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African American Male College Graduates' Paternal Incarceration Experiences

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Walden University

College of Psychology and Community Services

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Walden University
2022

Abstract

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by

Natassia Toxey

MA, Regent University, 2009

BA, Norfolk State University, 2004

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Human Services

Walden University

November 2022

Abstract

Various public policies contributed to the significant increase of parent incarceration in the United States among African Americans. The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30. Utilizing a transcendental phenomenological approach to describe the essence of paternal incarceration as experienced by 12 participants, emergent themes were uncovered to build the characteristics of success relative to the role of family. The modified van Kaam method of analysis of phenomenological data enabled the development of themes from lived experiences of participants. Among African American male college graduates, the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence relative to the role of family in college success included negative individual and familial impacts with positive ameliorating factors relative to the role of family that motivated them to succeed academically and obtain a college degree, despite the familial deficit of paternal incarceration. The results of this study can help human service professionals' supportive efforts among African American males with the experience of paternal incarceration by providing understanding lived experiences of graduates in higher education settings with potential use across similar settings.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. Thank you for your grace, mercy, and wisdom. To my grandmother, Rellia Brooks, grandparents, and all of my ancestors who came before me. My parents, Ronald and Cynthia Toxey. To my husband, Sertonius Askew, my son, Princeton Toxey Askew, and my daughter, Seven Amor Toxey Askew. I love you all so very much.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The experience of paternal incarceration negatively compounds outcomes among African American males (Haskins, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014), including low educational outcomes and eventual incarceration as adults (Andersen, 2016; Haskins, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2014; Wildeman & Andersen, 2017; Wildeman, Haskins et al., 2018). Boys with the experience of paternal incarceration increasingly display behavioral and educational problems (Andersen, 2018; Cooper et al., 2011; DiPrete & Buchman, 2014; Geller et al., 2012; Haskins, 2014, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019). By 1999, nearly 60% of African American men who did not complete high school went to prison (Pettit & Western, 2004); and by the 2000s, over half of African American male high school dropouts, at least 30 years of age, experienced incarceration (Western, 2018). Resultantly, imprisonment has become a commonplace experience among African American men without a college degree (Western, 2018; Wildeman, Goldman, et al., 2018). Approximately two decades later, compared to Caucasian males, African American males transition from high school to prison at a higher risk rate of 84% (Han, 2018). Nonetheless, some African American males progress through high school and ultimately attend college despite the experience of paternal incarceration (Foster & Hagan, 2015a; Nichols et al., 2016). College completion moderates exclusionary effects of parental incarceration by 14%-50%, (Foster & Hagan, 2015a).

Human service professionals responsible for designing and implementing interventions among African American males with the lived experience of paternal

incarceration can benefit from direct insights. The purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30.

Chapter 1 includes an overview of this transcendental phenomenological study of African American male college graduates' experiences in completing higher education despite paternal incarceration during developmental years. Included are the (a) background of the study, (b) problem statement, (c) purpose of the study, (d) significance of the study, (e) theoretical framework, (f) research question, (g) nature of the study, (h) definition of terms, (i) assumptions, (j) limitations, (k) delimitations, and (l) scope. The chapter ends with a summary.

Background of the Study

As of 2019, approximately 2 million individuals were incarcerated in the United States' prisons and jails (Carson, 2020; Zeng & Minton, 2021). Excluding jail, as of 2016, about 684,500 state and federal prisoners were parents, leaving an estimated 1.5 million children under the age of 18 with at least one absent parent due to incarceration (Maruschak et al., 2021). Approximately half of state and federal prisoners are parents; and parents in state or federal prison reported an average of two minor children (Maruschak et al., 2021). In 2016, children between the ages of 5 and 14 represented the majority of children who experience parent incarceration (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2021; Maruschak et al., 2021). This age range has remained consistent (Haskins &

Turney, 2018). Currently, over 5.1 million children or approximately 1 in 14 U.S. children have experienced parent incarceration at some point (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2016). This ratio could be higher, as between 5 million and 8 million children nationwide have been exposed to parental incarceration (Murphey & Cooper, 2015; Haskins & Turney, 2018; Sykes & Pettit, 2015; Travis et al., 2005). Nonetheless, some regard national statistics relative to the number of parents incarcerated and the number of children with an incarcerated parent as underestimates due to an absence of comprehensive systematic data collection, the exclusion of individuals serving time on probation and parole, or housed in private facilities, and the exclusion of children with a non-residential incarcerated parent (Boch & Ford, 2018; Murphey & Cooper, 2015; Shalfer et al., 2019).

Disparities in parent incarceration exist across gender, race, and education (Adams, 2018; Ewert et al., 2014; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Haskins & Turney, 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman, 2011; Western & Smith, 2018). As of 2016, 93% of parents in prison were male (Maruschak et al., 2021), and disproportionality among African American children has remained consistent over time. One in four African American children born in 1990 had a parent imprisoned (Wildeman, 2009), and by 2007, African American children were at least 7.5 times more likely than Caucasian children to have a parent in prison (Glaze & Maruschak, 2010). Utilizing data from the 2011–2012 National Survey of Children’s Health, approximately 1 in 9 African American children have a parent in prison (Murphey & Cooper, 2015). Data collected in 2007 and 2016 indicated that at least 4 in 10 fathers in state or federal prisons were

African American (Glaze & Maruschak, 2010; Maruschak et al., 2021). Further, parent incarceration is common among African American children and children of parents with low educational attainment (Andersen, 2016; Andersen & Wildeman, 2014; Haskins & Turney, 2018; Sykes & Pettit, 2014; Western & Smith, 2018; Wildeman, Goldman, et al., 2018). An estimated excess of 50% of African American fathers that have not completed high school, have been incarcerated (Foster & Hagan, 2015b). Thus, African American children increasingly experience paternal incarceration and the effects of having an absent father (Andersen, 2016; Andersen & Wildeman, 2014; Hattery & Smith, 2014; Wildeman, Goldman, et al., 2018). However, much of the data are more than 10 years old, and updated estimates are needed (Shalfer et al., 2019).

Paternal incarceration might have spillover effects relative to gender and education (Andersen & Wildeman, 2014; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Haskins, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020; Wasserman, 2020). Young males compared to young females are more sensitive to familial deficiencies across a range of outcomes (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2014; McLanahan et al., 2013; Owens, 2016; Wasserman, 2020; Western & Muller, 2013), and paternal incarceration is associated with youth academic achievement and college attainment (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Foster & Hagan, 2009; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Haskins, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2020). Utilizing data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study that followed nearly 5,000 children in 20 large United States cities between 1998 and 2000, Haskins (2014) concluded that paternal incarceration by age 5 is associated with lower non-cognitive school readiness. Additionally, approximately one in

six pre-school aged children with the experience of paternal incarceration are expected to not be on track in terms of early learning skills, self-regulation, social-emotional development, and physical health and motor development (Testa & Jackson, 2021). Because effects of paternal incarceration are strongest for African American boys in the United States, the experience of paternal incarceration could create lasting consequences relative to educational trajectories among African American males (Haskins, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Stergas, 2020).

Parent incarceration can harm family life (Adams, 2018; Hagan et al., 2020; Siennick, 2016; Western & Muller, 2013; Wildeman, Haskins et al., 2018) and impose collateral consequences on children (Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Geller & Franklin, 2014; Roettger & Dennison, 2018; Wildeman, Haskins et al., 2018). However, relative to national surveys and administrative data, children of incarcerated parents are not well represented (Wakefield & Wildeman, 2018). No single organization or institution staff appears to systematically track the number of children affected by parental incarceration (Bouchet, 2008; Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2020; Poehlmann et al., 2010), and many researchers have relied on secondary analyses not originally purposed to assess the effects of parental incarceration (Boch & Ford, 2018; Morris, 2017; Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013; Poehlmann et al., 2010). For example, researchers often utilize the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health from 1994–1995 and the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study from 1998–2000 for secondary analyses relative to the effects of parental incarceration (Muftić et al., 2016; Siennick, 2016; Washington et al., 2018). Because parental incarceration creates disadvantages and threatens the basic

human rights of minors, children of incarcerated parents might benefit from advocacy within research literature (Adams, 2018; Murray et al., 2014; Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2020; Turney & Goodsell, 2018; Uggen & McElrath, 2014; Wildeman, Haskins et al., 2018).

Researchers have focused in prior studies on paternal incarceration for children's outcomes and family relationships (Cancian et al., 2016; Nichols et al., 2016; Wildeman et al., 2016), leaving unanswered questions about consequences for older offspring of incarcerated parents (Siennick, 2016; Turney & Lanuza, 2017). Few researchers have followed children of incarcerated parents into adulthood (Mears & Siennick, 2016; Muftić & Smith, 2018; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020; Western & Muller, 2013). In addition, there appears to be a lack of data about African American males' experiences of college degree attainment (Harper, 2012; Harper & Newman, 2016; Harper et al., 2018). African American males' perception of what helped through the process of degree attainment might aid human service professionals' intervention efforts to enroll, retain, educate, and graduate African American males that may have experienced paternal incarceration (Harper, 2012; Harper et al., 2018). The results of this study can help human service professionals' supportive efforts among African American males with the experience of paternal incarceration, which may be used across similar settings.

Problem Statement

Students with incarcerated parents increasingly experience collateral consequences (Gifford et al., 2019; McLeod, 2017; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014), including educational discontinuation (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015;

Gifford et al., 2019; Mears & Siennick, 2016). Academic underachievement is exacerbated for African American males, as this population disproportionately experiences paternal incarceration (Haskins, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014). But human service professionals have little knowledge about how African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration have had success in higher education settings, and this often results in low quality supports (Hagan et al., 2020; Hines & Holcomb-McCoy, 2013; Jones & Wainaina-Wozna, 2013; Murray et al., 2014; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020). Human service professionals are largely unaware of how to support educational success among African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration (Foster & Hagan, 2015a; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014); however, college completion moderates exclusionary effects of parental incarceration by 14%–50% (Foster & Hagan, 2015a). Thus, I conducted a transcendental phenomenological study to understand the lived experience of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among college graduate African American males about the role of family and persevering in higher education as evidenced by the successful completion of a bachelor's degree by age 30. Findings could help provide insight for community programming, improve resiliency, and divert upcoming African American males toward a positive trajectory.

Purpose of the Study

Research does not include sufficient findings to draw conclusions about the types of interventions deemed useful for supporting children with the experience of paternal incarceration (Charles et al., 2021; Gordon et al., 2018; Noyes et al., 2018; Turney &

Haskins, 2014). The aim of this transcendental phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30. Human service professionals responsible for designing and implementing interventions among African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration can benefit from direct insights, because information related to this population is often derived from secondary analyses not originally formulated for assessing children and families affected by parental incarceration (Boch & Ford, 2018; Morris, 2017; Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013; Poehlmann et al., 2010).

Research Question

What are the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among African American male college graduates relative to the role of family in college success?

Theoretical Framework

I applied the transcendental phenomenological research method using ecological systems theory (EST) to understand the lived experiences of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration, relative to the role of the family. Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1986, 1994) EST helped me to delineate the role of family within the lived experience of paternal incarceration among African American male college graduates. Theorists using Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1986, 1994) ecological systems posit that human development as a lifelong course affected by an

individual's social relationships and environment; to be effective, the interactions within an individual's social relationships should occur on a regular basis, over time.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) emphasized the importance of an individual's environment that could vary from person to person.

Due to the potential differentiation within the participants' social environments and apparent lack of research among African American male college graduates and the experience of paternal incarceration, I conducted a transcendental phenomenological research study informed by EST. I used human ecology theory as my researcher-as-analyst lens in which I explored the complex reciprocal interactions between the evolving human developmental process among African American male college graduates and the persons, objects, and symbols in the participant's immediate environment during childhood and adolescence and the lived experience of paternal incarceration across the five levels of Bronfenbrenner's environmental categories (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Human ecology theory is systemic and interrelated, rooted within epistemology that contains information helpful for adherents in the development of new ideas and clinical approaches (Norcross et al., 2016). Human ecology theory shaped how I made sense of the lived experiences based on behavior and mental characteristics that emerged within the context of social schema in which participants lived. For this research, I focused on interpersonal relations and interactions, and the social constructions of realities to include recursive causality between theoretical characteristics and interactions among family members and other important persons considered family by participants (Norcross et al., 2016).

Nature of the Study

I employed a phenomenological qualitative study utilizing a transcendental approach to elucidate the role of family and perseverance for conscious data. Transcendental phenomenological research was consistent with learning about the culture of paternal incarceration among African American male college graduates and obtaining insights into contributions relating to success within higher education despite paternal incarceration. The uncovering of the essence of paternal incarceration through the perspectives of African American male college graduates occurred upon application of transcendental phenomenological reduction (Husserl, 1936/1970; Moustakas, 1994; Schmitt, 1959). I used two types of non-probability sampling to answer the research question with inclusion criteria for high-quality research design (Patino & Ferreira, 2018): purposive criterion and snowball sampling. Due to the invisibility of African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration, I used purposive criterion sampling to identify individuals willing to provide access to information in sync with myself as researcher-analyst, drawing from appropriate individuals to answer the research questions and thereby promote the credibility of the results (Asiamah et al., 2017). I attempted to bracket the objective world and uncover intentionality via transcendental phenomenology (Schmitt, 1959) and identified the meaning and existence participants ascribed to paternal incarceration among African American male college graduates about the role of family in college success.

Definition of Terms

African American: An ethnic group of descendants in the United States from African ancestry (McGoldrick et al., 2005).

African American male: Male born individuals that self-identify as Black without having ancestral ties to the Caribbean (Assari & Caldwell, 2018).

College graduate: An individual with at minimum, a bachelor's degree (Carnevale et al., 2018).

Collateral consequences: Negative resultants of parent/paternal incarceration that include, but not limited to, intergenerational transmission of criminal involvement and incarceration, educational underachievement, familial dissolution and instability, and mental health concerns (Antle et al., 2019; McKay et al., 2018; McLeod et al., 2019; Sykes & Maroto, 2016; Wildeman et al., 2016).

Life course outcomes: Long-term results that characterize an adult's socioeconomic status after the experience of paternal incarceration (Hagan et al., 2020).

Parent incarceration: The imprisonment of an individual's biological mother or father in jail or prison that occurs during an individual's developmental years prior to reaching adulthood (Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013).

Paternal incarceration: The imprisonment of an individual's biological father in jail or prison that occurs during an individual's developmental years prior to reaching adulthood (Adams, 2018; Jacobsen, 2019).

Assumptions

My general assumption was that locating African American males who had graduated with a bachelor's degree by the age of 30, and experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence would be a difficult task. It was also my assumption participants may lack vulnerability relative to their emotional experiences related to having an absent father due to incarceration. Simultaneously, I assumed participants would be willing to share not only their emotional experiences, but their holistic experiences related to their educational success and paternal incarceration because it was also my assumption this could be the first time participants had the opportunity to openly share their experiences directly related to their educational success and lived experience of paternal incarceration. I assumed participants would be able to remember, recall, and think about their lived experiences related to college success and paternal incarceration.

I also assumed use of an open-ended semistructured interview would give participants freedom to express themselves, therefore participants would give truthful responses. My assumption was my acknowledgement of conducting this research in a way to protect the participants' rights to privacy and confidentiality through pseudonyms and voluntary participation, participants would share their lived experiences with me. My final assumption was that many of the study participants may have experienced similar phenomena.

Scope and Delimitations

Relative to setting, I interviewed participants in a southeastern Virginia metropolitan region and northern Virginia in the United States; collectively, the central Atlantic coast. This transcendental phenomenological study only included participants whose collective lived experiences occurred in the United States. With consideration to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted face-to-face interviews via Zoom's recorded video conferencing application. I interviewed 12 African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence, achieving saturation (Guest et al., 2006). Participants attended a 4-year college or university, completed an undergraduate program, and received at minimum, a bachelor's degree by 30 years of age.

Data collection commenced January 2022, over a period of 2 months. The general purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study aimed to gain an understanding of the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30. The scope of the study encompassed the role of family, ecological factors and systems, academic achievement, and parent incarceration with a specific focus on paternal incarceration.

Limitations

Transcendental phenomenological research is situated within the participant's individual experience of perception, thought, memory, imagination, and emotion about a phenomenon (Reiners, 2012)—relative to this study, the lived experience of paternal

incarceration. These tenets collectively represent intentionality (Reiners, 2012) utilized to describe the experience of paternal incarceration; however, the tenets are naturally subjective and likely limited credibility and generalizability (Gentles et al., 2015; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Phenomenological research is reliant on knowledge acquired via interactions between researcher and participants, and researcher biases and assumptions may limit credibility (Reiners, 2012). My use of emergent themes obtained from a small sample of African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration may not be generalizable to include similar experiences of individuals of a different race, gender, or individuals who experience maternal incarceration. In addition, lack of experimental design within phenomenological research may not have permitted definitive causal conclusions relative to paternal incarceration and life course outcomes (Murray et al., 2014; Ochieng, 2009).

Significance of the Study

I explored the perspective of two marginalized populations—African American males (Ewert et al., 2014; Muller & Wildeman, 2016; Sykes & Maroto, 2016; Western & Wildeman, 2009) and children of incarcerated parents (Boch et al., 2019; Hagan et al., 2020; Murray et al., 2012). I examined perseverance through completion of higher education in relation to the role of family. Parental incarceration permeates children's lives and more recently became recognized as an adverse childhood experience (Boch et al., 2019; Turney, 2018). Through this transcendental phenomenological study, I provided an understanding of how African American males attained a bachelor's degree despite the experience of paternal incarceration. The results of the study include direct

implications to support staff for youth experiencing paternal incarceration. Insights from the results of this study likely assist human service professionals and caregivers understand experiences of college graduate African American males who experienced paternal incarceration, with implications for serving youth in similar circumstances.

Summary

Within this transcendental phenomenological study, I collected data via interviews with African American male college graduates to gain an understanding of the lived experience of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence relative to the role of the family. Specific questions elicited responses relative to the participants' perspectives on successful completion in higher education through to undergraduate degree attainment despite the familial deficient of paternal incarceration (Andersen, 2016; Geller et al., 2012; Hagan et al., 2020; Porter & King, 2015; Turney & Haskins, 2014). Paternal incarceration can have significant effects on life course outcomes for children (Hagan et al., 2020; Haskins, 2014; McLanahan et al., 2013; Noyes et al., 2018; Western & Muller, 2013). Chapter 1 provided an overview of the study including the problem, purpose, and significance of the study. Chapter 2 includes a comprehensive review of literature about parent incarceration and children of incarcerated parents.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Paternal incarceration imposes a range of negative consequences on children's outcomes and family relations (Cancian et al., 2016; Park et al., 2020; Wildeman et al., 2016). Based on review of the literature, there was a lack of scholarly information regarding experiences of paternal incarceration and the outcomes of adult offspring. There is a need to move beyond childhood outcomes (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Gottlieb, 2016; Muftić & Smith, 2018; Siennick, 2016) and into the gendered effects of parent incarceration among adult offspring (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Muftić et al., 2016). In this transcendental phenomenological study, I explored how African American male college graduates experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence, relative to the role of family. Human service professionals can benefit from this exploration to identify potential points for intervention and treatment (Charles et al., 2021; Ng et al., 2013; Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2019; Washington, 2018).

This literature review starts with literature search strategies and the theoretical framework. This chapter contains a review of the literature including (a) historical overview of the use of imprisonment from antiquity to early 20th century in America, (b) contemporary penal trends and practices in America, (c) use of mass incarceration; (d) consequences of increased use of imprisonment including disparate intersections, (e) higher education among African American males, (f) paternal incarceration relative to life course outcomes, (g) paternal incarceration and education, and (h) a synthesis of the literature. The chapter ends with a summary.

Literature Search Strategy

I used the following research engines and databases to complete the literature review: Academic Search Complete, LexisNexis Academic, EBSCOHost, PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, Sage Journals, SocINDEX with Full Text, ERIC, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar, Thoreau, and Questia. I located over 200 closely related scholarly articles using the following terms, phrases, and combinations of terms relevant to this study: *incarceration, parent incarceration, children of incarcerated parents, paternal incarceration, father + incarceration, father + prison, ecological systems theory, incarceration + disparity, Black men + incarceration + United States, phenomenology, and transcendental phenomenology + Husserl*. The literature review also contains information from government and university Internet sources.

Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical framework for this transcendental phenomenological study was based on a postpositivist worldview and Bronfenbrenner's EST. As a transcendental phenomenological researcher, knowledge based on intuition and intrinsic nature precedes empirical knowledge; thus, the postpositivist worldview can inform the interpretation of empirical information obtained (Husserl, 1913/2014; Moran, 2019b; Moustakas, 1994). Additionally, the principles and constructs of EST relate to transcendental phenomenological research and answer the research question. The following sections discuss how a postpositivist perspective, EST, and utilization of qualitative transcendental phenomenological research formulated a synergistic relationship (Berkovich, 2018; Su, 2018).

Transcendental Philosophical Perspective

Exploring the lived experiences of paternal incarceration includes philosophical constructs. The transcendental phenomenological method included moving beyond everyday thinking or knowledge into the transcendental ego to perceive paternal incarceration freshly, as if for the first time (Husserl, 1913/2014; Moustakas, 1994). Husserl's transcendental phenomenology required suspending suppositions to permit understanding of the lived experience of paternal incarceration in its meaning and essence via description, as indicated by participants' lived experience of paternal incarceration (see Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Moustakas, 1994).

Postpositivist Perspective

Ascription to the postpositivist paradigm, also referred to as positivist and postpositivism, rooted in realism, can provide a unique opportunity to extend academic inquiry within social science (Porta & Keating, 2008; Prasad, 2017; Su, 2018). A postpositivist ontological viewpoint assumes (a) the social world, or social science can be studied synonymously to natural science; (b) the method utilized for studying the social world should be free of researcher's judgment; and (c) postpositivist perspective can provide explanations of a causal nature (Porta & Keating, 2008; Su, 2018; Wadas, 2018). Relative to a postpositivist perspective, an individual may achieve or uncover reality, truth, or knowledge independent of cognition (Moustakas, 1994; Prasad, 2005, 2017; Su, 2018). As an individual without the lived experience as an African American male who experienced paternal incarceration, I was able to uncover truth and knowledge about the lived experience of the participants (Moustakas, 1994). Using epoché and

phenomenological reduction assisted in maintaining an independent relationship with paternal incarceration and apprehension of the objective essence of paternal incarceration by searching for regularities and causal relationships deductively (Moustakas, 1994; Su, 2018). In addition to the ontological perspective, EST provided an understanding of how the role of the family influenced human behavior among individuals who experienced paternal incarceration as discussed in the following two sections.

Ecological Systems Theory

Paternal incarceration is a complex phenomenon intertwined with pre-existing systemic disadvantages and negative implications including premarital childbirth prior to incarceration, parental mental illness, parental substance abuse, poverty, low parental educational achievement, parental criminality, and family violence (Bouchet, 2008; Eddy & Burraston, 2018; Gottlieb, 2016). The lived experience of paternal incarceration further exasperates these factors via invisibility, economic and social challenges, trauma, instability in family relationships and structure, and ultimately potential negative outcomes well into adulthood (Antle et al., 2019; Bouchet, 2008; Murray et al., 2012; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020). Bronfenbrenner's (1977) multilevel framework, EST, provided a foundation for understanding human development relative to paternal incarceration because EST expands and merges naturalistic and experimental approaches by moving beyond direct observation of behavior and integrating the examination of multi-systems within an individual's immediate and broader environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1994; Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditto, 2018). A distinctive feature of EST, the developing individual, related to this study's topic on African

American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration, permitting reconceptualization of the environment from their perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

The underlying assumptions of EST include (a) researchers move beyond direct observation, (b) researchers should not examine only a single setting within an individual's multi-person system, (c) researchers should acknowledge aspects of the environment beyond an individual's immediate environment, and (d) naturalistic and experimental approaches should converge and expand relative to the conceptions of the environment that underlie each system (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979). EST theorists conceive the ecological environment as five subsystems of nested structures, each nestled inside the next guiding and supporting human growth (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1994). The five subsystems include the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994); each of these systems is necessary to capture the complex dynamics that occur across multiple contextual levels for individuals who experience paternal incarceration (Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditto, 2018). Thus, EST helped explain interpersonal relationships between multiple settings inclusive of participants (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditto, 2018). The EST complimented transcendental phenomenological methods.

Literature Review Related to Key Concepts

Historical Overview

Since inception, imprisonment as a sanction evolved. From public capital and corporal punishment to long-term incarceration, overseers utilized imprisonment to detain individuals deemed convicts, criminals, vagrants, beggars, debtors, and witnesses with

changes relative to its role, purpose, and structure over time (Rubin, 2016, 2018; Rubin & Reiter, 2018). To understand the historical use of imprisonment, in the following sections, this literature review includes the periods from antiquity to contemporary 20th century.

Imprisonment in Biblical Antiquity

Authoritarians utilized imprisonment to confine the accused and condemned before Christ (Marshall, 2003; O'Connor, 2014; Tsougarakis, 2014). Biblical scholars contended lex talionis justice reinforced harsh retribution as the philosophical purpose of imprisonment (Pritikin, 2006; Roth, 2014). Officials placed strong emphasis on physical mutilation, torture, and public humiliation (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Marshall, 2003; O'Connor, 2014). Although antediluvian prisons varied (O'Connor, 2014), prisons consisted of underground dungeons or empty cisterns to temporarily detain offenders awaiting adjudication, not to punish and correct criminals (Breytenbach, 2016; Goga, 2015; O'Connor, 2014; Tsougarakis, 2014). Archaeologists described ancient prisons as dark, disease-infested, overcrowded, and miserable places (Marshall, 2003).

Disciplinarians initially incarcerated offenders unable to pay their fines (Breytenbach, 2016; Geltner, 2008a; Marshall, 2003; Tsougarakis, 2014), but as social organization increased, written language facilitated the enactment of a legal system (Roth, 2014). The institution of prison based increasingly on compensation, created a marginalized discriminatory system between upper class and lower-class violators, thereby creating the slave class (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Breytenbach, 2016). Imperators also utilized imprisonment to secure the ruler's self-interests (Gould, 2012; Tsougarakis, 2014).

Crime and Punishment in the Medieval Ages

The Medieval, Middle, or synonymously Dark Ages, marked a shift from imprisoning individuals for monetary fines or individuals awaiting adjudication (Crutchfield, 2017; de las Heras Santos, 2014; Gould, 2012; Tsougarakis, 2014), to establishing the penal role of prisons as punitive institutions (Geltner, 2006, 2013; Pugh, 1968; Tsougarakis, 2014). However, some scholarship attributed prisons as punitive institutions to the late 18th century (Foucault, 1975/1977; Pugh, 1968; Rusche & Kirchheimer, 1939/2003). Religious and secular political powers amended prison development by undertaking challenges relative to the philosophical purpose of prison and punishment, proportionality of punishment to the offense, prison conditions, and the gradual separation of church and state throughout the adjudicatory process (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Geltner, 2008a, 2008b; Tsougarakis, 2014).

Throughout the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical leaders gained power in religious and public proceedings rejecting retribution as the philosophical purpose of prison; and upheld strong aversion to blood sanctions and public humiliation in favor of repentance and rehabilitation (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Frost & Harpending, 2015; O'Connor, 2014; Tsougarakis, 2014). Proportionality, prisoner appropriation of punishment to an offense (O'Connor, 2014; Tsougarakis, 2014), gained attention and adopted incarceration as a common penal practice (Geltner, 2006). Initially, authoritarians did not purpose prisons to promote community safety (Gould, 2012), and prisons and inmates were highly accessible, located in center city such as downtown office buildings not purposed as prisons, with limited space (Geltner, 2008a, 2008b) and deteriorating conditions that led

to multiple deaths (Geltner, 2006; Geltner, 2008b; O'Connor, 2014). As polity gained prominence, European government officials authorized rapid increases in the construction of purpose-built prison facilities symbolizing political autonomy with improved living conditions and organization (Geltner 2008a, 2008b, 2013; Tsougarakis, 2014). Perceived resolution to challenges led to the demise of ecclesiastical leader's involvement in political social control and marked the end of feudalism and inception of capitalism (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Pierson et al., 2014).

Imprisonment in the Era of Capitalism

In 16th century Europe, incarceration norms evolved and included new forms of punishment reliant on institutional labor to include detainment within workhouses or houses of correction (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Pierson et al., 2014) and galleys and transportation (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Jackson, 1927; Pierson et al., 2014) for the poor. A copious poor population led authoritarians to revise rehabilitative purposed punishment premised not only on repentance but also on a need for the poor to inculcate conventional discipline of the noble wealthy class via labor—considered an efficient productive economical rehabilitative tool (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Constatine, 2006; Merei, 2012; Pierson et al., 2014). Vagabonds became the new focal point of crime and punishment and persons of power enacted laws specific to vagrants (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Mumford, 1961).

Penal laws evinced inequality among the poor and men (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; de las Heras Santos, 2014; Mumford, 1961). Imprisonment during the 17th century referred to an individual's detainment within a galley or workhouse (Blomberg &

Lucken, 2010; de las Heras Santos, 2014) apart from prisoners awaiting adjudication (Jackson, 1927); however, women did not endure sentencing to a galley (de las Heras Santos, 2014). Workhouses initially incarcerated the poor to help address the problem of poverty and vagrancy by attempting to instill virtues of hard work, punctuality, regimen of honest labor, moral instruction, industriousness, and punctuality (Constatine, 2006; O'Connor, 2014; Pierson et al., 2014; Shelden & Brown, 2003). Workhouses eventually converged to include various types of offenders (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010) and by end of 17th century, more than 170 such prisons existed in Europe (Morris & Rothman, 1995). Ultimately through transportation, European merchant contractors monetized forced labor along with goods and sold offenders or poor persons as indentured servants to meet demands of European colonization of the Americas, lasting approximately 150 years (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Pierson et al., 2014).

Inception of Penal Institutions in Colonial America

Continuing with capitalistic ideology, opportunity for profit, expansion of property, and the search for religious freedom led to English colonization of America (Greenberg, 1982; Jernegan, 1959). Early colonial settlers described crime loosely and understood crime, sinful behavior, and punishment synonymously; the Bible served as the law (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Greenberg, 1982; Pierson et al., 2014). Unlike England, because colonialists shared the ideology of predestination, the legitimate poor posed little threat to social order (Quigley, 1996; Tillotson & Colanese, 2017). However, colonial settlers regarded illegitimate poorness as sinful and therefore criminal, and

categorized the poor, punishing able-bodied unemployed individuals via indentured servitude, banishment, or jailing (Iceland, 2013; Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2018).

Colonists established penal practices tantamount to England and concurrently developed independent ideas relative to crime and punishment respective of religious beliefs and environment, creating variation among colonies (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Green, 2015; Murrin, 2015; Tillotson & Colanese, 2017). English penal practices included the poor laws of England modified for colonial life (Quigley, 1996) and laws to exclude outsiders (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010). Collectively, English colonists enacted laws commonly referred to as colonial laws to meet economic needs, and established restrictions relative to the poor, mentally ill, settlement, labor laws, and slave codes (Quigley, 1996). Table 1 includes American poor laws during the Colonial period relative to perceived regional needs.

Table 1*Colonial Poor Laws by Region*

Region/Colonies	Local Responsibility for the Poor/Relief	Poor Relief/Settlement Administration and Enforcement	System of Poor Relief
New England New Plymouth *Massachusetts Connecticut Rhode Island New Hampshire	Local taxpayers Family Plantation owners	Public town meetings Court or two magistrates determined lawful settling and provision of poor relief Possessed power to dispose of unlawfully settled persons	Three month residency requirement
Middle New York New Jersey *Pennsylvania Delaware	Family Three generation duty of support Overseer system Houses of employment	Justices of Peace Counties	Residency requirement known as law of settlement Implemented certificate system providing reimbursement of poor relief from previous town
Southern *Virginia Maryland South Carolina	Local parish/province/counties Family Three generation duty of support Houses of employment/almshouses/workhouses	Justices of Peace enforced poor laws Counties Followed parish system as vestry administering poor laws	One year residency Three month settlement period

Note. * Represents lead state within region. Source: Quigley, 1996.

English colonists employed imprisonment to secure criminals awaiting adjudication or bail, detain offenders until execution of the assigned sanction, and confine debtors (Greenberg, 1976; Horton, 2006; Rubin, 2014) in jails and workhouses that initially resembled ordinary homes in the community (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010). Colonists imposed imprisonment as punishment infrequently (Greenberg, 1976; Horton, 2006; Rubin, 2014) and initially purposed punishment for shaming, condemnation, and repentance (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010). Law enforcers of colonial times punished violators via physical sanctions, forced labor or indentured servitude, and fines (Greenberg, 1976; Pierson et al., 2014). Early European American settlers utilized capital punishment sparingly compared to England and reserved execution for offenses such as recidivists, murders, arsonists, and incorrigible youth (Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Green, 2015). Concurrently, some historians identified capital punishment as a potential primary form of punishment or at least a critical issue within criminal justice during colonial times (Banner, 2002; Rubin, 2014). As American colonization progressed, challenges increasingly rose relative to crime and punishment, housing the legitimate poor, illegitimate poor, and criminals resulting in mixed institutions within almshouses, workhouses, and houses of correction increasingly producing the number of institutions (Quigley, 1996).

Criminal Law and Penal Reform in late 18th Century and Jacksonian America

The American Revolutionary War during the Age of Enlightenment, and changes in religious doctrine aggregately led Americans and Europeans to adjust practices relative

to punishment via penal reformation (Braatz, 2016; Garland, 2010; Rubin, 2014, 2016). Labor a continued necessity, the practice of transportation of felons to the United States concluded, forcing the development of a system of justice addressing the methods of punishment (Newbold, 1999; Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2014). Incarceration in the form of the English workhouse followed immediately in the aftermath of the American Revolution (Pierson et al., 2014) and prominent citizens updated American criminal codes (Shelden & Brown, 2003) triggering America's first wave of penal reformation (Rubin, 2016). Acknowledging the need for labor, new penal codes authorized punishment via public disgraceful hard labor (Pierson et al., 2014) and mitigated usage of corporal punishment and the death penalty (O'Connor, 2014; Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2014, 2016). Amid mitigation of penal practices regarding the death penalty, American jails increasingly became overcrowded (Rubin, 2014). Prominent citizens in the state of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, William Bradford, and others, led the organized movement for prison reform and established the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisoners in 1787 (Horton, 2006; Pierson et al., 2014) in response to unintended challenges concerning public advocacy and the humane treatment of convicts (Shelden & Brown, 2003). During Enlightenment, humanitarian thinkers in Europe and America focused on prison reformation relative to the treatment of prisoners, prisoners' environment, and the ideology of imprisonment not only serving to provide retribution within society, but also to deter crime and rehabilitate prisoners (Johnson et al., 2006; O'Connor, 2014; Rubin, 2014).

First American Penitentiary. In 1790, Philadelphia Quakers first experimented with long-term incarceration as punishment (Rubin, 2014, 2016) and introduced America's first penitentiary, the Walnut Street Jail (DePuy, 1951; Johnson et al., 2006; Rubin, 2016). Penal reformists purposed the birth of the penitentiary to reform prisoners via solitudinous penance and to deter future offenders via implementation of long-term confinement (Johnson et al., 2006; Rubin, 2014; Scherrer & Shah, 2017). Multiple state legislatures adopted the Walnut Street Jail model as an alternative to capital and corporal punishment (Rubin, 2014, 2016). Reformists again forced to address the sustained problem of overcrowding, and the problems of violence, rioting, fires, and disease; divided reformists experimented and ultimately formulated the Auburn System, establishing a second model of penal reform and prison archetype (Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2014). Table 2 includes early penal archetypes in America.

Table 2*First American Penal Archetypes*

Model	Details
Separate System 1790–1810s	<p>Also known as the Walnut Street Jail Model or Pennsylvania system</p> <p>Originated in Philadelphia</p> <p>Implemented classification of prisoners by gender, age, and criminality in separate rooms, but congregate sleeping quarters</p> <p>Commenced use of solitary confinement for inmates found defiant toward prison rules</p> <p>Disciplined prisoners via work</p> <p>Taught prisoners obedience and the importance of work</p> <p>Most prisoners held in congregate confinement (Rubin, 2014)</p> <p>Modified solitary confinement to permit total separation and workshop-style labor in 1829 at Eastern State Penitentiary where Walnut Street Jail inmates eventually transferred</p> <p>To prevent mental illness and aid reformation inmates visited by prison personnel and penal reformers desiring to counsel and teach skills</p> <p>Less profitable and more expensive to construct</p> <p>Utilized silence among prisoners</p>
Congregate System 1820–1860	<p>Also known as the Auburn System or Silent System</p> <p>Originated in New York during 1810s and early 1820s</p> <p>Implemented solitary cells for sleeping or night time only</p> <p>Prisoners congregated for work and meals</p> <p>Prisoners could not talk or contaminate each other via communication</p> <p>Inmates not allowed to look at each other</p> <p>Prisoners marched in sync to factory-style rooms in prison to work</p> <p>More profitable for the state</p>

Note. Sources: Johnson et al., 2006; Morris & Rothman, 1995; Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2014;

The Civil War and Early 20th Century Incarceration in America

Following the advent of the separate system and congregate system, the Auburn-style prison increasingly popularized due to cost efficiency (Pierson et al., 2014; Rubin, 2014). Legislators gradually changed penal practices during the period between the Civil War and early twentieth century, and prisons evolved to contain hardened criminals, and unlike the antebellum, various innovations characterized the post-antebellum period due to penal heterogeneity after the Civil War (Rubin, 2014). Due to overcrowding, legislators established new reformatories to house young, first-time offenders, constructed female-only facilities, and created differentiation among northern and southern prisons (Johnson et al., 2006; Rubin, 2014). Reformers also believed some offenders could achieve redemption through rehabilitation of criminals' characters and souls (O'Connor, 2014), but prison did not provide the necessary environment for success, henceforth lawmakers established reformatories (Rubin, 2014).

Civil War Effects on Penal Trends. Since inception of the prison as an American institution, minority prisoners represented the majority of the population (Garrison, 2011; Johnson et al., 2006), however characteristics of minorities evolved. The first group of minorities, European immigrants, dominated the American prison population; before the Civil War, Caucasians of European descent almost entirely filled the prisons (Coffey, 1823; Garrison, 2011; Hernandez et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2006; Rubin, 2014). Reformers perceived early penitentiaries as noble experiments beneficial to wayward individuals and due to the idealized rehabilitative elements (Grasso, 2017), excluded most women, and individuals of African descent, then subordinate (Johnson et

al., 2006). Beaumont and Tocqueville, two French travelers permitted to enter American prisons, found conflicting differences relative to population and race within prison walls stating African Americans represented the majority, however later developments found some Beaumont and Tocqueville reports fictionalized (Benson, 2017). African Americans incarcerated before the Civil War often passed through in the process of transformation into property (Henderson, 2016). Local law functionaries-constables in early national and antebellum developed practices supported by the state to protect and maintain the institution of slavery (Henderson, 2016) consolidating the institution of slavery and prison as democratic forms of bondage (Benson, 2017). As evinced, on January 31, 1865, prior to the end of the Civil War, the United States Congress implemented a slavery loophole (Hernandez et al., 2015) and passed the 13th amendment stating “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (U.S. Const. amend. XIII).

First national reports on prison statistics in the United States occurred in 1850, formulated by the Census Bureau in conjunction with the Decennial Census (Cahalan, 1986). Because early prison census data did not include a category for African Americans, exact figures relative to African American representation in population render unavailable (Cahalan, 1979). Following the Civil War, efforts to maintain social control over newly freed slaves, led to a distinct regional variation within the prison system (Henderson, 2016; Rubin, 2014). Table 3 includes regional antebellum and post-antebellum penal trends. Southern state legislators rewrote criminal codes to heavily

penalize crimes typically committed by African Americans; and offenders convicted by the courts and sentenced to prison or hard labor overwhelmingly represented African Americans after the Civil War (Eriksson, 2020; Rubin, 2014). In 1870, statisticians obtained information relative to the race of prisoners for the first time, however due to perceived ambiguity regarding the definition of terms, the data compared to later reports render generally unacceptable (Cahalan, 1986). In 1890, of the 282,130 inmates of all institutions, 243,627 inmates identified as White, and 38,503 identified as Colored, however the percentage of felons reported larger for the Colored population at 71.37% and received longer sentences compared to Whites (Census Office, 1896). In the south, law enforcers punished African Americans as irredeemable and incorrigible criminals (Grasso, 2017). Nonetheless, in later reports, from 1910 through 1929, Caucasians continued to outnumber “Nonwhite” prisoners received in state and federal prisons, and reformatories by ranges of 32% in 1910 and 56% in 1929 (Bureau of the Census [BOC], 1918, 1932).

Table 3*Pre-Civil War and Post Civil War Prison and Penal Trends by Region*

Period	North	South
Pre-Civil War	Disproportionate representation of immigrants and African Americans, but majority of prisoners of European ancestry	Smaller in size and population
	Larger population	Mostly Caucasian confined
	Prison a structure of racial inequality	Sentenced comparatively fewer people to prison due to heavy reliance on capital and corporal punishments
	Imprisoned African American prisoners both enslaved and free	Less African Americans incarcerated because African Americans were punished by slave masters
	Exhibitions of a new democracy	Slavery a structure of racial inequality Utilized to secure human property awaiting sale and fugitive slaves
Post-Civil War	Industrial prisons	Criminal justice evolved to maintain social control over former slaves and African Americans
	Disproportionate population of African Americans	Overwhelmingly incarcerated African Americans
		Developed Southern forms of incarceration such as convict leasing, work camps, iron cages, chain gangs, and plantation-style prisons Rewrote criminal codes to heavily penalize African Americans

Note. Sources: Benson, 2017; Garland, 2010; Garrison, 2011; Henderson, 2016; Hernandez et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2006; Rubin, 2014

Punishment within the United States evolved and continues to evolve surrounding sustained challenges of how to punish, the purpose of punishment, overcrowding, economic stability, and social control via disproportionate implementation of criminal justice interventions (Fortner, 2013; Williams, 2016; Zhang, 2017). Table 4 summarizes key instances relative to punishment and law across time in the United States. The institution of slavery differentiated penal practices within northern and southern colonies (Benson, 2017; Rubin, 2014) influencing current trends within the United States criminal

justice system with echoing effects across other systems and institutions to include educational and family systems (Besemer & Murray, 2015; Geller et al., 2012; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Haskins, 2014).

Table 4*Evolution of Penal Trends by Time Period*

Era/Period	Years	Penal Sanctions	Purpose of Prison	Style of Incarceration	Population Characteristics	Penal Legislation
Industrial Revolution/Jacksonian	1760–1840	Carceral punishment	Punishment	Penitentiary	Predominantly of European descent	Separate and congregate systems New constitutions—first wave of penal reformation
		Forced institutional labor	Reformation	Jails	Minimal women	
		Corporal punishment	Deterrence			
		Hard public labor	Rehabilitation			
			Restitution			
Civil War/Post Civil War/Reconstruction/Progressive Era	1861–1920s	Carceral punishment	Reformation	Plantation-style prisons	Juveniles	Slow, gradual change in penal reformation Federal prison system established Indeterminate sentencing Peonage regimes
		Parole	Diagnosis	Reformatories	Disproportion of African American men and women	
		Community supervision	Treatment	Female-only facilities		
		Convict leasing/Contract system	Profit	Industrial facilities		
		Work camps/iron cages/chain gangs	Little no attention to personal reform	Big House		
		Corporal punishment	Rehabilitation			
		Compulsory sterilization	Incapacitation			
World War II/Post World War II	1940–1970	Carceral punishment	Correction via individual/group psychotherapy, bibliotherapy, and educational/vocational training	Correctional institutions	Overrepresentation of African American men and women	Political and social change invoking the War on Crime
		Parole	Transformation			
		Community supervision	Reformation/Rehabilitation	Plantation-style prisons	Juveniles	
			Incapacitation		Women	

Note. Sources: Banner, 2002; Blomberg & Lucken, 2010; Grasso, 2017; Greenberg, 1982; Johnson et al., 2006; O'Connor, 2014; Pierson et al., 2014; Quigley, 1996; Rubin, 2014

Contemporary Penal Trends and Practices in America

America's imprisonment rate wavered at a mean of approximately 110 per 100,000 individuals for the majority of the 20th century (Garland, 2001). Since the 1970s, U.S. incarceration rates increased (Eason et al., 2017; Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Wakefield et al., 2016). In 2008, the United States attained the highest number of incarcerated persons recorded in U.S. history at 2,310,300 (Kaeble & Glaze, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Zeng, 2018). Despite recent imprisonment reductions commencing in 2009 (Carson, 2018; Carson & Anderson, 2016; Carson & Golinelli, 2014; Kaeble & Glaze, 2016; Kubrin & Seron, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; National Research Council, 2014), the United States maintains the largest prison population in the world, incarcerating approximately 2,165,300 individuals in 2019 (Carson, 2020; Zeng & Minton, 2021). According to most recent international data, the United States maintains the highest prison population rate at 655 per 100,000 persons at the end of September 2018 (Walmsley, 2018).

At mid-year 2019, U.S. jails detained approximately 734,500 inmates and prisons detained approximately 1,430,800 inmates by year end 2019, totaling approximately 2,165,300 inmates (Carson, 2020; Zeng & Minton, 2021). Since 2009, the U.S. imprisonment rate has decreased by 17% (Carson, 2020), yet, the United States maintains the highest incarceration rate (Walmsley, 2018). The U.S. total population represented approximately 4.29% of the world population in 2018, and detained about 20% of the world's prisoners (Walmsley, 2018). The United States' increased utilization of

incarceration and simultaneous concentration of incarceration among some groups led to the coining of the terms *mass incarceration*, *mass imprisonment*, and the *prison boom* (Garland, 2001; Pettit & Sykes, 2015; Wildeman & Wang, 2017); and social scientists and legal scholars alike aggregated a well-researched field relative to the causes and consequences of the U.S. prison boom (Kubrin & Seron, 2016; National Research Council, 2014; Tasca et al., 2016; Turanovic et al., 2012).

Origins of Mass Incarceration in the United States

Penal scholars attribute the increase of incarceration to President Richard Nixon's get-tough-on crime platform (Crutchfield, 2017; Garland, 2001), President Nixon's formal declaration of a *War on Drugs* in 1971 (Garland, 2018; Lassiter, 2015; Sandvik & Hoelscher, 2017), and subsequent sentencing policies (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015; Kazemian & Travis, 2015; Lassiter, 2015; Tonry, 2014). Increased utilization of incarceration in the United States occurred expectedly (Alexander, 2012; Bagaric et al., 2018). Politicians conflated ideologies of criminal justice reform and social movement, specifically the Civil Rights Movement to gain political interests including election (Crutchfield, 2017; Petersilia, 2016; Tonry, 2014), refute multicultural integration (Tonry, 2014), and fight crime to address heightened public fear and anxiety relative to increased crime (Roeder et al., 2015; Tonry, 2014). Americans witnessed a shift from rehabilitative ideals to corresponding punitive ideals (Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Tonry, 2013, 2018). Carceral scholars tend to focus on penal transformations subsequent to decades following the 1960s (Garland, 2018; Hinton, 2016; Kohler-Hausmann, 2017).

Campaigns and Media. In opposition to the Civil Rights Movement, southern strategists, policy makers, and law enforcement officials alike, developed and mobilized the rhetoric of *law and order* during President Nixon's campaign in 1968 (Alexander, 2012; Blumenthal, 2016; Scherrer & Shah, 2017; Travis et al., 2014). Officials suggested the rise of the Civil Rights Movement indicated a breakdown of law and order directly linking the social movement to a leading outcome of crime (Alexander, 2012). In 1968, republican candidate Richard Nixon rallied against lawlessness and implemented a campaign shaped by a law and order approach (Blumenthal, 2016) and linked crime and lawlessness to the southern strategy of the Republican Party motivated by racial intent (Garland, 2018). Although the Republican Party commenced campaigns saturated with getting touch on crime, subsequent political campaigns including democratic politicians followed the bipartisan movement and endorsed tough laws to control crime in order to succeed in head-to-head elections (Crutchfield, 2017; Tonry, 2014).

War on Drugs. Carceral scholars credit and blame Richard Nixon for inaugurating the *War on Drugs* (Blumenthal, 2016; Garland, 2018; McLean, 2018), however republican congress did not pass landmark anti-drug abuse laws until the mid-1980s under the presidential leadership of Ronald Reagan (Garland, 2018; Mitchell et al., 2017). Republicans dispersed the ideology of the War on Drugs to reduce substance abuse in America (Crutchfield, 2017) but made allowances via differentiation in drug policy for marijuana due to President Nixon's reelection challenge to appeal to both parents, and 13 million newly enfranchised youth in 1971 (Blumenthal, 2016). Alternatively, sociologists and historians posit the U.S. government mobilized the War on

Drugs to control violence (Coyne & Hall, 2017; Crutchfield, 2017; Garland, 2018) and to provide a plausible foundation for the federal government to become more involved in the process of controlling crime (Garland, 2018).

Sentencing Policies. The transition from rehabilitative ideals to punitive ideals paralleled with policy makers instituting changes in sentencing statutes (Travis et al., 2014). During the 1980s and 1990s, legislators created laws to administer harsh, more certain sentences in an effort to incapacitate and deter crime (Tonry, 2014; Travis et al., 2014). During the two aforementioned decades, politicians at federal and state levels enacted sentencing policies instituting mandatory minimum sentencing, three-strikes laws, sentencing guidelines, determinate sentencing, and life without parole statutes (Crutchfield, 2017; Kearney et al., 2014; Scherrer & Shah, 2017).

Consequences of Increased Incarceration in the United States

Policymakers, social scientists, criminologists, and penal scholars alike continue discussion and research relative to the causation of the influx of inmates in the United States (Kubrin & Seron, 2016; National Research Council, 2014). Some academicians attributed the majority of the growth in incarceration to changes in policy (Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Larkin, 2013; Raphael & Stoll, 2013). Despite the antecedents, politicians and academic experts agree incarceration rates increased within the past four decades (Alexander, 2012; Eisenberg, 2016; Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Turney & Goodsell, 2018). Beyond sheer numbers, experts purport challenges and consequences resulting from the increased utilization of incarceration (National Research Council, 2014) and at times, describe the challenges and consequences as unintended (National Research Council,

2014). The expansion of incarceration evolved as one of the most important economic, political, and social developments over the last four decades (Alexander, 2012).

As of 2014, the United States crime rate declined over the previous 25 years by approximately 30 percent between 1991 and 2001, and an additional 22 percent between 2001 and 2012 (Kearney et al., 2014). In 2015, crime rates were comparable to crime rates of the 1960s (Kearney et al., 2014; Pettit & Sykes, 2015). The violent crime rate began to increase in 2015 and 2016 evident by an increase of 3.1 percent and 3.4 percent respectively (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2016, 2017), however in 2017 the violent crime rate decreased by .2 percent from 2016 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018). As of 2019, the U.S. violent crime rate continued a downward trend evident by a one percent decrease from the 2018 estimated violent crime rate, resulting in a 9.3 percent decrease since the 2010 estimate (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020). Social scientists, economists, and scholars alike fail to reach a consensus to explain the sharp decline however some factors may include increased policing, amassed incarceration, and the deterioration of the cocaine epidemic of the 1980s and early 1990s (Kearney et al., 2014). Despite decreased crime rates, the U.S. incarceration rate remains high, and imposes significant expenses for state and federal government, and society (Wagner & Rabuy, 2017).

Economic Implications

Economists and statisticians experience difficulty identifying comprehensive costs of mass incarceration because the U.S. government may fail to organize and collect economic data in one place (Wagner & Rabuy, 2017); expenses differentiate between

federal and state government, varying state to state (Kearney et al., 2014; Mai & Subramanian, 2017); and due to budgetary purposes, economic data may not be consistently maintained (Aharoni et al., 2018). The United States government spends approximately \$80 billion on corrections expenditures excluding police protection and judicial and legal services annually (Bagaric et al., 2018; Kyckelhahn & Martin, 2013). Per data for the most recent fiscal year, in 2017 the average annual cost to detain a federal inmate was \$36,299.25 (Bureau of Prisons, 2018). Including policing, and judicial and legal expenses, researchers and analysts estimate the U.S. government and families spend at least \$182 billion annually (Wagner & Rabuy, 2017); per U.S. government agency the Council of Economic Advisers, direct government costs associated with the criminal justice system total over \$250 billion (Aharoni et al., 2018; Council of Economic Advisers, 2016).

Alternatively, prison stakeholders exist and advocate for pro-incarceration policies (Cooper et al., 2016; Goad, 2017; Scherrer & Shah, 2017; Thompson, 2012). For example, the American Legislative Exchange Council, an interest group composed of conservative entrepreneurs and politicians lobbied for harsher sentences and demanded legalization of prisoner's labor (Cooper et al., 2016; Scherrer & Shah, 2017; Thompson, 2012). Policymakers developed diverse systems to manage overcrowding and the economic costs associated with imprisonment to include privatization of prisons and other business opportunities (Goad, 2017; Scherrer & Shah, 2017). Along with budget cuts in the areas of training and rehabilitation (Hagan et al., 2020; Scherrer & Shah, 2017), lawmakers proposed statutes supported by Amendment XIII to the U.S.

Constitution stating “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction”, utilizing prisoners’ labor as a source of income (Cooper et al., 2016; Goad, 2017; Scherrer & Shah, 2017). Via policies and programs such as the Prison Industry Enhancement Certification Program (PIECP) of 1979 involving the legal implementation of private companies contracting prison labor and operating prisons; and, the Percy Amendment legalizing the sale of prison goods (Scherrer & Shah, 2017), increased incarceration may be increasingly profitable (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015; Scherrer & Shah, 2017; Wagner & Rabuy, 2017). Boeing, Starbucks, Victoria’s Secret, Walmart, Hewlett-Packard, and McDonald’s represent some private companies contracting with prisons via governmental contracts (Scherrer & Shah, 2017; Thompson, 2012) Private prison corporations such as the GEO Group and the Corrections Corporation America (CCA), collectively gross annual profits of approximately three billion dollars (Scherrer & Shah, 2017).

Political Implications

Conservatives and progressives call for criminal justice reform (Petersilia, 2016; Russo et al., 2017). Utilization of increased incarceration effects political issues in a variety of ways. Some prisons detain more inmates than originally designed thereby creating the concern of overcrowding (Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Petersilia, 2016). Overcrowding challenged the Constitution’s Eighth Amendment prohibiting cruel and unusual punishment (U.S. Const. amend. VIII). As a result, on May 23, 2011 in *Brown v. Plata*, the California Supreme Court ruled overcrowding within California’s prisons

violated the U.S. Constitution's 8th amendment and ordered the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation to reduce the state's prison population by approximately 33,000 inmates within 2 years.

Politicians and lawmakers continue to use laws and regulations for political interests despite potential negative effects for marginalized populations. For example, the U.S. disenfranchised population represents approximately 6.1 million people due to felony convictions (Uggen et al., 2016). Yet, the U.S. Census Bureau influences the political representation of localities by counting inmates as residents of the geographical location of the prison facility located in rural areas, decreasing political representation in urban areas while increasing political representation in rural areas (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015). In addition, disenfranchisement laws vary state to state (Uggen et al., 2016).

Social Implications

The negative consequences of increased incarceration reach beyond the incarcerated individual and impose multi-systemic implications on the family and community (Adams, 2018; Gottlieb, 2016; Kearney et al., 2014; Tasca et al., 2016). The unequal distribution of incarceration led to disproportionality among marginalized racial and ethnic minorities, and lower-class communities relative to education and income (Western & Smith, 2018; Wildeman & Wang, 2017).

Demography of Incarceration. The U.S. government's increased utilization of incarceration corroborated and aggregated the experience of imprisonment demographically (Turney & Goodsell, 2018; Western & Smith, 2018). Although the experience of incarceration generalizes across multiple demographics within the U.S.

population, imprisonment is increasingly prevalent among specific populations. Along with extensive literature relative to incarceration, scholars document a rich body of literature with demographic intersections across gender, age, race and ethnicity, and social class (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016).

Remaining unchanged, since 2016, 93% of incarcerated individuals are male (Bureau of Prisons, 2021; Carson, 2018; Shannon et al., 2017). Although females represent seven percent of the incarcerated population, females increasingly received sentences of more than one year in 2016 (Carson, 2018). Relative to age, disregarding inmates sentenced to jails and private prisons, among prisoners detained within state or federal corrections in 2016, inmates between the ages of 20 to 49 represented 79.4% of male inmates irrespective of race and ethnicity (Carson, 2018). Funneling through demographics, when researchers consider age, race and ethnicity, and social class, relative to incarceration, disparities exist (Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Freiburger & Sheeran, 2017; Nowacki, 2018).

Disproportionality at the Intersections of Race and Ethnicity, Gender, Age, Education, and Social Class. Empirical research exists relative to disciplinary disproportionality found within the institution of prison (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015; Warren et al., 2012; Western, 2014) and the institution of education, K–12 (Bryan, 2017; Welsh & Little, 2018). Incarceration appears endemic among disadvantaged and poor, young, minority males (Pettit, 2012; Shannon et al. 2017; Western, 2014; Wildeman & Wang, 2017). Some groups experience incarceration as a normal stage in the life course (Pettit & Western, 2004; Shannon et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2018; Western, 2006;

Western, 2014; Wildeman & Wang, 2017; Wildeman et al., 2016). Because of disproportionality contained within increased incarceration, the U.S. criminal justice system perpetuates inequality (Alexander, 2012; Ewert et al., 2014; Gottlieb, 2016; Western, 2014; Wildeman, Goldman et al., 2018). Similarly, low-income, male, minority students experience disproportionate school discipline potentially reinforcing educational inequality in students' early formative years, garnering increased attention (Barbarin, 2015; Skiba, 2015; Welsh & Little, 2018).

Disproportionality Among African American Males. Among incarcerated individuals, racial disparity appears with an increased risk for African American males (Eriksson, 2020; McLeod et al., 2019; Pettit, 2012; Shannon et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2018). Approximately one in three African American males may experience incarceration (Wildeman & Wang, 2017). Thirty percent of African American males experience the process of arrest by age 18 compared to 22% of Caucasian males; growing to 49% by age 23 for African American males, and to 38% for Caucasian males (Brame et al., 2014). As of 2019, compared to the U.S. total population including Puerto Rico, Caucasians represent about 76.3% and African Americans represent about 13.4% of the total population; respective to males, Caucasian males represent about 39.3%, and African American males represent about 6.4% of the total population (BOC, 2020). Between 1948 and 2010, approximately 3% of the total U.S. population and 15% of the African American adult male population ever experienced incarceration, and persons with a felony conviction represented approximately 8% of all adults, and 33% of African American adult males (Shannon et al., 2017). In 2019, including jail populations, African

American adult male incarceration representation more than quintuples in comparison to African American adult male representation in the U.S. population at 34% vs. 6.4% respectively (BOC, 2020; Carson, 2020; Zeng & Minton, 2021). At the intersection of age and gender, youth further disadvantaged African American males during sentencing (Freiburger & Sheeran, 2017). Teen-adult offenders aged 18–20 compared to young adult defendants aged 21–34 of the same race-gender group, are less likely to receive incarceration in all groups except African American males (Steffensmeier et al., 2016).

African American males of low educational attainment further increase the probability of experiencing incarceration within the life course (Pettit, 2012; Pettit & Sykes, 2015; Pettit & Western, 2004; Taylor et al., 2018; Wildeman, Goldman, et al., 2018). Among men born between 1965 and 1969, 30 percent of African Americans without a college education and approximately 60 percent of high school dropouts experienced imprisonment by 1999 (Ewert et al., 2014; Pettit & Western, 2004). By 2008, African American males who failed to complete high school were about 20 times more likely to experience imprisonment than college attendees (Western & Muller, 2013). In 2012, one in three African American men with less than a high school diploma experienced incarceration (Pettit & Sykes, 2015).

African American Males, the School to Prison Pipeline, and K–12 Education in the United States. Correlations between practices of the U.S. public school system and prison system exist (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Bryan, 2017). Relative to punishment and corresponding with the U.S. criminal justice system, African American males disproportionately receive school discipline (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Barbarin,

2010; Barbarin, 2013; Barbarin, 2015; Bryan, 2017, Mallett, 2017; Toldson & Johns, 2016) contributing to what educational scholarship refers to as the school-to-prison pipeline where African American males funnel from public school into the criminal justice system (Bryan, 2017; Dancy, 2014; Skiba et al., 2014). Trends relative to school discipline, special education, and educational completion corroborate the STPP (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Bryan, 2017; Wright & Ford, 2016).

The school-to-prison pipeline evidences a chronological trajectory for African American males (Bryan, 2017; Skiba, 2015; Wright & Ford, 2016). Similar to tough on crime policies, school policies such as “zero tolerance” in some states originally intended to decrease school shootings, a crime mostly committed by Caucasian males (Skiba, 2014; Triplett et al., 2014) and in other states to expel students for drug and gang-related activity (Mallett, 2016); hypercriminalize African American males evidenced by disproportionate suspensions and expulsions (Bell, 2015; Rios, 2006; Skiba & Losen, 2016; Triplett et al., 2014; Warren, 2016). Beginning in early childhood education, African American boys represent approximately nine percent of kindergarteners, yet African American boys represent between 48% and 50% of all suspensions and expulsions among early childhood students (Office for Civil Rights, 2014). Continuing into secondary schools, African American males represent approximately 17% of students suspended at least one time, in comparison to Caucasian male counterparts who represent approximately 7.4% of students suspended at least once within the same population (Howard, 2014).

Correlates also exist among special education to include low academic performance, and secondary education completion within the school-to-prison pipeline trajectory among African American males (Barbarin, 2010; Bryan, 2017). African American males represent approximately 16.4% of special education students (Bryan, 2017; Howard, 2014). Corroborating the relationship between the school-to-prison pipeline and the justice system, low academic achievement influences future spatial needs for prisons (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Barbarin, 2013). Because African American males represent a prominent proportion of incarcerated persons, the number of African American preschool aged boys models the number of people who may be incarcerated within the next 15 to 20 years (Barbarin, 2010). African American boys generally leave early education at reading levels two to three standard deviations lower than Caucasian males: third and fourth grade reading scores also determine future spatial prison needs (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Bryan, 2017).

Relative to the reading assessment scores per the U.S. Department of Education's National Assessment of Educational Progress, at grade 4, African American students achieved an average score of 206, indicating basic skill assessment and Caucasian students achieved an average score of 232, indicating proficient skill assessment (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017). By grade 12, the Caucasian to African American reading achievement gap increased by 30 points in 2015 (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017; Snyder et al., 2018) supporting educational findings, African American males continue to lag behind Caucasian peers as they progress through school, particularly in literacy (Barbarin, 2015).

In addition to the number of African American preschool aged boys and third and fourth grade reading scores, high school dropout rates determine prison spatial needs (Bryan, 2017). Dropout rates among African American males nearly triple dropout rates of Caucasian males, equating to about 50% of African American males graduating high school (Bryan, 2017; Howard, 2014). Collectively, deficit statistical data, perceptions, and experiences could affect college attendance and the successful completion of a 4-year degree among African American males.

African American Males and Higher Education in the United States

In 2015, the percentage of students enrolling into college immediately following high school completion indicated low among African American students at 63% compared to Hispanics at 67%, Caucasians at 70%, and Asians at 83% (Snyder et al., 2018). The total college enrollment rate of African American males in 2015 measured approximately 34% (Snyder et al., 2018). Compared to female counterparts, in 2014 African American males held a college enrollment rate of 38% vs 62% for African American females (Snyder et al., 2018). Beyond college enrollment, African American males' graduate rate trails behind the national rate of 55% for all males (Brooms, 2018) with 34% of African American males graduating from 4-year institutions of higher education (Aud et al., 2011; Brooms, 2018). Resultantly, attrition and retention represent critical areas of concern among African American males in college (Brooms, 2018).

Research literature relative to young African American males focused on problems and deficits surrounding African American males and the problems caused by African American males in lieu of their strengths and resilience (Toldson & Johns, 2016);

to the extent, some suggested African American males represented a higher population of incarcerated individuals compared to college enrollees (Schiraldi & Ziedenberg, 2002). In 2000, national statistics estimated 791,600 African American men represented those incarcerated; however, in 1999, approximately 603,032 African American men represented those enrolled in college (Schiraldi & Ziedenberg, 2002). In direct contrast, in 2011, nearly 400,000 more African American males represented those enrolled in post-secondary education compared to the population of African American males detained in prison (Toldson & Johns, 2016) and some question the validity of Schiraldi and Ziedenberg's findings (Toldson & Johns, 2016).

Since 2000, African American men increasingly represented published literature in higher education (Harper, 2014; Harper & Newman, 2016). Similar to general literature about African American males, problems among African American males relative to success at 4-year postsecondary institutions attribute challenges to areas of deficit among African American males in what students lack and how the deficits contribute to problematic status (Harper, 2013, 2015; Harper & Newman, 2016; Harper et al., 2018). Thus, some took on efforts to improve academic performance and educational experiences among African American males by examining various standards of success, and how successful African American males achieved success in academia supplanting literature as positive, celebratory assets among African American males (Boyd & Mitchell, 2018; Brooms, 2018; Goings, 2016; Harper, 2012, 2015; Harper & Newman, 2016; Harper & Williams, 2014; Howard et al., 2016; Toldson & Johns, 2016; Warren, 2016; Warren et al., 2016).

Utilizing an anti-deficit approach through examining the experiences of African American males who navigated through challenges and undergraduate studies, and attained a bachelor's degree, could increase educational attainment among African American males in higher education (Harper, 2012). Successes in the anti-deficit, phenomenological approach among African American males with a bachelor's degree yield a variety of findings. In a phenomenological qualitative study of 219 African American male college graduates, the following factors contributed to college success: parental assertion of the expectation of degree attainment from boyhood through high school, selectivity in college choice, the ability to complete courses without the stress of financial burden, attending college preparatory programs, participation in student leadership and purposeful engagement on campus, and skillfully responding to racist encounters calmly (Harper, 2012).

African American male initiative programs, a form of purposeful engagement, could contribute to degree attainment among African American males (Brooms, 2018; Harper, 2012; Harper, 2015; Harper & Newman, 2016) and could aid African American male college students in acquiring the skill of strategically confronting and communicating experiences of racism to effectively resist the harmful threat of racism to the college experience of African American males (Boyd & Mitchell, 2018; Harper, 2015). Intrinsic motivation stemming from the desire to improve individual and family life, support from peers and family, and campus culture also contributed to degree attainment among some African American male college achievers (Goings, 2016).

African American young men raised in absent-father households could overcome barriers and evolve to successful resilient men (Wilson et al., 2016).

Paternal Incarceration and Life Course Outcomes

The phrase “children of incarcerated parents” refers to children who experience parental absenteeism due to the incarceration of a parent (Kjellstrand et al., 2018). Despite increasingly prevalent experiences among U.S. youth, significant gaps relative to parental incarceration remain (Boch & Ford, 2018; McLeod et al., 2019; Washington, 2018; Wildeman et al., 2016). Quantitative data regarding the prevalence of parental incarceration contains underestimations due to failure to include parents on probation, parole, and/or detained in private prisons (Boch & Ford, 2018). Parental incarceration involves a web of challenges and facilitates complex experiences, making it difficult to extrapolate the effects of parental incarceration (Boch & Ford, 2018; Kjellstrand et al., 2018; Turney & Goodsell, 2018). Literature relative to the experience of parental incarceration rely heavily on secondary analyses like the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Porter & King, 2015) and the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (Haskins, 2015, 2016; Jacobsen, 2019; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Schneider, 2016; Turney & Wildeman, 2013, 2015; Washington, 2018; Washington et al., 2018; Wildeman et al., 2016), not originally intended to study children of incarcerated parents. In addition, some literature relative to parental incarceration relies on meta-analysis (Boch & Ford, 2018; Lee et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the field of parental incarceration indicates rapid expansion (Boch & Ford, 2018; Haskins, 2016; Travis et al., 2014).

As of 2016, 47% of state inmates and 57% of federal inmates have children under the age of 18 (Maruschak et al., 2021). Concentrated among impoverished, minimally educated, minority, young men, incarceration affects families and communities evident by identified collateral consequences (Adams, 2018; Andersen, 2016; Gottlieb, 2016; Lee et al., 2015; Turney & Haskins, 2014). Children reared with an incarcerated father grew by 77% from 1991 to 2007 (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016). Deductively, because males represent 93% of the incarcerated population (Bureau of Prisons, 2021; Carson, 2018; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; West et al., 2010), over half of incarcerated individuals are parents (Glaze & Maruschak, 2010), and 2,203 per 100,00 African American males experienced imprisonment compared to 385 per 100,000 Caucasian men in 2019 (Carson, 2020); African American children increasingly experience paternal incarceration (Andersen, 2016; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Glaze & Maruschak, 2010; Gottlieb, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Wildeman, 2009; Wildeman et al., 2016). In 1990, over 50% of African American children born to male high school dropouts could have experienced paternal incarceration by age 14 (Gottlieb, 2016; Wildeman, 2009).

Challenges and Collateral Consequences Relative to Paternal Incarceration

Literature regarding heterogeneity in parental incarceration's influence on child outcomes expanded (Washington, 2018). Collateral consequences of paternal incarceration include various negative challenges among children and families (Wildeman et al, 2018). Paternal incarceration disrupts family bonds and increases negative outcomes via familial dissolution (Turney, 2015; Wildeman et al., 2016) and physical separation (McLeod et al., 2019; Wakefield, 2014; Washington, 2018). Over

three-fifths of incarcerated fathers with children under six-years-old resided with their children prior to incarceration (Geller, 2013). Incarceration of fathers could negatively affect family functioning (Wildeman et al., 2016) evident by predisposing families to financial (Ewert et al., 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Sykes & Maroto, 2016), housing (Geller & Franklin, 2014; McKay et al., 2018; Wildeman, 2014), and food insecurity (Davison et al., 2019; Geller & Franklin, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney, 2015). Negative educational and behavioral outcomes among children exposed to paternal incarceration suggest children may experience stigma and shame resulting in antisocial behavior, poor social-emotional functioning, and poor educational outcomes (Braman, 2004; Haskins, 2015; Washington, 2018). More specifically, gendered pathways and life course outcomes may warrant a deeper understanding of paternal incarceration among males.

Collateral Consequences of Paternal Incarceration Among Sons. Within the field of paternal incarceration, the potential for negative effects appears consistent among males due to findings of increased aggression, depression, anxiety, attention problems, and delinquency for sons of incarcerated fathers (Haskins, 2016). The aforementioned negative effects cumulatively suggest increased risk of intergenerational criminality, and ultimately intergenerational incarceration (Haskins, 2016). Among African American boys who experience paternal incarceration, paternal incarceration consistently negatively affected educational outcomes (McLeod et al., 2019).

Synthesis of the Literature

Paternal incarceration increasingly and unequally grew since the 1970s (Eisenberg, 2016; Kubrin & Seron, 2016; Turney & Goodsell, 2018), evident by how one in four African American children experience paternal incarceration (Wildeman & Andersen, 2015; Wildeman et al., 2017; Wildeman, Goldman, et al., 2018.) Because the majority of incarcerated individuals are male, literature relative to parental incarceration includes information potentially driven by the strong effects of paternal incarceration (Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020). Paternal incarceration often affects already disadvantaged, vulnerable, and unfortunate children and families; and often further imposes an array of consequences on children and families relative to child wellbeing, and into adulthood (Eddy & Burraston, 2018; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020; Wildeman et al., 2017). Sociologists and criminologists linked the experiences of paternal incarceration to behavioral concerns, mental health disorders, delinquency, and poor educational outcomes (Antle et al., 2019; Geller et al., 2012; Haskins, 2015; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020). Paternal incarceration decreases the likelihood of college completion (Hagan & Foster, 2012; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020) with gendered effects (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Muftić et al., 2016).

Although scholars increased literature relative to paternal incarceration around the 1990s and recognize collateral consequences of parental incarceration among disadvantaged children and families, considerable work remains (Antle et al., 2019; Wildeman, Goldman et al., 2018). Several gaps remain in literature relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration and some include why some outcomes differ by

gender, why effects of paternal incarceration increase as children grow older, and how changing family dynamics mediate the relationship between incarceration and child behavioral problems and outcomes (Antle et al., 2019; Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020). In addition, how some disadvantaged children and adolescents, more specifically, African American males overcame the familial deficit of paternal incarceration and obtained educational success via college completion appears to remain unknown. Literature relative to paternal incarceration disproportionately contains negative outcomes for children and families affected by paternal incarceration (Davison et al., 2019; Ewert et al., 2014; Geller & Franklin, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Sykes & Maroto, 2016; Turney, 2015; Wildeman et al., 2016).

However, refocusing scholarship positively by addressing how some children and families overcame the familial deficit of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family via insights from lived experience, can aid human service professionals in identifying how to improve outcomes. Research does not appear to include sufficient findings to draw conclusions about the types of interventions deemed useful for supporting children with the experience of paternal incarceration (Gordon et al., 2018; Ng et al., 2013; Noyes et al., 2018; Turney & Haskins, 2014). Insights from the results of this transcendental phenomenological study can assist human service professionals and caregivers with understanding the experiences of college graduate African American males and the lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family, with implications for serving youth in similar circumstances.

Summary

Chapter 2 provided information relative to the literature search strategy, theoretical framework, and a comprehensive review of literature about parent incarceration and children of incarcerated parents. Chapter 3 includes the research methodology for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Chapter 3: Research Method

With this transcendental phenomenological study, I aspired to understand how African American males experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence and achieved a bachelor's degree by age 30, relative to the role of family. Using the transcendental phenomenological method, I endeavored to describe common meaning of the shared phenomenon, allowing myself to set aside preconceived ideas and uncover true meaning (Moustakas, 1994; Schmitt, 1959; Sheehan, 2014; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017; Staiti, 2014). The results of this transcendental phenomenological study include direct implications to support human service professionals and caregivers for youth experiencing paternal incarceration and improve understanding of perseverance among college graduate African American males despite paternal incarceration. The following sections include the (a) research design and justification, (b) role of the researcher, (c) methodology including the processes of participant selection, data collection, and data analysis, and (d) trustworthiness.

Research Design and Rationale

Utilizing a transcendental phenomenological approach, I explored the lived experiences of childhood and/or adolescence paternal incarceration among African American males who achieved at minimum a bachelor's degree by age 30, with consideration to the role of family. The research question for this transcendental phenomenological study was "What are the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among African American male college graduates relative to the role of family in college success?" Participants are integral to research

design (Asiamah et al., 2017; Lowe et al., 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Exploration of first-personal conscious experience can reveal a plausible reconstruction (Moran, 2019b). Next, I justify how utilizing a transcendental phenomenological strategy was appropriate for understanding the shared meaning successful African American male college graduates ascribed to the lived experience of paternal incarceration during developmental stages relative to the role of family.

Justification for Strategy of Inquiry

Transcendental phenomenological design was optimal for this study because transcendental phenomenological design allowed research subjects with the direct experience of the phenomenon—paternal incarceration, to speak directly and openly about personal experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge without judgment to elicit a consciously deeper level and convey research subjects' overall descriptive essence of paternal incarceration (Dukes, 1984; Moustakas, 1994; Qutoshi, 2018). The transcendental phenomenological method permits the transformation of lived experiences into essential insights (Husserl, 1913/2014; Moran, 2019a, 2019b; Moustakas, 1994). Utilizing the transcendental phenomenological method, I explored how African American male college graduates experienced paternal incarceration in relation to the role of family. Unlike physical science, the social phenomenon of paternal incarceration is invisible (Husserl, 1936/1970). With this approach, I investigated the lived experiences of paternal incarceration through the suspension or bracketing of my beliefs and speculations, known as the natural attitude (Husserl, 1936/1970; Staiti, 2014). Bracketing supported the descriptive meaning of paternal incarceration as paternal incarceration

consciously appeared to participants (Husserl, 1936/1970; Moran, 2019a, 2019b; Moustakas, 1994; Staiti, 2014).

The research subjects—African American male college graduates—were not a culture-sharing group, as all research subjects did not know one another and did not attend the same college. Additionally, the research subjects recalled lived experiences, thus participant observation was not employed. Therefore, this study did not align with an ethnographic design purposed to develop a thick description of a culture-sharing group (Fetterman, 2019). Further, a quantitative experiment was not suitable because of the inability to measure or quantify research subjects' lived experience of paternal incarceration via numerical comparisons and statistical inferences to describe, explain, control variables, or predict paternal incarceration (Mertler, 2016).

Role of the Researcher

As researcher-analyst for this transcendental phenomenological study, I collected and analyzed data. I remained involved in the research process throughout the entire duration of this study. I also recruited participants for this study. My experience as a licensed mental health therapist likely aided the interview process due to having experience with interviewing individuals. Engaging in the process of bracketing helped manage researcher bias (Husserl, 1936/1970; Moustakas, 1994; Staiti, 2014). Managing researcher bias remained important because an expressed underlying assumption, who the researcher is, makes a difference in the findings of qualitative research studies (Dodgson, 2019). Therefore reflexivity, or my positionality relative to African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration, and my transparency and

clarity offered as researcher-analyst, likely improved rigor and quality within this transcendental phenomenological study (Dodgson, 2019; Teh & Lek, 2018). I proactively engaged in reflexive journaling to manage the threats of researcher bias, fault, and inconsistency (Buetow, 2019; Dodgson, 2019).

Methodology

Participant Search

I used access to human service organizations in the community and online organizations to target research participants using contact information provided. I outreached online and community organizations with an increased probability of access to African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration. Collectively, I outreached 14 online and community organizations. The organizations included members of the community that were likely representative of the African American male college graduate demographics. I created an executive summary to summarize the basis of this transcendental phenomenological study and utilized the document to introduce this research study to leaders and administrators and requested authorization to elicit participants (see Appendix A). I obtained permission to conduct this study from university faculty, and prior to initiating contact with prospective research participants; I obtained IRB approval from Walden University (approval no. 01-12-22-0302106).

Participant Contact

Following IRB approval, I relied on individuals' voluntary desire to participate in this transcendental phenomenological study. I obtained permission from human service

organizations leaders and/or administrators to advertise this transcendental phenomenological study. I contacted potential participants via (a) social media, (b) email, (c) direct messaging or texting, (d) telephone, (e) Zoom, and/or (f) face-to-face contact. With consideration to the on-going pandemic related to COVID-19, I conducted all face-to-face interviews via Zoom's recorded video conferencing application. Potential participants provided at minimum, their name and telephone number. At the initial telephone contact (see Appendix B), I provided potential participants with the purpose and brief overview of the study, information relative to confidentiality, and information related to obtaining informed consent.

Inclusion Criteria

For high-quality research design to answer the research question, the following predetermined demographic and clinical criteria formed the premise to recruit research participants for this transcendental phenomenological study: (a) identify as African American, (b) adult male, (c) participant's biological father incarcerated sometime during participant's childhood and/or adolescence, (d) participant graduated with at least a 4-year degree by the age of 30, and (e) the participant has not directly experienced incarceration (see Patino & Ferreira, 2018).

Sampling

I engaged in non-probability sampling (Asiamah et al., 2017; Etikan & Bala, 2017), which was suitable because the deliberate establishment of sample criteria purposely targeted a sample of the population to provide data aiming to address the objectives of this study (Etikan & Bala, 2017; Moustakas, 1994). I used access to human

service organizations in the community, and online organizations to target research participants using contact information and employed two non-probability techniques, purposive criterion sampling and snowball sampling. Because theoretical saturation was not achieved via purposive criterion sampling only, I used snowball sampling as a backup plan to achieve theoretical saturation.

Purposive Criterion Sampling

Purposive sampling provides a way of selecting potential participants with rich information specific to qualitative inquiry (Asiamah et al., 2017; Lowe et al., 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). In criterion sampling, a purposive sampling strategy, participants meet predefined criteria in addition to the most essential criteria of having experienced the phenomenon (Asiamah et al., 2017; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Moustakas, 1994). The targeted population for this transcendental phenomenological study included individuals who (a) experienced biological father absenteeism due to incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence, (b) attained at minimum, a bachelor's degree by age 30, (c) identified as African American, and (d) a male. Prior to data collection, during the initial telephonic contact I verbally reviewed the sample criteria relative to potential participants and obtained verbal assertion and understanding from each potential participant. After each potential participant acknowledged sample criteria, a date and time to move forward with the data collection process indicated the individual's voluntary participation as a part of the sample. Sample criteria was reviewed again during a review of the informed consent, just before the start of the face-to-face interview.

Snowball Sampling

I contingently used snowball sampling to achieve theoretical saturation. Researchers utilizing snowball sampling assume participants selected for a study could refer other participants or other persons who may have access to potential participants that meet the same criteria for the study (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Therefore, I asked selected participants for this transcendental phenomenological study to identify other African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence. Ultimately, the snowball sampling technique permitted the ability to identify nine participants for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Saturation

Theoretical saturation or informational redundancy (Marshall et al., 2013; Martirano, 2016; Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Sandelowski, 2008; Saunders et al., 2018) is indicated on recognition participants fail to contribute new information to this study, and I used theoretical saturation to determine sufficient sample size (Gentles et al., 2015; Guest et al., 2006; Saunders et al., 2018). Relative to positivist qualitative research, researcher analysts conceptualize theoretical saturation signals the closure of repetitiveness (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Su, 2018) and recognize the close interconnection between saturation and sampling (Bryman, 2016; Saunders et al., 2018). Although some researchers recognize the importance of saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Malterud et al., 2016; Saunders et al., 2018), others purport saturation in phenomenological research often does not occur (Gentles et al., 2015), rather information power or richness in phenomenological research exists (Malterud et al., 2016; Moser &

Korstjens, 2018). With the goal of understanding experiences among a homogenous sample, 12 interviews likely sufficed (Guest et al., 2006). For this transcendental phenomenological study, I interviewed 12 African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence.

Participants and Research Consent

During the recruitment process for this transcendental phenomenological study, at the initial telephone contact, I provided potential participants with the purpose and brief overview of the study, information relative to confidentiality, and information related to obtaining informed consent. I also requested permission to e-mail, and text or direct message potential participants for reminder purposes. All potential participants agreed to contact via e-mail, text, or direct message. Once recruitment was completed, with consideration to the on-going pandemic related to COVID-19, data collection took place via face-to-face interviews utilizing Zoom's video conferencing application, at a convenient time for participants (Lobe et al., 2020). I obtained electronic consent for informed consent via e-mail prior to the scheduled face-to-face interview via Zoom, and provided participants an opportunity to ask clarifying questions immediately before the start of the interview. To provide an opportunity for participants to retain, understand, and review the details of the informed consent, I e-mailed participants a copy of the informed consent prior to the scheduled face-to-face interview. E-mail was an available option for all 12 participants, thus there was no need to mail the participant a hard copy of the informed consent via standard mail. Participants had the option to opt out of the study without consequence. The following section provides details of the interview

format.

Data Collection

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I utilized an open-ended semistructured interview conducted in English. Each research participant and I, as researcher, data collector, and analyst agreed on the date and time each individual interview took place. Upon seeking permission from each participant, reminders relative to the informed consent, and the date and time of the scheduled interview, were communicated via text or direct message, and e-mail. Data collection continued until the point of theoretical saturation, whereby 12 interviews were completed. I used the transcendental phenomenological method, and interviews as a data collection tool for obtaining information relative to the lived experience of African American male college graduates and paternal incarceration during child and/or adolescence to understand how African American male college graduates overcame the familial deficient of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family. The following section provides information relative to the process of data analysis.

Interview Format

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I used a semistructured face-to-face interview format to explore the lived experiences of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence. I attempted to schedule each interview within two weeks of the initial telephonic contact at a time convenient for participants. Questions for this semistructured interview provided the direction of the interview details (see Appendix C). Interviews for each research

participant spanned about 30–60 minutes and included some closed-ended questions to achieve obtaining demographic information. I sent a \$10 Walmart e-gift card to thank each research participant upon completion of all interviews. The next section includes the data recording this transcendental phenomenological study.

Data Recording

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I used Zoom’s recorded video conferencing feature to record each interview. I acknowledged the use of Zoom’s recording feature during the initial telephone contact, and during the review of the informed consent, just before the start of the interview. Data security and disposal remains an integral part of the concerns in this study and are outlined in the following section.

Data Security

The Zoom recordings and interview transcripts were scanned and saved to a secure encrypted password protected cloud service. Additionally, any physical copies were shredded. I have sole access to the cloud service. I will destroy the data after publication in accordance with the APA manual and IRB protocol. The next section outlines the data collection process.

Data Analysis

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I utilized Moustakas’ (1994), a transcendentalist and follower of Edmund Husserl, method for data analysis (Phillips-Pula et al., 2011; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). As a preliminary step, I engaged in the process of setting aside prejudgments, biases, and/or preconceived ideas via Epoché

(Martirano, 2016; Moustakas, 1994; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). Recognizing researchers bring prejudgments or preconceived ideas—the natural attitude, to a study, Epoché began prior to the interviews, and continued throughout the data analysis process to arrive at results free of my suppositions (Moustakas, 1994; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). I utilized a journal to identify my prejudgments, biases, and/or preconceived ideas before the interviews, in between interviews, and thereafter.

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I recorded and transcribed each participant's interview. After completing the transcription process, I employed member checking. Via member checking, I disclosed textural descriptions to each participant for feedback and verification of accuracy (Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). Through close review of each transcription, I began the preliminary process of coding and grouping, and listed every quote relevant to the participant's lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success in a process known as horizontalization (Moustakas, 1994; Phillips-Pula et al., 2011; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). I utilized phenomenological reduction to eliminate nonrelevant statements and identify the horizons and invariant constituents of the lived experiences of paternal incarceration and college success through the processing of overlapping and redundant statements (Moustakas, 1994; Phillips-Pula et al., 2011; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). I ultimately coded and clustered the data into themes, producing textural and structural descriptions for each participant, and collectively integrated themes for the lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success (Moustakas, 1994; Phillips-Pula et al., 2011; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017).

As final steps, I employed imaginative variation, and intuitive integration of the textural and structural descriptions to ultimately uncover the essence of paternal incarceration and college success among African American males relative to the role of family. Utilizing participant perspectives, I imagined the phenomena of paternal incarceration and college success to uncover underlying factors—imaginative variation (Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). I used NVivo software to facilitate coding and data analysis. The next section addresses trustworthiness for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Trustworthiness

A transcendental phenomenological method supported the purpose of this study, to explore the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30 (Martirano, 2016; Moustakas, 1994). Husserl derived an academically accredited method—the transcendental phenomenological method that provides results usable by social scientists in the absence of experimentation (Martirano, 2016; Tillman, 1967). In an effort to manage respondent and researcher bias, and reactivity, I utilized the following strategies to promote trustworthiness: prolonged involvement to build trust within the researcher and participant dynamic, bracketing, debriefing, member checking, and audit trailing. The following section addresses confirmability for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Confirmability

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I aimed to obtain an accurate description of how African American male college graduates experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevered to obtain a college degree by the age of 30. I utilized an interview guide to establish a baseline for participant interviews and improve consistency. Inclusion criteria for participants relative to having experienced the phenomena of paternal incarceration and college success likely contributed to improved confirmability. Nonetheless, confirmability remained a limitation due to the inability to control for how participants responded to the interview questions. For this transcendental phenomenological study, replicability relates to confirmability, and the study protocols appear replicable (Bryman, 2016; Moustakas, 1994). My role as the researcher for this transcendental phenomenological study remained an important construct. The subsequent section identifies my role as the researcher.

Ethical Protection of Participants

For this phenomenological study, I maintained ethical protection of research participants (Anderson & Corneli, 2017; Lobe et al., 2020). In safeguarding the information divulged, I coded participants' identifying information to maintain confidentiality, protected identity, and maintained integrity throughout the research process (Anderson & Corneli, 2017; Petrova et al., 2016). I provided transparency about the research process via written informed consent. I assigned pseudonyms to participants' information (Anderson & Corneli, 2017; Petrova et al., 2016). The next section provides

information relative to supportive services in the event a participant should experience clinical psychological symptoms.

Professional Counseling Services

I remained cognizant of participant risk and keeping with beneficence, I provided a list of professional counseling services prior to conducting interviews (see Appendix D). In recognition of requiring participants to relive a familial deficient, I offered referrals to outpatient providers in the event participants began to express or disclose levels of distress. However, no participant expressed or disclosed any level of distress. Participation in this transcendental phenomenological study was voluntary. I provided expressions of gratitude to each participant via e-mail and a \$10 Wal-Mart e-gift card.

Summary

Chapter 3 provided information relative to research design and justification, the role of the researcher, and a comprehensive outline of the methodology for this transcendental phenomenological study. Chapter 4 contains the research findings for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Chapter 4: Results

Information on African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration is often derived from secondary analyses not originally intended assessing children and families affected by paternal incarceration (Boch & Ford, 2018; Morris, 2017; Poehlmann & Eddy, 2013; Poehlmann et al., 2010). Therefore, human service professionals responsible for designing and implementing interventions may benefit from the direct insights of African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration who participated in this transcendental phenomenological study. Utilizing a transcendental phenomenological approach, I explored the lived experiences of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30; and gained an understanding of direct primary perspectives to describe the essence of paternal incarceration and college success as experienced by participants. This chapter contains the research findings and includes specific details relative to (a) setting, (b) demographics, (c) data collection, (d) data analysis and the results, (e) discrepant cases, and (f) evidence of trustworthiness.

Setting

With consideration to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted face-to-face interviews via Zoom's recorded video conferencing application between January 31, 2022 and February 14, 2022. This transcendental phenomenological study included participants whose collective lived experiences occurred in the United States, with a

geographical location ranging from Southeastern Virginia to Washington, DC or the central Atlantic coast.

Demographics

Participant demographics were homogeneous in nature. Participants were a homogeneous group of African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration during the specified developmental stages of childhood and/or adolescence. Participants also obtained at minimum, a bachelor's degree by the age of 30. The youngest participant was 21 years old.

Data Collection

As a preliminary step, I engaged in the process of setting aside prejudgments, biases, and/or preconceived ideas via epoché (Martirano, 2016; Moustakas, 1994; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017) through reflexive journaling. I interviewed 12 individuals who identified as African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration during the developmental stages of childhood and/or adolescence, utilizing an open-ended semistructured format in English. Pseudonyms were used to protect the participants' identity: PAR1 for the first participant, PAR2 for the second participant, and so forth to PAR12.

With consideration to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted face-to-face interviews via Zoom's recorded video conferencing application. I utilized a set of approved interview questions to guide the semistructured interviews (see Appendix C) to the point of theoretical saturation when interviewees had no new insight into the phenomenon under review. Interviews for each research participant spanned about 30–60

minutes. Participants were interviewed one time, at the agreed on time and date scheduled during the initial telephonic contact (Appendix B). I retrieved recorded interviews from Zoom's software and transcribed the interviews. The Zoom recordings and interview transcripts were saved to a secure encrypted password-protected cloud service. I reviewed transcripts for rich information relative to the participant's lived experiences. I used NVivo 12 for Mac software to organize and analyze the data.

Variations in Data Collection

Relative to inclusive criteria, variations exist from the intended plan regarding the following criteria: (a) participant graduated with at least a 4-year degree by the age of 30, and (b) the participant has not directly experienced incarceration. At the time of scheduled interviews, PAR2 had not graduated with at least a 4-year degree by the age of 30. However, he met this criterion 3 months post interview. Regarding no direct experience of incarceration, PAR8 indicated a direct experience of incarceration as a juvenile, but no direct experience of incarceration as an adult. I continued to factor PAR2 and PAR8's data into this study's results.

Data Analysis

For this transcendental phenomenological study, I utilized Moustakas's (1994), modified van Kaam (1959, 1966) method of analysis for phenomenological data. Recognizing that researchers bring prejudgments or preconceived ideas to a study, epoché began prior to the interviews and continued throughout the data analysis process to arrive at results free of my suppositions (Moustakas, 1994; Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). I utilized a reflexive journal to identify prejudgments, biases, and/or

preconceived ideas before the interviews, in between interviews, and thereafter.

After reflexive journaling commenced, I conducted, recorded, and transcribed each participant's interview. After completing the transcription process, I employed member checking. Via member checking, I disclosed textural descriptions to each participant for feedback and verification of accuracy via e-mail (Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). Participants verified accuracy via email. Upon completion of this process, I treated each interview as its own data set and utilized Moustakas' (1994), modified van Kaam (1959, 1966) method of analysis which guided the data analysis for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Moustakas' Modified van Kaam Analysis

Utilizing Moustakas' modified van Kaam (1959, 1966) analysis, I completed the following seven steps for this transcendental phenomenological study (Moustakas, 1994). These seven steps provided guidance in the data analysis process for this human science research (Moustakas, 1994) and resulted in the findings as discussed in the ensuing sections. This inductive process supported the emergence of themes relative to the participants' lived experiences.

Step 1, horizontalization, requires conscious thought via active listening when processing the content of participant interviews to extract statements or expressions relevant to the phenomena, in this instance, paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family (Moustakas, 1994). Horizontalization is where I as the researcher began the preliminary process of coding and grouping, treating every expression as equally important (Moustakas, 1994). The process of horizontalization

permitted me to see developing trends relevant to how African American male college graduates experienced paternal incarceration relative to the role of family (Moustakas, 1994). Here, ideas began to develop through each participant's unique experience. For example, a developing trend I began to recognize upon the initial review of each transcript was the idea of some form of difficulty or struggle related to the lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family. This was evident by several participant's use of the words "rough," "tough," and "hard."

Step 2, reduction and elimination is the process through which I eliminated non-relevant statements or expressions and reduced the data to more exact descriptive terms to reveal horizons that evolved to represent the invariant constituents of the lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success from the direct perspectives of African American male college graduates (Moustakas, 1994). Expressions were reduced or eliminated after I determined if the expression was important to the participant's lived experience and whether I had the ability to label the expression in descriptive terms (Moustakas, 1994). Expressions that did not meet the criteria were eliminated (Moustakas, 1994). After the removal of superfluous expressions, I determined what statements could be reduced to more descriptive terms for each participant. For example, PAR7 stated, "so it's just you become the man of the house" was made more descriptive in terms of responsibility.

Step 3, thematizing the invariant constituents, involves the exploration of latent meanings and grouping (Moustakas, 1994). Here, I began to process the remaining data that passed the two-question test, known as *invariant constituents*, and looked for the

latent meanings and grouped or clustered excerpts based on the latent meaning (Moustakas, 1994). These groupings ultimately formed the themes that expressed the lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family for each participant (Moustakas, 1994). With the research question in mind, I searched for latent meaning within clustered participant excerpts that evolved to form two thematic categories, and nine core themes. I considered such themes when four or more occurrences became evident in interview transcripts (Table 5).

Table 5*Thematic Categories, Core Themes, and Invariant Constituents*

Core Themes	Invariant Constituents	N (# of participants)	n (# of corresponding participant responses)
Familial Challenges of Paternal Incarceration			
Habitual offenses or patterns of behavior	Drug related offense, multiple incarcerations, paternal absenteeism despite incarceration		7
Delayed understanding or confusion	Did not understand what was happening, understood later in life, not privy to certain information as a child	12	9
Emotional avoidance or internalization of emotions	Did not talk about emotions/suppressed, acted out due to internalization of emotions, masked emotion		12
Socioeconomic hardship	Material hardship, housing/neighborhood disadvantage, caregiver worked a lot, more than one child/siblings		11
Longing for father	Peer comparison, milestone events, gender-role teachings		11
Ameliorating Familial Factors of Paternal Incarceration to College Success			
Enrolled and supported youth participation in extracurricular activities	Sports, music, political or community programs, church		11
Cultivated stable support system	Changed environment, provided encouragement, modeled positive behaviors and characteristics		12
Endorsed experienced based decision making	Self, others	12	11
Fostered independence and responsibility	Personal drive, lead for others, man of the house		8

Applying Step 4, validation, checking the themes against the data, was the process of examining the generated themes against the datasets (Moustakas, 1994). In doing so, I was able to support how my themes were representative of the participants' lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family; this helped to tell the participant's story (Moustakas, 1994). At this stage, a two-question test was implemented, and for each theme and its associated invariant constituents per each transcript, I inquired: (a) Are they clearly expressed?, and (b) If not clearly expressed, are they compatible? (Moustakas, 1994). Lastly, if the theme and its associated invariant constituents were not clearly expressed or compatible, they were deemed irrelevant to the participant's experience (Moustakas, 1994).

Step 5 involved the creation of individual textural descriptions (Moustakas, 1994). For each participant, I created textural descriptions that utilized verbatim excerpts or quotes from the participant's interview. I referred to each participant's interview as PAR1–12. Each participant experienced paternal incarceration and college success with some challenges relative to the family and ameliorating factors that supported their perseverance in achieving college success evident by obtaining a 4-year degree by the age of 30. The research findings for this transcendental phenomenological study suggested that African American sons were negatively impacted by their father's incarceration, but also suggested that through positive ameliorating factors relative to the role of family, African American males that experience paternal incarceration could be motivated to succeed academically and obtain a college degree. I provide direct excerpts for each participant in Table 6.

Table 6*Brief Summarized Individual Textural Descriptions*

Participant Code	Brief Individual Textural Description—Challenge	Brief Individual Textural Description—Aid
PAR1	It was definitely tough because like I said, I was left with a mother and a sister, so I was missing that male influence in my life.	I just wanted to show my younger cousins that it was possible. I know we didn't have much to look up to and to model our life after and I just wanted to be that male representation for my family."
PAR2	...a few times before that time he got locked up, but it wasn't like how this time was, when I was want to say, well, seven or eight, my pops got incarcerated and he did eight years. So he didn't get out until I was ready to be 16. How that was? Well, when I was younger, I would say it was tough just being that you were young, you didn't really understand what was going on.	I used that as an example of necessarily what not to do. I use that as motivation to not let myself get to that point.
PAR3	Sometimes I think that with it being a lot of single black African American mothers, that some of them take on the role of being the father and need to be able to help mom not struggle.	...it's almost like when I wanted to reward my mom for all her hard work through the years when I was younger as a single parent, and even with my dad and for my niece and nephew as well, I'm like the parent.
PAR4	The guidance wasn't there.	I had a vision that somewhere along the line, I was going to be able to help and make that kind of a difference.
PAR5	...he definitely wasn't there for me to learn the certain male things that a male would have to show me, so it was definitely hard in certain areas,	Mainly because I had the drive, I had the personal drive of wanting to do something with my own life. So even with him incarcerated, he'll still, when I talk to him on the phone he'll tell me like, "I'm proud of you," and stuff like that. So he encouraged me through the phone"
PAR6	You just get sad at some points. You just keep thinking about it, or when holidays come around, I think it would be pretty sad, sometimes pretty depression.	Just because you need that affection of someone cares at what you're doing, and it feels good, and you're actually working for something
PAR7	I wouldn't even say it had too much to do with it, just incarceration. Because he was just a absent father. You just got a single mom, so it's just you become the man of the house as soon as ... Like, early. As soon as you can, as soon as you feel like you can take on a role like that. And then just perspective on things and life is different, like forever.	I feel like being raised in the church too help out a lot with that.
PAR8	Thanksgiving and stuff like that. He wouldn't be there. And pretty much we all knew that dad was locked up for something that pertained to him drinking. So, that's it.	My family always encouraged me and always tried to protect me, and they encouraged me and gave me a lot of verbal support, lot of financial
PAR9	I could recall, my mom and my sister being the only ones that I had there with us. So my mom was gone a lot, to hold the household down as far as providing for us, making sure we had everything we needed, clothes, food, things of that nature.	Focus on an end goal, focus on making my mom and my grandma happy.
PAR10	And to see my father be incarcerated was kind of tough on me at the time,	I was able to overcome it due to my mother, actually my mother playing the father,
PAR11	And so he was just trifling and would not pay child support. And so that was challenging.	...my success in college is directly connected to social support and what we would call fictive kin
PAR12	Yeah. It was tough at times. There were situations where I could really use a dad. Yeah. Especially when it came to fighting and defending myself. It was times I could really use my father at times. I couldn't talk to my older grandmother or a woman. And I could really, really use my father	So I was raised by both of my grandmothers. So with both of them being strong African American grandmothers, mothers, I think that's what steered me in the right direction with their faith and their sternness. Both of them always pushed education.

Step 6 entailed the construction of an individual structural description of each participant's lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family, using imaginative variation and the individual textural descriptions (Moustakas, 1994). With imaginative variation, I allowed my mind to relax and focused on the textural description for each participant as if seeing it for the first time, allowing the lived experiences of each participant to transcend; and imagined the phenomena arriving at the indication of what was conveyed within the social phenomena of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of the family from the perspective of each participant. Here, the primary interpretation of the data began to form (Moustakas, 1994). Through this process, negative and positive emotions became more evident (Table 7).

Table 7

Brief Individual Structural Descriptions

Participant Code	Brief Structural Description
PAR1	Sad, help others
PAR2	Sad, upset, mad, angry, hope, forgiveness, motivation, purpose beyond self, help others
PAR3	Hope, forgiveness, anger, resentment, values, morals, purpose beyond self,
PAR4	Humility, hope, sad, cried a lot, beyond self, motivation, angry
PAR5	Sad, cried, strong, beyond self, motivation, anger, rage
PAR6	Sad, mad, depressed, beyond self, motivation
PAR7	*denied negative emotional impact Strong, wiser, mature, independent, time management, beyond self, motivation, morals, values, proud
PAR8	Angry, proud, beyond self, hurt, morals values, depression
PAR9	Forgiveness, sad, faith, beyond self, morals, values, proud
PAR10	Beyond self, grateful, faith, help others, morals, values, sad resentment cry, anger, upset
PAR11	PTSD, fearful, mischievous, anger, upset, faith,
PAR12	Faith, upset, anger, forgiveness, beyond self,

Step 7 entailed the construction of a *textural-structural description* of the meanings and essences of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of

family, for each participant. I incorporated the invariant constituents and themes (Moustakas, 1994). Ultimately, I developed a composite description of the meanings and essences of the lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family among African American male college graduates, representing the group as a whole (Moustakas, 1994), ultimately answering the research question. For this transcendental phenomenological study, the research question was: What are the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among African American male college graduates relative to the role of family in college success? Among African American male college graduates, the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence relative to the role of family in college success included negative individual and familial impacts with positive ameliorating factors relative to the role of family that motivated African American males to succeed academically and obtain a college degree, despite the familial deficient of paternal incarceration. The ensuing sections highlight some of the corresponding transcript excerpts that were grouped or clustered relative to latent meaning.

Results

Core Theme 1: Habitual Offenses or Patterns of Behavior

Multiple participants experienced paternal incarceration related to some form of drug offense, and often multiple incarcerations. Additionally, participants indicated they also experienced the negative pattern of paternal absenteeism despite paternal incarceration, meaning at instances where the participant's father was not incarcerated, the participant's father remained absent. This was evident in the responses by PAR9:

“Well of course I was younger, I think I was five or six when my dad was in and out of incarceration.”; at another instance, “But for many reasons, I think the main reason was he kept failing the drug tests.”; and “I think he realized he was hurting us, the family. So, he just vanished and we didn’t know where he was.” PAR11 recounted:

Well, I think from the onset on the surface level dealing with the absent father in and of itself, it is a challenge, it was challenging. Having for me know who my father was at the time, and then not being able to have contact. And then to discover that... [*sic*] because my father was not incarcerated initially when I was told who he was. And then for periods of absence to be met with incarceration was real challenging... [*sic*].

PAR3 expressed, “So I got out of school and I had a letter from him, and initially when I got the letter, I really didn’t know how to feel as far as like him being incarcerated because he had been absent before.” Habitual offenses or patterns of behavior related to the experience of paternal incarceration appeared to have some negative impact on participants.

Core Theme 2: Delayed Understanding or Confusion

Notably, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study expressed the unique challenge of delayed understanding or confusion. Participants appeared to express a lack of understanding during younger years, and understanding at a later stage, as an adult. Some participants directly related the challenge of delayed understanding or confusion to a failure to be privy to information related to their father’s incarceration.

PAR10 expressed:

my actual biological father not here and hearing, getting the phone calls from him, was very challenging for me at a young age. And I didn't understand what was going on or why he was calling me or anything like that until I got older.

PAR10 confidently assured this me of his struggle with the confusion by stating, "So it definitely was rough, confusing though more than any ... the confusion was probably the most that I felt during that time [*sic*]." At another instance, PAR10 stated:

I just got tired of being confused and questioning everything that was going on. And wondering...so I can understand, because as a kid, you don't know if they passed away or anything like that, you know what I'm saying? I was more upset at ...upset at the family that was around me at the time, because it was like they were trying to hold something from me, as if I was a kid. Which I was a kid, but it's my father.

PAR8 shared "The only way I really knew about what was happening is later on in life as I started college and started doing papers and research on certain things, and I would open the door and ask these questions, and it came out then"; PAR4 stated "he made a whole lot of things in life confusing, as far as my father, when I saw all of the men that was around, and I didn't know what was happening. I didn't understand growing up." PAR10 indicated he would have preferred to have known the truth and expressed the following, "show the respect to the child, that I'm respecting you to tell you the truth, because this is life. Because if I lie to you now, and later on in life, I'm going to just keep lying as years go on, until you actually find out the truth, or to the time that I actually tell you the truth [*sic*]."

Core Theme 3: Emotional Avoidance or Internalization of Emotions

Relative to the emotional experiences of paternal incarceration, participants experienced a lack of direct confrontation of their emotional challenges by way of suppressed emotion or failure to talk about their emotions, masking their emotions, and some indicated ultimately acting out due to internalizing emotions. This was evident by the following: PAR1 stated, “I’m the type of person I stay to myself if I go through anything. So I don’t think I really talk too much about it, but I mean, it’s a known emotion” when referring to his experiences with sadness relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration. PAR1 readily admitted to internalizing his emotions relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration. Related to how he and his family coped with paternal incarceration, PAR1 stated, “So I don’t think it was more of a spoken thing. It was just what everybody was going through.” PAR11 stated, his lived experience of paternal incarceration, “creates a sense of PTSD and insecurities that I don’t think most African American men are able to articulate properly.” PAR11 added, “I think in full transparency, you learn to mask it. Before we get to the managing, I think the very initial thing is to mask it...but we just didn’t talk about it.” PAR2 stated, “...dad got incarcerated pushed me to be isolated...I used to just deal with my feelings by myself.” PAR2 added, “like I said, me and my family really don’t talk about, or we never really cope together, I would say” [*sic*].

Core Theme 4: Socioeconomic Hardship

Several participants shared similar experiences of living with or witnessing a single parent, often, their mother provided for the participant and the participant’s

siblings. This was evident by PAR2 sharing, “I wasn’t my mom’s only child...so my mom worked...well she was struggling.” Additionally, PAR2 expressed:

I wasn’t my mom’s only priority...my mom had to provide for me, her and my sister. I mean, me, her and my sister...so it was different... and then my mom really went to work.. so over time it got worse, but it got worse in different ways. When I was younger, it was bad for me because financially, I just wasn’t getting what I wanted... she just struggling. She’s a single, struggling mother [sic].

The socioeconomic resources of time and money were compromised. Similarly, PAR3 stated, “Being raised in a household by one parent, things got tight” and PAR3 expressed a desire to help, stating “I need to be able to help mom not struggle...she was stressed and overwhelmed having two children, 14 months apart. My sister and I was only 14 months apart, no child support... My dad was in Texas incarcerated.” PAR7 shared, “and then my mom was a single mother, so she worked a lot.”

Core Theme 5: Longing for Father

Relative to gender, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study expressed some challenges related to the lived experience of paternal incarceration, demonstrating a longing for their absent father through their reported absence of gender-role experiences. According to participants, external triggers such as milestone events like holidays, graduation, and games would trigger peer comparison. This was evident when PAR1 expressed, “I was missing that male influence in my life...so going to sporting events and the rest of my team had their fathers out there cheering for them.” PAR4 stated:

It was more of figuring out what the other pieces to the puzzle looked like, just because you really didn't get to see the other half of how they could...the guidance wasn't there. It was not necessarily that there were any punitive damages from the things that happened. It was just that you don't know if you have to open a car door or the door for the girl, if no one ever told you to. I feel like if I had a daddy around, he would've helped me. I just didn't know how to navigate to being able to go out there [*sic*].

Similarly, PAR5 stated:

It's certain areas that you would expect, well, you would actually need like a male figure to actually teach you...So growing up there was certain things like girls and cars and mowing the lawn and stuff like that, that I didn't get to learn just because I didn't have a father around. So it was definitely not a good thing."

Core Theme 6: Enrolled and Supported Youth Participation in Extracurricular Activities

For this transcendental phenomenological study, many participants expressed participation in various extracurricular activities to include sports, music, political programs and faith based activities outside of academics. For instance, PAR7 stated, "I played football and basketball growing up." PAR1 stated, "I played sports growing up." PAR10 expressed:

I played basketball in my younger ages, but I played football pretty much. I even played football a little bit in college.

Core Theme 7: Cultivated Stable Support System

Relative to paternal incarceration and college success, participants conveyed an experience of a stable support system. Participants shared a consideration for the participant's environment, need for encouragement, modeling through positive behaviors and/or characteristics. PAR1 stated, "My mom stepped up incredibly." Who made up the support system may have varied between participants, with some participants acknowledging their father as a part of their support system in spite of incarceration. PAR6 stated his father's communication in letting PAR6 know that he was still there from afar was very important and stated, "Even as important as trying to get school stuff. I remember he got me a laptop for college" while PAR6's father remained incarcerated. Of the encouragement provided by his mother, PAR6 stated:

Yeah. I was like, yeah, she's right. I can just go ahead and just push through and just make sure I graduate. So, that helped me out a lot when I was on the verge of thinking of quitting and all that. Okay. Just as far as them supporting me along the way and just even in high school, my grades get bad or whatever, my mom would actually help me out, especially with English, and even in college.

PAR7 stated:

But I mean what I'm saying, my family was there. Even though my father's not there or some things, people say your father should do this or your father should do that. Well, I still have uncles that can ... Uncle... he can go out and throw the football with me. Or somebody else can help me with this, somebody can help me

do this. Something that normally your father would help you with, but I had a strong support system.

Core Theme 8: Endorsed Experienced Based Decision Making

For this transcendental phenomenological study, participants expressed an ability to learn from others and themselves to reinforce decision making skills. For example, PAR1 stated, “My father was incarcerated during my younger years of my life. So pretty much it just showed me that for every action there is a consequence. And at a young age, I was taught to pretty much just make good decisions if I knew what I wanted in life and I didn’t want to go down that path, don’t make those same decisions.”

PAR9 expressed, “So growing up, that made me personally not want to go down the same route. So as far as having a family, leaving the family, using drugs and stuff like that. I’ve been drug free my whole life because I can tell what it did to me, and my mom, and my sister.”

Core Theme 9: Fostered Independence and Responsibility

Participants for this transcendental phenomenological study identified personal drive, independence, or sensed a responsibility to lead for others. For example, PAR7 stated, “And at the end, growing up, I look back on it, it’s like kind of helped me because mentally, I feel stronger. I can do. I feel like I’m strong, independent, you know? You just got a single mom, so it’s just you become the man of the house as soon as ... Like, early. As soon as you can, as soon as you feel like you can take on a role like that. And then just perspective on things and life is different, like forever [*sic*].”

Similarly, PAR1 stated, "...taught me to pretty much be older than my age because I was the only man in my house after my father left. And I was left with my mom and my sister. So it just made me be a little bit more wiser than the rest of my peers."

Discrepant Cases

The utilization of an open-ended semistructured interview allowed participants to respond the way the participant desired. Therefore, discrepancies existed within participant responses. Some responses did not align with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical framework which anchored this transcendental phenomenological study. Additionally, there was some divergence from research literature findings relative to paternal incarceration, specifically related to the son's experience.

For example, PAR7 denied negative emotional impact, inconsistent with what other researchers have found. PAR7 often responded to the interview questions with assertive optimism. When I asked PAR7 about having any other thoughts he would like to share related to his lived experience of paternal incarceration and college success related to his family, PAR7 stated:

"Because in my situation, I wasn't really hurt. It was already that's all I knew, was no father. Because when you have a child and there's no father, and then you grow up, it's like, it's just mom. You didn't see that dad and be like, "Where you going? Where did he go?" It's like, there was nobody never here, so you don't know.....You can't miss nothing you never had. Yeah"

PAR7 also stated, "And at the end, growing up, I look back on it, it's like kind of helped me because mentally, I feel stronger, I can do. I feel like I'm strong, independent, you

know?” Of 12 participants, PAR7 was without siblings. PAR7 indicated he did not have any siblings and as a result, he was home alone a lot and this afforded him the ability to understand himself faster.

Also inconsistent with literature, PAR4 and PAR8 shared a similar experience where they expressed, the family “sheltered” or “protected” them from the reality of their father’s incarceration. PAR4 and PAR8 expressed a positive response to the experience. In reference to his mother’s decision to protect him, PAR4 stated, “she was a godsend... she left it up to us to find out and figure it out.” PAR8 stated he respected his mother for doing the same. Nonetheless, PAR1 responded in a way consistent with literature and indicated he would have preferred to have known the truth.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Husserl’s academically accredited method—the transcendental phenomenological method provided results usable by me in the absence of experimentation (Martirano, 2016; Tillman, 1967). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), qualitative researchers can persuade themselves and readers that the findings of a study are worthy of attention via trustworthiness. Consistent with chapter three, to manage respondent and researcher bias, and reactivity, I utilized the following strategies to promote trustworthiness: prolonged involvement to build trust within the researcher and participant dynamic, bracketing, debriefing, member checking, and audit trailing. The following section addresses confirmability for this transcendental phenomenological study.

Confirmability

Confirmability is promoted when credibility, transferability, and dependability are

considered (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and involves establishing the researcher's interpretations and findings are derived from the raw data (Nowell et al., 2017). I utilized an interview guide (Appendix C) to establish a baseline for participant interviews and improve consistency. The confirmability of this transcendental phenomenological study was promoted via use of data analysis evident through verbatim excerpts to minimize misrepresentation, and misinterpretation of the data collected. Throughout the interview process, I summarized and restated participant responses to give an opportunity for clarification. Throughout the data collection process, I used reflexive journaling to bracket my personal biases and avoid manipulation of the final outcomes. Inclusion criteria for participants relative to having experienced the phenomena of paternal incarceration and college success likely contributed to improved confirmability. For this transcendental phenomenological study, replicability relates to confirmability, and the study protocols appear replicable (Bryman, 2016; Moustakas, 1994). The role of researcher for this transcendental phenomenological study remained an important construct.

Credibility

Consistent with chapter three, I used purposive criterion sampling and identified individuals willing to provide access to information in sync with myself as researcher-analyst. I drew from appropriate individuals to answer the research questions to promote the credibility of the results (Asiamah et al., 2017). More specifically, I utilized purposive criterion sampling, homogeneous in nature which served as an optimal sampling strategy for this study because characteristics of the research question included a homogeneous

group of African American male college graduates that experienced paternal incarceration during the specified developmental stages of childhood and/or adolescence (Asiamah et al., 2017; Etikan & Bala, 2017; Martirano, 2016; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Purposive sampling was a suitable sampling method for this qualitative transcendental phenomenological study because the overarching goal was to maximize insights into a phenomenon via sampling participants who possessed similar characteristics, to analytically generalize this specific population (Gentles et al., 2015; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Utilization of snowball sampling as a backup aided in achieving theoretical saturation because participants had access to other potential participants that met the same criteria for the study (Moser & Korstjens, 2018).

Additionally, I aligned my research questions with the research topic. Data collection and analysis were linked to my research questions, and the theoretical framework that guided this study. I employed member checking. Via member checking, I disclosed textural descriptions to each participant for feedback and verification of accuracy via e-mail (Simpkins & Myers-Coffman, 2017). Participants verified accuracy via e-mail. Peer debriefing was utilized with neutral peers who were not connected to this study. As a representation of prolonged engagement, prior to the interviews, participants were outreached utilizing a telephonic transcript (Appendix B) to support transparency, build rapport, and build trust. I also engaged in a prolonged study of African American males and paternal incarceration.

Transferability

The results for this transcendental phenomenological study were significant for this study's sample of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration. Relative to characteristics of the population, this study was conducted with a limited number of people meeting specific criteria and reflect the rich experiences of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration. The results of the study include direct implications to support staff for youth experiencing paternal incarceration. Insights from the results of this study likely assist human service professionals and caregivers understand experiences of college graduate African American males who experienced paternal incarceration, with implications for serving youth in similar circumstances.

Dependability

Consistent with chapter three, I achieved dependability by enabling readers to examine the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and the utilization of audit trails taken directly from the raw data. I retained records of the raw data, field notes, transcripts, and reflexive journal (Halpren, 1983; Nowell et al., 2017).

Summary

Chapter 4 contained a summary of the research findings for this transcendental phenomenological research study and included specific details relative to the research question, setting, demographics, data collection and analysis, the presentation of results, discrepant cases, and evidence of trustworthiness. Chapter 5 includes the discussion of

key findings, an interpretation of the findings, reports on the limitations of the study, recommendations, and implications.

Chapter 5: Discussions, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Paternal incarceration negatively compounds life course outcomes among African American males (Haskins, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014) and could have spillover effects relative to gender and education (Andersen & Wildeman, 2014; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Haskins, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020; Wasserman, 2020). However, some African American males have demonstrated an ability to overcome the familial deficit of paternal incarceration with successful educational outcomes. Therefore, the purpose of this transcendental phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the perspective of African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence about the role of family and persevering to obtain a college degree by the age of 30.

The participants' experiences included negative individual and familial impacts with positive ameliorating factors relative to the role of family that motivated African American males to succeed academically and obtain a college degree, despite the familial deficit of paternal incarceration. These positive ameliorating factors included cultivating a stable personal support system that fostered independence and responsibility through experienced based decision making. A major finding of this transcendental phenomenological study was that participants of this study were positively motivated and achieved college success despite having an incarcerated father during childhood and/or adolescence. This transcendental phenomenological study's results confirmed some literature relative to the adverse impact of paternal incarceration (Haskins, 2016; Hattery

& Smith, 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Turney & Haskins, 2014), such as low educational outcomes and eventual incarceration (Andersen, 2016; Haskins, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2014; Wildeman & Andersen, 2017; Wildeman, Haskins et al., 2018). The results also aligned with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) EST, which was the theoretical framework that anchored this study, and advanced the limited knowledge obtained from the direct perspectives of marginalized individuals who experienced paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence. However, the findings disconfirm the findings among this study's participants who provided direct insight to ameliorating factors relative to the role of family. Nonetheless, findings from this study affirm some negative individual and familial socioeconomic impacts associated with paternal incarceration (Haskins, 2016; McKay et al., 2018; McLeod et al., 2019), but ultimately supported the need to move beyond childhood outcomes (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Gottlieb, 2016; Muftić & Smith, 2018; Siennick, 2016) and into the gendered effects of parent incarceration among adult offspring (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2016; Foster & Hagan, 2015b; Muftić et al., 2016).

Overall, the findings of this transcendental phenomenological study indicated that African American males of incarcerated fathers were negatively impacted individually and within the family system, by their father's incarceration, highlighting some previously confirmed research literature on the negative impacts of paternal incarceration. Moving beyond childhood outcomes into the gendered effects of parent incarceration among adult offspring, the current results of this study enhance the body of knowledge on how despite the lived experience of paternal incarceration, African

American males could ultimately have successful educational outcomes. The results of this study also add to the body of knowledge by suggesting African American males were positively motivated by their lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role family. In this chapter, I provide (a) an interpretation of the findings, (b) theoretical framework, (c) limitations, (d) recommendations, (e) implications, and (f) summary.

Interpretation of Findings

The findings of this transcendental phenomenological study indicated that paternal incarceration had adverse effects on African American sons individually and within the family system. However, African American sons with the lived experience of paternal incarceration were also positively motivated by their lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role family and achieved college success evident by obtaining a 4-year degree by the age of 30. The findings underscored the adverse effects of paternal incarceration already established in research literature. For example, findings of this study affirmed that paternal incarceration disrupts family bonds and increases negative outcomes via familial dissolution (Turney, 2015; Wildeman et al., 2016) and physical separation (McLeod et al., 2019; Wakefield, 2014; Washington, 2018). Additionally, the results affirmed that paternal incarceration can negatively affect family functioning (Wildeman et al., 2016) evident by predisposing families to financial and material hardship (Ewert et al., 2014; McLeod et al., 2019; Sykes & Maroto, 2016), including housing insecurity (Geller & Franklin, 2014; McKay et al., 2018; Wildeman, 2014). Notably, the research findings of this study align with research suggesting that college

completion could moderate the exclusionary effects of paternal incarceration (Foster & Hagan, 2015a).

The findings of this transcendental phenomenological study also support Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1986, 1994) EST of human development as a lifelong course affected by the participants of this study's social relationships and environment; to be effective, the interactions within the participant's social relationships occurred on a regular basis, over time. Like Bronfenbrenner (1994), participants of this study emphasized the importance of their environment that demonstrated variations from participant to participant. Bronfenbrenner (2005) indicated a need for high social support systems to include the family, school, peers, church, neighborhood, and sociocultural environment, also known as the five subsystems—the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1994); to help individuals make life adjustments.

Overall, results of this transcendental phenomenological study revealed nine important themes that answered the overarching research question: What are the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among African American male college graduates relative to the role of family in college success? These nine themes underscored the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence among African American male college graduates relative to the role of family in college success:

- Theme 1: Habitual offenses or patterns of behavior
- Theme 2: Delayed understanding or confusion

- Theme 3: Emotional avoidance or internalization of emotions
- Theme 4: Socioeconomic hardship
- Theme 5: Longing for father
- Theme 6: Enrolled and supported youth participation in extracurricular activities
- Theme 7: Cultivated stable personal support system
- Theme 8: Endorsed experienced based decision making
- Theme 9: Fostered independence and responsibility

Core Theme 1: Habitual Offenses or Patterns of Behavior

Children of incarcerated parents experience a host of challenges and difficulties to include parental recidivism and negative patterns of behavior (Thomas et al., 2022). In reference to his father, PAR5 stated, “he’s been to jail multiple times.” Several participants indicated their experience of paternal incarceration was related to some type of drug offense and often multiple incarcerations. Participant responses for this study affirmed previous research that attributed the increase of incarceration to President Richard Nixon’s get-tough-on crime platform (Crutchfield, 2017; Garland, 2001) and President Nixon’s formal declaration of a War on Drugs in 1971 (Garland, 2018; Lassiter, 2015; Sandvik & Hoelscher, 2017). PAR2 experienced paternal incarceration more than once, for an extended period of time, due to his father’s continued negative behavior pattern of selling drugs:

a few times before that time he got locked up, but it wasn't like how this time was, when I was want to say, well, seven or eight, my pops got incarcerated and he did eight years...so he didn't get out until I was ready to be 16.

At another instance, PAR2 shared, "my dad sold drugs or whatever."

Participants also indicated they experienced the negative pattern of paternal absenteeism despite paternal incarceration that indicated their father remained absent in their life during childhood and/or adolescence, when their father was not incarcerated. For instance, PAR4 recounted his experience of learning that his father had other children:

It was moreso knowing that, by that time, he had already had children by two other women, so whatever possibility of having a daddy at that point, you knew it was gone for the most part. At a certain age, I think once it got past the double digits, probably around 11, 12, I could say I knew that I wasn't going to have a dad.

PAR4 stated he only saw his father two times in his whole lifetime.

Core Theme 2: Delayed Understanding or Confusion

Parental incarceration involves a web of challenges and facilitates complex experiences, making it difficult to extrapolate the effects of parental incarceration (Boch & Ford, 2018; Kjellstrand et al., 2018; Turney & Goodsell, 2018). Participants for this study expressed the unique challenge of delayed understanding or confusion. Confusion is one of many emotions experienced when a parent is incarcerated (Brooks et al., 2013; Kautz, 2019). Some participants indicated they were "shield" or "protected" from

information relative to their father's incarceration. For example, PAR8 shared, "My family shield ... they tried to shield from us" and PAR4 stated, "I was protected, I would say" with regard to his knowledge about his father's incarceration. PAR4 stated of his mother, "she left it up to us to find out and figure it out ... she was a Godsend ... God bless her soul, but she never talked bad about my dad." Therefore, PAR4 appeared to have positive thoughts relative to how his mother did not provide details of his father's negative behaviors relative to his absence and instead permitted PAR4 and his siblings to come to their own understanding. Despite his experience of confusion, indicated by "he made a whole lot of things in life confusing, as far as my father... and I didn't know what was happening. I didn't understand growing up," PAR4 appeared to support the lack of details. At the same time, PAR10 expressed he would have preferred to have known the truth about his father and suggested he was upset with his family for failing to be forward about his father:

To hear the truth from the front, from the jump, and to hear everything that they were ... to hear what actually happened to my dad. You don't really got to, I'm not asking so much as to tell me why or anything like that, but just to hear so much that, you know what I'm saying? This is what happened. This is why you're not seeing your father. When it first occurred, then I think it would've been more justified or understanding. And I wouldn't have been so upset at them, supposedly, because I would've been upset at my father regardless, but not as much. But I wasn't upset at him as much as I was upset at my grandparents or my mother or anything like that, who knew. Yeah. So I definitely feel being upfront

about the truth and everything like that is definitely more beneficial. At least the what and where they are. So I can understand, because as a kid, you don't know if they passed away or anything like that, you know what I'm saying? So it's a lot of things or they're just away at ... out of town... So I knew it was more than what they were trying to make it seem. And I didn't like that because ... since from a young age, I always wanted to be treated as an adult and some kids wanted to, and some kids wanted to be, and that could be the fault of myself, but at least I wanted to know that.

Children of incarcerated parents exhibit more positive affect when provided a developmentally appropriate explanation, or the simple honest truth about their parent's incarceration (Poehlmann-Tynan et al., 2020). PAR10 appeared to support this assertion.

Core Theme 3: Emotional Avoidance or Internalization of Emotions

Youth with the lived experience of paternal incarceration have been deemed more likely to exhibit internalizing and externalizing behavior difficulties (Boch & Ford, 2018). Findings of this transcendental phenomenological study support this finding. Nearly all participants expressed negative emotions relative to their experience of paternal incarceration. Many participants indicated they were reared in an environment where they coped with the experience of paternal incarceration by failing to talk about it. Only one participant, PAR7, did not indicate his direct experience with a negative emotion, but when he spoke about what others could do if they were to experience paternal incarceration, he stated, "of course you're going to go through things and of course it's going to affect you mentally, emotionally." PAR7 also acknowledged he never

talked about his experience of paternal incarceration per the following response, “Man, like I said, I don’t even know. I don’t even know if my dad knows I know. I don’t know if his family knows. I don’t know.” I found that many participants and their families internalized their emotions relative the experience of paternal incarceration. In addition to internalizing emotions, some participants acknowledged externalizing behaviors. For instance, PAR8 stated, “we never had conversations about it” but also acknowledged significant emotional impact that eventually was externalized. PAR8 stated,

Well, part of ... I think, with me, I was an angry child. I got away from my parents. It went from mischievous teenage stuff to just me being straight delinquent. When I was a teenager, getting away from my ... But when dad started getting locked up and drinking more, I think that weighed heavy on me being the ... I was the youngest of the family, and I just got angry and got away from dad and my mom and just started transitioning from playing sports and being active and pro-social things to doing more antisocial things and being a little more delinquent and rebellious in school and just a little bit more rebellious in general in the community.

Core Theme 4: Socioeconomic Hardship

The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study revealed hardship experienced by participants and their family relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration and supported the assertion that paternal incarceration is more concentrated among economically disenfranchised youth (Boch & Ford, 2018). This was affirmed by participants who indicated they were raised in a single parent home where they

witnessed, often their mother, struggling to work and support the participant, the participant's siblings, and themselves. As a result, the working caregiver was often working, and thus the participant may have been in the care of other family members or home with their siblings. For instance, PAR4 stated,

We had a lot of help for my grandparents too. We had so much help from my grandparents. Growing up, we had to go to my grandparents' house to stay while my mom worked. We would go to church and everything from there, so I was stuck in church a lot too.

PAR4 stated his life changed when his mother was able move, as they lived in an underprivileged environment initially:

I guess, also, it changed a little bit when we moved. As my mom did a little better, I guess we moved up a little bit, because we were on public assistance and everything, public housing. As she moved up and made a little bit more money, of course rent and everything increased, and we moved back from Chesapeake to Portsmouth. When we moved to Portsmouth, that's where my life really kind of sort of rewound, and it was like a total different life almost.

PAR3 stated, "Sometimes I think that with it being a lot of single black African American mothers, that some of them take on the role of being the father and need to be able to help mom not struggle." PAR6 expressed, "It's just hard just seeing one parent trying to do everything themselves, so I feel like that does something to a child as well as far as just trying to do better for your mom and the family. It's just like being able to provide and support because nobody wants to see their parent struggle or have to go through that." As

evident by participant responses, socioeconomic hardship was a reoccurring theme across the lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family.

Core Theme 5: Longing for Father

Paternal incarceration might have spillover effects relative to gender and education (Andersen & Wildeman, 2014; Hagan & Foster, 2012; Haskins, 2016; McLeod et al., 2019; Poehlmann-Tynan & Turney, 2020; Wasserman, 2020). The findings of this transcendental phenomenological study positively surpassed educational outcomes for African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration, and support Foster and Hagan (2015a) in that college completion moderates exclusionary effects of parental incarceration as all participants of this study obtained a 4-year degree, and acknowledged no criminal justice involvement as an adult. Relative to gender spillover effects in relation to a longing for their father, several participants indicated lasting effects. For example, PAR1, PAR9, and PAR11 indicated their experience of an absentee father due to incarceration continued manifest in their adulthood. PAR9 stated, “I don’t know if you heard this, but it’s probably the main reason I don’t have kids right now is because pretty much I don’t want to be that absent father.” PAR11 expressed:

So all through my undergrad, and even into my adult life, it was like, “I don’t want kids because I just want to live this life.” And which I really didn’t, but I was naming it as because I want to travel and I want to get money and all of that. But innately what was not being dealt with at the root was that that had a percentage to do it, because I never wanted the kid to feel like that, if that makes sense?

African American males for this study expressed a desire to be fathered. Participants expressed missed opportunities to learn gender teachings relative to gender related tasks or experiences as such as sports, cars, and relationships with women.

Core Theme 6: Enrolled and Supported Youth Participation in Extracurricular Activities

Participation in sports is linked to positive psychosocial health, social bonding, the promotion of cognitive functioning and reduced emotional distress (Park et al., 2020). Findings for this transcendental phenomenological study affirm Park et al. (2020) findings as each participant participated in organized sports during childhood and/or adolescence and demonstrated the ability to overcome the family deficient of paternal incarceration via college degree attainment. Therefore, participation in extracurricular activities attributed positive prosocial cognitive emotional functioning. For example, PAR2 indicated being on a team taught him:

how to deal with people” evident by this interview excerpt, “learning how to deal with people, being on a team, skills and stuff, everybody. I mean, just learning how to deal with people, building those relationships... So it showed me how to... Every sport team I played on, I didn’t like everybody on my team. And it grew all my coaches’ decisions, but they showed me, everything ain’t going to go your way. I mean, why do you got to deal with it? You got to learn how to deal with everybody or learn how to deal with them for the moment or whatever you got to do. I mean, sports taught me a lot as far as just dealing with people.”

Relative to sports, PAR5 stated:

Helped me keep my mind off everything... I remember when the situation first happened with me, playing baseball and football just helped me keep my mind free. So when I'm playing sports, it seems like I ain't got no problems in the world, I'm just focused on playing that particular sport at the moment or focusing on that game. So it definitely helped me take my mind off of it. And as you got older, it'd be different stuff in life that you'll learn, like the brotherhood and stuff like that throughout the sports, like the bond you build with your teammates and stuff like that. It definitely helped me grow as a person. It helped me keep my anger to a minimum.

PAR1 stated, "I played sports growing up." Some participants continued sports during college." PAR10 stated, "I played basketball in my younger ages, but I played football pretty much. I even played football a little bit in college." PAR4 stated, "I am a state champion. I did run track in college."

In addition to sports, religion also emerged as an ameliorating factor relative to the role of the family. Relative to successful African American men raised in absent-father homes, in part, religion captured the essence of successful African American males' experiences (Wilson et al., 2016). Results for this transcendental phenomenological study supported this finding evident in several participants responses. For example, PAR10 stated, "Honestly, despite my father being incarcerated, the way I achieved success was through God, for one. Getting closer to God over the years allowed me to see a brighter path." PAR8 stated:

I think a belief in God, regardless of the trials, my dad went in and out. He always instilled in me. One thing my dad used to tell me, he was like, “Son... he said, “For God, so loved the world that he gave his only... he’d be drunk. He gave his only drunk and tell him. But, he instilled that, burnt that in my head, to have regardless of all this nonsense, what you see, with everything... have a strong relationship with God. Put God first, and that’s something that was reinforced by my mother too. I think that helps. That helps when you have issues. You can’t understand this, that and the third. You always go back to that. You always go back to your values, and that’s what was imparted in me early.

PAR7 stated:

Yeah. And I feel like being raised in the church too help out a lot with that... But I was also with my grandparents a lot, traveling and going to church, and at choir rehearsal with my grandma. And out in the country, and my granddaddy has his boy house in the field, doing stuff out in the fields. And so I wasn’t even ... I was just well rounded in the church and in the field, in the sports, music. I just feel like all these different father figures, and these different positive role models, whatever, they take me on their role of life. And then I just absorb that.

Core Theme 7: Cultivated Stable Support System

African American males described personal affirmation and social supports as important aspects of academic preparation for postsecondary success (Warren, 2016). Commensurate with this finding, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study attributed their ability to persevere through paternal incarceration and succeed in

college to having an established stable support system. Several participants attributed their personal motivation to graduate with a college degree to their support system. For example, PAR4 described himself as driven and when asked about the motivation behind his drive, PAR4 stated:

My mother. My mom, she drove me, because she didn't get her degree until way after the fact. She got her degree after I got my college diploma. So she didn't, and I actually have her degree here. But my mom, she didn't go back and get her degree until after I had mine, but as far as college and everything that she had, at that point in time, I know people that had masters that didn't have the knowledge that she had.

PAR10 stated his mother had two degrees, and directly expressed, "I wanted to be closer to my mother, in terms of comparisons, than anything like my father. I would say that I give credit to the influence that my mom put on to my life, that encouraged my success in college." The results of this study indicated participants had a variety of relationships that extended beyond the nuclear family relative to who they included as personal support systems. These relationships may have included the nuclear family, but also extended out to grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, friends, teachers, coaches, college professors, pastors, and counselors. For example, PAR1 stated:

I believe growing up and even entering college, social supports played a huge role. Throughout my life, I tried to connect with just males that I saw that were doing the right thing and heading in the right direction that I wanted to be at a older age. So if that was like a coach, I would look to him as a role model or a

father figure. If that was... Even when I got to high school, my success counselor pretty much he was a person that was the link between college and high school and helping us make that big jump. And I talked to him almost every day like a father figure. And he pretty much walked me into college, helping me apply to colleges, wave application fees.

PAR5 stated:

My grandma or my uncle would lean in and give me words of advice or not even like school-wise, it could be like me needing food, like groceries in the house and stuff like that, my aunts will do that for me. It could be all type of things, so food, encouraging words, gas. It could be anything, yeah. They all pretty much did a good job of helping me out with that.”

Of his friends who also experienced paternal incarceration, PAR2 stated:

We all might not have the same story or our fathers may not be incarcerated for the same thing or may not been at the same time, but we all can understand each other. It was just, I’m just glad somebody else understand me or they could... And they’re a little ahead of me because I mean, they’re older than me. So they’re now in grad. So I know it could be done. So that motivates me.

Despite paternal incarceration, some participants also included their father as a personal support. For example, PAR12 stated:

He always wanted me to go to school for law. Wanted me to go to law school. I was always into politics. That was one thing he always pushed on me, law school.

I'm like, why? So I could get you out of jail? So, yeah. That's one thing he always pushed because I guess he couldn't do it for himself.

Of his father, PAR5 stated:

So even with him incarcerated, he'll still, when I talk to him on the phone he'll tell me like, "I'm proud of you," and stuff like that. So he encouraged me through the phone... I talked to him, that was like my best friend, so I talked to him every day anyway. So me personally, it helped me, it definitely helped me knowing everything like... mainly because even though he's in jail, he would still give me words of encouragement and things that he went through that he'd try to make me not go through that same thing, he'd give me words of advice.

These findings support previous research that indicate maintaining contact with an incarcerated father could benefit an individual experiencing parental incarceration.

Core Theme 8: Endorsed Experienced Based Decision Making

Preparation for college begins long before the process of college acceptance begins (Reid & Moore, 2008; Warren, 2016). Thus, the lived experiences of African American males in school and outside of school should be addressed in order to assist African American males in post-secondary academic success (Noguera, 2014; Warren, 2016). African American males believe their experiences growing up in an absent-father home influences how they engage as adults (Wilson et al., 2016). For this transcendental phenomenological study, each participant expressed they made decisions based on the actions of their father, family, and their own. Participants shared examples of how their

caregivers reinforced their ability to make their own decisions such as communication with their father and identifying role models. PAR1 stated:

I think those male role models are important, but I think it's more important for that young boy to find those on his own. Rather than it being forced upon by the mother because the mother might see that person as a good role model but when I see him, I could think the complete opposite. So I think it's more important for that younger male to find those role models throughout his life.

At another instance, PAR1 also stated:

My father was incarcerated during my younger years of my life. So pretty much it just showed me that for every action there is a consequence. And at a young age, I was taught to pretty much just make good decisions if I knew what I wanted in life and I didn't want to go down that path, don't make those same decisions... Instead of having that teacher there pretty much that male's going to have to learn from their self. So it won't be as easy growing up, they will make wrong decisions and that will happen. But it's on that male to use that to make right decisions from there, if that makes any sense.

PAR2 stated:

And then just seeing the choices that my father made things he had to go through or just my other family, a lot of people in my family didn't go to college, not because they couldn't or some people school just wasn't for them, but I see the way they live and not that they necessarily live bad, but I want better for myself.

So just seeing that and listening to some of the things they said, that just was motivation.

Core Theme 9: Fostered Independence and Responsibility

For this transcendental phenomenological study, relative to the role of family, participants often expressed an underlying leadership responsibility in wanting to help others. Participants tended to view themselves as independent relative to how they were raised as a result of a need to take on mature responsibilities or to complete tasks with minimal supervision. Wilson et al. (2016) found that among successful African American men who experienced absent-father homes, there was a desire to help others and give back. Commensurate with this finding, several participants indicated similar desires. For example, PAR10 stated, “And my whole goal in life was just to help people, help people in this world and make the world a better place.” PAR12 stated, “I’ve always been, I remember back in school, teacher called me the ring leader of the classroom. So I’ve always been the leader, never the follower. And if I couldn’t be a leader, I just do my own thing.” PAR2 recounted he was often responsible for ensuring he completed his homework on his own because his mother worked, and had other young children to care for. PAR2 stated:

My peoples ain’t really checked behind me with certain stuff. After they seen me do good in school for a while, they weren’t... Like I said, after a while my mom had another child, I have a little brother... But like I said, going back to my father, I mean, being locked up and incarcerated, it made me just be to myself on

figuring myself out because like I said, when he got locked up, a lot of stuff I wanted, it was taken away. So I became that independent person.

Several of the participants expressed they were a first generation college graduate for their family. As a result, participants desired to be a role model for the generations behind them because participants recognized they did not have many male figures in the family to look up to. For instance, PAR3's lived experience of paternal incarceration was associated with many layers. Still a child himself, PAR3 stated not only did he experience paternal incarceration, his sister was unable to raise her children and her children's father became incarcerated. Therefore, PAR3's niece and nephew came to live with PAR3 and his mother, thus PAR3 took on the role of a father, as the oldest male in the home. PAR3 stated:

Let me be the one to break the mold, and especially when I fell into a parental role with having to raise a black man myself... To break generational curses. To be the example for the generations that came behind me and also to be able to make a decent living, to avoid me from having to do or participate in illegal activities to survive, you know?... I think inadvertently what happened was I became the father figure for the house.

Findings Related to Theoretical Framework

The responses from the 12 participants for this transcendental phenomenological study aligned with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) EST. To understand human development in the context of paternal incarceration and college success among African American males relative to the role of family, I moved beyond direct observation, examined more than

one setting within the participant's multi-person system and beyond their immediate environment, to naturalistic and experimental approaches via research literature (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986, 1994). As a lens for this study, Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986, 1994) EST was evident across all five subsystems: *microsystem*—the participant's smallest and most immediate environment where direct socializing occurs; *mesosystem*—the relationships between the participant's microsystems; *exosystem*—relationship between where the participant does not have any active role; *the macrosystem*—the participant's culture that involves the socioeconomic status; and *chronosystem*—includes the participant's shifts and transitions over the life course.

To capture the complex dynamics that occurred across multiple contextual levels for African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration, all five subsystems were necessary as outlined in the findings for this study. It could be assumed, African American male college graduates with the lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family are more deeply entangled within the subsystems and therefore to actively influence the community, external powers with increasing resources to include legislation are necessary. In the ensuing sections, I connect the findings of this transcendental phenomenological study to the five subsystems of Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986, 1994) EST.

Microsystem

Bronfenbrenner's (1976, 1977, 1994, 1996) *microsystem* is the smallest, most immediate system where direct interactions with the developing individual occur. Individuals are born into a microsystem where the complex relations between the

developing person and the environment in an immediate setting engage (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, 1977, 1994, 1996). The settings also change over time, but the individual engages in specific activities and roles (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1976). For example, son, brother, student, and athlete are some of the roles participants for this transcendental phenomenological study engaged in continuously and/or at some instance in their life. The immediate settings can include, but are not limited to the home, school, and community organizations where the participant experienced direct interactions, nested within the center of the remaining four systems. Important microsystem processes relative to the development of children with incarcerated parents involve caregiving in the home (Poehlmann et al., 2008; Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditti, 2018), ongoing contact with the incarcerated father (Poehlmann, 2005; Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditti, 2018), and relationships with peers (Nesmith & Ruhland, 2008; Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditti, 2018). The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study supported each aforementioned microsystem process.

For this transcendental phenomenological study, each participant experienced an absent biological father due to incarceration at some instance during their childhood and/or adolescent development. Therefore, a natural key figure, the father was absent during each participant's development. Parental incarceration has been deemed an adverse childhood experience, and according to Bronfenbrenner (1994), a participant who grew up in a negative microsystem, would find it hard to succeed. The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study indicated that the lived experience of paternal incarceration was not necessarily indicative of having a negative microsystem. In the

absence of their father, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study described a variety of individuals as caregivers and other influential persons over the life course who were collectively included within the microsystem for each participant. For example, in the home setting, some participants were raised by a single mother, grandmother, grandparents, uncle, or a blended family. Relative to immediate settings, school, community sports organizations, and community resources determined the roles of other influential persons participants described within their microsystems. For example, some participants included friends, counselors, coaches, professors, and pastors across settings within varying microsystems across participants. Reciprocally, some of the varying roles across settings among participants of this transcendental phenomenological study were also friend, client, teammate, player, church member, and student.

The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study indicated participants considered paternal incarceration a negative experience associated with some familial challenges within their microsystems. For example, because of being the only male in the home due to their father's incarceration, participants often viewed themselves as having the role of an adult male, or a more mature individual, instead of a son within the home. PAR3 shared an interaction with his mother where he witnessed his mother crying as a result of the financial stress, she was under having to provide for PAR3, his sister, and herself. PAR3 stated he then obtained a fake I.D. to enable him to work before age 16, to assist his mother with the household bills. PAR3 stated, "... I think inadvertently what happened was I became the father figure for the house."

Although some experiences within the microsystem were associated negatively, participants for this study ultimately described their interactions within their microsystems positively, with constructive ameliorating impact relative to college success. For example, PAR11 stated, “The people that you call cousins that you went to church with or my godfather who I chose as a godfather...I met him in high school but he was the first person that was single handedly interested in my future to where he made sure step by step that I was okay, that I stayed on the right track.” Some participants maintained contact with their incarcerated father and remained positive about their direct interactions with their father evident by PAR1 stating, “Yeah, me personally, I wanted to talk to my dad. Yeah, that’s definitely something I wanted to do.”

Mesosystem

According to Bronfenbrenner (1976, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1994), the *mesosystem* includes the relationships or connections between the people around the participant. For example, the relationship or connections between the participant’s home and school. The mesosystem represents the connections between the elements that surround the participant (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1986, 1994). Relative to this transcendental phenomenological study, participants often lived in separate settings apart from their father even at times when their father was not incarcerated. Therefore, the mesosystem could include how the participant’s caregiver related to or connected with the participant’s father because for children of incarcerated parents, the parent-caregiver coparenting relationship is a key mesosystem context (Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditto,

2018). Synonymous to the microsystem, participants described an awareness of their environment relative to Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem negatively and positively.

The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study indicated some negative familial challenges relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration within the mesosystem. For example, the connections between the participant's peers and family are an example of Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986) mesosystem. Consistently, participants described a connection between the participant's observation of their peers' interactions with their father at various milestone events, and via peer comparison and gender-role teachings, participants experienced a longing for their father and negative emotions. For example, PAR9 shared his experience with sadness related to the following experience, "...not having a dad there and then watching other people with their dads actually having that." Participants shared ameliorating familial experiences relative to paternal incarceration and college success within Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986) mesosystem. For example relative to the mesosystem between the family and church, as PAR7 reflected he attributed his ability to persevere through the lived experience of paternal incarceration to success in college by stating, "Yeah. And I feel like being raised in the church too help out a lot with that... But I was also with my grandparents a lot, traveling and going to church, and at choir rehearsal with my grandma."

Exosystem

Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979, 1986) exosystem represents an increasingly complicated system made up of the link between the participant's immediate setting, and

another setting where the participant does not play an active role. For children of incarcerated parents, the exosystem directly impacts the child's life despite often having no direct involvement with the child. For this reason, children of incarcerated parents are derivatively referred to as forgotten victims of crime (Matthews, 1983), orphans of justice (Park et al., 2020; Shaw, 1992), unseen victims of the prison boom (Park et al., 2020; Petersilia, 2005), and hidden victims of the prison system (Martin, 2017).

Participants for this transcendental phenomenological study each experienced paternal incarceration, and the relationship between their father's role as an inmate and the participant's school and home settings were affected. For example, participants had no direct involvement in the prison system for which their father was involved, however participants described familial challenges relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration that included a lack of resources due to the experience of having one parent, usually the mother provide for the entire household due to the father's inability to contribute financially to the home. As a result, participants described having to be in the presence of others while their mother worked long hours which affected their mother's ability to be present for activities involving the participant. Additionally, the father's role as an inmate affected not only finances, but also the participants' father's ability to be present for various activities involving the participant. However, the participant had no direct involvement in the father's setting within the institution, or the mother's work place, but experienced direct impacts across the participant's settings. This was evident by PAR3's willingness to share of his mother, "...but like my mother always would work like two jobs. So she would send me on trips to Disney, she wouldn't be able to go."

Alternatively, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study also described ameliorating familial factors associated with paternal incarceration that influenced college success relative to the links between the participant's exosystem. For instance many participants referenced a stable support system that fostered independence and responsibility through their experience of observing their caregiver's work ethic. Again, the participants did not have any direct involvement in the caregiver's work place, or their father's institutional setting but optimistic thought as participant's reflected demonstrated an ability to make positive decisions, despite their experience. This was evident by PAR4 who indicated he was motivated by his mother's drive to work and care for their family, to include other individuals he deemed a stable support relative to college success. PAR4 stated, "I had a lot of people I couldn't let down. There were too many people rooting for me that I felt, and I just had too many people rooting for me." Relative to his incarcerated father, PAR4 stated, "I looked at it, and it really didn't seem cool to me...I always wanted to navigate away from it, because just something just didn't seem right." Although participants had no direct involvement in their parent's settings, participants shared an ability to identify ameliorating familial factors to moderate the lived experience of paternal incarceration to college success.

Macrosystem

According to Bronfenbrenner (1976, 1977, 1986), the *macrosystem* includes the overarching culture, religion, and social norms that influence all others; making it the largest system that contains all the distant peoples and places that significantly affect participants, or the developing individual. The macrosystem is made up of cultural

values and patterns (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, 1977, 1986), and the findings for this transcendental phenomenological study suggested negative and positive implications.

Relative to the experience of paternal incarceration, participants shared their experiences with habitual offenses or patterns of behavior relative to some form of drug offense. Within the macrosystem involving the United States political climate, the results of this transcendental phenomenological study are representative of the increase in incarceration due to President Richard Nixon's get-tough-on crime platform (Crutchfield, 2017; Garland, 2001), President Nixon's formal declaration of a *War on Drugs* in 1971 (Garland, 2018; Lassiter, 2015; Sandvik & Hoelscher, 2017), and subsequent sentencing policies (DeVuono-Powell et al., 2015; Kazemian & Travis, 2015; Lassiter, 2015; Tonry, 2014). Participants expressed a link between their culture and environment to the United States's justice system as indicated by PAR6 who shared:

as I started growing up, getting older and stuff, I kind of just start to see, just being observant and everything, just understanding why he went that route or whatever, and how he grew up, and his environment, and just basically how the system was built for our type of community. I just started realizing how that was, so it would be wrong for me to hold that against him.

The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study also identified ameliorating familial factors of paternal incarceration to college success related to the macrosystem. For instance, most participants regarded their exposure to, and their Christian belief systems within the macrosystem as ameliorating familial factors. For instance, PAR10 stated, "Honestly, despite my father being incarcerated, the way I

achieved success was through God, for one. Getting closer to God over the years allowed me to see a brighter path.” In reference to his father’s repetitive incarcerations, PAR8 stated:

I think a belief in God, regardless of the trials, my dad went in and out. He always instilled in me. One thing my dad used to tell me, he was like, “Son... he said, “For God, so loved the world that he gave his only... he’d be drunk. He gave his only drunk and tell him. But, he instilled that, burnt that in my head, to have regardless of all this nonsense, what you see, with everything... have a strong relationship with God. Put God first, and that’s something that was reinforced by my mother too. I think that helps. That helps when you have issues. You can’t understand this, that and the third. You always go back to that. You always go back to your values, and that’s what was imparted in me early.

Chronosystem

Bronfenbrenner’s (1986, 1994) chronosystem is the foundational tenet of the role of time; the transitions and shift’s in one’s lifespan that may involve the socio-historical contexts that may influence an individual. The findings for this transcendental phenomenological study consistently suggested changes over the participant’s life course relative to the implication of time negatively and positively. For instance, most participants shared the familial challenge of delayed understanding or confusion as a child. Participants indicated a lack of understanding related to what has happening with their father, and some indicated their caregiver’s failure to disclose the truth contributed to this negative experience. According to social science researchers, human decision

making under uncertainty is highly susceptible to bias (Ahoroni et al., 2018). Although the participant's caregivers assumed they were protecting the developing child, as implied by PAR10 who stated:

I'd say, at the age that I was, maybe a little anger, a lot of confusion. A lot of confusion, more so than sad actually. Because I didn't understand what was going on. My peoples didn't really want to tell me. And I'm like ... I'm young, but I'm not naive to the point where I can't ... I haven't seen my father in some weeks now. You know what I'm saying?

PAR10 expressed he would have preferred to have known to assist with understanding sooner than he experienced. Nonetheless across time, participants for this transcendental phenomenological study also identified how their stable personal support system assisted with understanding as an adult and ultimately lead to college success. As an adult, PAR2 stated, "but I understand more now."

Bronfenbrenner (1976, 1977, 1986, 1994) suggested a child's development is affected by everything that surrounds him or her. Relative to this transcendental phenomenological study, the findings supported Bronfenbrenner's EST across all 5 subsystems. Participants described experiences with implications that supported Bronfenbrenner's EST (1976, 1977, 1986, 1994).

Limitations of the Study

This transcendental phenomenological study had limitations relative to generalizability. The lived experience of paternal incarceration relative to the role of family among African American males may not be generalizable to individuals of a

different race, gender, individuals who experience maternal incarceration, or individuals who may experience both maternal and paternal incarceration. Additionally, the sample size of 12 participants is small which could also impact generalizability. Utilizing opened ended questions limited confirmability because how participants responded could not be controlled. This resulted in large data sets unsuitable for large populations. Lastly, I am an African American woman who has witnessed the mass incarceration of African American males which could have made it easier to introduce my biases and opinions. Therefore, I bracketed my experiences throughout the data collection process.

Recommendations

Findings from this transcendental phenomenological study were significant. These findings could assist human service professionals, inform public policy, and help caregivers and returning fathers develop better support systems for African American males experiencing paternal incarceration in the following ways:

- (a) African American males with the lived experience of paternal incarceration and their families, should have access to human service professionals who are able to assist in informing caregivers how to divulge a father's incarceration in developmentally appropriate ways. Additionally, human service professionals should be able to assist families with directly addressing the impact of paternal incarceration on the youth to create a safe place for youth to express thoughts and feelings relative to their experience and better cope.

- (b) When a father becomes incarcerated, at inception public policies should be created to support the children and families of justice involved fathers through community outreach, utilizing some of the findings from this current study.
- (c) Schools should be utilized as avenues to create specialized support groups for children of incarcerated parents.

Relative to future research, efforts should continue to understand the lived experiences of paternal incarceration. Specifically, the lived experiences of caregivers and their barriers should be explored to better understand how to provide evidenced based interventions to assist children and caregivers with the lived experience of paternal incarceration. Additionally, understanding the lived experience of families who successfully reintegrated formerly incarcerated fathers into the home could also be useful for future research.

Implications

Social change implications result from this transcendental phenomenological study. Findings could bring about social and racial change in African American communities by bringing awareness to the impact of incarceration on innocent children and families to deter parents away from crime and avoid incarceration. Findings could support the need to normalize the need for mental health intervention among children and families of incarcerated parents to assist with developmentally appropriate interventions and strategies to cultivate a personal support system that encourages direct disclosure relative to the lived experience of paternal incarceration. Criminal justice officials, policy makers, and human service professionals could utilize schools positively to provide

support groups and interventions for children and families of incarcerated parents and create programs to assist children and families impacted by paternal incarceration to increase college completion among youth in similar circumstances. Lastly, these findings could be utilized as a basis to develop trainings for human service professionals to address the nuances of paternal incarceration.

Summary

Among African American male college graduates, the lived experiences of paternal incarceration during childhood and/or adolescence relative to the role of family in college success included negative individual and familial impacts with positive ameliorating factors relative to the role of family that motivated African American males to succeed academically and obtain a college degree, despite the familial deficient of paternal incarceration. These positive ameliorating factors included cultivating a stable personal support system that fostered independence and responsibility through experienced based decision making. A major finding of this transcendental phenomenological study was that participants of this study were positively motivated and achieved college success despite having an incarcerated father during childhood and/or adolescence. The participants lived experiences of paternal incarceration and college success relative to the role of family uncovered nine themes. The findings of this study inform human service professionals' supportive efforts among African American males with the experience of paternal incarceration, understand lived experiences of graduates in higher education settings, with potential use across similar settings.

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Appendix A: Executive Summary for Participant Search

Greetings Mr./Ms./Dr. XXXXXX,

I write seeking your assistance in accessing African American male college graduates who experienced paternal incarceration (absentee father due to imprisonment) during their childhood and/or adolescence, as potential participants in my research study, titled “African American Male College Graduate Experiences of Paternal Incarceration.” I am a doctoral student at Walden University’s Human and Social Services Program, specializing in family studies and interventions.

The aim of this proposed transcendental phenomenological study is to gain direct perspectives of African American male college graduates’ lived experience of paternal incarceration about the role of family and obtaining a college degree by the age of 30.

Research participants may benefit from the study by contributing to positive research literature among African American male college graduates and the lived experience of paternal incarceration to assist human service professionals with implications for serving youth in similar circumstances. Participant harm may come from recalling events or circumstances that could be distressful.

The study involves completing basic demographic information and a brief, 30–45 minute interview. Participation is voluntary and participants may withdraw from the study at any time. The study results will be anonymous, devoid of identifying information.

I am available for questions or concerns via phone at [REDACTED] or via e-mail at [REDACTED]. The research supervisor, Dr. Randy Heinrich is also available via phone at [REDACTED] or via e-mail at [REDACTED].

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Natassia Toxey, LPC, PhD (c)

Appendix B: Script for Initial Telephonic Contact

Hello (name of participant),

First, I would like to thank you, and acknowledge my appreciation for your interest and voluntary participation in my research study titled “African American Male College Graduate Experiences of Paternal Incarceration.” I am a doctoral student at Walden University’s Human and Social Services Program, specializing in family studies and interventions.

I seek to gain direct perspectives of African American male college graduates’ lived experience of paternal incarceration about the role of family and obtaining a college degree by the age of 30, overcoming a challenging familial deficient. Your contribution to positive research literature among African American male college graduates and the lived experience of paternal incarceration could assist human service professionals with implications for serving youth in similar circumstances.

I recognize the sensitive nature of lived experiences, and in an effort to do no harm and minimize risk of harm; as researcher-analyst, I will engage in the following: (a) obtain informed written consent, (b) protect your identity and confidentiality through the use of pseudonyms, (c) fail to use deceptive practices, and (d) hereby, acknowledge your right to withdraw from this research study at any time.

The study involves completing basic demographic information and a brief, 30–45 minute, face to-face interview. I would like to conduct the interview during the weeks of (week #1) and (week #2), at a time convenient and comfortable for you. With consideration to the on-going pandemic related to COVID-19, we will conduct the face-to-face interview utilizing Zoom’s recorded video conferencing application. I am available on (dates) at (times). What day and time is suitable for you?

Lastly, I would like to e-mail you the informed consent within 24 hours of the scheduled face-to-face interview. May I have your preferred e-mail address? Please read the informed consent before the scheduled interview. Prior to the start of the interview, I will review the informed consent and if you have questions related to the informed consent or this research study, I will provide an opportunity for you to ask clarifying questions just before the start of the interview, and obtain consent via e-mail.

At this time, do you have any questions?

Again, thank you, and I look forward to our interview scheduled for (date) at (time) via Zoom. Would it be okay to send reminders via SMS and e-mail related to the informed consent and our scheduled interview?

Thank you. Have a great day (or evening).

Appendix C: Interview Questions

1. Describe your lived experience of having an absent father due to incarceration. How? Why?
2. Describe your lived experience of college success. How? Why?
3. How did you achieve college success despite your experience of paternal incarceration?
4. As you navigated paternal incarceration and college success, how do you connect/associate the role of the family? How? Why?
5. Tell me, as you reflect on your experience of having an incarcerated father, how do you connect your success in college to social supports? How? Why? If not, how? Why?
6. If you are connected to family, how do you connect your success in college to family support? If not, how do you connect your success in college to social supports? How? Why?
7. Tell me, how you and your family coped with paternal incarceration as it related to your achieving academic success in college?
8. What other thoughts of your experiences with paternal incarceration and college success related to your family would you like to share with me?

Appendix D: Professional Counseling Services

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline

(800) 273-8255

Crisis Call Center

(800) 273-8255