2021

African American, Adult Men Reared by Their Single, African American, Custodial Fathers

Christopher Eugene Joe
Walden University

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Christopher Eugene Joe

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee
Dr. Steven Linnville, Committee Chairperson, Psychology Faculty
Dr. Matthew Hertenstein, Committee Member, Psychology Faculty
Dr. Rolande Murray, University Reviewer, Psychology Faculty

Chief Academic Officer and Provost
Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University
2021

Abstract

African American, Adult Men Reared by Their Single, African American, Custodial

Fathers

by

Christopher Eugene Joe

MPhil, Walden University, 2019

MA, Beulah Heights University, 2016

BA, Beulah Heights University, 2014

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

General Psychology

Walden University

November 2021

Abstract

A vast number of researchers have studied the impact that African American father absence has on the developmental outcomes of African American, male children. Others have noted the steady increase of single, African American, custodial fathers and have suggested African American, male children who grow up in these households are likely to experience positive developmental outcomes. However, their research stopped short of examining how this unique family structure impacted child development from the son's perspective. The purpose of this qualitative study was to provide an understanding of how the childhood well-being of sons was affected by growing up with a single, African American, custodial father. The theoretical framework that directed this study was Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development. Five African American, male adults participated in semi-structured interviews in which they were asked to recount their childhood experiences with their father who took care of them. The interpretive phenomenological analysis method was used to understand their experiences. The interview data were collected on the Zoom audio and conferencing application before being transcribed and coded using Microsoft Word. Three themes emerged from participants' responses: the role of the father, mother absence, and support systems. The findings revealed that African American male children reared by their single African American custodial fathers had positive developmental outcomes. These findings have the potential to have positive social change by aiding schools, community parenting programs, and social services in establishing methods to aid and protect this vulnerable population during their childhood development.

African American, Adult Men Reared by Their Single, African American, Custodial

Fathers

by

Christopher Eugene Joe

MPhil, Walden University, 2019

MA, Beulah Heights University, 2016

BA, Beulah Heights University, 2014

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

General Psychology

Walden University

November 2021

I dedicate this study to my wife, Kupae. You have been nothing short of inspirational, loving, and supportive. Thank you for challenging me to embark on this journey. I love you and could not have done this without your continued compassion and encouragement. To my sons, Donavon, Christian, and Trenton, thank you for your selflessness and your willingness to understand whenever I was unable to be there. You may never know how much you lifted and motivated when I was physically and mentally down. This is for you.

To my sister, Angela, thank you for believing that I could do this. I cherish every kind word of wisdom. To my mother and father: thank you for your prayers, support, and encouragement. You reminded me that I could do anything with God's power and the desire to work hard. I hope that I have made you both proud. I love you all and I am so grateful for my village.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ for His grace and mercy throughout this dissertation journey. To my committee chair and content expert, Dr. Steven Linnville, words seem insufficient to express my heartfelt gratitude to you. Thank you for your guidance and your patience. Thank you for encouraging me to "stay the course" during the most difficult moments of my life. I pray that God will forever shine His light upon you and everything that you touch. To my committee members, Dr. Matthew Hertenstein and Dr. Rolande Murray, thank you for your expertise and your feedback. You have made me a better researcher; God bless you.

I want to acknowledge Bro. Shawn Lacey and the men of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Incorporated, who encouraged me to "See It Through." To Rodney Edge, I cannot express my gratitude enough for your unselfish act of love and brotherhood. Thank you for helping me achieve my academic goals; I will be forever grateful. To my mentors: Dr. Mae Reggy, Dr. Benjamin Karanja, Dr. Percy Johnson, Dr. Johnathan Alvarado, Dr. Brian Hodges, and Dr. Shawn Adams, I could not have done it without you. My brothers: Neil, Mike Oliver, K. K. Rice, Landon, Jon, LV, Brian, Mike, Benjamin, Tres, Kyle, Kevin, Miguel, Wellington, Quinn, Henry, Harry, Tyrone, and Prince, you guys are the greatest. To my extended family members: Joe, Boyd, Matthews, Gordon, Moore, Prince, Moody, and Turner, I love you all. Thank you for all your prayers. I would not have been able to complete this journey without your love and support. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to the five African American males whose contributions made this research study possible.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Within the African American community, the American nuclear family model has long been a source of contention (Boyd-Franklin, 2013). For example, the African American family experience has been disproportionately interrupted by systematic racism and catastrophic life events (Smith & Landor, 2018). Yet, despite centuries of ostracism, including social, educational, cultural, political, and economic exclusion, African Americans have demonstrated great resilience (Coonz, 2016; Johnson, 2019; Lens & Cary, 2010; Parker, 2019; Ward Randolph & Weems, 2010). Many African American families have successfully thwarted economic and sociocultural discrimination; however, many more continue to unsuccessfully manage the negative consequences of unfair treatment and racial inequity (Kerr et al., 2018). These sociological and psychological stressors have severely impacted the quality and duration of intimate relationships within the African American family (Chambers & Kravitz, 2011). Consequently, African Americans experience the highest rates of divorce and single-parent households in the United States (Chambers & Kravitz, 2011; Parent et al., 2013).

A growing body of research has suggested that the nuclear family is steadily becoming outdated (Alfandre et al., 2015; Pilkauskas & C. J. Cross, 2018; St. Vil et al., 2019; Timmermann, 2013), making a nonnuclear family more in alignment with modern parenting (Golombok, 2015; Golombok et al., 2016; Long, 2004), including many African American households (Bryant et al., 2010). Single mothers are normally recognized as head of household in the African American family because two thirds of all African American children are raised in single mother-headed households (Curenton et

al., 2017; Dixon, 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013). Despite the overwhelming responsibility and positive influences that African American mothers have on the development of their children, they experience equally as many challenges when raising sons.

African American fathers are often stereotyped as not having a significant role in the African American family (Abel, 2012; Carlson & Dermer, 2016; Coles & Green, 2010; East et al., 2006; Elam et al., 2016; Leath, 2017; Sevigny et al., 2016). However, researchers have progressively begun to document the existence of custodial, African American fathers (Coles, 2009; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019; Hamer & Marchioro, 2002). Because many single, African American fathers are progressively seeking full-time custody (Coles & Green, 2010), researchers have shown that they are also invaluable to the health and development of their sons (Bronte et al., 2010; Coles, 2015; Finzi-Dottan, & Cohen, 2019).

By and large, the current research noting the parental impact of single, custodial, African American fathers is complex (Coles, 2003, 2009). On the one hand, correlational research has documented how behaviors of African American fathers have adversely impacted their children's development (Mandara & Murray, 2006; Mandara et al., 2005). On the other hand, more recent qualitative studies have established that African American fathers possess the knowhow necessary to be effective parents and that although their child-rearing approaches are culturally distinct, their parental practices are consistent with those of fathers from other ethnicities who promote positive

developmental outcomes in their sons (Coles & Green, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Revell, 2015).

Background of the Study

Throughout United States history, African Americans have experienced significant disruptions to their familial structure (St. Vil et al., 2019). Slavery and segregation are two of the variables that have adversely affected their family formation and their social and economic footprint (Darity & Mullen, 2020). Although, African Americans have managed to find functionality within their fractured family structure, it has not come without consequence. African Americans experience greater levels of separation and divorce than any other ethnic group (Bloome & Muller, 2015; St. Vil et al., 2019).

Additionally, most African American family households are fatherless, and researchers have shown a link between these households and negative child developmental outcomes (Curenton et al., 2017; Dixon, 2017; East et al., 2006; Morman & Floyd, 2006). For instance, African American, male adolescents who live in fatherless households have a higher propensity to live in poverty, battle depression, and engage in destructive behaviors (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014; Doherty et al., 2016; Perry & Tabb, 2015). They are more physically and verbally aggressive, display emotional instability, have difficulty forming relationships, and are more academically dysfunctional compared to male adolescents who live in households with their fathers (Doherty et al., 2016; Morman & Floyd, 2006; Perry & Tabb, 2015; Radl et al., 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013).

Although researchers have shown that many African American, male adolescents display negative developmental outcomes associated with fatherlessness, they have also noted that others have positive experiences through nonresidential father involvement (Bonnette, 2015; Boothroyd & Cross, 2017; Caldwell et al., 2011; Coles, 2001). In fact, the term fatherlessness is often inappropriately used to define a father who is either unmarried to the mother of his child or does not live in the same household (Coles, 2001). Notwithstanding, many nonresidential African American fathers are involved with their children and are active participants in ensuring they experience positive developmental outcomes (Thomas et al., 2008).

Furthermore, single, African American fathers are increasingly seeking custody of their children (Coles, 2009; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019; Hamer & Marchioro, 2002). Studies have noted that this growing population of fathers want to ensure that they are presently involved and are influential in their children's development (Coles, 2009; Coles & Green, 2010; Kim, 2014). Researchers have suggested that healthy father-son relationships correlate to positive adolescent male personal and social developmental outcomes (Ahlin & Lobo Antunes, 2015; King & Mrug, 2018). However, scholarly data does not exist documenting these developmental outcomes from males raised in these households.

In this study, I focused on the experiences of adult, African American males who were reared by single, African American, custodial fathers. Single, African American, custodial father households make up 8% of single-parent households (Ayer et al., 2016). This study was important because minimal research has spotlighted the family

experiences of adult, male children who were raised in these households and can reflect on their lived experiences of growing up in this family structure. Furthermore, social, governmental, and educational practices can be implemented to address the needs and challenges associated with single, African American, custodial fathers raising sons.

Problem Statement

Researchers have documented a correlation between nonresidential African American fathers and the negative developmental outcomes of their sons (East et al., 2017). They have also documented the significant role single, African American, custodial fathers have in the lives of their sons (Bronte et al., 2010; Coles, 2015; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019). However, a gap existed in the literature documenting the experiences of African American men who were raised by their single, custodial fathers, with only scarce previous research focused on this phenomenon (see Brown et al., 2018; Doyle et al., 2016). The findings from the current study add to the research on African American families. Furthermore, the findings could be useful in applied settings (e.g., schools and/or social services) where support of both African American father-focused and African American at-risk adolescent prevention and intervention programs are offered.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of African American, adult males who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. In single-parent, African American households, African American males are overwhelmingly raised by single, African American, custodial mothers (Curenton et al.,

2017; Dixon, 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013). The phenomena in this study were investigated using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA; see Smith et al., 2009). IPA is a combination of an interpretive process, phenomenology, hermeneutics, and idiography (Miller et al., 2018). This approach allowed me to investigate how the lives of the participants were shaped and impacted by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Findings from this study shed light on the real-world experiences of the participants that otherwise would not be disclosed in literature (see Smith & Osborn, 2015; Vagle, 2016).

Research Question

What are the lived experiences of African American, adult men reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers?

Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework aids researchers by establishing the primary reason behind a study. The conceptual framework for this study was Bronfenbrenner and Ceci's (1994) bioecological model. In the bioecological model, the authors asserted that proximal process is the way human development occurs between an individual and their immediate external environment (e.g., people, objects, symbols, and activities) over a sustained amount of time. Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) argued that the ecology of human development is highly influenced by four systems: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem.

The microsystem is a setting in which a child develops by sharing intimate face-to-face time with their caregivers, teachers, peers, and localized communities (Houston,

2017). Bronfenbrenner and Ceci's (1994) believed that within this system, moral development and socialization development occur. Caregivers and peers become spheres of influence in the development of a child's identity formation.

According to Bronfenbrenner and Ceci's (1994), a mesosystem is a setting that overlaps a microsystem. The mesosystem monitors the combined effect on development that occurs between a child and their microsystem (Dishion et al., 2019). When microsystem variables connect, they help influence the choices that a developing child makes. For example, an adolescent male has a lower risk of developing behavioral problems if he has a healthy relationship with his caregiver and a positive peer group. On the contrary, an adolescent who has an unstable family and antisocial peer groups, has a greater likelihood of developing behavioral problems. The mesosystem exposes the way in which positive or negative variables, or a combination of both, aid in determining the developmental behaviors of a child.

The exosystem is an external setting that can influence the development of a child without the child having any direct contact with that environment (Lundqvist & Sandström, 2019). For instance, if a child's caregiver loses their job, the indirect effect of job loss can impact the child. An unemployed caregiver can display a range of psychological stresses consistent with, anxiety, depression, aggression, and/or humiliation (Linden & Rotter, 2019). For an unsuspecting child, this can significantly impact their happiness and their quality of life (Frasquilho et al., 2016).

The macrosystem compares a culture's governmental systems (e.g., educational, economic, social, geopolitical, and legal systems) against its microsystem, mesosystem,

and exosystem (Anderson-Saunders, 2016; Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Bronfenbrenner believed that the macrosystem is where a phenomenon is found (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). The macrosystem is the all-encompassing philosophy that looks for similarities that exist within diverse cultural environments. For example, despite a child's ethnicity, their background, or their community, Bronfenbrenner and Ceci's (1994) believed that there is a common theme that connects them together. The theme is embedded within the institutional structures that support and affect that child's community.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was qualitative. A qualitative method is an inquiry that is most often used to explore, understand, and document a phenomenon that occurs within the lived experiences of a homogeneous group (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). I determined the qualitative approach to be appropriate for this study because it provided me with the opportunity to interpret the impact custodial-fathered households had on the personal and social developmental outcomes of the participants (see Kowlessar et al., 2015; Roller & Lavrakas, 2015). IPA was the phenomenological design used. The design places emphasis on the processes by which participants made sense of their lived experiences. I collected data through in-depth interviews with open-ended questions conducted over telephone, social media, and/or other online platforms and designed to discover the participants' experiences that contributed to the human development and worldview of African American, adult men who were raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers (see Willig, 2013). An audio recording device was used

during each interview. Instead of using NVivo, the data were transcribed, coded, and analyzed using Microsoft Word (see Chapter 4 for more details).

Operational Definitions

African American male: A U.S. born or raised male with African ancestry (Ho et al., 2017).

Custodial father: Fathers who are primary caregivers to their children without aid from the child's biological mother (Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2017).

Ecology: The study of how organisms develop as a result of their interactions, relationships, and shared environments with other organisms (Rosa & Tudge, 2013).

Father absence: Physically present but emotionally unavailable fathers, divorce, parental conflict, death, work, incarceration, noncustodial fathering, and court-appointed visitations (East et al., 2006).

Gender identity formation: Begins in children as early as 2 years old. During this stage, children begin to gain awareness of their own gender and the genders of those around them (Nadal, 2017).

Hypermasculine: An exaggerated form of stereotypical male behaviors (Bonnette, 2015).

Nonresidential fathers: Fathers who do not live fulltime in the same household as their children (Carlson & Dermer, 2016).

Nuclear family: A mother and father in a first-time marriage with children (Carlson & Dermer, 2016).

Single fathers: Fathers who were never married, separated from a spouse, divorced, widowed, or cohabiting with a partner other than the mother of the child (Coles, 2015; McLanahan & Jencks, 2015).

Traditional gender roles: Social rules and behaviors that have conventionally been assigned to males and females (Pilar Matud et al., 2014).

Assumptions

I made a few presuppositions as the researcher associated with this study. I assumed that IPA would be the most effective qualitative design for analyzing the results of the participant interviews. Participants were expected to be honest about growing up with their single, African American, custodial father as their primary caregivers and give open and honest responses about their experiences. Participants agreed with all privacy and security questions.

Another assumption was that potential participants would be interested in taking part in this study since the results would express their experiences being raised by their single, custodial fathers. I trusted the results of this study would be worthwhile and would contribute information that would further advance the study of African American males and their paternal relationships. Lastly, I assumed that my personal biases would be placed aside to ensure that the collected data would not be falsely manipulated in any way.

Scope and Delimitations

The scope of this study was to understand the lived experiences of African American, adult males who were reared by their single, African American, custodial

fathers. This was a significant study since little is known about this population. I used a qualitative research approach was used to focus on African American, adult males who were raised by their single, custodial, African American fathers; however, this narrow focus identified only a fraction of the various family dynamics within the African American community.

African American males who were at least 18 years old were allowed to take part in this research. I intended to interview between 5 to 10 participants. Individuals whose fathers were not African American and were not their full-time, custodial parent were excluded from this study. Likewise, male children who were raised by their custodial mothers and visited with their fathers were also excluded. Recruitment and interviews were conducted virtually because the COVID-19 pandemic did not allow for face-to-face data collection.

Limitations

Some limitations and potential limitations existed within this study. One limitation was that I solely focused on African American, adult males who were raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Single, African American, custodial father households account for only 5% of single-parent households (Bronte et al., 2010; Coles & Green, 2010). Therefore, this population made up a small group of possible participants. Furthermore, since qualitative studies are not generalizable, the findings from this study were not transferable to males raised by single, custodial fathers of other ethnicities. Locating the targeted population was difficult and convincing them to

participate was challenging. Another limitation was effectively managing the time and the resources needed to complete this study.

Significance of the Study

Research have documented the experiences of African American fathers who have raised African American sons (Coles, 2009; Doyle et al., 2016; Threlfall et al., 2013) and the experiences of sons who grew up with absentee fathers (East et al., 2017; East et al., 2006). However, the current study is significant because it fills a gap in research by documenting the experiences of African American, adult males who were reared by their single, custodial, African American fathers. The goal was to contribute to the extant literature by investigating the phenomenon of how sons of single, custodial, African American fathers have come to understand themselves and make sense of the world around them.

The findings from this study can influence positive social change by showing some of the systemic social and psychological obstacles that have impeded healthy African American father-son relationships. The results of this study can provide public policymakers with information that can be used to assist African American, custodial fathers with parental resources; implement parental advocacy programs; and introduce community-based, father-son initiative programs as well as encourage lawmakers and judicial authorities to examine unfair policies that underserve the needs and rights of African American, custodial fathers.

Summary and Transition

In Chapter 1, I discussed the challenges the American nuclear family structure has presented to the African American household. The chapter included information that identified how social and psychological variables negatively impact the African American family. As a result, divorce and unwed parenting gave rise to single, African American parent households. Most African American children live in single, custodial mother households, and African American fathers are often dismissed as nonfactors due to their absenteeism; however, current research has attested that single, African American, custodial father households are steadily increasing (Coles, 2009; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019; Hamer & Marchioro, 2002; Livingston, 2013).

In Chapter 1, I also identified that some researchers have suggested that single, custodial, African American mothers often meet challenges raising male adolescents (Curenton et al., 2017; Dixon, 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013). Others suggested single, custodial, African American fathers are linked to positive male adolescent development (Bronte et al., 2010; Coles, 2015; Finzi-Dottan, & Cohen, 2019). The phenomenon in this study was addressed by documenting the lived experiences of adult, African American males who were raised by their single, custodial, African American fathers. I used a qualitative methodology because it allowed me to interview the participants and gain an understanding of what it was like to grow up in a single, custodial, African American fathered household.

I used an IPA design because it centers on how individuals interpret their foundational experiences and how they apply those experiences to the world around

them. The bioecological model was used as the conceptual framework. It aided me in

understanding the role and impact that culture and other external environments (e.g.,

family, friends, educators, community, etc.) had on the development of the participants.

Chapter 2 will contain a review of the literature, while in Chapter 3, I will justify the

purpose for using the IPA approach, and in Chapter 4, I will document the results. Lastly,

Chapter 5 will include a summary of the findings, implications for social impact, and

recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I present a synthesis of literature related to the diversity in African American family structures and how they correlate with the developmental outcomes of African American, male adolescents. The purpose for this qualitative, phenomenological study was to understand the lived experiences of African American, adult men reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Through an examination of the literature, I identified that a gap existed related to the lived experiences of this homogeneous group.

This chapter contains five sections: introduction, literature search strategy, conceptual framework, literature review, and summary and conclusion. In the introduction, I present an outline of the content in the chapter. The literature search strategy section contains a description of how I obtained the sources used to complete this study. The conceptual framework section includes an explanation of how, based upon the literature, I determined that the bioecological model was the most appropriate theoretical framework to explain the phenomenon.

In the literature review section, I provide a thorough summary of the genesis of the African American family experience and illuminate how historical events, policies, and social attitudes towards African Americans traumatically diminished their capabilities to achieve socioeconomic equivalency. Furthermore, the section addresses some of the challenges that inhibited their ability to define a unified familial structure. Yet, in this chapter, I also highlight that extended, two-parent, and single-parent households are normal and individually salient in the African American familial

structure. In this section, I note that although single, African American mothers are the primary parent in the African American community, single, African American, custodial fathers exist. I examined the developmental outcomes for African American, male adolescents associated with noncustodial, African American fathers; however, the focus was the developmental outcomes associated with custodial fathers. Lastly, this chapter shows that literature is lacking that expresses the experiences of men who grew up in single, African American, custodial father households. In the summary and conclusion section, I recount the entirety of the chapter.

Literature Search Strategy

I completed a comprehensive examination of the existing literature for this study; resources used included articles, journals, books, and statistics. I looked for resources in the following databases accessible through the Walden University Library: SocIndex, PsycArticles, PsycInfo, ProQuest, Science Direct, MEDLINE, Sage Publications, EBSCO, Google Scholar, Google Books, Taylor and Francis, and PubMed. There were few, current articles illuminating the experiences of custodial, African American fathers. Even fewer exist that documented the custodial, African American father-son experience. The lack of extant research on the topic confirmed that there was a gap in the literature documenting the experiences of African American, adult males raised by their African American, single, custodial fathers. The keyword search terms used to locate literature were: *African Americans, African American fathers, single African American fathers, custodial fathers, single custodial fathers, custodial African American fathers, African American family, nonresidential fathers, African American*

fathers and sons, custodial African American fathers and sons, nonresidential African American fathers, African American head of household, single parent household, single mothers, single African American mothers, African American male adolescents, developmental outcomes, racism, antisocial disorder, socioeconomic status, traditional family, nuclear family, patriarchal nuclear family, slavery, slave-breeding, antebellum, postbellum, Jim Crow laws, education, ecological model, PPCT model, and *bioecological model.*

Conceptual Foundation

I used the bioecological model of human development (see Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) as the conceptual foundation for this study. The bioecological model is used to examine factors (e.g., single-parent household, poverty, trauma, socioemotional development, risky behavior, gender roles, and identity) that impact child development (Crawford et al., 2020). This model supports the framework necessary to explore the phenomenon of the lived experiences of African American, adult males reared by single, African American, custodial fathers. Moreover, the bioecological model can be used to assess the developmental patterns of individuals as they interact with people and objects while learning how to act and respond to systems and environments throughout their lifespan (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) theorized there are four primary constructs that influence human development: process, person, context, and time.

Process

Process, or proximal process, is the way continuous relationships between individuals or objects influence their human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For healthy child developmental outcomes to occur, children require the ability to attach to their caregivers to develop feelings of closeness, security, and trust (East et al., 2017). For example, male adolescents who have unbroken relationships with their fathers are more likely to become healthy and successful adults (Burton et al., 2016). African American, male adolescents must navigate through experiences synonymous with typical adolescent development; however, the likelihood they will experience racial biases and/or discrimination sets them apart from European American, male adolescents (Brittian, 2012). Fathers can be invaluable in aiding African American, male adolescents develop self-regulation strategies to help them cope with social challenges and effectively manage their emotions (Brittian, 2012; Jaramillo et al., 2017). African American fathers have distinctive experiences and information that their able to pass on to their sons. These transferable values help their sons understand their cultural uniqueness, which can positively affect their personality development and identity formation (Doyle et al., 2016).

Person

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) added the person construct to the bioecological model, which was missing from the original ecological model. Children are born with specific genetic traits and characteristics that adjust throughout their lifespan based upon their environmental experiences. As they mature, they build resiliency; however, maturity

alone does not determine their resiliency levels (Ungar et al., 2013). Hurd et al. (2013) found that socioeconomically disadvantaged communities caused emerging African American adults to internalize feelings associated with depression and poor mental health outcomes, but the researchers also found the opposite to be true. The person construct suggests that both nature (i.e., locus of control/self-regulation) and nurture (i.e., environment) work individually and collectively to help adolescents with coping strategies that influence their developmental outcomes.

In a similar study, King and Mrug (2018) pointed out that African American adolescents in disadvantaged communities have difficulty practicing self-regulation behaviors. They suggested that emotional regulation skill development can be used as a resource for overcoming emotional stress associated with systemic socioeconomic disadvantages. Although environments can influence decision making in male adolescents, increased father presence is linked to positive adolescent cognitive development, locus of control, and social competence as well as increased emotional functioning and lower levels of negative psychological outcomes (Ahlin & Lobo Antunes, 2015; King & Mrug, 2018).

Context

In the context construct, Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) and Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) maintained that environments are salient for childhood development. They argued that as children grow, their environments are ever changing. Each environment has a contextualization; however, they do not standalone because they are environments that function within structures.

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) theorized that human development consists of four nested structures: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. The microsystem is the principal or immediate setting for human development and consists of primary environments (e.g., home, schools, church; Houston, 2017). These environments often provide nurture and stability, and children respond accordingly. When their microsystem environments are stable, positive child developmental outcomes are predicted (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The mesosystem observes and describes the impact the microsystem has on child development (Dishion et al., 2019). Although the microsystem contains a variety of unique systems, environments, and experiences, they inadvertently work together to influence developmental behavior. The mesosystem assesses those combined microsystem experiences and predicts how those unified or conflicting experiences will affect developmental outcomes. The exosystem are environments that children do not have contact with; however, they indirectly affect their developmental outcomes (Ashiabi & O'Neal, 2015; Lundqvist & Sandström, 2019). The macrosystem are governmental structures, social influencers, and cultural norms that positively or negatively shape childhood development (Anderson-Saunders, 2016; Rosa & Tudge, 2013).

Time

According to Bronfenbrenner (see Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), time has an influence on the microsystem, mesosystem, and the macrosystem. Micro-time tracks occurrences that take place during a specific moment or activity, while meso-time notes repetition of a specific activity or event, and macro-time

draws attention to how major lifespan events (e.g., environmental and historic) affect developmental outcomes (Crawford et al., 2020). Burrus et al. (2012) pointed to an earlier study that examined the outcomes of identified father involvement on their children in foster care that found that in most cases, father involvement led to less time in foster care and family reunification, which resulted in less maltreatment and positive emotional, cognitive, and physical outcomes. Their research further found that the duration of an event can make a difference in child developmental formation.

<div align="center">Literature Review of Key Variables</div>

Nuclear Family

The American nuclear family dates back as early as the 17th century (Warren, 2016). Colonial Period Europeans (1607-1776; Nester, 2017) arrived in the United States during a time when the restricted patriarchal nuclear family structure was the standard family model in Europe (Gies & Gies, 2010). The patriarchal nuclear family structure encouraged traditional gender roles (St. Vil et al., 2019). Fathers were the heads-of-household and breadwinners, mothers were domesticated, and children learned gender role responsibilities for replication throughout their lifespan (Gerstel, 2011).

The American nuclear family structure has been a symbol of socioeconomic stability and success for generations (Gerstel, 2011). Many have hailed it as the apex of social institutions, responsible for healthy global developmental outcomes for children and parental well-being (Gerstel, 2011; Golden, 2016). Credited with coining the term, U.S. anthropologist, George P. Murdock (1949) submitted that the nuclear family is a two-generational household, made up of a mother, father, and their children (Revell &

McGhee, 2015). Murdock conducted an ethnographical study of more than 200 global societies and concluded that the nuclear family exists in every society (Anastasiu, 2012).

Murdock proposed that sexual regulation, reproduction, socialization, and economic cooperation are the four essential family functions needed to regulate healthy balance and normalcy within society (Anastasiu, 2012). Mothers and fathers are the primary socialization agents for childhood development, and without them, a nuclear family cannot exist (Murdock, 1949). Thus, the nuclear family is a self-contained social structure that is the predecessor of all other societal structures. However, researchers have pointed out that the nuclear family has declined as the most traditional family unit in the United States (Alfandre et al., 2015; Golombok, 2015; Golombok et al., 2016; Long, 2004; Pilkauskas & Cross, 2018; St. Vil et al., 2019; Timmermann, 2013). With marriages at 47.8% nationwide, Americans are gradually entertaining nontraditional ways of developing family units (Bouchard & Lachance-Grzela, 2016; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018a).

According to Dubey (2017), women have influenced many of the changes traditional family units once experienced. As aforementioned, the early years of the patriarchal nuclear family structure excluded women from working meaningful jobs. Their roles were to care for their husbands, their homes, and their children. However, over time, women began to feel unfulfilled and devalued. Their family responsibilities, juxtaposed to their personal needs, affected their psychological well-being (Dubey, 2017).

Women wanted to move beyond the confines of the household, so they made legal demands that included equal consideration under the law, the ability to compete for jobs traditionally occupied by men, the ability to initiate divorce, sexual and reproductive control, and protection against domestic violence (Bair, 2020; Valk, 2018). Their protests opened the door for unprecedented legal victories, which aided in suppressing the patriarchal nuclear family structure and simultaneously gave rise to nontraditional family units (American Civil Liberties Union, 2020; Sultan et al., 2017).

Some researchers have argued that nuclear families are primary agents of social development; however, this applies primarily to those reared in traditional family structures (Benson et al., 2012). For example, extended family households (e.g., parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, other relatives) and community partnerships (e.g., churches, community centers, neighbors, peers, coaches, mentors, counselors), more often than are recognized, are the primary socialization agents for many low-income, male adolescents (Ryabov, 2020). They are influencers who act as stakeholders in developmental outcomes for their communities' youth (Benson et al., 2012). When youth have positive socialization agents present, they are more likely to have positive experiences and developmental outcomes.

Other arguments exist that suggest extended families and community partners are lower in number than necessary to aid parents in shielding their sons from negative encounters and poor developmental outcomes (Benson et al., 2012; Marotta & Voisin, 2020). Socioeconomic factors influence how parents divide their time between work and parent-child interactions (Anis et al., 2020; Pilkauskas & C. J. Cross, 2018). Parents can

unintentionally expose their children to adverse developmental outcomes due to their

work schedules (Marotta & Voisin, 2020). In low-income communities, peer pressure and

poor parental monitoring account for 35% of African American, male adolescent

delinquent behaviors (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2015). Children of working parents

go longer periods without parental supervision, and they can quickly develop feelings of

loneliness, neglect, and vulnerability, which can cause them to seek out risky behavioral

opportunities (Anis et al., 2020; Heinrich, 2014). Thus, extended families and community

partners are integral in filling the gap for parental monitoring and added protection for

children of working two-parent families.

Other critics of Murdock suggest that the nuclear family it as a European concept,

superimposed upon other societies (Fortunato, 2017; McEwen, 2017; Mustasaari, 2015;

St. Vil et al., 2019). For example, St. Vil et al. (2019) wrote that although African

Americans have proven to be adaptable throughout history, the patriarchal nuclear family

structure exposed them to a successfully unachievable family formation. Slavery,

classism, discrimination, racism, and oppressive institutions have longstanding

associations with European American cultural dominance and family elitism (St. Vil et

al., 2019). The inability to achieve consistency and equality in the patriarchal nuclear

family structure fueled theories that suggested African Americans were pathological

(Moynihan, 1965; St. Vil et al., 2019). However, the African American experience has

been an intergenerational series of familial ties that have expressed their cultural

collectiveness through extended families (C. J. Cross et al., 2018). The strength of

African Americans has been their abilities to build cultural resiliency through identity

fusion (Gómez et al., 2019; St. Vil et al., 2019). They integrate it as a strategy for socioeconomic support among their extended families and social groups.

The nuclear family structure is an antiquated, intangible, and conventional family structure that does not consistently fit neatly within the African American familial formation (St. Vil et al., 2019). For years, African descendants have used their intergenerational inclusivity to produce social structures and positive family developments. However, the lingering effects of slavery have also had detrimental consequences on familial development that has spanned generations. Although African American people are strong, socioeconomic equality would encourage sustainable familial cohesion and allow for greater introspection on how to heal and rebuild their dissembled families (J. B. Stewart, 2015; St. Vil et al., 2019).

African American Family

Research about slavery and its multigenerational consequences on the African American nuclear family has long been a subject of debate among social scientists (Baker, 2018; Fox-Genovese, 2000; P. Stewart, 2015; Swaminathan, 2016). Some maintained that slavery was the lynchpin that crippled the African American family (Acharya et al., 2016). Others argued that it was single parent households and poor education (Robinson & Werblow, 2013; Ruggles, 1994). However, African Americans have a well-documented and storied past. Historical document suggests that slavery, Jim Crow segregation, systemic racism, economic disenfranchisement, redlining, poor healthcare, over policing, and elevated levels of incarceration were factors that negatively

affected the kinship of the African American family (Doede, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2014; Krieger et al., 2020; Ross & Spencer, 2019; Weitzer, 2017).

Slavery

In 1526, African slaves first arrived at the Spanish colony formally known as Miguel de Gualdape, which was found off the coastal waters between Florida and Virginia (Cameron & Vermette, 2012; Hoffman, 2015; Wright, 1902). Researchers have exhaustively examined the impact that slavery has had on the socioeconomic wellbeing of African Americans. For 339 years (1526-1865; Conklin, 2020; Wright, 1902), slaves were forced into free labor by slaveholders. However, less documented is how slave-breeding and sexual exploitation affected the African American family during the antebellum period (Bridgewater, 2001; Smithers, 2012).

A dividing debate among early American historians was whether the institution of slave-breeding ever existed (Fogel & Engerman, 1974). Many argued that there was insufficient evidence to determine the trustworthiness of these claims (Smithers, 2012). The position challenged the argument that antebellum slaveholder subjected slaves into forced reproduction solely for economic profit (Schwartz, 2013). For instance, Fogel and Engerman (1974) proposed that slaveholders may have used slave-breeding to increase female fertility, but not as a means for profit. However, Sublette and Sublette (2015) found that slave-breeding was an integral part of the economy and human chattelism.

During the 17th century, Virginia and Maryland were the front-runners for slave-breeding and slave exportation (Sublette & Sublette, 2015). Virginia had the highest population of slaves and Deep Southern states often imported them to work their

expanding plantations (Smithers, 2012; Sublette & Sublette, 2015). Men typically outnumbered women on plantations and slave auctions. However, female slaves who were sexually mature were highly valuable. Female slaves were 40% of slave-income, but their fertility accounted for 100% of slave income-earnings (Fogel & Engerman, 1974).

Despite their importance in the slave-breeding industry, female slaves experienced greater difficulties compared to males (Jennings, 1990; Sublette & Sublette, 2015). Bridgewater (2001) submitted that the institution of slave-breeding was an economic consequence of female slave sexual exploitation. Male and female slaves were equal and genderless in the eyes of slaveholders on plantations (Jennings, 1990). Both had tasks, and gender was no excuse for the underperformance of their responsibilities. However, where female slaves differed from their male counterparts was their ability to reproduce. Their womanhood drew sexual attention from slaveholders and free men and made them vulnerable to coercion and sexual exploitation (Bridgewater, 2001; White, 1999).

Antebellum slaveholders controlled everything concerning slaves. They controlled their ability to form unions, and with whom those unions would be formed (Jennings, 1990). Their power also gave them control to interfere with the normal sexual behaviors of their slaves (Bridgewater, 2001; Fogel & Engerman, 1974). As chattel, slaves were unable to reject any sexual directive from their slaveholders. They forced female slaves to have sexual relations with free men or male slaves outside of their unions to ensure reproduction; and refusal brought upon severe punishment (Bridgewater,

2001; Smithers, 2012; Sublette & Sublette, 2015; White, 1999). Slave-breeding guaranteed slaveholders an increase in their human chattel supply and the ability to expand plantation productivity.

Further, slave-breeding was an intentional practice to break up any semblance of a family for African Americans (Sublette & Sublette, 2015). It prevented stable family unions and did not allow for family attachment (Jennings, 1990; Sublette and Sublette, 2015). Although 80% of slave children were the product of two parent unions, slave families did not live together, and most children did not know their fathers (Jennings, 1990). Mothers lived on plantations with their children and fathers lived elsewhere. To ensure that family closeness and family uprisings did not occur, slaveholders frequently traded or sold family members to long distant plantation owners (Sublette & Sublette, 2015; Thornton, et al., 2009).

In summary, the detrimental effects slavery had on African Americans during the antebellum period are innumerable (Thornton et al., 2009). Sexual exploitation and slave-breeding destroyed African American family kinship. Selling and trading slave family members caused severe psychological trauma and compelled many African American slaves to run away from plantations in search of their loved ones (Graff, 2017; Thornton et al., 2009). The antebellum period underscored an era where patriarchalism, slave-breeding, sexual violence, classism, gender and racial discrimination, and cultural dominance converged on African American slaves to prevent them from becoming nuclear families (Bridgewater, 2001; Goring, 2006; Smithers, 2012; Sublette & Sublette, 2015; Thornton, et al., 2009; White, 1999).

Post Slavery

Immediately following the ratification of the 13th Amendment and the emancipation of African Americans (1863-1865) was the enactment of Jim Crow segregation laws. At a time when African American men and women were trying to improve their conditions and transition from slaves to free people, state and local jurisdictional laws enforced segregation. Antebellum states did not recognize slave unions as legal marriages, and slaves did not have rights to their children (Goring, 2006; Reich, 2019). However, in the postbellum era, it was necessary for African Americans to have legally recognized marriages as a form of protection against personal victimization and child protection (Goring, 2006; Reich, 2019; Thompson-Miller & Picca, 2017).

Jim Crow era African Americans continued to work in agriculture but struggled to find affordable housing (Bloome & Muller, 2015; Reich, 2019). African American women often were unable to gain tenancy because property owners preferred making contract agreements with men (Bloome & Muller, 2015; Reich, 2019). African Americans realized that marriage would be instrumental in reaching domestic and economic stability (Haggard, 2010; Reich, 2019). Thus, by 1880, 57% of African Americans were married (Ruggles, 1994) and by the end of the 19th century, African American marriages had reached 59% (Reich, 2019).

Divorce and Separation

Early 20th century African American families began to resemble the patriarchal European American nuclear family structure (Reich, 2019). However, two important themes emerged that negatively affected the stability of their familial unit. First, African

American men incorporated patriarchal practices in their homes that were reminiscent to that of slaveholders. They received harsh criticism and pushback from their wives (Lippard & Gallagher, 2014; St. Vil et al., 2019). African American men wanted respect as heads of household equal to that of their former slaveholders (Lippard & Gallagher, 2014). Additionally, they were intent on reclaiming their masculinity that was taken from them during antebellum (Summers, 2013). Patriarchal control allowed them to become sole providers and protectors for their families. However, antebellum male and female slaves were equal partners, and neither was superior to the other (Jennings, 1990). Their need for one another was an important contributor to the distribution of their workload and the sustainability of their intimate relationships (St. Vil et al., 2019). The lack of egalitarianism became damaging to their marriages, and as a result, African Americans experienced an increase in separation and divorce and a decrease in marriage (Bloome & Muller, 2015; St. Vil et al., 2019).

Second, the post slavery socioeconomic divide between African American and European American men damaged their patriarchal family structure (Raley et al., 2016). Historically, one of the purposes for African American marriages was to obtain freedom and socioeconomic stability (Haggard, 2010; Reich, 2019). The Pew Research Center (Desilver, 2013) pointed to a study that examined unemployment patterns between African American and European American workers beginning in 1880. From the late 1800s through 1940, African American unemployment was marginal compared to European Americans and their marriages were equally as stable (Reich, 2019; Ruggles, 1994).

However, by 1960, African American unemployment reached nearly 12%, and their separation and divorce rates had increased considerably (Desilver, 2013; Fairlie & Sundstrom, 1999; Raley et al., 2016; Vaterlaus et al., 2017). By 1980, African American unemployment reached 20% compared to 8% for European Americans, while divorce rates tripled across the board (Desilver, 2013; National Center for Health Statistics, 1980; Raley et al., 2016). Changes in the labor market, lack of job preparedness, poor education, discriminatory hiring practices, and incarceration harmed the economic viability of many African American men (Couch & Fairlie, 2010; Fairlie & Sundstrom, 1999; Pedulla, 2018; Raley et al., 2016). It caused African American women to rethink traditional concepts of marriage and patriarchal family formation (Raley et al., 2016).

These findings are consistent with researchers who found a correlation between unemployment and a lack of marital satisfaction among couples (Barton & Bryant, 2016; Falconier et al., 2015). Conger et al. (1990, 1999) developed an instrument, known as the family stress model, which predicted how financial insecurity positively affected marital instability. Researchers illustrated that African Americans experienced the highest levels of marital weakness and divorce, and the lowest levels of marital socioeconomic stability (Raley et al., 2016; St. Vil et al., 2019). Barton and Bryant (2016) sampled 280 African Americans who were married for less than 4 years. Their research concluded that economic strain was a factor for marital dissatisfaction and instability. In a similar study, Cutrona et al. (2003) interviewed 202 African American married couples. While their research found that economic strain did not influence spousal mistreatment, it did find that it positively affected marital dissatisfaction. Consequently, the impact of marital

instability gave rise to the working class African American woman who embraced single

motherhood and considered marriage a potential obstacle to achieving socioeconomic

viability (Conger et al., 2002; Pourmovahed et al., 2018; Raley et al., 2016).

Two-parent households are often associated with greater levels of global stability

and better parent-child developmental outcomes than singles. Nonetheless, the patriarchal

nuclear family is not the primary choice for African American family development

(Cavanagh & Fomby, 2019; St. Vil et al., 2019; Vaterlaus et al., 2017). For generations,

African American families have endured socioeconomic trauma due to the consequences

of slavery, which is overwhelmingly responsible for the dismal percentage of

disadvantaged and unstable households in the African American community (Dixon,

2014; St. Vil et al., 2019). As argued by St. Vil et al. (2019) African Americans have

necessarily used various survival strategies to gain socioeconomic value. However, some

strategies have also been disadvantageous for successful two-parent male-female

households. With the largest population of ever-married women, and the highest

percentage of single mother-headed households in the United States, African American

women tend to depend on extended, multigenerational, and other contemporary familial

models to aid in child rearing and a sense of family closeness (Raley et al., 2016;

Robinson & Werblow, 2013; P. Stewart, 2015; St. Vil et al., 2019).

Single African American Mother Households

Single, African American mothers do the bulk of the heavy lifting by rearing

African American children. They are most often the head of the African American

household and primary caregivers (Curenton et al., 2017; Dixon, 2017). More than 66%

of all African American children are born to single mothers (Robinson & Werblow, 2013). Despite their dominant position in the African American family, these women meet significant social and economic difficulties (Williams et al., 2016). With nearly 32% living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), single, African American mothers have fewer opportunities to create wealth and cultural experiences due to time-poverty (Allen & White-Smith, 2018).

They are less financially secure than single, African American fathers and rely on family members, social service aid, and educators to help them rear their children (Allen & White-Smith, 2018; Henderson Hubbard et al., 2014; Taylor et al., 2014). They meet more challenges raising their children than single, European American mothers (Paschall et al., 2003), and supporting evidence suggests that in low-income single, African American mother households, male adolescents specifically are exposed to negative developmental outcomes (Gantt & Greif, 2009; Jackson et al., 2015; Jeynes, 2016).

African American Male Adolescents

Nebbitt et al. (2014) and Gibbs and Huang (2003) identified African American male adolescents as one of the United States' most vulnerable populations. A primary contributor to their vulnerability is father absence (East et al., 2006). The full impact father absence has on African American, male adolescents is unknown (Jackson et al., 2015). However, their absence exposes their children to adverse developmental outcomes associated with poverty, poor education, and disadvantaged community environments (Abel, 2012; Browning, 2013; East et al., 2017; Jackson et al., 2015; Radl et al., 2017).

Risky behaviors are among the predictors African American father absence has on the developmental outcomes of their adolescent sons. Premature sex (East et al., 2006), teenage fatherhood (Pascal, 2013), behavioral problems (Robinson & Werblow, 2013), substance abuse (Assari et al., 2018; Mandara & Murray, 2006), racial and stereotypical behavior (Brinkley-Rubinstein et al., 2014; Webb, 2016), criminal activity (Stevens-Watkins & Graves, 2011), and repeat incarceration (Grigorenko, 2012) are noteworthy behaviors associated with father absent households.

Poverty

One of the gateways to risky behavior among African American, male adolescents is poverty (Perry & Tabb, 2015). Within the African American community, single mother headed households are the largest percentage of impoverished homes in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018b). In conjunction, DeNavas-Walt and Proctor (2014) found that more than 50% of African American, male adolescents under the age of 18 lived in poverty, which is more than double the national average. Similarly, the National Center for Health Statistics (2012) published that this population lives in substandard housing conditions double that of the poverty level. Moreover, research has illustrated that economically disadvantaged communities often produce opportunities for violence, substance abuse, gang affiliation, and delinquency for at risk male adolescents (Perry & Tabb, 2015; Taylor, 2003; Vespa et al., 2013). Poverty is among several urban environmental disadvantages that encourage African American, male adolescents to adopt dangerous survival skills that often lead to incarceration or premature death (Perry & Tabb, 2015; Taylor, 2003; Vespa et al., 2013).

Mental Health

Researchers have pointed out that there is a correlation between urban disadvantaged communities and African American, male adolescent mental health outcomes (Leventhal et al., 2009; Perry & Tabb, 2015; Sharkey & Elwert, 2011). African American, male adolescents who live in poverty, and are father absent, have a high likelihood to have low self-esteem, low self-confidence, display aggressive behavior, suffer with antisocial disorder, depression, anxiety, and are capable of self-harm and suicide (Archer, 2010; Browning, 2013; Day-Vines, 2007; Doherty et al., 2016; Perry & Tabb, 2015; Radl et al., 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013).

Education

African American, male adolescent students suffer the most academically when father absence, poverty, psychological distress, and disadvantaged community environments interconnect. Educators often characterize these students as unintelligent (Robinson & Werblow, 2013), and they experience more difficulty learning when compared to African American female and European American, adolescent students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015; Webb, 2016). Webb (2016) mentioned that the academic underachievement of African American, male adolescents has reached epidemic proportions. They represent 20% of students in special education programs in the United States however, they only account for 9% of the nation's student population (National Education Association, 2011). Further, they are under-represented in gifted classes, overrepresented in underfunded and poorly rated schools, and are statistically

more likely to drop out of school (Gantt & Greif, 2009; National Education Association, 2011; Robinson & Werblow, 2013).

Gender Identity Formation and Gender Role Development

Gender identity formation begins in children as early as 2 years old (Nadal, 2017). During this stage, they gain awareness of their own gender, as well as the genders of those around them. In fact, Khudyakova et al. (2016) and Brown et al. (2018) argued that parents are necessary agents in the gender identity formation of their children. It is common for parents to reinforce gender identity formation by introducing their children to stereotypical male/female toys and activities (Nadal, 2017). Together, parents use their gender formation experiences to promote male and female gender identity development in their children.

Gender roles have traditionally been used to define male and female personal and social behaviors (Belgrave & Brevard, 2014; Matud et al., 2014). Kowalski and Scheitle (2020) identified heteronormativity as the institutionally endorsed ideology of sexuality and gender expression. Khudyakova et al. (2016) proposed that children reared in single parent households might easily develop nontraditional views of gender identity. Their research suggested that male children raised by single mothers are devoid of male gender identity development and may unconsciously develop female influenced gender traits. Similarly, Boothroyd and Cross (2017) and Keddie (2005) found that male adolescents who were reared in single-mother-headed households had a propensity to display more feminine attributes than their male peers who are reared in homes with father figures.

Hypermasculinity

While some African American, male adolescents battle challenges associated with gender identity formation and gender role development, others suppress their emotions and adopt hypermasculine personalities to compensate for fatherless households (Adler, 2009; Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Roberts-Douglass & Curtis-Boles, 2013; Underwood & Dailey, 2016). Research has illustrated that adolescent boys with a lack of father involvement have a higher likelihood of seeking out maleness through means associated with hypermasculinity (Bonnette, 2015). Hypermasculinity is an exaggeration of stereotypical male behaviors (Browning, 2013). As suggested by Archer (2010) and Tiusanen (2011) it is associated with antifemininity, strength, self-reliance, toughness, and a demand of respect from others.

With the absence of a father figure in the home, some male adolescents feel pressured to become the "man-of-the-house" (Davis, 2012; Roy et al., 2014). They incorporate clothes, walking style, speech, body language, physical toughness, and gang affiliation to promote images of masculinity (Bonnette, 2015; Browning, 2013; Taylor, 2009). Some African American male adolescents provide care for younger siblings and make financial contributions to the household, which empowers them to feel equivalent to their caregiver (Roy et al., 2014). This blurs the line that separates adolescent behavior from adultification and can permanently distort their view of maleness and diminish their vulnerabilities, sensitivities, and emotional availability (Roberts-Douglass & Curtis-Boles, 2013; Roy et al., 2014).

Nonresidential African American Fathers

The terms "African American father absence" and "nonresidential, African American father" can be deceptive, as the literature does not distinctively define their meanings (Boothroyd & Cross, 2017; Natalier & Hewitt, 2010; Ratele et al., 2012; Shenk et al., 2013). For instance, father absence can be the result of divorce, parental conflict, death, work, incarceration, or fathers who are physically present but emotionally unavailable (East et al., 2006; Lindberg et al., 2017; Modecki et al., 2015; Peyper et al., 2015; Willerton et al., 2011). Further, nonresidential fathers do not live in the same household with their children due to divorce or the nonmarital birth of a child (Carlson & Dermer, 2016; Elam et al., 2016; Julion et al., 2016). These terms are married to stereotypes that suggest single, African American, fathers play passive roles within the African American familial (Abel, 2012; Coles & Green, 2010; Leath, 2017).

Notwithstanding, the percentage of African American fathers are higher than any other ethnic group (Livingston, 2013). Unemployment, low wages, and personal resource deficiencies are factors that inhibit a father's time with his children, which negatively affect the quality of their father-child relationships (Caldwell et al., 2011; Goodman, 2018). Furthermore, African American males who grow up without their fathers, combined with cultural perceptions of fatherhood, face challenges with paternal readiness and self-efficacy (Adamsons, 2013; Brown et al., 2018; Furstenberg & Weiss, 2000). Parental conflicts (e.g., new relationship, new spouse, multiple child mothers, and name-calling "deadbeat dad") are additional layers that further disrupt interparental cooperation and often results in a decrease in consistent father involvement.

Despite the circumstances that obstruct positive father-son relationships for nonresidential fathers (Arditti et al., 2019; Julion et al., 2016), their involvement is necessary to the developmental health and the wellbeing of their children (Arditti et al., 2019; Fagan & Palkovitz, 2007; Jackson et al., 2015). African American fathers are more involved with their children when compared to fathers from other family groups (Bronte et al., 2010). Arditti et al. (2019) found that nonresidential fathers use various methods to help them parent and build healthy relationships with their children. The National Fatherhood Initiative and The President's National Fatherhood Initiative are both social service initiatives that combat father absenteeism and employ strategies to aid single fathers in becoming better parents (Weaver, 2012). In addition, fatherhood programs help fathers learn how to strengthen their fathering identities and increase father-son involvement (DeGarmo, 2010).

Familial also plays a part in helping fathers better their relationship with their sons. Cabrera and Tamis-LeMonda (2013) pointed to a study from 2008 to 2010 in which unmarried fathers experienced high levels of economic instability. Their struggle to be self-sufficient caused them to move in with their parents at two times the rate of unmarried mothers. Thus, intergenerational family homes became support systems by creating stable environments for child rearing and social and academic development (Chaney, 2014). Though intergenerational family support provides added layers of caregiving, they do not replace their sons' need for one-on-one father-son engagement (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013). East et al. (2006) pointed out that it is normal for nonresidential fathers to be physically absent from the lives of their children at times.

However, it is when sustained absence occur that their sons' developmental outcomes become significantly compromised (Caldwell et al., 2014; East et al., 2017; Gonzalez et al., 2014; McLanahan & Jencks, 2015; Sneed & Willis, 2016).

Single African American Custodial Fathers

Nonresidential, African American fathers have been the primary focus of much of the early literature concerning African American men. Presently, research is growing that confirms the existence of single, African American, custodial fathers (Boothroyd & Cross, 2017; East et al., 2006; Lindberg et al., 2017; Modecki et al., 2015; Natalier & Hewitt, 2010; Peyper et al., 2015; Ratele et al., 2012; Shenk et al., 2013; Willerton et al., 2011). However, relatively little research is available that has documented the experiences of these custodial fathers (Ayer et al., 2016; Bronte et al., 2010; Coles, 2001, 2009; Coles & Green, 2010; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019). This study identified single, custodial fathers as primary caregivers who were ever married, separated from a spouse, divorced, widowed, or cohabiting with a partner other than the mother of their child (Coles, 2015; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2017; McLanahan & Jencks, 2015).

For decades, researchers have expressed varied theories as to why single, African American parents struggled with cultivating positive developmental outcomes in their adolescent children (Christmon, 1990; Finigan-Carr et al., 2014; Jarrett, 1996; McLanahan & Jencks, 2015). Among the many criticisms, Moynihan (1965) addressed his concerns about the African American familial. Moynihan argued that their disjointedness was increasingly spiraling downward while European American family connectedness was steadily moving upwards. Further, it was believed that African

American fathers were physically, emotionally, and financially unreliable family members (Coles & Green, 2010). Likewise, McAdoo (1997) suggested that African Americans were underprivileged, social service dependent, and sexually uncontrollable fatherless people who live in poverty. Other findings have also noted how African American father shortcomings have been consequential to negative developmental outcomes of their children (Mandara & Murray, 2006; Mandara, et al., 2005).

However, Wharton (2015) highlighted that a socioeconomic race-gap exists between African American and European American fathers. African American men live in disadvantaged communities, work multiple jobs, face racial discrimination, social biases, prejudices, and experience negative law enforcement encounters at higher percentages than European American males (Hadden et al., 2016; Threlfall et al., 2013). Further, S. B. Cross et al. (2018) argued there is an inordinate amount of European American fathers in upper socio-economic classes, insulated from the negative experiences affecting African American fathers. They benefit from quality education and the highest income levels (Posey-Maddox, 2017; Roopnarine, 2015; Weitzer, 2017). These advantages reduce their levels of anxiety and socioeconomic disadvantages. It affords them the ability to rear their children within the mainstream culture that created many of the obstacles experienced by African American fathers (Risman et al., 2018; Roopnarine, 2015).

Notwithstanding, other researchers aspired to document experiences associated with single, African American, custodial fathers and the positive developmental outcomes of their sons (Brown et al., 2018; Coles & Green, 2010; Connor & White,

2011; Edin et al., 2009; Goodman, 2018; Krämer, 2016). Correlational research has established that African American fathers possess the competencies associated with personal development, behaviors associated with responsible adulthood, and the ability to execute positive child-raising approaches that disaffirm cultural stereotypes and earlier findings (Coles & Green, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Revell, 2015).

Additionally, single, African American, custodial fathers are not a new phenomenon. As early as 1880, documentation has supported the existence of this small, yet significant familial structure (Ruggles, 1994). More than 4% of African American children lived in father headed households. Though the percentage of children living with their custodial fathers has fluctuated throughout the past century, custodial father households continued to increase (Bronte et al., 2010; Coles & Green, 2010). Livingston (2013) pointed to a Pew Research Center Report that found single father households increased from 300,000 in 1960 to over 2.6 million in 2011. Currently, single, custodial fathers make up 8% of all single parent households in the United States (Ayer et al., 2016).

Single mother headed households remain the foremost family structure in the African American community. Still, both mothers and fathers have equally impactful parenting roles and responsibilities. Jeynes (2016) argued that although their impact may be equal it is not the same. A meta-data analysis comprised of 34 studies found father roles unique and distinguishable from mothers. They are associated with positive child behavioral and lifespan development. They transfer capital resources to their developing children through their historical, social, political, and economic experiences (Bucher,

2014; Edin et al., 2009; Goodman, 2018; Rothon et al., 2012). Their involvement has unlimited positive ramifications on child efficacy (Thomas, et al., 2008). Gordon et al. (2013) found that African American, male adolescents are likely to see their fathers as role models when he is an active parent, who is a contributor to their developmental wellbeing.

Summary and Conclusion

Included in this chapter was a synopsis of the history of the African American family. I illustrated that for early African Americans, the American experience was synonymous with the dismantling of their families. Slavery, Jim Crow laws, and discrimination had a traumatic effect on the African American familial. Single, African American mothers are the primary heads of household; however, single, African American father households are continuously emerging as a standard family structure.

The literature presented in this chapter argued that African American, custodial fathers are effective parents and produce favorable developmental outcomes in their sons. Fathers reported high levels of personal satisfaction raising their sons and are confident they did a good job parenting (Coles, 2001). However, literature does not exist to corroborate these findings from the perspective of males who grew up in these households. In fact, in a similar study, Richter and Lemola (2017) examined the life satisfaction of adult women reared in single mother-headed households. They found that women reported negative life satisfaction about education, social adaptation, socioeconomic status, romantic relationships, and living conditions. It is undetermined if

the data from the research is transferable, as both study group participants are not homogeneously equivalent (Willig & Rogers, 2017).

I have demonstrated that a gap existed in literature documenting the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. The results from this study are important because they can bring awareness of the phenomenon of growing up in these unique households. The usefulness of this study can aid social service departments, social science professionals, and educational institutions in implementing best practices for young African American males reared in this complex family structure.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the lived experiences of African American, adult men reared by single, African American, custodial fathers. African American males are raised by their mothers at far greater numbers than by their fathers (Brown et al., 2018; Doyle et al., 2016; Robinson & Werblow, 2013). Nonetheless, literature has documented the existence of single, African American, custodial fathers (Boothroyd & Cross, 2017; Coles & Green, 2010; Lindberg et al., 2017). Researchers have also illustrated a link between positive social and physical developmental outcomes in male adolescents and custodial fathers. Male adolescents in custodial, father homes fair better academically than males in father-absent homes and record lower rates of mental health issues (Brittian, 2012; Jaramillo et al., 2017). Through an examination of the literature, I noticed a gap in the literature that described the lived experiences of this homogeneous group. To better understand their experiences, I used a qualitative method to collect data directly from them.

Research Design and Rational

The research question for this study was:

What are the lived experiences of African American adult men reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers?

I closely considered other qualitative strategies to determine their appropriateness and compatibility for this study. For example, the narrative strategy was determined to be incompatible because it allows the participants and the researcher to collaborate to create a narrative-based result (see Creswell, 2014). Narrative strategies are used to honor the

lived experiences of an individual, individuals, culture, families, or societies that are considered important (Clandinin, 2016).

I also found case study strategies to be inappropriate for this study. Creswell (2013) described case studies as predetermined issues that are explored by examining one or more sources within a specific context. Case studies are not used when looking to understand the experiences of individuals.

According to Bryant and Charmaz (2010), grounded theory is the most universal qualitative inquiry strategy. One of the distinguishing characteristics of grounded theory is that it seeks to build a theory (Merriam, 2009). This design allows the researcher to conclude their research with a developed theory that was grounded in examining, comparing, and contrasting data (DePoy & Gitlin, 2013). Although grounded theory is flexible, it was not appropriate for this study because I did not intend to build a theory; instead, I intended to understand lived experiences.

Lastly, ethnography is a strategy that is used to study a human society and cultural groups (Creswell, 2014; DePoy & Gitlin, 2013). DePoy and Gitlin (2013) suggested that to thoroughly conduct an ethnographical study, the researcher would have to spend time with the studied population for themes to emerge and to achieve data saturation. This inquiry strategy has certain attributes that were in alignment with the current study. For instance, the ability to study a homogeneous group was at the root of this study. However, ethnography also focuses on patterns that are associated with a specific culture or homogeneous group (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015). This definition caused it to be not

suitable for this study because I focused on the individual experiences of a homogeneous group.

I employed a qualitative interpretive phenomenological approach to understand the experiences of African American, adult men raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Qualitative research methodologies are inquiries that are usually used to explore, apprehend, and report a phenomenon that occurs within the lived experiences of a homogenous group (Creswell, 2014; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). I found that implementing a qualitative interpretive phenomenological design was the most appropriate method for interpreting the impact custodial fathers had on the social and personal developmental outcomes of their sons (see Kowlessar et al., 2015; Roller & Lavrakas, 2015).

Qualitative strategies were designed to bridge the gap that existed between quantitative research and psychology (Creswell, 2014; Williams, 2019). A phenomenological strategy expects that participants will have diverse lived experiences; however, there is also expectancy that patterns and similarities will be shared through certain lived experiences (Creswell, 2011). Creswell (2011) and Roller and Lavrakas (2015) submitted that qualitative observations are a part of the human lived experience. When individuals exchange information, that information is subject to an interpretive process. For example, the communicator expects the receiver to discern the context of that communication and be able to interpret it appropriately; however, an accurate interpretation cannot be guaranteed. To meet this challenge, insightfulness in qualitative research causes the researcher to go beyond basic assumptions and

conclusions (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015). Creswell and Roller and Lavrakas also noted that qualitative research is complex. Notwithstanding, it is the researcher's act of methodically identifying and assembling contextually consistent material that is collected by engaging with research participants to ensure truthfulness.

Quantitative methodologies, among other purposes, are used for surveys and experiments (Creswell, 2014). They are used to point out existing relationships between variables without explaining why those relationships exist (Williams, 2019). However, qualitative methodologies allow researchers to explore the reason for a correlation between two variables and interpret why it exists (Williams, 2019). Conversely, qualitative research requires the use of in-depth interviews and open-ended questions (Willig, 2013). The qualitative method allows for the emergence of specific themes that affected the participants' developmental outcomes, which strengthens the researcher's interpretive abilities (Augustin & Coleman, 2012; Willig, 2013). Another strength of qualitative research is the researcher's ability to purposefully select participants (Creswell, 2014). The participants are salient because the aim of qualitative research is to understand experiences of a specific nature. Participants are not random and should be the primary source of the investigating experience.

German philosopher, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938; Bailey, 2014) is credited with the founding principles of modern IPA (Smith et al., 2009), however Frank Brentano (1838-1917; Spiegeberg, 2013) and Gabriel Marcel (1889-1974; Spiegeberg, 2013) were notable peers from Germany and France, respectively. Interpretive phenomenology is a process that combines hermeneutics and idiography (Miller et al., 2018; Smith et al.,

2009). It empowers the researcher to understand and interpret the meaning of the experiences lived by research participants. Furthermore, it identifies unique experiences that connect homogeneous groups (Willig & Rogers, 2017). For example, this study used IPA to identify unique experiences of African American, adult men who were raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers. The findings from this study disclosed experiences that were previously undisclosed to researchers (see Smith & Osborn, 2015; Vagle, 2016).

Research using a phenomenological approach involves a small group of participants compared to quantitative research; however, the inquiry is equally as thorough and can be extensive (Creswell, 2014). Moreover, researchers must be aware of how the participants' cultural and societal experiences need to be incorporated as a part of their research design framework. I was expected to set aside any knowledge or biases about the research topic because focus had to remain on the study participants to ensure that the data reflected qualitative validity and true, lived experiences (see Creswell, 2014; Smith et al., 2009).

Role of the Researcher

In IPA, the role of the researcher is to intensify the lived experiences of the research participants (Alase, 2017). Researchers also collect qualitative data and are the primary instrument for analyzing the collected data in IPA (Tufford & Newman, 2012). For this study, the collected data were the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. The data collection process was systematic and detailed (see Creswell, 2014). I was responsible for

using in-depth interviews and open-ended questions to gain knowledge of the

phenomenon and efficiently analyze and interpret its data (see Willig, 2013).

Furthermore, the role of the researcher was to make sure the participants felt comfortable

sharing their lived experiences without prejudgments or frustration on behalf of the

researcher (see Alase, 2017).

I used an audio-recording device (e.g., cell phone, computer, digital platforms, or

voice transcriber), attentive listening, and note taking as data collection strategies. The

data were not altered or changed in any way by me. The role of the researcher was to

allow the participants to control the tempo and direction of the interview and not ask

leading questions. I was sensitive and attentive to the participants and treated them all

equally and respectfully.

The researcher is responsible for being aware of any biases that may affect the

research results (Creswell, 2014). Tufford and Newman (2012) found that researchers

often conduct research on topics they have a personal interest in or are familiar with. As

data are collected, researchers can become overwhelmed with various emotions and/or

experience distress, which can compromise the research project; therefore, bracketing is

used to mitigate researcher attachment, prejudices, or assumptions (Tufford & Newman,

2012). Creswell (2014) recommended that researchers make their biases known early in

the research process so that their positions are known to the readers.

I am an African American male. Prior to marriage, I was a single, custodial father

raising a son. The inspiration for conducting this study was a result of my experiences. I

was aware that potential reflective moments and connections to the participants could

occur; however, I was determined to remain professional throughout the research project. It was my duty to identify areas of bias and presuppositions, so I used bracketing to guarantee the research was conducted with integrity and trustworthiness.

Methodology

I conducted a qualitative interpretive phenomenological study to understand the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers.

Participant Selection Logic

According to Creswell (2014), participant selection should be purposeful and relevant. For example, the participants in this study were African American, adult men who were raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Marshall et al. (2013) discussed that sample size often varies in qualitative inquiries. They argued that interview quality, the number of interviews for each participant, procedures, and researcher experience affects saturation. I interviewed five participants in depth so that the participants could control the richness of the data collected (see Alase, 2017; Creswell, 2013).

Participant Identification

The selected participants for this study were adult, African American men who were raised by their single, custodial, African American fathers. Participants had to be at least 18 years old. African American men not raised by single, African American, custodial fathers were excluded as were African American men who lived parttime with their mothers. Single, African American, custodial father households are a small

percentage of U.S. households (5%; Ayer et al., 2016); thus, finding research candidates proved to be challenging. Therefore, I planned to use electronic and digital platforms (e.g., Zoom, Google Hangouts, Google Meets, Google Duo, FaceTime, Facebook, online surveys, snowballing, and cell phone calls) to identify, contact, and recruit participants.

Instrumentation

Interviews are a critical part of IPA because they help to substantiate the phenomenon or the essence of the lived experiences of the participants (Englander, 2012). Interviews allow researchers to methodically analyze the data and interpret it descriptively for the purpose of understanding the meaning of the participants' lived experiences. IPA researchers have typically used face-to-face interviewing as a data collection method; however, due to the health and safety concerns regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, I asked permission to conduct electronic and social media platform interviews (e.g., Walden University Participant Pool. Zoom, Google Hangouts, Google Meets, Google Duo, FaceTime, Facebook, and cell phone) as a health and wellness precaution when necessary.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

One of the procedures for identifying participants was an online flyer. The purpose was to draw attention to the study of African American, adult men who were raised by single, African American fathers. The flyer gave a description of the nature of the study and its implications. If the targeted number of interests was not reached using online flyers, I planned to use physical fliers. Another planned strategy for recruitment was to contact organizations (e.g., fraternities, churches, mosques) through telephone

calls or emails to request assistance in identifying the targeted population. As candidates were identified, I contacted them via email or through social media to confirm their interest and decide if they were purposeful participants. Once participants were selected, they received a consent form by email. They first had to respond, "I consent." Afterwards, they received a follow-up email with the interview questions and date and time options for conducting the interviews.

I used a semistructured interview strategy as the method for data collection. Semistructured interviews allowed the researcher to prepare questions prior to an interview (Creswell, 2013). All participants were asked the same interview questions. The questions were open and flexible, so they did not restrict the participants from freely expressing their experiences. Semistructured interviews also allowed me to further explore the responses provided by the participants. The duration of the interviews was set to be between 60 and 90 minutes (see Alase, 2017). The online platform was a contemporary, safe, and effective way to conduct interviews and capture data (see Alase, 2017; Speziale et al., 2011). It was critical that digitally collected data were stored in a location that was secure and only accessible by the researcher (see Alase, 2017; Creswell, 2013; Speziale et al., 2011). After each interview, individual transcripts were sent to the corresponding participant to confirm truthfulness. I discussed any changes or alterations with the participant to protect the accuracy and integrity of the study.

Data Analysis Plan

Data were collected by using semistructured interviews. Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously, with a focus on collecting, coding, and

categorizing (Anyan, 2013). The data analysis software NVivo was not used to help in coding the data (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). The interviews were recorded on an audio device and transcribed verbatim using Microsoft Word. I listened to the recorded interviews to confirm they were accurately transcribed. The data were organized by the participants' selection number and the date and time of the interview. I read each interview multiple times to identify words and phrases that were thematic. Furthermore, I coded the data into related categories based upon their concepts and themes. Similar keywords and/or phrases that existed between participants were aggregated. Subgrouping of codes were used when applicable. During the data refinement process, thematic analysis aided in identifying core themes. Core themes were coded. Audio recordings were securely stored away once the transcription was completed (Alase, 2017). Lastly, any firsthand experiences I have with the research phenomenon were disclosed early to avoid influencing and/or tainting the participants' experiences with those of the researcher (Alase, 2017; Creswell, 2013).

Issues of Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers disclose experiences lived by individuals that are not quantifiable. They collect their participants' experiences and convert them into data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). They are responsible for systematically working through a checklist to guarantee that their research is reliable. Guba (1981) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) are credited with outlining the four criteria necessary to have trustworthiness in qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Trustworthiness was the researcher's level of confidence that effective methods in data

collection, analysis, coding and interpretation were used (Pilot & Beck, 2014). The

criteria serve as tools to ensure that data collection and processing was completed with

accuracy and met the standards associated with credible qualitative research (Alase,

2017).

Credibility

The goal in qualitative research is for readers to believe that a study is credible

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Further, the researcher must be confident that the collected data

are a truthful representation of the participants' experiences. Therefore, for a qualitative

study to have credibility, it is important that the researcher use procedures that are

consistent with their inquiry strategy (Pilot & Beck, 2014). For instance, an IPA study

should meet the same criteria as earlier studies of the same nature. If a deviation for

standard procedures occurs, an explanation should be given to justify the deviation

(Connelly, 2016). In this study, the participants were encouraged to read all transcripts to

confirm accuracy and truthfulness (Pilot & Beck, 2014). Credibility can also be achieved

through triangulation. Triangulation is a procedure in which the same questions are asked

to participants of different studies to compare data results, which was used in this study.

Transferability

One of the purposes of qualitative research is to find a gap in literature. However,

data results and findings should be useful or transferable to readers in different settings

and different contexts (Connelly, 2016). The interpretation process does not guarantee

that the research will align perfectly with other similar studies; yet they should be

generally applicable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that if two contexts are similar,

they should share similar truths. However, transferability is subject to external validation (Pilot & Beck, 2014). I established transferability in this study by offering a detailed explanation of data using the voices and experiences of participants, which could be relevant to other readers in a different setting.

Dependability

Dependability is confidence that the findings can be replicated with the same or different participants (Pilot & Beck, 2014). Data results must be able to remain stable through the course of time (Connelly, 2016). The researcher should be able to present a concise argument about collecting data. Furthermore, researchers should use triangulation, by using various sources, methods, investigators, and theories for the purpose of analyzing their work from different perspectives (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Ravitch & Carl, 2016). If the research findings are not dependable then the study is not credible (Pilot & Beck, 2014). I developed topics by comparing the perspectives of the participants.

Confirmability

Confirmability is the agreement of two or more independent individuals who agree that the collected data is correct (Pilot & Beck, 2014). It confirms that the collected data was provided by the participants. Additionally, confirmability assures the researcher that the findings can be repeated (Connelly, 2016). I kept memos and notes concerning data collection and analyses in the event their research conclusions are examined by others (Connelly, 2016).

Ethical Procedures

Before data collection can begin, the study and the data collection had to be approved by the Walden Institutional Review Board (IRB). This was to ensure that ethical standards and practices are followed. The participants consented prior to them taking part in this study. They were made aware that they are voluntary participants in the study (Burkholder et al., 2016). They were also aware that they have the right to end their participation at any time. Once the study was approved by the IRB, I ethically had to securely store all data in a safe location. Collected data were transferred from a password protected computer and stored on a flash drive that was locked in my home office filing cabinet. I was responsible for keeping the participants' confidentiality and/or anonymity. Therefore, participants were identified by a participant number to protect their names and their identities. As required by Walden University, data must be securely kept by the research for a period of 5 years before it can be destroyed. Participants were made aware that participation in the study could produce personal and emotional discomfort. It is the responsibility of the researcher to end any interview in which participants appear to experience discomfort or distress. Finally, I gave the participants contact information for free counseling and helpline support services, had they needed them (see Appendix A).

<div align="center">

Summary

</div>

The purpose of this qualitative study was to understand the lived experiences of African American, adult men reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. A sample of five were recruited for this study. Participants had to be 18 or older to take part. The methodology used was IPA. The participants were informed that

participation in this study was voluntary. I used semistructured interviews. The data were

collected using a digital device and analyzed using Microsoft Word. In Chapter 4, I

discuss the data collection process, data analysis, and the findings.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this study was to examine the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. This phenomenon was investigated using the IPA. The research question that guided this study was: What are the lived experiences of African American, adult men reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers?

In this chapter, I provide a full explanation of the research environment; participant demographics; participant recruiting methods; and data collection, instrumentation, and data analysis protocols. In addition, I discuss trends that emerged during data analysis as well as commonly used terms and topics that were shared by all the participants. Finally, the chapter contains proof of the study's reliability as well as a discussion of the findings and a summary.

Setting

There were no personal or organizational factors that altered participants' experiences or the interpretation of the data during the time of the study. However, in March of 2020, the World Health Organization declared COVID-19 a global pandemic (Cucinotta & Vanelli, 2020). As to protect against potential viral exposure, I conducted all interviews virtually. I was granted approval by the Walden University IRB to conduct this study (Approval No. 12-16-20-0666448). The Walden University Participant Pool was used as a recruitment technique; however, no candidates came forth from the pool who met the required criteria. I found all the participants on the social media platforms of Facebook and LinkedIn. Each participant selected a day and time to be interviewed that

was conducive to their schedules. The Zoom audio and video conferencing application was used to capture the audio-only data. All interviews were conducted between December 2020 and March 2021.

Demographics

For this study, five volunteers were interviewed. All the participants met the criteria listed on the recruitment flyer. The inclusion criteria stated participants must be African American, male adults (over the age of 18) who were raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Each participant confirmed their age prior to their recorded interview. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 66 years old at the time of the interview.

Data Collection

Number of Participants

My goal was to collect data from 5 to 10 participants. Initially, eight candidates who met the criteria listed on the recruitment flyer showed interest in participating in the study; however, only five candidates responded to the emailed invitation/consent form. Each candidate agreed to participate in an independent recorded interview. Their data were captured using my personal Zoom account.

Data Collection Instrument, Location, Frequency, and Duration

The data collection process began with the public sharing of the recruitment flyer on the Walden University Participant Pool page and my personal Facebook and LinkedIn pages. The candidates would initiate contact by using my information provided on the recruitment flyer. I responded with the invitation/consent form within 24 hours of being

contacted by a candidate. Candidates had to respond to me by email with the words, "I consent," to participate in the study. I then sent a follow-up email to each participant thanking them for volunteering and requesting a date and time for them to be interviewed. Each participant selected a date and time that was convenient for them.

Prior to recording each interview, I verbally confirmed each participant met the criteria listed on both the recruitment flyer and the invitation/consent form (see Appendices A and B). They were also reminded that their identities would remain confidential and participation in the study was strictly voluntary as well as that they were able to stop the interviews at any time. Each participant was interviewed once. The invitation/consent form noted that the duration of an interview could last from 60 to 90 minutes. However, the interview duration varied between participants. The average duration of the interviews was 51 minutes. Four of the interviews were less than 60 minutes and one lasted 120 minutes.

The participants were interviewed from their home states (i.e., California, Georgia, New Jersey, Ohio, and the state of Washington). I conducted all interviews from my private home office in Georgia. The semistructured interviews were guided by 10 in-depth, open-ended questions

Variations in Data Collection

There were a few variations in data collection from the plan I presented in Chapter 3. For instance, due to social distancing recommendations because of the COVID-19 pandemic, no physical recruitment flyers were distributed. I intended to seek assistance from fraternal organizations, churches, and mosques with recruitment and

identifying potential candidates; however, there were COVID-19 local governmental

social distancing restrictions that prevented the use of those strategies, so I opted not to

include any other partner organizations in this study. Google Hangouts, Google Meets,

Google Duo, FaceTime, and Facebook were not used as electronic platforms for

interviewing as previously proposed. The Zoom application (which was downloaded on

my computer), and my cell phone were the two devices used for audio data collection.

There were not any unusual circumstances encountered during the data collection

process.

Data Analysis

To analyze the collected data, I used the qualitative IPA model outlined in

Chapter 3 (see Alase, 2017). The focus of the data analysis was to understand the

participants' lived experiences. I began by bracketing my biases to keep professional

distance with the participants and their data and to minimize any assumptions (see

Tufford & Newman, 2012). The participants were fully engaged in the interview and no

distractions or interruptions were observed. The participants were also asked

subquestions to gain a deeper explanation of their experiences (see Alase, 2017).

After each interview was completed, I immediately began analyzing the data and

generated a word-for-word transcription from Zoom to Microsoft Word using the

Microsoft Word transcribe feature. It was necessary for me to listen to each interview

multiple times during the transcription process for clarity, to ensure accuracy of

transcription, and to become familiar with the data. I initially planned to use NVivo to aid

with qualitative coding and thematic analysis; however, I decided to use Microsoft Word

after reviewing multiple videos highlighting its ease of use and functionality and because it was comparable to NVivo for data organization, qualitative coding, and thematic analysis.

I created a Microsoft Word document for each interview and identified it by participant number and date of the interview. The documents included a two-column table in which the transcribed data were inserted into the left-hand column and code words were inserted into the right-hand column. I coded each sentence and/or collection of sentences with a summary of a few words. Some of the coded categories that emerged included:

- mom did not protest father having custody,

- lived with extended family,

- parents separated,

- dad provided a stable home,

- felt abandoned by mom,

- underperformed in school,

- dad worked long hours,

- dad wanted him to be better than average,

- father-son relationship broke down (negative case),

- left dad because things were not good (negative case), and

- did not feel love from dad (negative case).

The purpose of using this coding technique was to minimize my assumptions and increase the validity of the findings. Additionally, coding the participant responses aided

me in identifying statements that were and were not relevant to the study. Afterward, I created a Microsoft Word document with five columns and placed all the codes from each interview in their respective columns (1 through 5). The purpose of this step was to organize and unify code words. Color coding was used to analyze the phrases that connected the participants' experiences. After the codes were analyzed, three major themes emerged: (a) the role of a father, (b) mother absence, and (c) support system (see Table 1).

Although most of the data collected agreed, the data collected and analyzed from Participant 3 were starkly in contrast to the other participants. As a result, I had to account for this negative case and adjust the theory that was being developed (see Allen, 2017). Negative case analysis is an approach used to improve and strengthen the accuracy of a researcher's concluding findings (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). The negative case is further discussed in the Results section and Chapter 5.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that readers help determine the credibility of a study; therefore, it is the role of the researcher to meet the rigors necessary to ensure that its credibility is reached. To meet those rigors, I recruited and interviewed volunteers who satisfied the inclusion criteria for this study. Researcher reflexivity was salient because I am an African American male and a once-single father who related to the experiences shared by the participants. I applied bracketing to identify personal biases that needed to be managed during data collection and analysis. The data collection

process was documented, I provided an audit trail to confirm transparency, and the

member-checking process was employed to allow the participants to review their

collected data to confirm its accuracy.

Transferability

Transferability occurs when the findings from a study apply to other studies with

similar populations and/or different settings and contexts (Connelly, 2016). For this

study, I provided a focused and purposeful detailed description of the lived experiences

of each participant. Furthermore, participant quote's themes, and subthemes were

presented in the study to ensure its credibility and transferability. Taking these steps

allows for the reader to determine if the findings of this study are transferable to their

individual experiences (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability

I am confident that the findings of this study are dependable because of the use of

an audit trail. For the audit trail, I incorporated the following: a digital flyer and

invitation/consent form; in-depth interview questions; audio recordings of the interviews;

line-by-line transcriptions; and the development of codes, themes, and subthemes. Each

were used to aid me in analyzing the data from different perspectives (see Lincoln &

Guba, 1985; Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The audit trail provided transparency and

corroborated that each step was completed. Furthermore, it supports that the study is

credible and that the results are dependable (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Confirmability

To achieve confirmability, I used member checking to provide confirmation that the collected data were provided by the participants and were a truthful representation of their interviews and lived experiences (see Pilot & Beck, 2014). Moreover, I maintained all audio-recorded interviews, transcriptions, and notes that were developed during data collection and data analysis. If required, these documents can be examined by others to confirm their authenticity (see Connelly, 2016). Lastly, through careful examination of the data, I determined that the findings are true and can be duplicated.

Results

In semistructureds interviews, five participants recounted their experiences growing up with their fathers as their primary caregivers. The themes and subthemes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Themes and Subthemes by Participants

Themes/Subthemes	Participant 1	Participant 2	Participant 3	Participant 4	Participant 5
Role of the father	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Encouragement		✓	✓	✓	✓
Father's footsteps	✓	✓		✓	✓
Nurturer and provider	✓	✓		✓	✓
Spending quality time	✓	✓		✓	✓
Mother's absence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Death			✓		✓
Economic instability				✓	
Chose to live with father	✓				
Mental illness		✓			
Support systems	✓	✓	✓		

Role of the Father

Tamis-LeMonda and Cabrera (2013) and Lamb (2003) argued that there is a correlation between positive child development and a father who is engaged, available, responsible, protective, and provides paternal discipline. For example, a child experiences engagement from their father through caregiving and spending time together. Availability is when a father manages his schedule to include time for his child. A responsible father is one who will meet the economic and social needs of his child, while a protective father will provide a safe environment and discipline refers to an environment that has structure and order.

The experiences of four of the participants are reflective of the findings of Tamis-LeMonda and Cabrera (2013) and Lamb (2003). These participants described their fathers as important and beneficial to their childhood development. For instance, Participant 4 said,

> He would look after me and he took care of me and showed me different things I should know at different ages…. I was thankful for that …the way he took care of me and stuff. Cause some... some people don't even have fathers.

Participant 2 described his father as being "very attentive" during his childhood. Participants 1, 2, and 3 reported that their fathers provided "stable" environments for them when they were growing up. Participant 1 said "We grew up on the family farm and it was actually, it was stable." Participant 2 said, "When I would go with him [his father], it was, you know, way more stable." He further described his father as a protector from his mother, who suffered with mental illness. He said:

I'm glad she didn't kill me; you know what I mean? Um… she had guns and things like that. So... there were a lot of close calls. We were always waiting till Friday... you know... for him to pick us up...you know? So... he was like a hero for my brother and myself. I am lucky to feel blessed… you know.... that... that I had my dad. Without my dad...I… you know... I wouldn't…I don't think I'd be here; put it that way.

Participant 4 said that his father would at times yell at him as a form of discipline. However, he now attributes it to a form of "support." Participant 5 said:

My father was the kind of man where he had strong moral convictions. I could not tell him no. So…he was a strict disciplinarian. He was a straightforward kind of man that said what he meant. He would tell you to do something once…maybe twice; maybe. But he did not have a problem with checking you.

The experiences of Participant 3, however, were significantly different from the other participants. He described the few years he lived fulltime with his father as: a relationship that "went down the drain." He is originally from Liberia. His father moved to America in search of employment and left him and his siblings in Liberia with family members and friends. He said, "My dad left us… and that was the last time I saw him… and this was back in the 80s!" During that time, Participant 3 shared that it was very difficult living without his father for so many years. He said,

I also live with my uncles you know. Things were tough. So, every time I would call my dad I would say: hey man… you know things are getting hard. When are you gonna come and get us…because it's very hard?

He recalled seeing his father again for the first time. He said,

> Eventually he came for us… you know, and this was back in April of '98. That was the first time when he left us in Liberia that I saw my dad. I was 16. The first time I saw him was at the airport. I didn't recognize him to be honest with you because it's been so long.

He further shared his experiences living with his father in the United States. He explained:

> Things, you know, started going back to normal. But it wasn't really like when he was in Liberia with us before he left… it wasn't like that. It took me some time, me, and my brothers… it took us some time to actually get used to him…because we hadn't seen him in a long time, you know? The first and second year...things were okay, and then the third year...things just went down the drain. Because he was gone for a long time, that father's love wasn't there anymore, you know? It was at that point when I started feeling like he didn't care about us anymore; me and my brothers. I was like, I…I can't be here and not get the love that I need from my father; you know?

He said, "I had to seek that Father figure from somewhere else." He further shared that his mother would have helped him become the man he "wanted to be." He said:

> You know mothers are different from fathers, you know that? I needed a mother to be there for me to make sure that…you know, I grew up like the man that I wanted to be. I was missing that with her not being around. It was really, really tough. And I remember a few times I had to…you know, cry a few times because

my mother wasn't around because of what I was going through. She wasn't around to kind of help me to get out of it. My mother would have changed a lot of things you know. She would have made sure that all the things that happened living with my dad would have never happened.

Encouragement

Four of the participants reported that through either words or actions their fathers motivated them to overcome adversities. Participant 2 discussed how his father encouraged him when he was torn between going out of state to college or staying in state to go to school and be close to his mother, who was facing a prison sentence. He stated:

> After high school I got into Morehouse, and I got into USC here in LA… and my mom had actually just been arrested again. And… this time… she was going to get sent up the river… it wasn't gonna be like a bump in the county. It was going to be like…state prison. And I remember… after my high school graduation…which… I don't think she even came to my high school graduation… I remember being in my room crying and my dad walked in… he's like… what's wrong? And I said… how the hell can I go to Morehouse if I got my mom here going to prison… I can't leave California. I can't… And I remember he said: man… what the hell are you talking about? You are going to pack your shit up and you're going to Morehouse. You're going to have…the time of your life. And I'll never forget… he said… if she dies, she dies. And I was just like, wow! At the time, at that moment, I thought that was very harsh for me… because I felt responsible for her… and that was a major feeling. So, I was sitting here…you

know; how am I gonna fix this? And he was like… you're going to get on a plane and you're not going to worry about it…. I went to college, and the entire time in college she was in jail. She was in prison, and nobody knew that… Like, none of my friends in college knew. But… having a dad say…that was okay…if he wasn't there, I would have probably not… first of all… I wouldn't been going to college.

Participant 4 said that there was a time when he was "not the best" student academically. He stated that he used both of his parents as excuses to perform poorly in school. However, he shared how his father encouraged him to get on track and become "an excellent student." He said:

I was an average student… I was thinking… I don't care about school. I kept blaming it on my mom, and sometimes I blamed it on my dad. But it was a time my dad got on to me about it, encouraging me to be an excellent student. And I would get rewards also with sports. So, I decided to get them up [his grades] … I felt like I got better academically.

Participant 5 voiced that his poor decision-making began soon after his mother had passed away. "I started using [narcotics] when I was maybe 13… Because I was in so much pain; I was in so much spiritual pain that you know my mom wasn't here." He shared that not long afterwards, he was convicted of a serious crime and was incarcerated for 3 ½ years. Yet, despite the decisions that led to his drug use and his incarceration, he reported that his father stood by his side through his challenges. He highlighted that his

father encouraged him to look forward and finish school, and not repeat the missteps of his past. He said:

> I remember when I did fall, and I did go to prison… my father was…the first person to come and see me… He was willing to walk with me through the good times, and the bad times. I remember him saying that your education would be the key to you making it and not making it. My father, he was an academic; and I always wanted to please my father. And when I was down there these 3 ½ years, I went back to school. I got my GED. I went to college. I graduated from college. I got clean… I stopped using drugs you know in 1988, and I've been clean. This July will be 33 years… He never gave up on his son and he always tried to talk to me. Not in a condescending or browbeating kind of way, but trying to reason with me… My father got to see me clean from all narcotics… he died just…a couple of days before my 11th anniversary. So, he got to see me clean for 10 years. And he was so proud of me. He was so proud of me, and I was proud of him for sticking with me and not leaving me because I had made some poor choices. My father said…you only look back if you want to go back, so don't look backwards. When I came home, I had a job, $5,000 cash, and I had a college education. And I never looked back.

Participant 3 stated that his father was "around" but he was "absent" from his life during the time they lived together. He described it as a "bittersweet situation" and discussed how he was motivated by the lack of support from his father. He expressed that it helped him affirm his manhood, build resilience, and find his independence in society.

Well, you know, like I didn't live with my father for a long time. But the short time I lived with him…living with him helped me to understand that I'm a man. Like I'm a man, and I can do anything that I set my mind to; with or without anybody. You know, thinking that because my father was absent, right? Because… he wasn't…um… well… it's like he was there… but he wasn't there…basically. Because I felt like he wasn't around, eventually, I had to do things on my own and I had to do it really fast. I had to learn really, really fast because there was nobody…you know around to help me. Even though my father was around…he wasn't there. So, that helped me to kind of…you know learn this system; figure things out myself. Because when I first came, I didn't know the American system. So, I had to learn really fast to get acclimated with the American system. And let's say if I had that, let's say if I had a…you know, I had the father that was there…that was there for me, I wouldn't have gone to the extent of trying to learn the system. So, it was kind of like a bittersweet situation...you know, and I'm glad that happened to help me grow up fast as a man; to learn how growing up...you know, and being a man feels like and the things that you have to go through…to grow up to be a man… I would love for my father to be around and to help me. But because he wasn't around, I had to just not depend on him, and…you know, do things my way or do things on my own and make it.

Father's Footsteps

Vondracek et al. (2019) found that adult children regularly follow in their parents' footsteps when they experienced healthy and quality parent-child relationships. They more easily see their fathers as role models and are often beneficiaries of transferable intergenerational capital resources (Bucher, 2014; Edin et al., 2009; Goodman, 2018; Rothon et al., 2012). Four of the participants shared that they followed in their fathers' footsteps in their life and/or career decision making.

Participant 1 shared that he was inspired to choose a career in the military because his father had a career in military service. He stated, "You know, um… you know my dad influenced me to go into the military. I went in under President Bush. I came out just as President Obama was leaving office..." Participant 2 said that his father is his "hero" and his "role model." Additionally, he noted that both he and his father are attorneys. "Uh… you know, he… he exposed us to a lot. My dad is a lawyer too…." Participant 4 reported that he tries to model his father's behavior. He discussed how he "picked up some traits" from his father while also being challenged to be "better than average." He said,

> He always wants me to be better than average, and I'm glad I picked, picked up
> some traits from him. And, like... he's eye open to the world...like, he could see it
> a lot... like what goes around him. So, he tells me like what to do, cause he
> already seen it before.

Participant 5 recalled that he learned how to treat his wife by watching his father interact with his mother before she passed away. He shared:

It was important that, for my own masculinity, based on my father's impact was

you know... how to treat my wife and looking at him and how he treated my

mother. When mom died, we asked him, [we] said dad... you know, why don't

you just get another wife? And he said... I had one wife... that's it.

Provider and Nurturer

In the traditional patriarchal nuclear family structure, the father was the primary

breadwinner while the mother was the homemaker and cared for the children (Gerstel,

2011; St. Vil et al., 2019). However, in a single parent household, the custodial parent has

the responsibility of meeting all the needs of his children. Although 3 out of 5participants

stated that their fathers spent a lot of hours at work, 4 out of 5 reported that their fathers

did an excellent job being both providers and nurturers. Participant 1 said:

Um...most of the time my dad worked. So, we...stayed at my grandmother's

house. He knew that he had to work and…he knew that he had to provide; and he

emphasized providing. Our dad worked… he worked all his life… sacrificed and

did stuff to make sure that we're okay. He made it do whatever he had to do to

provide for his family, whether it was financially or whatever it was.

He also said: "I felt for me being the youngest he actually tried to take time out for me. It

was somewhat nurturing." Participant 2 said:

I would say...my dad was… you know he was dad and mom. It was like he would

work hard and things like that, but he would get up and make us breakfast...you

know? And kind of like... tuck us in and say our prayers with us; you know? So,

he did a lot of things that moms would have to do. Other than having to work, he

threw his life into taking care of us…which he did.

Participant 4 described his father as being "supportive" and said, "That's all I could ask

for… he was being supportive in ways that I didn't even know." Participant 5 shared that

his father became a single parent when his mother passed away. He said:

He wore a lot of hats. So once my mom passed, and my father became our

primary parent...he was one of the only fathers in the entire neighborhood that

was raising his children. It's 10 of us, and I'm number four. So, I had six under

me. My youngest sister was 1 year old when mom passed; 1 year old. And talk

about a family needing a strong presence; because it would have been too easy for

it to fall apart, it was too many of us. He had a lot more work hours. He...uh...he

was a creature of habit. He would always do the same routine: come in from

work, he'd get his food, he would go to the bathroom, he'd come back, he'd

checked on everybody in the house; that was it! I was the recipient of his giving,

his working and providing for us, putting food on the table, having a stable

environment for us to live there; um...clothing.

He further shared that his father was particularly tough on him, and he felt that his father

did not love him.

I thought he didn't love me. And it wasn't until I became an adult that I got up the

courage to ask him, like... what was that all about? And he did like he always did,

he paused for a minute...and he thought...and he said: I don't know. He just knew

that I was different.

Participant 3 discussed that his father put all his energy into working. He said his father believed he was supposed to "take advantage of the opportunities here in America. So, you need to work." He stated, "with my dad it was just always work, work, work…." Furthermore, he reported that he felt his father did not have the wherewithal to be loving. He said he could not remember the last time his father told him that he loved him. He shared:

> With my dad it was crazy...because, you know... it was really tough...because my dad had to be a mother and a dad at the same time. My mother wasn't around to do the things that mothers do, so he had to do both, and I think it was overwhelming for him and he just couldn't take it. But to be honest with you, my dad wasn't um...my dad is not a bad person, but as a parent, he wasn't...he wasn't good with kids I should say. He was not good with kids. You know...he didn't um...he didn't have that...that...I don't know... that feeling of love for kids. You know the love between the father and the kids? He didn't have that. You know the way that I expected my dad would love me and my siblings? It wasn't there. He didn't know how to deal with kids, and how to love kids, and how to raise kids. I don't even remember the last time my dad said I love you to me, or my siblings. I don't remember.

Spending Quality Time

A healthy parent-child relationship is important for the child to have positive developmental outcomes (Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 2013). However, Bronfenbrenner (2001) argued that the quality and quantity of proximal processes between a parent and

child, in addition to other healthy relationship practices, increases his positive childhood development. Participants 1, 2, 4, and 5 reported having a healthy father-son relationship. Each correlated positive childhood experiences with quality time spent with their fathers. Only Participant 3 did not mention spending time with his father during his interview. The participants associated spending time with outdoor activities, traveling, and moving to new communities.

Participant 1 expressed that he had a "good" childhood, as he reflected on his experiences living in both the city and the country with his father. He said, "We had a really good, pretty decent childhood… I've learned living in the country versus living in the city. I've got to experience both sides of it." Participant 2 shared that he was grateful that he and his father spent time together outdoors. He reported:

> What I just appreciated was that we didn't sit around. We'd go fishing, we'd go on the boat, we'd go hiking, we'd go to the Sierras... With my dad it was like...you know...we were doing completely different things. We would travel to Europe... all over the United States. We go see family in Texas and Miami.

> Participant 5 reported similar experiences. He stated:

> I learned a lot from him. He taught me how to fish. I remember one time we went hunting. Uh...we traveled. He was...he was a truckdriver, so he would take my brother and I with him on some of his routes. And I remember one time going to Staten Island on the ferry, and I've never been out of the town I lived in, and you know...the world started to open up for me.

Participant 4 described his childhood as "great". He said,

…my childhood was great…. because I got to meet new people, like, I would go to a lot of different schools because we had...we had moved a lot. So, the people that I met, they were friendly, and that helped me explore new places also. It opened me up.

Mother Absence

African American children who grow up in single parent households are more likely to live with their mothers (Curenton et al., 2017; Dixon, 2017; Robinson & Werblow, 2013). For this study, the participants were asked about their individual experiences growing up without their mothers living in their households. All five participants expressed sadness or frustration as a response to the question. Each reported on their childhood experiences when they had access to both parents.

For example, Participant 1 stated that as a child he did not know why his mother no longer lived with them. He said, "I missed her... I missed her a lot..." Participant 2 shared, "I would go to my mom's house during the week…Monday through Thursday and then to my dad's on Friday, Saturday, Sunday." Participant 3 recalled his parents having a "platonic" relationship after they separated early in his childhood and he said, "...my mom would come around once in a while… I was very young then. She'll come around and I'll see her…" Participant 4 expressed that he lived with his mother prior to his father gaining custody, and Participant 5 reported that his parents were married until the death of his mother.

Death

Although four participants shared that they had positive experiences growing up with their fathers as their primary caregiver, all five participants reported negative experiences due to their mothers' absence. For instance, two participants discussed the personal and emotional challenges associated with their mothers' absence due to death. Participant 3 expressed feeling sad and regretful because he was unable to regularly speak to his mother prior to her death. He repeatedly described the realization of his mother not being in his life as "tough." He shared that the "bad things" he experienced would not have happened if his mother had been around. He further stated that her absence affected him "physically," "mentally," and "emotionally" and was a source of his "troubled youth." He said:

> It was just tough.... it was just tough. My mom wasn't around...and... I mean...I was so young... I didn't have a way of trying to locate my mom. She'd always just come and surprise me, and I didn't want her to leave. And you know...she had no choice but to go because she doesn't live in that city. So...it was really, really, tough...her not being around, cause I'm sure if she was around, a lot of things would have been different. Bad things would have been different. But that didn't happen. So... that's how life works. You can't always get what you want. I had to live with it. And that's how it's been until you know...she passed away. I never saw her again after that. She passed away. So... it's hard for me, you know? It was tough. And... that really affected me in a lot of ways. I had a troubled youth with my mother not being around. All the things that I went through, if my mother was

around...I wouldn't have gone through it. And that would affect me like physically mentally emotionally. You know what I mean?

Participant 5 shared that he was "devastated" due to the death of his mother. He described the experience as "traumatic" and stated that he felt she "abandoned" him. He said that he was "angry" and placed blame on God and his mother for her passing away. He shared:

> I was devastated. I was devastated. I was 12 years old...I can remember you know...the night it happened. My mother died in 1967, and my father was left being our parent for me...my brothers and my sisters. It was very tumultuous. Uh... it was something that I had never experienced before. It was a lot of uncertainty. So... not having her there was traumatic for me. I was angry.... I was confused.... I felt abandoned. But the biggest thing for me is that...I was angry at God, and I was angry at her. How could God take her? And why did she leave me? Why did she abandon me?

Economic Instability

Participant 4 shared that his mother was economically unstable and was not able to support him. He said,"

> When I grew up it was a time I was living with my mom and then they decided to part ways and it led me to living with my father because he could support me more than my mother could—house living wise.

Furthermore, he expressed that "not having someone else to be supportive" during his childhood was highly disappointing. He highlighted a couple of negative experiences he accredited to the absence of his mother. He said:

Everybody be like you going to the uh...mom and son dance? Like, they used to have stuff like that, and then...her not being around... that would be making me feel some type of way. Or...like... if my dad couldn't make it to one of my games or something, I'll be looking out for her...but...like... she's not here. So that affects you.

Chose to Live With Father

Participant 1 shared that he felt like his mother "turned her back" on him and "abandoned" him because he chose to live with his father. He said:

So, it was more so with my brother and my sister that she paid attention to. So, you know...I was kind of like...kind of...just gone with the wind with that...um. My brother had graduated, so they moved. They sold all the businesses in Augusta and moved to Atlanta and started new businesses. But when they moved, because she was upset that I had left, they didn't tell me where they moved to, for years. It bothered me more so that I felt like she abandoned me because I didn't want to live up there. She turned her back on me. And even though she treated me like shit...for so many years... and when I tried to rehash things with her, it still ended up going to shit. Even to the point where... when we first met 4 years ago again at my brother's going away party...she was like if something happens to me...it's...to be divided between...your sister and your brother... And I'm

like...why are you talking about this? Why do I need to know about this? Did I

ask you for anything?

Mental Illness

Participant 2 shared that his mother has battled mental illness from his earliest

memories. He stated that her illness was the root of his parents' divorce and their poor

mother-son relationship during his childhood. Moreover, he expressed that he linked her

mental illness to her violent behavior towards him which initiated his feelings of

"bitterness" and "nothingness" towards her.

My parents were married maybe 10 years before I was born, and my mom started

experiencing mental illness...maybe when I was about like 2 or something like

that. And that led to her deterioration and my father taking custody of my brother

and myself. So, if my parents got divorced maybe when I was like 3 or so... um...I

don't have any recollection of my mother being healthy...um mentally healthy. I

would say that you know...when people ask me about my childhood, I would say

that it's like a tale of two cities, or it was like living in two different worlds at that

time when we were splitting time. Because with my mother she basically became

schizophrenic; had a lot of paranoid delusions, talking to herself, child abuse, a lot

of violence...um some arrests. You know, looking back on it now, I look back on

it like I didn't realize exactly how hard it was, you know? Like, I mean, like...I'm

like damn, what did I say to people, you know? I mean...it's like...I might tell one

person one thing, another person another thing, and couldn't keep my lies straight,

you know? ...so, there's a lot of...a lot of bitterness about what um... what I

thought a mother should be. And you know, just not having that real...that

motherly presence, that you kind of like idolize, you know what I mean...like...or

that you fantasize about, you know? Like, so for me...like...you know...it was just

kind of like nothingness when it came to her, you know? Like...um...to that

feeling of just...there's just nothing there.

Support System

Extended family members commonly serve as resources for parental support and

added caregiving for children, which helps strengthen their developmental outcomes

(Benson et al., 2012; Ryabov, 2020). However, some external family members are

incapable of providing parental level caregiving, which can negatively affect a child's

developmental outcome (Haines et al., 2019). Three participants reported that extended

family members were support systems during their childhood. Participant 1 reported that

his grandmother, aunt, uncle, and cousins provided additional layers of support and

nurture for him and his siblings. He said:

Um, my grandmother had retired some years earlier. I was born in 85. So, I was

the last grandchild, so she had probably retired about 20 years prior to me coming

up there, me and my brother coming up there. And so, she stayed at the house,

and the house was always...we always had people there. My grandmother cooked

full time and washed all of us up. One of my aunt's being at the house as well

with her husband and her and her children. But her children were grown, so the

boys pretty much stayed around the house to try to help out.

Participant 2 discussed how his extended family members "looked out" for him as a child. He stated:

> My broader family of aunts and cousins and everybody was very you know...very much the same, and they you know...they really looked out for me and my brother because they understood the situation from an adult level, whereas we were children. I would say that we had a constant stream of visitors to the house. I wouldn't call it like a bed breakfast or like an Air BNB, but he had a big circle of friends...and we have a big extended family. So, it wasn't uncommon for somebody to be staying in a room in his house...you know. Like...oh...this is cousin such-and-such...and... your cousin is going to stay here for a couple months. As a kid it was fun.

Participant 3 reported that he relied on family and friends to support him when his father moved to the United States and left him and his brothers behind in Liberia. He shared that he was "bouncing" from house to house because his living environments were unstable. He further expressed that the care he received was different from if it were his "biological parents." He said:

> I was just bouncing from... you know... living with friends... you know...uncles and... you know...that love is not gonna be the same. If it's not your biological parents, that love is not going to be the same. It's gonna be different. The love they give you… it's not going to be the same as your mother or your father gives you. So basically, because I needed that help from them, I had no choice but to just deal with whatever help they can give me; good or bad, because they feel like

they're doing me a big favor. I'm not your daddy… so why should I kill myself

you know...taking care of you? So whatever help that I give you is what

you gotta take.

Summary

The goal of this qualitative phenomenological study was to explore the lived

experiences of African American adult men who were reared by their single, custodial,

African American fathers. Five African American men took part in this study. Ten

semistructured, open-ended questions guided the interviews. The instrumentation used

for data collection was the Zoom audio and video conferencing application. The data

analysis process was discussed, and the results of the study were documented. The results

are an accurate representation of the participants' lived experiences. Three main themes

evolved that described the participants' experiences: (a) the role of the father, (b) mother

absence, and (c) support systems. In Chapter 5, I will present the interpretation of the

findings, discuss the limitations of the study, and conclude with the implications for

positive social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to understand the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. In this study, I employed a qualitative method with an IPA approach. The rationale for using the qualitative method was that it allowed for me to explore and document any phenomenon that was shared among the participants (see Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). IPA was the phenomenological approach used because it allowed me to interpret the participants' unique experiences of being raised by single, African American, custodial fathers (see Miller et al., 2018).

In the literature review, most researchers identified single, African American fathers as nonresidential or noncustodial parents (Arditti et al., 2019; Boothroyd & Cross, 2017; Julion et al., 2016). Moreover, previous researchers that documented single, African American, custodial fathers have primarily focused on the fathers' experiences (Ayer et al., 2016; Coles, 2015; Coles & Green, 2010; Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2019). Subsequently, I was unable to find literature that pointed towards the experiences of African American men who were raised by their single, custodial fathers. To address this gap, five African American, male adults raised by their single, African American, custodial fathers were interviewed to gain an understanding of their lived experiences.

Researchers have documented African American, male adolescents raised in single-parent households meet many risk factors that impede their positive developmental outcomes. However, the literature strongly correlated their risk factors to single-mother-headed households and father's absence (East et al., 2006; Gantt & Greif, 2009; Jackson

et al., 2015; Jeynes, 2016). With more than 65% of African American children raised in single, African American, mother-headed households and less than 5% raised in single, African American, father-headed households, I used the results from this study to understand if the findings of earlier literature were generalizable.

The findings produced three main themes: the role of the father, mother's absence, and support systems. The key findings were that 80% of the participants reported they had positive experiences growing up with their single, custodial fathers. All reported negative experiences associated with mother absence, and 3 out of 5 participants reported that they had extended family support.

In this chapter, I interpret the findings of this study in relation to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The study's limitations and their impact on trustworthiness after analyzing and interpreting the data in connection to the conceptual framework are also addressed. Future research recommendations are provided as are the implications for positive social change.

Interpretation of the Findings

In terms of the role of the father, I found that single, African American, custodial fathers have a positive effect on the well-being of their African American, male children in this study. The reported experiences of the participants confirm research presented by Arditti et al. (2019) and Julion et al. (2016) who found positive father engagement is vital for healthy male adolescent developmental outcomes. Similarly, Thomas et al. (2008) noted that father presence often increases a child's confidence, academic accomplishment, and security in peer relations. For a child to experience positive

outcomes, they require the ability to attach to their caregiver to foster sensations of closeness, security, and trust. The literature is consistent with the participants who described having close, safe, and trusting relationships with their fathers.

In this study, I found a relationship between a nurturing father-son relationship, intergenerational transmission, and the transfer of capital resources. Four out of 5 participants described their fathers as a type of hero, mentor, or role model. Furthermore, they all discussed following in their father's footsteps as it pertained to career choice and/or educational achievement. The responses from the participants are supported by the research of Furstenberg and Weiss (2000) who found an overrepresentation of men who wanted to be like their fathers when they had stable living environments and close father-son relationships. In a similar study, Brown et al. (2018) linked the intergenerational transmission of positive behavioral and lifestyle practices of male adults to close fathers-son relationships during their childhood.

The findings also agree with Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) who suggested that the stability of microsystem environments is important because they are where a child has the most intimate contact with factors affecting their health and wellness. The participants reported that their fathers provided stable living environments for them. This also corroborates research that found African American fathers are more likely to seek custody of their children when they are economically stable (Thomas et al., 2008).

The experiences of Participant 3 differed in many ways from the other participants. He described his father as a workaholic and one who never embraced his parenting role as a nurturer. It is noteworthy to mention, however, during his interview,

Participant 3 expressed he has adopted his father's work ethic. Kravina et al. (2014) found that adult children who report working excessively were positively linked to fathers who worked excessively. They wrote that parental "workaholicism" is a doorway to family disfunction. Children of workaholic parents experience developmental outcomes associated with anger, frustration, antisocial behavior, perfectionism, and low self-esteem, and they will employ negative behavior to seek out attention from their parents. However, workaholic parents are positively linked to emotional unavailability to family members. Thomas et al. (2008) also found that a parent feeling inadequate due to a lack of finances can damage a parent-child relationship by causing the parent to become emotionally unavailable. The emotional unavailability of a parent underpins a breakdown in the parent-child relationship and can have negative long-term effects throughout the lifespan of the child.

Additionally, I found that African American, male adolescents depend on their fathers' wisdom and encouragement to help guide them through adversities and decision making. Eighty percent of the participants reported positive outcomes when they took their fathers' advice. These findings support prior research that highlighted fathers who believed it was their responsibility to encourage their children and teach them responsible behavior (Coles, 2001). Comparably, Gordon et al. (2013) and Ahlin and Lobo Antunes (2015) noted that the quality of a father-son relationship is enhanced through communication, encouragement, and support, which have been found to increase internal locus of control and decrease depression and anxiety in male adolescents.

Furthermore, I found that paternal custody was the result of the participants'

decision to live with their fathers, maternal economic instability, maternal mental illness,

divorce, and/or widowhood. These findings back up earlier research that showed how

African American fathers often obtain physical custody of their children (Coles, 2001;

Hamer & Marchioro, 2002). Overall, the participants thought their fathers were excellent

in both parenting roles, which is consistent with the findings of Hamer and Marchioro

(2002). Nevertheless, they all reported that they missed their mothers and expressed a

desire for her involvement.

Some of the participants discussed missing their mothers' presence at school

functions, mother-son dances, sporting events, and extracurricular activities, while others

expressed that they felt "abandoned," "traumatized" due to her death, or simply in need

of her affection. Archer and Lloyd (2002) found that the development of the mother-child

relationship occurs during infant feedings where the mother becomes the primary

intimate attachment figure for a child. This theory is supported by Coles (2015) who

found father-son relationships to be heavily influenced by play and provision and mother-

son relationships to be more intimate and closer in nature. The absence of this intimate

relationship can cause a child trauma and negative emotional and physiological

responses, which are consistent with those experienced by the participants. In addition,

the findings suggest that male children are positively affected when mothers and fathers

work together as coparents (see Jeynes, 2016; Parent et al., 2013). Mothers and fathers

each make a unique and significant contribution to the development of their children. In

their early upbringing, each participant recalled some measure of familial resilience.

Their reporting is supportive of literature that correlates primary parental attachment with positive emotional regulation in male children (see East et al., 2017). The findings also confirm parental relationship dissolution decreases the likelihood of positive developmental outcomes in early childhood (see Flouri et al., 2015).

Although extant research is unclear if maternal nurture is a biological function or a social construct (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Murdock, 1949; Risman et al., 2018), as some participants reported low attachment to their mothers, what is clear is mothers have traditionally assumed the role of primary nurturer (Dubey, 2017; Gerstel, 2011; Jeynes, 2016; St. Vil et al., 2019; Sultan et al., 2017). Roberts-Douglass and Curtis-Boles (2013) suggested that gender role development and masculine identity is intensified in African American, male children when a father is active in their microsystem environment. They wrote that male adolescents who are raised with a father or a father figure in their homes develop gender roles in a more traditional manner. This interpretation is necessarily speculative; nonetheless, reporting from participants who initially lived with both parents may support the findings by Sultan et al. (2017) who stated that in traditional households, fathers are primary breadwinners and mothers apply a child-centered approach to familial development. Because mother absence was a theme shared by all the participants, the findings from this study are not in full agreement with Hamer and Marchioro (2002) who suggested that men can be both mothers and fathers to their children.

Sixty percent of the participants did not report any noteworthy financial hardships associated with mother absence. These findings provide partial support to the research of

Bronte et al. (2010) and Williams et al. (2016) who wrote that single, African American fathers experience less economic instability than single, African American mothers. Conversely, the participants who expressed financial hardships during their childhood also experienced maternal death. Although Coles (2015) found that noncustodial mothers are more involved than noncustodial fathers, I was unaware if the participants' mothers paid child support or contributed to the well-being of the participants in other forms.

Lastly, Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) defined extended family members and friends as mesosystems, which are broader influencers that are a part of the social development of a child. In this study, I found that most participants received help from extended family members who played key roles in their childhood social development. The participants described their grandmothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, and family friends as caregivers who were contributors to their overall well-being. Their experiences are consistent with the findings of Gordon et al. (2013) who wrote that grandparents and other extended family members help children develop identity and thought formation, positive social and behavioral skills, and responsibility. Two participants described that they received additional nurture and emotional support from their extended families. These findings are consistent with prior research that suggested when extended families have high levels of closeness, they provide significant levels of help and support (C. J. Cross et al., 2018).

I also found that single, African American, custodial fathers rely upon help from extended family members as do single, African American, custodial mothers. These findings disconfirm literature that suggested children of single, African American,

custodial mothers are the primary recipients of extended family support (see Taylor et al.,

2014).

Working, single parents routinely depend on extended family support. Threlfall et

al. (2013) reported that single parents often work more hours or multiple jobs to meet the

financial needs of their households. Their research confirms the experiences of the

participants who reported they spent time with their extended family due to the work

schedules of their fathers. However, one participant expressed that his extended family

members were not necessarily loving or caring. This is consistent with findings that

highlight caring for a child can consume resources reserved for direct family members

(see Kim et al., 2016), which may cause family resentment and child neglect or

maltreatment (see Doyle & Timms, 2014). Furthermore, some extended family members

view the schedule of working parents as burdensome, which can affect the level of care

given to the child. Ubaidi (2017) pointed out that each family has unique family

characteristics. One of the responsibilities of functional families is to provide safe and

caring environments for their children. By contrast, dysfunctional families expose their

children to toxic and unloving environments.

Interpretation of Key Findings in the Context of the Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study was the bioecological model of human

development (see Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

According to this model, childhood development is influenced by the level of interaction

between the child and his environments. The model includes four primary constructs:

process, person, context, and time. According to Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994), the

process construct is how an uninterrupted relationship between a child and their parent influences the child's development. The person construct measures the level of resilience and coping strategies a child naturally develops within their ever-changing environment. The context construct uses the four nested systems (i.e., microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem) to point to how environments where a child spends most of their time affect their development. The time construct shows how childhood development is influenced by repetitive activities and experiences over the span of time.

The findings from this study support Bronfenbrenner's theory that proximal processes are the primary instruments for human development. In this study, the participants' fathers were the primary positive or negative influencers in their microenvironments. The constant interaction between the participants and their fathers strengthened their attachment and intimate father-son relationships, which was essential for their overall wellbeing. However, the participant with an insecurely linked father-son relationship needed attention that was not available in his microenvironment. When compared to the other participants, he spent the least amount of time living with his father, which is thought to be a cause in their strained father-son relationship. As a result of their father-son disconnectedness, his growth and emotional well-being were negatively affected.

Furthermore, he described his childhood as "tough" before and during the time he lived with his father. He remembered his extended family saying that they were doing him a "big favor" by caring for him while his father was away. The person construct

highlights unique characteristics that influence a child's experiences (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). Being a dependent in a nonbirth microenvironment distinguished the participant from other children in his extended family, resulting in dysfunction. According to Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), dysfunction in a child's microenvironment inhibits their social competency as well as their biophysiological and psychological well-being. They may face hostility from members within their mesosystems. The time construct predicts that long-term exposure to dysfunction can have negative implications on a child that can endure well beyond adulthood (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

The exosystem construct encompasses all aspects of a family's environment. The exosystem is an external context that can influence a child's development without them having direct control over that external environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For example, the participants were unable to control their mothers' absence, yet her absence negatively affected their wellbeing. Additionally, the absence of their mothers' participation in their school and social settings are also examples of exosystem variables. The relationships between exosystems and mesosystem elements can have an indirect impact on personal interactions inside microsystems.

Limitations of the Study

The findings from this study contribute to current literature that focus on African American fathers and their sons. However, there were several limitations of this study that were identified. For example, the participant recruitment and data collection strategies were affected due to COVID-19. I was unable to post physical flyers, use

community and faith-based organizations to aid with participant recruitment. Face-to-face interviews, which would have allowed for more contact and observation of the participants, were not possible (Creswell, 2014). No follow-up interviews were conducted as the participants were uninterested in further participation. Although this study was designed to obtain the experiences of a homogenous group, the size of the participant pool was a limitation. A larger participant pool could have offered a greater wealth of data. The findings from this study cannot be generalized because the participant population does not include male adults from other ethnicities who were raised by their single custodial fathers.

Moreover, the researcher found that there is an insufficient amount of literature that centers on the interactions between African American fathers and their sons. The researcher is an African American male who was once a single parent. Therefore, bracketing was used to control for any biases (Alase, 2017). There exists a possibility, however, that the experiences of the researcher influenced data collection and the findings. Because of the confidential nature of this study, I was unable to verify that the self-reported data were a truthful representation of the lived experiences of the participants (see Sharma, 2020).

Recommendations

Since the scope of this study was limited, a few recommendations for future research are suggested. Custodial fathers, according to Hamer and Marchioro (2002), are most typically the product of a mutual agreement between both parents. However, young children are left with no say in who will be their primary custodial parent. Therefore,

future research could look at African American males who were reared by their custodial fathers but wanted to live with their mothers. Several participants in this study mentioned that they lived with their fathers and their siblings. However, I was unable to recruit any of the participants' male siblings for this study. More research is needed to better understand the experiences of African American, male brothers raised in single-father, African American families. A quantitative study is another recommendation. Quantitative results are based on sample sizes that are statistically significant and representative of the population. The study can usually be duplicated due to its high reliability. Additionally, future research might examine the life satisfaction of African American men raised in single-father, African American families.

Implications

The findings from this study promote positive social change by bringing awareness to the experiences of African American adult males reared in African American, single-father families. However, with such a small percentage of this homogeneous group represented in society, the social needs of African American fathers and their sons could be dismissed as insignificant or unimportant. This study has revealed that African American males have positive developmental outcomes when they experience sustained father involvement. The sharing of the results can be beneficial to community agencies, parenting programs, and other educational settings with a focus on African American, male adolescents, as it can guide them in understanding how to use the strengths and influences African American fathers possess. Furthermore, a reframing of the discussion concerning the impact single, African American, fathers have on their

sons is needed. Although the findings from this study are affirming, bold partnerships with African American fathers, community leaders, social media organizations, and corporate sponsors are still necessary to dismantle negative societal stereotypes. By working together, they can show that single, African American, fathers have the skills necessary for responsible adult conduct and the ability to implement healthy parenting strategies that have a positive effect on the developmental outcomes of their sons.

Many mentoring programs with a focus on African American, male adolescents have been linked to positive educational and social outcomes for adolescents who are devoid of father figures, economic resources, and support systems (Wyatt, 2009). However, African American males who struggle in single, African American, father households may also require mentorship to meet their specific needs. Adult female mentors are a possibility for at-risk male adolescents who are met with challenges directly associated with mother absence and motherlessness. They can facilitate nonparental connections that may provide extra support by incorporating school and community-based mentorship programs designed to increase academic and social achievement in African American, male adolescents.

Conclusion

The purpose of this qualitative study was to provide a phenomenological account of the lived experiences of African American, adult men who were reared by their single, African American, custodial fathers. Five participants discussed their experiences in detail, allowing me to understand the importance of the African American father-son dyad. According to this study, the longer African American males are raised by their

custodial fathers, the better their developmental outcomes are. Furthermore, the findings

do not support earlier research that can be applied to African American males raised in

families with a single, African American, mother. Although the findings do not indicate

that every African American, single-father household is flawless, they do refute

traditional beliefs that African American families suffer from systemic father absence and

fatherlessness. African American, male children from single-father families have strong

familial bonds, excel academically, are psychologically well-adjusted, and are socially

adaptable. Finally, the data also suggest that despite their positive developmental

outcomes in single custodial father households, African American, male children who

have both parents involved in their lives as well as extended family support have higher

levels of stability and happiness.

References

Abel, Y. (2012). African American fathers' involvement in their children's school-based lives. *Journal of Negro Education*, *81*(2), 162–172. https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.81.2.0162

Acharya, A., Blackwell, M., & Sen, M. (2016). The political legacy of American slavery. *Journal of Politics*, *78*(3), 621–641. https://doi.org/10.1086/686631

Adamsons, K. (2013). A longitudinal investigation of mothers' and fathers' initial fathering identities and later father-child relationship quality. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice About Men as Fathers, 11*(2), 118-137. https://doi.org/10.3149/fth.1102.118

Adler, B. (2009). *Psychology and sociology applied to medicine* (3rd ed.). Elsevier Health Sciences.

Ahlin, E. M., & Lobo Antunes, M. J. (2015). Locus of control orientation: Parents, peers, and place. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *9*, 1803. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0253-9

Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, *5*(2), 9–19. http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijels.v.5n.2p.9

Alfandre, D., Sharpe, V. A., & Berkowitz, K. (2015). Surrogate decision making for parents without nuclear family. *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association*, *314*(4), 407–408. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2015.7245.

Allen, M. (2017). *The sage encyclopedia of communication research methods* (Vols. 1-
4). Sage Publications, Inc.https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483381411

Allen, Q., & White-Smith, K. (2018). "That's why I say stay in school": Black mothers'
parental involvement, cultural wealth, and exclusion in their son's
schooling. *Urban Education*, *53*(3), 409–
435. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085917714516

American Civil Liberties Union. (2020). *Timeline of major supreme court decisions on
women's rights.*https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/101917a-
wrptimeline_0.pdf

Anastasiu, I. (2012). The social functions of the family. *Euromentor*, *3*(2), 36–42.

Anderson-Saunders, K. A. (2016). *Elementary school teachers' perceptions on positive
behavioral interventions and supports implementation and
effectiveness.* (Publication No. 10145345) [Doctoral dissertation, Walden
University]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.

Anis, L., Letourneau, N., Benzies, K., Ewashen, C., & Hart, M. J. (2020). Effect of the
attachment and child health parent training program on parent-child Interaction
quality and child development. *The Canadian Journal of Nursing Research =
Revue Canadienne de Recherche En Sciences Infirmieres*, *52*(2), 157–
168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0844562119899004

Anyan, F. (2013). The influence of power shifts in data collection and analysis stages: A
focus on qualitative research interview. *Qualitative Report*, *18*(18), 1-9.
https:/doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2013.1525

Archer, J. (2010). Derivation and assessment of a hypermasculine values

    questionnaire. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *49*(3), 525–

    551. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466609X471525

Archer, J., & Lloyd, B. (2002). *Sex and gender*. Cambridge University Press.

Arditti, J. A., Molloy, S., Spiers, S., & Johnson, E. I. (2019). Perceptions of nonresident

    father involvement among low-income youth and their single parents. *Family*

    Relations, *68*(1), 68–84. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12346

Ashiabi, G. S., & O'Neal, K. K. (2015). Child social development in context: An

    examination of some propositions in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory.

    SAGE Open, *5*(2), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244015590840

Assari, S., Mistry, R., Caldwell, C. H., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2018). Marijuana use and

    depressive symptoms: Gender differences in African American

    adolescents. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9,*

    2135. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02135

Augustin, S., & Coleman, C. (2012). *The designer's guide to doing research: Appling*

    knowledge to information. Wiley.

Ayer, L., Kohl, P., Malsberger, R., & Burgette, L. (2016). The impact of fathers on

    maltreated youths' mental health. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *63*, 16–

    20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.02.006

Bailey, A. (2014). *Philosophy of mind: The key thinkers*. Bloomsbury.

Bair, S. (2020). The American civil rights movement reconsidered: Teaching the role of women. *Social Studies*, *111*(4), 165-173. https://doi.org/10.1080/00377996.2020.1714536

Baker, B. W. (2018). The Death of Wakanda: The impact of chattel slavery on the advancement of the descendants of the African enslaved. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, *11*(9), 61–63. http://www.jpanafrican.org/vol11no9.htm

Barton, A. W., & Bryant, C. M. (2016). Financial strain, trajectories of marital processes, and African American newlyweds' marital instability. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *30*(6), 657–664. https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000190.supp

Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivio*. Sage Publications.

Belgrave, F. Z., & Brevard, J. K. (2014). *African American boys: Identity, culture, and development*. Springer.

Benson, P., Leffert, N., Scales, P., & Blyth, D. (2012). Beyond the "village" rhetoric: Creating healthy communities for children and adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, *16*(1), 3-23. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2012.642771

Bloome, D., & Muller, C. (2015). Tenancy and African American marriage in the postbellum South. *Demography*, *52*(5), 1409-1430. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-015-0414-1

Bonnette, L. M. (2015). *Pulse of the people: Political rap music and Black politics*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Boothroyd, L. G., & Cross, C. P. (2017). Father absence and gendered traits in sons and

    daughters. *PLoS ONE*, *12*(7), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0179954

Bouchard, G., & Lachance-Grzela, M. (2016). Nontraditional families, family attitudes,

    and relationship outcomes in emerging adulthood. *Canadian Journal*

    of Behavioural Science / Revue Canadienne Des Sciences

    Du Comportement, *48*(3), 238–245. https://doi.org/10.1037/cbs0000051

Boyd-Franklin, N. (2013). *Black families in therapy* (2nd ed.). Guilford Press.

Bridgewater, P. D. (2001). Un/re/dis covering slave breeding in Thirteenth Amendment

    jurisprudence. *Washington and Lee Race and Ethnic Ancestry Law Journal,*

    7(11), 11-43.

Brinkley-Rubinstein, L., Craven, K., & McCormack, M. (2014). Shifting perceptions of

    race and incarceration as adolescents age: Addressing disproportionate minority

    contact by understanding how social environment informs racial attitudes. *Child*

    & Adolescent Social Work Journal, *31*(1), 25–38. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-

    013-0306-4

Brittian, A. S. (2012). Understanding African American adolescents' identity

    development: A relational developmental systems perspective. *Journal of Black*

    Psychology, *38*(2), 172–200. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798411414570

Bronfenbrenner, U. (2001). The bioecological theory of human development. In Author

    (Ed.), *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human*

    development (pp. 3–15). Sage Publications. Reprinted from *International*

encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences, pp. 6963–6970, by N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes Eds. Elsevier.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological Review, 101*(4), 568–586. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.101.4.568

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). *The bioecological model of human development. Volume 1. Theoretical model of human development.* John Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470147658.chpsy0114

Bronte-Tinkew, J., Scott, M. E., & Lilja, E. (2010). Single custodial fathers' involvement and parenting: Implications for outcomes in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*(5), 1107–1127. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2010.00753.x

Brown, G. L., Kogan, S. M., & Kim, J. (2018). From fathers to sons: The intergenerational transmission of parenting behavior among African American young men. *Family Process*, *57*(1), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12273

Browning, D. L. (2013). *Adolescent identity: A collection of readings*. Routledge.

Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2010). *The sage handbook on grounded theory: Paperback edition*. Sage Publications.

Bryant, C. M., Wickrama, K. A. S., Bolland, J., Bryant, B. M., Cutrona, C. E., &Stanik, C. E. (2010). Race matters, even in marriage: Identifying factors linked to marital outcomes for African Americans. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *2*(3), 157–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1756-2589.2010.00051.x

Bucher, J. (2014). 'But he can't be gay': The relationship between masculinity and homophobia in father-son relationships. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, *22*(3), 222-237. https://doi.org/10.3149/jms.2203.222

Burkholder, G., Cox, K., & Crawford, L. (2016). *The scholar-practitioner's guide to research design* (1st ed.). Laureate Publishing, Inc.

Burrus, S. W. M., Green, B. L., Worcel, S., Finigan, M., & Furrer, C. (2012). Do dads matter? Child welfare outcomes for father-identified families. *Journal of Child Custody*, *9*(3), 201–216. https://doi.org/10.1080/15379418.2012.715550

Burton, L., Burton, D., McHale, S., King, V., & Van Hook, J. (2016). *Boys and men in African American families*. Springer.

Cabrera, N. J., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (2013). *Handbook of fatherhood involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Caldwell, C. H., Antonakos, C. L., Assari, S., Kruger, D., Loney, E. H., & Njai, R. (2014). Pathways to prevention: Improving nonresident African American fathers' parenting skills and behaviors to reduce sons' aggression. *Child Development*, *85*(1), 308–325. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12127

Caldwell, C. H., Bell, L., Brooks, C. L., Ward, J. D., & Jennings, C. (2011). Engaging nonresident African American fathers in intervention research: What practitioners should know about parental monitoring in nonresident families. *Research on Social Work Practice*, *21*(3), 298–307. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731510382923

Cameron, G., & Vermette, S. (2012). The role of extreme cold in the failure of the San

    Miguel de Gualdape colony. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly, 96*(3), 291-307.

    https://www.jstor.org/stable/23622193

Carlson, J., & Dermer, S. B. (2016). *The sage encyclopedia of marriage, family, and*

    couples counseling. Sage.

Cavanagh, S. E., & Fomby, P. (2019). Family instability in the lives of American

    children. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *45*(1), 493–

    513. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073018-022633

Chambers, A., & Kravitz, A. (2011). Understanding the disproportionately low marriage

    rate among African Americans: An amalgam of sociological and psychological

    constraints. *Family Relations, 60*(5), 648-660. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-

    3729.2011.00673.x

Chaney, C. (2014). Bridging the gap: Promoting intergenerational family literacy among

    low-income, African American families. *Journal of Negro Education*, *83*(1), 29–

    48. https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.1.0029

Christmon, K. (1990). Parental responsibility of African-American unwed adolescent

    Fathers. *Adolescence*, *25*(99), 645–

    653. https://doi.org/10.1177/104438949007100907

Clandinin, J. D. (2016). *Engaging in narrative inquiry.* Taylor & Francis.

Coles, R. (2001). African American single full-time fathers: How are they doing? *Journal*

    of African American Men, *6*(2), 63-82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-001-1008-

    0

Coles, R. (2003). Black single custodial fathers: Factors influencing the decision to parent. *Families in Society: Child and Family Well Being, 84*(2), 247-258. https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.90

Coles, R., & Green, C. (2010). *The myth of the missing Black father*. Columbia University Press.

Coles, R. L. (2009). Just doing what they gotta do: Single Black custodial fathers coping with the stresses and reaping the rewards of parenting. *Journal of Family Issues*, *30*(10), 1311-1338. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X09339290

Coles, R. L. (2015). Single-father families: A review of the literature. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *7*(2), 144–166. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12069

Conger, R. D., Elder, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Conger, K. J., Simons, R. L., Whitbeck, L. B., Huck, S., & Melby, J. N. (1990). Linking economic hardship to marital quality and instability. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52*(3), 643-656. https://doi.org/10.2307/352931

Conger, R. D., McLoyd, V. C., Wallace, L. E., Sun, Y., Simons, R. L., & Brody, G. H. (2002). Economic pressure in African American families: a replication and extension of the family stress model. *Developmental Psychology*, *2*, 179-193. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.38.2.179

Conger, R. D., Rueter, M. A., & Elder, G. H., Jr. (1999). Couple resilience to economic pressure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *76*(1), 54–71. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.1.54

Conklin, M. (2020). An uphill battle for reparationists: A quantitative analysis of the

    effectiveness of slavery reparations rhetoric. *Columbia Journal of Race &*

    Law, *10*(1), 33-64. https://doi.org/10.7916/CJRL.V10I1.4838

Connelly, L. M. (2016). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Medsurg Nursing:*

    Official Journal of the Academy of Medical-Surgical Nurses, 25(6), 435–436.

Connor, M. E., & White, J. L. (2011). *Black fathers: An invisible presence in*

    America (2nd ed.). Taylor & Francis.

Coonz, S. (2016). *The way we never were: American families and the nostalgic trap*.

    Hachette.

Couch, K. A., & Fairlie, R. (2010). Last hired, first fired? Black-White unemployment

    and the business cycle. *Demography*, *47*(1), 227–

    247. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0086

Crawford, B. F., Snyder, K. E., & Adelson, J. L. (2020). Exploring obstacles faced by

    gifted minority students through Bronfenbrenner's bioecological systems

    theory. *High Ability Studies*, *31*(1), 43–

    74. https://doi.org/10.1080/13598139.2019.1568231

Creswell, J. W. (2011). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating*

    quantitative and qualitative research (4th ed.). Pearson Education.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five*

    approaches (3rd ed). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods*

    approach (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Cross, C. J., Nguyen, A. W., Chatters, L. M., & Taylor, R. J. (2018). Instrumental social

    support exchanges in African American extended families. *Journal of Family*

    Issues, 39(13), 3535–3563. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18783805

Cross, S. B., Tosmur-Bayazit, N., & Dunn, A. H. (2018). Whiteness as a dissonant state:

    Exploring one white male student teacher's experiences in urban contexts. *Sage*

    Journals, 70(4), 306-318. https://doi.org/10.1177/002248711877403

Cucinotta, D., & Vanelli, M. (2020). WHO Declares COVID-19 a pandemic. *Acta bio-*

    medica: Atenei Parmensis, *91*(1), 157–

    160. https://doi.org/10.23750/abm.v91i1.9397

Curenton, S. M., Iruka, I. U., & Durden, T. R. (2017). *"Introduction"*, *African American*

    children in early childhood education (a*dvances in race and ethnicity in*

    education, Vol. 5). Emerald Publishing Limited, Bingley.

    https://doi.org/10.1108/S2051-231720170000005001

Cutrona, C. E., Russell, D. W., Abraham, W. T., Gardner, K. A., Melby, J. N., Bryant, C.,

    & Conger, R. D. (2003). Neighborhood context and financial strain as predictors

    of marital interaction and marital quality in African American couples. *Personal*

    Relationships, *10*(3), 389–409. https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6811.00056

Darity, W. A., & Mullen, A. K. (2020). *From here to equality: Reparations for Black*

    Americans in the twenty-first century. The University of North Carolina Press.

Davis, I. P. (2012). *Adolescents: Theoretical and helping perspectives*. Springer.

Day-Vines, N. L. (2007). The escalating incidence of suicide among African Americans: Implications for counselors. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, *85*(3), 370-377. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2007.tb00486.x

DeGarmo, D. S. (2010). A time varying evaluation of identity theory and father involvement for full custody, shared custody, and no custody divorced fathers. *Fathering*, *8*(2), 181-202. https://doi.org/10.3149/fth.1802.181

DeNavas-Walt, C., & Proctor, B. D. (2014). *U.S. Census Bureau, current population reports, P60-249, income and poverty in the United States:* U.S. Government Printing Office.

DePoy, E., & Gitlin, L. N. (2013). *Introduction to research-e-book: Understanding and applying multiple strategies*. Elsevier Health Services.

Desilver, D. (2013). Black unemployment rate is consistently twice that of Whites. *Pew Research Center, 21*. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/08/21/through-good-times-and-bad-black-unemployment-is-consistently-double-that-of-whites/

Dishion, T. J., Mun, C. J., Ha, T., & Tein, J.-Y. (2019). Observed family and friendship dynamics in adolescence: A latent profile approach to identifying "mesosystem" adaptation for intervention tailoring. *Prevention Science: The Official Journal of the Society for Prevention Research*, *20*(1), 41–55. https://doi.org./10.1007/s11121-018-0927-0

Dixon, P. (2014). AARMS: The African American relationships and marriage strengthening curriculum for African American relationships courses and

programs. *Journal of African American Studies*, *3*,

337. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-013-9274-1

Dixon, P. (2017). *African American relationships, marriages, and families. An introduction* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Doede, M. S. (2016). Black jobs matter: Racial inequalities in conditions of employment and subsequent health outcomes. *Public Health Nursing*, *33*(2),

151. https://doi.org/10.1111/phn.12241

Doherty, W. J., Willoughby, B. J., & Wilde, J. L. (2016). Is the gender gap in college enrollment influenced by nonmarital birth rates and father absence? *Family Relations*, *65*(2), 263–274. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12157

Doyle, C., & Timms, C. (2014). *Child neglect and emotional abuse. Understanding, assessment and response.* Sage Publications.

Doyle, O., Magan, I., Cryer-Coupet, Q. R., Goldston, D. B., & Estroff, S. E. (2016). 'Don't wait for it to rain to buy an umbrella:' The transmission of values from African American fathers to sons. *Psychology Of Men & Masculinity*, *17*(4), 309-319. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000028

Dubey, V. (2017). Women's quality of life and perceived stress: Role of joint and nuclear family. *Indian Journal of Community Psychology*, *13*(1), 142–148. http://www.ijcpind.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Full_Combine_file_website.pdf

East, L., Hutchinson, M., Power, T., & Jackson, D. (2017). A qualitative study of men's recollections of growing up with father absence: childhood father figures and

family resilience. *Contemporary Nurse: A Journal for the Australian Nursing Profession*, *53*(4), 436–444. https://doi.org/10.1080/10376178.2017.1386073

East, L., Jackson, D., & O'Brien, L. (2006). Father absence and adolescent development: A review of the literature. *Journal of Child Health Care*, *10*(4), 283–295. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367493506067869

Edin, K., Tach, L., & Mincy, R. (2009). Claiming fatherhood: race and the dynamics of paternal involvement among unmarried men. *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 149-177. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208325548

Elam, K. K., Sandler, I., Wolchik, S., & Tein, J.-Y. (2016). Non-residential father–child involvement, interparental conflict and mental health of children following divorce: A person-focused approach. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(3), 581–593. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0399-5

Englander, M. (2012). The interview: data collection in descriptive phenomenological human scientific research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 43(1), 13-35. https://doi.org/10.1163/156916212X632943

Fagan, J., & Palkovitz, R. (2007). Unmarried, nonresident fathers' involvement with their infants: A risk and resilience perspective. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *21*(3), 479-489. https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.21.3.479

Fairlie, R. W., & Sundstrom, W. A. (1999). The emergence, persistence, and recent widening of the racial unemployment gap. *ILR Review*, *52*(2), 252–270. https://doi.org/10.1177/001979399905200206

Falconier, M. K., Nussbeck, F., Bodenmann, G., Schneider, H., & Bradbury, T. (2015). Stress from daily hassles in couples: Its effects on intradyadic stress, relationship satisfaction, and physical and psychological well-being. *The Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 41(2), 221-235. https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12073

Finigan-Carr, N. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Haynie, D. L., & Cheng, T. L. (2014). Engaging urban parents of early adolescents in parenting interventions: Home visits vs. group sessions. *School Community Journal*, *24*(2), 63–82.

Finzi-Dottan, R., & Cohen, O. (2017). Fatherhood: Comparison between divorced custodial fathers, married fathers, and divorced non-custodial fathers in Israel. *Marriage & Family Review*, *53*(4), 320–346. https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2016.1158220

Finzi-Dottan, R., & Cohen, O. (2019). Involvement and acceptance of custodial fathers: The role of narcissism and caregiving. *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, *20*(1), 82–92. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000143

Flouri, E., Narayanan, M. K., & Midouhas, E. (2015). The cross-lagged relationship between father absence and child problem behaviour in the early years. *Child: Care, Health & Development*, *41*(6), 1090–1097. https://doi.org/10.1111/cch.12236

Fogel, R. W., & Engerman, S. L. (1974). *Time on the cross: The economics of American Negro slavery, Volume 1*. W. W. Norman & Company.

Fortunato, L. (2017). Insights from evolutionary anthropology on the (pre)history of the nuclear family. *Cross-Cultural Research, 51*(2), 92–116. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069397117691006

Fox-Genovese, E. (2000). *Within the plantation household. Black and White of the south*. University of North Carolina Press.

Frasquilho, D., de Matos, M. G., Marques, A., Neville, F. G., Gaspar, T., & Caldas-de-Almeida, J. M. (2016). Unemployment, parental distress and youth emotional well-being: The moderation roles of parent-youth relationship and financial deprivation. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, *47*(5), 751–758. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10578-015-0610-7

Furstenberg, F. F., & Weiss, C. C. (2000). Intergenerational transmission of fathering roles in at risk families. *Marriage & Family Review*, *29*(2–3), 181–201. https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v29n02_11

Gantt, A., & Greif, G. (2009). African American single mothers raising Sons: Implications for family therapy. *Journal of Family Social Work*, *12*(3), 227–243. https://doi.org/10.1080/10522150903030014

Gibbs, J. T., & Huang, L. N. (2003). *Children of color: Psychological interventions with culturally diverse youth.* Jossey-Bass Press.

Gies, F., & Gies, J. (2010). *Marriage and the family in the middle ages*. HarperCollins e-books.

Golden, A. L. (2016). Family structure and child well-being: dads make a difference. *Issues in Law & Medicine*, *31*(2), 211–215.

Golombok, S. (2015). *Modern families: Parents and children in new family forms*. Cambridge University Press.

Golombok, S., Zadeh, S., Imrie, S., Smith, V., & Freeman, T. (2016). Single mothers by choice: Mother–child relationships and children's psychological adjustment. *Journal of Family Psychology, 30*(4), 409-418. http://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000188

Gómez, Á., Vázquez, A., López-Rodríguez, L., Talaifar, S., Martínez, M., Buhrmester, M. D., & Swann, J. W. B. (2019). Why people abandon groups: Degrading relational vs collective ties uniquely impacts identity fusion and identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *85*(4), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.103853

Gonzalez, M., Jones, D., & Parent, J. (2014). Coparenting experiences in African American families: An examination of single mothers and their nonmarital coparents. *Family Process*, *53*(1), 33–54. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12063

Goodman, J. D. (2018). Defining nonresidential fatherhood for Black Americans in the 21st century. *Negro Educational Review*, *69*, 52–76.

Gordon, T. V., Nichter, M., & Henriksen, R. J. (2013). Raising Black males from a Black father's perspective: A phenomenological study. *The Family Journal*, *21*(2), 154-161. https://doi:10.1177/1066480712466541

Goring, D. C. (2006). The history of slave marriage in the United States. *John Marshall Law Review*, *2*,

299. https://repository.law.uic.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1319&context=la wreview

Graff, G. (2017). The intergenerational trauma of slavery and its aftereffects: The question of reparations. *Journal of Psychohistory*, *44*(4), 256–268.

Grigorenko, E. L. (2012). *Handbook of juvenile forensic psychology and psychiatry.* Springer Science & Business Media.

Guba, E. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiry. *Educational Resources Information Center Annual Review Paper*. *29* 75-91. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30219811

Hadden, B. R., Tolliver, W., Snowden, F., & Brown-Manning, R. (2016). An authentic discourse: Recentering race and racism as factors that contribute to police violence against unarmed Black or African American men. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, *26*(3–4), 336–349. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2015.1129252

Haggard, D. R. (2010). *African American in the nineteenth century: People and perspectives*. ABC-CLIO.

Haines, J., Matthewson, M., & Turnbull, M. (2019). *Understanding and managing parental alienation. A guide to assessment and intervention*. Taylor & Francis.

Hamer, J., & Marchioro, K. (2002). Becoming custodial dads: Exploring parenting among low-income and working-class African American fathers. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *64*(1), 116–129. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00116.x

Hattery, A. J., & Smith, E. (2014). Families of incarcerated African American men: The impact on mothers and children. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, *7*(6), 128–153.

Heinrich, C. J. (2014). Parents' employment and children's wellbeing. *Future of Children*, *24*(1), 121–146. https://doi.org/10.1353/foc.2014.0000

Henderson Hubbard, L., Lewis, C. W., & Johnson, J. W. (2014). Urban African American single mothers using racial socialization to influence academic success in their young Sons. *Journal of At-Risk Issues*, *18*(2), 21–29. https://hdl.handle.net/1969.1/ETD-TAMU-2011-12-10384

Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. L. (2010). *The practice of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

Ho, A. K., Kteily, N. S., & Chen, J. M. (2017). "You're one of us": Black American's use of hypodescent and its association with egalitarianism. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *113*(5), 753–768. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000107

Hockenberry, S., & Puzzanchera, C. (2015). Juvenile court statistics 2013. *Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for Juvenile Justice.* https://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/njcda/pdf/jcs2013.pdf

Hoffman, P. E. (2015). *A new Andalucia and a way to the Orient: The American southeast during the sixteenth century*. LSU Press.

Houston, S. (2017). Towards a critical ecology of child development in social work: Aligning the theories of Bronfenbrenner and Bourdieu. *Families, Relationships and Societies, 6*(1), 53-69. http://doi.org/10.1332/204674315X1428132135984

Hurd, N. M., Stoddard, S. A., & Zimmerman, M. A. (2013). Neighborhoods, social

    support, and African American adolescents' mental health outcomes: a multilevel

    path analysis. *Child Development*, *84*(3), 858–

    874. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12018

Jackson, A. P., Jeong-Kyun, C., & Preston, K. S. (2015). Nonresident fathers'

    involvement with young black children: A replication and extension of a

    meditational model. *Social Work Research*, (4), 245-254.

    https://doi.org/10.1093/swr/svv026

Jaramillo, J. M., Rendon, M. I., Munoz, L., Weis, M., & Trommsdorff, G. (2017).

    Children's self-regulation in cultural contexts: The role of parental socialization

    theories, goals, and practices. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8*. 1-9.

    https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00923

Jarrett, R. L. (1996). Welfare stigma among low-income, African American single

    mothers. *Family Relations*, *45*, 368–374. https://doi.org/10.2307/585165

Jennings, T. (1990). "Us colored women had to go through a plenty": Sexual exploitation

    of African-American slave women. *Journal of Women's History*, *1*(3), 45–

    74. https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0050

Jeynes, W. H. (2016). Meta-analysis on the roles of fathers in parenting: Are they

    unique? *Marriage & Family Review*, *52*(7), 665–

    688. https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2016.1157121

Johnson, J. M. (2019). Pride or prejudice? Motivations for choosing Black

    colleges. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *56*(4), 409–

    422. https://doi.org/10.1080/19496591.2019.1614936

Johnson, L. L. (2014). The skin I'm in: An ecological exploration of motivation for an

    African American male. *Journal of African American Males in Education*, *5*(2),

    182-195.

Julion, W. A., Sumo, J., Bounds, D. T., Breitenstein, S. M., Schoeny, M., Gross, D., &

    Fogg, L. (2016). Study protocol for a randomized clinical trial of a fatherhood

    intervention for African American non-resident fathers: Can we improve father

    and child outcomes? *Contemporary Clinical Trials*, *49*, 29–

    39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cct.2016.05.005

Keddie, A. (2005). On fighting and football: Gender justice and theories of identity

    construction. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *18*(4),

    425-444. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390500137600

Kerr, J., Schafer, P., Perry, A., Orkin, J., Vance, M., & O'Campo, P. (2018). The impact

    of racial discrimination on African American fathers' intimate relationships. *Race*

    and Social Problems, *10*(2), 134–144. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-018-9227-

    3

Khudyakova, T. L., Gridyaeva, L. N., & Klepach, Y. V. (2016). Specific features of

    gender identity formation in children from single-parent and nuclear families in

    ontogenesis. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *233*, 393-

    396. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.10.167

Kim, J. S. (2014). A father's race to custody: An argument for multidimensional masculinities for black men. *Berkeley Journal of African-American Law & Policy*, *16,* 32-64. https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38BG9H

Kim, J., Spangler, T. L., & Gutter, M. S. (2016). Extended families: Support, socialization, and stress. *Family & Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, *45*(1), 104–118. https://doi.org/10.1111/fcsr.12187

King, V. L., & Mrug, S. (2018). The relationship between violence exposure and academic achievement in African American adolescents is moderated by emotion regulation. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, *38*(4), 497–512. https://doi:10.1177/0272431616675973

Kowalski, B. M., & Scheitle, C. P. (2020). Sexual identity and attitudes about gender roles. *Sexuality & Culture*, *24*(3), 671–691. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09655-x

Kowlessar, O., Fox, J. R., & Wittkowski, A. (2015). First-time fathers' experiences of parenting during the first year. *Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology*, *33*(1), 4–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/02646838.2014.971404

Krämer, F. (2016). Hazards of being a male breadwinner: deadbeat dads in the United States of the 1980s. *Historical Social Research*, *41*(1), 223–239. https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.41.2016.1.223-239

Kravina, L., Falco, A., De Carlo, N. A., Andreassen, C. S., & Pallesen, S. (2014). Workaholism and work engagement in the family: The relationship between parents and children as a risk factor. *European Journal of Work and*

Organizational Psychology, *23*(6), 875–

883. https://doi.org/10.1080/1359432X.2013.832208

Krieger, N., Van Wye, G., Huynh, M., Waterman, P. D., Maduro, G., Li, W., Gwynn, R.

C., Barbot, O., & Bassett, M. T. (2020). Structural racism, historical redlining,

and risk of preterm birth in New York City, 2013–2017. *American Journal of*

Public Health, *110*(7), 1046–1053. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2020.305656

Lamb, M. (2003). *The role of the father in childhood development*. Wiley.

Leath, S. (2017). Being better than my dad. *SAGE*

Open, *7*. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017697163

Lens, V., & Cary, C. (2010). Negotiating the discourse of race within the United States

welfare system. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, *33*(6), 1032–

1048. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903259538

Leventhal, T., Dupéré, V., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2009). Neighborhood influences on

adolescent development. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of*

adolescent psychology: Contextual influences on adolescent development (pp.

411–443). John Wiley & Sons, Inc..

https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470479193.adlpsy002013

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage Publications.

Lindberg, L. D., Kost, K., & Maddow, Z. I. (2017). The role of men's childbearing

intentions in father involvement. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *79*(1), 44–

59. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12377

Linden, M., & Rotter, M. (2019). Unemployment and embitterment in contrast to general

psychological distress. *Work*, *62*(1), 133–138. https://doi.org/10.3233/WOR-

182848

Lippard, C. D., & Gallagher, C. A. (2014). *Race and racism in the United States: An*

encyclopedia of the American mosaic [4 volumes]. ABC-CLIO.

Livingston, G. (2013). *The rise of single fathers.* Pew Research Social & Demographic

Trends. http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/07/02/the-rise-of-single-fathers/

Long, N. (2004). The changing nature of parenting in America. *Pediatric*

Dentistry, *26*(2), 121-124.

Lundqvist, J., & Sandström, M. (2019). A bioecological content analysis: An analysis

technique rooted in the bioecological model for human

development. *International Journal of Early Childhood Special Education*, *11*(2),

194–206. https://doi.org/10.20489/intjecse.670478

Mandara, J., & Murray, C. B. (2006). Father's absence and African American adolescent

drug use. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, *46*(1/2), 1–

12. https://doi.org/10.1300/J087v46n01_01

Mandara, J., Murray, C. B., & Joyner, T. N. (2005). The impact of fathers' absence on

African American adolescents' gender role development. *Sex Roles: A Journal of*

Research, *53*(34), 207-220. https://doi-org/10.1007/S11199-005-5679-1

Marotta, P. L., & Voisin, D. R. (2020). Pathways to delinquency and substance use

among African American youth: Does future orientation mediate the effects of

peer norms and parental monitoring? *Journal of Health Psychology*, *25*(6), 840–852. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105317736912

Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A., & Fontenot, R. (2013). Does sample size matter in qualitative research?: A review of qualitative interviews in IS research. *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, 54(1), 11-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2013.11645667

Matud, M. P., Bethencourt, J. M., & Ibáñez, I. (2014). Relevance of gender roles in life satisfaction in adult people. *Personality & Individual Differences*, *70*, 206–211. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2014.06.046

McAdoo, H. P. (1997). *Black families* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.

McEwen, H. (2017). Nuclear power: The family in decolonial perspective and 'pro-family' politics in Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *34*(6), 738-751. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2017.1318700

McLanahan, S., & Jencks, C. (2015). Was Moynihan right? What happens to children of unmarried mothers. *Education Next*, *15*(2), 14-20. https://www.educationnext.org/was-moynihan-right/

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. Jossey-Bass.

Miller, R. M., Chan, C. D., & Farmer, L. B. (2018). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: A contemporary qualitative approach. *Counselor Education & Supervision*, *57*(4), 240–254. https://doi.org/10.1002/ceas.12114

Modecki, K. L., Hagan, M. J., Sandler, I., & Wolchik, S. A. (2015). Latent profiles of nonresidential father engagement six years after divorce predict long-term offspring outcomes. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology*, *44*(1), 123–136. https://doi.org/10.1080/15374416.2013.865193

Morman, M., & Floyd, K. (2006). Good fathering: Father and son perceptions of what it means to be a good father. *Fathering, 4*(2), 113-136. https://doi.org/10.3149/fth.0402.113

Moynihan, D. P. (1965). *The Negro family: The case for national action.* U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research. https://www.dol.gov/general/aboutdol/history/webid-moynihan/moynchapter2

Murdock, G. P. (1949). *Social structure*. Macmillian.

Mustasaari, S. (2015). The 'nuclear family paradigm' as a marker of rights and belonging in transnational families. *Social Identities*, *21*(4), 359–372. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2015.1071699

Nadal, K. L. (2017). *The Sage encyclopedia of psychology and gender*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Natalier, K., & Hewitt, B. (2010). 'It's not just about the money': Non-resident fathers' perspectives on paying child support. *Sociology*, *44*(3), 489–505. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510362470

National Center for Education Statistics. (2015). *School composition and the Black-White achievement*

gap. https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/subject/studies/pdf/school_compositio
n_and_the_bw_achievement_gap_2015.pdf

National Center for Health Statistics. (1980). A*nnual summary of births, deaths,
marriages, and divorces: United States 1980.*
https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/mvsr/supp/mv29_13.pdf

Health, United States, 2011: With Special feature on Socioeconomic Status and Health.
(2012). *Health, United States, 2011: With Special Feature on Socioeconomic
Status and Health*, 1-583. https://doi.org/10.1037/e582072012-001

National Education Association. (2011). *Focus on Blacks. A race against time: Educating
Blackboys.* http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/educatingblackboys11rev.pdf

Nebbitt, V. E., Lombe, M., Lavelle, M. C., & Sinha, A. (2014). Correlates of academic
performance among school-age African American males in public
housing. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *44*, 65–
71. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2014.05.005

Parent, J., Jones, D. J., Forehand, R., Cuellar, J., & Shoulberg, E. K. (2013). The role of
coparents in African American single-mother families: The indirect effect of
coparent identity on youth psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of Family
Psychology. 27*(2), 252- 262. https://doi:10.1037/a0031477

Parker, L. (2019). Who let the dogs in? Antiblackness, social exclusion, and the question
of who is human. *Journal of Black Studies*, *50*(4), 367–
387. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934719836421

Pascal, A. M. (2013). *Voices of African-American teen fathers: "I'm doing what I got to do"*. Routledge.

Paschall, M. J., Ringwalt, C. L., & Flewelling, R. L. (2003). Effects of parenting, father absence, and affiliation with delinquent peers on delinquent behavior among African-American male adolescents. *Adolescence*, *38*(149), 15–34.

Pedulla, D. S. (2018). How race and unemployment shape labor market opportunities: Additive, amplified, or muted effects? *Social Forces*, *96*(4), 1477–1506. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soy002

Perry, D. M., & Tabb, K. M. (2015). Examining the effects of urban neighborhoods on the mental health of adolescent African American males: A qualitative systematic review. *Journal of Negro Education*, *84*(3), 254–268. https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.84.3.0254

Peyper, E., de Klerk, W., & Spies, R. (2015). Experiences of young adult women with emotionally absent fathers. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *25*(2), 127–133. https://doi.org/10.1080/14330237.2015.1021513

Pilkauskas, N. V., & Cross, C. (2018). Beyond the nuclear family: Trends in children living in shared households. *Demography*, *55*(6), 2283–2297. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-018-0719-y

Pilot, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2014). *Essentials of nursing research: Appraising evidence for nursing practice* (8th ed.). Wolters Kluwer/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Posey-Maddox, L. (2017). Schooling in suburbia: the intersections of race, class, gender, and place in black fathers' engagement and family–school relationships. *Gender & Education*, *29*(5), 577–593. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2016.1274389

Pourmovahed, Z., Mahmoodabadi, H. Z., Ardekani, S. M. Y., Fallahzadeh, H., Tavangar, H., & Mahmoodabad, S. S. M. (2018). Validation of the Family Stability Questionnaire in married couples: a confirmatory factor analysis. *Electronic Physician*, *10*(8), 7185–7195. https://doi.org.ezp/10.19082/7185

Radl, J., Salazar, L., & Cebolla-Boado, H. (2017). Does living in a fatherless household compromise educational success? A comparative study of cognitive and non-cognitive skills. *European Journal of Population*, *33*(2), 217–242. https://doi.org.ezp/10.1007/s10680-017-9414-8

Raley, R. K., Sweeney, M. M., &Wondra, D. (2016). The growing racial and ethnic divide in U.S. marriage patterns. *The Future of Children*, *25*(2), 89–109. https://doi.org/10.1353/foc.2015.0014

Ratele, K., Shefer, T., & Clowes, L. (2012). Talking South African fathers: A critical examination of men's constructions and experiences of fatherhood and fatherlessness. *South African Journal of Psychology, 42*(4), 553–563.

Ravitch, S. M., & Carl, N. M. (2016). *Qualitative research: Bridging the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological*. Sage Publications.

Reich, S. A. (2019). *The world of Jim Crow America: Daily life encyclopedia* [2 volumes]. ABC-CLIO.

Revell, M. A. (2015). The African American father does matter in

parenting. *International Journal of Childbirth Education*, *30*(1), 25-29.

Richter, D., & Lemola, S. (2017). Growing up with a single mother and life satisfaction

in adulthood: A test of mediating and moderating factors. *PLoS ONE*, *12*(6), 1-

15. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0179639

Risman, B. J., Froyum, C. M., & Scarborough, W. J. (2018). *Handbook of the sociology

of gender* (2nd ed.). Springer.

Roberts-Douglass, K., & Curtis-Boles, H. (2013). Exploring positive masculinity

development in African American men: A retrospective study. *Psychology of Men

& Masculinity*, *14*(1), 7–15. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029662

Robinson, Q. L., & Werblow, J. (2013). The Power of a single mother: The influence of

black women on their sons' academic performance. *Multicultural

Perspectives*, *15*(4), 202–208. https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2013.844605

Roller, M. R., & Lavrakas, P. J. (2015). *Applied qualitative research design: A total

quality framework approach.* The Guilford Press.

Roopnarine, J. L. (2015). *Fathers across cultures: The importance, roles, and diverse

practices of dads.* Praeger.

Rosa, E. M., & Tudge, J. (2013). Urie Bronfenbrenner's Theory of human development:

Its evolution from ecology to bioecology. *Journal of Family Theory &

Review*, *5*(4), 243–258. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12022

Ross, B. L., & Spencer, D. M. (2019). Passive voter suppression: Campaign mobilization and the effective disfranchisement of the poor. *Northwestern University Law Review*, *114*(3), 633–703.

Rothon, C., Goodwin, L., & Stansfeld, S. (2012). Family social support, community "social capital" and adolescents' mental health and educational outcomes: A longitudinal study in England. *Social Psychiatry & Psychiatric Epidemiology*, *47*(5), 697–709. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-011-0391-7

Roy, K., Messina, L., Smith, J., & Waters, D. (2014). growing up as "man of the house": Adultification and transition into adulthood for young men in economically disadvantaged families. *New Directions for Child & Adolescent Development*, *2014*(143), 55–72. https://doi.org/10.1002/cad.20054

Ruggles, S. (1994). The origins of African-American family structure. *American Sociological Review*, *59*(1), 136–151. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096137

Ryabov, I. (2020). Intergenerational transmission of socio-economic status: The role of neighborhood effects. *Journal of Adolescence*, *80*, 84-97. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.02.007

Schwartz, M. J. (2013). Slave breeding: sex, violence, and memory in African American history by Gregory D. Smithers (review). *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *44*(2), 277–278. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26062111

Sevigny, P. R., Loutzenhiser, L., & McAuslan, P. (2016). Development and validation of the fathering self-efficacy scale. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *17*(1), 92–102. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039659

Sharkey, P., & Elwert, F. (2011). The legacy of disadvantage: Multigenerational

    neighborhood effects on cognitive ability. *American Journal of Sociology*, *116*(6),

    1934-1981. https://doi.org/10.1086/660009

Sharma, D. (2020). *Ethics, ethnocentrism and social science research.* Taylor &

    Francis.

Shenk, M. K., Starkweather, K., Kress, H. C., & Alam, N. (2013). Does

    absence matter?: A comparison of three types of father absence in rural

    Bangladesh. *Human Nature*, *24*(1), 76–110. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-013-

    9160-5

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological*

    analysis: Theory, method and research. Sage Publications.

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2015). Interpretative phenomenological analysis as a useful

    methodology for research on the lived experience of pain. *British Journal of*

    Pain, *9*(1), 41–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/2049463714541642

Smith, S. M., & Landor, A. M. (2018). Toward a better understanding of African

    American families: Development of the sociocultural family stress model. *Journal*

    of Family Theory & Review, 10(2), 434–450. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12260

Smithers, G. (2012). American abolitionism and slave-breeding discourse: A re-

    evaluation. *Slavery & Abolition*, *33*(4), 551-570.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2011.622119

Sneed, C. D., & Willis, L. A. (2016). Differences between residential and non-residential fathers on sexual socialisation of African American youth. *Sex Education*, *16*(2), 199–212. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2015.1089226

Speziale, H. S., Streubert, H. J., & Carpenter, D. R. (2011). *Qualitative research in nursing: Advancing the humanistic imperative.* Wolters Kluwer Health/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Spiegeberg, H. (2013). *Phenomenological movement*. Springer Netherlands.

Stevens-Watkins, D., & Graves, S. (2011). Risk and protective factors among African American adolescent males that predict adult involvement in the criminal justice system: Evidence from a national sample. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *9*(2), 136–151. https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2011.566816

Stewart, J. B. (2015). "Using history to make slavery history": The African American past and the challenge of contemporary slavery. *Social Inclusion*, *3*(1), 125–135. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i1.143

Stewart, P. (2015). You moved up, did you forget us?: The influence of African American intra-familial social mobility on extended family relationships. *Journal of African American Studies*, *19*(2), 214–232. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-015-9300-6

St. Vil, N. M., St. Vil, C., & Fairfax, C. N. (2019). Posttraumatic slave syndrome, the patriarchal nuclear family structure, and African American male-female relationships. *Social Work*, *64*(2), 139–146. https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/swz002

Sublette, N., & Sublette, C. (2015). *American slave cost: A history of the slave-breeding industry*. Chicago Reviews Press.

Sultan, R. S., Khan, S. K., & Juzer, M. (2017). Emergence of egalitarianism by gender role dynamics in family system (sociological perspective). *New Horizons*, *11*(1), 1–17.

Summers, M. (2013). Manhood rights in the age of Jim Crow: Evaluating "end-of-men" claims in the context of African American history. *Boston University Law Review*, *93*(3), 745–767. https://www.bu.edu/bulawreview/files/2013/08/SUMMERS.pdf

Swaminathan, S. (2016). *Debating the slave trade: Rhetoric of British national identity, 1759-1815.* Taylor & Francis.

Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., & Cabrera, N. J. (2013). *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Routledge.

Taylor, G. R. (2003). *Practical application of social learning theories in educating young African American males*. University Press of America.

Taylor, R. D., Budescu, M., Gebre, A., & Hodzic, I. (2014). Family financial pressure and maternal and adolescent socioemotional adjustment: Moderating effects of kin social support in low income African American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 23*(2), 242-254. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-012-9688-8

Taylor, S. S. (2009). Why American boys join street gangs. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, 5*(8), 339-349. https://doi.org/10.5897/IJSA12.073

Thomas, P. A., Krampe, E. M., & Newton, R. R. (2008). Father presence family, structure, and feelings of closeness to the father among adult African American children. *Journal of Black Studies*, *38*(4), 529–546. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934705286101

Thompson-Miller, R., & Picca, L. H. (2017). "There were rapes!": Sexual assaults of African American women and children in Jim Crow. *Violence against Women*, *23*(8), 934–950. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216654016

Thornton, M., Yanochik, M. A., & Ewing, B. T. (2009). Selling slave families down the river: property rights and the public auction. *Independent Review*, *1*, 71-79. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24562212

Threlfall, J. M., Seay, K. D., & Kohl, P. L. (2013). The parenting role of African-American fathers in the context of urban poverty. *Journal of Children & Poverty*, *19*(1), 45–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/10796126.2013.764846

Timmermann, S. (2013). What ever happened to the nuclear family? Impact of a changing America on financial services. *Journal of Financial Service Professionals*, *67*(1), 27–29. https://national.societyoffsp.org/

Tiusanen, O. (2011). Hypermasculinity in turn-of-the-century America. *Journal of Psychohistory*, *39*(2), 153–164.

Tufford, L., & Newman, P. (2012). Bracketing in qualitative research. *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice*, *11*(1), 80–96. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325010368316

Ubaidi, A. B. (2017). Cost of growing up in dysfunctional family. *Journal of Family Medicine and Disease Prevention, 3*(3), 1-6. https://doi.org/10.23937/2469-5793/1510059

Underwood, L. A., & Dailey, F. L. L. (2016). *Counseling adolescents competently*. Sage Publications.

Ungar, M., Ghazinour, M., & Richter, J. (2013). Annual research review: What is resilience within the social ecology of human development? *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *54*(4), 348–366. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12025.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2018a). *Marital Status. Survey/program: American community survey tableID: S1201.* https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=percentage%20of%20married%20americans%20&tid=ACSST1Y2018.S1201&vintage=2018

U.S. Census Bureau. (2018b). *Table A3. Parents with coresident children under 18 by living arrangement, sex, and selected characteristics.* https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2018/demo/families/cps-2018.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2019). *Poverty rate for people in female householder families lowest on record*. https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2019/09/poverty-rate-for-people-in-female-householder-families-lowest-on-record.html

Vagle, M. D. (2016). *Crafting phenomenological research*. Routledge.

Valk, A. (2018). Remapping second-wave feminism: The long women's rights movement

    in Louisiana, 1950-1997. *American Historical Review*, *1*, 256-257.

    https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/123.1.256

Vaterlaus, J. M., Skogrand, L., Chaney, C., & Gahagan, K. (2017). Marital expectations

    in strong African American marriages. *Family Process*, *56*(4), 883–

    899. https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12263

Vespa, J., Lewis, J. L., & Kreider, R. M. (2013). America's families and living

    arrangements: 2012 population characteristics. *U.S. Census*

    Bureau. https://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-570.pdf

Vondracek, F. W., Lerner, R. M., & Schulenberg, J. E. (2019). *Career development: A*

    life-span developmental approach. Taylor & Francis.

Ward Randolph, A., & Weems, M. E. (2010). Speak truth and shame the devil:

    An ethnodrama in response to racism in the academy. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *16*(5),

    310–313. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800409358864

Warren, W. (2016). *New England bound: Slavery and colonization in early America*.

    Liveright.

Weaver, J. D. (2012). The first father: Perspectives on the president's fatherhood

    initiative*. *Family Court Review*, *50*(2), 297–309. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-

    1617.2012.01453.x

Webb, P. (2016). Sabotaging success: Examining academic dis-identification among

    African American male adolescents. *Race, Gender & Class*, *23*(1/2), 172-182.

    https://www.jstor.org/stable/26529197

Weitzer, R. (2017). Theorizing racial discord over policing before and after

Ferguson. *Justice Quarterly*, *34*(7), 1129–

1153.https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2017.1362461

Wharton, A. (2015). *Working in America: Continuity, conflict, and change in a new economic era*. Routledge.

White, D. G. (1999). *Ar'n't I a woman? Revised edition*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Willerton, E., Schwarz, R. L., Wadsworth, S. M. M., & Oglesby, M. S. (2011). Military

fathers' perspectives on involvement. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *25*(4), 521–

530. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024511

Williams, G. (2019). *Applied qualitative research design*. Edtech.

Williams, N. D., Foye, A., & Lewis, F. (2016). Applying structural family therapy in the

changing context of the modern African American single mother. *Journal of*

Feminist Family Therapy: An International Forum, *28*(1), 30-

47. https://doi.org/10.1080/08952833.2015.1130547

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology.* Open University

Press.

Willig, C., & Rogers, W. S. (2017). *The sage handbook of qualitative research in*

psychology. Sage Publications.

Wright, R. (1902). Negro companions of the Spanish explorers. *American*

Anthropologist, 4(2), 217-228. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/659219.pdf

Wyatt, S. (2009). The brotherhood: empowering adolescent African-American males

toward excellence. *Professional School Counseling,* 12(6), 463-470.

https://doi.org/10.5330/PSC.n.2010-12.463

Appendix A: Resources

National Counseling and Support Resource Numbers

Emergency Services   911

Crisis Text Line   Text NAMI to 741-741

Disaster Distress Helpline   1-800-985-5990

National Domestic Violence Hotline   1-800-799-SAFE (7233)

National Sexual Assault Hotline   1-800-656-HOPE (4673)

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline   1-800-273-TALK (8255)

SAMHSA (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration) Treatment

Referral Helpline   1-877-SAMHSA7 (726-4727)

Veteran Crisis Line   1-800-273-8255