THE CONCERNS OF WHITE FATHERS RAISING THEIR BIOLOGICAL

BLACK/WHITE BIRACIAL SONS

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BY

LORNA DURRANT, BS, MS

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated first and foremost to God who guided me throughout my PhD journey, especially through the dissertation process. If it were not for His hands leading me, none of this would be possible. Secondly, I dedicate this dissertation to the fathers who took the time out of their busy schedules to be interviewed. You were open and vulnerable during the process, and I would not have been able to complete this dissertation without you. Thirdly, this dissertation is dedicated to my family, you were all very supportive, encouraging, and understanding throughout this process and it is greatly appreciated.

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ABSTRACT
LORNA DURRANT

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The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons and the ethnic racial socialization practices they used with their sons. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model was used to guide the research process. The two research questions were (1) What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons? and (2) What are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?

Ten White fathers were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analyzed for themes. Two themes resulted from the first research question: safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement and fear of discrimination. Four themes resulted from the second research question: talking about discrimination with son, talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages, exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages, and exposing son to diverse environments. The results of the study were compared to the literature discussed in chapter two and conclusions were drawn. The study's strengths, limitations, recommendations for future research, and implications for policy and practice were presented.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

By 2050, a projection is that there might not be a readily identifiable racial

majority in the United States (US), with some projections suggesting that as many as one

in five Americans (20%) may identify with two or more races (Frey, 2014). According to

the U.S. Census Bureau (2012), 2.9% (about 9 million) of Americans identified as

biracial or multiracial in 2010. The 2000 Census was the first time that individuals were

allowed to choose multiple racial categories to describe themselves (U.S. Census Bureau,

2012). Since then, reporting of the multiracial population in the US has increased

substantially, tripling in size over the past 10 years (U.S Census Bureau, 2012).

For instance, in 2010 individuals reporting a Black/White racial background more

than doubled from the 2000 Census, growing by over 1 million and increasing by 134%

(U.S Census Bureau, 2012). Additionally, in 2013 the largest group of identified

multiracial babies being born were of Black and White racial background (36%; Parker,

Morin, Horowitz, Lopez, & Rohal, 2015). Also, in 2015 newlyweds including one Black

and one White spouse accounted for about 1 in 10 (11%) intermarried couples, with 3%

including a Black woman and a White man (Livingston & Brown, 2017). Although a

small percentage, the incidence of White male and Black female unions have increased

from 0.7% in 1970 to 3% in 2015 (Heer, 1974; Livingston & Brown, 2017; Yeung,

2017). This increase in union of White males and Black females may lead to a greater

likelihood of White fathers raising their biological Black/White biracial sons.

The predominant concept of fatherhood in the 20th century was that of

breadwinner (LaRossa, 1997); however, that concept of fatherhood has changed

culturally (Lamb, 1995; McGill, 2014). As a result of this cultural shift, fatherhood has

taken on the idea of emotional support for one's children and has emphasized the

importance of father involvement (Schmitz, 2016). Fathers' involvement has had positive

outcomes for children in multiple domains such as academic (Jeynes, 2015; Sethna et al.,

2017; U.S. Department of Education, 2010), psychological (Al-Yagon, 2011; Flouri &

Buchanan, 2003), social (Meuwissen & Carlson, 2015), and behavioral (Carlson, 2006;

Pougnet, Serbin, Stack, & Schwartzman, 2011). Sons may be more susceptible to the

influence of their fathers (Ramchandani et al., 2013); as father involvement has been

important when looking at the father-son relationship (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Pruett,

2000; Ramchandani et al., 2013; Roberts-Douglass, & Curtis-Boles, 2013). Furthermore,

this relationship is believed to be the most socially significant male-male relationship in a

male's life course (Floyd & Morman, 2003).

There also appears to be racial differences as it relates to father involvement

(Leavell, Tamis-LeMonda, Ruble, Zosuls, & Cabrera, 2012), with Black fathers of Black

children exhibiting more monitoring and supervision when compared with White fathers

of White children (Hofferth, 2003; Mullins, 2011). African American fathers' approach

to parenting may be influenced by their environmental setting and their own experience

with racism (Doyle et al., 2015; Toth & Xu, 1999). Thus, the father-son relationship may

be more challenging for White fathers who do not share the same race as their sons

(Edwards & Caballero, 2015; Roberts-Douglass & Curtis-Boles, 2013), which may lead to several concerns on the part of White fathers.

A possible concern that White fathers might have for their biracial sons is how they are perceived in the educational system. A study examining the school experiences of Black-White biracial students found that parents reported that the teachers seemed to have racial stereotypes or perceptions about their children's academic performance that were noticeable and questionable (Williams, 2013). In addition to educational concerns, White fathers may also have racial concerns for their Black/White biracial sons, particularly dealing with racism and the social experiences that their multiracial children may encounter (Edwards & Caballero, 2015).

A way that White fathers can possibly counteract their concerns for their Black/White biracial sons is by preparing their sons for discrimination they may encounter with ethnic racial socialization (ERS; Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010). ERS is a set of protective practices used by parents, typically with minority children, to promote resiliency in their children; this can be accomplished through different methods, such as cultural socialization or pride in one's racial group, preparation for bias, and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006). The ERS practices of White fathers raising their biracial children may involve cultural socialization (Edwards & Caballero, 2015). Edwards and Caballero (2015) reported that White fathers thought it was important that their multiracial children had access to minority culture, which could be a form of cultural socialization.

Statement of the Problem

Black/White biracial children are least likely to be identified as White by society and their parents (Parker et al., 2015) and are more likely to be identified as Black (Qian, 2004). According to multiracial adults with a Black background, a majority of them reported that most people viewed them as Black or African American, and that they have more in common with people who are Black than with people who are White (Parker et al., 2015). When multiracial individuals experience racial discrimination, they reported having more in common with racial groups of color (Franco, 2019). Consequently, a possible concern of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons, is their sons not identifying with their White heritage.

Black/White biracial adults also tend to have experiences, attitudes, and social interactions that are more aligned with the Black community (Perry, 2014). As a result, the societal challenges that Black/White sons may encounter could be vastly different from that of their White fathers. Research has consistently shown that there is a racial disparity in society as it pertains to education (Burchinal et al., 2011), income (Reardon, & Bischoff, 2011), employment (Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013), and incarceration (Saperstein, & Penner, 2010) between Whites and minorities. These social inequality and differences in societal challenges might make it difficult for White fathers to relate to or help their Black/White biracial sons overcome societal issues.

This might be particularly problematic if White fathers have a propensity for *White ignorance*. White ignorance can be described as the refusal to recognize how the legacy of the past and practices in the present continues to put people of color at a

disadvantage (Mills, 2015). White ignorance generally denies white advantages all together or attribute it to differential White efforts. It is an absence of beliefs, a set of false beliefs, or a pervasively deforming outlook among Whites that is causally linked to their whiteness (Mills, 2015).

Consequently, White fathers may not be able to understand and relate to their Black/White biracial sons' challenges, and thus may not be able to help them during difficult times (Snyder, 2016). This lack of relatedness on the part of White fathers for the social experiences that their Black/White biracial sons may encounter can be a valid concern for White fathers (Edwards & Caballero, 2015). Additionally, failure to adequately prepare sons for the discrimination they may face, such as with appropriate methods of racial socialization, may lead to detrimental consequences for sons (Burt, Simons, & Gibbons, 2012). For instance, if Black/White biracial sons are taught to deal with discrimination with anger and violence (Snyder, 2016), then this could possibly lead to their harm. For instance, Black males often have been the victims of excessive force by law enforcement (Lawson, 2015); and in 2015, they were killed at more than twice the rate of Whites by law enforcement (Nix, Campbell, Byers, & Alpert, 2017).

More research needs to be devoted to White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons because of the concerns that White fathers have for their Black/White biracial sons (Edwards & Caballero, 2015) as well as the potential results of inappropriate socialization methods used by them with their Black/White biracial sons. Furthermore, because Black/White biracial adults reported having more in common with the Black community and Black individuals (Franco, 2019; Parker et al., 2015; Perry, 2014), a

possible concern of White fathers could be that their Black/White biracial sons do not identify with their White culture and thus do not embrace and appreciate their White heritage.

Statement of the Purpose

Fathers play a significant role in their sons' lives (Floyd & Morman, 2003) and are typically tasked with the responsibility of raising socially responsible men (Cobb-Clark & Tekin, 2014; Roberts-Douglass & Curtis-Boles, 2013; Scelza, 2010). Mothers and fathers appear to play different roles in the development of their children (Luk, Farhat, Iannotti, & Simons-Morton, 2010; Patock-Peckham & Morgan-Lopez, 2009). Consequently, more research needs to be done looking at White fathers and their biracial children. Thus, the purpose of this study was to learn about the concerns of White fathers raising their biological Black/White biracial sons and the socialization methods used by White fathers to racially socialize their sons.

By ascertaining the concerns of White fathers raising their biracial sons, family life professionals can help equip White fathers with the tools they need to help raise socially healthy Black/White biracial sons. Tools such as ERS practices have been shown to increase positive identity in minority individuals, and "protect against the criminogenic effects of racial discrimination" (Burt et al., 2012, p. 668). ERS, particularly preparation for bias, can reduce the effects of emotional distress and hostile views caused by racial discrimination. This may lead to a reduction in negative behavioral responses by teaching individuals how to cope in noncriminal ways with discrimination (Burt et al., 2012). This may lead to better life experiences for White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons

and to benefits to society in general, such as more socially responsible minority males (Burt et al., 2012). As a result, White fathers need to be properly equipped with the tools to help raise socially healthy Black/White biracial males in a biased society.

Research Questions

This research focused on the following questions:

1. What are the concerns of White fathers raising their biological Black/White biracial sons?

2. What are the ethnic racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?

Theoretical Perspective

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) was used to frame this research. Bronfenbrenner's theory defines complex "layers" of environment, each having an effect on development (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). This theory looks at the developing individual within the context of these layers or system of relationships that form his/her environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The five main systems associated with this theory are the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, macrosystem, and the chronosystem.

The microsystem consists of the immediate environment in which the individual interacts (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Thus, it is the system closest to the individual and contains the structures in which the individual has direct contact. Examples of structures in the microsystem are family, school, and neighborhood (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The mesosystem comprises the interrelations among major settings containing the developing

person; thus, it is the linkage between two or more microsystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). An example of the mesosystem is the linkage between the family and the school, such as parental school involvement. The exosystem is the environment in which the individual is not directly involved but it still has a significant influence on the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). From the perspective of a child, examples of the exosystem are the parents' place of work and the school board. The macrosystem is the largest system and "refers to the overarching institutional patterns of the culture or subculture," such as the social, educational, and political systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977 p. 515). Lastly, the chronosystem involves environmental events, including sociohistorical events and transitions that occur throughout an individual's life (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). An example of a sociohistorical event is the multiple deaths of unarmed Black males at the hands of police officers.

The microsystem was the focus of this research. The microsystem is relevant to this research because it contains family structures, and this research was about learning of the family dynamics of White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons. Additionally, the microsystem is also relevant because how White fathers raise their Black/White biracial sons will impact their development. For example, there are different ways in which White fathers can help their sons deal with discrimination or racial issues they may encounter in society. How White fathers socialize their sons to deal with racism can either have a positive or negative impact on their sons' development. Appropriate methods such as ERS can lead to positive development (Burt et al., 2012).

Definition of Terms

1. Biracial- descriptor of individuals who are biologically two races, such as Black and White, or Asian and Black (Csizmadia, Rollins, & Kaneakua, 2014; Qian, 2004).

2. Black- descriptor for persons having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). African American was used interchangeably with Black, especially when it was the term used in the literature.

3. Concerns- to trouble someone with feelings of worry (Cambridge English Dictionary, n.d.).

4. Discrimination- treating a person or particular group of people differently, especially in a worse way from the way in which you treat other people, because of their skin color, sex, sexuality etc (Cambridge English Dictionary, n.d.).

5. Ethnicity- whether a person is of Hispanic origin or not (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017b)

6. Ethnic Racial Socialization (ERS) - the methods through which parents communicate information, values, and perspective about ethnicity and race to their children. This can be in the form of cultural pride, and preparation for bias (Burt et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2006).

7. Father- a male who is the biological parent of at least one child (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017a).

8. Fathering- behaviors related to what fathers do and their experiences (Pleck, 2007).

9. Minority- a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the social majority in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective

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discrimination. It is used to describe social power relations between dominant and subordinate groups (Laurie & Khan, 2017; Wirth, 1945).

10. Multiracial- descriptor of individuals who report two or more races (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

11. Race- a person's self-identification with one or more social groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017b).

12. Son- a male biological offspring of two individuals.

13. White- descriptor for persons having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

14. White ignorance- a lack of knowledge and/or understanding among Whites characterized by an absence of beliefs, a set of false beliefs, or a pervasively deforming outlook, that is causally linked to their whiteness (Mills, 2015).

Assumptions

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. Participants were honest and open.

2. Participants shared some common experiences to the point that themes emerged from the data.

Delimitation

A delimitation to the study was the participants of the study included only White fathers who had a Black/White biracial son.

Role of the Researcher

My role is that of a doctoral candidate who is interested in becoming a family life professional and wants to strengthen families of all types, especially those who are often neglected in research. Additionally, I am a Black international female student from the Caribbean studying in the United States. Coming from a country where I was the majority and was able to see representation of myself at the highest levels in society and then coming to a country where I am a minority, as it relates to number, and where my race is marginalized in subtle and not so subtle ways in society has required some mental adjustment. As a result, I became interested in the current racial climate in the US, especially as it relates to the killing of young Black men. Young men presenting with a Black phenotype need to be able to competently navigate racial discrimination in society. A critical component of parenting children presenting with a Black phenotype is making them aware of racial biases and teaching them how to appropriately deal with it (Hughes et al., 2006). Therefore, a desire of the researcher was to provide needed information to White fathers to increase their odds of raising socially competent Black/White biracial sons.

Summary

Father involvement has had positive outcomes for children in multiple domains, such as academics (Jeynes, 2015; Sethna et al., 2017; U.S. Department of Education, 2010) and behaviors (Carlson, 2006; Pougnet et al., 2011). However, this relationship might be even more salient when examining the father/son relationship because this relationship is believed to be the most socially significant male-male relationship in a

male's life course (Floyd & Morman, 2003). Fathers play a significant role in the identity formation of their sons (Robert-Duglass & Curtis-Boles, 2013); however, this may be more challenging for White fathers who do not share the same race as their sons because of a different set of lived experience (Edwards & Caballero, 2015). If White fathers are not able to understand and relate to their sons' challenges, they may not be able to help them during difficult times, such as when their sons face racial discrimination. Hence, the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons should be of significance to society.

By ascertaining the concerns of White fathers raising their biracial sons, family practitioners can help equip them with the tools they need; such as ethnic racial socialization practices, to help raise socially healthy Black/White biracial sons, which can have a positive impact on the sons and society in general. Thus, the goal of this research was to learn about the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons, and the ethnic racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model was used to frame this research, with specific focus being on the microsystem.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this research was to investigate the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons, as well as ERS practices that they used with their biracial sons. The microsystem was used to understand this research. It is the system closest to the sons and contains their fathers with whom they have direct contact.

Due to the sparse research available focused specifically on White fathers and their biological Black/White biracial sons, research for this literature review was obtained from studies that included White fathers of Black/White biracial children as a subset of participants. Also, research was gathered from additional sets of data, such as research on transracial adoption involving White fathers and their adopted Black or Black/White biracial sons as well as research involving Black/White biracial males' concerns and challenges. The latter was included in the literature review because being aware of Black/White biracial sons' challenges can inform the likely concerns that White fathers may have for their Black/White biracial sons. Following is a discussion about fatherhood, concerns within the microsystem, and ethnic racial socialization practices within the microsystem.

Fatherhood

The term fatherhood has multiple meanings in social sciences research. One meaning of fatherhood is the behaviors enacted by men who have children (Lamb, 2000). Fatherhood as a behavior is used in research related to what fathers do and their

experiences with their children; this branch of fatherhood research is termed *fathering* (Pleck, 2007). Consequently, fathering includes, but is not limited to, fathers' involvement in relationships with their children, relating to them, taking responsibility for them, providing for them, protecting them, and wanting them to prosper in their own development (Palkovitz, 2014). As a result, Palkovitz (2014) stated that good fathering was associated with positive developmental outcomes for children and had the potential to foster men's adult development. The fathers' influence on child development can be direct through their behaviors as well as the attitudes and the messages they convey. Their influence can also be indirect through their relationship with other people, such as being a source of emotional and instrumental support to the children's mother (Lamb, 2010).

The positive impact of fathers' influence on children developmental outcomes has been reported by numerous studies (Jeynes, 2015; Jones & Mosher, 2013; Meuwissen & Carlson, 2015; Pougnet et al., 2011; Sethna et al., 2017). The positive relationship between fathers' involvement and their sons' development is particularly evident in the behavioral domain (Keizer, Lucassen, Jaddoe, & Tiemeier, 2014; Ramchandani et al., 2013; Sarkadi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid, & Bremberg, 2008). Sarkadi et al. (2008) did a systematic review of longitudinal studies of fathers' involvement and children's development outcomes and reported that fathers' engagement was linked to reduction of the frequency of behavioral problems in boys and psychological problems in girls (Sarkadi et al., 2008). Similarly, Keizer et al. (2014) reported that fathers' contribution to childcare made a difference in the lives of their children, particularly for sons. Fathers

who took on relatively more responsibility had sons who exhibited less attention problems and fewer aggressive behaviors. Additionally, fathers' relatively stronger involvement in childcare did contribute to their sons' but not their daughters' lower levels of being anxious/depressed (Keizer et al., 2014).

As indicated above, fathers can play a significant role in their sons' development (Keizer et al., 2014; Palkovitz, 2014; Sarkadi et al., 2008). However, this role may become more complex when fathers do not share the same race as their sons, which can lead to concerns on the part of the fathers. Thus, the subsequent section explores the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons.

Concerns Within the Microsystem

Due to the different racial make-up and sometimes different phenological features of White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons, White fathers may encounter a different set of lived experiences than their Black/White sons. Research has indicated that there is a racial disparity in society as it relates to White and Black men (Nix et al., 2017; Reardon, & Bischoff, 2011; Rehavi, & Starr, 2014; Shapiro et al., 2013; Wagmiller & Lee, 2014). Therefore, White fathers may have a more difficult time understanding their sons' challenges, which may become a cause for concern. Issues might include, but is not limited to, concerns within the educational system, concerns related to identity, and concerns about racial discrimination.

Educational

Black/White biracial sons may encounter challenges within the educational system that their White fathers did not. Research has shown that there is a racial disparity

as it pertains to educational achievements (Burchinal et al., 2011). For instance, only 12% of Black fourth grade boys are proficient in reading compared to 38% of their White counterparts; and only 12% of Black eighth grade boys are proficient in math, compared to 44% of White boys (Prager, 2011). Additionally, the high school drop-out rate for Black males (10.9%) doubled that of their White counterparts (5.4%; McFarland, Stark, & Cui, 2016); and White males have a higher rate of college attendance and completion than that of Black males (McDaniel, DiPrete, Buchmann, & Shwed, 2011). Some researchers argue that the disparity can be explained by socioeconomic differences (Bond & Lang, 2018). However, according to the National Center for Educational Statistic, although socioeconomic status (SES) does explain a portion of the observed achievement gap between Black and White students, there is still a racial component to the achievement gap (Bohrnstedt, Kitmitto, Ogut, Sherman, & Chan, 2015). This was based on grade eight assessment. For example, the achievement gap between Black and White students remained whether middle schools were composed of mostly Black students or mostly White students. Additionally, nationally and in most of the states examined, the portion of the Black–White achievement gaps that can be attributed to within-school differences was larger than the portion that can be attributed to between-school differences (Bohrnstedt et al., 2015). The different educational concerns include teachers' expectation and school curriculum.

Teachers' expectations. A concern of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons is teachers' expectations. In fact, teachers' expectations may partially explain the Black-White achievement gap between students of similar economical

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background (Allen, 2013; Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016). The National Center for Education Statistics researchers utilized a nationally representative sample of 16,810 student-teacher dyads of 10th grade students to examine the effects of student-teacher demographic match on teacher expectations. It was found that non-Black teachers of Black students had significantly lower expectations than did Black teachers, and these effects were larger for Black male students in comparison to their Black female counterpart (Gershenson et al., 2016). Allen (2013) used critical race theory to examine the educational experiences of Black middle-class high school male students. Participants included six Black male students and their Black fathers as well as six teachers selected by the student participants. The race or sex of the teachers were not indicated. The researcher highlighted various microaggression events experienced by the male students. These events included negative and stereotypical views that teachers and school administrators held of Black men that resulted in racialized assumptions of intelligence, deviance, and differential treatment.

Williams' (2013) study involving Black/White biracial students yielded similar results. Williams explored biracial students' and their parents' perceptions of the factors related to their schooling. Participants included 10 Black/White biracial youth, three were males and seven were females, and their parents. The 14 parent participants included three Black fathers, three Black mothers, three White fathers, and five White mothers. An issue that was identified among the parent participants was educational concerns, specifically teachers' expectations. The parents reported that the teachers seemed to have racial stereotypes or perceptions about their children's academic performance that were

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noticeable and questionable. A White mother in the study reported how a teacher's expectation of her biracial son was extremely different from that of his White friend. The parent reported that both her son and his White friend had similar report cards. However, the teacher tried to appease her by saying "Oh, you know, he's doing the best he can. He tried really hard" (Williams, 2013, p. 195), while telling the parent of the White son that he knows the White student can do better (Williams, 2013). Another educational concern identified in the literature was the school curriculum.

School curriculum. Williams (2013) also identified another educational concern of both the biracial students and their parents, which was the inclusion of biracial children in the school curriculum. According to Williams, all the student participants in the study reported that the curriculum did not acknowledge the presence of Black/White biracial people. This led some of the students to believe that biracial people did not contribute enough to society or academics to be included in the curriculum. However, having some representation of biracial or multiracial people in the curriculum, so biracial students can see themselves in the curriculum, might validate their experiences.

In fact, according to researchers in the field of multicultural education, students should be taught in ways that reflect their culture and ethnic background (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Nieto, 2015). However, when it pertains to biracial students, they are often invisible in the classroom and the school curriculum, and most teachers are unaware of the challenges faced by biracial students (Howard, 2018; Wardle, 1999). All the parents in Williams' (2013) study also believed that the curriculum needed to have more representation of biracial individuals. Thus, they recommended making the curriculum

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more inclusive for biracial students. The parents also suggested that history be taught more accurately and that teachers be more aware of the presence of biracial students and recognize that their experiences may be different from that of mono-racial Black students.

Biracial Identity

In addition to the educational concerns that has been identified in the literature, concerns related to a biracial identity was also evident. Children who are the products of Black/White unions have typically faced resistance from Blacks for not being Black enough, and from Whites for not being fully White (McClain, 2004; Samuels, 2009). McClain (2004) focused on the identity preference of biracial Black/White Americans. Twenty-two biracial adults, males and females, were interviewed. Their ages ranged from the early 20s to the early 40s, with most being in their mid-20s to early 30s. McClain reported that a pattern that was evident in all the biracial male participants was a sense of social apprehension resulting from their biracial identity.

Acknowledgement of biracial identity. Historically, Black/White biracial individuals were faced with the one drop rule (Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009). This rule postulates that individuals with just one drop of Black blood were to be classified as Black racially; however, this polarity has existed without considering the impact that the assigned identity may have on the individual's sense of self (Bowles, 1993). In fact, studies have shown that when biracial individuals are not free to express their biracial identity or are denied their biracial identity by others, this can result in psychological maladjustment (Bowles, 1993; Coleman & Carter, 2007; Sanchez, 2010).

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Self. Bowles' seminal (1993) research focused on the identity of individuals who were of a biracial Black/White background. The purpose of his paper was to offer greater understanding of the emotional aspects of identity for the biracial individuals that would be useful to professionals, parents, and society. At the time of the writing of his paper, Bowles had 30 years of clinical practice and had worked with 10 young adult children of mixed Black/White parentage. His clinical work with these 10 biracial adults was the source of information that informed his paper. In four of these cases, the mothers were White and the Fathers were Black. The four young adults from these unions were all females. In the remaining six cases, the mothers were Black and the fathers were White. Two of the young adult children from these marriages were males, the remaining four were females. All participants in Bowles' (1993) study felt uncomfortable identifying with one side of their parental line against the other; and this was more evident in the male participants who had White fathers. Based on Bowles' clinical experience, he reported that when biracial sons took on greater identification with their Black racial heritage at the expense of denying their White racial heritage, they experienced high levels of anxiety and depression (Bowles, 1993).

Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra, and Harrington's (2012) study had similar results. The relations between perceived racial discrimination, multiracial identity integration, and psychological adjustment of 263 multiracial adults were examined. Jackson et al. (2012) reported the following self-identified races/ethnicities: 23% Asian and White; 13% Black and White; 5% Hispanic and White; 4% Black and Asian; 4% Black, White, and Indian; 3% Black, White, and Hispanic; and 3% Asian and Hispanic. Male participants made up

22% of the sample. The findings revealed that having an integrated identity, that is being

comfortable identifying with and relating to one's multiracial or biracial identity, was

associated with higher psychological adjustment and lower levels of stress.

  Others. Similarly, Coleman and Carter (2007) also reported that being able to

acknowledge one's biracial identity resulted in better psychological functioning in

contrast to denying one's biracial identity. However, unlike Bowles (1993) and Jackson

et al. (2012), Coleman and Carter (2007) also reported that societal pressure from peers to

identify as monoracial instead of biracial predicted social anxiety. Coleman and Carter

(2007) reported that being able to acknowledge one's biracial identity as well as having

one's biracial identity validated by others was associated with significantly lower anxiety

and depressive scores compared to an unvalidated biracial identity. The reverse is also

true, having one's biracial identity neglected or ignored by others can be a threatening

experience (Sanchez, 2010).

  Sanchez (2010) examined the lack of acknowledgment of one's biracial identity

from a societal standpoint by investigating how *force-choice dilemma* impacted a group

of multiracial adults. Force-choice dilemma is when multiracial individuals are asked or

pressured to choose one of their racial identities instead of being allowed to identify with

all of their racial identities (Standen, 1996). The study consisted of 317 participants,

17.9% ($n = 57$) were males. The sample consisted of 24 different racial combinations, the

three most common combinations were Asian/White 30% ($n = 95$), Black/White 22% ($n = 69$), and Black/White/American Indian 11% ($n = 34$). The result of the study revealed

that depressive symptoms were significantly positive correlated with being forced to

identify with one racial group over another (Sanchez, 2010). Thus, the acknowledgement of one's biracial identity positively impacts one's psychological functioning (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Sanchez, 2010). Developing a positive biracial identity may also influence psychological functioning.

Developing a positive biracial identity. Smith, Juarez, and Jacobson (2011) explored the relationship between White adoptive parents and their adopted Black and Black/White biracial children. A total of 27 individuals participated in the study: 14 parents and 13 Black or Black/White biracial adoptees. There was a total of 23 interviews; 13 adoptees and 10 adoptive parents participated. For the parents, six interviewed individually and four interviewed as a couple. Among the adoptive parents who were interviewed, there was near-consensus that the Black and biracial adoptees should take pride in their culture and racial identity (Smith, Juarez, & Jacobson, 2011). In addition to concerns within the educational system and concerns related to identity, concerns about racial discrimination was also identified in the literature.

Dealing with Racial Discrimination

McClain (2004) reported that dealing with discrimination was an issue for the biracial participants in the study. For example, one of the participants shared his school experience as a teen; he related how he was discriminated against by both his Black and his White schoolmates because of his appearance. In fact, McClain (2004) stated that "nearly all of the men in the study underwent the same rite of passage in which they were subjected to mistreated, usually verbally, sometimes physical" (p. 47) by their Black and White classmates because of their biracial heritage. The biracial male participants

reported that their Black peers taunted them for being "White boys" (p. 47), and White peers rejected them because they were too Black (McClain, 2004). Therefore, having to navigate the negative effects of racial discrimination may be another cause of concern for White fathers raising Black/White biracial sons.

Research also shows racial discrimination as a concern of White parents for their Black children and biracial children. Feigelman (2000) and Smith et al.'s (2011) studies focused on transracially adopted Black and Black/White biracial children of White parents and Edwards and Caballero (2015) investigated father involvement with their multiracial race children. The parents in all three studies reported that their Black children or biracial children faced racial discrimination that was a cause for concerns for the parents.

Feigelman (2000) followed transracial and in-racial adopted children from early childhood to early adulthood. The data analysis was based on parental assessment when children were in their early 20s ($M = 23$). Feigelman (2000) compared in-racially adopted White young adults ($N = 37$) to transracially adopted adults who were Asian ($N = 151$), African American ($N = 33$), and Latino ($N = 19$). The results of the study showed that over half of the White parents of Black children (53%) reported that their children was discriminated against sometimes or often, this was more than any of the other transracially adopted children. The findings suggested that African American transracially adopted children experienced the most intense anti-minority discrimination. Additionally, higher levels of adjustment difficulties and behavioral problems were evident when children encountered more discrimination (Feigelman, 2000).

The purpose of Edwards and Caballero's (2015) study was to find out if the parental practices of fathers with biracial children would be distinct when compared to fathers with same race children. Semi-structured interviews with fathers were used to explore their understandings of their involvement in parenting their biracial children. The sample consisted of 31 fathers, 13 of which were White fathers partnered with women from East Asian, South Asian, Black, Mediterranean, Maori, or Pacific Island backgrounds. Five Black fathers and one Black/White biracial father were partnered with White or Black/White biracial women. Three South Asian fathers, one South Asian/White biracial father, and one Middle Eastern father were partnered with White women. Five Maori and Pacific Island fathers, one mixed Maori and Pacific Island father, and one East Asian father were partnered with White women.

Edwards and Caballero (2015) reported that White fathers raising biracial children thought about racial issues they would not have otherwise thought about, such as dealing with racial discrimination. However, unlike Feigelman (2000) study, which simply highlighted that racial discrimination was a concern of parents for their adopted Black children, Edwards and Caballero elaborated on how the fathers in their study dealt with such discrimination. White fathers who had a concern for racial discrimination dealt with it in two ways: avoidance or challenging racism. Smith et al.'s (2011) study that focused on transracially adopted Black and Black/White biracial children of White parents reported that the adopted parents also had a concern for racial discrimination against their adopted children. White parents in the study reported being aware of and recognizing frequent instances of racial discrimination perpetrated against their adopted children.

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When racial discrimination occurred, parents dealt with it in ways comparable to those reported in Edwards and Caballero's (2015) study, such as downplaying racial epithets, avoidance, and challenging racism. As one White father reported:

> You just have to, well, there's a time to step up and say and do something. 'Cause, I had to get in the principal's face, and I had to, and he's a nice guy . . . but there are times when I had to stand up. I had to say, "Guys, this is unacceptable," that kind of thing. (Smith et al., 2011, p. 1220).

Regardless of whether White fathers are biological or adopted, the ERS practices they use can have significant impact on their sons' development.

Ethnic Racial Socialization Practices within the Microsystem

ERS practices are the methods through which parents communicate information, values, and perspectives about ethnicity and race to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). In the early 1980s, scholars introduced the notion that communicating with children about their ethnicity and race was an important component of parenting in racial minority families because the discrimination that these children would encounter needed to be counterbalanced by instilling racial pride and preparing them for bias (Peters & Massey, 1983; Richardson, 1981; Spencer, 1983). As a result, ERS grew out of predominantly African American parents' concerns that their children would encounter racial barriers and negative stereotypes (Hughes et al., 2006).

ERS practices are still used primarily by racial minority families with their children because ERS have been shown to mitigate some of the negative effects of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2010). In addition to ERS research being done mostly with

racially minority families, it is also typically done with monoracial families (Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017; Peck, Brodish, Malanchuk, Banerjee, & Eccles; 2014; Priest et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013). Consequently, research on how Black and White parents racially socialize their biracial children is sparse because studies rarely delve into the ERS practices of interracial families (Butler-Sweet, 2011). Thus, Black/White biracial children's ERS is less understood (Csizmadia et al., 2014).

Despite being less understood, ERS practices among Black/White biracial children is just as relevant (Csizmadia et al., 2014). In fact, ERS among Black/White biracial children may be especially pertinent since these children belong to two racial groups that have historically been at great social distance with each other, and whose racial heritage include two racial groups that have been strained by slavery, and social and institutional racism (Rockquemore et al., 2009). This becomes more significant when ERS has to be done by White fathers towards their Black/White biracial sons because a White man and a Black man has had the greatest racial divide and social position in the U.S. historically (Csizmadia et al., 2014).

Parents utilizing ERS practices use various methods. However, regardless of the method used, ERS practices are all adapted with a similar intention, to be protective practices that promote better functioning of racially minority individuals in a society stratified by race and ethnicity (Burt et al., 2012). The most notable ERS methods discussed in the literature consist of promotion of racial/cultural pride, in most instances racial and cultural pride is used interchangeable or simultaneously in the literature

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(Csizmadia et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2011); egalitarianism, which includes a colorblind approach (Edwards & Caballero, 2015; Samuels, 2009); and preparation for bias (Smith et al., 2011; Snyder, 2016).

Promotion of Racial/Cultural Pride

Parents in Edwards and Caballero's (2015) and Csizmadia, Rollins, and Kaneakua's (2014) studies utilized racial/cultural pride with their children as a means of ERS. Some of the White fathers in Edwards and Caballero's (2015) study reported that they thought it was important that their biracial children had access to their minority culture. For example, a New Zealand European father with a Maori partner reported that he ensured that his children were familiar with "their whakapapa (genealogy)" on both sides of their family, the Maori and settler (Edwards & Caballero, 2015, p. 173). In Csizmadia's et al.'s (2014) study, ERS practices were prevalent among interracial parents, and discussion of children's racial heritage in an effort to promote racial pride was an ERS method that was used. This ERS method helped biracial children navigate racial boundaries (Csizmadia et al., 2014). Likewise, the White adoptive parents in Smith et al.'s (2011) study also saw promotion of racial pride as a means of helping their Black and Black/White biracial adopted children deal with racial discrimination.

In Smith et al.'s (2011) study, the terms cultural and racial pride were use synonymously with each other. One of the themes identified in the study was celebrating diversity: be proud of who you are and where you come from. Among the adoptive parents there was near-consensus that adoptees and their family members should take pride in the cultural and racial backgrounds of adoptees. As one White father of a biracial

son indicated, "Well, see now, we wanted them to be proud of who they were and where they came from" (p. 1213). Having cultural pride was so important for some adoptive parents that it was described as a "human right" (p. 1213). In order to teach adoptees about their birth culture and foster cultural pride, the parents sent them to culture camps, fairs, or trips and exposed them to African American role models through books and films. The adoptive parents emphasized cultural pride because they saw cultural pride as a source of personal strength to adoptees and a tool for combating racial mistreatment.

Cultural pride was also revealed as a means of ERS in Butler-Sweet (2011)'s study. Although the study did not explicitly set out to measure cultural pride as an ERS practice based on the participants' interviews, cultural pride did emerge as an ERS practice of some of the parents. Butler-Sweet (2011) interviewed 32 middle class young Black and Black/White biracial adults who grew up in either a monoracial, biracial, or transracial families. Participants who grew up in monoracial and biracial families grew up with their biological parents and those who grew up in transracial families were adopted. Thirteen participants grew up in monoracial families with two Black parents (five men, eight women), 10 grew up in biracial families with one White and one Black parent (four men, six women), and nine grew up in transracial families with two White parents (three men, six women). The study included a total of 12 men and 20 women.

Butler-Sweet (2011) reported that most of the biracial participants' parents and the transracial adoptees parents made an effort to introduce their children to Black culture. They did this by involving their children in activities, such as summer camps geared towards Black youth and hip-hop dance classes where they would be exposed to

other Black youth and Black culture. The adoptive parents who did not personally

introduce their children to Black culture or connect them with the Black community

found "Black surrogates" (p. 202) who served as role models and people to look up to as

well as someone their children could talk to about racial matters. Egalitarianism is

another ERS practice that is addressed in the literature.

Egalitarianism

The egalitarianism approach to ERS involves promoting equality across races.

However, in most cases, it tends to promote equality across races by adopting a

colorblind perspective, which includes avoidance of race discussions (Hughes et al.,

2006). For instance, parents may orient their children towards developing skills and

characteristics needed to thrive in the dominant culture, instead of orienting their children

towards their native or minority culture (Hughes et al., 2006). This ERS method can be

viewed through the lens of White ignorance, in which parents do not recognize or

acknowledge that societal practices from the past and present places minority individuals

at a disadvantage despite having skills and characteristics of the dominant culture (Mills,

2015). Therefore, a colorblind approach to ERS may manifests itself in a refusal to

recognize the long history of structural discrimination and the maintenance of White

privilege without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards (Bonilla-Silva,

2014).

The colorblind perspective was evident in Edwards and Caballero's (2015) and

Samuels' (2009) studies. Some of the White fathers in Edwards and Caballero's study

encouraged their children to see discrimination through another lens instead of through

the color of their skin. For example, a White father stated "I guess we will eventually [discuss prejudice with him] but probably more as a general life lesson that some people will be mean to you sometimes. But I don't think it will be specifically targeted towards racism, no" (p. 175). In Samuels' study most of the participants reported that their adopted parents promoted various levels of colorblindness ($n = 23$). Samuels' (2009) study interviewed 25 Black/White biracial adults who were adopted by White parents. The participants indicated that they were instructed by their parents to view the racism and discrimination they encountered through a different lens. This meant categorizing racist remarks within the framework of other types of childhood name-calling; thus, trying to make racism and discrimination not about race.

However, this colorblind philosophy can hinder biracial children from being able to navigate a racial world. As stated by Brad "There was this huge disconnect between what I was taught and what was outside" (Samuels, 2009 p. 88). Participants in Samuels' (2009) study also indicated that discussion about racism or discrimination only occurred after it became a problem for them and they brought it to their parents' attention. Therefore, parents' endorsement of colorblindness may mean that parents do not discuss racism and discrimination in advance with their children prior to them experiencing it. Consequently, there is no preparation for bias, which is another ERS practice that is evident in the literature.

Preparations for Bias

Preparations for bias involves teaching children about racial inequality, racism, and discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). It is the parents' efforts to make their children

aware of discrimination and prepare them to cope with it (Dunbar et al., 2017). However, preparation for bias may not always be done in a socially responsible way. For instance, some parents may prepare their children for bias by encouraging them to cater to the needs of the individuals who are doing the offending, and others may encourage their children to respond to discrimination with anger and violence (Smith et al., 2011; Snyder, 2016).

Preparation for bias tend to be used more often with Black and Black/White biracial males than with Black and Black/White biracial females, especially regarding societal perceptions and potential bias interactions with law enforcement (O'Donoghue, 2006). Due to the fact that White fathers may not experience the similar biases or encounter the same racial discrimination as their Black/White biracial sons, they may not be able to model or demonstrate for their Black/White biracial sons how to navigate through racial situations or experiences as Black men (Butler-Sweet, 2011). As a result, this ERS practice is typically used by racial minority parents (Hughes et al., 2006).

However, one exception of White parents who utilized preparation for bias to socialize their Black or Black/White biracial children is Smith et al.'s (2011) study of transracial adopted Black and Black/White biracial children by White parents. The parents in Smith et al.'s (2011) study prepared their children for bias by encouraging them to educate the individuals who were being offensive. For instance, a theme that was identified in the study was caretaking Whites: We can choose to educate them. The parents instructed their Black and Black/White biracial children to take care of the offender who was being racially discriminatory towards them. The message conveyed to

the adoptee by several of the adoptive parents was that the appropriate and responsible response to incidents of racial mistreatment was to suppress their own needs in order to cater to the needs of Whites by educating them.

During interviews, caretaking lessons were often defined and illustrated through incidents of race-based mistreatment against adoptee. For example, a White father explained how his daughter, who was in the first grade, had to educate an older child and her family about the inappropriate use of the "*N* word" after this was screamed at his daughter across a parking lot. A White mother explained that her daughter did not feel comfortable with individuals touching her hair. The mother told her daughter they were just curious because her hair is different than theirs and her daughter should just explain things to them. Putting the responsibility of catering to the needs of the individuals who are offensive may place an additional burden on minority individuals (Smith et al., 2011). Thus, this way of preparing Black/White biracial individuals for bias might not be one of the most socially responsible way because of the additional burden it places on these individuals.

Snyder's (2016) study also revealed an ineffective way that parents might utilize to prepare their Black/White biracial children for bias. The purpose of the study was to examine how Black/White biracial individuals coped with racial discrimination. A Black/White biracial male who was raised primarily by his White father reported that his initial response to racial discrimination was with anger and violence. He responded this way because this was how his father encouraged him to deal with discrimination:

There was one time when this kid, he always tried to be the class clown, and this

kid thought it would be funny to call my grandparents the N-word in front of

everyone. My dad told me to kick his ass (p.270).

However, as he got older, the participant realized that this was not an appropriate or

socially responsible way of responding to racial discrimination.

Summary

Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) was the

theoretical lens through which the literature was presented with an emphasis on the

microsystem. The chapter started with a discussion of concerns that White fathers have

for their Black/White biracial sons. Three concerns within the microsystem were

identified. They were education, biracial identity, and racial discrimination concerns.

Education concerns were broken down into teachers' expectations and the school

curriculum. Biracial identity concerns were broken down into acknowledgement of

biracial identity by oneself as well as others and developing a positive biracial identity.

The chapter concluded with a discussion on the ethnic racial socialization practices

within the microsystem. Three ERS practices were discussed, racial/cultural pride,

egalitarianism with an emphasis on a colorblind perspective, and preparation for bias.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore concerns that White fathers had for their Black/White biracial sons and the ERS practices they used with their sons. This study gave White fathers with Black/White biracial sons an opportunity to share their concerns. Data was collected using a semi-structured interview with fathers. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and analyzed for themes. The research plan, including the methodology, ethical concerns, study participants, procedures, and analysis method were the primary components of this chapter.

Qualitative Research

This study utilized a qualitative research design. Qualitative research involves the investigation of the experiences of individuals to gain insight into their thoughts, beliefs, and experiences (Creswell, 2013). Thus, the purpose of qualitative research is to find in-depth answers to the phenomenon being studied (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011). Qualitative design is also appropriate in research where the perceptions of the participants are crucial to the research and to the researcher's understanding (Trainor & Graue, 2014). Because this topic appears to have received limited research attention, this study was exploratory with a phenomenological approach.

Phenomenology

Edmund Husserl, the father of phenomenology, introduced this movement at the beginning of the 20th century (Tuohy, Cooney, Dowling, Murphy, & Sixmith, 2013).

Phenomenology is used to describe how human beings experience a certain phenomenon (Giorgi, 2012); thus, it is a way of describing experiences as the persons perceive them (Tuohy et al., 2013). A goal in conducting phenomenological research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experienced of the participants (Creswell, 2013). A core element of phenomenology is that researchers aim to diminish extraneous factors, such as religious or cultural beliefs that can influence how phenomena are understood (Tuohy et al., 2013). Therefore, an attempt is made to set aside biases and preconceived assumptions about human experiences, and feelings to a particular phenomenon so that the data can be understood in its purest sense (Giorgi, 2012). In order to discover meaning in the data, researchers should be open enough to let unexpected meanings emerge (Giorgi, 2011); this is achieved through a process known as bracketing (Tuohy et al., 2013).

Bracketing

Bracketing is a methodological strategy of phenomenological inquiry that encourages researchers to be cognizant of their own beliefs about the phenomenon under investigation so as to minimize their influence on the research (Carpenter, 2007). Researchers collect data through their experiences in preparing a phenomenological research, therefore, the researcher as a human being inevitably influences the research process (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013). However, when researchers are aware of their own experiences, then this may help to minimize their influence on the research process (Chan et al., 2013). Bracketing for this study was guided by the thinking activities of reflexivity. Reflexivity involves critical reflection on the construction of knowledge and enables

bracketing during unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Sorsa, Kiikkala, & Åstedt-Kurki, 2015). Reflexivity or self-reflection can take place before, during, and after the interview (Finlay, 2008).

Prior to each interview, a mental preparation was done by the researcher, reminding herself to be open to the participant's experience by putting aside her own knowledge and adopting an attitude of "conscious ignorance" about the issue under investigation (Chan et al., 2013, p. 4). The direction of the questions and the manner in which they are asked can affect the way the participants tell their stories (Chan et al., 2013). Thus, reflexivity during the interview was maintained by the researcher asking focused but not leading questions to the participants. The researcher asked open-ended questions about their experiences and concerns. Additionally, a non-judgmental approach was maintained during the interview regarding the tone of voice that was used when asking questions and making probes (Sorsa et al., 2015). Finally, reflexivity took place after each interview through reflexive discussions with a supervisor.

Bracketing provides a useful methodological device to demonstrate trustworthiness in phenomenology, enhancing the trustworthiness of the data collection and analysis process in most phenomenological studies (Chan et al., 2013). Triangulation was another strategy that was used to establish trustworthiness in this qualitative study.

In qualitative research, triangulation is often viewed as a strategy to ensure trustworthiness; thus, triangulation is a powerful technique that facilitates credibility of data (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Triangulation refers to using more than one particular approach when doing research in order to improve the accuracy and richness of the data

and/or to help confirm the results of the research (Wilson, 2014). According to Flick (2002), there are four different types of triangulation: data triangulation (use of different sources of data), investigator or analyst triangulation (use of at least one other person in the data analysis processes), theory triangulation (approach of data with multiple theories or perspectives in mind), and methodological triangulation (use of more than one method to gather data).

For the present study, triangulation was done in the form of analyst triangulation, utilizing another analyst to review the findings (Patton, 1999). This was accomplished through the use of a research assistant. A doctoral student analyzed the transcribed data after all identifying marks were removed, then the results were compared and discussed with the lead researcher. Utilizing two researchers to independently analyze the same qualitative data set and compare their findings was useful in highlighting possible interpretive bias in the analysis (Patton, 1999). Another approach to analyst triangulation that was used to establish credibility was member checking. This is a technique in which participants review the data, interpretations, and conclusions to clarify what their intentions were, correct errors, and provide additional information if necessary (Patton, 1999). Therefore, participants were given an opportunity to verify and/or correct interview transcripts as well as the themes that emerged from the researchers' analysis.

Researcher's Perspective

By utilizing a qualitative method to explore the research, I, as the researcher, became an instrument in the research (Lave & Kvale, 1995). The researcher as an instrument influences the research based on the questions that are selected to be included

in the interview guide, which were chosen by the researcher (Kvale, 1996). However, in order to minimize the researcher's influence in this situation the literature was used to guide the questions selected for the interview. I, as an instrument, also influenced the research as I interpreted the meaning of the described phenomena. As a qualitative researcher, I had to analyze the phenomena during the process of the research in order to comprehend and make sense of the data (Fink, 2000). However, analyst triangulation and member checking were employed in an effort to minimize any interpretation bias.

As a Black female from the Caribbean not having to think about racial issues or discrimination for the first 28 years of my life to living in a country for the past nine years where racial issues and discrimination occupy my thoughts and inform majority of my decisions required some adjustment. Having experienced being near the top of the social ladder for majority of my life to then be at or near the bottom because of the racial climate in United States could potentially lead to my misinterpretation or a bias interpretation and analysis of the data. Therefore, in order to not excessively influence the data, bracketing and analysis triangulation were utilized.

Protection of Human Participants

Prior to the recruitment of participants and the collection of data, the researcher submitted an application to Texas Woman's University Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval. IRBs are charged with ensuring that research that includes human participants follow the guidelines of federal and state regulations, and are in accordance with the IRB's own policies and procedures (Cseko & Tremaine, 2013). This is done as a means of safeguarding research participants by minimizing risks for which they may be

exposed. The researcher implemented several safeguarding measures in an attempt to minimize the risk to participants.

Participants

Ten participants who were White fathers ages 18 years and older of Black/White biological biracial son/s who were 18 years old and younger were recruited for this study. The fathers were residential or non-residential. Fathers were recruited via acquaintances of the researcher as well as through Texas Woman's university student population. Purposeful sampling method was used to recruit participants, particularly criterion and snowball. Purposeful sampling is a sample that was selected because of its relevance to the study. It is widely used in qualitative research for selecting cases related to the phenomenon being studied (Palinkas et al., 2015). Criterion sampling involves selecting cases or individuals who meet certain predetermined criterion of importance (Palys, 2008), and snowball sampling takes place after initially sampling a few participants; then these participants nominate other potential participants who are relevant to the study (Morgan, 2008). Snowball sampling is often used when the participant pool is very unique or small, which was the case in the present study.

Procedures

Participants were recruited via acquaintances of the researcher as well as through Texas Woman's University. A recruitment email (see Appendix A) was sent outlining the topic of the study, study criteria, and researcher's email address to acquaintances of the researcher. A recruitment email was also sent to currently enrolled students who studied on the main campus at the university. The recruitment email was sent four times during

three semesters. The fourth email was sent after modifications were made to allow video conferencing interviews. The original method of data collecting only allowed for in-person interviews. However, due to difficulty in obtaining participants locally, the study was modified to allow for interviewing via video conferencing. The lead researcher sent the recruitment email via a listserv of the university in which a moderator viewed the content before sending it out to the general student population on the main campus all four times. Interested individuals were asked to contact the researcher via email with a preferred telephone number and time they could be contacted. The researcher then contacted interested individuals via the telephone using a telephone script (see Appendix B). The researcher explained the research, verified that individuals met the study criteria, read the informed consent form (see Appendix C), then asked individuals if they were still interested in participating in the study, any questions individuals had were also answered. For individuals who met the study criteria and agreed to participate in the study, the researcher scheduled a date, time, and location for the interview (if being conducted in person). Five in-person interviews were conducted at a mutually agreed upon public location: the university's library or a church. Five interviews were done via two video-conferencing tools. The researcher also asked potential participants whether they preferred a telephone (see Appendix D) or text confirmation (see Appendix E) reminder. After interviews were scheduled, a reminder text or telephone call was sent to the participants two days before the interview.

If meeting in person, participants were given the consent form at the beginning of the meeting to read and sign after they indicated that they were still interested in being a

part of the study. They were also given a copy of the consent form for their records. They were also given a resource document (see Appendix F) containing a list of available services. This was important in case participants were affected emotionally by the interview and needed professional assistance, as well as to introduce participants to supportive fatherhood and parenting websites. They also completed the demographic survey. If meeting via video-conferencing, the resource document, consent form, and demographic survey were emailed to participants during the initial phone call. The consent form and demographic survey were completed and emailed to the researcher before the interviews took place.

At the beginning of each interview, the purpose of the research was explained to the participants. They were informed that participation was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time during the interview process without being penalized. Next, the interviews were conducted. Interviews were audiotaped and lasted approximately 40 minutes. During the interview, participants were able to ask questions, and the researcher asked questions to clarify statements made by participants. Encouraging statement such as, "tell me more," was also made by the researcher to facilitate discussion. At the end of each interview, participants were asked if they would like to participate in member checking after the interviews were transcribed. Participants were compensated for their time and effort with a $10 gift card for their participation.

Data Collection Tools

Each participant completed a demographic survey (see Appendix G) and a semi-structured interview (see Appendix H). The demographic survey was developed by the

researcher and included questions such as: the participant's gender, race, age, educational

level, marital status, employment status, and the son's age. The interview questions (see

Table 1) were also developed by the researcher. The research literature in Chapter 2 and

published research articles that focused on White mothers with Black/White biracial

children were utilized to guide the development of the research and interview questions.

Additionally, ERS practices that are prevalent in published research also guided the

research and interview questions.

Table 1

Semi-Structure Interview Questions

Research Questions	Interview Questions
1. What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons?	1. What have been some of your experiences being with (son's code name) in public? Prompts- have you been stared at? People doing double take etc.?
	2. What hopes do you have regarding the future for (son's code name)?
	3. What worries do you have about (son's code name) future?
	4a. Who and what have helped you in raising (son's code name)?
	4b. Who and what have hindered you in raising (son's code name)?
	5. What has been the most challenging issue raising Black/White biracial son?
	6. Do you have any concern/s about raising (son's code name) in the current racial climate?

2. What are the ethnic racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?	1. How do you racially identify (son's code name)?
	2. Do you talk with (son's code name) about racial issues?
	2b. If yes, can you give me an example of a specific issue you talked about or a conversation you had about race
	2c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not talking with (son's name) about racial issues?
	3a. Do you talk with (son's code name) about his ethnic/racial identity?
	3b. If yes, what did you talk about?
	3c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not talking with (son's code name) about his ethnic/racial identity?
	4a. Do you expose (son's code name) to both his racial heritage?
	4b. If yes, how have you done this?
	4c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not exposing (son's code name) to both his racial heritages?
	5. What choices have you made, such as where to live, which school to send (son's code name), based on parenting a Black/White biracial son?
	6. Describe anything specific you believe you need to do to prepare (son's code name) for life as a Black/White biracial male?
	7. Do you think you are adequately prepared or equipped to racially socialize (son's code name) to deal with racism or discrimination he may face in society?
Concluding Questions	1. What words of wisdom do you have for other White fathers rising Black/White biracial son/s?

2. What would you like to see come out of this study?

3. Is there anything I didn't ask that you would like to share?

Data Analysis

First, the researcher listened to the audio recordings once to become familiar with it as a whole before beginning transcription. After the researcher was familiar with each audio recording, the interviews were transcribed verbatim. After the transcription, descriptive coding was utilized. A code in qualitative research is typically a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative attribute for a portion of the data (Saldaña, 2013). Thus, "coding data is the formal representation of analytical thinking" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 160). In the present study, the researcher did not have predetermined coding but allowed the data to speak for itself, and bracketing was employed in order to reduce researcher's bias. Color coded labels were given to sentences, phrases, paragraphs, or lines that appeared similar in nature. A second level of coding, pattern coding was then used. Codes were then compared across the entire data set to identify differences, similarities, patterns, and relationships. The codes were then grouped to create themes that were characteristic of the major issues identified by the researcher (Saldaña, 2013). The findings were discussed in the form of the themes that emerged from the data. Data corresponding to the different themes were identified and extracted to illustrate the themes. Despite being outlined sequentially, the process was not as linear and sequential as outlined. Rather, the analysis involved a continual movement across the different stages.

Analyst triangulation, the use of another person in the data analysis processes, can improve the accuracy of the data and help confirm the results of the research; thus, adding rigor to the results (Wilson, 2014). Analyst triangulation was done with the help of a research assistant. The research assistant is a doctoral candidate who completed a doctoral level qualitative research methodology course. He is a Hispanic male, who is a father to a son. The research assistant completed the confidentiality agreement form that was submitted to IRB. After removing all identifying information, only the lead researcher had access to participants' identifying information, the research assistant analyzed the transcribed data and compared his results to that of the lead researcher.

The research assistant and the lead researcher met twice to discuss the analyzed data and selected themes. Before the first meeting, the lead researcher and research assistant emailed their respective analysis of the data to each other so that they could reference each other analysis during the meeting. At the beginning of the meeting, the lead researcher asked the research assistant to discuss the themes he saw emerging from the data as well as data to support these themes. This was done prior to the lead researcher discussing her themes in order to minimize any interpretive bias or influence over the research assistant analyses and interpretation of the data.

After the research assistant presented his themes, the lead researcher presented her themes. They discussed the themes they had in common or that were similar in nature as well as the data in the transcription that led to each deciding on the similar or common themes. There were no major differences in the thematic analyses of the lead researcher and research assistant. The research assistant developed themes that were similar in

nature to that of the lead researcher. In some instances, he identified the same data as the lead researcher to support his analysis. Differences were evident in the way the themes were stated or the phrases that were used; however, the broader concepts were the same. The lead researcher and research assistant then individually looked over each other's thematic analyses with the associated excerpts to ensure that thematic statements or phases accurately represented the data excerpts and then a second meeting occurred. During the second meeting, the lead researcher and research assistant discussed the wording of the thematic phrases or statements and how the thematic statements could better support or capture what the participants said. As a result, some of the thematic statements were modified to better capture the participants' responses and better encapsulate the data. For example, a theme that the research assistant identified was "mixed environment is important," while the lead researcher identified a similar theme of "exposing sons to diversity." This theme was modified to "exposing sons to diverse environments" to incorporate both themes and to better capture the participants' responses.

After the data were transcribed and analyzed, member checking (see Appendix I) was used to triangulate the data. Participants were emailed their respective transcribed interviews and a draft of the analyzed data to read, edit, clarify, and verify. This was done to ensure that the researcher accurately captured the experiences of the participants. After two rounds of emails were sent to participants who agreed to participate in member checking, 60% of fathers verified that the researcher accurately captured their responses, and 40% did not respond to the emails.

Themes and their respective quotes were then discussed between the lead researcher and the research advisor. Their discussions led to finalizations of themes and selected quotes.

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biological biracial sons, as well as, the ERS practices of White fathers with the Black/White biracial sons. A phenomenological approach was used. Prior to the recruitment of participants and the collection of data, the researcher submitted an application to Texas Woman's University IRB for approval. Participants were recruited via a recruitment email. Interested individuals was asked to contact the researcher via email with a preferred telephone number and time they could be contacted. During the telephone call interview time, date, and location (if meeting in person) was established. If meeting in person, participants were asked to read and sign the consent form and complete the demographic survey at the beginning of the interview. If meeting via video conferencing, participants read, signed, and emailed the consent form and the demographic survey to the researcher prior to the interview. Each interview was audio recorded. Interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and analyzed for emerging themes. Triangulation of the data was accomplished through member checking with participants and through a doctoral research assistant who analyzed the deidentifying data.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter contains results of the data collected from 10 self-identified White

fathers who have a biological Black/White biracial son under the age of 18 years old. The

purpose of this phenomenological qualitative study was to explore the concerns of these

White fathers for their sons and the ethnic/racial socialization practices they used with

their sons. The concerns of White fathers and their ethnic/racial socialization practices

were explored through the theoretical framework of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological

model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) with emphasis being placed on the microsystem.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by the researcher. The

transcripts were analyzed to see the themes that emerged from the data.

Description of the Sample

The demographic questionnaire was created by the researcher. The questionnaire

included inquiry regarding the fathers' age, marital status, employment status, education

level, sons' age, and residential status with their sons. Table 2 displays the demographic

data of the sample. The fathers ranged in age from 39 years to 64 years ($M = 46.8$, $SD =$

9.11). The sons' ages ranged from 2 years to 16 years ($M = 10.3$, $SD = 4.59$). Nine (90%)

of the fathers were married and resided with their sons and one father (10%) was

divorced and did not reside with his son. Nine (90%) worked full-time and one (10%)

worked part-time. Four (40%) of fathers had a high school education; three (30%) had a

bachelor's degree; two (20%) had a master's degree; and one (10%) had a PhD or

professional degree. For ethnic/racial identification, one of the fathers selected (by using

check mark) White as well as underlined multiracial. This father mentioned that his being

multiracial is due to the fact that he had ancestors who originated from a European

country. Because he selected White as his ethnic/racial identity, and he also self-

identified as White during the initial phone call that was used to help verify that

individuals were eligible for the study, his responses were included in the data, and he

was included in the racial category of White. Additionally, during one of the interviews, a

participant revealed that his wife had White heritage. However, prior to participating in

the study, individuals were asked a series of questions to ensure that they met the study's

criteria. Three of the questions dealt with the racial identity of the fathers, mothers, and

sons. They were: (1) Do you identify as White? (2) Is your son's mother Black or African

American? (3) Do you identify your son as being biracial with Black and White heritage?

Therefore, because participants answered "yes" to these three questions, their responses

were included in the data analyses. Please see Table 2 for complete demographic

breakdown of participants.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Fathers' Demographic Characteristics N=10

Characteristic	Category	*N*	*n*	*%*	*Range*	*M*	*SD*
Fathers' age (in years)		10			39-64	46.8	9.11
Racial/ethnic identification	White	10	10	100%			
Marital status	Married	10	9	90%			
	Divorced		1	10%			

Educational level	High school	10	4	40%			
	Bachelor's degree		3	30%			
	Master's degree		2	20%			
	Ph.D. or professional degree		1	10%			
Employment status	Full time	10	9	90%			
	Part time		1	10%			
Resides with son	Yes	10	9	90%			
	No		1	10 %			
Sons' age (in years)		10			2-16	10.3	4.59

Descriptions of Themes

Six themes emerged from the analysis of the fathers' data. Data analysis were
guided by the two research questions. The thematic results are identified after each
research question.

1. What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons? The
main goal of this question was to determine White fathers concerns for their Black/White
biracial sons. Two themes related to fathers' concerns were generated from the data:
safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement and fear of discrimination.

2. What are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White
biracial sons? The main goal of this question was to ascertain what practices White
fathers used to racially socialize their biracial sons. Four themes related to racial
socialization practices emerged from the data: talking about discrimination with son,
talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages, exposing son to both of his
racial/cultural heritages, and exposing son to diverse environments.

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Table 3

Themes

Research Question	Themes
What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons?	Safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement
	Fear of discrimination
What are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?	Talking about discrimination with son
	Talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages
	Exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages
	Exposing son to diverse environments

Concerns within the Microsystem

The microsystem consists of the immediate environment in which the individual interacts (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The microsystem is relevant to this research because it contains the family structure, and this research focused on the family dynamics of White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons. Thus, the concerns within the microsystem is based on the father-son dyad, with emphasis being placed on the fathers' concerns for their sons. Two themes emerged from analyzing the data regarding fathers' concerns. The first theme was safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement and the second theme was fear of discrimination.

Safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement. The majority ($n = 8$) of the participants expressed safety concerns for their sons. The data revealed that White fathers were concern about their sons' safety, if and when they have to interact with law

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enforcement. Participants expressed the need to instruct their sons how to interact with law enforcement to ensure their safety.

> I do need to start thinking about as he gets older how do we interact with the police? What are the things that we need to do? And the key things are, you know, we do need to, at the end of the day, have a philosophy of, its most important that you come home. (Participant 2)

> We give special attention, and it goes back to, you know, the police, it's always, always the police. It's always the police interaction because, you know, that's a really big concern. (Participant 3)

> I told him, I was like, you know, you need to be mindful of the situations you're in, I mean, if you, if a police officer . . . walks upon you, you need to be, you need to make sure you listen to every instruction he gives you, and make sure that you're paying attention to what he's saying, and you don't talk back, you don't bullshit with him. (Participant 6)

> I worry because he is darker than White, that he'll be categorized by police officers for instance there's a lot of, a lot of things out there with kids being shot because there are, you know, White cops that have some sort of vendetta against Black kids or that they feel threatened being around a kid of color and that really, it bothers me and it scares me . . . I tell him, do not come at the police, don't talk to them like, aggressively. If you get pulled over it's, yes sir no sir, yes ma'am, no ma'am, use manners. (Participant 8)

Fear of discrimination. Another concern of White fathers that emerged from the data was discrimination that their sons may encounter. Over half of the fathers ($n = 7$) expressed their concerns and fear of discrimination that their sons have experienced or may experience in the future.

"He's been made fun of, I remember first grade, he got made fun of his hair already." (Participant 9)

You see it all the time now everywhere about profiling and negativity towards the Black male and even though he's not dark, he's clearly Black ah and I do have fears that he will be profile one day or that because of his size, he could be intimidating and, he can, people can misconstrue him as being aggressive whenever it's just merely their intimidated by him. Because he's 6'2, 250 lbs. and he's 13. (Participant 6)

I just worry about um society as a whole, you know, Black Americans have been treated very unfairly in the past and continue to be treated unfairly . . . Especially now um in our political climate. Yeah, it seems to be getting not as inclusive as it once was so, I'm always concern and always have a watchful eye for that. (Participant 4)

My hopes are that he doesn't get discriminated against, that's my biggest fear . . .it makes me worried for him because there's always this undercurrent of racism in this country and it's, to be quite frank with you it terrifies me . . . they're fears, they're very real fear . . . that are terrifying for a father, absolutely terrifying. (Participant 8)

Ethnic/Racial Socialization Practices Within the Microsystem

ERS is a set of protective practices used by parents to promote resiliency in their children and can be accomplished through different methods, such as cultural socialization or pride in one's racial group, preparation for bias, and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006). The microsystem contains structures such as the family. Therefore, the microsystem in the present study consisted of the father-son dyad and consisted of learning about the ERS practices of White fathers with their biracial sons and practices that may impact their sons' development. Fathers utilized various ethnic/racial socialization practices with their sons. It is important to note that although this study focused on examining the ERS practices of fathers, mothers were also instrumental in socializing their sons. In fact, when fathers were asked in the interviews, who and what have helped them in raising their sons all the fathers ($N = 10$) indicated that their sons' mothers helped them in raising their sons.

"I would say my wife has, obviously it's a team effort." (Participant 2)

"Oh, my wife, my wife for sure. Because she's African American, so very huge on the culture." (Participant 9)

"I mean, my wife and I are together so we, it's to the extent that we can, it's a team effort." (Participant 10)

Also, 60% of the fathers ($n = 6$) also expressed that their wives' families helped with raising their sons.

"My wife you know and her aunts . . . you know as far as discipline."

(Participant 3)

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My wife and her side of the family . . . . Her dad watches, takes care of him a lot.

He's instilled a lot of knowledge in him and he's got her brothers that everybody

is really tight with. (Participant 6)

"People that have helped me are my wife's parents." (Participant 8)

Four themes emerged related to the ERS practices that White fathers utilized with their

sons. They are talking about discrimination with son, talking to son about both of his

racial/cultural heritages, exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages, and

exposing son to diverse environments.

Talking about discrimination with son. A theme that was identified from the

analysis of the data related to fathers' racial socialization practices was fathers talking to

their sons about discrimination. Half of the fathers ($n = 5$) had conversations with their

sons regarding discrimination they had already experienced or may experience in society.

For fathers who had already spoken to their sons, their conversations included civil rights

discussions, current issues, and biblical reference regarding discrimination.

Martin Luther King, talking about all the issues, that, you know, he helped the

sanitation workers try to get equal pay but he, you know, also understanding that

African American, Black people were getting paid less because of their race . . .

understand the biases that still are out there. There are, you know, there is racism

still that lives out there unfortunately, so you gonna run into it, and how best to

handle it. (Participant 4)

"We have talked about Black Lives Matter movement . . . he is hyper aware of

prejudice and bias . . . his social justice radar is always on." (Participant 5)

There've been a couple times when they were some really, look down the nose,

racial bigoted people that had made comments that make you feel like you were

little or you know, sub human . . . and I let them know, I said look . . . God's your

best friend . . . and I let them know Moses had a Black wife and Moses didn't

have to defend himself . . . God himself took this issue and he let them know how

He felt about their racism . . . He made Moses's sister White with leprosy . . . this

is one of the absolute only times that I can see God standing up for someone's

marriage, and he was married to a Black woman. . . . So, I let my sons know, He

[God] stood up for Moses for having a Black wife and when He stood for Moses,

he stood up for his sons . . . So, I try to explain to my boys never accept their

belittling. (Participant 7)

Some of the fathers, (40%, $n = 4$) had not yet spoken to their sons about discrimination.

However, these fathers did acknowledge that discussing discrimination in society is a

racial socialization practice that they intend to undertake with their sons. However, these

fathers want to have this discussion with their sons at an age that they deem appropriate

so that they do not unduly negatively influence their sons' outlook on society. What is

considered an appropriate age is subjective and based on each fathers' perception as the

ages of the sons varied from 2 years, 4 years, 8 years, and 10 years old. For fathers who

had not yet spoken to their sons about discrimination, their reasons were due to the sons'

ages and not wanting to negatively influence their sons' outlook on society.

He's 4, there is no reason for me to bring it [discrimination] up or talk to him

about it . . . If he has questions bring it to me . . . But I am not going to thrust you

into that arena early . . . I don't want to, again to use an artful euphuism, I don't want to color their perception of, of how that works. (Participant 8)

If it's not an issue why do we want to make a big deal about it. Just enjoy your friends, enjoy your family, enjoy your life . . . But like I said, I think we're kinda getting to the age that we need to start having discussions to give him the tools to be able to handle what he's going to have to face as he gets older. (Participant 2)

He's 10 years old he's not that aware yet I don't know if he sees racial differences yet and I don't want to get him thinking about it. . . Maybe that's one bad thing about not addressing it until it happens . . . and I don't know that there is a single best way because if you deal with it too early then he's gonna come at it expecting it in some ways I think, and I don't want him to be bias that way, I want him to be open. (Participant 1)

Talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages. Half of the fathers ($n = 5$) indicated that they have talked with their sons about the sons' racial and cultural heritages. These fathers felt it was important that their sons not identify with one race or ethnicity over the other but that they embrace that they are a mixture of both.

Both my wife and I feel very adamant that he doesn't identify [as] one or other, that he accepts that he's both White and he's both Black and that that comes with good things that we need to highlight and point out and accept and move forward. . . . Making sure that he accepts who he is, meaning allowing for him to accept who he is, that he doesn't have to feel torn and decide between one or the other. (Participant 2)

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"I've always told him "you're not Black you're biracial" because, you know, that's not fair to me." (Participant 3)

"I let him know he's half Kikuyu, their tribe in East Africa, I let him know their flaws and the positive aspect of the tribe as a generality." (Participant 7)

"We tell him your African American/Hungarian and Hungarian is Magyar. So, we tell him he's Magyar." (Participant 9)

Exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages. Although not all of the fathers spoke to their sons about their racial and cultural heritages, a majority of them, 90% ($n = 9$) indicated that they exposed their sons to both their cultural and/or racial heritages. The fathers exposed their sons to their racial and cultural heritages in various ways including family members, cultural food, family artifacts, trips to cultural museums, and traveling to parent's country of origin.

"We just came back from a vacation when we were in Atlanta . . . we took him to the Civil Rights museum." (Participant 2)

"We try and go to museums, you know, both understanding, ahh you know, Blacks coming to Texas, Blacks coming to Louisiana . . . we went to the Cultural museum in San Antonio." (Participant 4)

"That why we go to Hungary every year, that's why I only talk to him in Hungarian." (Participant 9)

He knows a lot about his heritage . . . for a long time he was running around the house with a Jamaican flag . . . like tonight we had, stew peas and, you know, rice and peas and stuff, so he knows his heritage, he knows the food. (Participant 8)

"I have a lot of stuff from over there [Norway] that he likes . . . you know,

albums and books. I've got my family tree going all the way back to the 15th

hundreds." (Participant 6)

Exposing son to diverse environments. Over half (60%) of the fathers expressed

the importance of diversity and thought it was important to expose their sons to diverse

environments. Environments included places such as, their church, neighborhood, school,

as well as the media.

"We would not have chosen [church's name] I think a lack of diversity would

have been an issue . . . [church's name] is a big church too but [it] is very very

diverse." (Participant 1)

"We've been very fortunate that we are part of a community that's multicultural

and so that's allowed for him to be exposed to different cultures, different,

different individuals." (Participant 2)

You know, certainly if we choose, we could pay for [son] to go to a private

school, but by doing so we would also be making a racially based decision,

because that would be primarily not diverse in terms of ethnicity. (Participant 5)

We play cartoons and music for him and we try to make sure that we are

providing, you know, diverse set of messages with pop culture that he consumes .

. . when we do start sending him to school finding a pretty diverse school is an

important consideration for us. (Participant10)

Researcher's Reflection

As a Black woman, who has a Black brother, Black nephews, and several African American male friends with sons residing in the United States, I knew that safety interactions with police officers was a concern within the Black community. I recognized that these Black fathers were taking steps to prepare their sons, as well as themselves for encounters with law enforcement to ensure their safety. This is due, in part, to the number of unarmed Black men that have been killed by the hands of law enforcement in recent times (Nix et al., 2017).

I did not know how White fathers in society would view the deaths of several unarmed Black men by the hands of law enforcement in recent times. I did not know if they would be so removed from the issue that they would not be cognizant enough to have these concerns for their Black/White biracial sons who might be perceived by society as monoracially Black. This led to an interest in conducting this research. For my study, I was pleasantly surprised at the fathers' responses that indicated that they recognized what has been happening to Black males in America and were aware that this might have some impact on their sons. In fact, 80% ($n = 8$) of the fathers indicated that they were concerned for their sons' safety, as it pertains to law enforcement or police officers.

As I was collecting the data, one thing that was very concerning to me was the fact that some of the fathers indicated that they were waiting on their sons to broach the topic of discrimination before having a conversation with them about it. While I understand where these fathers are coming from, wanting to protect their children's

innocence as long as possible, I am also concerned that with this approach the sons may be unprepared to deal with this challenge the first time it happens, which as one father puts it, this will be "disconcerting" to them. I was pleased to learn the different ways the fathers were exposing their sons to their different cultures.

Summary

This chapter presented the themes that were generated from data collected from 10 White fathers who have a biological Black/White biracial son under the age of 18 years old. Six themes emerged from the data to answer the two research questions. There were two themes for the research question of What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons?: (1) safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement and (2) fear of discrimination. Four themes were yielded for the research question of What are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?: (1) talking about discrimination with son (2) talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages, (3) exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages, and (4) exposing son to diverse environments.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the concerns of White fathers for their biological Black/White biracial sons and the racial socialization practices they utilized with their sons. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, specifically the microsystem was used to guide the research process. This study had two research questions:

1. What are the concerns of White fathers raising their Black/White biracial sons?

2. What are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons?

Ten White fathers with a biological Black/White biracial son participated in a single one-on-one interview. Before each interview, participants completed a demographic questionnaire. Each interview was audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The data were color coded and analyzed to identify the themes that emerged from participants' responses. This chapter began with a discussion of the fathers' demographics. However, due to the sparse research available that focused specifically on White fathers with Black/White biracial sons and the limited studies that included White fathers with Black/White biracial children, there is a lack of literature available with demographics of White fathers to have an in-depth comparison with the present study. This chapter continues with a discussion of the themes presented in Chapter 4 and how those themes relate to the research presented in the literature review. This chapter

concludes with a discussion of the strengths, limitations, future research, and implication for policy and practice.

Overview of Results

Fathers' Characteristics

The average age of the fathers were 46 years with a range of 39 years to 64 years. This age range is somewhat similar to Williams' (2013) study in which the ages of a subset of White fathers with Black/White biracial children ranged from 50 years to 55 years. The ages of the children were very different. While Williams' (2013) study consisted of children who were mostly in their late teens and early adulthood, the present study consisted of children who were mostly in middle childhood. In fact, the average age of the sons in the present study was 10.3 years. Majority of the fathers (90%, $n = 9$) in the present study were married and resided with their sons. In Williams' (2013) study, 67% ($n = 2$) of White fathers were also married and lived with their children. Likewise, 67% ($n = 2$) indicated having a doctorate or medical degree, while 10 % ($n = 1$) of father in the present study indicated having a doctorate or professional degree, and 40% ($n = 4$) indicated high school as their highest educational level. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that 60% ($n = 6$) of the fathers had a bachelor's degree or higher. All of the participants in the study were employed. Ninety percent ($n = 9$) were employed full-time and 10% ($n = 1$) was employed part-time.

Concerns Within the Microsystem

This research is focused on the family dynamics of White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons. Therefore, the concerns within the microsystem is based on the father-son dyad, with emphasis being placed on the fathers' concerns for their sons. Through the in-depth data analysis of transcribed interviews, two themes emerged to answer Research Question One: What are the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons? The two themes were safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement and fear of discrimination.

Safety concerns when interacting with law enforcement. The majority of fathers, 80%, expressed their concerns for the safety of their Black/White biracial sons, if and when, they have to interact with law enforcement. This concern seemed to be heightened based on the child's phenotype. This concern, which was evident in majority of the fathers ($n = 8$) may have some validity based on media reports of Black males being killed during interaction with police officers, such as the killing of 12-year-old Tamir Rice (Ohlheiser, 2014). In fact, Lawson (2015) reported that, Black males are often the victims of excessive force by law enforcement. Similarly, Nix, Campbell, Byers, and Alpert (2017) analyzed 990 police shooting in 2015 and reported that 15% of Black civilians shot and killed by police were unarmed at the time of their death compared with 6% of White civilians. This showed that Black civilians who died by police gunfire were more than twice as likely as Whites to have been unarmed. Additionally, when adjusting for population count, Blacks were killed at more than twice the rate of Whites by law enforcement (Nix et al., 2017).

Fear of discrimination. A second concern that was voiced by 70% ($n = 7$) of the fathers was the discrimination that their sons had or may experience in society. This concern for discrimination was similar to the results of other studies (Edwards & Caballero, 2015; Feigelman, 2000; Smith et al., 2011). White parents of adopted Black and Black/White biracial children in Smith et al.'s (2011) study and Feigelman's (2000) study reported being aware of and recognizing frequent instances of racial discrimination perpetrated against their children. Additionally, fathers in Edwards and Caballero (2015) study discussed that, as White fathers raising biracial children they thought about racial issues, such as racial discrimination, that they would not have otherwise thought about.

The fathers' concern of discrimination for their sons included discrimination from their immediate environment (20%, $n = 2$) to discrimination from the broader society (50%, $n = 5$). For example, one father expressed how his son was made fun of at school by his peers because of his hair. This type of discrimination, termed ethnic/racial teasing, is a unique form of discrimination characterized by humor (Douglass, Mirpuri, English, & Yip, 2016). This type of discrimination was also evident in McClain's (2004) study where the author focused on the identity preference of biracial Black/White Americans. A participant shared his school experience about being discriminated against because of his appearance Encountering discrimination from the wider society was a prominent concern that was stated by 50% ($n = 5$) of the fathers in my study. Fathers expressed their desire for society to become more accepting and inclusive, their sons to be treated fairly, and their sons to have access to everything society has to offer. The discrimination concerns of fathers for their Black/White biracial sons in the present study is supported

by several studies that have documented the racial disparity in society between Whites and Blacks (Burchinal et al., 2011; Saperstein & Penner, 2010; Shapiro et al., 2013).

Ethnic/Racial Socialization Practices Within the Microsystem

ERS is a set of protective practices used to promote resiliency in minority children and can be accomplished through various methods (Hughes et al., 2006). Four themes were the outcome for research question of what are the racial socialization practices of White fathers with their Black/White biracial sons? As previously noted, fathers reported that the mothers and the mothers' families were instrumental in helping them to raise their sons. The themes were talking about discrimination with son, talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages, exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages, and exposing son to diverse environments.

Talking about discrimination with son. Half of the fathers ($n = 5$) acknowledged that their life experiences may be very different from that of their Black/White biracial sons, and that being White has limited their abilities to relate fully to racial discrimination. Because of their privilege as White males, these fathers expressed that they will or they have relied on their wives to help with racial discussions, especially since their African American or Black wives were more likely to have experienced racial discrimination. Similar sentiments were reverberated in O'Donoghue's (2006) study in which White mothers of biracial children identified the importance of support from their Black husbands in helping them discuss ethnic-racial socialization messages with their children. However, fathers did not just rely on their wives to do all the talking, 50% ($n = 5$) of fathers stated that they had talked with their sons about racial

issues and discrimination in society. Some of the fathers' talk included making sons understand that biases and racism still exist in society, talking to them about their worth despite experiencing discrimination, and about Black Lives Matter.

Similar to other studies, talking with minority children about discrimination in society is a common ERS practice and can be referred to as preparation for bias (Dunbar et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias is typically used by racial minority parents (Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2010), and when White parents attempted to use this socialization practice the results were not always in the best interest of their biracial children (Smith et al., 2011; Snyder, 2016). For instance, in Snyder's (2016) study, a White father of a Black/White biracial son encouraged his son to deal with discrimination with violence. Contrary to this finding in Snyder's study, White fathers in my study who discussed discrimination with their sons made their sons aware of the discrimination that existed in society but also admonished their sons to be mindful and respectful of others.

Not all fathers who participated in my study had talked with their sons about discrimination. Fathers who had not yet spoken with their sons (40%, $n = 4$) acknowledged that discussing discrimination in society with their sons was imperative but wanted to do so at the appropriate time. These fathers shared that their reluctance was based on the fact that they believed their sons were too young, coupled with the fact that they did not want to bias or negatively influence their sons' outlook on society. As one father reported, "He's four . . . to use an artful euphuism, I don't want to color their perception" (Participant 8). Some of the fathers who have not yet spoken to their sons

30%, $n = 3$) also expressed that they would not address racial issues and discrimination until it happened. However, waiting could mean that children may not be prepared to deal with this discrimination when it happens (Priest, et al., 2016). One of the fathers came to this realization while discussing the issue, "that's maybe one bad thing about not addressing it until it happens" (Participant 1). Delaying discussion of racial issues until adolescence or even late childhood may not be beneficial for children because, "with populations of multi-ethnic background, prejudice begins around 4- to 5- years of age" when children's social cognitive ability is developing (Aboud et al., 2012, p. 308). In fact, children of color as young as 5 years old showed evidence of being aware of and negatively impacted by stereotypes about their racial group (Hirschfeld, 2008; Marks, Ejesi, McCullough, & Coll, 2015). Additionally, having open, honest, and age-appropriate conversation about racial differences and racial inequity has been shown to be associated with lower levels of bias in young children (Katz, 2003; Walton, Priest, & Paradies, 2013).

Talking to son about both of his racial/cultural heritages. In addition to talking with sons about discrimination, 50% ($n = 5$) of the fathers wanted their sons to recognize both of their racial or cultural heritage and embrace their biracial identity. This ERS practice may be valuable to sons because other studies have highlighted the psychological benefits of embracing one's biracial identity (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra, & Harrington, 2012). Jackson et al. (2012) reported that participants in their study who were comfortable identifying with their multiracial or biracial identity had higher psychological adjustment and lower levels of stress. Likewise, Coleman and

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Carter (2007) reported similar results in which acknowledgment of one's biracial identity resulted in better psychological functioning in contrast to denying one's biracial identity.

Exposing son to both of his racial/cultural heritages. Closely related to talking to sons about their biracial heritage is exposing sons to both of their cultural and racial heritages. This was done by nearly all (90%, $n = 9$) of the fathers and was done through various methods. Parents have reported exposing their biracial children to their cultural and racial heritage as a means of socialization (Csizmadia et al., 2014; Edwards & Caballero, 2015; Smith et al., 2011). For instance, parents in Smith et al.'s (2011) study exposed their children to their culture and racial heritage by sending them to cultural camps and trips. This is similar to participants in the present study who exposed their sons to cultural and racial heritage via trips to museums, such as the Civil Rights museum and the Institute of Texan Cultures museum.

In studies with biracial children the emphasis is typically on exposing them to their Black culture (Butler-Sweet, 2011; Csizmadia et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2011). However, in Edwards and Caballero's (2015) study, a New Zealand European father with a Maori partner reported that he ensured that his children were familiar with "their whakapapa (genealogy)" on both sides of their family (p. 173). A similar result regarding exposure to both heritages occurred in my study; 30% ($n = 3$) of the fathers reported that they exposed their sons to not only their Black heritage but also their White heritage. Fathers talked about exposing sons to their own heritages (Scandinavian, Swedish, Hungarian) through visits, language, and family artifacts.

Exposing son to diverse environments. Over a half of the fathers ($n = 6$) in the study expressed the fact that raising a Black/White biracial son factored into some of the choices they have made, such as exposing their sons to diverse environments. Some of the fathers discussed their practice or desire to give their sons the opportunity to interact in environments that were racially and ethnically diverse. These diverse environments included church, school, and the community. One father talked about living in a community that had different ethnicities that he believed was important and chose to keep his son in public school because of the lack of racial diversity in private schools. Another father talked about attending a particular church because of the diversity of that church. While another father talked about ensuring diversity in the cartoons that his 2-year-old son consumed. Exposing children to diversity within their environment is important because children learn about social categories from their environments (Winkler, 2009). Children who live in or are exposed to only racially homogenous environments may recognize that the people around them differs in all other aspects, such as height, size, and hair color, except racially (Aboud, 2005).

Strengths

There were several strengths of this study. Firstly, this study added to the limited body of literature focusing on fathers and sons. Specifically, this study adds to the lack of literature focusing on White fathers with Black/White biracial sons. To date, the researcher has not found any study that focused specifically on White fathers and their Black/White biracial sons. This study provided an opportunity for White fathers to share their concerns for their Black/White biracial sons and the ERS practices they utilized

with their sons. Secondly, ethnic-racial socialization research has focused predominantly on African Americans or monoracial minority children, such as Latino or Asians (Dunbar et al., 2017; Gartner, Kiang, & Supple, 2014; Hagelskamp & Hughes, 2014; Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2013), there has been limited research focusing on biracial children. In fact, there has been calls for ERS research focused on biracial children and interracial families (Csizmadia et al., 2014; Hughes et al., 2006). This study has added to the literature related to ERS practices used with biracial children. Mothers have typically been the participants in studies that focused on ERS practices; not much is known about the practices of fathers. Therefore, this study has also lent itself to that gap in the literature by ascertaining the ERS practices of fathers. With a majority of the White fathers expressing concerns for their sons as it relates to law enforcement and fear of discrimination in society that their sons had and/or will experience, this study sheds light on the implicit bias that does exist in society. Therefore, this research brings attention to a topic that is sensitive and can be uncomfortable to discuss. Nonetheless, we as a society can have the conversation due to the ramifications regarding race in society, and this study is adding to the conversation.

Limitations

Along with the strengths of this study, limitations are to be noted. An intent of the study was to include fathers who identified as "White" only and for the mother of their children to be identified as "Black" only or "African American" only; regardless if their racial/ethnic heritages contained a proportion of another racial/ethnic identity. A reality is that many people have diverse racial/ethnic heritages (Brodwin, 2002). Again, a major

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key was identification. Therefore, one limitation is that fathers were not asked do you identify as "only" White or Does your son's mother identify as "only" Black or "only" African American? Therefore, it is possible that the fathers and mothers in this study may have identified as being multiracial or multiethnic.

Another limitation of the study is that information was gathered from one source. Additional sources of data collection could have been beneficial to the study and could have been achieved through interviewing the sons who were old enough to understand questions related to parenting practices. Although the sons may not be able to speak on the fathers' concerns, they might have been able to discuss the ERS practices that their fathers had used with them.

Lastly, this study utilized a qualitative design, and the results of studies using this design are not typically generalized to the broader population. However, based on the nature of the study a qualitative design was the best option as this design is appropriate for research where the perceptions of the participants are crucial to the research and to the researcher's understanding (Trainor & Graue, 2014), which was the case in the present study. Nonetheless, because of this, the applicability of the results of this study may be limited to White fathers with Black/White biracial sons.

Future Research

Researchers conducting future studies can utilize larger sample size consisting of fathers from different regions of the US to determine if their concerns would be different or if they utilize different ERS practices with their sons depending on the regions where they live. For example, fathers living in an urban and diverse region of the US may have

different concerns as those living in a rural and less diverse region of the US. Although this study had fathers from different regions of the US, a majority ($n = 8$) of the fathers were from the south. Therefore, the number of fathers from the west and east regions were too small to do an analysis of differences by regions. Future researchers can also examine the concerns and the ERS practices of White father for their Black/White biracial daughters to determine if they would have a different set of concerns for Black/White biracial daughters, or utilize different ERS practices with their daughters. Fathers' involvement in their daughters' lives help to shape their self-image, self-esteem, and confidence (Zia, Malik, & Ali, 2015). Therefore, how White fathers racially socialize their biracial daughters may impact the daughters' self-esteem. For instance, if White fathers socialize their biracial daughters to be accepting of both of their ethnic features, this may help to promote a positive self-image in their biracial daughters.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Due to the fact that 80% of fathers indicated that safety when interacting with law enforcement was a concern, a recommendation is that there needs to be a nation-wide policy of training with police officers on implicit bias. For the purpose of this study, implicit bias refers to unconscious anti-Black bias in the form of negative stereotypes and attitudes that are widely held, conflicting with conscious attitudes, which can predict a subset of real-world behaviors (Richardson, 2015). Implicit bias is believed to be a contributing factor to the killings of Black males by law enforcement (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016). Therefore, police officers' unconscious biases against Black males may cause them to perceive Black men as more of a threat, even in non-threatening situations,

causing them to use more deadly force when interacting with Black males (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002; Lawson, 2015; Nix et al., 2017). This training can be done across the US (nation-wide) because the unconscious anti-Black bias is a broader societal issue that is not restricted to particular states or regions of the US (Hall et al., 2016). Therefore, police officers all across the US may be susceptible to implicit bias. In addition, implicit bias refresher trainings can be done on a continual basis, such as annually, because repetition increases training transfer (Goldstein & Ford, 2003). Training manuals on implicit bias can be developed and implemented by police departments. This manual can include an explanation of what implicit bias is, how to recognize it, and then how to reduce the likelihood of implicit bias influencing their interactions with individuals.

A little over half (60%) of fathers indicated that exposing their sons to diverse environments was important. The fathers mentioned church, school, and community as environments where they sought diversity. As a result, schools can continue to promote diversity events for students in which students have opportunities to represent their cultural heritages. Trips to cultural museums can be another opportunity to expose children to diversity; this type of experience was indicated by fathers in the current study as a way that they exposed their sons to their cultural heritages. However, in addition to this, it is also recommended that school administrators and teachers move beyond the surface level or the tip of the iceberg that has consisted of the five Fs of culture: food, folklore, festivals, famous people, and fashion (Weaver, 1986) to a deeper level where cultural diversity is embedded in the full curriculum.

For instance, teachers can expose their students to diversity on a daily basis by using a variety of media (e.g., books, movies) in the classroom that are inclusive and that display diversity and representation. Weaver (1986) used the metaphor of an iceberg to explain the different layers of cultural awareness. Like an iceberg, the tip of a culture is above water and is visible and easy to identify and know; this part of the iceberg consists of the five Fs. However, most of a culture is hidden from view; this out-of–awareness part of culture has been termed deep culture and can include an approach to interpersonal relationships (Hanley, 1999). As a result, there can be teacher anti-bias trainings or workshops that are promoted and supported by the school administration. These trainings/workshops can help teachers to move beyond the surface thinking level of diversity and representation and towards a deeper understanding of the experiences of their students who are culturally diverse. These trainings/workshops may also highlight the unconscious racial stereotypes teachers may hold.

As mentioned previously, a few fathers indicated church as one of the environments where they sought diversity. Therefore, in addition to schools, religious leaders can also promote diversity. They can have days in which members from various cultural or ethnic backgrounds showcase their heritages. This can be done in their cultural clothing as well as via culinary dishes from their culture. However, similar to how schools can move beyond the surface level, places of worship can do this as well. Places of worship can be safe places to have discussions on racial biases. Religious leaders can facilitate discussions with racial and culturally diverse members where it is acknowledged that racial differences exist that can sometimes lead to biases and heated discussion. However,

as a body, members should be committed to the maintenance of their spiritual family despite their differences.

Most of the fathers (70%) reported fear of discrimination as a concern that they had for their sons. Talking with children about discrimination may be beneficial to reducing bias in society because children may be more receptive to racial bias reduction strategies (Hall et al., 2016; Kang & Inzlicht, 2012). As a result, another implication for practice can be that family life professionals, such as family life educators or parenting educators teach parents developmentally appropriate strategies of talking to their children about topics such as diversity, discrimination, and inclusiveness.

In addition to parents talking to their children about discrimination, exposing their children to diversity may also be used to reduce discrimination in society (Priest et al., 2014). In this present study, 50% of the fathers ($n = 5$) indicated fear of discrimination at the societal level as a concern that they had for their sons. According to Priest et al. (2014), exposing children to diversity from a young age may help individuals to grow up having a better understanding and being more open to people who are different from them. Additionally, they also suggested that young children be racially socialized in order to develop a positive attitude regarding racial differences. Therefore, parenting programs can focus on strategies that continue to promote diversity within children's homes. Strategies such as using children's picture books to encourage awareness and acceptance of physical diversity associated with race and exposing children to diverse toys, such as dolls, action figures, or super heroes reflecting different racial make-up. Another practical way parents can expose their children to diversity is to invite their friends of different

racial and ethnic backgrounds over so their children can see them engaging and interacting with individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Researcher's Reflections

I am grateful to all the fathers who took the time to share their experiences with me. They were very open and vulnerable to an extent that I was not expecting. At the end of each interview, I expressed appreciation and gratitude to the fathers, and a majority of them commented how they were appreciative of me for doing this research and that they were very interested in learning about what the other fathers had to say. Some of the fathers also expressed how good it was to sit and have this discussion with someone because they felt like there was no one for them to discuss these issues with. After the interviews, I spent time with most of the participants talking to them about the topic as some of them had questions for me. In these instances, I did my best to answer their questions with the same level of openness and vulnerability that they afforded me. This dissertation process, particularly the data collection stage, confirms for me that I can be objective and not impose my beliefs on the participants, which is something I was worried about. I am a very expressive person and I did not want any verbal or non-verbal communication on my part influencing the participants' responses.

For the most part, I am optimistic as I reflect upon the outcomes of this research because the outcomes indicate to me that the White fathers in my study recognized that their biracial Black/White sons may have different lived experiences as minorities living in our society. This was evident in the concerns that they had for their sons and the different ERS practices they used with their sons. I do have concerns as it relates to some

fathers waiting to discuss discrimination with their sons until their sons bring it up. I am worried that these sons may have to struggle with this issue for some time before receiving any help on how to deal with it.

Overall, I am hopeful based on the outcome of this research and that has encouraged me to continue to engage in this line of research, studying White fathers with Black biracial sons. I would like to replicate this study on a broader scale incorporating more geographic regions of the US. I also intend to use the findings to translate my research into practice by developing a curriculum that I can use as a family life educator. My goal will be to inform families of different ERS practices that they can use with their children to help raise culturally aware children; not just of their own cultures or heritages but of various cultures so that children can understand that differences are okay and should be celebrated.

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biracial sons and to learn the ERS practices they utilized with their sons. The chapter is comprised of an overview of the study's demographic results, a discussion of the themes, the strengths and limitations of the study, future research, and implications for policy and practice. This study yielded data on an under studied population. The study focused solely on White fathers of Black/White biracial sons, a population that is sparsely discussed in the literature and allowed these fathers an opportunity to voice their concerns for their Black/White biracial sons and to express the ERS practices they used with their sons. This resulted in rich, informative, and useful

data that may be used to inform policies and practices from a micro level standpoint to a

macro level standpoint.

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APPENDIX A

Recruitment Email Script

Recruitment Email Script

Recruitment Email Subject Line: Seeking Participants for a Study about White Fathers and Their Biological Black/White Biracial Sons

"Hello, my name is Lorna Durrant and I am a Ph.D. candidate at Texas Woman's University. I am conducting a study for my dissertation entitled "**The concerns of White fathers for their biological Black/White biracial sons**," and I am seeking participants. If you are interested in participating in this study please contact me.

Participants must:
- Identify as a White male
- Have a biological son who is 18 years old or younger who is of a biracial (Black/White) heritage

If you meet these criteria please email Lorna Durrant at ldurrant@twu.edu with a phone number where you can be reached and the preferred day and time you can be contacted.

If you do not meet these criteria but know someone who does and may be willing to participate in this study, I would greatly appreciate you forwarding this e-mail to them.

Participation includes: Completing a demographic survey and participating in an interview with an estimated total time of 75 minutes.

Benefits of Participation:

- You will receive a $10 gift card.
- You will help contribute to the research on White fathers with Black/White biracial sons.
- Receive a copy of the findings if requested at the end of the study.

Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time

If you have any questions, please contact Lorna Durrant at ldurrant@twu.edu (researcher) or Nerissa LeBlanc Gillum, Ph.D. (research advisor), NGillum@twu.edu, (940) 898-2696.

Please note that you are not obligated either to participate in this study or to forward this email. I am seeking willing volunteer participants only. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions. Thank you very much for your time and help.

APPENDIX B

Telephone Script

Telephone Script

"Hi, my name is Lorna Durrant. Thank you for responding to my recruitment email. I am a doctoral candidate in Family Studies at Texas Woman's University (TWU) where I am completing this research project as a part of my degree. "The purpose of this study is to explore the concerns of White fathers who are raising their biological Black/White biracial son/s, and to find out if they utilize ethnic racial socialization practices with their sons".

"Before enrolling people in the study, I need to determine if you are eligible to participate. I would like to ask you a series of questions. I will keep all the information I receive from you by phone, including your name and any other identifying information confidential.

1. Do you identify as White?
2. Are you 18 years old or older?
3. Do you have a biological son/s who is 18 years or younger?
4. Is your son's mother Black or African American?
5. Do you identify your son as being biracial with Black and White heritage?

If participant answers "no" to any of the questions: "Based on your answers, it appears you do not meet the criteria to participate in the research study. Do know someone who may meet these criteria and may be willing to participate in this study?"

If "yes"-"I would greatly appreciate you forwarding the recruitment e-mail to them? Thank you for your time."

If "no"-"Thank you for your time."

If participant answers yes to all questions: "Based on your answers, it appears that you meet the criteria to participate in the research study."

"Now, I will read the consent form to you."

After reading the consent form, I will then ask "would you like to participate in the study?"

If no, "If you know anyone who would be interested in the research study please forward them the recruitment email. However, you are not obligated to do so. Thank you for your time, goodbye."

If yes, "Do you have any questions so far?" (All questions will be answered by the researcher).

"We can meet in person or meet using video conferencing: Skype or Zoom.

"How would you like to meet?

If meeting in person

"Where would you like to meet? TWU library in Denton, the city public library, a church,

"When would you like to meet?"

 "What time would you like to meet?"

If meeting via video conferencing

"How would you like to meet, Skype or Zoom?"

If Skype 'Would you please text or email me your Skype contact information right now. Do you prefer to send it using text or email?" I will inform the potential participants of either my phone number or email address. "Thank you, I have received your Skype contact information"

If Zoom "I will send you the meeting contact information at least two days before our scheduled interview."

For both Skype and Zoom

"Right now, I will send you the consent form, demographic survey, and a resource document through email. To which email am I to send this information?"

(After I receive the email address, I will send those documents at that time)

"Right now, would you please let me know if you received the documents"

"Now that you have received these documents, now you can review them as I discuss them"

"For the consent form there is a space at the bottom that asks for your email or mailing address if you would like a summary of the study results, please indicate which one you would prefer. I will email or mail you a copy of the results of the study. Please initial on pages one, two, three, and four and sign and date page four."

 "I also would like you to complete the demographic survey."

"Please use a code name for you and your son/s on the demographic survey. The code names will also be used during the interview."

After you have read, sign, and date the consent form, and complete the demographic survey please return both of them to me at least one day before our meeting. How will you return both the consent form and demographic survey to me?"

"When would you like to meet?"

"What time would you like to meet?"

"I will be in a private and secure location for our meeting and I suggest that you find a location that is private and secure as well"

"Our meeting will be face to face. Therefore, please ensure that you have video access for our meeting"

For both video conferencing and in person

"I will contact you with a confirmation two days prior to our meeting. The confirmation will include the date, time, location, if meeting in person, of our meeting, or the video conferencing information. Would you prefer the confirmation to be via text or phone call?"

"Thank you for your time. I look forward to meeting with you on the date, time, and place, if meeting in person, we agreed upon".

APPENDIX C

Consent Form

<div align="center">**Consent Form**</div>

<div align="center">
TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY (TWU)
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
</div>

Title: The Concerns of White Fathers Raising their Biological Black/White Biracial Sons

Investigator: Lorna Durrant MS   ....ldurrant@twu.edu 713/363/4502
Advisor: Nerissa LeBlanc Gillum, PhD....................................ngillum@twu.edu 940/898/2696

Summary and Key Information about the Study
You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. Lorna Durrant, a student at Texas Woman's University, as a part of her dissertation. The purpose of this research is to learn about the concerns of White fathers for their biological Black/White biracial sons and the socialization methods used by White fathers to racially socialize their sons. In order to be a participant in this study, you must be at least 18 years of age or older and be a White father who has a biological Black/White biracial son. Therefore, you have been invited to participate in this study because you are a White father, at least 18 with a Black/White biracial biological son. As a participant you will be asked to take part in a face-to-face interview regarding your concerns for your son and racial socialization practices you use with your son. This interview will be audio recorded, and we will use a code name to protect your confidentiality. The total time commitment for this study will be about 2 hours and 40 minutes, if you agree to participate in member checking, and 1 hour and 40 minutes if you do not agree to participate in member checking. Following the completion of the study you will receive a $10 gift card for your participation. The greatest risks of this study include emotional discomfort, potential loss of confidentiality, loss of time and fatigue, anonymity, and coercion. We will discuss these risks and the rest of the study procedures in greater detail below.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you are interested in learning more about this study, please review this consent form carefully and take your time deciding whether or not you want to participate. Please feel free to ask the researcher any questions you have about the study at any time.
Description of Procedures

As a participant in this study you will be asked to spend approximately 2 hours and 40 minutes of your time in a meeting with the researcher completing the consent form, demographic survey, a face to face interview, verification of information after the interview, and member checking.

<div align="right">
_____
Initial
Page 1 of 4
</div>

If, you do not agree to participate in member checking the approximate time will be 1 hour 40 minutes. The researcher will ask you questions about your concerns for your son and racial socialization practices you use with your son. You have the options of meeting in person or via video conferencing, Skype or Zoom.

If you choose to meet in person, you and the researcher will decide together on a mutually agreed upon public location: Texas Woman's University library, a public library, or a church, and when the interview will happen. At the beginning of the meeting the researcher will remind you of the purpose of the study. The informed consent form will be given to you to read, sign and date, and you will receive a resource document containing a list of available services. You will be asked to complete a demographic survey.

If you choose to meet via video conferencing, you will be asked to find a location that is private and secure, and the researcher will find a private and secure location as well. The researcher will email you the consent form, demographic survey, and a resource document containing a list of available services prior to the interview. You will be asked to read, sign, and date the consent form, and complete demographic survey and send both of them back to the researcher at least a day before the interview is scheduled. At the beginning of the meeting the researcher will remind you of the purpose of the study

For both in person and via video conferencing, you will decide on code names for you and your son to be used on the demographic survey and to be used during the interview. The interview will be audio recorded or written down so that the researcher can be accurate. The researcher will ask you if you would like to participate in member checking.

Potential Risks
The researcher will ask you questions about your concerns for your son. The researcher will also ask you questions about your racial socialization practices with your son. A possible risk in this study is emotional discomfort with these questions you are asked. If you become tired or upset you may take breaks as needed. You may also stop answering questions at any time and end the interview. If you feel you need to talk to a professional about your discomfort, the researcher has provided you with a list of resources.

Another risk in this study is loss of confidentiality. Confidentiality will be protected to the extent that is allowed by law. If meeting in person, interviews will be conducted at a public location that has a private room that the participant and the researcher have agreed upon. If meeting via video conferencing the researcher will be in a private and secure location and will ask participants to be in a private and secure location as well. You and the researcher will decide on code names for you and your son to be used during the interview. No one but the researcher will know your real name.

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Initials

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All written data will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's home. Electronic data will be kept on the researcher's password protected laptop computer, in a password protected file. Only the lead researcher and faculty advisor will have access to the data. The audio recording and written interviews will be destroyed within three years after the study is finished. The signed consent form will be stored separately from all collected information and will be destroyed three years after the study is closed. The results of the study will be reported in scientific journals and professional conferences but your name or any other identifying information will not be included. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, electronic meetings and internet transactions.

The researchers will remove all of your personal or identifiable information (e.g. your name, date of birth, contact information) from the audio recordings and/or any study information. After all identifiable information is removed, your audio recordings and/or any personal information collected for this study may be used for future research or be given to another researcher for future research without additional informed consent.

> If you would like to participate in the current study but not allow your de-identified data to be used for future research, please initial here _____

Loss of time and fatigue are a risk. You may take breaks at any time or withdraw from the study without questions or penalty. The researcher will make sure to be prepared so that no additional time is taken from participants.

Loss of anonymity is a risk of this study. If meeting in person, the interview will be held at a public location in a private room with a door that you and the researcher have agreed upon. If meeting via video conferencing the researcher will be in a private and secure location and will ask participants to be in a private and secure location as well. Anonymity as a student participant cannot be guaranteed as data will be collected in public locations.

Coercion is a risk of this study. Participation is completely voluntary. You may take breaks or withdraw from the study at any time without question or penalty. In regard to TWU students, participation or non-participation will not affect their standing.

The researchers will try to prevent any problem that could happen because of this research. You should let the researchers know at once if there is a problem and they will help you. However, TWU does not provide medical services or financial assistance for injuries that might happen because you are taking part in this research.

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Participation and Benefit

Your involvement in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Following the completion of the study you will receive a $10 gift card for your participation. If you would like to know the results of this study we will mail or email them to you. *

Questions Regarding the Study

You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form to keep. If you have any questions about the research study you should ask the researchers; their phone numbers are at the top of this form. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research or the way this study has been conducted, you may contact the Texas Woman's University Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 940-898-3378 or via e-mail at IRB@twu.edu.

_____

      Signature of Participant   Date

*If you would like to know the results of this study tell us where you want them to be sent:

Email: _____ or Address: _____

APPENDIX D

Telephone Reminder Script

Telephone Reminder Script

If meeting in person

"Hello, this is Lorna. As promised, I am calling with a confirmation of our upcoming meeting. We are scheduled to meet at (location), on (date) at (time). I will see you then.

If meeting via videoconferencing
"Remember we are scheduled to meet on (date) at (time) using (Skype) or (Zoom).
If Skype: I will contact you at (Skype contact information).
If Zoom: The information for our Zoom meeting is (include information).
Thank you, Lorna."

APPENDIX E

Text Reminder Script

Text Reminder Script

 If meeting in person
"Remember we are scheduled to meet at (location), on (date) at (time). Thank you, Lorna."

If meeting via videoconferencing
"Remember we are scheduled to meet on (date) at (time) using (Skype) or (Zoom).
If Skype: I will contact you at (Skype contact information).
If Zoom: The information for our Zoom meeting is (include information).
Thank you, Lorna."

APPENDIX F

Resource Document

Resource Document

The following is a list of resources that you may find useful to help you grow as a parent or with any emotional discomfort that may have resulted from our interview.

Parenting Resources

National Responsible Fatherhood Clearinghouse
https://www.fatherhood.gov/

National Fatherhood Initiative
www.fatherhood.org

National Center for Fathering
http://www.fathers.com/

Fatherhood Support Network

http://www.fatherhoodsupportnetwork.org/support-groups/

Emotional Discomfort Resources

American Psychological Association Psychologist Locator
http://locator.apa.org/

Mental Health of America Referrals
http://www.nmha.org/go/searchMHA

National Board for Certified Counselors
http://www.nbcc.org/CounselorFind

National Register of Health Service Psychologists
http://www.findapsychologist.org/

APPENDIX G

Demographic Survey

Demographic Survey

Participant Code Name _____

Date of Interview_____

1. _____Gender

2. _____ Age

3. Racial/ethnic identification
   _____ White
   _____Asian American or Pacific Islander
   _____Black or African American
   _____Hispanic
   _____American Indian or Native American
   _____ Biracial/Multiracial
   _____ Other (please describe): _____

4. Marital status (check only one):
   ____Single
   ____Married
   ____Divorced
   ____Widowed
   ____ Other (please describe): _____

5. Highest Educational level
   _____ high school
   _____ Associate degree
   _____Bachelor's degree
   _____Master's degree
   _____ Ph.D. or professional degree

6. Employment Status:
   _____Full time (35 hours or more per week)
   _____Part time (less than 35 hours per week)
   _____Not employed

7. How many Black/White biracial sons do you have_____?

8. Name and age of your son/s?

    Name: _____ Age: _____
    Name: _____ Age: _____
    Name: _____ Age: _____

9. Of these sons, which one would you like to be the focus of the interview?
    Name: _____ Age _____

a. Do you reside in the same house as this son: Yes _____ No_____?
    If no, how many hours on average do you spend with this son per week?
    _____ less than an hour
    _____1-2 hours
    _____ 3-4 hours
    _____more than 5 hours

b. How do you spend time with this son?
    _____ in person
    _____telephone calls
    _____ Text message
    _____Audio video (such as Face Time and Skype)
    _____ email
    _____Other (please describe): _____

APPENDIX H

Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Participant's Code Name: _____

Date of Interview_____

"Thank you for agreeing to be part of my study." (Pause) "The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the concerns of White fathers for their Black/White biological biracial sons and the racial socialization practices they may use. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without penalty.

If meeting in person

(Give the participant the consent form). "Do you have any questions about the study or the consent form?" (Pause)

If the participant has questions, they will be answered by the researcher.

"Are you still interested in participating in the study?"

If no, "If you know anyone who would be interested in the research study please forward them the recruitment email. However, you are not obligated to do so. Thank you for your time."

If yes, "Thank you for being willing to participate in this study. Would you sign the consent form? Also, here is a resource document containing a list of available services. For the consent form, if you notice, there is a space at the bottom of the consent form that asks for your email or mailing address if you would like a summary of the study results, please indicate which one you would prefer. Please initial on pages one, two, three, and four, and sign and date page four. I will email or mail you a copy of the results of the study.

 "I also would like you to complete a demographic survey."

"Please use a code name for you and your son/s on the demographic survey. The code names will also be used during the interview."

"What is the code name for you that you would like for us to use? What is the code name that you would like to use for your son whom you chose to be the focus of the interview?"

(If fathers do not select code names for themselves and their sons, then the researcher will choose the code names for the demographic survey and interview.)

 The researcher will obtain demographic information.

"Do you have any questions about the demographic survey?" If the participant has questions, they will be answered by the researcher.

After questions have been answered, the interview will begin.

If meeting via video conferencing

I am in a private and secure location for our meeting and I hope that your location is private and secure as well"

"I have received your signed consent form and completed demographic survey"

"Do you have any questions about the study, the consent form, or demographic survey?" (Pause)

If the participant has questions, they will be answered by the researcher.

"Are you still interested in participating in the study?"

If no, "If you know anyone who would be interested in the research study please forward them the recruitment email. However, you are not obligated to do so. Thank you for your time."

If yes, "Thank you for being willing to participate in this study."

"I will be using the code names for you and your son that you provided in the demographic survey"

(If fathers did not select code names for themselves and their sons, then the researcher will choose the code names for the demographic survey and interview.)

"Do you have any questions about the demographic survey?" If the participant has questions, they will be answered by the researcher.

After questions have been answered, the interview will begin.

For meeting in person or video conferencing

"Is it okay if I audiotape our interview to make sure it is accurate?" (Pause).

"I'm turning on the audio recorder now." (Recorder now on)

"I'll begin by asking you questions. You make take as may breaks as needed. I encourage you to speak freely and openly. Please elaborate as much as you are comfortable. If anything, I say or ask is unclear, please let me know. If you are uncomfortable answering any of my questions, please let me know."

For fathers with more than one Black/White biracial son the following statement will be added; "Remember we are focusing on (will say son's code name) that you indicated to in the demographic survey." Note: Throughout the interview, researcher will say name of participant's son's code name to remind participant of focal child of this interview.

Semi-Structure Interview Questions

RQ1 questions

1. What have been some of your experiences being with (son's code name) in public?

    Prompts: Have you been stared at? people doing double take. According to the participant's response to question (would you tell me more about that)?

2. What hopes do you have regarding the future for (son's code name)?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

3. What worries do you have about (son's code name) future?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

 4a. Who and what have helped you in raising (son's code name)?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

 4b. Who and what have hindered you in raising (son's code name)?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

 5. What has been the most challenging issue raising a Black/White biracial son?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

 6. Do you have any concern/s about raising (son's code name) in the current racial climate?

    Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

RQ2 questions

1. How do you racially identify (son's code name)?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

2. Do you talk with (son's code name) about racial issues?

2b. If yes, can you give me an example of a specific issue you talked about or a conversation you had about race.

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

2c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not talking with (son's code name) about racial issues?
   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

3. Do you talk with (son's code name) about his ethnic/racial identity?
3b. If yes, what did you talk about?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

3c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not talking with (son's code name) about his ethnic/racial identity?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

4. Do you expose (son's code name) to both his racial heritages?

4b. If yes, how have you done this?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

4c. If no, what is the reason(s) for not exposing (son's code name) to both his racial heritages

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

5. What choices have you made, such as where to live, which school to send (son's code name), based on parenting a Black/White biracial son?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

6. Describe anything specific you believe you need to do to prepare (son's code name) for life as a Black/White biracial male?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

7. Do you think you are adequately prepared or equipped to racially socialize (son's code name) to deal with racism or discrimination he may face in society?

   Prompt: According to the participant's response to question. (e.g., would you tell me more about that)?

Concluding questions

1. What words of wisdom do you have for other White fathers in your situation?

2. What would you like to see come out of this study?

3. Is there anything I didn't ask that you would like to share?

"We are finished with the interview now. Do you have any other comments or questions before we end?" I will answer any questions asked.

"If you asked for the summary results, a copy will be sent to the address you provided."

"Would you be willing to read your interview answers and results at a later date and give feedback?"

If the participant says no, "Thank you again for sharing your experiences with me?"

If the participant says yes, "I will send your interview responses in an attachment via email. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions.

"Is it okay to send your responses via email?"

If participant says "yes," then "Thank you. I will send your interview responses in an attachment via email. Thank you again for sharing your experiences with me?" (Researcher will obtain email address).

If participant says "no," then "Is it okay to send you the responses via mail?"

If participant says "yes," then "Thank you. I will send your interview responses via mail. Thank you again for sharing your experiences with me?" (Researcher will obtain mailing address).

If participant says "no," then "Those are the two options available.

If meeting in person

"Thank you so much for your time and for the information you've given. Here is a $10.00 gift card for your time."

If meeting via video conferencing

"Thank you so much for your time and for the information you've given. A $10.00 eGift will be sent to your email address, please let me know if you have not received it within 24 hours."

APPENDIX I

Member Checking Request

Member Checking Request

I want to thank you again for participating in my dissertation study on White fathers raising their biological Black/White biracial sons. Attached/included is a verbatim transcription of our interview. I have reviewed your transcript along with the other transcripts and made connections to larger themes. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure confidentiality. Please read through your transcript and themes checking for accuracy of my interpretations to your answers. If you believe that I have misstated anything, please feel free to correct the information. After you complete the review, please email me any correction to my interpretations of your answers. If you feel that I have captured your statements accurately, please inform me via email at ldurrant@twu.edu or via telephone, 713-363-4502.

There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions.

Thank you.