racial identity and the ethnicity or heritage of a person are different. Ethnicity and heritage are complex in nature. They are not related or attached directly to skin color (Fluer-Lobban, 2018). They are related to culture, identity, and tradition. They closely align with ideas associated with dress, food, beliefs, values, and behaviors (Fluer-Lobban, 2018).

Parents often have instrumental roles within the family; they are responsible for providing physical well-being as well as making decisions for the family and managing the operation of the family (Yenika-Agbaw, 2009). Kim and colleagues (2006) found greater importance placed on the mothers as it related to the experiences of adolescents' acceptance or rejection of young adolescents' assimilation into the majority culture. The mothers' acceptance of mainstream cultural norms moderated if a child felt acceptance-rejection of mainstream culture (Kim et al., 2006). Yenika-Agbaw (2009) discussed that there are often choices regarding how much assimilation should occur in Black families. Parents' affluence often influences the flexibility to choose the amount of assimilation into white culture; more affluent parents have greater flexibility when determining their level of assimilation (Yenika-Agbaw, 2009). Because one of the criteria for participation in the Fragile Family dataset (McLanahan et al., 1998-2017) was a requirement of poverty, these mothers would not have the societal positioning or resources to determine their willingness to assimilate to white culture without compromising their upward mobility.

Child Outcomes Related to Empathy Competency

It is imperative to establish an operational definition of empathy to understand how racial identity can affect a child's development of empathy. As empathy is developed and cultivated

over time, a person is able to view someone else's experiences through their own lens along with a variety of connections and experiences throughout their own life. Empathy is a complex cognitive and emotional construct; in part, it occurs through socialization, but cognitive aspects rely heavily on some elements of cognitive development and ability (Jolliffe, 2004; Matravers, 2017). Some related cognitive conditions may hinder the ability to develop empathy (Matravers, 2017).

Due to the nature that empathy varies across cultures (Davis, 2014), it should be acknowledged that this can also have adverse and unintended consequences. An individual may feel that they are behaving empathetically when they are acting superficially empathetic (Radzvilavicius et al., 2019). Due to the cultural variances, there may be a lack of understanding in how individuals understand empathy.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a theory that was initially established to explore the injustices and inequities of the justice system. Critical Race Theory established that racism and the values associated with it are normalized and common within the context of the United States (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw, 1996; Delgado, 2015). Within the United States, white culture and values are normalized or mainstream (McDonald, 2009). Those who exist outside of these cultural norms must adapt or assimilate to white culture's social mores. Those who fail to conform often may find it difficult to attain the American dream (Delgado, 2015). Critical Race Theory discussed race as a social construction rather than a biological construct (Delgado, 2015). Critical Race Theory researchers maintain that racism's propensity is incredibly ingrained in the cultural fabric of the United States, and it is a permanent fixture (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado,

2005). CRT established the framework by which we should analyze and evaluate many aspects of the United States society through a racial or cultural lens. We must also examine the very meaning of widely accepted terms, such as empathy, love, and compassion, through the lens of CRT. These terms not only have different meanings but are demonstrated differently across cultures and races. CRT provides a theoretical lens by which we can explore how families of a multiracial or multicultural composition may have challenges adapting to the standards bestowed upon them by the social mores of the dominant culture.

Social-Ecological Model

The Social-Ecological Model explained the development of children does not happen within isolation and that it is through multiple tiers of influence. The Social-Ecological Model has five tiers of influence on the individual: (a) microsystem, (b) mesosystem, (c) exosystem, (d) macrosystem, and (f) chronosystem. Social-Ecological Models exist around each individual.

The microsystem is often the closest tier of influence as it is within this tier where the most significant and closest relationships are located (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). When considering the outcome of empathy in adolescents, it is important to consider the closest connections that can have an influence over the ability to develop empathy (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Those who are located within this tier are the closest relationships. Within this tier, the influence is bi-directional between parties.

The mesosystem is the tier that discussed connections and relationships between those located within the microsystem. These communications and relationships can have direct and indirect influences on the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). This tier does not include the individual at the center of the Social-Ecological Model, but it still has a considerable influence because it is the relationship between microsystems.

The exosystem is the third tier of the Social-Ecological Model and can influence the individual. The exosystem tier includes the community, local government offices, stores, and police. Those that exist within the exosystem can positively and negatively affect the development of an individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

The macrosystem is where the values, perceptions, and beliefs at a broad more societal level are identified and maintained. This tier strongly influences the other tiers within an individual's social-ecological model, thus having a strong influence on the individual. (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). CRT is a theoretical framing for understanding how racism is endemic to the macrosystem.

The chronosystem takes into consideration time and history. This tier can include events from the past and present. The chronosystem influence can be found within each of the other tiers (Bronfenbrenner, 1992).

The Present Study

Though some researchers have discussed the connection between race and relationship outcomes, researchers have not evaluated the effect of Black mothers' heritage affiliation and their adolescents' empathy competency. The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of maternal race, heritage affiliation, stress, and conflict on adolescent empathy outcomes. This research illustrated how race is more than information that should be collected for demographic purposes, but that it can influence communication and relationships within families. The following hypothesis was tested: *Black mothers' race, heritage affiliation, stress, and community support will affect adolescent empathy outcomes.*

Methods

Sample and Procedure

The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study, a longitudinal study of 4,898 births in 1998 with the most recent wave made available in 2018, was used for this study. The study was conducted in 20 large cities (minimum of 200,000 residents) in the United States. The initial (baseline) interviews were conducted with the mothers and fathers within 48 hours of the birth, while the mothers were still patients in the hospital. Follow-up interviews were conducted during years 1, 3, 5, 9, and 15. This study utilized years Baseline, 1, 5, and 15.

This panel initially included 3,444 parents from years Baseline and years 1 and 5, and the adolescents from year 15. To be eligible for this study, participants had to be Black biological mothers who were the primary custodial parents. With the additional criteria, there were 1,366 people remaining. At baseline, the mother's age was a mean of 25.25 with a standard deviation of 6.1. The education levels of the mothers varied: 8% had a middle school education, 51% attained a high school education, 8% of the mothers graduated from vocational or community colleges, and 9% of attained university education or higher.

Measures

Mothers' Race

Mothers' race was measured with an item from the mothers at year 1. Mothers were asked, "Which of these categories best describes your race?" These questions were answered on a scale from 1 (*white*), 2 (*Black*), 3 (*Asian*), 4 (*American Indian*), and 5 (*Other*). Only Black mothers who identified as Black were selected for this study.

Maternal Ethnic Heritage Affiliation

Maternal affiliation was measured with two items from mothers in year 3. Using questions that included: “I feel an attachment towards my own racial or ethnic heritage” and “I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.” These questions were answered on a scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Items were coded so that higher scores correspond with the higher importance of heritage for mothers. The measure was created by computing the mean of the importance of heritage items for mothers.

Maternal Stress

Maternal stress was measured with four items from mothers in Year 5. Sample question items include, “Being a parent is harder than I expected” and “I feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent.” These questions were answered on a scale from 1 (*almost never*) to 4 (*almost always*). Items were coded, so higher scores corresponded with higher maternal stress. The measure was created by computing the mean of the stress items for mothers.

Maternal Education Attainment

Maternal education attainment in Year 5 was measured by asking the mother, “What is your highest level of education?” The range of this measure was from 1 (*middle school education*) to 4 (*university or higher completion*).

Neighbor Involvement

Neighbor involvement was measured in the 15th year by asking the adolescent sample questions such as “Do your neighbors help?” and “Do your neighbors interfere with skipping?” The range of this measure was from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). There were five questions associated with neighbor involvement.

Mother-child Relationship

The Mother-Child relationship was measured in the 15th year by asking the adolescent sample questions such as “How close are you to your mother?” on a scale of 1 (*not very close*) to 4 (*very close*) and “Does your mother attend your events?” on a scale of 1 (*never*) to 3 (*often*). There were three questions associated with the mother-child relationship.

Adolescent Empathy Competency

Adolescent empathy competency was measured with 11 items from the adolescent at Year 15. These questions were selected from the Basic Empathy Scale (BES; Jolliffe et Al., 2006). The BES has two primary domains: cognitive and affective empathy. Cognitive empathy is related to the understanding element of empathy. It does not have to do with emotion, but rather it is directly connected to the ability of one to understand and relate to the feelings of others (Jolliffe et al., 2004; Jolliffe et al., 2006). Cognitive empathy is primarily based in the medial prefrontal and medial orbitofrontal cortex (Brink et al., 2011; Decety, 2010). The other domain of BES is affective empathy. Affective empathy is an emotional aspect of empathy. Affective empathy is related to the feelings associated with empathy. The primarily active portions of the brain related to affective empathy are located in the anterior insula and dorsal anterior cingulate cortex (Lamm et al., 2011).

Sample items include, “I make friends easily” and “I understand others’ feelings like when they are happy, sad, or mad.” These questions were answered on a scale from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). Items were coded so higher scores corresponded with higher empathy competency from the adolescent. The measure was created by computing the mean of the empathy competency items from the self-reported information from the adolescent.

Adolescent was modeled as a variable with six indicators—adolescents’ report of empathy competency.

Data Analysis

This study considered data collected from the primary caregivers as well as the adolescent child. Specifically, this study assessed the effect of the mother’s racial identity, affiliation, stress, and conflict on adolescent empathy outcomes. An analysis of the descriptive and correlation statistics was conducted for each of the measures.

A Hierarchical Regression Model was used to analyze the effect of mothers’ identity, affiliation, stress, and community on adolescent empathy outcomes (see Figure 3.1). Using SPSS, a Multiple Hierarchical Regression model was conducted to test the effects of Black biological primary custodial mothers’ heritage affiliation and their adolescent’s empathy outcomes. There were three blocks of focus: (a) items specific to the mother, (b) specifics related to neighbors, and (c) the relationship between mother and child. The mothers’ education, stress level, heritage, and ethnic attachment were included in the initial block. The child’s involvement and protection from the neighbors were analyzed within the second block. The relationship closeness and involvement between mother and child were assessed in the final block. Based on the data analysis, we determined they were missing completely at random; this was tested by running a Little’s Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test. Based on the data analysis, we determined they were missing completely at random; this was tested by running a Little’s Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test ($\chi^2=353.87$, df 325, $p = .08$).

Missing data were within an acceptable range; the amount of missing data was no more than 2.9% for any variable.

Results

This study sought to examine the relationship between Black mothering within a racialized context and the outcomes associated with adolescent empathy outcomes. A correlation analysis was run (see Table 3.1). There were strong associations between the mother's attachment to ethnicity and heritage ($r = .09; p < .001$), mother's stress ($r = -.07; p < .01$), mother's education ($r = .09; p < .001$), neighbors protecting youth ($r = .17; p < .01$), closeness to mother ($r = .20; p < .01$), mother's inquiries about life ($r = .22; p < .01$), and mother attending events ($r = .14; p < .001$) with adolescents' empathy outcomes.

Table 3.1.*Black Mothering and Adolescent Empathy Outcomes: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics (N=1,366)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Adolescent Empathy	1.000											
Mother's Attachment: Race and Heritage	0.09***	1.000										
Mother's Stress	-0.07**	0.02	1.000									
Mother Education	0.09***	0.20***	-0.15***	1.000								
Neighbor Helpfulness	0.17	0.03	-0.05*	0.040	1.000							
Neighbor Adult Disrespect	0.14	-0.03	-0.07*	-0.018	0.184***	1.000						
Neighbor correct skipping	0.12	-0.002	-0.03*	0.009	0.213***	0.478***	1.000					
Neighbors address graffiti	0.16	0.018	-0.07*	0.045*	0.235***	0.641***	0.522***	1.000				
Neighbors Protect Youth	0.17***	-0.011	-0.08*	0.008	0.191***	0.625***	0.364***	0.594***	1.000			
Closeness to Mother	0.20***	0.005	-0.060*	-0.012	0.125***	0.102***	0.095***	0.082**	0.067*	1.000		
Mother's Discusses Daily Life	0.22***	0.043	-0.071*	0.042	0.115***	0.084**	0.095***	0.096***	0.035	0.363***	1.000	
Mother Attends Events	0.14***	0.067***	-0.010	0.020	0.097***	0.096***	0.133***	0.105***	0.076*	0.272***	0.339***	1.000
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>M</i>	2.39	3.01	2.21	2.37	2.95	2.92	2.53	2.90	3.09	3.06	2.52	2.41
<i>SD</i>	0.32	0.86	0.69	0.90	0.98	1.07	1.09	1.17	1.05	0.88	0.62	0.70

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

A hierarchical multiple regression model was used to analyze the data (see Table 3.2). Variables that explain Black mothers, community influence, and parent-child relationship were entered in three steps. In step one, the mothers' (a) race, (b) attachment to heritage and racial identity, (c) education, and (d) stress were entered. In the second step, influences of community members and their willingness to become involved were explored, including (a) neighbors correcting mischievous behaviors of children, (b) helpfulness to adolescents, and (c) neighbors' willingness to protect the adolescents. In step three, the adolescents were asked about (a) their relationship closeness with their mother and (b) if their mother attended activities, and (c) asked questions about their lives.

The following were the results for the initial step of the process. There was a positive relationship between the mother's attachment to her heritage and ethnicity and empathy outcomes for the adolescent ($b = .08, p < .01$). There was a positive association between mothers' education attainment and adolescent empathy outcomes ($b = .07, p < .01$). An R^2 change of .01 ($F = 8.29, p = .01$) for the initial step. Within step two, the levels of community involvement at various levels were explored. The relationship between adolescent mischief and empathy outcomes was not found to be significant within this study. However, there was a positive association between community protection ($b = .02, p < .05$) and the perceived helpfulness of neighbors ($b = .12, p < .05$). In this step an R^2 change of .04 ($F = 15.44, p = .01$) increase. In the final step, the perception of whether or not the mother actively asked about life events was not found to be significant. However, there were positive associations between the closeness that adolescents felt to their mothers ($b = .11, p < .01$) and whether mothers actively cared and questioned about the life events of the adolescent ($b = .13, p < .01$) and adolescent

empathy. Within the final stage of analyses there was an R^2 change of .05 ($F = 23.61, p = .01$) (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2.*Adolescent Empathy Outcomes (N = 1,366)*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
(Constant)	2.32	.05		2.06	.06		1.77	0.06	
Mother Ethnic Attachment	.03	.01	.08**	.03	.01	.07**	.02	.01	0.07*
Mom Stress	-.03	.01	-.06**	-.02	.01	-.05**	-.02	.01	-0.03
Mom Education	.02	.01	.07**	.02	.01	.06**	.02	.01	0.06*
Neighbors Help				.04	.01	.12*	.03	.01	0.10
Neighbors-Protect				.02	.01	.06*	.01	.01	0.05
Neighbors- Child Skipping				.01	.01	.03	.00	.01	0.01
Neighbors-Child Graffiti				.02	.01	.07	.02	.01	0.07*
Closeness to Mom							.04	.01	0.11***
Mom-Inquires							.07	.01	0.13***
Mom Attends Events							.02	.01	0.04
<i>R</i> ²		.02			.06	15.44**		.11	23.61**
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²		8.29**							

p* < .05. *p* < .01

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to analyze how Black Mothers' race, heritage affiliation, stress, and community support affect adolescent empathy outcomes. Black mothers with higher affiliations to their heritage had adolescents that reported higher empathy outcomes. Adolescents who were residing in communities with reported higher levels of neighbor involvement were also found to have higher levels of empathy. Finally, the adolescents who reported having a more connected and engaged relationship with their mother had higher levels of empathy.

When considering the theoretical lens of the Social-Ecological Model framework, multiple tiers help influence the development of empathy within an adolescent that extends beyond their immediate family (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Researchers have previously identified relationships between parent-child relationships and adolescent empathy as well as neighbors' effects on adolescent empathy. The existing research does not explore the relationship between heritage affiliation and adolescent empathy (Green et al., 2018; Miklikowska, 2017; Rowe et al., 2018; Van Lissa, 2015). This ultimately contributes to the literature by adding insight into the area of Black mothering and adolescent empathy.

Through analyses, it was discovered that there was a positive association between Black Mothers' heritage affiliation and empathy outcomes for their adolescents. This finding was interesting as the Fragile Family dataset uses a shortened version of the Basic Empathy Scale (BES). The BES was developed in the United Kingdom (UK) and has required revisions and modifications. Once the BES was used to assess several populations outside of the UK, many of the modification reasons have been related to culture (Albiero et al., 2009; Geng et al., 2012; Pechorro, 2015).

Mothers' education attainment had a positive association with empathy outcomes. This is similar to previous findings that parents with higher education levels are more likely to have youth who score higher in areas of empathy (Miklikowska, 2017). Miklikowska (2017) focused on both parents' education attainment.

This study found positive associations between adolescent empathy, protection from neighbors, and neighborhood involvement. Adolescents who feel better supported within their communities have higher empathy outcomes. These findings are similar to the study conducted by Rowe et al. (2010). They found that adolescents who resided in communities where neighbors were more connected or involved had higher levels of empathy. Rowe and colleagues (2010) explored parents and their prejudices, whereas this study included mothers' heritage affiliation.

Similar to the findings of Green and colleagues (2018), when considering the closeness of the relationship between mother and child, children who find themselves more attached or closely connected to their mothers or parental figures also report having higher levels of empathy. In both this study and the study conducted by Green and colleagues (2018), the closeness to the mother was only measured from the child's perception. Neither study considered the mother's opinion as it related to the child's empathy or closeness to the mother.

As evidenced by this study, the parent-child relationship is a relationship of significance. These results demonstrate the influence and effect of parent-child connection. Adolescents who expressed having mothers with higher engagement levels were also higher in empathy, which is similar to the findings of Van Lissa and colleagues (2015). Van Lissa et al. (2015) explored the importance of maternal and child connection. The interaction between parent-child is a fundamental aspect of a child having higher levels of empathy (Van Lissa et al., 2015). McAdams and colleagues (2017) found that a positive and close parent-child relationship had a

significant influence on adolescents' self-worth. Laible & Roesch (2004) found similar results in their study about self-esteem (self-worth) and parental relationships. In that study, those with stronger parental connections had higher self-worth. Higher self-worth was connected to higher levels of empathy in adolescents (Laible & Roesch, 2004). The present study findings support findings that were previously discovered.

Though there has been some research in the area of mothers related to their child and empathy, there is no literature related to Black mothers and their heritage affiliation and empathy outcomes for their adolescents. This study found a positive association between a Black mother's heritage affiliation and higher levels of empathy in their adolescents. Discovering that mothers with stronger heritage affiliations also have children who have higher levels of empathy is a critical finding to analyze further.

Limitations and Future Research

There are some notable limitations when reporting the findings of this study. The study relied solely on secondary data, which limited the ability to ask the participants follow-up questions directly related to this research. Another limitation of this study is the age of the dataset. It is possible that these findings could vary if the same data questions were provided to adolescents today. One possibility for future research is to explore these questions with those who adolescents are today.

Additionally, this study only had three maternal questions related to heritage and race, limiting the scope of results from the data. It is not easy to attain a complete picture of how vital race and heritage may be with so few questions related to the topics.

There is a limitation of only using self-reported data for these questions, as people are often biased or want to seem neutral on topics related to race, especially when they are

communicating face to face, where there are social mores considered appropriate. Far too often in research, participants will try to give responses that they feel are acceptable to the interviewer. Another limitation of the data is that the study was conducted using only quantitative type questions, which limits the ability to respond to the race and heritage questions in their own way, beyond the limits of a scale. Future directions for research should include a more in-depth analysis of heritage, culture, and race as individual items to determine how much individual traits of heritage can impact the parental relationship. Additionally, a more comprehensive study that includes friends or relatives could greatly enrich this content area.

Implications

This study has important implications for Family Science practitioners and other people who work with Black families. One such implication is that when practitioners work with Black families, it is beneficial for them to help those with marginalized Black identities find connections and strengthen their heritage affiliation. This study illustrated a positive relationship exists between higher levels of racial and heritage affiliation in the mother and empathy outcomes for the adolescent. Practitioners can better serve Black families by becoming comfortable with their feelings about race and discussions surrounding the topic. If practitioners embrace improving cultural identities and heritage affiliation among Black mothers with children, it could benefit those families. Enhancing growth in cultural or heritage affiliation should not be treated differently than helping a mother attain a higher level of education. If the practitioner is uncertain or unaware for some reason, they should actively seek resources that would better position them to help foster growth in this area for their clients. Additionally, practitioners could become aware of cultural events, groups, and cultural resources that might help strengthen cultural affiliation among Black mothers.

When mothers had higher educational attainment, they were also likely to have adolescents with higher empathy scores. One implication of this finding could be the establishment of programs that encourage and foster educational attainment for mothers.

Adolescents who felt that their community was supportive were also likely to have higher scores in empathy. Finding ways to foster connectedness within communities could encourage empathy within the adolescent population. Within communities, there could be neighborhood gatherings and meet and greets to aid in community bonding. Finally, the most significant finding of this study illustrated the importance of the mother and child connection. Within the context of this study, the strongest association was found in the third model, which identified that adolescents who had a close connection with their mothers and had mothers who engaged through attendance at the events of the adolescents or by asking questions about the child's life ranked higher in empathy levels. Based on the results of this study, it would benefit Black families for practitioners to facilitate and educate mothers about the importance of child engagement. This could be anything from asking the child about their day to participating in activities with the adolescent in a way where the adolescent feels a strong connectedness to the mother.

People who are more empathetic are more likely to have higher levels of social competence, which makes the individual more likely to navigate the world with other people in mind (Allenmand, 2015). Adolescents with higher levels of empathy are also less likely to cause intentional harm to others (Dahlqvist et al., 2016). Adolescents with higher levels of empathy ultimately could develop into adults with higher levels of empathy which could yield benefits for society.

Conclusion

This study explored the effects of mothers' affinity towards their personal heritage, stress, community, and parent-child dynamics on the adolescent empathy outcomes. The results of this study expand current research by specifically exploring the relationship between Black mothering and adolescent empathy outcomes. This research is helping address a gap in Family Science research related to the Black family and expands the Family Science research related to Black mothering and empathy outcomes. Future research should include a more comprehensive analysis of the expression of the attachment to heritage within Black mothering.

Chapter 4 - Paper 3: Differences in Enjoyment During Adolescence: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter?

Prominent Family Science researchers often base their findings primarily on populations who are predominantly white, cis-gendered, middle-class, and heteronormative (van Eeden-Moorefield, 2018). As a result, marginalized identities are treated as simple demographic qualifiers that fail to acknowledge that there are experiences associated with the existence of marginalized identities.

Though the field of Family Science does not intend to cause harm, having a lack of understanding about how items related to mental health can affect different communities can be problematic. When one takes into account that from 2000 to 2017, there was a 47% increase in adolescent suicide (CDC, 2019; Oren et al., 2018; Smith, 2014), it seems crucial to have the ability to address nuances that may be found in different populations. The increase in suicide rates shows the need for mental health research. Though there have been several attempts to increase awareness of suicide, much of the prevention material used and sold are not based on empirical research (Kutcher et al., 2017). However, there should be adequate research to also include and represent those who are both historically and continuously underrepresented.

Theoretical Framework

The guiding theoretical framework used for this study was Critical Race Theory (CRT). Though CRT was initially developed as a legal theory, it is now more widely used in the social sciences (Darder & Torres, 2004; DeCuir & Dixson, 2010). CRT asserts that racism is a permanent aspect of the culture existing within the United States (Crenshaw et al., 1996). According to CRT, racism is endemic and normalized at the societal level. Racism is perpetuated within the institutionalized aspects of society and experienced throughout each tier of the United

States (Crenshaw et al., 1996). It is often difficult to recognize that the practices of racism in the United States still establish a benefactor and a target (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Jones, 2004).

CRT challenges the acceptance of dominant culture ideals as normative and cross-cultural and challenges the idea that we are a color neutral or colorblind society (Crenshaw et al., 1996). Race is a social construct that is often used as a mechanism to offer the privilege to some while oppressing others (Delgado, 2005). The categorization of different racial groups often enables the benefactors to exploit those who belong to systemically and historically oppressed populations or groups with less power (Crenshaw et al., 1996). CRT explained that it is essential that research is focused on counter-storytelling, inclusive of the experiences of Indigenous, Chicana, Chicano, Latina, Latino, Latinx, Asian, and Black individuals (Crenshaw et al., 1996). Affliction and trauma related to racialized experiences are endemic, systemic, and a significant part of the lived experiences of the Indigenous, Chicana, Chicano, Latina, Latino, Latinx, Asian, and Black groups in the United States (Jones, 2003; McGee & Stovall, 2015). CRT recognized race as more than a demographic; within the context of the United States, the race is often connected to the lived and adverse experiences of those who are part of racially marginalized groups (Harris, 2006).

Using CRT tenants, such as counter-storytelling and acknowledging that racism is pervasive, will position us to research how the global majority are subjected to erasure and minimization within much of the existing research. This often occurs in literature because of the focus placed on heterosexual, white, middle-class families (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado et al., 2015; van Eeden-Moorefield, 2018).

Review of Literature

Race and Racism in the United States

Race was established and based on the disproven practice of eugenics (Zuberi, 2010). Humans are mostly genetically the same, and there is no biological significance to justify race as anything more than a social construct (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Fish, 2002; Harris, 2014). Though a race may not have a causal effect, racialized experiences can affect the outcomes for particular races (Crenshaw et al., 1996).

Hughey (2018) discussed that within the United States, whiteness is often accepted as the societal norm. Many white individuals are unaware of the normalization of whiteness, which causes the marginalization of those who are not white (Hughey, 2018). The culture in the United States is much more than a culture of white individuals. The continuous perpetuation of white normalization can create trauma within those who are not white as they often fail to meet the expectations that are culturally counter-intuitive (Hughey, 2016). It is important to note that white superiority is a phenomenon that often goes unrecognized, unnamed, and unchecked (Toyosaki, 2016).

Often there is a misconception that race is the cause of issues related to outcomes in research. It is essential to note that race is not a cause of issues but rather to understand that those racial outcomes are often related to deeper systemic issues. Many researchers continue to imply a causal relationship between race and the outcomes identified in their research by failing to discuss the systemic issues and historical oppressions that led to the outcome. This failure often permits the reader to have equated race with the issue rather than acknowledging the macrosystem, exosystem, and microsystem issues found throughout society. This particular practice is an example of how ingrained racism is in the modern culture of the United States.

Often this phenomenon is overlooked. Additionally, it supports why the tenant of counter-storytelling is essential. Some researchers have acknowledged the amount of systemic oppression that occurs within the United States culture related to historically oppressed and legally marginalized populations (Crenshaw et al., 1996; Delgado et al., 2005; Harris, 2014). However, that is not always a consistent practice when discussing results and associating them with race. Racism is pervasive and ingrained in American culture (Delgado et al., 2005). Many can easily recognize the acts of racism that are overt but are less astute to acts of covert racism or microaggressions (Perez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Toyosaki, 2016; Sue, 2016).

Race and Racism within Academia

White normalization and supremacy is a cultural issue that expands beyond the borders of academia. However, its ability to remain covert, perpetuated in the highest levels of academia, is evidence of how systemic and ingrained it is in many modern cultures (Toyosaki, 2016).

When a researcher makes a choice to utilize a primarily white sample and does not choose to offer clarification that their findings were based on a white sample in their discussions, they are engaging in the practice of white normalization. In part because of the tolerance and acceptance of white normalization, this practice is a less recognizable act of racism (Crenshaw et al., 1996). However, the choice to categorically exert findings based on a primarily white sample without acknowledging that they have done so is by its very nature perpetuating the narrative that white culture is the golden standard. white middle-class generalized empirical research is often seen as normative and acceptable and continues to marginalize families who do not meet the criteria (van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018).

Perpetuation of Systemic Marginalization in Family Science

Many datasets used for research in Family Science within the United States consist of primarily white, heterosexual, college-educated samples (van Eeden-Moorefield et al., 2018). However, there exist times when the data are overwhelmingly reflective of a particular demographic; ultimately, the results of that population can overshadow the findings relative to other groups within the dataset. Some researchers fail to explicitly acknowledge the limited representation of those groups in their results or discussions. The normalization of whiteness can intentionally and unintentionally reinforce the marginalization of members of historically underrepresented groups (Sue, 2016).

Mental Health in Adolescents

Mental health is a vital component of human development during adolescence. Mental health conditions can be affected by adolescents' limited ability to think abstractly and long-term (Feldman, 2016). Additionally, the pre-frontal cortex (the portion of the brain that controls one's ability to reason) is not yet fully developed and is not wholly developed until a person is in their mid-twenties (Feldman, 2016). Therefore, adolescents are often less capable of using reason to understand or explore their thoughts and feelings when compared to their adult counterparts. As a result, adolescents may feel as though their current experiences will continue to perpetuate throughout their life instead of viewing it as temporary (Feldman, 2016).

Historically systemically, socially, and legally oppressed populations and those subjected to marginalization based on their identity often have higher risk factors for mental health conditions (Albright & Hurd, 2020; Sapiro & Ward, 2020). It is essential to recognize that race itself does not cause additional stress. However, race is often intertwined with how individuals are recognized and treated in society (Delgado, 2005; Harris, 1994). These stressors often come

in microaggressions, limited representation, and a lack of belonging that people in non-dominant demographics often experience (Sue, 2010). Adolescents subjected to these racialized experiences are often unaware of the mental health effects (Stevenson & Arrington, 2017). Those who experience mental health conditions, consistent disappointments, isolation, or lack of hope or enjoyment are often more susceptible to suicidal ideologies (Moran, 2018).

One of the lesser-studied areas related to depression is a loss of pleasure or enjoyment (van Roekel et al., 2016). The fact that a loss of pleasure is one of the two major tenants associated with depression, it is increasingly important to provide more insight into this experience. van Roekel et al. (2016) found that individuals who experienced fewer events that they perceived as positive also reported less pleasure or enjoyment in life. Depression has been identified as a factor associated with suicide (Valenstein, 2009).

Studying life enjoyment is important as it has been identified as an important factor in predicting suicide (Oguz & Cakir, 2014). Curtin (2020) reported that adolescent suicide rates increased 57.4% between 2007 and 2018. Davidson et al. (2010) found that there was a positive association between the loss of hope and an increase in suicide. A loss of hope can influence apathy towards life (Berghmans et al., 2013; Chang et al., 2017; Wright-Berryman et al., 2018).

Due to different cultural-based and racialized experiences, research related to mental health should consider how those experiences may affect particular racial or cultural groups' mental health outcomes. Therefore, grouping all of the categories together as a group rather than by racial categories may limit the ability of scholars to see the outcomes for particular racial groups.

Present Study

Though previous scholars have discussed the importance of racial inclusion and being racially sensitive, there appears to be a gap in the literature that overtly provides examples of how the research is affected by the disproportionate inclusion of white participants. It was the purpose of this research to examine how racialized experiences may affect the enjoyment of life in adolescents. Additionally, this paper discussed the differences that may appear by separating racial groups and analyzing them apart from the racial majority.

The present study sought to explore how predominantly white samples skew results. Using Critical Race Theory as a guide, the following questions were utilized to investigate this phenomenon: *(a) How do hope and internalized feelings affect life enjoyment during adolescence across races? (b) How does a predominately white sample affect inferences on issues compared to each racial group having its own recognition?*

Methods

Sample

Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (ADD Health) were used to analyze the research questions in this study. These data were collected across the United States from 7-12 graders during the 1994-1995 school year. Throughout the years, the sample has been followed into adulthood. ADD Health took a holistic approach as they provided questions to the adolescent (who was the center of the study), family members, school administrators, peers, and romantic interests. Participants were selected by being a student in the selected schools. The in-school questionnaire was administered to over 90,000 students who were in attendance when it was given. There was no opportunity to make up the questionnaire. Parents were given advance notice of when the questionnaire was given and had an opportunity

to opt their children out. There was a core of 12,105 students selected for home interviews. There was an intentional selection of some oversample categories, including 1,038 Black, 334 Chinese, 450 Cuban, and 437 Puerto Rican adolescents. Schools were from both rural and urban locations. Those who participated in the core sample were also given a vocabulary test to assess their vocabulary knowledge. School administrators were asked to complete phone interviews and questionnaires. The parents of the core were asked questions related to (a) familial medical history, (b) romantic relationships, (c) residential neighborhood, (d) parent involvement, (e) health affecting behaviors, (f) education, (g) employment, (h) socio-economic status, (i) relationship with adolescent, and (j) familiarization between friends and the parents of the adolescent.

There were 6,504 adolescent participants included in this study. For the purposes of this study there was one group (all) that included all participants, regardless of reported race, Black ($n = 1,295$), white ($n = 3,881$), Hispanic ($n = 543$), Native American ($n = 187$), Asian ($n = 188$), Race Other ($n = 230$), and Unknown Race ($n = 180$). In addition to the group that included all participants, additional analyses were conducted for participants who identified as Black, white, or Hispanic groups as they had large enough sample groups to analyze accurately. Within this study, 48% of the sample reported being male, while 52% identified as female. The mean age of adolescents was 15.87 years old (range 13 – 19, SD 1.72).

Measures

Race

The categories for race consisted of Black, white, and Hispanic. Other racial categories were not analyzed separately because of the lack of participants included in the sample. Each category was measured using zero-sum techniques. For example, the categorization of Black was

1 (*Black*), 0 (*all other racial categories*). Each racial category followed the same sequence for the appropriate race associated with the variable.

Hopeful

Hopeful was measured using a 1 item question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt hopeful about your future.” This item was measured on a scale 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores indicate feeling more hopeful.

Happy

Happy was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt happy.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores correspond with higher levels of happiness.

Fear

Fear was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt fearful.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*often*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*never/rarely*). This item was coded so that higher scores lower levels of fear.

Disliked

Disliked was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt that people disliked you.” This item

was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*often*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*never/rarely*).

This item was coded so that higher scores correspond with fewer reports of feeling disliked by others.

Failure

Failure was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt that you were a failure.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*often*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*never/rarely*). This item was coded so that higher scores correspond with lower feelings related to the adolescent feeling like a failure.

Unmotivated

Unmotivated was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You did not want to do anything.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time/ most or all of the time*). This item was coded so that higher scores correspond with decreased feelings of motivation.

Bullied

Bullied was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt bullied.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These

categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores correspond with higher feelings of being bullied.

As Good as Others

As good as others was measured using a 1 item question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You were as good as others.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores indicate more instances of feeling as good as others.

Life Worth

Life Worth was measured using a 1 item question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt that life was not worth living.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores indicate feeling more hopeful.

Lonely

Lonely was measured using a 1 item question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? Did you feel lonely?” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). This item was coded so that higher scores indicate feeling more hopeful

Religiosity

Religiosity was measured using a single question collected from the adolescent: “How important is your religion to you?” This item was coded as a zero-sum variable 0 (*unimportant*) and 1 (*important*).

Life Enjoyment

Life Enjoyment was measured using one question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You enjoyed life.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were dummy coded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*presence of life enjoyment*). The item was coded so that higher scores correspond with higher feelings of enjoying life.

Family Understands

The family understands was measured using one question collected from the adolescent: “How often was the following true during the past week? You felt that your family understood you.” This item was measured on a scale from 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time*), 3 (*most or all of the time*). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*often*). The item was coded so that higher scores correspond with higher feelings of having a family that understands them.

Analysis Plan

In this study, 6,504 adolescents were analyzed at a single-time point. Descriptive statistics and correlation analyses were conducted for each of the measures. A logistical regression analysis was utilized to analyze these data using SPSS. The logistical regression analysis was used to assess the relationship that exists between hope, loneliness, disliked by others, and internal feelings to explain life enjoyment across race and ethnicity during

adolescence. A measure of how well our model explains life enjoyment is captured by the r-square value. Due to the binary and categorical nature of the data, normality cannot be tested. . These data were analyzed both collectively and analyzed by particular racial groups. Missing data were addressed using Expectation-Maximization (EM) techniques. The missing data ranged from 0 - 4.1%.

Results

Due to the results of four different large models being reported, it is essential to offer clarification in advance. Each group is representative of how individuals who identified as in-group members identified according to race and ethnicity. The fourth model is a model compiled of all model participants, no matter their race or identity.

Within the text, for each group, the findings associated with both positive correlation between variables and the dependent variable (enjoyment of life) are discussed as well as the odds ratios between significant variables and the dependent variable (enjoyment of life). These categories were recoded so that 0 (*never/rarely*), 1 (*sometimes*), 2 (*a lot of the time/most or all of the time*). Throughout the results of this study, the results will be reported as follows: All data reported as a 0 are not shown in the results as that group was identified as the reverent group. Group 1 (*sometimes*) will continue to be reported as sometimes throughout the results, while Group 2 (*often*) will be reported as often. Odds ratios above 1 mean that a person is that much more likely to experience the dependent variable. However, an odds ratio below 1 means that person is less likely to experience the dependent variables

Table 4.1.

White Adolescent Reports of Life Enjoyment: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics (N=3,881)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Enjoy Life	-															
As Good as Others	0.17***	-														
Blues	0.11***	-0.21**	-													
Hopeful	0.19***	0.33**	-0.15**	-												
Failure	0.17***	-0.25**	0.36**	-0.20**	-											
Fearful	0.06***	-0.13**	0.29**	-0.10**	0.28**	-										
Happy	0.29***	0.31**	-0.33**	0.33**	-0.31**	-0.17**	-									
Lonely	-0.07**	-0.14**	0.46**	-0.11**	0.32**	0.30**	-0.29**	-								
Bullied	-0.04**	-0.12**	0.19**	-0.07**	0.23**	0.21**	-0.13**	0.24**	-							
Unmotivated	-0.03*	-0.07**	0.23**	-0.08**	0.20**	0.21**	-0.12**	0.27**	0.24**	-						
Disliked	-0.11**	-0.21**	0.29**	-0.14**	0.30**	0.31**	-0.22**	0.32**	0.54**	0.21**	-					
Not Worth Living	-0.23**	-0.24**	0.36**	-0.19**	0.51**	0.26**	-0.33**	0.30**	0.23**	0.20**	0.30**	-				
Family Understands	0.10**	0.10**	-0.25**	0.13**	-0.19**	-0.12**	0.21**	-0.24**	-0.14**	-0.18**	-0.17**	-0.17**	-			
Religiosity	-0.70	-0.20**	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.50**	0.00	0.00	-0.30**	0.00	-0.60**	-0.60**	0.00	-		
Grade	0.00	-0.90	-0.10	0.00	-0.10	-0.50**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.20**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-
Sex	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.20**	0.00	0.00	-0.10	0.00	-0.50**	-0.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.60	0.00
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>M</i>	0.97	1.61	0.34	1.56	0.16	0.29	1.78	0.41	0.37	0.59	0.37	0.13	1.53	0.68	0.87	1.51
<i>SD</i>	0.18	0.65	0.60	0.67	0.44	0.52	0.46	0.62	0.57	0.63	0.57	0.40	0.55	0.47	0.34	0.50

^aSex: 1 = Male, 2 = Female. ^bReligiosity: 0 = Not Important, 1 = Important. ^cGrade: 0 = Middle School, 1 = High School.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Correlations for white adolescents are provided in Table 4.2. Among white adolescents the enjoyment of life was significantly correlated with their perception of being as good as others ($r = .17; p < .001$), sadness ($r = -.11; p < .01$), hopefulness ($r = .19; p < .01$), feeling like a failure ($r = -.17; p < .01$), fear ($r = -.06; p < .05$), happiness ($r = .29; p < .01$), loneliness ($r = -.07; p < .01$), being bullied ($r = -.04; p < .05$), being unmotivated ($r = -.03; p < .05$), feeling as if life is not worth living ($r = -.23; p < .01$), being disliked ($r = -.11; p < .01$), and having a family that understands the adolescent ($r = .10; p < .01$).

Within the results associated with the odds ratio (see Table 4.1), white adolescents who viewed themselves as good as others sometimes (odds ratio = 1.92; $p < .05$) and often (odds ratio = 2.27; $p < .01$) had a higher presence of life enjoyment. White adolescents who reported feelings of happiness sometimes (odds ratio = 4.80; $p < .001$) and often (odds ratio = 11.91; $p < .001$) were significantly associated with higher presence of life enjoyment. Additionally, white adolescents who identified as hopeful sometimes (odds ratio = 1.99; $p < .05$) and often (odds ratio = 3.37; $p < .001$) were significantly associated with higher presence of life enjoyment. When white students often felt liked by others (odds ratio = .03; $p < .05$) were significantly associated with a higher presence of life enjoyment. For white adolescents having a family that understands was significant at the sometimes tier (odds ratio = 2.51; $p < .05$), and the often tier (odds ratio = 2.69; $p < .05$) was positively associated with an increased presence of life enjoyment. Finally, whether or not they were lower classmen or upper classmen were positively associated with life enjoyment (1.86; $p < .05$). When white adolescents who felt that life was not worth living sometimes (odds ratio = 0.35; $p < .001$) and often (odds ratio = 0.40; $p < .05$) were related to a decline in the reported life enjoyment.

Table 4.2*Black Adolescent Reports of Life Enjoyment: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics(N=1,295)*

Variables	1	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	15	16	17	18
Enjoy Life	-														
As Good as															
Others	0.16 **	-													
Blues	-0.05	-0.08*													
Hopeful	0.18**	0.30**	-												
Failure	-0.13**	-0.13**	-0.16**	-											
Fearful	-0.08*	-0.09*	-0.03	0.32**	-										
Happy	0.27**	0.19**	0.24**	-0.30**	-0.17**	-									
Lonely	-0.12**	-0.11**	-0.09*	0.39**	0.34**	-0.26**	-								
Bullied	-0.05	-0.09*	-0.06*	0.26**	0.26**	-0.13**	0.33**	-							
Unmotivated	-0.00	-0.06*	-0.07*	0.25**	0.27**	-0.14**	0.30**	0.23**	-						
Disliked	-0.07*	-0.16**	-0.09*	0.32**	0.33**	-0.14**	0.37**	0.52**	0.26**	-					
Not Worth															
Living	-0.09*	-0.16**	-0.14**	0.42**	0.27**	-0.26**	0.31**	0.26**	0.23**	0.32**	-				
Family															
Understands	0.07*	-0.02	0.01	-0.14**	-0.11**	0.14**	-0.20**	-0.13**	-0.10**	-0.12**	-0.10*	-			
Religiosity	0.02	0.11**	0.07*	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.07*	-0.04	0.04	-0.02	-0.01	-0.15**	-		
Grade	0.05	0.04	0.10**	0.00	0.01	0.10**	0.00	-0.05	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	0.05	0.01	-	
Sex	-0.05	-0.01	0.04	0.06*	0.09**	0.01	0.14**	0.08**	0.00	0.06*	0.09**	-0.08*	0.00	0.07*	-
Variables	1	2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>M</i>	0.95	1.50	1.52	0.22	0.31	1.71	0.48	0.43	0.57	0.49	0.18	1.56	0.66	0.97	1.53
<i>SD</i>	0.22	0.75	0.72	0.53	0.55	0.53	0.67	0.63	0.64	0.66	0.48	0.57	0.47	0.16	0.50

^aSex: 1 = Male, 2 = Female. ^bReligiosity: 0 = Not Important 1 = Important. ^cGrade: 0 = Middle School, 1 = High School.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Correlations for Black adolescents are provided in Table 4.3. Among Black adolescents the enjoyment of life was significantly correlated with their perception of being as good as others ($r = .16; p < .01$), hopefulness ($r = .19; p < .01$), feeling like a failure ($r = -.13; p < .01$), fear ($r = -.80; p < .05$), happiness ($r = .27; p < .01$), loneliness ($r = -.12; p < .01$), being disliked ($r = -.072; p < .05$), and having a family that understands the adolescent ($r = .07; p < .05$).

With the Black adolescent population (see Table 4.1), their perception of feeling very fearful, being often hopeful, being sometimes happy and often happy and religion being important were the only significant variables (see Table 4.1). Among the Black adolescent population represented in this study, Black adolescents who reported feelings of happiness sometimes (odds ratio = 4.46; $p < .001$) and often (odds ratio = 14.41 $p < .001$) were significantly associated with a higher presence of life enjoyment. Furthermore, Black adolescents who identified as hopeful often (odds ratio = 2.95; $p < .01$) were significantly associated with higher presence of life enjoyment. Higher levels of religiosity (odds ratio = 1.86; $p < .05$) were associated with the increased presence of life enjoyment. When Black adolescents rarely felt fearful (odds ratio = .17; $p < .01$), it was related to an increase in the reported life enjoyment.

Table 4.3*Hispanic Adolescent Reports of Life Enjoyment: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics(N=543)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	15	16	17	18
Enjoy Life	-															
As Good as Others	0.16**	-														
Blues	-0.15	-0.10	-													
Hopeful	0.18**	0.27*	-0.05	-												
Failure	0.19**	0.15**	0.35**	-0.12*	-											
Fearful	-0.10*	-0.16*	0.30**	-0.044	0.34**	-										
Happy	0.32**	0.27**	0.24**	0.30**	0.21**	0.18**	-									
Lonely	-0.13*	-0.11*	0.40**	-0.13*	0.39**	0.39**	0.22**	-								
Bullied	-0.06	-0.11*	0.25**	-0.04	0.23**	0.27**	-0.09*	0.31**	-							
Unmotivated	-0.10*	-0.07	0.25**	0.00	0.30**	0.29**	0.086*	0.30**	0.27**	-						
Disliked	-0.14*	0.22**	0.26**	-0.13*	0.34**	0.34**	0.18**	0.35**	0.54**	0.31**	-					
Not Worth Living	-0.19*	0.23**	0.31**	-0.12*	0.47**	0.35**	0.31**	0.23**	0.18**	0.25**	0.32**	-				
Family Understands	0.13*	-0.02	0.25**	0.04	0.28**	0.21**	0.17**	0.30**	-0.15*	0.23**	0.21**	0.19**	-			
Religiosity	0.03	0.11*	0.07	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.04	0.12*	-0.02	0.01	0.03	-0.07	0.14**	-		
Grade	0.01	-0.02	-0.06	0.03	-0.03	-0.08	0.05	-0.04	-0.01	-0.06	0.04	-0.06	0.15**	0.00	-	
Sex	-0.12	-0.12	0.18	0.05	0.14	0.15	-0.04	0.15	0.06	0.01	0.04	0.08	-0.08	-0.06	0.06	-
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>M</i>	0.94	1.41	0.40	1.35	0.29	0.43	1.66	0.53	0.38	0.65	0.45	0.26	1.53	0.69	0.91	1.52
<i>SD</i>	0.25	0.76	0.65	0.78	0.56	0.60	0.57	0.70	0.59	0.64	0.62	0.57	0.56	0.46	0.29	0.50

^aSex: 1 = Male, 2 = Female. ^bReligiosity: 0 = Not Important 1 = Important. ^cGrade: 0 = Middle School, 1 = High School.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Correlations for Hispanic adolescents are provided in Table 4.4. Among Hispanic adolescents enjoyment of life was significantly correlated with their perception of being as good as others ($r = .16; p < .01$), sadness ($r = -.15; p < .001$), hopefulness ($r = .18; p < .001$), feeling like a failure ($r = -.19; p < .01$), fear ($r = -.10; p < .05$), happiness ($r = .32; p < .01$), loneliness ($r = -.13; p < .05$), being unmotivated ($r = -.09; p < .05$), feeling as if life is not worth living ($r = -.19; p < .01$), being disliked ($r = -.11; p < .01$), and having a family that understands the adolescent ($r = .10; p < .05$).

Among adolescents who identified as Hispanic (see Table 4.1), those who rarely viewed themselves as a failure (odds ratio = 0.05; $p < .001$) had a higher presence of life enjoyment (see Table 4.1). Hispanic adolescents who reported rarely feeling fear (odds ratio = 19.74; $p < .001$) were significantly associated with increased levels of life enjoyment. Furthermore, Hispanic adolescents who identified as happy at the sometimes (odds ratio = 3.70; $p < .001$) and the often tier (odds ratio = 19.54; $p < .001$) were significantly associated with a higher presence life enjoyment. When Hispanic adolescents sometimes reported the family understands them (odds ratio = 41.67; $p < .001$) and often (odds ratio = 15.00; $p < .001$), they had an increase in reported life enjoyment.

Table 4.4*Adolescent Reports of Life Enjoyment: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics (N=6,504)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Life Enjoyment	-															
As Good as Others	0.28**	-														
Blues	-0.29**	-0.18**	-													
Hopeful	0.29**	0.32**	-0.13**	-												
Failure	-0.34**	-0.22**	0.37**	-0.18**	-											
Fearful	-0.16**	-0.14**	0.29**	-0.09**	0.30**	-										
Happy	0.48**	0.28**	-0.31**	0.31**	-0.32**	-0.18**	-									
Lonely	-0.27**	-0.15**	0.45**	-0.12**	0.36**	0.32**	-0.29**	-								
Bullied	-0.15**	-0.12**	0.22**	-0.07**	0.24**	0.23**	-0.13**	0.27**	-							
Unmotivated	-0.12**	-0.08**	0.25**	-0.08**	0.22**	0.23**	-0.13**	0.28**	0.23**	-						
Disliked by Others	-0.22**	-0.20**	0.29**	-0.12**	0.32**	0.31**	-0.21**	0.34**	0.53**	0.23**	-					
Life Not Worth Living	-0.33**	-0.22**	0.35**	-0.17**	0.49**	0.29**	-0.32**	0.32**	0.23**	0.21**	0.31**	-				
Family Understands	0.18**	0.06**	-0.24**	0.09**	-0.18**	-0.12**	0.18**	-0.22**	-0.13**	-0.16**	-0.15**	-0.16**	-			
Religiosity	-0.01	0.04**	0.09**	0.04**	0.04**	0.00	-0.04**	0.11**	0.01	0.08**	0.00	0.00	-0.1**	-		
Grade	0.04**	-0.01	-0.02	0.05**	-0.02	0.02	0.05**	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.05**	0.00	-0.02	0.1**	-0.05**	-	
Sex	-0.05**	-0.07**	0.14**	0.02	0.06**	0.07**	-0.02	0.12**	0.02	0.01	0.05**	0.07**	-0.1**	-0.01	0.06**	-
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
M	0.96	1.57	0.36	1.53	0.20	0.31	1.75	0.44	0.39	0.60	0.41	0.15	1.53	0.69	0.90	1.52
SD	0.19	0.68	0.63	0.70	0.49	0.54	0.49	0.64	0.59	0.64	0.60	0.45	0.55	0.46	0.31	0.5

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

^aSex: 1 = Male, 2 = Female. ^bReligiosity: 0 = Not Important 1 = Important. ^cGrade: 0 = Middle School, 1 = High School.

Correlations for all adolescents are provided in Table 4.5. Among adolescents enjoyment of life was significantly correlated with their perception of being as good as others ($r = .28; p < .001$), sadness ($r = -.29; p < .001$), hopefulness ($r = .29; p < .001$), feeling like a failure ($r = -.34; p < .01$), fear ($r = -.16; p < .05$), happiness ($r = .48; p < .001$), loneliness ($r = -.27; p < .001$), being unmotivated ($r = -.12; p < .01$), feeling as if life is not worth living ($r = -.33; p < .001$), being disliked ($r = -.11; p < .01$), and having a family that understands the adolescent ($r = .18; p < .001$), grade ($r = .04; p < .01$) and sex grade ($r = .04; p < .01$).

This model included all of the individuals (see Table 4.1) who met the criteria regardless of race or ethnicity. Adolescents who reported seeing themselves as good as others often (odds ratio = 2.45; $p < .001$) also reported an increase in their enjoyment of life. The comprehensive dataset inclusive of all adolescents also found feeling hopeful significantly associated at both sometimes (odds ratio = 1.86; $p < .001$) and often tiers (odds ratio = 2.70; $p < .001$) with increased levels of life enjoyment. The grade was positively associated with life enjoyment (odds ratio = 1.76; $p < .01$), meaning high schoolers experienced more life enjoyment than middle schoolers. Furthermore, adolescents who identified as happy at the sometimes tier (odds ratio = 4.31; $p < .001$) and often tier (odds ratio = 11.24; $p < .001$) were significantly associated with higher levels of life enjoyment. When the adolescents reported , the family understands them sometimes (odds ratio = 2.40; $p < .01$) and often(odds ratio = 2.00; $p < .05$), there was an increase in the reported life enjoyment. When adolescents viewed themselves as a failure rarely (odds ratio = .43; $p < .01$) was associated with an increase in life enjoyment. Being unmotivated at the lower level was found to be significant (odds ratio = 1.50; $p < .05$). Finally, within the all-inclusive adolescent dataset, adolescents' perception that life is worth living sometimes (odds ratio = 0.58; $p < .05$) and often worth (odds ratio = 0.47; $p < .05$) at the highest tier was

associated with an increase in life enjoyment.

Table 4.5

Logistic Regression Adolescent Enjoyment of Life Across Race and Ethnicity: Coefficient, Standard Error and Odds Ratio

All (N=6,504), Black (N = 1,295), white (N = 3,881), Hispanic (N = 543), Native American (N = 187), Asian (N = 188), Race Other (N= 230) and Unknown Race (N= 180)

Predictor		All			Black			Hispanic			white		
		OR	SE	B	OR	SE	B	OR	SE	B	OR	SE	B
As Good As Others	1	1.38	0.29	0.33	1.03	0.44	0.03	1.14	0.81	0.13	1.92*	0.64	0.65
	2	2.45***	0.54	0.90	2.07	0.87	0.73	1.74	1.35	0.55	2.27**	0.74	0.82
Blues	1	1.26	0.29	0.23	1.07	0.46	0.07	2.77	2.26	1.02	1.78	0.63	0.58
	2	1.01	0.27	0.01	1.77	1.05	0.57	1.51	1.36	0.41	1.26	0.54	0.23
Hopeful	1	1.86***	0.39	0.62	1.83	0.80	0.61	3.36	2.22	1.21	1.99*	0.61	0.69
	2	2.70***	0.59	0.99	2.95**	1.26	1.08	3.48	2.39	1.25	3.37***	1.11	1.21
Failure	1	0.70	0.17	-0.36	0.64	0.30	-0.45	0.41	0.31	-0.88	0.53	0.19	-0.63
	2	0.43**	0.13	-0.85	0.44	0.26	-0.82	0.05***	0.05	-3.04	0.44	0.22	-0.81
Fearful	1	1.20	0.25	0.19	1.29	0.57	0.26	1.02	0.62	0.02	1.49	0.46	0.40
	2	0.80	0.26	-0.22	0.17***	0.10	-1.75	19.68**	26.71	2.98	1.56	0.83	0.45
Happy	1	4.31***	1.08	1.46	4.46***	2.22	1.49	3.70**	2.80	1.31	4.80***	1.95	1.57
	2	11.24***	3.00	2.42	14.41***	7.54	2.67	19.54***	15.55	2.97	11.91***	5.00	2.48
Lonely	1	0.90	0.19	-0.10	0.79	0.33	-0.24	1.00	0.71	0.00	1.17	0.37	0.16
	2	1.08	0.32	0.08	0.56	0.31	-0.58	0.58	0.47	-0.54	1.74	0.81	0.55
Bullied	1	1.22	0.25	0.20	1.17	0.49	0.16	1.54	1.05	0.43	1.68	0.52	0.52
	2	1.28	0.44	0.25	0.89	0.53	-0.12	1.94	2.91	0.66	2.14	1.19	0.76
Unmotivated	1	1.50	0.28	0.41	1.84	0.71	0.61	0.48	0.29	-0.74	1.06	0.28	0.06
	2	1.59	0.47	0.46	1.57	0.95	0.45	0.92	0.95	-0.08	1.50	0.66	0.41
Liked By Others	1	0.89	0.19	-0.11	0.70	0.28	-0.36	1.85	1.38	0.62	0.62	0.19	-0.48
	2	0.57	0.18	-0.56	0.75	0.48	-0.29	0.20	0.21	-1.63	0.31*	0.15	-1.18
Life Not Worth Living	1	0.58*	0.14	-0.54	1.15	0.57	0.14	0.73	0.53	-0.31	0.35***	0.13	-1.04
	2	0.47*	0.15	-0.75	2.51	1.98	0.92	1.13	1.39	0.12	0.40	0.22	-0.91
Family Understands	1	2.61***	0.77	0.96	1.23	0.80	0.21	44.29	41.67**	3.79	2.51*	1.10	0.92
	2	2.33**	0.71	0.85	1.73	1.12	0.55	16.22	15.00**	2.79	2.69*	1.27	0.99
religion		1.37	0.24	0.32	1.86*	0.64	0.62	1.79	1.01	0.58	1.20	0.31	0.18
grade		1.76**	0.39	0.56	1.05	0.80	0.04	2.07	1.93	0.73	1.86*	0.54	0.62
sex		1.22	0.21	0.20	1.54	0.53	0.43	0.60	0.37	-0.50	1.22	0.30	0.20
Constant													
df			6,474			1,265			512			3,850	
X ²			0.23			0.26			0.41			0.25	

Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Note: 1= little and 2= very 0= not at all that was not included in the table served as the referent group and was omitted

Discussion

This study explored whether race or ethnicity affected the life enjoyment outcomes for adolescents. This study illustrated that there were variances in the findings between analysis performed as an all group, Black, white, and Hispanic groups. There was some overlap of significance across two or more groups, but no two groups had all the same outcomes. The fact that no two groups shared the exact same outcome results demonstrated the tenant expressed in Critical Race Theory and the importance of hearing the stories of those with marginalized identities. In this study, four models were run. Each model rendered different variables of significance. When the model included all participants, those who felt that they were as good as others at a high level, those who were a little hopeful and very hopeful, those who were a little happy and very happy, those who viewed themselves as a little bit of a failure, those who viewed their lives as not worth living at a low level and those who felt that their lives were worth living at a high level, and the recognition of having a family that somewhat understands the adolescent or really understands the adolescent were all significant. However, when the data were analyzed within a group based on participants' race, the results differed.

Happiness was the only variable that was found to be significant in all models. Having the perception of being as good as others was found to be significant among the Black and white populations, however, it was not significant for those who identified as Hispanic within this study. Carmichael and Czech (2019) conducted a study to evaluate happiness, race, and gender. Similar to this study, they found that happiness was reported similarly between Black and white youth. This research went a step further by analyzing that in addition to finding similarities between Black and white groups, we had similar findings among adolescents who identified as

Hispanic. One possible reason for happiness being important to the enjoyment of life is because of how happiness is perceived within the culture of the United States.

Failure was identified as significant only among white and Hispanic adolescents, while not significant for Black adolescents. One possibility is the Black and white binary often considers only Black and white people (Delgado, 1997). This could cause Black people to recognize that the societal standards in which they are measured are by white society and, therefore, less likely to accept or perceive themselves as failures because they are not included in the standard. Feelings related to failure can be incredibly complex; there are a multitude of issues that are correlated with feelings of failure, including poor eating habits, perfectionism, anxiety, and other health issues (Kagan & Squires, 1983; Stoeber & Rambow, 2007).

Whether or not life was worth living was only significant among white participants. This is an interesting finding. White adolescents were the only ones to report a perspective of life not worth living and having it remain significantly related to their life enjoyment. Farsides and Dulop (2001) asserted that the feelings associated with the feeling that life is not worth living are often fluid. There appears to be a gap in the research explaining why white students are the only group that reported life not being worth living as significant. One possibility is that people who are classified as Black and Hispanic often find adversity for existing as such. As a result, there is a forced resilience that can be found in communities of color (Lopez, 2006; Owens & Lynch, 2012).

The Hispanic population was the only group that identified having a family that understands the adolescent as significant, and within that population, there was a strong association with this variable. Hispanic families are often collectivist in nature, and family closeness and warmth have been identified as an integral aspect of adolescent development

(Cederbaum et al., 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2014). This is a possible explanation for why there was such a strong association found within the Hispanic population. This study serves to demonstrate the importance of allowing each story to be told rather than a generalized story. It is important to account for racialized and cultural groups and their experiences. Delgado and colleagues (2015) discussed the need to allow groups to be heard. For example, no two groups had the same results. Within the context of this study, white adolescents seemed to be the most adversely affected group by the risk factors found in this study. Those who identified as Hispanic had the least number of categories that were significant. By running the sample collectively, we don't adequately or accurately tell the story of either group. Each story has value, and these findings should be further explored with other racial groups and samples. The failure to perpetually lack diversity in samples creates outcomes that may be true for one group but not for others. Future research should invest in understanding what cultural factors could affect the level of importance of particular variables within certain cultural groups.

This study exemplifies the importance of providing analyses associated with groups that exist outside of the dominant culture. For those who live within marginalized identities, researchers need to analyze how those identities may affect their experiences and how those experiences may vary from those who experience life as part of the dominant culture.

Limitations and Future Directions This study had several limitations. Due to the data being secondary, there was an inability for the researchers to seek more depth of the findings other than the variables included in the data. Within this study, there were some limitations related to the scaling of the data. There are limitations in how the data should be interpreted as there were four values collapsed into three values, and the intent of the data collectors may not be accurately reflected in the results of this study. Additionally, a limitation of this particular

dataset is the age of the data; these data were collected during Wave 1 of ADD Health, which took place during 1994-1995. Another limitation is that the perception of racial belonging was determined solely by the participant and thus relied on how they self-identified. In future research, it might be helpful to have another party identify how they might classify the individual. Future directions for this research could include a skin tone variable as skin tone has an effect in many cases of racialized experiences. Colorism is very present in many communities of color within the United States; those with darker skin often experience different racialized experiences than those who have fairer skin (Napoleóneón, 2021).

To the point of life not being worth living, it would be interesting to analyze why white adolescents seem to have a stronger link between that and their quality of life. How do they determine whether or not their life is worth living?

It would be interesting to assess the number of generations who were American citizens before the adolescent respondent related to these particular variables and the outcomes related to the enjoyment of life. Are those who have parents or they themselves are first-generation likely to differ in perspectives from those who have multiple generations who lived in the United States prior to their existence?

Future research could examine how the results compare to these findings with current adolescents. Would the experience of being connected with social media have an effect on the results for adolescents?

The findings in this study are exploratory in nature and should be used as a starting point for discussions about differences that exist across racial groups within large data sets. Although the results are able to provide some areas for future researchers to explore, any direct implications drawn from these results should be done so with caution as the recoding of data that

occurred. The conceptualization process herein was a way to answer a specific research question that these data, by their nature, are not designed to be able to answer (Ferraro, 2021).

Another future direction could be to review *how* these adolescents report their enjoyment of life as their ages to progress using similar variables to create a longitudinal study about this subject. Finally, within the study, white adolescents reported more variables that influenced their perceptions associated with their life joy. Future research could seek to evaluate why these differences exist.

Implications

This study illustrated different stories based on different racial and ethnic categories. One implication of this research is that it provides evidence that it is possible for different racial and ethnic groups to have different results while exploring similar variables. This illustrates that items viewed as demographic can have a more substantial influence on other variables. When researchers do not participate in disaggregating their data into specific groups, they may have less nuanced and clear results. When datasets are primarily white, and those results are generalized to a wider audience, it is possible that the results are truly reflective of white experiences, and failure to explicitly acknowledge this could be perceived as white normalization. For researchers, this study shows that some research may better serve the included populations better by analyzing the data as separate groups rather than as altogether as one group. By analyzing the individual groups, the researcher could identify more nuanced findings, which could benefit groups with less representation. By researchers doing the additional steps to analyze groups that have a large enough sample, they would provide a richer analysis for the practitioners to utilize in the field.

For practitioners, it would be helpful to know specific information about the populations they are serving; they could better cater to the needs of those particular communities. For example, this study identified that family understanding was a critical variable among Hispanic students. So, when working with Hispanic families, it may be helpful to discuss the importance of fostering an environment where the adolescent feels as if their family understands them. In comparison, that information appears to be less beneficial to other identities included in the study. Racialized and cultural experiences may vary among different group identities. For example, life not worth living was only found to be significant among white students, thus rendering it less worthy of discussion among Black and Brown audiences.

Less nuanced research offers a limited scope by which a practitioner can develop and apply materials to work with families and groups in the community. A practitioner's scope or understanding is often based on the research; if the researcher does not offer nuances in their research, this results in the practitioners having an incomplete picture from which to develop their community outreach programs. It is important that researchers and practitioners understand that race and ethnicity are more than demographic variables but are often associated with cultural and racialized experiences within the context of the United States. White normalization is often undetected while remaining very present (Delgado, 2017).

Conclusion

It is important to acknowledge that there are cultures that exist outside of the dominant culture within a society as diverse as the United States. Those who conduct empirical research must become more open and transparent during the reporting of the data to remind their audiences about their sample throughout the article. As social science attempts to become more inclusive, it is important to research groups not only as a large group but, when possible, it is

important to explore groups that exist within the sample if we would like to have research that is more representative of the culture that exists within the United States.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

Overall Findings

The first study explored the effects of racialized experiences for Black and white people. This study used the GSS database to test these experiences. Overall, there were differences in the model between Black and white people as it related to their self-identity and racial centrality. This study illustrated the importance of doing nuanced work as researchers to limit the dominance of a particular story being told.

The second study explored the relationship between the mother's heritage affiliation and adolescent child outcomes. This study illustrated that there was a relationship between the mother's heritage affiliation and adolescent outcomes. This study also demonstrated the importance of community involvement in a child's life. Finally, the strongest relationship in the study existed in the connection between the mother and child.

The third study examined the importance of nuanced research and the importance of disaggregated data. The third study demonstrated that when the data are disaggregated among different groups, it allows for a more complete and authentic representation of the groups included in the study. These data were analyzed utilizing the same variable in different settings. Each model expressed a different experience.

Conclusion

The findings of these studies illustrated the importance of utilizing race variables as more than a simple demographic when discussing the experiences associated with race within the context of the culture that exists within the United States. Though Bell and colleagues (1995) initially developed critical Race Theory during the 1970s, it remains relevant and timely more than 40 years later.

Researchers should become intentional about acts of inclusion; they should recognize that race is more than a simple demographic and seek a more enriched understanding of the racialized experiences when analyzing the data. Race is interwoven at multiple tiers of class, power, and influence within the context of the United States (Carrillo et al., 2019; Sarkisian, 2012). Research that does not include adequate samples of non-white or non-dominant participants should not be generalized to the non-white or non-dominant cultures, and findings should be specific to the groups they have studied. Continuing the practices as they exist continues to foster white normalization. Additionally, if the datasets do not have a large enough sample to analyze non-white populations, researchers can advocate or limit the use of the dataset with limited representation.

As a field, Family Science can recognize the efforts of researchers who are collecting more inclusive datasets as an accolade with the tenure and promotion processes. If the field seeks more diversity in research results, it should permit grace for those contributing to the field by creating more inclusive research. Racial and cultural inclusivity requires learning, unlearning long-held biases, self-awareness, and challenging oneself and ideology. Racial and cultural inclusivity requires learning, unlearning long-held biases, self-awareness, and challenging oneself and ideology. It is going beyond acts that are empty gestures or performative. Meaningful acts of inclusion would intentionally consider those not part of the white race within the United States and hear voices from diverse populations. Failure to explore or explain this causes an appearance of deficiency of the race rather than a focus on systemic issues. Within Family Science, there should be an additional requirement that those who are Certified Family Life Educators (CFLE) show competence in diversity and inclusion. Additionally, programs,

where students are able to bypass the exam for the CFLE should have a requirement that the courses being taught are taught by subject matter experts to qualify as an acceptable requirement.

Critical Race Theory teaches that racism is both the norm and permanent (Delgado et al., 2015). Within Family Science, prioritizing strives to mitigate or eliminate exclusionary practices is as the field continues to move forward.

Family Science must become more inclusive of marginalized identities, including providing a platform and access to members of the groups of study. Many of the less visible cultural nuances may be missed or misinterpreted by scholars who are less familiar with the culture they are studying. Additionally, the continued propensity of giving platforms to primarily white scholars who do not engage with the communities they are researching and continuing to publish material about those who are not part of their group ultimately perpetuates white normalization and supremacy. This dissertation sought to explore race and racialized experiences within a variety of contexts within the United States; the experiences represented individual, family, and community-based experiences. The findings suggest that more research is needed in the area of race and marginalized populations. It is imperative that the field of Family Science becomes more representative of the existing and developing family structures and refrain from the continued generalizations of white, cis, heteronormative experiences as the standard for all people and families. Finally, it is important to remind the reader that this story was counter-told by a lion; accessibility to platforms for lions will be crucial in the dismantling of white supremacy.

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